

A
Ramsey Clark
Reader

Truth vs. Power



*building an
international
action center*

Introduction by Father Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann

A
RAMSEY CLARK
READER

**Truth
vs.
Power**

*Building a Center
for
International Action*

INTERNATIONAL ACTION CENTER

NEW YORK 🌿 2013

TRUTH VS. POWER
A Ramsey Clark Reader

by Ramsey Clark

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New York, NY

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ISBN:
978-0-97475-215-0

Electronic editions production team:
Greg Dunkel
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Cover photo by Liz Green, 1992

LCN2012955965

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Authored by Ramsey Clark

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INTRODUCTION

FATHER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN

Our world is in bad shape. It is in great need of people inflamed with the transforming power of love. One such person is Ramsey Clark, and that is why it is an honor for me to write the introduction to this collection of his writings. Taken together they give us a glimpse of the work that Ramsey has carried out over the past two decades to further the struggle for peace.

I have known and followed Ramsey for decades and came to see him as a person truly committed to the achievement of peace and solidarity on Earth and to helping his country, the U.S., become true to itself, that is, true to its proclaimed ideals of justice, freedom and authentic democracy. The United States of America, as I see it, is and has always been split in two. It pursues or claims to pursue totally contradictory objectives.

The U.S. is an empire and as such it is the very incarnation of the evil and brutality that it claims to be against. But this is the United States that Ramsey has struggled all his life to bring back to the practice of its proclaimed ideals. Is it too late? Has U.S. brutality and terrorist, murderous and genocidal foreign policy gone so far that it is permanently beyond retrieval from the devil's claws? Ramsey is not giving up; he loves his country and the world too much for that. He has always, continues now and will always continue, to do his utmost to help his country understand that keeping true to its proclaimed ideals is a goal worth fighting to attain, as well as something that all who claim to really love the United States must struggle for.

I had a very distinct privilege and great learning experience by being a member, together with Ramsey Clark, of an international group to follow up on the consequences of the illegal and criminal United Nations sanctions on Iraq. The group included, besides Ramsey and me, Ahmed Ben Bella, Toni Bent and Ugo Mifsud Bonnici, former Prime Minister of Malta. Those sanctions resulted in the death of thousands of children from curable diseases due to the medication embargo on Iraq. We used to meet periodically for the purpose of updating ourselves on the consequences of those criminal sanctions and denouncing them to the world. I am proud to say that during my tenure as president of the United Nations Gen-

eral Assembly, Ramsey was my key senior advisor on international law, as well as other key U.N. issues. He provided me valuable insights into the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the so-called “Responsibility to protect”—the new jargon used to mask the old practice of wars of aggression—and the sorely needed reinvention of the United Nations. I had the honor, during this period, of bestowing upon Ramsey the U.N. Human Rights Award in 2008.

Yet our friendship and collaboration expands four decades. As a result, I am well aware of the unique contribution that Ramsey has made to our common struggle to serve the world’s dispossessed and vulnerable. Within the United States—the belly of the beast—there have been other intelligent dissenting voices. There have been other U.S. citizens who held high level positions in government who later have criticized the policies the United States carried out either while they were in office or later. But Ramsey Clark is, as far as I know, the only individual who held a cabinet office in the second half of the twentieth century who has consistently challenged U.S. wars and criminal corporate policies on every occasion and in every part of the world over the last 25 years. Certainly there is no violence greater than imperialism. There is nothing, therefore, more righteous than to risk your prestige, your freedom and your very life to combat imperialism. Not only did Ramsey raise his voice against U.S. policies and put his reputation on the line, he took the physical risk of going to the countries under imperialist attack, sometimes traveling in areas under aerial bombardment by the most powerful military machine in world, in order to stand in solidarity with oppressed peoples and nations under the gun.

When you consider that in many of these aggressions the victims had been consistently slandered and demonized by a media machine that monopolizes the ideas of the world, almost as much as the Pentagon monopolizes the power to kill, you can appreciate how Ramsey was showing both physical and spiritual courage by standing up against what in most cases was an overwhelming attack. Ramsey has consistently brought ethics back into the equation and discussion of global issues. Today he is a voice of conscience recognized around the world.

The collection of Ramsey’s writings published in this book give an idea – not quite complete, but effective—of what he has been able to accomplish. They are being published on the occasion of the author’s 85th birthday anniversary in December 2012. They are also a lasting testimony of the common work of Ramsey Clark with the political activists of the International Action Center, which is also celebrating an anniversary in 2012, of 20 years of common work since the founding of the IAC.

The experience of the last 20 years of struggle and work show that the axioms of Euclidian geometry do not always fit in fields of human endeavor: in this case, the whole is greater than the simple sum of its parts. Guided by love of humanity, by a common passion for peace and for truth, human beings can function in con-

cert and achieve miracles. The IAC was founded during the year following what has been known as the first Gulf war, that is, the war of the United States against Iraq of January-March 1991 that had the approval of the Security Council of the United Nations and drew in dozens of nations behind the Pentagon's destruction of Iraq. Ramsey was working together with anti-war and political activists who themselves took an anti-imperialist position on the war. They organized and held a series of popular tribunals in the United States and elsewhere around the world, condemning the military and civilian leaders of the United States for committing the worst type of war crimes. From the beginning these activists, along with Ramsey Clark, opposed the idea that imposing sanctions on Iraq was somehow a more humanitarian choice than "waging war." The U.S. did both, and it became apparent that there was a need within the United States for an organization that would oppose the murderous sanctions against Iraq and that would be ready to take a stand against future wars of aggression that sprung from the ideology that propels U.S. foreign policy. Unfortunately, there have been many such wars of aggression during the last 20 years. Thus the International Action Center was born.

A lone individual, no matter how much prestige he might have, would be less effective in promoting his ideas through a media that chose to ignore his clear, persistent and reasoned opposition to U.S. foreign policy. With the activists of the IAC, Ramsey was able to publish his work in many of the books from which these excerpts are taken. His own words are from the lead chapters of books aimed at exposing U.S. crimes and showing just how they violated not only the rules of simple humanity, but the rules states, including the U.S., agreed to with the goal of preventing that worst of all crimes—war—from degenerating into crimes against humanity. In these books his lead arguments are reinforced by the studies of many others, including the victims and eye-witnesses of the events, as well as those who spent years of their lives studying and debating the background and development of these dramas of human history and those who fought for years to try to stop these oppressive and murderous policies. These books found an audience because they were meant as a challenge. Each book was taking on the empire of lies, military arrogance and corporate greed. Each of the IAC books, and Ramsey's chapters especially, were a contribution because they were written to respond to heated political debates of that period. They were written to expose the magnitude of the crimes committed and outrage at the lies that were manufactured to justify U.S. wars or interventions.

This pattern of indictment and evidence is all the more true in the books that have as their basis the testimony made during the many people's tribunals that over the years condemned imperialism for its war crimes—often with the indictment written by Ramsey himself—and especially for the greatest war crime, that of launching a war of aggression. Ramsey provided the indictments, the activists did the footwork and organizing that brought people to attend the tribunals and

provide support to allow the books to be published. Whether it was opposing U.S. troops to Haiti, or Panama or Iraq or Yugoslavia or opposing those who were justifying an increase in funding and supplying of death squads in Colombia or exposing the cover-up of the Gulf War Syndrome, each of these books were written to challenge the beliefs imposed by the propaganda machine of imperialism.

In a similar way the trips made to the countries under attack benefited from the cooperation of Ramsey with the activists, who accompanied him to Iraq, Yugoslavia, Haiti; as well as to San Vicente de Caguán, in the area of Colombia that was administered by the FARC guerrillas under an agreement with the Bogota regime before 2002—when the regime later broke off negotiations that have only now resumed in 2012—and to international conferences in The Hague, Netherlands to assist the defense of the former Yugoslav leader, Slobodan Milosevic, who was put on trial as part of the imperialist offensive to destroy that country and divide it into weak mini-states unable to resist a takeover from the Western powers. The joint activities allowed the activists to hold meetings all over the United States to battle the dominant propaganda from the U.S. war machine. More than that, it allowed the activists in the IAC, in cooperation with other organizations, to mobilize sectors of the North American population and take mass actions opposing U.S. aggression, keeping the struggle alive within the United States itself.

Ramsey and the IAC also intervened on behalf of the downtrodden, oppressed and persecuted within the borders of the United States. As an experienced defense attorney, he has been able to act on behalf of impoverished death row prisoners in Texas, in defense of the Native American activist and prisoner Leonard Peltier and for Imam Jamil Al Amin, (formerly known as H. Rap Brown) imprisoned in Georgia.

Ramsey Clark understood how the U.S. government, the Pentagon and its allies violated their own rules and agreements stipulated by the Geneva Conventions, the Nuremberg Tribunal and the United Nations Charter. Ramsey was a member of the U.S. Marine Corps in occupied Germany in 1945 and 1946, where he had the opportunity to observe the Nuremberg Tribunals. He took this experience to heart, always believing that the U.S. Armed Forces and the U.S. government had the same responsibility to observe these conventions and agreements as any other state and armed force. He then applied these rules of law to the crimes Washington and the Pentagon committed in its role as the imperialist world's police force, always directed against the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden of the world. He wrote many of the selections in this book as indictments of those responsible for the criminal actions of these forces. The table of contents reads as a list of the places where these crimes took place: Panama, 1989; Iraq, 1991; Iraq sanctions 1991-2003; Colombia; Haiti; Yugoslavia 1992-2000. He also indicted, in another way, the media, and the extension of U.S. policy in the Middle East concerning the Israeli military's crimes in Gaza using the weapons supplied by

the United States and how the U.S. misused the United Nations both to obtain cover for its aggression and to punish those leaders who stood up against the imperialist assault.

No one pretends that this collection of article represents the whole of Ramsey Clark's work during this period. Much also took place in court as he defended those targeted by the U.S. government or in attempts to raise legal challenges to the continued enforcement of the pernicious activities of the U.S. government and its equally criminal if not so powerful allies. Ramsey believed that everyone facing trial from those in power deserved an adequate defense. He was willing to stand up against the manufacture public opinion that convicted any state leader who stood up against a powerful array of forces even before real evidence had been presented; in many instances this alleged evidence was non-existent or had been manufactured by those whose force or wealth put them in control of the territory.

As an official in the cabinet of the Johnson administration and through his contact with the others charged with carrying out U.S. policies at home and around the world, Ramsey was and is well aware of the perfidy and callousness of those who direct and execute U.S. policy. Whether the U.S. officials justified their aggression through claims of "humanitarian" intervention or invented a pretext of alleged self-defense to justify preemptive war, he was aware that the real reasons were to promote U.S. strategic and economic hegemony in all parts of the world. Ramsey's lack of naiveté on these questions, however, did not cause him to abandon his own idealistic conception of how a State should act, by law and by simple humanity, in its relations with the rest of the world. And his writings are infused with that idealism and humanity, laying bare the lies and brutality of the U.S. government.

An example is his indictment of the U.S. government and its officials for the 1991 war against Iraq, with 19 charges detailed in 14 pages that served as the basis for a series of tribunals that took place not only in the United States but in countries from Pakistan through Europe, many of whose governments themselves participated in the war and in the crimes. The official voices from the United States claimed that the "smart" bombs and other high-tech weaponry allowed a surgical strike that harmed only Iraq's government and army. In reality, as Ramsey's points show, this was a war directed at the population of Iraq, depriving them of clean water, medicine, electric power, even food, and that the common Iraqi soldiers were slaughtered on the field even as they were retreating from Kuwait and conceding the battle.

The final selection in this book is from Gaza—Symbol of Resistance, a five-page forward that appeals for the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people and sees both sides of the assault on Gaza. "The story of Gaza is twofold," Ramsey writes. "On the one hand, the death and destruction that Gaza has suffered is tragic. On the other hand, Gaza's resistance is an inspiration which promises a strong, united Palestinian state." How fitting are those words now—in November

2012, as the tiny strip of land housing and imprisoning 1.7 million people is again under relentless attack from the Israeli war machine—armed with U.S. weapons.

The rulers of the United States would prefer that Ramsey Clark toe the line, the usual behavior of U.S. officials. But Ramsey knows that some of the worst crimes have been committed with the excuse of having to obey orders. He learned that at Nuremberg and he has refused that type of obedience. He and his co-workers in the International Action Center are determined to continue their resistance to U.S. imperialism and its wars and to continue not only to fight for the truth—for which this book is a contribution—but to mobilize the people within the United States until they can stop these crimes.

A Vision of Peace

Where there is no vision, the people perish.

Proverbs

You see things; and you say 'Why?'

But I dream things that never were;

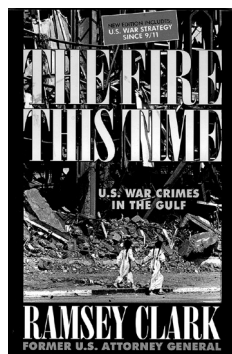
and I say 'Why not?'

George Bernard Shaw

For all the horror, death, and inhumanity of the devastation of Iraq, the fact — or appearance — of popular American approval of what was done is a far greater threat to the future. It is doubtful if there has been a higher percentage of death, destruction, and long-term incapacitation inflicted on a whole country of Iraq's size or larger in a comparable period of time in the history of warfare. For a nation of 16 million to have 250,000-350,000 of its people killed or condemned to death, suffer a multiple of that figure injured and handicapped, and have water, sanitation, power, communication, transportation, and food production and distribution severely damaged in six weeks of violence is unprecedented. Most of the major participants in World War II — including China, England, France, Italy, and the United States — had a lower casualty rate among their total population during the long years of war than Iraq had in the few weeks it was bombed and the consequences that followed.

Despite inescapable awareness that a deadly blow of enormous magnitude had been deliberately inflicted on Iraq, the American public was easily led to celebrate the slaughter. Few public figures dared or cared to condemn it. Major media worked as hard to assure the public of the rightness and benefits of U.S. aggression as it had to glorify the violent assault itself. *The New York Times* editorialized in the late fall of 1991 that "if any war could be called 'just,' the gulf war qualified."¹ The Congress dared no dissent. President Bush began and ended his State of the Union Message in January 1992 with praise for Desert Storm. Going further later that month before the National Religious Broadcasters annual convention, the President said, "we

"A Vision of Peace" first published in *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf* by the IAC in 2002.



fought for good versus evil.... And today I want to thank you for helping America, as Christ ordained it to be a light unto the world.”²

Before 1991 was out, the United States began to threaten Cuba, Haiti, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Pakistan, Syria, and Vietnam with UN condemnation, greater sanctions, or violence if they failed to meet various U.S. demands. The U.S. media and political leadership spoke openly of new military actions as President Bush’s postwar popularity sagged. The *New York Times* captured the arrogance and inhumanity of predictions of a new assault on Iraq in early February 1992 with front-page headlines about CIA Director Robert Gates’s trip to Saudi Arabia and Israel: “Gates, in Mideast, Is Said to Discuss Ouster of Hussein; Next Turn of the Screw; Seeks Saudi and Egyptian Help in Scaring, Then Deposing the Recalcitrant Iraqi.”

Presidential popularity soared after the invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, the assault on Panama, and the destruction of Iraq. U.S. military violence of increasing magnitude was considered politically popular, and many expected a U.S. assault on some demonized country as a political ploy to help reelect President Bush. Millions foresaw more U.S. military actions as a principal means to achieve the “new world order.”

The failure of the American educational system, media, democratic institutions, and national character makes this possible. The American people have been made to feel absolutely powerless over foreign affairs and most domestic issues. When they consider such questions at all, they generally act as if they were watching a spectator sport — rooting for the home team and believing that the visiting team doesn’t play fair—with no more control over the outcome of U.S. interventions than over any televised basketball game. And there is widespread disbelief and cynicism about government and those who hold power in this country, revealed in a startling way by the movie *JFK*. Suddenly, almost three decades after the assassination, many moviegoers, perhaps hundreds of thousands, decided the U.S. government killed President Kennedy. A profound alienation among millions is necessary to allow a mere movie to make such a radical transformation among so many people.

Yet only the morally blind will fail to see that U.S. political and military leadership has proven itself totally untrustworthy to lead the world to a new order. Those who planned, ordered, and conducted the assault on Iraq are war criminals. Despite all the propaganda and one-sided media coverage, this violent assault was calculated and cold-blooded. How else to explain so many Iraqi deaths and so few U.S. casualties; a totally incapacitated Iraq and an American public that views the Gulf War as “ancient history”?

Ensuring Peace in the Future

Nothing can be clearer to people who want peace than the necessity for urgent, radical action to control militarism. During its hearings, the Commission of Inquiry developed many proposals to secure peace and social justice and avoid fur-

ther U.S. aggressions. These proposals are outlined here. The first group is comprised of emergency acts that address immediate human needs resulting from the Gulf War. The second group includes far-reaching reforms that, if implemented, will help the world's people live in peace.

Proposals to Meet Emergency Needs in the Persian Gulf

1. Immediate Shipments of Vital Supplies.

Provide food, medical supplies, medical equipment, and potable water; seeds, seedlings and plants, and fertilizer; machine parts for water pumps and water purification processes, sanitation equipment, electric power generation, and transmission facilities; tractor, farm machinery, truck, and bus parts; and oil well, pipeline, pumping, and refinery equipment through UN and other international relief agencies to meet immediate needs throughout Iraq and in countries in the region that have been adversely affected or have needy Gulf War refugee populations.

2. Release the Stranglehold of Sanctions.

End the embargo, sanctions, import-export controls, and travel restrictions imposed on Iraq, and release frozen bank deposits and assets.

3. Remove Unexploded Ordnance.

Provide manpower and expert technical skills through the UN to help remove all unexploded bombs, shells, and other dangerous war materiel and nuclear debris from Iraq and Kuwait under the authority and supervision of those countries' governments.

4. Assess Legitimate Reparations.

Create a UN arbitration commission to assess damages and reparations against responsible parties to be paid to all injured persons — including refugees — for deaths, injuries, property damage, and environmental damage in the Persian Gulf caused by war crimes and other illegal acts committed by the United States, Iraq, Kuwait, and other governments and their agents.

5. Stop Warlike Actions.

Cease all threats and coercion of Iraq and resolve all disputes with it as an equal among nations in accordance with the requirements of international law for the pacific settlement of disputes.

6. Address Underlying Regional Issues.

Create a UN arbitration commission to address ongoing regional disputes, and consider all peoples as equals in the proceedings and decisions. These disputes include remaining issues among Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, and others in the region; the rights of the Kurds, Assyrians, and other peoples; the rights of Palestinians to an independent

state in the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem, to removal of all Israeli agencies and settlers who have unlawfully entered these territories and seized land or property, and to reparations from Israel; the withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian, and other foreign military forces from Lebanon; the rights to the Golan Heights; all border disputes in the region.

7. Remove Foreign Military Influence.

Remove all United States and other foreign military forces from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE, Turkey, and elsewhere in the Gulf region and close all foreign military bases.

Proposals to Ensure Future Peace for the World

The sense of urgency throughout the Commission effort was second only to that of horror and shame at what had been done. The specter of militarism and exploitation is haunting our planet, and unless high human energy, bold imagination, diligent effort, and unremitting perseverance are devoted to changes essential to survival, a brutal and deadly future is inescapable. The threat of a new world order based on technological violence and designed to control the poor for the benefit of the rich has made organized and spontaneous world-wide effort absolutely essential for human fulfillment.

The evidence and opinion compiled by the Commission has demonstrated the ease with which government and law can be abused to kill, control, deceive, and impoverish humanity. The belief that governments will solve our problems may be the most dangerous opiate of the people. Whereas most of the proposals set forth in this section necessarily deal with government and law, the most important ones are those involving empowerment of the people and their capacity to ensure constant protection from, reform of, and accountability of government. Without this, none of the other devices can work for long.

In the several score hearings of the Commission, a stream of proposals addressing urgent human problems symbolized, caused, and revealed by the aggression against Iraq were presented by witnesses and participants. Many of these reflected preexisting concerns reinforced by events in the Gulf. Some dealt with reforms within specific nations that would inhibit or prevent future participation in war crimes and protect their governments and population from international bribery and coercion. Except for those regarding the United States, these have generally not been included here, and have been left to commissions within the other countries.

No proposal is considered to be an end in itself: each is intended to stimulate a dynamic process of change. All are presented in general terms for consideration, development, and implementation in the most effective form. The proposals fall into six general subject areas.

A. Reforms to Prevent and Control War, War Crimes, and Militarism

Prohibit Weapons of War and Mass Destruction

1. Prohibit research, development, planning, manufacturing, transporting, or possession of any weapon of mass destruction: nuclear, atomic, neutron, biological, neurological, chemical, gas, antipersonnel, cluster, fuel air; and including the use of conventional explosives or other devices designed for or capable of killing or injuring groups of people or destroying property.
2. Prohibit research, development, planning, manufacturing, transporting, or possessing sophisticated equipment and weapons of warfare, including military aircraft, rockets, missiles, artillery, and automatic weapons; and laser, concussion, x-ray, or other devices designed to or capable of killing groups of people or destroying property.

Establish UN Oversight of Arms and Military Action

3. Create a UN Disarmament, Arms Limitation, and Military Control Agency governed by UN statutes with power to (a) inspect for compliance, police, and enforce laws prohibiting research, development, planning, manufacturing, transporting, possession, and international sales of weapons of mass destruction, equipment and weapons of warfare, and other arms; (b) prohibit, limit, register, license, and control international arms sales; (c) regulate, limit, register, and license all military arms and provide standards and supervision for the planned reduction of all national military forces and arms to achieve a size and arms limit no greater than that required for border control and internal public safety; (d) regulate, supervise, and conduct the dismantling and destruction of all existing prohibited and excess weapons.
4. Prohibit all international arms manufacture, sales, transportation, or possession not authorized, approved, and registered with the UN Disarmament, Arms Limitation, and Military Control Agency.
5. Create a UN Peacekeeping Force with exclusive authority to recruit, organize, and use military force, excepting only the right of each nation to exercise police power for border control and internal public safety. All personnel in the Peacekeeping Force shall owe allegiance to the UN and faithfully perform their duty to it. The force shall be equipped with conventional small arms sufficient to enforce resolutions, statutes, and decrees authorized by the UN or the international court system under an international command structure created and appointed by the UN. No single national origin and citizenship shall comprise more than 10 percent of any rank or unit of more than 10 persons in the Peacekeeping Force. In ranks or units with less than 10 persons, no two shall be of the same national origin and citizenship.

Create New Principles Controlling Military Force

6. Promulgate a Universal Convention Prohibiting Militarism, Crimes Against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity that would do the following: (a) The Convention would make it an international war crime to create or use military force in violation of its terms and abolish all sovereign immunity for such offenses. (b) It would protect military personnel in the event of war by making it a war crime to use excessive force or illegal weapons, to attack defenseless troops or troops in retreat who do not have the capability of aggressive action, or to make a surprise attack or attack persons who have signaled the desire to surrender. (c) It would make it a war crime to attack cities, towns, villages, farms, or any civilian facilities including water, power, communication, health care, education, and transportation facilities; vehicles, housing, commercial properties, and offices; religious, historical, and archaeological structures; and food production, storage, distribution, or sales facilities. It would also make damage to the environment by military or paramilitary action, or attacks on any civilians, war crimes.

The United States' erroneous claims that the Hague and Geneva Conventions, the Nuremberg Principles, the Laws of Armed Conflict, and the U.S. Rules of Engagement were not violated in the assault against Iraq make necessary the enactment of a comprehensive, detailed, modern set of principles protecting troops from excessive violence and civilians from all violence.

Prohibit Foreign Military and Political Influence in Other Countries

7. Prohibit foreign military bases anywhere in the world, as they are a vestige of colonialism and past wars, and pose a threat to peace. The United States should be required to withdraw its forces immediately, not only from the Persian Gulf, but from the many bases it used in its attack on Iraq. Bases in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, England, Diego Garcia, the Philippines, Spain, Japan, Germany, and elsewhere were used to commit war crimes against Iraq. Each caused strained relations and even hatred among nations. U.S. forces in NATO nations, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, Panama, and scores of other countries should be withdrawn and all bases closed.
8. Prohibit the intervention of military or police personnel from one country into another, the seizure of territory of another people, and attacks on another country under any circumstances. Authorize UN peacekeeping troops to enforce this prohibition, a violation of which is a crime against peace. No nation should recognize the claim of any nation to the land, resources, or property of another nation or people taken in violation of this provision, including all claims based on violations of these principles which occurred after 1945.

9. Prohibit all nations and private interests from providing bilateral economic aid, excepting humanitarian aid, political support, weapons, training, advisors, or police personnel to a government headed, controlled, maintained, or coerced by military or police authority as determined by the UN.
10. Prohibit governmental and private interference in governmental activity or electoral processes of another nation. Such operations as U.S. AID grants and National Endowment for Democracy programs funding political parties, candidates, and electoral processes and studies have been used to subvert democracy, self-determination, and independence, and should be prohibited. They are direct, unilateral forms of intervention.

Create UN Agencies to Deal with War and Its Results

11. Create within a new UN Agency for Human Resources a Division for War Refugees, War Casualties, and Emergency Wartime and Natural Disaster Relief that can provide water, food, shelter, physical protection, economic assistance, and other needs for war refugees; investigate and report war crimes; account for all casualties from armed conflict, natural disasters, and their consequences; assure medical treatment for the wounded and injured in war and natural catastrophes; assure identification and decent burial for the dead; provide economic aid for surviving families and other victims of war and natural disasters.
12. Appoint an independent UN commission to investigate U.S. conduct in planning, conducting, and coercing others to participate in the destruction of Iraq; to require the United States to reveal all documents, reports, records, and data relevant to plans for and the conduct of the war; to require U.S. officials and others to produce documents and testify about U.S. plans and acts.
13. Create a permanent UN Agency for United Nations and International Law Reform charged with studying and recommending reforms needed to achieve the purposes of the UN as stated in its Charter. It should be independent of, but should coordinate activity with, the UN Law Committee and the UN Legal Counsel.

B. Reform of the United Nations to Provide for World Law, Democratic Power, Integrity in Government, and World Peace

1. Create a federal system of international governance, delegating to the UN powers to secure peace, regulate international economic activity, and provide social justice for all, and reserving all other powers to the several nations and their people. Create legislative, executive, and judicial powers within the UN.

2. Replace the Security Council, with its permanent membership and veto power, with a World Council of representatives elected by the General Assembly from its membership. The General Assembly voting representatives should be divided into electoral units apportioned to provide the fairest attainable representation of all races, languages, cultural groups, religions, and geopolitical interests. Each World Council member should be elected from the full General Assembly by a General Assembly electoral unit representing approximately 100 million people, serve for four years unless the General Assembly calls an earlier Council election, and not be eligible for reelection within two years of any prior service which totals four years. One-fourth of the Council members should be elected each year. Persons of a single nation and national origin should not comprise more than 10 percent of the World Council or more than 20 percent of any General Assembly electoral unit. The World Council should perform the duties delegated to the Security Council in the UN Charter. Council members should act and vote to benefit the general welfare of all peoples, not the special interests of their own nation or the electoral unit from which they are elected.
3. The General Assembly should be elected by a direct universal vote conducted in each nation for national representatives to the UN. Each nation should have one representative, plus an additional representative for each 10 million people resident within the nation up to 100 million. Nations with more than 100 million people should have one additional vote for each additional 50 million people. Nations with more than one vote should be divided into representative districts of equal population, fairly apportioned. Each representative should act and vote independently on all matters before the UN.
4. Require all disputes among nations to be addressed first by the means set forth in Chapter VI of the UN Charter. When those means are exhausted, any party to the dispute, the UN General Assembly, or the World Council can ask for resolution by the International Court of Justice. The decision of the Court shall be binding on the parties. If a state refuses to obey the Court's decision, the World Council and the General Assembly by a two-thirds vote of each body may direct the Peacekeeping Force to implement the decision if all pacific means of settlement have been affirmatively found by two-thirds of each body to have been exhausted.
5. The UN should have the power to tax nations, to charter international corporations, and to regulate and tax international commerce, trade, transportation, and wealth. However, no tax should be imposed that discriminates on the basis of race, citizenship, national origin, religious beliefs, political affiliation, or sex. Taxation on nations should be based on financial ability,

- keyed to per capita income, and should not exceed average national military expenditures for 1980-1990 as a proportion of gross national product (GNP), or 5 percent of GNP for nations with a per capita income up to \$10,000 and 10 percent of the GNP in excess of \$10,000 per capita. Taxes should not be imposed on nations with per capita incomes less than \$2,000, but may be imposed on commerce and wealth of such nations.
6. The Secretary General, principal officials, agency and department heads, and commanding officers of the Peacekeeping Force should be elected by a majority of the General Assembly and serve at its pleasure. UN employees, including peacekeeping forces, should have the right to form unions, to bargain collectively, and to strike, and should be protected by civil service merit principles.
 7. The United Nations shall create an International Court of Criminal Justice with jurisdiction to hear and decide all formal charges of crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other crimes by and against nations; criminal violations of human rights by, or condoned by, a national government; crimes by and against international corporations or against commerce; crimes against the environment, labor, including the exploitation thereof, and natural resources; crimes involving transportation, including the destruction of aircraft, ships, vehicles, and facilities required for their performance and piracy; production, processing, and transportation of illicit drugs for international commerce; crimes against the UN, including bribery, corruption, coercion, or violence by or against its elected or appointed personnel. A criminal code should be enacted by vote of the General Assembly. Final decisions of the court should be subject to discretionary review by the International Court of Justice. The Legal Counsel of the UN should have an office of international crimes investigation and prosecution. It should receive complaints of criminal acts from individuals, organizations, or nations.
 8. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants protecting civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights should be embodied into positive and inalienable international law. An International Court for Human Rights and Habeas Corpus should have jurisdiction to prevent, enjoin, and assess damages for violations of such rights, with power to order protection from threatened violations, cessation of violations, restraint of violators, and release of victims. The court should have power to issue writs of prohibition, mandamus, and habeas corpus in accordance with statutes enacted by the General Assembly. Final decisions of the court should be subject to discretionary review by the International Court of Justice. If a nation, or any organization condoned by it, refuses to obey the court's decision, the World Council and General Assembly,

by a two-thirds vote of each body, may direct the Peacekeeping Force to implement it after a finding that all pacific means of settlement have been exhausted. The court should receive and consider complaints from individuals, organizations, nations, and the UN Legal Counsel. The Legal Counsel should represent the UN in all proceedings before the court to which it is a party or in which it chooses to intervene. The UN Commission on Human Rights should be expanded and given greater resources for investigation, research, and reporting, and should be directed to refer criminal and enforcement matters to the appropriate international court.

9. The United Nations should create an International Boundary Commission with the power to negotiate and, where agreement cannot be reached, arbitrate all boundary disputes and claims to the sea, seabed, airspace, and other common resources. The International Court of Justice should have the discretionary power to review any final decisions by the commission on the petition of a party to the dispute. A final decision by the commission or the court ought to be binding on the parties and enforceable by the Peacekeeping Force on approval by the World Council and General Assembly.

The purpose is to prevent border disputes from leading to violence while the greater goal of erasing borders is achieved. States in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and elsewhere with artificial borders imposed by colonial powers should be aided by the UN in efforts to secure proper borders, and regions of the world should be encouraged to create new political and economic communities, units, and relationships. Nationalism should be discouraged, as it has historically been a major cause of war.

C. Reforms to Achieve Economic and Social Justice and Ecological, Natural Resource, and Environmental Protection

The destruction of Iraq was a continuance of attempts by the United States and other rich nations to dominate and exploit the Third World. The assault on Iraq blasted an emerging country back into poverty and ensured foreign control of its oil and the resources of the region. It illustrated the actions of rich nations to further impoverish poor countries, and the poor within the rich countries, for the benefit of the rich. Through its power to tax, to cancel indebtedness, and to require reparations, the UN should address the following concerns.

1. **Health.** The World Health Organization ought to be financed to provide free inoculation programs worldwide; to educate, provide physical protection, and engage in research to prevent and care for persons with AIDS; to effectively address epidemics and health crises; and to assist poor countries to establish health care and maintenance and medical programs sufficient to meet the needs of all.

- 2. Food.** UN agriculture agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization, ought to be combined, expanded, and financed to assist every region, subregion, and nation in the world to establish food production sufficient to feed their people and to secure sound trade relations that assure adequate food supplies. The International Fund for Agricultural Development should be expanded to achieve universal food independence and should be integrated into the new agency. Planning should include storing food to meet predictable future needs as well as preparing for converting production to meet health needs, changes in climate, droughts, and other short- and long-range changes. A World Food Store ought to be financed and given the ability and duty to provide appropriate food for hungry people worldwide, supplementing food supplies to eliminate hunger and malnutrition. It must have the ability to provide emergency needs for food anywhere in the world whatever the cause at all times.
- 3. Water.** Every poor nation should be provided with technical knowledge, skills, and funding to assure safe drinking water for its entire population. The UN should provide research and funding for this through health agencies.
- 4. Labor.** A UN Agency for Human Resources should be created to prevent exploitation of labor markets in poor countries and of poor and alien workers in rich countries. Criminal sanctions should apply to serious violations, and the Court for Human Rights should have enforcement jurisdiction. The agency should have funding to register and protect alien workers and regulate multinational employer labor practices. The High Commission for Refugees office should be merged with this new agency and expanded to protect the rights of all political refugees, to prevent their forced repatriation, and to provide for the needs of all refugees including food, shelter, health care, education, and employment. The Office of Emergency Operations should be merged into this agency to coordinate the operation of Peacekeeping, Health, Food, Water, Housing, and other agencies in emergency situations. Such an agency would have gone far to protect the millions of Egyptians, Indians, Palestinians, Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Yemenis, Sudanese, and other workers and their families who were endangered, displaced, injured, and ignored during the Gulf War.
- 5. Education.** The UN should finance and oversee a worldwide literacy program administered locally to end illiteracy. It should fund planning for local primary, secondary, college, and university curricula to be developed by local educators and representing the cultures, languages, and people in the area; it should financially assist public education systems in poor nations, including major universities devoted to regional history, culture, language, communications, and research in a world setting. Efforts should

be made to provide multilingual, multicultural education at all levels. A common international language such as Esperanto should be developed, agreed upon, and taught universally.

6. **Birth Control.** The UN should finance a worldwide education program aimed at teenagers as well as adults to fully inform them of effective and safe methods of preventing conception. Males and females should be provided a choice among free, safe, effective contraceptive devices.
7. **Housing.** The UN should provide financing for national housing programs, including developing local building materials and facilities and mortgage capacity. Cities like Cairo, Rio de Janeiro, Manila, and Bombay have millions of homeless people, and inadequate resources to address the problem. Major UN and other international funding will be essential to meet these needs.
8. **Development, Employment, and Beneficial Use of Resources.** UN financial assistance should be provided for regional, subregional, and national planning under local direction to assist in the wise development and use of resources for the benefit of the region, to obtain full employment and training for greater skills, and to protect the environment. The UN Committee on Environment and Development should assist poor countries with environmentally wholesome development programs centered on eliminating poverty. Funding for resource development and employment programs should be prioritized on the basis of need and project feasibility. A UN Energy Agency should be created to research and develop inexhaustible supplies of energy using sound safety, health, conservation, and environmental standards.

Reliance on petroleum and other hydrocarbons, greatly increased by the Gulf War, should be sharply curtailed. The International Atomic Energy Agency should be merged into the new Energy Agency with the power of international inspection and control of all uses of nuclear energy in all nations. Research, waste disposal, authorization, construction, and safety measures for nuclear energy should be controlled by this agency. Investigation of environmental, genetic, and other effects should be vigorous. Development and use of nuclear energy should be subject to constant scientific evaluation for safety and health, carefully limited and conservatively authorized.

9. **Environmental and Ecological Protection.** UN financing for environmental protection should include air and water protection, rain forest and other resource preservation, and research and action for ozone protection and global warming effects. A UN Environmental Protection Agency should be created to investigate and enforce strict laws enacted by the General Assembly protecting all aspects of the planetary environment.

10. Prevention of Economic Exploitation. The UN should enact international laws criminalizing all forms of economic exploitation of poor countries, including seizure and all forms of theft and waste of natural resources, strategic properties, and human labor and skills. The International Labor Organization should be strengthened and empowered to protect labor in all countries, to secure fair wages, and to ensure decent working conditions. The segregation of major petroleum reserves and other resources into artificial political jurisdictions such as Brunei, the UAE, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, and other jurisdictions where the result is unconscionable concentration of wealth, should be addressed by international conservation laws, taxation, and the imposition of participating interests in reserves, production, and sales for funding health, food, education, communications, housing development, and employment funds in poor countries.

11. Restriction of the Use of Embargoes and Sanctions. International embargoes and sanctions must not be used to impoverish nations, cause hunger and malnutrition, or deprive people of needed health care and medicine.

The United States has deliberately and severely damaged the Vietnamese economy and people through sanctions since the end of the Vietnam War, leaving that nation impoverished. Its embargo against Nicaragua caused extreme hardship to a people already burdened by a long, destructive war and natural calamities. The United States is trying to use its embargo on Cuba to destroy that country's economy and overthrow the government there. In 1992, the UN embargo of Iraq has caused the deaths of thousands of people and continues to kill thousands of infants, children, sick, and elderly each month.

Economic sanctions have been used in discriminatory ways. For instance, the Batista, Pahlavi, Duvalier, Pinochet, and other dictatorships were supported by the United States despite pervasive human rights violations, and these countries were never sanctioned.

Embargoes must be directed only at economic activity that directly supports a government that is threatening peace, is engaged in war, or is violating human rights. The UN should prohibit their use for ideological reasons; because of religion, economic policy, political systems, or alliances; or to coerce submission to foreign domination and exploitation. All embargoes must be carefully monitored to ensure they do not cause hunger, sickness, or impoverishment.

12. Redistribution of Wealth. The UN must act to redistribute wealth from rich countries to poor, for peace is not possible in the presence of widespread poverty. World population will increase by 1 billion during the

1990s. Eighty percent of these humans will have beautiful dark skins and be born in poor countries or in poverty in rich countries. The majority will live short lives of hunger, sickness, poverty, ignorance, idleness, pain, and violence unless radical programs are undertaken for their benefit.

Most debts of poor countries must be canceled and absorbed by rich countries and their financial institutions. New credit must be extended to poor nations whose debts have been canceled. Third World resources must be conserved and developed to benefit Third World people in ways that are economically and environmentally sound. Taxation of multinational corporations, international sales and trade, and contributions from rich nations must help finance poor peoples and nations. Bilateral national aid should be strictly controlled to avoid exploitation, coercion, corruption, and restraints on trade. UN aid should be provided by UN agencies wherever necessary and be carefully monitored to assure direct benefit to the people and to avoid corruption.

- 13. Prevention of Unfair International Trade Practices.** International trade competition and trade disputes, particularly among the United States, Japan, and Europe, are a great threat to peace and are likely to become more so. All forms of threats and coercion by governments to obtain trade advantage, dominate markets, or exploit labor resources, or to monopolize, restrain trade, or secure unfair trade advantage should be prohibited. Compulsory binding arbitration of any trade dispute should be required on the request of any affected nation or the UN. The International Court of Justice should have power, in its discretion, to review any final arbitration decision on petition of a party to the decision. The General Assembly should provide for the enforcement of final decisions where any nation fails to comply.

D. Reforms to Liberate the United States

- 1. Liberation from Militarism.** The United States has led the world in the arms race and created the most devastating weapons of mass destruction. It possesses the majority of all nuclear warheads. It has developed and maintains the most advanced weapons systems and most dangerous and excessive military power, which it deploys worldwide. It leads the world in arms sales. It has engaged most extensively in the use of violence against and within other nations in recent years.

The people of the United States must organize to force the abandonment of militarism, reduce military expenditures by 90 percent or more, and address domestic and international problems of health, hunger, homelessness, failing education systems, unemployment, and family disintegration.

- 2. Liberation from Unconstitutional Government.** If there is to be integrity in constitutional government in the United States, charges against President Bush, Vice President Quayle, and other high officials of the United States responsible for the slaughter in Iraq must be processed for impeachment by the House of Representatives and trial by the Senate. If found guilty, these officials must be removed from office. Independent counsel should be appointed with authority to conduct criminal prosecution where investigations show individual criminal acts. All forms of immunity for such offenses must be abolished.
- 3. Liberation from Plutocratic Control.** Democratic institutions, the economy, and the media must be liberated from the control of wealth for the Constitution to function. Universal automatic voter enrollment of residents 18 years of age or older should be established. Campaign financing by private wealth ought to be prohibited, as money dominates U.S. politics; and through politics, government itself. Public financing and free and fair access to the media for candidates and political parties must be afforded.
- 4. Liberation from Concentration of Wealth.** Concentration of wealth in the United States exceeds that of any developed country. Laws to prevent economic coercion, bribery, corruption, and undue influence of government policy and public officials must be strengthened and strictly enforced. Antitrust laws to prevent monopoly, monopolization, restraints of trade, and anticompetitive practices, corporate raiding, conglomerate concentration, and economic discrimination based on race, sex, religion, or national origin should be strengthened. Tax reform should redistribute wealth and create tax equity, progressive rates of tax on wealth and income, and protection of the poor, handicapped, and disadvantaged. Labor laws should be strengthened to encourage free democratic unions of workers, to protect wages and working conditions, and to achieve economic justice. Eliminating poverty should be the highest national priority.
- 5. Liberation from Punitive Social Control.** The United States has by far the largest prison population in the world. U.S. prisons are used as a means of social control for poor, young, disadvantaged minority males and others. This prison population should be reduced by 90 percent or more, and prisons should be replaced by programs for family support, special education, skills and job training, employment, special personalized health programs, community housing, and counseling. American police should transform their paramilitary approach, which is hostile to democracy and freedom, to a social service approach. Gun control should eliminate all handguns and concealable weapons, and prohibit all guns ex-

cept registered rifles and shotguns available for licensed individuals on the basis of demonstrated need. The quantities of firearms should be reduced from the present 200 million to at most several million. The death penalty, the ultimate symbol and act of rule by government violence, must be abolished in the United States as it has been in most developed countries and democracies.

The United States has become the world's principal executioner of persons convicted of crime, with 2,600 people on death rows across the country. It discriminates against African Americans and other minorities, executing them with the retarded, incompetent, drug-addicted, aliens, unemployed, and minors, while protecting the rich and privileged.

- 6. Liberation from the Consequences of Intervention in Foreign Countries.** U.S. military interventions, foreign military bases, and threats, economic coercion, and political domination of foreign states must be prohibited. Economic exploitation of foreign countries, their people, and resources must cease. The use of private wealth to buy valuable property in poor nations and former Communist countries at distress prices must be prohibited and equitable adjustments required where it has occurred. Interventions divert resources needed for domestic purposes, exploit U.S. citizens enlisted in foreign adventures, create divisions within the country, and cause hostility to Americans overseas.

E. Reform of International Media and Information

- 1. Freedom of Information.** Fundamental human rights to knowledge, communication, and a robust, uninhibited, and diverse media free of political, ideological, and economic control should be assured. World opinion is deprived of information essential to meaningful choice and is often misinformed on issues of vital importance. Democratic institutions cannot fulfill their purposes when the public is uninformed, misinformed, or manipulated by news and other communications organizations. The 1979 Report of the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems — the MacBride Report — should be updated and implemented to assure that its concerns are addressed, including stimulating a greater flow of Third World information, greater access to the media by the poor and opposition groups, communications service for all languages, rights of rebuttal, greater truth in the media, and public identification of paid propaganda.

The UN should fund library and information centers in all nations to provide essential information about the world, the nation, and its communities. The centers should be democratically governed, and charged with reporting significant information from the nation that is not covered by

the media or scholars who specialize in the region and subjects affecting it. Communications technology should be shared, newsprint subsidized, and equipment, training, and facilities financed by the UN for Third World communications.

UN efforts to assure freedom of information and adequate dissemination of vital facts and opinion have failed. In its first session in 1946, the UN General Assembly understood freedom of information as “the touchstone of all freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated.” The Economic and Social Council convened a UN conference on freedom of information in 1948. It drafted a convention on the gathering and international transmission of news, freedom of information, and the international right of correction. Only the Convention on Correction has been completed, and only a handful of nations have signed it. It provides that a government which believes it is a victim of false information by another government can transmit its view of the facts to that nation, which must make the communique available to the media within its territory. It failed, however, to require publication of the communique.

- 2. Freedom from Media Monopolization.** Efforts to stimulate and broaden electronic and written communication from alternative media sources should be funded by the UN and private organizations interested in accuracy, full coverage, fairness in the media, and public access to information. This should include TV, cable, audio- and videocassette, radio, shortwave, newspapers, magazines, journals, pamphlets, and other means of mass communication. Efforts to reduce commercialization and advertising in electronic and print media are important to quality, diversity, and fairness in communications. The airwaves belong to the public and should be used to serve the public. Access by different voices, coverage of all important issues, rights of rebuttal, alternative news reports, public service announcements, multi-language broadcasts, free time for political candidates, and minority and cooperative ownership and program time should be required of licensees.

Media monopolization is one of the worst forms of colonialism. More than any other single factor, it caused the people of the United States to celebrate the slaughter in Iraq. Universities, colleges, community centers, labor unions, and others should form media councils and study groups to evaluate communications needs, develop communications resources and access, expand available information, and assure full diversity in viewpoints. Such organizations should undertake local, regional, national, and international media evaluations, and should demand access and criticize performances of TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books. Ratings of the media on their adequacy and fairness should be publicized. Prior-

ities in media coverage, from nuclear arms control and world hunger to local police protection and garbage disposal, and strategies to fulfill them should be developed.

F. Reforms to Make Individuals, Private Groups, and Nongovernmental Organizations Responsible for Peace and Social Justice

1. Create an International Center for Peace and Social Justice. A permanent International Center for Peace and Social Justice should be created to develop, perfect, provide alternatives to, propagate, and endeavor to implement the proposals outlined in this chapter. It should include private local, regional, national, and international organizations; seek to develop international political alliances to achieve its goals; emphasize multi-issue coalition building with existing networks; and engage in grassroots organizing and education for peace and social justice. It should monitor UN agencies and prohibited conduct as well as the military, arms sales, military research, military interventions, armed conflict, human rights violations, and others.

The major force for reform must come from the people. Just as war is carried out through human conduct, peace will be achieved by human conduct. It is a question of will, access to information, common sense, and perseverance. Proposals that are seemingly impossible to carry out when power is conceded to existing governments and supporting power structures are readily attainable if people assert their power.

Governments cannot be expected to reform themselves, or be trusted to implement reforms that are achieved. Methods for the constant exercise of power by the people over governments to monitor their actions, inform the public and concerned interests, force reform, police the faithful performance of reform, prevent the governments' misconduct, and ensure their accountability are essential to peace and social justice. Activity to these ends should be constantly stimulated through private organizations, including those concerned with peace, world government, human rights, hunger, health, redistribution of wealth, refugees, education, labor, children, women, military intervention, environment, racism, discrimination, and other issues. The International Center should provide research, library and information services, models, communications, coordination, and assistance for all individuals and private organizations working on such issues.

2. The International Center's Role in the United States. The International Center should directly address the proposals for the liberation of the United States because world peace and social justice depend on the success of this endeavor. In organizing within the United States to implement

the proposals, the International Center should communicate through its worldwide contacts to inform world opinion and to encourage, enlist, and coordinate international support.

- 3. The International Center's Global Role.** The International Center should develop strategies for economic and political cooperation and organization among poor nations and their peoples, developing supporting groups from poor communities and undocumented immigrants in rich nations to prevent economic exploitation of the poor. Unifying interests and issues of poor nations and peoples should be identified and united strategies developed to achieve their attainment. Means for protecting aboriginal peoples and dispersed peoples like the Kurds, exile populations, and overseas communities such as Indians in East Africa should be developed.

Independence, unification, and liberation movements are world-wide phenomena. There are scores of such situations, in which human rights are violated, violence is chronic, and war is possible. Meritorious movements should be supported, claims studied, and strategies for understanding and peaceful settlement pursued. Private action to support independence, sovereignty, self-determination, and healthy development for poor nations and peoples should be organized and supported.

- 4. Affiliated Local Centers.** National, regional, and special Centers for Peace and Social Justice, affiliated with the International Center, should be established wherever feasible to develop private capacities to address issues and coordinate with, implement, and support International Center programs.
- 5. Permanent People's Assembly.** A fully financed and independent Permanent People's Assembly representing all peoples and adversarial to government should be created to act as a shadow organization to the UN and its agencies. It should be chosen democratically worldwide and patterned on the UN to make its actions most effective. UN non-government organizations and agencies should be free to coordinate their activities with the People's Assembly and its agencies. Policy positions, reports, proposals, and actions of the People's Assembly should be sent by the Assembly, by private groups active in such affairs, and by the media to all interested organizations and individuals as well as to the UN and other governments.
- 6. Permanent People's Tribunal.** A fully financed and independent Permanent People's Tribunal should be created to review and report on the work of the International Court of Justice, the International Court of Criminal Justice, and the International Court for Human Rights and Habeas Corpus. The Tribunal should conduct hearings on matters adjudicated in

UN courts when they are of major importance and when there is reason to believe these courts have erred. The Tribunal should hear cases of merit involving claims the international courts fail to hear, such as war crimes charges. The Tribunal should be comprised of jurists and other private international figures chosen by the People's Assembly. Its decisions should be widely disseminated, and interest groups should work to implement them.

No mere proposal can change things. Not even the provisions of a supposedly revered Constitution have force beyond the human will to obey them. Until people act, words, even incitations, are pieties. If we the people want peace, we will have to work for it without relent.

War reflects the character of a people. The preparation, planning, commitment to, and commission of war all occur through the conscious choice of some people and the acceptance or acquiescence of many others. War is chosen by people with power. Acts toward and in war are the willful conduct of those who commit them.

The victory of violence in the Persian Gulf presents a clear and present danger to the planet. No American intervention in Third World countries - there have been more than 200 in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East - has accomplished any good. After generations of intimate association, Liberia and the Philippines, the U. S. colonies in Africa and Asia, are impoverished, largely illiterate, divided, sick in body, and wracked with violence. Yet American militarism and lust to exploit have never been greater.

The moral wrongness and practical failure of the arms race, the technology of death, bullying, lying, bribery, corruption, and killing are recognized by all, but have been accepted by the people. America has glorified the power of violence and ignored its pity. It has created the most materialistic society that ever existed. Yet for all its affluence, the U.S. infant mortality rate is higher than in most other developed nations and in a number of developing nations.

Americans seem to love things more than people. Millions of infants worldwide starve annually while American dairy farmers are paid \$1,400 per milk cow each year to market dairy products. Thus, for a single milk cow, the taxpayers' cost is twice the per capita income of half the world's population. Overwhelmingly, American culture, TV, movies, literature, popular history, photography, and religion celebrates, embraces, and justifies violence, war, greed, wealth, exploitation, and power.

Most Americans have lost any sense of collective purpose and have resigned their obligation as social beings. Their government dominates poor nations, exploits their labor and resources, and abuses and neglects the poor at home while falsely proclaiming it acts in the name of democracy and freedom. Those it does not dominate it holds in thrall with the threat of war.

Human values, and action on them, will determine the future. A gentle people who love others and want to share will not war. A renunciation of all forms of violence, a clear and generous commitment to equality, respect for the rights of others, the love of children, and rejecting greed as the enemy of love and the corrupter of the spirit will be required to purge racism, hatred, fear, and force from human character.

War as a means of ordering affairs among nations and peoples has never achieved real or lasting peace, because that sort of peace is never acceptable to those without power. Those who have sought peace by waging war have always planted the seeds for the next war while corrupting their own character. While a conquering force may have its way for a while, it is an uneasy time that has usually ended disastrously for all.

The imperative need is a vision of peace that is real, desirable, and attainable. This is the major purpose to which people must devote their energies and imaginations. Nothing else will matter if we fail in this. No experience we have had suggests that national governments will find ways for permanent peace, for they know only a superior capacity for violence. Common sense compels the conclusion that modern technology for war will destroy everything unless abolished and controlled.

Thomas Aquinas observed what has always been known when he wrote that war is inevitable among sovereign nations not governed by positive law. World law is essential to peace. International institutions must have the power to prevent war, resolve disputes, enforce disarmament, address offenses by and against nations, protect human rights, provide food, health, education, and housing for the poor, assure independence and self-determination, and maintain economic freedom for all. Those institutions must be subservient to the will of the people.

Our capacity to achieve peace is clear. It is a matter of will. to forge an indomitable will, to pursue our vision of what the world can be, passion is essential; for passion is the vital spring of human action. Humanity's passion must be peace.

Endnotes

1 "For Veterans, A Prouder Time" (editorial), *New York Times*, November 11, 1991.

2 "Remarks by President George Bush to the Religious Broadcasters, Sheraton Washington Hotel, January 27, 1992," Federal News Service/Cox Newspapers, January 30, 1992.

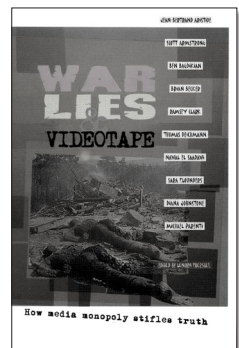
Media Manipulation of Foreign Policy

If the United States of America ever elected a president with the moral character, the personal experience of lifelong service to others, the noble thoughts and compassionate values of Haiti's President Aristide, then it would become a democracy. I don't expect that to happen in my lifetime. Struggle as we may and must, the greatest challenge in the struggle for democracy is the search for truth. The question of human survival and, if successful, of human nature, will depend largely on whether we can see the truth in time. If the people of the U.S. had full, open, equal access to the truth, they could find and elect their own Aristides.

The philosopher Voltaire expressed a disturbing notion, one that caused Napoleon to like him so much. Voltaire wrote that history is but fiction agreed upon, which means that all struggle and all commitment for a just society and even for the truth is as nothing, because finally truth comes down to an agreement among a few conspirators. We now face a much greater struggle for the truth, not Voltaire's "history," but the truth of the world as it is. The power of wealth and the power of force are being combined through a controlled media to make the condition and events of the world today a fiction that they write.

In this week's *The Nation* magazine there's a quote from a station manager for Fox News out of Florida that makes you think of the Robber Barons of America's late 19th century. Some members of the public were protesting the media's silence on the question of the use of chemical insecticides in food products. The station manager's answer was this: "We paid \$3 billion for these stations, and we have a right to make the news. The news is what we say it is."

First published in
*War, Lies & Videotape:
How media monopoly
stifles truth* (2000).



In some ways, the title of this paper, "Media Manipulation of Foreign Policy," approaches the problem from the wrong perspective. There is a near perfect harmony and common control of the policies of powerful governments and the media in these countries. Their power is enormous, and together they determine the news. They decide what the people know as news.

How is it that Muhammad Ali can go to Cuba taking medicine for Parkinson's disease, which he has, and 11 million Cubans know it immediately and celebrate his presence throughout the journey, yet practically no one in the United States of America is aware that he did it? How is it that the United States can conduct a continuing genocide against Iraq, deliberately and in the cruelest way possible, taking hundreds of thousands of lives through hunger and sickness, yet no one in the United States becomes concerned about it?

The seepage of news is sufficient so that the American people cannot deny their awareness of the toll on Iraqi civilians, but few are concerned about it. Millions of Americans watched Madeleine Albright on 60 Minutes, interviewed by Leslie Stahl in 1995, asked why 500,000 Iraqi children under the age of 5 have died. Why that's more than Hiroshima. Albright was asked whether the human price was worth any benefits from the American blockade and bombing. Madeleine Albright was able to look straight at the camera and say, "That's a very difficult question, but yes, we think the price is worth it." How could anyone dare say that any policy is worth the lives of 500,000 beautiful children. Nonetheless, she can remain a public figure, remain in public life without infuriating the American public to the point where they would want to tear the establishment down. Iraqis have been dying at the rate of 12,000 a month ever since.

Consider the case of our own nuns. Any meddling nun or priest who tries to help the poor is in trouble. When American nuns and a religious worker went to El Salvador and were raped and murdered on the way to the airport, our Secretary of State Al Haig could say, "They must have run a roadblock." And our ambassador to the UN designate Jeane Kirkpatrick could say, "They weren't nuns. They were supporters of terrorism." And years later we find out that our government knew in advance that their murders had been ordered. Yet figures like Albright and Haig and Kirkpatrick remain popular and dominant in the mainstream of American thought, if you can call it thought.

We send two of the few valiant journalists that our system seems capable of breeding, Susan Meiselas, a photographer, and Ray Bonner, a reporter, to a village near El Mozote in El Salvador where they determined without question that hundreds and hundreds of villagers were slaughtered. Children lying on the floor were shot and stabbed. But such journalists try in vain to report these stories. The story is covered up. Only years after the fact does the media report and the government acknowledge, "Oh, that was El Mozote."

Ron Ridenhour died last week. He broke the story about the My Lai massacre. Hugh Thompson, who was the real hero at My Lai, who stopped the massacre

after it was 80 percent finished, is unknown in America. We can write obituaries for Ron Ridenhour, saying good things we never said when he was alive, yet still not face up to what happened at My Lai.

We're creating an enormous, artificial, false culture, and it's very difficult for people born into that culture to ever penetrate and understand it. As the great poet Pindar told us, and it remains true, "Culture is lord of everything, of mortals and immortals king."

We might think for a minute about how it was that ancient Greece never knew incertitude, as Jorge Luis Borges wrote. I find this one of the most perceptive ideas about ancient Greece. They had their Stentor, whose voice could carry louder and farther than anyone, over the din of the battle on the plains of Troy. They had their Demosthenes, who would practice speaking with pebbles in his mouth to perfect his diction, who would parade in front of a mirror and write out his speeches to the great disdain of his contemporaries. Historians, including Greeks of the time, could agree that he was the greatest orator and greatest persuader of his time, for all of his failures of character. They could produce a Socrates, who didn't have to write a word. None from his hand have come to us intact, and yet he is one of the most influential thinkers in all of history. At that time, there were few obstacles obscuring the perception of the people from the facts. What they saw was palpable. What they heard was direct, its credibility measurable. What they carried with them was authentic. On the other hand, our children were born with a TV set in a room. They watch television more than they watch their teachers or their friends or even their parents. TV becomes a major part of their culture and their world. It's an incredibly soporific culture and its message is not easily weighed.

The Romans created the idea of bread and circuses. Give the people enough bread to keep them alive and enough circuses to distract them from their problems. Television and the broader media are by far the best circus that has ever been devised. Its message represents the modern fiction its directors intend the world to agree upon.

The means of communication are controlled by a handful of interests. Ninety percent of all television fare comes from six or seven companies. A General Electric or a Rupert Murdoch can marginalize a Socrates. A cup of hemlock might seem to do the same, but the fact of Socrates' existence and authenticity abides.

This is not an easy time to be a thinker. When the media marginalizes a Socrates of our time, if there be one, where will memory of his words abide? How will the message prevail? It's true that a spear could stop Stentor, but the power of his voice and all it could reach survived through Homer and others. People in ancient Greece knew the reality of their lives. Today the media can turn a great calamity such as that in Rwanda into an appearance that makes Europeans and Americans and many others believe that Africans are hopeless savages. That's the message. Not just Hutus or Tutsis. All Africans.

I am representing a Rwandan pastor from the Seventh Day Adventist Church, a Hutu, 70 years old, four times elected president of the church, the second largest Christian church in Rwanda, a man who never had a machete or weapon in his home, who always opposed violence. He lived the first half of his life in colonial violence and the second half in post-colonial violence and was always a peacemaker. He is charged with genocide. It is a total fabrication designed to consolidate government power. This power has already linked Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and much of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, into an enormous empire, controlled by the old imperial surrogates, the Tutsis, who comprise less than two percent of the total population of those countries and less than ten percent of the population of Rwanda, a fragile structure that can't endure. The elimination of 250,000 Rwandan Hutus in eastern Zaire went virtually unnoticed.

Our ability to manipulate and admit without alarming the public is overwhelming. There was a review in the *New York Times* last week of the new book called *To Win a War* by Richard Holbrooke. It's written in the first person, telling how he did it. He didn't title his narrative *To Establish a Peace*. That wasn't what he was about. He chose *To Win a War*. And in his tale he reveals the horrors of ethnic cleansing. But pride overcomes discretion, and he writes boastfully according to a review, of how, even as Washington was condemning the Croatian purge of more than a quarter million Serbs from the Krajina, he was in Zagreb making sure that the Croatians did exactly that, identifying the cities to be purged, the deaths and the massive forced emigration.

Earlier U.S. diplomats marked villages on the maps of Cambodia for elimination. It took 25 years for a president of the United States to suggest an international war crimes tribunal for Pol Pot, but the president didn't mention the illegal bombing of Cambodia that preceded the tragedy. Most historians would agree that the bombing led to the descent of Cambodia into anarchy and terror. It didn't have to be. Why no war crimes trial there?

The power of the media to demonize is perhaps its most dangerous and vicious power. It can't create demons among the people who really know their place and culture. It can't demonize President Aristide among the Haitian people, because they've suffered a long time, and they know that he's shared their suffering. There's very little in their lives that they can trust, but they trust him. That doesn't mean that the United States of America didn't do everything it could to prevent his being elected, or didn't play a role in stealing 60 percent of his five-year term from him and exact a commitment that he would not run for reelection upon his return. We retrained their military and police forces to continue the same sort of terror against the people that we identify with the words FRAPH, Tonton Macoute, and all of those terrible forces that these beautiful people have suffered. These brave people, who are the darkest and the poorest, have never been for-

given for the boldness of Toussaint Louverture, because they dared to liberate themselves from slavery.

It's absolutely unreasonable to believe that the plutocratic, capitalistic media of this world, which controls the flow of nearly all of our information and the world awareness of the great majority of the people, will ever meaningfully address the key issues that humanity must address if it is to survive. When is the last time you've seen in the media any examination of the status of U.S. nuclear arms, or an analysis of how many Trident II submarines are presently commissioned? Or how many new and perhaps more dangerous nuclear submarines are being planned right now? Absolutely maniacal weapons.

What moral people could ever permit their construction? The Trident is capable of launching 24 missiles simultaneously while submerged, each with 17 independently targeted, maneuverable nuclear warheads. They can reach 7,000 nautical miles and hit within 100 feet of a predetermined target. That's a radius of 14,000 nautical miles, more than half way around mother earth's ample waist at the equator, enabling it to strike 408 centers of human population and incinerate them with a blast ten times more powerful than the one that destroyed Nagasaki. Why don't we face that problem? What madness permits such excesses?

And how do we ignore the fact that when one of the new nuclear destroyers was named after President Jimmy Carter, our human rights president, he said how proud he was to have this instrument of homicide named for him. God help us. And when asked what was the purpose of this new weapon, he answered, "To protect us from our enemies." If that's our perception of the earth, the earth better dig a deep foxhole on another planet, because there's no place to hide here.

When was the last time you saw the major media address the problem of the world's armament expenditures? Why is it that today, a decade after the end of the Cold War, the U.S. is spending \$265 billion a year on arms, and the next largest expenditure is \$49 billion by the Russian federation? The new evil empire, the People's Republic of China, spends \$32 billion. Why are we exporting all these arms, including depleted uranium, to regimes all over the world? Anybody facing enemy armor wants DU ammunition. Why can't the media bring this to our attention? It's simply because the media is owned by the same interests that profit from exploitation of foreign people and weapons sales. The media will not run these stories, because the news is whatever it says it is. They're not about to get into these matters. Why do we constantly glorify violence, so that its employment by our forces or surrogates is ignored, accepted, even praised?

Above all, we need to raise the question addressed so sensitively by President Aristide this morning. The great question of the next century, perhaps of the next millennium, will not be the question of race, which W.E.B. Du Bois identified as the dominant issue of the twentieth century in our country. Instead, it will be the

more complicated question of poverty and the poor. There will be a billion more people born in less than ten years. The numbers are absolutely mind-boggling. Eighty percent will have beautiful dark skin and will live lives of hunger, sickness, fear and violence ending in an early death unless we act radically. A poor, most disrupted country can feed its people, provide model health care, save its babies by strongly reducing mortality, educate all, help other nations, excel in arts, literature, music, scholarship. Look at Cuba.

The free male population of Athens was less than the residents at a major university in the United States or western Europe today. The citizens of Athens knew each other, so their truth and actuality was inescapable among themselves. Such a community cannot be compared to our universities, which are fragmented. One school doesn't know what the other school is doing. The speaker in one school is not known in the other schools.

Celebrity, fame is a form of incomprehension, perhaps the worst. A professor's fame isn't generated from what he says on campus, but which TV host puts him on his program, which publisher touts his book, a truly artificial standard. The best reporters are those who serve their masters the best. They're the ones that stay on, the ones that achieve fame in their field. But where are they? On the fifteenth of January 1991, when the world knew that something big, a great story, was about to occur, for better or for worse, in Baghdad, the major media was at the cashier's desk in the Al Rashid Hotel literally checking out. They were leaving. A young journalist in school, wanting to earn fame as a reporter like Ernie Pyle or perhaps an Ed Murrow reporting from London, would have done anything to remain there to cover the story. But at the Al Rashid fifteen famous journalists were checking out, leaving the story behind. One person remained, Peter Arnett, who was condemned as a traitor for a few camera shots that told the truth.

The media did not intend that the devastating effects of the U.S. bombing on Iraq be known. We proudly admitted to 110,000 aerial sorties, 88,500 tons of bombs, seven and a half Hiroshimas. We were proud of it. But what happened to the bombed people? No story there. Nobody to cover it. Sure, a hit on the al-Ameriyah bomb shelter was revealed, just to show that mistakes can happen. But what about the length and breadth of the land? Twenty million people subjected to a bombing unprecedented in history, absolutely defenseless, while not an armored vehicle of the allies, as we called ourselves, was hit by enemy fire. We lost fewer planes than in NATO's war games where they don't use live ammunition. There was no war, there was a slaughter.

When we took Jon Alpert, who had won seven Emmys for TV documentaries, into Iraq to report on the devastation, the media wouldn't show his tapes. He had six hours of tape that showed the devastation in Basra and elsewhere. They wouldn't show it. NBC, with whom Alpert had won most of his Emmys, wouldn't touch it. CBS wouldn't touch it. ABC wouldn't touch it. PBS wouldn't touch it.

No one would air his tape. It was never shown until it was put out on little cassettes like home movies and taken out to churches and such places to show to a few hundred people. The facts were not to be known.

It's imperative that we recognize the nature of the beast that we're struggling with and find every way we can to overcome it. It's easy enough to say the truth will out, but the truth will not out in time to help unless the people demand it, unless we struggle with all our might. There are many alternatives to major media. We can hope for Web sites and all the potential of the Internet, but, realistically, it takes an unusual person to scan all these Web sites and it's a solitary activity. When they come across something there, they're interested, but they don't see it in the real world where they live and work, on the evening news, in their daily newspaper, in the weekly magazines. It's not there. It's only on this little Web site. Under these circumstances, how do you mobilize, how do you organize?

There may be enough news seepage to make it necessary for even the most powerful media to begin to report, because they can't afford to lose public credibility. When people begin to suspect that they are being denied information, they will be fed it in small and manipulated doses. But the fact remains that the media is in the business for money, and media owners make money by superior capacities for violence and exploitation.

You won't hear anything about the debt of poor countries from them, and those debts will grow. We'll steal corn from the mouths of hungry children in Mexico and pay them back, if at all, with things they never needed and didn't want. Similarly, we will impose privatization, forcing countries to sell the last social support systems that the poor people have. We'll demand free trade, preventing the development of any local economic power, even food production, that can resist the onslaught of concentrated wealth in what we call the West. We have to resist those things, and we have to work to overthrow them. It will require three qualities in the character of the people, the qualities that Anatole France described in his great book *The Revolt of the Angels* as the reason that Lucifer was banned from heaven: liberty, curiosity, and doubt.

In ourselves and in each person we can touch, let us try to instill a commitment to freedom of the mind from prejudice, from misinformation and disinformation and manipulation; then to a steely commitment to exercise that freedom, a curiosity driving us to want to know, to get our sack of potatoes off the couch to seek the truth. Finally, use skepticism and doubt to hone truth fine and to bring us to the facts in time. Liberty, curiosity, and doubt.



LATIN AMERICA



THE CARIBBEAN

We Never Heard the Truth

We're here to listen to Voices from Panama. Perhaps the single greatest problem we have on the planet is our inability to hear voices that know the truth and can set us free.

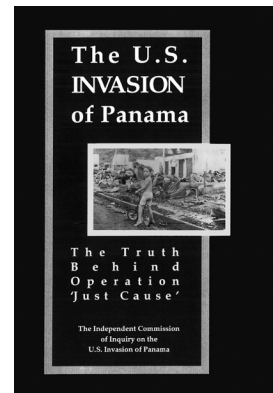
I'll speak softly. I want their voices to be heard and remembered. And I'll carry no stick. I'll speak first through voices of the past, a few voices of and other voices about Panama because so much of the whole struggle for human freedom is between memory and forgetting.

Let's go back nearly 500 years to an account in 1513 by a priest describing Balboa as he rushed into the Pacific Ocean — having shed his 15 kilograms of armor in all the lust of exploration and exploitation portending all the horrors they brought — and nearly drowned in the Gulf of San Miguel. A cross was carved on the beach. All those who were present were registered. And the other ocean was “discovered.”

The following year in Darien, in 1514, a voice is recorded that speaks of the beauty of Panama. It wasn't clearly known yet, but it was sensed, that this was a bracelet of incredible beauty, full of jewels and riches, linking two continents. Gilberto Joviedo described the Panamanian fruits as being as glorious compared to the fruits of Europe as the feathers of a peacock are to the sparrows of the Spanish fields. He described the beauty of *los indios* with the same joy.

In 1541 comes one of the most important voices of history. It's a voice that reminds us powerfully that even from the beginning it was clearly seen how wrong the course of conquest was. It's the voice of Bartolomé de las Casas, recently appointed Bishop of Chiapas after 30 years of struggle for the rights of the Indian people of the New World. He issued

Speech given at Voices of Panama, a public meeting at Town Hall, New York on April 5, 1990 and later published in *The U.S. Invasion of Panama: The Truth Behind Operation 'Just Cause'*



his proclamation that every Indian is “free of right.” He convinced Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, who decreed it so. He persuaded two popes to do the same. He was, we are told, the most hated man in the Americas, hated by the colonials because he insisted that the Indian peoples here were equal to all peoples everywhere in dignity, in individuality, and in right. And he refused absolution in his church to anyone who owned Indians.

Already the exploitation of Indians was the dominant human and economic fact of the New World. Consider only the Valley of Mexico, which probably was home, in one of the most naturally beautiful places on earth, to 2 million people. Within three generations of the arrival of Cortes, the Indian population was down to 70,000.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic in the port of Luanda in the present country of Angola, the Portuguese were loading onto their ships the Blacks they had captured in nets. They had been marched through the jungles and over the plains, past the heartbreaking drums of their villages. They had ropes around their necks linking them to each other, and were branded. Before they boarded canoes to be carried to ships that would take them across the Atlantic, salt was placed on their tongues and water sprinkled on their heads and they were given a Christian name. They were told that they were now the children of God.

Many died on the voyage or later of what was once called melancholia, heart-break from yearning for what you knew and loved. And they were told to forget forever the name and the spirit of Shango and all that meant so much to them from their earliest memories.

The next voice of Panama is about an Englishman, Henry Morgan. More than 300 years ago Henry Morgan, after having overwhelmed the fortress of Portobelo, entered the City of Panama with 2,000 soldiers. The night turned into day, we are told, from the fires in the city. Homes, hospitals, convents and churches were torched by the men who marched behind the flag of England. Morgan proclaimed, “We came here for money, not for prayer.” It was 1671 and the City of Panama was destroyed.

Leaping forward to 1857, the railroad link from the Atlantic to the Pacific was completed and we hear of a former captain of the Texas Rangers with the improbable initials and almost improbable name, Ron Ruggles. He had been hired as chief of security for the railroad. He shot a Panamanian in the heart. Not even a Texas Ranger could handle the hurt of the Panamanian people, and on September 19, 1851, there came the first significant U.S. military intervention in Panama. Two warships landed 160 United States Marines.

Between 1850 and 1860 there were four major invasions, primarily by veterans of the Mexican-American War on the Spanish-dominated island of Cuba. The President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, was importuned to lead one. Surely after the Civil War, he wished he had, but fate destined him for other things.

At the same time that our Marines first went into Panama, William Walker was marching from Granada toward what was to become Managua to proclaim himself King of Nicaragua. His first two official acts were to reinstate slavery abolished since the Confederation of Central America, which had lasted until 1838, and to make English, which few other than Walker spoke, the official language.

In 1856, at the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore, a United States Senator from New York urged a plank in the platform that supported extending the Kingdom of Nicaragua, under the leadership of William Walker, from Mexico to Colombia.

We were looking for territory to expand slavery. We concealed our intentions even then. The Ostend Manifesto of 1857, which remained secret until 1927, was a direct threat against Spain if it did not sell us Cuba. Even the Ostend Manifesto was two generations after Thomas Jefferson suggested we “pluck the Cuban apple from the Spanish tree.”

Graham Greene described Panama as “the conception of a single person.” He understood perfectly well that there were several million people who knew otherwise. He was speaking only of that particular moment when Teddy Roosevelt realized he didn’t need to fight all of Colombia if he could spin off Panama and take it over. And that’s just what he did.

There was one difference between the leadership of Roosevelt and the leadership we have now. He said what he thought most of the time. Asked once by what right he acquired the territory on which he placed the canal, he said, “I took it.”

We should never forget the powerful poem “To Roosevelt” by Ruben Dario written in 1903. New York is prominently mentioned in it. Even the Lady in the Harbor, called almost that, is mentioned when he describes her light shining on our easy conquests. He speaks of Roosevelt and America as the *fuerte cazador*, the powerful hunter, the *riflero terrible*, the terrorist rifleman. He described the “conspiracy of Hercules”: power, and the “conspiracy of Mammon”: greed, as the spirit of America. He concludes, speaking of the people from the United States, but with Roosevelt as the symbol, that he, and therefore we, lacked only one thing: “Dios,” by which he meant soul. Where is your soul? Where is your compassion?

During this century there was a major U.S. intervention in Panama every time independence was seriously asserted. And for all of those years, across that beautiful bracelet that links the continents, there was this terrible scar, like a chain across the human heart, the intrusion on sovereignty and fundamental political, economic and human rights: the canal. It has dominated the lives of the people of Panama for all of this century.

And finally we come to December 20, 1989. We waited. We shouldn’t have. We watched when action was called for. We were silent though many enjoyed the demonization period that we’ve witnessed so many times in so many places. We heard all of the false reasons being developed for what was going to happen,

something anyone could sense.

We heard nothing said about the purpose of the invasion being instruction in absolute obedience to authority. We heard nothing about how “There will be no sovereignty in this hemisphere but ours.” We heard nothing about the Southern Command being very comfortable in its quarters in Panama. We heard nothing about keeping the Canal, and our investment there. We heard nothing about the real reasons. We saw domestic politics, face saving and all those pitiful things impel us toward the invasion of Panama and its celebration.

We heard a bunch of lies. We never heard the truth.

There is no need to cite article and verse of the laws prohibiting the invasion. It would only distract from the obvious. Of course the invasion of Panama violated international law. One nation cannot invade another because of its displeasure with policies, or leadership there. Of course it violated the laws of the United States. We cannot under our law deploy military force in time of peace; killing civilians at the whim of the executive. And as you can imagine it violated the laws of the sovereign Republic of Panama which intend to protect its independence. But it also violated the human rights of millions of people, not just Panamanians but everyone affected and implicated, then, now and hereafter.

It was a physical assault of stunning violence. It was a time for testing new equipment with no concern for human lives. It was a time for measuring the worth of technology against the life of a child. The Stealth fighter in Panama! And now we hear, well, they didn't mean to hurt anybody.

How many times will we accept that sort of misinformation? You go to Panama right after the invasion, you go to a place like El Chorrillo, a “little stream” or “rush of water.” At one time it was El Chorro, a lot of water. The people there before Cristobal Colón and the Mayflower enjoyed that water, it was *pura*, it was *sabrosa*, it was healthy. After the cut for the canal it came down to a trickle, and it's where the poor people were left to live.

I stayed in El Chorrillo in 1946 for a few weeks, just shortly after I got out of — yes! — the United States Marine Corps as a corporal. Like some of the older people from Panama, I spent some good nights in Kelly's Ritz and a few other places and I loved El Chorrillo and I loved its people — their diversity, their beauty, their joy, their music and their poetry. I couldn't believe it when I went back two weeks after our invasion and saw it in utter ruin: 15 blocks or more, home to at least 30,000 people, destroyed or so badly damaged that no one could possibly live there.

Try to imagine being there in the middle of the night, in the poor part of town, perhaps in a high rise, and all of a sudden the power is off. And then you hear artillery. And then you hear helicopters. And then you hear rockets. And then you hear heavy caliber automatic gun fire.

What do you do? You get under the bed, you hide where you can. How do you

get out? Where do you go? What's going on? Where is it safe?

How many died? Doesn't anybody care how many people we killed in Panama?

General Stiner — who seemed to be the source of most public utterances on the subject of the invasion, how fine it was, how surgical and all the rest — was telling the press 84 Panamanian civilians killed as late as January 4th. Voltaire, you remember, argued the terrible thought that “history is fiction agreed upon.” Napoleon loved that. He thought Voltaire was a pretty smart fellow.

The U.S. military wanted to make 84 Panamanian civilian deaths a fiction that history would agree on. But it's not going to work.

I estimated when I left in early January at least a thousand killed. There were probably several thousand. The people of the United States have an absolute moral obligation to demand the most thorough account possible.

Let me wind up with two things.

I kept hearing about a place called Jardin de Paz. Sounded nice — the garden of peace. And I went out there the last evening I was in Panama, which was the first Saturday of January of this year, and found a couple of little children who played in the cemetery because it was the best place they had to play. I gave one of them a dollar (Americans should know that the currency in Panama is the dollar; they don't have a currency of their own) and asked if he had seen anybody burying any bodies around there. And he took me and several Panamanian companions over to what seemed to be the grave site. I paced it off. The grave was 18 feet wide — six paces. It was 120 feet long — 40 paces. The earth hadn't been filled in for an additional 26 paces. The unfilled cut was five feet deep.

We need to know how many Panamanians were killed in the invasion. The families are entitled to know what's happened to their loved ones, to their children, to their women, to their men. And most of all, and I say this to the people from the United States, we live in a country that functions to some minor degree under democratic institutions, and whether it does or not, we are responsible for the acts of our agents. We need to pull up our socks, we need to find out everything that happened here. Then we must resolve that it shall never happen again!

Not in Panama, not in Nicaragua, not in Cuba, not in Haiti, not in Syria or Iraq. Nowhere!

We have some folks at home that need help. Let's lend a hand here. They are victims of the same false values. But we must recognize that we have a responsibility to see that the anthem of Panama is fulfilled and that victory belongs to the people of Panama at last.

The Future of Latin America

I. Freed of foreign exploitation and domestic repression, Colombia has unlimited potential

Colombia is a country of stunning riches and unlimited potential. Its physical location, size, diversity and natural wealth, its history, peoples, cultures and independence are important to every individual, society and nation.

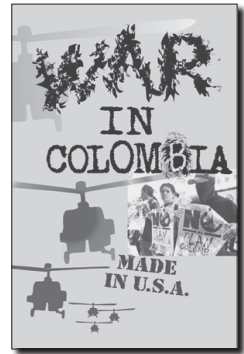
Colombia is the only South American country fronting both the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. It has hundreds of miles of coastline on each, with fine harbors and important cities nearing half a millennium in age. Its three chains of Andean mountains running parallel north-south courses exceed 18,000 feet in height and are the country's dominant physical feature. Roughly three-fifths of its lands lie east of the mountains in the vast basin of the Amazon rain forest and the broad llanos of the Orinoco. These parts of the country drain into the distant Atlantic Ocean through the Amazon and Orinoco river systems. It is here that most of the nearly one-half of Colombia that remains inaccessible and thinly populated is found.

Colombia's own great river, the Magdalena, traverses from near the Ecuadorian border in the south between the central and eastern ranges of the Andes to the Caribbean in the north near Barranquilla. Navigable for some 600 miles to the city of Neiva, southwest of Bogotá, the Magdalena has been called the lifeline of Colombia. Rio Cauca, a major tributary, flows between the central and western range of the Andes past Medellin, joining the Magdalena about 100 miles from the sea. It is navigable for two stretches of 200 miles each. The nature and importance of the uses of the flatboat, barge and steamboat on the Magdalena and Cauca from the 18th to the 20th century provide a history reminiscent of Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*.

In area, Colombia exceeds Spain and France together, equaling California, Texas and New England, or eight New Yorks combined.

Among the nations of South America, Colombia is second only to Brazil in population, with more than 40 million people. Its capital, Santa Fe de Bogotá, with 7 million citizens, is the third largest city on the continent. Three-fourths of the population live in the Andean highlands and valleys, a region covering one-

First published in
*War in Colombia:
Made in USA* (2003)



fourth of the nation, where the climate is temperate and healthy. Life expectancy at birth is over 70 years.

Colombians today are a vital mixture of peoples from America, Africa and Europe. The majority, approximately 60%, is of Native American-European mixture. There is close to 20% full-blooded European population, predominately Spanish, and a large African, American, Indigenous, European mixed-blood group composing about 18% of the society. A smaller all African and even smaller all Native American segment measure 4% and 1% of the population, respectively.

The nation's productivity is enormous. Colombia has 26 million head of cattle, 60% more in proportion to its population than the United States, a chicken for every pot and abundant fish. Annually, Colombia grows 180 pounds of plantains for every man, woman and child; 130 pounds of potatoes; 110 pounds of bananas and 90 pounds of rice and 50 pounds of corn. Colombia produces 830,000 tons of the best coffee in the world and 32 million tons of sugar cane a year, largely for export.

It can feed itself and help others less fortunate. Colombian adults average 2,800 calories a day, 84% vegetable and 16% animal, 119% of the U.N. FAO recommended minimum requirement.

Literacy is above 91% — with female literacy slightly higher than male — compared to U.S. tests measuring functional literacy at 85%. Infant mortality is 26 deaths per thousand live births within the first year, less than half that of Brazil or Peru, but more than twice the rate for Cuba and the United States.

The nation's natural resources are vast. It extracts close to 200 million barrels of oil a year with new fields awaiting development and 24 million tons of coal, the largest coal deposits in South America. More than 700,000 troy ounces of gold are mined annually and more than 6 million carats of emeralds are mined, half the world production.

Colombian culture thrives, producing abstract painters like Leonardo Nierman. Fusion musicians like Shakira, Juanes, Carlos Vives and the young Andrés Cabas, who says his lyrics portray the "real Colombia," are heard throughout the hemisphere. The magical writer Gabriel Garcia Márquez offers Colombia to all the world.

In the midst of this vast potential for social and economic justice, the human condition in Colombia is desperate. Per capita income is barely over \$2,000 with more than half the population living on less than \$500. The gap between the rich few and many poor is a human and national tragedy. A very small part of the population holds most of the wealth. The richest 1% control 45% of the wealth. Half the farmland is held by 37 interests. Malnutrition is widespread. Unemployment is close to 25%. Nearly 3 million Colombians are refugees fleeing violence and poverty. And year after recent year, the major cause of death has been "homicide with firearms."¹ The violence of the conquistadores still infects the culture. The badge of colonial servitude has never been lifted from the poor. But U.S. interven-

tion and a modern regime of foreign exploitation and domestic repression by the oligarchy hold the masses in poverty and subjugation.

The reasons are to be found in part in the past.

II. The Conquistadores employed genocidal violence and the colonial period created intolerable conditions yet to be overcome

The Indigenous of Colombia lived largely in the high plateau of the eastern chain of the Andes, where Bogotá is situated, and in the valleys between the eastern and central chains. Most living in this region were Chibcha-speaking tribes. They practiced intensive agriculture among a fairly dense population that lived in villages. They had organized religion, class divisions and matrilineal inheritance of political and religious offices. Among the more aggressive Chibcha, war was waged for political ends by large forces using darts, dart throwers, shields and wooden clubs. When met by the sword and armor of the Spanish, the Indigenous population was slaughtered.

The arrival of the Conquistadores meant death and destruction for the Indigenous of Colombia. In 1500 Alfonso de Ojeda came ashore on Colombian soil near the site of the present city of Cartagena. Several years later a Spanish colony was established further west in Colombia on the Isthmus of Panama. From there, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, directed by some Indigenous people, crossed the isthmus to reach the Pacific Ocean at the Gulf of San Miguel in 1513. En route, Captain Balboa, accompanied by chained dogs led by his famous veteran Leoncico, will preside over a “ceremony ... the dogs will sink their teeth into the naked flesh of fifty Indigenous of Panama. They will disembowel and devour fifty who were guilty of the abominable sin of sodomy. ... The spectacle will take place in this mountain clearing. By torchlight the soldiers quarrel and jockey for the best places. ... In two days time Balboa will discover the Pacific Ocean.”²

Reaching the vast “South Ocean” Balboa splashed into the waters in full armor and full faith that he had found the long-sought way to the Indies. Eduardo Galeano reports the event in his epic work: “His men carve an immense cross in the sand. The scribe Valderrabano registers the names of those who have just discovered the new ocean, and Father Andres intones the *Te Deum Laudamus*.”³

As word spread of how narrow the land barrier blocking voyages directly to the far east was and knowledge of the great distances and hazards of the southern passage spread from Magellan’s voyage, the idea of a direct passage between the oceans obsessed the Conquistadores and infected those who came after.

In 1533, Cartagena was founded, decades before the French built a fort near Saint Augustine in Florida, which would become the first permanent European habitation in North America. By 1538, Santa Fe de Bogotá was founded at 8,000 feet above sea level. It grew, though it could be reached from either coast only by an arduous journey of several weeks until the 20th century.

The impact of European conquest on Colombia was genocidal, as was true in most of the Americas. The death rate of the Indigenous population skyrocketed in the first decades. Their population continued its decline for a century and a half. In Colombia this led to the absorption of Indigenous people into the European population so that today the majority of Colombians are mestizo. One percent of the nation remains pure Indigenous, but even their culture is frozen, or largely imagined and adapted. Spanish profit from the genocide of the Indigenous of Colombia meant more gold for the coffers of murderous conquistadores and their foreign kings than was taken from any other colony in the Americas.

III. The struggle for independence from Europe failed to liberate Colombia from foreign domination or its own oligarchy

The struggle of the Amerindians for political independence from Spain continued for three centuries before Spanish Americans revolted against their motherland. The Indigenous struggle continues still through the Indian blood in the veins of the poor. The colonizers struggled for several decades to take Colombia for themselves before the final victory of forces led by Simón Bolívar over the Spanish army at Boyacá, north of Bogotá, in 1819.

Bolívar received critically needed assistance in arms, men and money from Haiti, whose President Pétiou could see African blood in Bolívar and sought the abolition of slavery as well as the end

of colonial domination. Legal abolition of slavery came finally in 1851, two decades after Bolívar's death. Colonial domination has merged into a more pervasive and debilitating repression by oligarchy.

The government of New Granada that was established in the 1820s included Colombia, Venezuela and Peru. It was forged by a recognition of the weaknesses of the new nations separately and a commitment to strong international relations.

The realization that federation of the new nations was essential to any hope for real independence was widespread. His understanding of it is the source of Bolívar's place in history, more than his military exploits romanticized by European Colombians.

IV. Federation as a means of unity against foreign exploitation

Shortly after the independence of Mexico in 1820, the United States of Mexico were expanded briefly to include four former Spanish provinces in Central America. The inclusion of the small Central American countries would make them less vulnerable to intervention and exploitation. It would also prevent the often tragic arbitrary division of lands and peoples by European powers drawing artificial lines without regard for the people who live there, or their segregation from needed resources and accesses. In the Mexican federation the large Mayan population in Chiapas and the larger Guatemalan Mayan population were within the same federal government. This Mexican federation ended by 1822.

The colonists along the Atlantic coast of North America who fought Great Britain for their independence knew they must hang together, or they would be hanged separately, that 13 clocks must strike as one. The history of the continent would have been different had they gone their separate ways.

The federation of New Granada was similar to the Central American federation established in 1824 which included the countries between Mexico and Colombia and including Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Panama was part of Colombia until 1903. Both federations offered a better opportunity for full sovereign independence and economic development free from foreign domination and exploitation than the nations separately could hope to attain.

The United States was opposed to these federations because of the more formidable resistance to exploitation they presented and the greater concentration of power they possessed. It acted to undermine federations, except its own, as did European powers. These same considerations were part of the reasons the United States, Germany and others acted to balkanize the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1990s into easily exploited parts.

As Bolívar's health broke and ambitious nationalists within New Granada, supported by foreign interests, sought sole power for themselves, leaders in Ecuador and Venezuela moved for separation from New Granada by force. Near death and aware that his hopes for a large United States of South America were failing, Bolívar wrote, "We have ploughed the seas." He doubted that his struggle which gave birth to six new nations from Spanish colonies had benefited the peoples of the continent. New Granada survived until 1830, the year of Bolívar's death.

The Central American Federation lasted until 1839. The five small, weak nations that survived, joined by Panama after the United States took it from Colombia in 1903, have never been independent from foreign political and economic influences; domestic insurrections; war with neighbors or the threat and frequent fact of U.S. intervention. Within 15 years, Nicaragua experienced conquest by William Walker, the U.S. adventurer whose brief kingdom symbolizes the ways of imperial power. Walker decreed English, which only a few isolated communities spoke, to be the national language and restored slavery.

V. The growth of U.S. domination and exploitation of the Western Hemisphere began before its own independence and has continued to this day

U.S. expansion was aggressively pursued before and from the earliest days after the 13 colonies drove Great Britain from their lands and established a federal republic. Major milestones included the Northwest Ordinance of 1778, resulting from pressure by land speculators, the Ohio Company of Associates and the Society of the Cincinnati. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 wrested an empire from European control stretching from the important port of New Orleans to

the far northwest corner of what is now the state of Montana. Control of Florida, secured by force, was consolidated by treaty in 1819.

The U.S. population had grown by more than 33% each decade between 1790 and 1820, increasing from 3.9 million to 9.6 million people. Its land empire had doubled from 888,000 square miles to 1,798,000 square miles. Manifest destiny was ready to extend its grasp to non-contiguous territories.

Before the new and extremely fragile nations freed from Spain in the first two decades of the 1800s had a fair chance to establish themselves, they were confronted by the specter of U.S. power and the Monroe Doctrine of December 2, 1823.

The Russian Imperial government formally claimed rights to Alaska and the northwest coast of North America in the early 1820s. Great Britain claimed to be concerned that the Holy Alliance among Russia, Austria and Prussia, which had as its purpose the preservation of monarchy as the best form of government, might seek to protect the Spanish monarchy then threatened by Spanish revolutionaries by encouraging France to intervene. The British monarch claimed to fear an intervention by France supported by the Holy Alliance might lead to assistance to Spain to regain its colonies in the Americas. This could interfere with Great Britain's ability to exploit the vast resources of these lands. The defense of the monarchy was a lesser priority for all parties.

There was no evidence of any intention by Spain itself, much less by the Holy Alliance, that Spain would reclaim its colonies. The Holy Alliance was concerned with maintaining monarchy as the reigning form of government. It proclaimed, much as President Bush has asserted in his "war on terrorism," "the principle that legitimate kings should not be restrained by constitutions."⁴

Russia was powerful. In 1823, its population was twice that of Great Britain and more than four times that of the United States. Its army was over seven times larger than any other nation's force. Fear of Russian interference with its plans fostered a policy by Great Britain designed to enlist the United States as a junior partner to obtain domination of the Western Hemisphere. Never mind that it had sacked Washington only nine years earlier.

In August 1823, British Foreign Secretary George Canning summoned U.S. Minister Richard Rush to the Foreign Office to propose Great Britain and the United States "going hand in hand" to protect the Western Hemisphere from further European intervention.

Great Britain held Canada, claimed the Oregon territory in North America, British Honduras in Central America, British Guyana in South America and numerous islands in the Caribbean. With its powerful Navy and large Merchant Marine, it engaged in lucrative trade throughout the hemisphere and the sun never set on its empire.

A proposal of alliance from Great Britain could not be rejected out of hand by Washington. While U.S. merchant ship tonnage was nearing one-half that of Bri-

tannia, its navy had only one-sixteenth as many guns. War with Great Britain was dangerous and costly. It too could seek to reclaim its colonies.

Monroe obtained written comments on the British proposal from his two predecessors and neighbors, Jefferson and Madison. Jefferson argued strongly for acceptance. Madison favored it as well.

The Canning proposal raised important issues and concerns in domestic politics in the United States, including presidential ambitions in the 1824 elections only a year away. Because it implied an end to outright acquisition of colonial lands in the hemisphere by either Great Britain or the United States, it sought a new era of market domination and economic exploitation of the hemisphere, not political colonization.

Slave states in the United States were concerned about the imbalance of power created by the admission of new free states and sought territory for the expansion of slavery. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams asked John C. Calhoun of South Carolina whether he would forfeit claims to Cuba and Texas in order to support the Canning concept. Both Cuba and Texas were desired for the expansion of slavery. Both Adams and Calhoun were major presidential candidates. The Monroe Doctrine gave an advantage to Adams' presidential aspirations.

Monroe, guided by Adams who succeeded him in the presidency, seized the opportunity to steal the Canning proposal for economic exploitation of the hemisphere and the exclusion of new European colonies by announcing his unilateral doctrine and evading an alignment with the old enemy, Great Britain, in the enterprise.

President Monroe's message to Congress is worth remembering. It stated:

The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States...

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is

equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference.

Indeed with several exceptions no European country established new colonies in the hemisphere after 1823. President Monroe's statement to the Congress was barely noticed outside the United States at the time. It was the 1850s before it was called the Monroe Doctrine. Historians agree European powers were deterred "not by the paper pronounced of Monroe but by Britain's powerful fleet."⁵ More important prospectively than Britain's navy, however, was the forewarning faithfully followed, that the United States intended dominion over this half of the globe.

While the history of the hemisphere would have been the same had President Monroe never announced his doctrine, because the U.S. conduct and the policies it implied would have been the same, chronologically the pronouncement of the doctrine came after Spain's vast empire in the Americas collapsed and as U.S. domination and exploitation of the hemisphere began its ascendancy. Thereafter the young nation expanded its territory and increased its military and economic power over the region.

From 1820 to 1860, U.S. population growth continued each decade at an average rate of more than 33% — from 9.6 million in 1820 to 31.4 million in 1860. Its land area, still all contiguous, increased from 1,798,000 square miles to 3,022,000 square miles. The lands taken were nearly three times the size of Colombia. They included more than half of Mexico: all of the present states of Texas, California, Arizona and New Mexico and parts of four other states-to-be.

Texas declared independence from Mexico in March 1836, secured it in April by force of arms and joined the United States by annexation in January 1845. It added a slave state to the Union and seceded to join the Confederate States of America in 1861. Cuba was invaded four times by interests in the United States between 1850 and 1860 in desperate efforts to secure additional territory for slavery and political power in the Union to prevent its abolition. Jefferson Davis was asked and considered leading one invasion.

Only during the U.S. Civil War did European nations attempt to establish new colonies in the Americas. Both were near the United States and hostile to U.S. intentions. For four years, Spain fought the Dominicans and yellow fever, only to withdraw in 1865 as the Civil War ended. Spain re-established its dominion over the Dominican Republic on its first colony of Hispaniola founded by Columbus.

A French-backed, pro-Confederacy European intervention in Mexico — claimed to be justified by Mexico's default on foreign loans — placed Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria on the throne of Mexico in 1863 after defeating Mexican forces and driving Benito Juarez from the presidency. The enormous cost of maintaining the Maximilian monarchy against the guerrilla warfare of Juarez caused France to withdraw its promised support and in June 1867, the monarchy collapsed and Maximilian was executed.⁶

After the Civil War, U.S. assertion of power in the hemisphere became more open and demanding. By 1895, the United States dared to confront Great Britain directly in a border dispute between British Guyana and Venezuela. In a “swaggering, even belligerent” note to Lord Salisbury, who was both prime minister and foreign minister of Great Britain at the time, U.S. Secretary of State Richard Olney wrote of South America, “Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.”⁷

With war fever rampant, the United States, relying on an unsupportable interpretation of a unilateral policy — the Monroe Doctrine — surpassed Great Britain, establishing its superior authority over Venezuela and the Caribbean and foreshadowing further dominion over the hemisphere, a course that has continued to this day. In 1898, the U.S. asserted itself more boldly by waging wars against the people of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico. To this day, Puerto Rico continues to be the only U.S. colony in the hemisphere.

VI. The many means of intervention

Intervention has many faces. Seen in a good light, none is pretty, however skillful the cosmetology. Direct military invasion, or threat from outright war to low intensity conflict to bluff, is as old as history. It has been employed by the United States in the hemisphere on scores of occasions — occupying territory, killing people, exacting demands.

Indirect violence has been employed through support for revolutionary, insurgent or exile groups, by encouraging or aiding a *golpe* or coup d’etat, through bribery or coercion of national leaders and assassination. William Sidney Porter, writing as O’Henry, describes the early practices of intervention in Central America in “Cabbages and Kings,” written in 1904 after his years in Honduras, a text that has been required reading for U.S. foreign service officers.

Elections can be influenced, disrupted or stolen by finding selected candidates — an effective means of intervention cloaked in the innocence of democracy which it corrupts. This has become a frequent method of the United States. While it demands “democratic elections,” it then seeks to determine their outcome. Political parties can be influenced or coerced to select candidates chosen by the United States. Money can be pumped into the campaign coffers. Candidates can be demonized through the U.S. controlled media and the media controlled by ruling oligarchies. Candidates can be bribed, coerced, or assassinated.

Constitutions and other legal standards have been forced on many countries. Franklin D. Roosevelt, while a young assistant secretary of the Navy, boasted while campaigning for the vice presidency in 1920 that he drafted the 1916 Constitution of Haiti from the deck of a U.S. destroyer in Haitian waters.

Congressional legislation, executive policies and treaties drafted in Washington have been major means of intervention, often more important to the lives of the peoples in the Americas than acts of their own governments. Always cloaked

in benign, if not benevolent, garment, their substance speaks of U.S. domination and exploitation. Consider the Monroe Doctrine and its corollaries: too many tariff acts to mention; the Platt Amendment — that forced Cuba to acknowledge the right of the United States to send troops into Cuba on its sole discretion; the Good Neighbor Policy; the Alliance for Progress and NAFTA.

Most pervasive, a major purpose behind most other interventions and ultimately most damaging to the standard of living in a victim country are economic interventions. They include foreign ownership or control of key industries; major utilities; lands and businesses of all types; the exploitation of natural resources; human labor; surplus wealth and opportunities for profit and power. Single U.S. companies have often been the dominant political and economic power in whole nations and not just “banana republics.” Exploitation by U.S. capital of foreign labor at desperately low wages through direct U.S. ownership and lucrative contracts for local businesses has been a common experience throughout the hemisphere.

Any decent person who has read B. Traven’s *Trozas* describing conditions he witnessed in Chiapas in the 1920s would never dine at a mahogany table or sleep in a mahogany bed made from logs cut in the Chiapas rain forest by men torn from their families to die in indentured servitude. The logs, or trozas, were shipped to New Orleans, where cheap African American labor made expensive furniture for wealthy Americans.

Today millions in Latin America labor in *maquiladoras* for U.S. companies and local companies contracting with them at survival wages, pennies an hour, so that a profit of many dollars can be made from the sale of a pair of Mickey Mouse pajamas for children of the poor in the United States.

Another result of the exploitation of foreign labor is the destruction of organized labor in the United States and more arbitrary power in the hands of corporate executives protected by, or beyond the control of, U.S. laws and government.

In contrast, control of government, industry, business, the entire economy of a nation is obtained through indebtedness to U.S. banks, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other U.S. controlled financial institutions.

Economic policy, national choices of development, investment, trade, agricultural policy, companies to be awarded valuable contracts and local businesses themselves are coerced by U.S. financial power through debt. Latin American governments are forced to take food from the mouths of their hungry children to repay loans to wealthy foreign banks that primarily benefited foreign interests in the first place.

Simón Bolívar, a Venezuelan, but the major hero in history for Colombians and other South American nations, experienced the pain of foreign debt. “I abhor debt more than [I abhor] the Spanish. That is why I warned Santander that any good we would do for the nation would be worth nothing if we accepted debt, because we would continue to pay interest for centuries and centuries. Now we see it clearly — the debt will end up defeating us.”

Blockades, economic sanctions, embargoes, U.S. tariffs, coerced trade agreements and unfair business arrangements are means of dominion and exploitation by the United States and U.S. economic power. They have reaped enormous wealth from every country in the hemisphere, created and maintained subservient oligarchies, contributed to the enormous gaps between rich and poor and left the masses impoverished.

Collectively, such interventions by the United States and its major corporations and businesses have been the dominant fact in the lives of the people from Tierra del Fuego to the Bering Sea at most times during the past century.

U.S. interventions experienced by any country are not only instructive for all other countries; they are often more harmful to the country seemingly let alone. Whose bananas get to markets in rich countries determines the poor country whose children eat. U.S. policy in the Philippines forced hunger and malnutrition on the island of Negros which has produced as much as 60% of Philippine sugar for export. Negros workers on vast plantations, owned by a handful of families, could not find a patch of land to grow vegetables or staples for their families.

These rich farmlands could feed all the people of the Philippines and export food for others. Sugar from these farms kept international prices low and excluded some countries from sugar export.

The United States, by market power alone, can force low prices for goods it purchases by creating price competition among poor countries producing the goods. The oligarchies which own the land can still profit, but the poor pay in sweat and malnutrition.

Intervention can be even more destructive by embargo, sanctions or blockade. The U.S. blockade of Cuba for more than four decades is one of the great international crimes of the modern period, punishing 11 million Cubans for resisting U.S. exploitation. That Cuba, against such adversity, has developed among other things the best health care and educational systems in the hemisphere shows resistance is not only possible, it can prevail over intervention and provide a better life than submission to the United States, but at a terrible human cost.

Iraq is the most extreme example of the devastation sanctions can cause. U.S. sanctions have reduced per capita income by 75%, life expectancy by more than 20 years, killed more than a million and a half people, mostly children under 5, and left a physically weakened population. They have impoverished a whole people in the presence of vast oil riches.

U.S. arms sales to governments that misuse them, often against their own people, like Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Peru and others, not only deprives the people of needed food, shelter, education and health care, but subjects them to violence and repression by their own government and the threat of war and hostility with neighbors.

The cruelest form of intervention within a country may be the knowledge and skills taught at the U.S. School of the Americas and U.S. Special Forces training

bases. There, favored police and militaries from submissive governments learn the arts of torture, intimidation, destruction of privacy and civil liberties, death squad deployment and assassination.

Mexico has suffered military invasions from the United States by such worthies as Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee and General John Joseph Pershing, among many others. It has been forced to surrender more than half its land to the United States. In his classic *Democracy In Mexico*, Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, former rector of the National University of Mexico, reports on economic intervention in Mexico since 1960:

Among the four hundred largest enterprises — with incomes amounting to 77 percent of the total national income — the percentages (of ownership) are 54.06 percent (foreign): 21.09 percent (independent private sector); 24.85 percent (government). The foreign enterprises and those with strong foreign participation earn more than 50 percent of the total income...⁸

Mexicans must ask, whose country is it anyway? U.S. businesses and citizens hold the great majority of all foreign investment in Mexico. In 1998, in foreign trade, imports by Mexico from the United States were 75.7% of the total imports of \$89.6 billion. Japan was a distant second with 4.4%. Exports to the United States were 84% of the total exports of \$97.6 billion with Japan a more distant second with 1.4%.

U.S. sources dominate foreign news published in Mexico's many newspapers. Gonzalez Casanova found in the early 1960s: In general, between 63 and 75 percent of the foreign news items in the Mexican press are derived from United States agencies.

In time, NAFTA may prove to be the most devastating economic intervention Mexico has experienced. It has destroyed much of Mexico's agriculture, made it dependent on the United States for corn and other food, and driven millions to urban poverty and joblessness. Mayans believe they are made of corn. For them corn is more than the national average of 60% of total calories consumed. The million Mayans in Chiapas knew what NAFTA meant for them before January 1, 1994. They greeted the first day of NAFTA with effective non-violent resistance and demonstrations that captured widespread international support, but they could not stop U.S. corn from coming in.

The whole Mayan culture, which had survived centuries of European intervention, was threatened. They could no longer maintain their native lifestyle by selling their surplus corn because the market price dropped 60% that first day. U.S. agribusiness, subsidized by the U.S. government, flooded Mexico with surplus corn. Sixteen-wheel, tractor-trailer trucks were lined up for seven miles at Laredo, Texas, on New Year's Eve 1993, waiting to dump corn on Mexico and take over the market.

Now the price of U.S. corn has risen and Mexico, trapped by dependency on it, pays the price. Today, President Fox and Mexican business leaders can see that NAFTA is relegating Mexico to even greater economic servitude.

Cultural intervention can alter a whole society, destroying traditions, customs, values and mores developed over centuries. In cultural intervention carried by globalization and the media, parents see their children ignoring, abandoning, ashamed, even contemptuous of the life and ways they always lived. Music, films, magazines, clothes, hairstyles, automobiles, radio, TV, guns, foreign fast food, architecture — a whole new array of consumer goods and foreign words, phrases, slang, language flood countries. Far beyond its economic exploitation, cultural intervention destroys the aspects of life that best identify a whole people from all their history, imagination and character. To the extent the intervention succeeds, the people no longer know who they are and can be quickly assimilated and easily manipulated. Once gone for a generation or two, a culture cannot be recaptured as those who lived in it knew it. Pindar's truth that "culture is lord of everything" could not have imagined how globalized commercialism and omnipresent media could wipe away a culture developed over centuries.

Psychological intervention invades the mind, telling its subjects what they are to believe and be. The conquistadores and the priests and colonial scholars and teachers taught Indigenous and African slaves and those with mixed blood they had no history, no culture, that they were inferior to the European and must obey their masters.

What has been perceived by many as an attack on the greatest hero in South American history, Simón Bolívar, by Gabriel Garcia Márquez in his historical fiction *The General In His Labyrinth*, was a wise writer's powerful demonstration that Bolívar was a real American of his time with Indian, African and Spanish blood, not the Spanish aristocrat that those who write history had presented. Garcia Márquez wanted to humanize Bolívar, then show the people that he was like them, that they could be like him. This is a lesson no conquistador, colonial administration or oligarch would tolerate. Garcia Márquez also wanted to illustrate the meaning of his Argentine soulmate Jorge Luis Borges' observation that "fame is a form of incomprehension, perhaps the worst." He wanted to set his people free from the illusion that only the famous matter, and help them see that only they can free their country. The man on horseback is imperious and dangerous. Bolívar had said, "My element is war."⁹

VII. U.S. Interventions and Colombia

Colombia has experienced virtually every form of intervention employed by the United States, at a tragic cost to its people.

In 1846, the decade following Bolívar's death, Benjamin Bidlack, the U.S. charge d' affairs in Bogotá, negotiated a treaty with New Granada in which the United States secured the exclusive right to transit across the Isthmus of Panama

by any mode of “communication” in exchange for the U.S. guarantee “positively and efficaciously” of New Granada’s sovereignty over the Isthmus.¹⁰ The United States would exploit and abuse the Bidlack treaty for 150 years and its effect on the region would continue beyond that time. The U.S. Senate ratified the Bidlack treaty in 1848, five months after the discovery of gold in California. President Polk saw the railroad as the precursor of a canal across the isthmus.

Both the Panama Railroad and the French effort to construct a Panama Canal four decades later were under the authority of the Bidlack treaty. Like the hundreds of treaties the United States made with its own Indigenous peoples, the Bidlack treaty was honored in the breach.

Work on the railroad began in 1850. It was completed in five years. Costly in lives and money, it was the first transcontinental railroad and proved to be a gold mine. Fortunes were made. Annual dividends on shares of the New York corporation that built and owned the railroad averaged 15% and rose as high as 43%. It became the highest priced stock on the New York Stock Exchange. Upward of 400,000 passengers crossed the 50-mile-wide isthmus on its tracks between 1856 and 1866.

Colombia received nothing but death, mostly of ethnic Africans, and a small share in income from the railroad.

Many of those who died were without identity other than a first name, without known address or next of kin, rather ghoulish, but thriving trade developed in the shipping of cadavers, pickled in large barrels, to medical schools and hospitals all over the world. For years, the Panama Railroad Company was a steady supplier of such merchandise, and the proceeds were enough to pay for the company’s own small hospital at Colón.¹¹

In 1879, under the leadership of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the driving spirit in the successful construction of the Suez Canal which was completed in 1869, a company of French investors was created. It obtained the conditional “exclusive right” from Colombia for 99 years to construct a canal across the isthmus. In return it was to make a cash deposit and pay Colombia 5% for the first 25 years, 6% for the next 25 years and 8% of the gross revenue for the remaining 49 years. Colombia retained full sovereignty over the isthmus.

The company was required to reach “some amicable agreement” with the Panama Railroad, that is with the United States, before undertaking construction. The canal was to be completed within 12 years. The railroad company was paid \$17 million by the French interests, more than twice the cost of its construction, and the Bidlack Treaty was recognized. This meant a U.S. military presence, with rights to act, would remain at Colón on the Caribbean and Panama City on the Pacific. This U.S. military presence created friction and violence as the French struggled to complete the canal. Many blamed the United States for major difficulties that interfered with completion of the project.

The French effort to build the canal was a famous financial and human tragedy. The railroad ran a “regular funeral train out to Monkey Hill each morning.” The dead were buried there on high ground formally named Mount Hope. An American, S.W. Plume, who spent years on the canal projects, testified before the U.S. Senate in 1906 about the failed French effort between 1883 and 1885 to construct a canal: “... bury, bury, bury, running two, three and four trains a day with dead Jamaican ‘n -----’ They die[d] like animals.”¹² In 1889, the French company collapsed.

Before the turn of the century, interest in completing a canal across Central America was again high. Colombia was determined to have the canal on its soil in Panama. Its primary concern in negotiating for U.S. construction of the canal was to retain sovereignty over the proposed “canal zone.”

In 1902, to show his authority under the Bidlack treaty, President Theodore Roosevelt sent Marines into Panama to protect the railroad, without receiving the consent of Colombia, as required by the treaty. When a treaty for a canal was finally agreed upon between Colombia and the United States, Colombia, uncomfortable with the assurances of its sovereignty over the Canal Zone, failed to ratify it. Impatient with delay, the United States looked for better ways to proceed.

On October 10, 1903, President Roosevelt met with Phillipe Bunau-Varilla, a Frenchman with technical training and long experience in Panama. In the meeting, Bunau-Varilla suggested that Panama might revolt and secede from Colombia and asked whether, if a revolt occurred, the United States would prevent Colombia from sending troops to Panama. Roosevelt gave no direct answer, we are told.

Within three weeks, a small group that would soon stage an apparent revolt met in Panama City. The group included the U.S. consul general and two Army Corps of Engineers officers at its first meeting. It agreed that Manuel Amador would be president of Panama. Born near Cartagena, Colombia, far from Panama, Amador was a medical doctor who later served as chief physician for the Panama Railroad. He was 70 years old and once had been designated president of the Department of Panama by the government of Colombia.

On November 2, 1903, in Panama City, this small group announced Panama’s secession from Colombia and the USS Nashville arrived in Colón from Kingston, Jamaica. Orders dated November 2 to the U.S. naval command from acting Secretary of the Navy Charles Darling were explicit: “...prevent landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either government or insurgent. . . .Government force reported approaching Colón in vessels, prevent their landing. . . . Darling, Acting.”

Colombian troops were prevented from traveling from Colón to Panama City. In all, 10 U.S. warships arrived at Panama, including the USS Dixie from the U.S.

“refueling station” at Guantanamo, Cuba. The “revolution” succeeded without firing a shot.

In celebration, Manuel Amador, the new and first president of Panama paraded “between two U.S. flags. . . . As he passes, Amador shouts Viva’s for his colleague Roosevelt.”¹³

The United States recognized Panama immediately.

Four U.S. secretaries of state — beginning with William Seward in 1865, then Hamilton Fish, William Evarts and James G. Blaine — had determined that the Bidlack treaty did not give the United States authority to intervene in Colombia in a civil war or internal dispute. Nor did an internal dispute or insurrection involving Panama occur.

Bunau-Varilla was immediately appointed Panama’s representative to Washington. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was signed on November 18, 1903 — 39 days after President Roosevelt met with the French citizen Bunau-Varilla.

Under the treaty, the United States was empowered to construct a canal. The zone would be 10 miles wide. The United States had the right to appropriate additional land or water areas “necessary and appropriate” to the canal’s operations or defense. The United States guaranteed the independence of Panama.

Panama granted the United States sovereignty over the zone in perpetuity “to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority.”

Thus ended Simón Bolívar’s dream of a canal between the great oceans on Colombian soil. By 1827 Bolívar had been “thinking about it for some time.” In 1828 he ordered “that priority should be given to geographical engineers in the Isthmus” to complete their reports on locations and feasibility for the canal by 1829.¹⁴ By 1829 Bolívar had gone to fight the civil war that threatened the federation of New Granada.

The *New York Times* attacked President Roosevelt for his “act of sordid conquest.” Roosevelt asked Attorney General Knox to prepare a defense of the U.S. military intervention and installation of its president of Panama. Knox is said to have remarked, “Oh, Mr. President, do not let so great an achievement suffer from any taint of legality.”¹⁵

Colombia had lost an invaluable resource and a department of the nation. The United States had incurred the enmity of two nations: Colombia and Panama.

In a 1911 speech at the University of California at Berkeley, Roosevelt, in academic gown, stated: “The Panama Canal would not have been started if I had not taken hold of it . . . I took the isthmus, started the canal, then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me.” Panama was stolen by force and deception.

The United States began its turn at construction on the largest engineering project ever attempted in 1904. From the French experience, it learned the necessity of combating yellow fever and other threats to the lives of workers. Doctors made possible what death had defeated.

The canal across the isthmus was completed a decade later, shortly before the outbreak of World War I. It has dominated the lives of Panamanians since.

The United States tried to overcome the ill will of Colombians in 1922 with a belated payment of \$25 million for its theft of the territory on which the canal was built. By that time annual tolls, a small part of the wealth generated by the canal, exceeded \$25 million.

The people of the new Republic of Panama were no happier about the U.S. intervention against Colombia and the canal treaty that followed than the rest of the people in Colombia. The Panamanians have fared worse than Colombia as a result. The Canal Zone cut the new country in half, with an omnipresent U.S. military and political influence, the silent parade of ships from all over the world passing through, but out of reach; the foreign banks rising on their soil; all as remote as the foreign capital that controlled them. The people remained poor, became more dependent and were soon protesting. Long after Colombia viewed the theft of the isthmus as an ancient wrong, the former Colombians in Panama lived with it as a daily fact.

After World War II, anger spread. Riots against the U.S. control of the canal broke out in the 1950s and 1960s. A treaty modifying the unacceptable perpetual sovereignty of the United States over the Canal Zone was Panama's goal.

In 1964, 18 Panamanians were killed in rioting in the Canal Zone. The following year, President Lyndon Johnson announced that a fairer treaty would be negotiated. A draft was completed but did not appear before a military coup, headed by General Omar Torrijos, took control of the government of Panama in 1968.

By 1977, a treaty had been negotiated. Graham Greene attended the signing ceremonies in the Organization of American States building in Washington, D.C., as a member of the Panamanian delegation headed by General Torrijos.

Greene describes how Torrijos began his speech, "The treaty is very satisfactory, President Carter, vastly advantageous to the United States, and we must confess not so advantageous to Panama." Torrijos, bitter and ironic, was quoting Secretary of State Hay's words at the signing of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty in 1903.

Torrijos, who had endeavored to free Panama from the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty for years and who personally negotiated the final terms, signed with great reluctance in order to save the lives of "young Panamanians," according to Greene. "Two clauses of the Treaty particularly stuck in his gullet: the delay till the year 2000 for complete Panamanian control of the Canal and the clause which would allow the United States to intervene even after that date if the Canal's neutrality were endangered."¹⁶

All the dictators of the hemisphere came for the event, including Pinochet of Chile and Stroessner of Paraguay. Only the most embattled, Duvalier of Haiti and Somoza of Nicaragua, were absent. President Carter asked General Torrijos how to deal with the dictators and received a simple answer: "Just refuse them any arms."¹⁷

Torrijos was a fierce opponent of Pinochet, Stroessner and all dictators in the

hemisphere. He provided substantial support to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation (FMLN) in El Salvador during their struggles for freedom. Powerful interests in the United States wanted to remove Torrijos from power.

Torrijos believed his principal service to his country was completed with the Panama Canal Treaty. As reported in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Torrijos sought the transfer of the Canal “to offset the economic woes of Panama and provide the base for a more aggressive role among nations for his small country.”¹⁸ In other words, to end exploitation and become an independent nation.

Torrijos stepped aside as head of government, surprising everyone and assuring an orderly transfer of power to an elected president. Later, in words reminiscent of Bolívar’s near the end of his life, he told Greene, “I don’t even know if I have done good or bad.”

Torrijos was dead by 1981, within seven months after Ronald Reagan was first inaugurated president, killed in a plane crash that many believe was caused by a bomb placed by the CIA.

Before the 1980s were over, the successful Sandinista revolution was stolen in the election of a coalition candidate chosen and financed by the United States. During the campaign the United States threatened Nicaragua with more contra attacks, more war for the weary nation. The Salvadoran revolution was lost in peace negotiations, with the oligarchy firmly in control.

Panama was invaded by the United States in December 1989. Thousands of Panamanians were killed. The Panamanian police and military forces nationwide, organized by Torrijos, were the direct object of attack. Panamanian police, military and political leaders were killed or imprisoned to create forces and leaders reorganized and chosen by the United States.

President Manuel Noriega, who as a Panamanian Army officer had been corruptly paid \$200,000 a year by the United States, more than President Reagan was paid at the time, was tracked down at the papal offices in Panama City where he sought sanctuary and was taken to the United States. In Miami, Noriega was tried and convicted of various criminal charges, including drug trafficking, in a federal court in Miami. He remains a prisoner of the United States in south Florida.

Years before the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989, a new invisible and invincible form of U.S. intervention — the demand for drugs within the United States — challenged Colombia’s ability to govern itself. In the late 1970s, a prominent group of Colombians came to the United States to plead for effective drug control measures here. The group came from the oligarchy. The group told me that the wealth generated by the production and sale of drugs destined for the United States, overwhelmingly cocaine, was so great that it was too powerful to control within Colombia. Government forces and the oligarchy’s wealth combined were unable to cope. Only elimination of the vast demand for drugs in the United

States could contain this powerful drug empire and enable the government to protect and serve its own people. Drug cartels with large paramilitary forces and enormous new wealth were beyond the control of the government of Colombia.

Even before the drug cartels became too powerful for Colombia to control, a strong popular movement came alive in Colombia after World War II, ignited by the widespread and growing awareness of the vast social and economic inequality and injustice in the country.

The young democratic movement was arrested with the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948, which was followed by widespread violence. Many believed that the United States was involved in the assassination, a belief reinforced in recent years.¹⁹

Between 1948 and 1958, a period called “La Violencia” ensued where some 300,000 people died in the struggle for political freedom and social and economic justice. In 1958, the two old political parties — Conservative and Liberal — agreed on a bipartisan government that they called a “qualified democracy.”

The United States addressed similar struggles in other Latin American countries in various ways. In 1954, the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala was overthrown by force. Since then authoritarian Guatemalan governments have systematically eliminated leadership of Indigenous Mayans, who are 70% of the population, with U.S. complicity and awareness.

In 1958, Vice President Richard Nixon was met with violent demonstrations in South America. In 1959, the Cuban revolution overthrew the corrupt Batista government and was met with a major U.S. effort to isolate it politically, socially and economically.

In anticipation of the Punta del Este conference in Uruguay in 1961 and the charter to be agreed on by participants, which was designed to strengthen capitalist economic power during the Cold War, the United States announced the Alliance for Progress: “the first continental effort to show that U.S. and Latin American governments were actively organizing and learning from the success of the Cuban revolution.”²⁰ The Alliance was seen in Latin America as a counter-revolutionary program to support and strengthen reactionary and conservative economic and political forces in the hemisphere — a program more focused and aggressive than the Good Neighbor Policy of the 1930s. A month after the Alliance for Progress was launched, the invasion of Cuba failed at the Bay of Pigs.

Colombians were as aware of the U.S. programs, as Mayan Indians were of NAFTA three decades later. With hope for economic justice fading, revolutionary opposition to the government of Colombia grew. Both the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) were founded in the first half of the 1960s. Their struggle expanded and intensified quickly. Government forces were unable to either destroy or contain the revolutionary movement.

Even under these conditions, the United States has continued to dominate Colombian foreign trade — both imports and exports, in good times and bad. In 1998 Colombia's imports from the United States were 39.1% and exports to the United States were 34.9% of all Colombia's foreign trade. Venezuela was second in imports by Colombia with 9.8% and Germany second in exports from Colombia with 7.3% of the total foreign trade.

Elsewhere in the hemisphere, by the 1970s the United States was deeply involved in direct efforts to maintain governments protective of its interests and to change governments that it believed threatened them. In the southern cone, after September 1973, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile were engaged in violent repression of their peoples. Many thousands were arrested and disappeared by governments with strong U.S. support.

Chile had twice elected a socialist government headed by Salvador Allende. ITT and other transnational companies urged the United States to prevent Allende's first inauguration in 1970 and offered to help finance the operation.

Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally, who consistently supported the interests of U.S. investors in South America, lamented in the July 10, 1971, issue of *Business Week*, "We have no friends left there [in Latin America] anymore." It was a truth that could have been uttered at nearly any time in the 20th century. It helps explain why the worst dictators, like Peru's Alberto Fujimori, would publicly attack the United States to gain popular support in their own country while secretly serving U.S. interests.

In September 1973, a U.S. supported *golpe* overthrew the Allende government in Chile. Thousands were summarily executed and disappeared. A military dictatorship headed by General Pinochet overthrew a constitutional system dating from 1824. The fiction of a Chilean "economic miracle" — propaganda to support the policies of conservative U.S. economist Milton Friedman adopted there — collapsed with the recognition two decades later that a brutal regime had not only murdered and imprisoned tens of thousands of its citizens, it had impoverished the nation.

The few reformist governments that emerged in Latin America seeking to reduce poverty and exploitation were overthrown or isolated. Any government that seized or threatened U.S. property or investments was subjected to economic, political, sometimes military interventions or covert actions.

The Dominican Republic, which elected a leftist government, threatened U.S. economic interests in the region and was crushed by a U.S. military intervention in 1965.

Cuba was able to consolidate its successful revolution and offer medical services and other assistance to poor countries struggling for independence on several continents. On occasion it provided military assistance. Cuban extended range missiles saved Angola from a South African invasion that had driven more than halfway to the capital.

By the late 1970s, Central America was a focus of U.S. concern as revolutionary movements in Nicaragua and El Salvador threatened governments with their struggle for independence and economic and social justice. Support groups for these countries in the U.S. worked hard to change U.S. policy, but were never able to approach the size, unity or effectiveness of the peace movement during the Vietnam war.

In Colombia in the 1980s, paramilitary forces created by the Colombian military with U.S. aid altered the life of the country. While created to combat revolutionaries, they engaged in drug trafficking and terrorized the public. Kidnappings, summary executions and armed violence became nearly a way of life in the cities and most rural areas. This forced greater efforts to meet revolutionary demands. In 1982, President Betancur signed an amnesty in the ongoing struggle with revolutionary movements in Colombia. In April 1984, a ceasefire was agreed on with the FARC. It proved to be one of a number of failed efforts to settle differences within the country.

In November 1985, a group called M-19, seized the Palace of Justice, taking hundreds hostage. More than 100 civilians were killed when the government bombarded the palace. Eleven of the 24 members of the Supreme Court died. Colombia's inability to govern was exposed to a startled world.

In 1999 a large area, nearly the size of Switzerland, was created to be governed by the FARC-EP during negotiations with the government with its center at San Vicente de Caguán. It became a large peaceful island in the turmoil of Colombia.

The fall of the U.S. supported authoritarian government of Fujimori in Peru in 2000 and the election of the popular government of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela caused alarm in the U.S. government and greater commitment of resources to consolidate U.S. control.

In 2002, just before the election of U.S. backed President Uribe, the government of Colombia abandoned the peace process and announced plans to destroy the revolutionary groups. Colombian Army forces trained by the United States occupied San Vicente without resistance.

VIII. Plan Colombia and the 'War on Terrorism' reveal U.S. policy to destroy revolutionary movements, strengthen oligarchies and consolidate U.S. control of South America

President Clinton and Colombia's President Pastrana, announced Plan Colombia — "for peace, prosperity and strengthening of the state" in September 1999. Its purpose is to eradicate the four-decade-old revolutionary struggle of the poor in Colombia, bring drug cartels under government control and reinforce small oligarchies subservient to U.S. economic and political interests in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela.

Plan Colombia is the largest, most comprehensive and direct U.S. intervention in the hemisphere in the long history of U.S. interventions. It threatens Colombia,

Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela — countries with over 100 million people — with more than a “war on terrorism.” Plan Colombia places the political and economic independence of this huge region at risk.

It will directly affect the other countries in South America, including Brazil and Argentina, which are burdened with staggering international debt and facing further defaults. Tens of billions of dollars in new debt were arranged for Brazil in the face of the election of Luiz Inacio “Lula” da Silva, making any program to alleviate poverty and improve conditions for the people extremely difficult. Argentina has announced default on its international loans. Bolivia and the other southern cone countries are too small to offer serious resistance.

The economic collapse of the Soviet bloc has been followed by a decade of U.S. military, political and economic attacks on socialist and contrarian governments. The overwhelming military power of the United States, with its devastating destructive capacity, and the vast economic power of transnational corporate America have created unique conditions for the domination and exploitation of the hemisphere, and beyond, by those who seek a New World Order led by the United States.

The “war on terrorism” — announced as the solution to terrorism after September 11, 2001 — along with the older “war on drugs,” provides the excuse to use extreme military means to establish domination.

Multi-billion-dollar funding has already been provided for Plan Colombia. Hundreds of U.S. military advisors are in place, directing the Colombian military, which was already dependent on U.S. support. Hundreds of Colombia’s elite military troops have been trained by the U.S. 7th Special Forces Group and other elite forces in Colombia, at Fort Bragg, N.C., and elsewhere. Key Colombian officers are graduates of the School of the Americas — with degrees in death squad operations, mass murder, search-and-destroy tactics, torture, assassination and counterinsurgency against their own people.

The United States coordinates with the military and political leadership in Ecuador and Peru, and maintains contacts with officers in Venezuela.

Plans include a major assault to destroy the FARC-EP, the ELN and other revolutionary forces and bring the treacherous paramilitary forces created in earlier times under control.

The United States has used illegal claims to extraterritorial jurisdiction to indict leaders of the FARC-EP and paramilitary groups in U.S. courts — destining them for U.S. prisons or perhaps Guantanamo if they are caught. It can threaten others with prosecution.

The priority and magnitude of military action in Colombia and support for Plan Colombia forces by the United States will depend on other military demands in places like Iraq, Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf region, Sudan, the Horn of Africa, North Korea, the Philippines. But President Bush’s policy in Colombia is as clear as his determination to attack Iraq and change its regime.

His National Security Strategy statement to the Congress, like his speech at West Point in June 2002, proclaimed:

We will defend the peace by fighting terrorist and tyrants, [We cannot let our enemies strike first.] We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. [America has, and intends to keep, military strength beyond challenge.] We will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent [LAFTA, NAFTA, FTAA, the Free Trade Area of the Americas].

Plan Colombia will support repressive oligarchies in Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, while requiring them to repay foreign debts, protect U.S. investments and trade within their countries. It will seek to destabilize and remove President Hugo Chávez from power in Venezuela, contain and undermine the administration of newly elected President Lula da Silva in Brazil, and work toward Cuba's return to U.S. domination and the end of its revolution, the most successful of the 20th century. For countries like Brazil, Argentina and Mexico that have faced bankruptcy and obtained enormous loans, the United States will support oligarchies under the same conditions of Plan Colombia, and their economies, independence and poor will suffer for years.

The new U.S. plans will be far more direct and intensive than its role in the struggle in Nicaragua and El Salvador. The policies of exploitation will further increase the gap between rich and poor and the numbers living in poverty.

If Plan Colombia and the "war on terrorism" are not stopped by the people of the United States, there will be decades of violence, suffering and poverty before the consequences of U.S. emergence as the one superpower on earth are overcome.

This is one of the great human struggles of our time. Everyone who wants peace and economic justice for all must join in the efforts to assure a just future for the beautiful, beleaguered people of Colombia.

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Haiti's Agonies and Exaltations

The history of Haiti will break your heart. Knowing it, the weak will despair, but the caring will strive to break the chains of tragedy.

When Columbus landed on the island in December 1492, he found a native Arawak, or Taino, population of three million people or more, well fed, with cultivated fields, lots of children, living in peace. It had by far the largest population of any island in the Caribbean. Twenty-two years later, there were fewer than 27,000 who had not fallen victim to the sword, the ravages of forced labor, and diseases heretofore unknown to them. The Spaniards called the island La Ysla Española, which in use became Hispaniola.

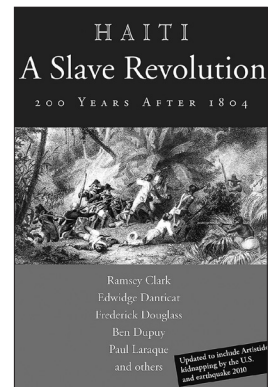
The native people called the island Haiti, a word that three hundred years after the Europeans arrived would strike fear throughout the empires of the hemisphere built on slave labor and societies that accepted its practice, but bring hope to slaves as they heard of it.

Only a few who came with the Conquistadors dared, or cared, to speak out against the genocide. The historic exception was the priest and later Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolome de Las Casas. For his only briefly successful efforts to persuade Charles V and the Pope to protect the peoples of "India" from slavery and abuse, Las Casas became "the most hated man in the Americas" among the violent, rich rulers of New Spain. In a census Las Casas conducted in 1542, only 200 Taino were found. The soil of Haiti was already red with human blood.

Slowly the population of Hispaniola was replenished, the slaughtered Indians replaced primarily by the importation of Africans in chains who rarely knew, but never forgot, those who perished first at the hands of their masters.

Few Spaniards settled in far western Hispaniola. By the mid-17th century, French buccaneers gained footholds on its coast. In 1697, France was recognized

This article was written and published in *Haiti: A Slave Revolution* (2004) before the United States kidnapped and exiled President Aristide Feb. 29, 2004.



as sovereign over the western third of the island in a minor concession from Spain by the treaty of Ryswick, which ended the war of the Grand Alliance and resettled the map of western Europe. France called its new colony St. Domingue.

By the 1750s, St. Domingue was France's richest colony, rich from the sweat of slave labor's brow.

Hispaniola declined in importance as Spanish colonies in Mexico, Peru and the Caribbean spread through South, Central and North America.

On the eve of the revolution in France, St. Domingue had a population of about 32,000 from France, 24,000 freedmen of mixed blood, and nearly 500,000 African slaves. The native population was extinct.

The Creole language found birth in the slave quarters and secret places slaves could meet as their need to support each other and to resist grew. African languages permeated the French with African melody and African drums. English, Spanish and occasional Indian words were gathered into it by chance and attraction. Creole became the heart of Haitian culture, shared with others who were torn out of Africa and carried to European colonies in the Caribbean.

In trials of Haitian-Americans charged with planning to overthrow Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier in the mid-1980s, the most skilled French-English translators and professors of French in the universities of New Orleans could not translate Creole into English for the Court. It is a beautiful, separate language born from the suffering of African slaves of French masters and their determination to maintain their own identity.

In Paris, the philosophers of the Enlightenment condemned slavery. Diderot wrote that slavery contradicts nature. Montesquieu observed that when we admit that Africans are human, we confess what poor Christians we are. Abbe Reynal proclaimed that any religion that condones slavery deserves to be prohibited. Rousseau confessed that the existence of slavery made him ashamed to be a man. Helvetius observed that every barrel of sugar reaching Europe is stained with blood. Voltaire's adventurous hero, Candide, meets a slave whose hand was ground off in a sugar mill and leg was cut off for attempting to escape and proclaims, "At this price you eat sugar in Europe."

Few periods in history have given rise to more intense thought and concern about freedom and the rights of humanity, but St. Domingue was a long way away and the wealth of France and its slave masters were not impressed.

Unaware, or contemptuous, of the enlightened views of France's philosophers, "His Majesty" in 1771 considered requests for the emancipation of mulatto slaves in Haiti and other French colonies and authorized his Minister of Colonies to explain his views:

...such a favor would tend to destroy the differences that nature has placed between whites and blacks, and that political prejudice has been careful to maintain as a distance which people of color and their descendants will never be able to bridge; finally, that it is in the interest of good order

not to weaken the state of humiliation congenital to the species, in whatever degree it may perpetuate itself; a prejudice all the more useful for being in the very heart of the slaves and contributing in a major way to the due peace of the colonies...

Within two decades the people of France and Haiti would provide Louis XVI a clearer understanding of what was in their heart.

In Léogâne in 1772, a Haitian woman named Zabeth, her story recorded, lived a not uncommon life and death. Rebellious, like many, from childhood, she was chained for years when not working, chased and attacked by dogs when she escaped, her cheek branded with a fleur de lis. Zabeth was locked up in a sugar mill for punishment. She stuck her fingers in the grinder, then later bit off the bandages which stopped the flow of blood. She was then tied, her open wounds against the grinder, where particles of iron dust poisoned her blood before she died. Her owner lived unconcerned across the sea in Nantes.

For five years, the French Revolution, consumed with the struggle for human rights ignored the slaves of Haiti even over the protests of Marat and Robespierre and the words of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

On August 14, 1791, the slaves of St. Domingue rebelled. News of the insurrection sent electrifying waves of fear throughout the hemisphere. The slave states and slave owners in all parts of the U.S. and elsewhere in the Americas were forced to face what they had long dreaded, that the cruelty of their deeds would turn on them in violent slave rebellions. Their fear produced hatred and greater cruelty toward the slaves that led to the barbarity of lynchings in the late 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries and the excessive force employed with zeal by police in race riots into the 1960s in the U.S.

The struggle of the Haitian slaves for freedom dragged on for more than a decade, the French army caring less and less about the destructiveness of their arms and about the lives of the Haitian people.

President George Washington and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, both slave owners, supported France in its efforts to suppress the slaves of St. Domingue. Their successors have consistently acted against the rights and well-being of Haitians ever since.

In 1794, after fighting both Spain and Great Britain to control St. Domingue, harassed by the slave insurrection led by Pierre-Dominique Toussaint Louverture, and in need of troops easily recruited from freedman before the rebellion, France declared the abolition of slavery in its colonies.

Frightened by the freedom of slaves in Haiti, the next year the King of Spain ceded the rest of the island, Spain's first colony in America, to France. The island was once again, temporarily, united.

By 1801, Toussaint Louverture, a slave himself before the insurrection, proclaimed a constitution for Haiti, which named him governor-general for life. Napoleon was not consulted.

Later that year, Bonaparte sent General Charles Leclerc with a veteran force of 20,000 trained soldiers, including Haitian military officers, among them Alexandre Pétion, to crush the “First of the Blacks.” In 1802, Napoleon ordered the reinstatement of slavery. Toussaint was captured by ruse and sent to France where he died a prisoner on April 7, 1803. Fearful that Napoleon would succeed in restoring slavery, African and mulatto generals in the French Army joined the bitter revolt against France. U.S. merchants sold arms and supplies to the former slave forces, while the U.S. government supported France.

The French army of Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated by Haitian former slaves. It surrendered in November 1803 and agreed to a complete withdrawal.

Haiti lay in ruins, nearly half its population lost. The African slaves of Haiti had defeated the army of Napoleon Bonaparte. The 12-year war for liberation had destroyed most of the irrigation systems and machinery that, with slave labor, had created France’s richest colony and were the foundation of the island’s economy.

On January 1, 1804, independence was declared for the entire island in the aboriginal name preferred by the former slaves: Haiti. In September 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed Emperor Jacques I.

Nearly all whites who survived the long violence fled the island before, or with, the departing French army.

Profound fear spread among white peoples throughout the Americas wherever Africans were held in slavery. In the U.S. slave states, news from Haiti of the slave rebellion, the emancipation, the imprisonment and death of Toussaint Louverture in France, the failure of Napoleon’s effort to reestablish slavery after sending 20,000 professional soldiers for the task, and their final defeat sent shock waves infinitely greater than those of 9-11-2001 two centuries later. Years before Nat Turner and even the earlier slave rebellions in the United States, the fear of slave rebellion became a brooding omnipresence.

As word spread among slave populations, exaltation embraced its people who could now believe their day of freedom too would come. The conflict between fear and newborn faith sharpened the edge of hostility that separated slave and master, creating greater tension and more violence.

Dessalines’ nationalization and democratic distribution of land led to his assassination in 1806 by jealous elements of a new ruling class, both black and mulatto, emerging from the ranks of the Haitian generals. The alliance between the formerly freed — the freedmen or *affranchis* — and the newly freed — the former slaves — was dissolved with Dessalines’ murder. A new ruling class of big landowners and a merchant bourgeoisie supplanted their colonialist predecessors. There ensued civil war primarily between the mulatto Pétion, who was elected president in Port-au-Prince over the south, and Christophe, a full-blooded African, who was proclaimed King Henry I in the north. Christophe committed suicide in 1820 after a major revolt against his rule. Jean Pierre Boyer, who had succeeded Pétion in the South in 1818, then became president of a united Haiti.

Haiti was reviled and feared by all the rich nations of the world precisely for its successful slave revolt which represented a threat not only in nations where slavery was legal, but in all countries, because of their large under-classes living in economic servitude. The strategy of the nations primarily affected, including the U.S., was to further impoverish Haiti, to make it an example. Racism in the hemisphere added a painful edge to the treatment of Haiti, which has remained the poorest country, with the darkest skin, the most isolated nation in the Americas. Even its language, spoken by so few beyond its borders, made Haiti the least accessible of countries and peoples.

In one grand commitment, Haiti, through President Pétion, contributed more to the liberation of the Americans from European colonial powers than any other nation. Twice Haiti, poor as it was, provided Simon Bolívar with men, arms and supplies that enabled the Great Liberator to free half the nations of South America from the Spanish yoke. On New Year's Day 1816, Pétion, his country still in ruins, blockaded by France and isolated from all rich nations, met with Bolívar, who had sold even his watch in Jamaica, seeking funds. He promised seven ships, 250 of his best soldiers, muskets, powder, provisions, funds, and even a printing press. Haiti asked only one act in repayment: Free the slaves.

Bolívar surely intended to fulfill his promise and achieved some proclamations of emancipation, but at the time of his death in 1831, not even his own Venezuela had achieved *de facto* freedom for all of its slaves.

Thus Haiti had achieved the first successful slave rebellion of an entire colony, the defeat of veterans of Europe's most effective fighting force at the time — Napoleon's legions — and made perhaps the decisive contribution to the liberation from European colonial governments of six nations, all larger and with more people than Haiti. Each act was a sin for which there would be no forgiveness.

Spain retained effective control over the eastern part of the island after its concession to France in 1795. The Dominicans revolted against Spain in 1822, joining nearly all the Spanish colonies in the Americas. President Boyer blocked Europe's counter-revolutionary designs against Haiti by laying claim to the Spanish lands where he abolished slavery, but Haitian control was never consolidated. The Dominicans declared independence in 1844 which, after a decade of continuing struggle, was finally achieved.

In 1825, France was the first nation to recognize Haiti, from which it had profited so richly, but at a huge expense to Haiti through a more sophisticated form of exploitation. Haiti agreed to pay France 150,000,000 gold francs in "indemnity." The U.S. permitted limited trade with Haiti, but did not recognize it until 1862, the second year of the U.S. Civil War.

Haiti, true to its struggle against slavery, permitted Union warships to refuel and repair in its harbors during the Civil War. In 1891, the U.S. sought to obtain Môle Saint-Nicolas on the northwest tip of Haiti as a coaling station by force, but failed. A decade later, the U.S. obtained Guantanamo Bay from Cuba after

the Spanish-American war. Môle Saint-Nicolas and Guantanamo are strategically located on the Windward Passage between Haiti and Cuba, the best route from the Atlantic to the Panama Canal. First France, then the U.S., coveted the notion of a base at Môle Saint-Nicolas.

Between 1843 and 1911, sixteen persons held the highest government office in Haiti, an average of four years, three months each, but eleven were removed by force and its threat from a still revolutionary people.

During the period from August 1911 to July 1915, in which many Haitians believed their country was being taken over by U.S. capital, one president was blown up in the Presidential Palace, another died of poison, three were forced out by revolution, and on July 27, 1915, President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was taken by force from the French legation where he had sought sanctuary and killed.

The next day U.S. Marines landed in Haiti and began an occupation that lasted nineteen years. The U.S. invoked the Monroe Doctrine and humanitarianism to justify a criminal occupation. Haiti was forced to sign a ten-year treaty, later extended, which made Haiti a U.S. political and financial protectorate.

Shortly before World War I, U.S. bankers, in the most debilitating form of intervention, obtained shares in the Haitian Bank which controlled the government's fiscal policies and participated in a huge loan to the Haitian government, again placing the people in servitude to a foreign master. U.S. capitalists were quickly given concessions to build a railroad and develop plantations. As the Panama Canal neared completion, U.S. interests in Haiti grew.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, then assistant secretary of the Navy, drafted a constitution for Haiti, something Toussaint Louverture had been capable of one hundred and fourteen years earlier. In 1920, while campaigning for the vice-presidency, Roosevelt boasted of his authorship accomplished on the deck of a U.S. Navy destroyer off the coast of Cap Haïtien. Such is the certainty of the U.S. in its natural superiority and right in matters of governance.

In 1918, US Marines supervised a "farcical" plebiscite for the new constitution. Among other new rights, it permitted aliens for the first time to own land in Haiti.

Haiti paid dearly. U.S. intervention in education emphasized vocational training at the expense of the French intellectual tradition. The racist implications were clear to the people. The national debt was funded with expensive U.S. loans. The occupying force imposed harsh police practices to protect property and maintain order, but with little concern for injuries it inflicted, or protection for the public. In the spirit of democracy, Haitians were virtually excluded from the government of their own people.

Over the years, opposition to the occupation grew, and slowly Americans joined Haitians in protest against it. In 1930, after student and peasant uprisings, President Hoover sent missions to study ending the occupation and improving the education system. The first election of a national assembly since the occupation was permitted that year. In turn, it elected Stenio Joseph Vincent president.

Vincent opposed the occupation, and Haitians quickly took control of public works, public health, and agricultural services.

In August 1934, Franklin Roosevelt, now president of the U.S., to confirm his celebrated Good Neighbor Policy, ended the occupation and withdrew the Marines. When the occupation was over, Haiti was as poor as ever and deep in debt. The U.S. continued its direct control of fiscal affairs in Haiti until 1941, and indirect control until 1947, to protect its loans and business interests.

Among accomplishments the U.S. proclaimed for its long governance was a unified, organized, trained and militarized police force. Called the Garde d'Haïti, it guarded Haitians less than it guarded over them.

In 1937, Haiti was weakened by nearly two decades of foreign occupation and subjugation and a huge part of its unemployed work force was in the Dominican Republic laboring under cruel conditions at subsistence wages. The Dominican dictator, President Rafael Trujillo, directed the purge of Haitian farm workers and laborers in an overtly racist campaign of government violence to keep his country "white." As many as 40,000 Haitians were killed. The Organization of American States interceded and forced the Dominican Republic to acknowledge 18,000 deaths for which it paid \$522,000 in restitution with no other consequence than an angry neighbor. A Haitian life was worth \$29 to the OAS, with most lives unrecognized.

Art flourished in Haiti in the late 1930s. By the mid-1940s, there was a "Renaissance in Haiti." Artists painted furiously on any surface that offered the opportunity. Haitian artists gained international reputations and fame: Philomé Obin, André Pierre, Castera Bazile, Wilson Bigaud, Rigaud Benoit, Hector Hippolyte, and others. Their work commanded prices unimaginable to the poor of Haiti. With the painting, the richness of Haitian culture burst out in music, poetry, literature and cuisine. But more tragedy lay ahead.

Vincent served until 1939 when, under U.S. pressure, he retired in favor of Elie Lescot. When he sought to run for a second term, Lescot was forced from office by student strikes and ultimately mob violence in 1946. A military triumvirate directed a new election of the National Assembly in 1946. The Assembly elected Dumarsais Estimé president. Near the end of his term in 1950, the same military triumvirate seized power, forcing Estimé to leave Haiti. Col. Paul E. Magloire, a member of the triumvirate, was then chosen to direct public elections as president. Magloire was in turn forced to resign and leave the country as his term expired in December 1956.

After a period of turmoil, strikes and mob violence, during which several men, then an Executive Council and an Army commander served briefly as provisional leadership, François Duvalier, a physician, was elected president, with Army approval, on September 22, 1957.

The brutality, capriciousness, and arbitrary exercise of power and violence by Duvalier provides a classic study of dictatorship in poor countries.

In 1960, he forced the Catholic Archbishop François Poirier into exile to prevent interference and opposition by the Church of Haiti's official religion. Duvalier organized and licensed the notorious Tonton Macoute from among his core supporters to terrorize the people to accept his rule.

The terror of Duvalier's long reign is described nowhere better for non-Haitians than in Graham Greene's classic, *The Comedians*, published in 1966. Greene knew Haiti before Duvalier. He loved the people. He thought they were beautiful. When he returned in 1963, he found the Tonton Macoute, searches, road blocks, a place where "terror rides and death comes at night." Rebels were in the hills.

He stayed long enough to develop material for a book. Before he could return for a last impression, he was warned he should not. He had written a harsh profile of Duvalier in the English press.

Instead he flew to the Dominican Republic, traveled to the border to observe and walked "along the edge of the country we loved and exchanged hopes for a happier future." *The Comedians* ends on the border, but it contains a testament to the misery and the beauty of the Haitian people and the power of the committed among them.

In 1964, Duvalier imposed a new constitution on Haiti which made him president-for-life. To please the U.S., show he knew how to handle problems, and unintentionally confirm the accuracy of the sobriquet *Comedians*, the death penalty was decreed in 1969 for the "propagation of communist or anarchist doctrines through lectures, speeches, or conversations" and for accomplices in such propagation and persons who merely received or listened to such doctrines.

In 1971, "Papa Doc" Duvalier caused the constitution to be amended to empower him to name his successor and lower the age requirement for the presidency to age 18. He named his son, Jean-Claude, then 19, and died, having extended his dynasty by another 15 years.

Baby Doc's regime was as brutal as his father's, if somewhat more subtle. When President Carter criticized Haiti's human rights record in 1977, a few token prisoners were released. But arrests and disappearances continued. A young Haitian-American, the son of a former officer in Papa Doc's air force who had fled into exile, was arrested for public criticism of the Duvalier dynasty and held in cells under the Presidential Palace where the president could witness the discomfort of people he did not like. A barrage of entreaties for his release were ignored until the eve of the first visit in 1983 of a pope to Haiti. The prisoner was released, taken to the airport with his lawyer, provided first-class seats on an Air France flight to Miami without explanation, or apology.

By 1980, there was a mass exodus from Haiti by sea. The U.S. Coast Guard policy was to interdict boatloads of Haitians fleeing at great risk toward freedom. When it caught boats close to Haiti, it forced them back to what could be death for some. Others caught in the Windward Passage were taken to prison at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo, where they were held as early patrons of a cruel

experience which was later refined for Muslims, usually never named or charged, but treated with a cruelty that would make Baby Doc blush.

Other Haitians reached Florida's waters. The bodies of some washed up in the surf on Ft. Lauderdale beaches. Local residents were outraged, or horrified, depending on their character. Other Haitians caught on land or sea were taken to the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami. The treatment they endured there caused many Haitians to yearn for the free, if impoverished life, of Cité Soleil or Haiti's northwest, from which they had fled.

As opposition to Baby Doc grew and his hold on power weakened, vibrations of rebellion in Brooklyn, Queens, Miami, and other Haitian communities in the U.S., resonant with those throughout Haiti, rose and fell with conditions in the beloved country.

The Duvalier signature means of intimidation — bodies of its most recent victims left casually in the streets and byways to remind the people the next morning of the price of disobedience — became daily fare.

The U.S., to defuse outcry and support for revolution, sent recruiters — agents provocateurs — house-to-house and through the streets, to find and recruit young men identified by U.S. intelligence as hostile to the Duvalier regime. Many were escorted to an airfield on Long Island to see a plane without markings loaded with guns to be used, they were told, in the overthrow of the Duvalier regime. A planeload of eager recruits was flown to New Orleans. They were promised training to participate in an invasion of Haiti.

Among these was the youngest son of fourteen children in the Perpignon family, who escaped separately with their mother from Haiti after their father, a prominent lawyer, was murdered by Duvalier in his first days as President. Duvalier had his body dragged through the streets of Port-au-Prince behind a mule for a week.

The men were set up in rooms in a motel and questioned in front of a concealed camera. They were asked why they wanted to overthrow the government of Haiti and encouraged to boast about what they would do when they captured Duvalier.

More than 40 Haitians and Haitian-Americans were then arrested in New Orleans, far from their homes, and charged with violations of the Neutrality Act of 1797, an act U.S. agents and paid assets violate every day. Most were released within a few days when lawyers retained by their families showed up to meet with them. Despite the criminality of the entrapment, and the fact that all freely admitted they were not in condition to capture a Boy Scout camp, some remained in jail for several months. This was late 1985: The last year for Duvalier.

Within the U.S., editors in the flourishing Haitian exile media, risked assassination as befell the courageous anti-Duvalierist Firmin Joseph, a founder of *Haiti Progrès*, in front of his home in Brooklyn in 1983. Thirteen years later, Emmanuel "Toto" Constant, who headed a U.S.-supported death-squad called FRAPH before and after the U.S. invasion in 1994, found asylum in New York. For other

leaders of the 1991-94 coup d'état in Haiti, Washington arranged golden exiles in countries like Panama, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic.

Finally, after nearly 30 years under the heel of the Duvaliers, condoned, if not protected, by the U.S. government, the end had come. On February 7, 1986, Jean-Claude Duvalier and his family, with most of their possessions, flew on a U.S. Air Force C-130 cargo plane to France, where he has lived safe and comforted by the spoils from the toils of countless Haitians he abused so badly.

The question must be asked: how could the heirs of slaves who defeated Napoleon and who founded freedom in the hemisphere be subjugated to such petit tyranny? This book will help find the answer and the means of ending its furtherance.

A liberation theology priest, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, trusted because the people had witnessed him share their danger and privation, ran for President in the first real post-Duvalier elections in 1990 over the muted but fierce opposition of the U.S. The U.S. choice, Marc Bazin, who had served at the World Bank in Washington, was provided millions of dollars in direct support and assistance and highly touted in the subservient U.S. media. Aristide with no resources, soft-spoken, but honest, won by a huge margin, with some 67% of the vote. Bazin, who came in second, bought 14% of the vote.

Aristide, despite support from the overwhelming majority of the people of Haiti was driven from office within nine months by the U.S. organized, armed and trained military and police. At least twice he had escaped attempts on his life. Finally on September 30, 1991, with only a handful of Haitian security officers trained by the Presidential Protection Service of France, bearing just side arms and rifles, President Aristide was trapped inside the Presidential Palace. Outside thousands of loyal supporters, a huge Haitian throng, unarmed but offering their bodies as protection, faced an army with overwhelming firepower. The dreaded Colonel Michel François in his red jeep led his police force in assaulting the Palace and the crowd. President Aristide faced the end.

Hundreds of Tonton Macoute long alleged to have been disbanded, could be seen in their blue jeans and red bandannas milling about the center of the city, a warning to the wary.

President Aristide was saved by the intrepid ambassador of France, Rafael Dufour, who with perfect timing drove to the Presidential Palace, placed President Aristide in his limousine, drove to the diplomatic departures area at the international airport, and escorted the president to a plane ready to depart for Venezuela.

Duvalier was flown to life on the French Riviera by the U.S. Air Force. The U.S., fully aware of Aristide's peril, did nothing to protect him.

Within a year, Marc Bazin was Haiti's de facto prime minister. And that is about how long he lasted. Popular protest forced his resignation. The U.S. could install him in office, but for all its power, it could not keep him there.

The richness of Haitian culture and character has survived all these centuries

of suffering. The "Renaissance in Haiti" in the 1940s was forced into exile for its open expression, but it was never silenced. Haitian authors and poets like Felix Morisseau-Leroy, Paul Laraque, Edwidge Danticat, Patrick Sylvain, Danielle Georges, artists and intellectuals, musicians and singers carried the torch of Haitian culture and truth abroad. They knew

**you say democracy
and it's the annexation of Texas
the hold-up of the Panama Canal
the occupation of Haiti
the colonization of Puerto Rico
the bombing of Guatemala**

from "*Reign of a Human Race*," by Paul Laraque.

In September 1994, to "stop brutal atrocities" and "restore President Aristide to office," the U.S., having secured United Nations approval, landed a 20,000-troop, high-tech military force in Haiti, accepted, if at the last moment, by the military government of Haiti. It was an army of the same size as that led by General Leclerc who came to destroy the "First of the Blacks." It was called "Operation Restore Democracy." It met no armed resistance, suffered no casualties, but managed to kill several dozen Haitians.

In 1915, an excuse for U.S. intervention had been the slaughter of some 200 political prisoners at the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince.

This time, the U.S. priority was "force protection," the security of its own men. It made no plans or efforts to protect political prisoners, or other Haitians. Once again, Haiti suffered under a U.S. occupation.

A lone U.S. Army captain, Lawrence Rockwood, assigned to counter-intelligence and aware of the danger faced by political prisoners held by the FADH, the Armed Forces of Haiti, made a valiant effort to persuade the military command to take quick and easy action to protect prisoners at the National Penitentiary, to no avail. The FADH, generally supported by the U.S., represented the spirit of militarism that had contributed so much to death and human suffering over five centuries in Haiti. The prisoners were not seen as friends of the United States.

Rockwood went alone, over the wall of the military compound at the airport, found his way to the National Penitentiary, succeeded in gaining entry, and secured the facility. He observed a hundred or more prisoners, several score in conditions as bad as those in any prison of Duvalier, and by his mere presence protected the others. For his effort, though a fourth generation officer in the U.S. Army, he was court-marshaled, threatened with seven years imprisonment, and finally separated from the service as a danger to the morale of the military. He is the perfect military officer for a free and democratic nation and for international

peacekeeping. For these reasons, he was no longer acceptable to the U.S. Army.

The U.S. had waited out three years of Aristide's presidency. With most of his term stolen, President Aristide returned to Haiti and served the final year. Although most Haitians called for Aristide to serve out the three years he spent in exile, Washington forbade it. He stepped down. But he did not run from the people of Haiti, and after five years he was elected to his second term at the beginning of the second millennium.

With the steady opposition of the U.S., and we know not what acts of subversion by it, the provocateurs of the old establishment seeking to return to the past, and the ever present poverty, progress has not been easy.

But a new day for Haiti is essential if the world is to address its greatest challenge: to end the exploitation of the growing masses of poor everywhere in the face of greater concentration of wealth and power in the few who have in their control armies with the capacity of omnicide and media that can veil the truth and mislead the poor to self-destruction.

The challenge for all who seek peace and freedom and economic justice, a decent standard of life for all, and believe the cycle of tragedy and misery for Haiti and all the poor nations and peoples of earth must be broken is to unite in a vision of peace and compassion and persevere until they prevail.

There is no other way to fulfill the promised legacy of Toussaint Louverture as written by William Wordsworth, deeply troubled by Toussaint's imprisonment two hundred years ago. It is the legacy we must promise all Haitians.

To Toussaint Louverture

Toussaint, the most unhappy man of men!
 Whether the whistling rustic tend his plough
 Within thy hearing, or thy head be now
 Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den —
 O miserable Chieftain! where and when
 Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not; do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow:
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
 Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
 Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies;
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
 Thy friends are exaltations, agonies,
 And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

☞ Now ~ To All Haitians



THE MIDDLE EAST

Letter to President Bush

February 12, 1991

President George H. W. Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington, D.C.

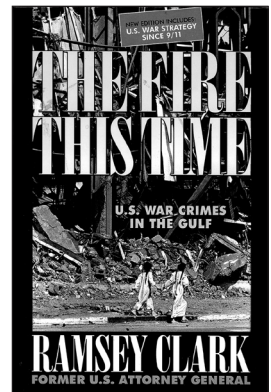
Dear Mr. President:

During the period February 2 to February 8, 1991, I traveled in Iraq to assess the damage to civilian life there resulting from the bombing and the embargo, including civilian deaths, injuries, illness and destruction and damage to civilian property. I was accompanied by an experienced camera team that has filmed war and its destructiveness in many countries including Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippines and Vietnam. Their film documents most of the damage I mention in this letter and some I do not. In our party was an Iraqi-American guide and translator who has family in Baghdad and Basra and is personally familiar with those cities and many other areas of Iraq. He had last visited Baghdad, Basra and Kuwait City in December 1990.

We traveled over 2,000 miles in seven days to view damage, learn of casualties, discuss the effects of the bombing with government officials, public health and safety agency staffs and private families and individuals. We had cooperation from the government of Iraq including Ministers, Governors, health and medical officials and civil defense personnel. The bombing in all parts of Iraq made travel difficult, requiring caution for bomb craters and damage to highways and roads and making night driving especially hazardous.

The damage to residential areas and civilian structures, facilities and utilities was extensive everywhere we went. Every city and town we visited or that was

Letter to George H. W. Bush about the air assault's impact on civilians. Written after a trip to Iraq, February 2-8, 1991, during the U.S. bombing. First published in *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf* (1992).



reported to us had no municipal water, electricity or telephone service. Parts of Baghdad had limited delivery of impure water for an hour a day.

The effect of damage to municipal water systems on health and safety is tremendous. The Minister of Health considered potable water for human consumption the single greatest health need in the country. Tens of thousands are known to suffer diarrhea and stomach disorders. There are believed to be hundreds of thousands of unreported cases. Several thousands are believed to have died.

There is no electric lighting in the cities, towns and countryside in daytime or the long winter nights, except for a few interior spaces like hospital emergency rooms where gasoline generators are available. The meaning of this is brought home most painfully in the hospitals at night.

In the hospitals, there is no heat, no clean water except limited quantities for drinking supplied in bottles, no electric light in wards and hospital rooms, and inadequate medicine, even for pain alleviation, in the face of a great increase in critically and severely injured persons. Doctors we talked with in four hospitals are deeply concerned over the absence or shortage of needed medicine and sanitary supplies. Surgeons and medics treating wounds cannot keep their hands clean or gloved, and work in the cold, in poor light with greatly increased numbers of patients in unrelieved pain. Seven hospitals are reported closed by bomb damage. Many if not most have had windows shattered.

Schools are closed. Homes are cold. Candles are the principal lighting. Telephone communication does not exist. Transportation is extremely limited. Gasoline is scarce. Roads and bridges are bombing targets. There is no television. Radio reception is limited to battery powered radios which can receive short-wave signals, a few transmissions from Iraq stations or nearby foreign stations. According to the Ministry of Health, hospital officials and the Red Crescent, there is a substantial increase in falls, home accidents, stress, nervous disorders, shock, heart attack, miscarriage and premature births and infant mortality. Nightly air raids, the sounds of sirens, anti-aircraft fire and the explosion of bombs have placed a great strain on the society as a whole, but particularly on children and individuals with nervous system or heart disorders.

Dr. Ibrahim Al-Nouri has been head of the Red Crescent and Red Cross of Iraq for ten years. He is a pediatrician by training who interned at Children's Hospital in London, later headed Children's Hospital in Baghdad and served in the Ministry of Health for some years, rising to Deputy Minister. Dr. Noore estimates that there have been 3,000 infant deaths since November 1, 1990 in excess of the normal rate, attributable solely to the shortage of infant milk formula and medicines. Only 14 tons of baby formula have been received during that period. Prior monthly national consumption was approximately 2,500 tons.

One of the early targets of U.S. bombing was the infant and baby milk processing facility in Baghdad. No Iraqi with whom we talked assumed this was

a coincidence. The U.S. claim that the plant manufactured chemical warfare material is false. A French company built it. The twenty or more people whom we interviewed, who operated it, who visited it before its destruction and who have examined it since without ill effect all say it was a plant processing infant and baby milk formula. In a lengthy and unrestricted examination of the plant, we saw no evidence to the contrary.

In all areas we visited and all other areas reported to us, municipal water processing plants, pumping stations and even reservoirs have been bombed. Electric generators have been destroyed. Refineries and oil and gasoline storage facilities and filling stations have been attacked. Telephone exchange buildings, TV and radio stations, and some radio telephone relay stations and towers have been damaged or destroyed. Many highways, roads, bridges, bus stations, schools, mosques and churches, cultural sites, and hospitals have been damaged. Government buildings including Executive Offices of the President, the Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, Ministry for Industry and Justice Ministry have been destroyed or damaged.

Ambassadors of member states should ask themselves if their capitals, major cities and towns were similarly destroyed and damaged by such bombing, would they consider the targets to be permissible under the International Laws of Armed Conflict. Imagine the reaction if water, electricity, telephones, gasoline, heating and air conditioning, TV and radio were denied to Lima and Arequipa, Lagos and Ibadan, Washington and Chicago, Paris and Marseilles, New Delhi and Calcutta, to Canberra and Sydney, while civilians were bombed in their homes, businesses, shops, markets, schools, churches, hospitals, public places, and roadways.

How can destruction of municipal electricity for Mosul, the telephone system for the people of Baghdad, the municipal water supplies for Basra, or shooting defenseless public buses and private cars on the road to Jordan and elsewhere possibly be justified as necessary to drive Iraq from Kuwait? If it can be so justified, then the United Nations has authorized the destruction of all civilian life of a whole nation.

The effect of the bombing, if continued, will be the destruction of much of the physical and economic basis for life in Iraq. The purpose of the bombing can only be explained rationally as the destruction of Iraq as a viable state for a generation or more. Must the United Nations be a party to this lawless violence?

I will briefly describe destruction to residential areas in some of the cities and towns we visited. In Basra Governor Abdullah Adjram described the bombing as of February 6 as worse than during the Iran-Iraq war. We carefully probed five residential areas that had been bombed.

1. A middle class residential area was heavily damaged at 9:30 P.M. on January 31. Twenty-eight persons were reported killed, 56 were injured, 20 homes and six shops were destroyed.

2. On January 22, an upper middle class residential neighborhood was shattered by three bombs destroying or extensively damaging more than 15 homes and reportedly injuring 40 persons, but without any deaths.
3. On January 24, an upper middle class neighborhood was bombed, killing eight, injuring 26 and destroying three homes and damaging many others.
4. On February 4, described by officials as the heaviest bombing of Basra to February 6, at 2:35 A.M., 14 persons were killed, 46 injured and 128 apartments and homes destroyed or damaged together with an adjacent Pepsi-Cola bottling plant and offices across a wide avenue. The area devastated was three blocks deep on both sides of streets. At least fifteen cars were visible, crushed in garages. Small anti-personnel bombs were alleged to have fallen here and we saw what appeared to be one that did not explode embedded in rubble. We were shown the shell of a "mother" bomb which carries the small fragmentation bombs.
5. On January 28, about eighteen units in a very large low cost public housing project were destroyed or severely damaged, killing 46 and injuring 70. The nearby high school was damaged by a direct hit on a corner. The elementary school across the street was damaged.

On the evening of February 5 at 8:30 P.M. while our small group was dining alone by candlelight in the Sheraton Basra, three large bomb blasts broke glass in the room. We went upstairs to the roof. From there I saw one bomb fall into the Shatt-Al-Arab beyond the Teaching Hospital to the south throwing a column of water high into the air; another bomb hit near the Shatt. As agreed upon earlier, civil defense officials came to take us to the blast sites. They were 1.2 km down the street near the Shatt. Al Arab. I had walked by the area about 6:30 P.M.

We found two buildings destroyed. It is an apartment and residential home area. One was a family club, the other a night club. If either had been open scores of people would have been killed. Palm trees were sheared off and shrapnel, rocks, dirt and glass covered the street for several hundred feet. We were unable to enter the buildings that night.

We returned the next morning and were told both buildings were empty at the time by the owners who were looking at the damage. The teaching hospital, about 150 yards distant, which had been closed for a week following earlier bombing, was without windows. It apparently received no new damage. As with all the other civilian damage we saw we could find no evidence of any military presence in the area. Here, there was no utility or facility that were frequent, if illegal, targets either. There were only homes, apartments and a few shops, grocery stores and other businesses found in residential areas, plus two small bridges connecting the hospital to the mainland.

We were informed by a variety of sources including visual observation during

extensive driving in Basra, that many other residential properties had been hit and that the five areas we filmed were a minor fraction of the civilian damage that had occurred.

At the central market where more than 1,000 shops and vendors sell fruits, vegetables, fish, meat, foodstuffs and other items, a bomb leaving a huge crater had demolished a building with a grocery store and other shops and damaged an entry area to the market at about 4:00 P.M. It reportedly killed eight persons and injured 40.

We examined the rubble of a Sunni Moslem Mosque, Al Makal, where a family of 12 had taken sanctuary. The minaret remained standing. Ten bodies were found under the rubble and identified by a family member who had returned from his military post when informed of the tragedy. The dead included his wife and four young children.

In Diwaniya, a smaller town, we examined the same types of civilian damage we witnessed elsewhere and that was reported everywhere. In the town center, apparently seeking to destroy the radio telephone relay equipment in the post office, bombing had damaged the tower and the office. We saw many similar or identical relay towers in the region that had not been attacked. Adjacent to the Post Office on the central circle of the city, three small hotels of 30 to 50 rooms were destroyed together with a host of shops, cafes, and offices including those of doctors and lawyers. We were told 12 people were killed and 35 injured. More damage could be seen across the circle among business and apartment buildings from one or more bombs that fell there.

Near the outskirts of town, four more-or-less contiguous residential areas had been bombed. Twenty-three persons were reported killed and 75 injured. Two schools were badly damaged. There was no water, electricity or telephone service. A water irrigation station was destroyed. Other damage was witnessed while driving around the town. On the outskirts an oil tank was on fire, one of more than a dozen we saw burning during our travels.

Baghdad has been more accessible to foreign observation than Basra and other places in Iraq. It will only be highlighted. We examined extensive damage on a main street in the blocks next to and across the street from the Ministry of Justice which had all its windows on one side blasted out. I know that area as a busy poor commercial residential area from walking through it on the way to the National Museum and visiting the Justice Ministry. A large supermarket, eight other stores and six or eight houses were destroyed or badly damaged. Across the street, one bomb hit on the sidewalk and another was a direct hit on housing behind the street front properties. Six shops, a restaurant and several other stores plus 9 or 10 homes were destroyed, or badly damaged. We could not get an agreed account of casualties from the 40 or 50 people standing around the damage. Some said as many as 30 died and many more were injured.

We visited a residential area where several homes were destroyed on February 7. Six persons in one family were killed in an expensive home and several others in adjacent properties. One 500 lb. bomb had failed to explode and the tail was seen above the thick concrete roof when a member of our team first drove by. When we returned, the bomb had been removed. Our camera team visited the hospital where the injured were taken later that afternoon. The critically injured father from the home where the bomb failed to explode was there. This was one of four hospitals treating persons injured in bombings that we visited.

A bus station was hit by a bomb and the stained glass in a nearby mosque shattered. We were unable to learn if anyone was killed though 40-50 people were at the station near midnight when we drove by on our arrival.

We saw five different damaged telephone exchanges while driving around Baghdad and many destroyed and damaged government and private buildings. Bridges in Baghdad were a frequent target though damage to them was minimal when we left. The bridges are not a legitimate military target. Even Defense Ministry buildings are occupied by non-combatants. The telephone exchanges run by civilians are overwhelmingly processing non-military calls. The military has the most extensive independent communications capacity in the country. These are not legitimate targets and the effort to bomb them necessarily takes civilian lives.

Damage in Basra appeared to be considerably more extensive than in Baghdad and the actual bombing there was much more intensive than at any time we were in Baghdad. There were civilian deaths every night we were in Baghdad.

Visits to the towns of Hilla, Najaf, and Nasiriyah by press corps representatives and our crew found civilian casualties in residential areas of each, damages to a medical clinic, 12 deaths in one family, and 46 deaths in one night of bombing in one town. A small town was bombed a few minutes before we passed through on our drive back from Basra. We saw no military presence there. Smoke could be seen from three fires.

Over the 2,000 miles of highways, roads and streets we traveled, we saw scores, probably several hundred, destroyed vehicles. There were oil tank trucks, tractor trailers, lorries, pickup trucks, a public bus, a mini-bus, a taxicab and many private cars destroyed by aerial bombardment and strafing. Some were damaged when they ran into bomb craters in the highways or road damage caused by bombs and strafing. We found no evidence of military equipment or supplies in the vehicles. Along the roads we saw several oil refinery fires and numerous gasoline stations destroyed. One road repair camp had been bombed on the road to Amman.

As with the city streets in residential, industrial and commercial areas where we witnessed damage, we did not see a single damaged or destroyed military vehicle, tank, armored car, personnel carrier or other military equipment, or evidence of any having been removed. We saw scores of oil tank cars driving between Iraq and Jordan and parked in Jordan, as well as five or six that were destroyed by planes on

the highway. We saw no evidence of any arms or military materiel on or around the destroyed and burned out tank trucks, or those not hit.

No one in the press corps or among the civilians we encountered reported to us that they had seen any evidence of the presence of military vehicles having been hit on the highways or having been in the vicinity of civilian property, or private vehicles hit before, during or after an aerial strike. We saw no evidence of any military presence in the areas of damage described in this letter.

It is preposterous to claim military equipment is being placed in residential areas to escape attack. Residential areas are regularly attacked. The claim reveals a policy of striking residential areas, because it purports to establish a justification for doing so. If there had been military vehicles in the civilian areas we examined, or on the roads and highways we traveled when bombing occurred, it is inconceivable that among all that debris we would not find some fragments of military vehicles, material, equipment or clothing. Not only did pinpoint precision fail to hit military targets in civilian areas, they were not collaterally damaged in the attacks on civilian life. Had they been present they would have been hit.

The government of Iraq has vastly understated civilian casualties in Iraq. This is not an uncommon phenomenon for governments in wartime.

The inescapable and tragic fact is thousands of civilians have been killed in the bombings. The bombings are conducted with this knowledge.

Dr. Nouri, with more than four decades in medical service and ten years as head of Red Crescent, estimates 6,000 to 7,000 civilian deaths, and many thousands of injuries from bombings. Red Crescent vehicles transport medicine and medical supplies into Iraq from Jordan and Iran. They make deliveries as often as two to three times a week to some cities and hospitals but regularly to hospitals throughout the country. These contacts and hospital requests for medicines and supplies along with the relationships established over the years provide a solid base for his opinion.

He adds to the toll thousands of deaths from failure to obtain adequate supplies of infant formula and medicine, from contaminated water and from increased death rates from stress, heart attacks and similar causes.

While I applaud the UN initiative in designating a mission to Baghdad to carry medical supplies and ascertain the health needs of the Iraqi people, I urge you to seek major funding now or release of Iraqi funds for supplying 2,500 tons of infant and baby milk formula, greatly needed medicines and sanitation supplies, municipal water system restoration and water purification.

The bombing constitutes the most grievous violation of international law. It is intended to destroy the civilian life and economy of Iraq. It is not necessary, meaningful or permissible as a means of driving Iraq from Kuwait.

No UN resolution authorizes any military assault on Iraq, except as is necessary to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The bombing that has occurred through-

out Iraq is the clearest violation of international law and norms for armed conflict, including the Hague and Geneva Conventions and the Nuremberg Charter. It is uncivilized, brutal and racist by any moral standard. With few if any exceptions we witnessed, the destruction is not conceivably within the language or contemplation of Security Council Resolution 678/44.

I urge you to immediately notify the Member States of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the information herein provided. I urge you to ask for the creation of an investigative body to examine the effect of U.S. bombing of Iraq on the civilian life of the country. Most urgent, I ask you to do everything within your power to stop the bombing of cities, civilian population, public utilities, public highways, bridges and all other civilian areas and facilities in Iraq, and elsewhere. If there is no ceasefire, bombing must be limited to military targets in Kuwait, concentrations of military forces in Iraq near the border of Kuwait, operational military air fields or identified Scud launching sites or mobile missile launchers in Iraq. If a cease fire is not achieved, the immediate cessation of this lawless bombing of civilian and noncombatants is essential.

The use of highly sophisticated military technology with mass destructive capacity by rich nations against an essentially defenseless civilian population of a poor nation is one of the great tragedies of our time. United States annual military expenditures alone are four times the gross national product of Iraq.

We have 6-7 hours of videotape of much of the damage to civilian life and property described above. It includes painful hospital interviews with children, women and men injured in these assaults. The tape was not reviewed or in any way examined by anyone in Iraq before we left, and the actual filming was largely unobserved by any Iraqi official. This footage is being edited. I will send you a copy as soon as it is ready within the next few days. If you wish to have the entire tapes reviewed, let me know and I will arrange a screening.

Copies of this letter are being sent to Secretary Perez de Cuellar, President Hussein, and the United Nations Ambassadors for the United States and Iraq.

Sincerely,

Ramsey Clark

A New Form of Violence

Five years ago today Iraq was being subjected to a new form of violence that hadn't been experienced on this planet.

It couldn't see the enemy, except for vapor trails perhaps. It couldn't reach the enemy, but it was being subjected to devastating bombardment from abroad. One hundred ten thousand aerial sorties in forty-two days by the United States alone. That's one every thirty seconds. In an admission against interest, the Pentagon says U.S. aircraft alone dropped the equivalent of 7.5 Hiroshimas — 88,500 tons of explosives.

They say about 7 percent were directed — I'm not high on high tech myself — with great accuracy. Accurate enough to hit pretty darn close. You wouldn't want to be around if they were coming after you. They were intended specifically to destroy the life-support system of a whole country. Have you ever heard of anything like that?

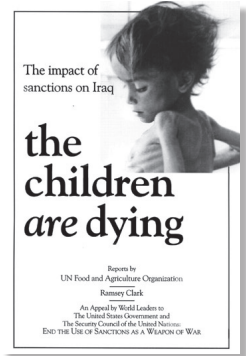
This is an assault you can't resist. If you don't believe it, consider two uncontested facts: Not a single armored vehicle of the U.S. or the other people out there as part of the aggressive force against Iraq was hit by enemy fire. Not one. But the F-111 fighter planes claim to have aerial photography proving that they "kinked" 1,700 Iraqi vehicles — destroyed them by laser-directed rocketry and bombs.

I was once a platoon commander in the Marines. If my men had been in those tanks, I'd say get the hell out of them, stay as far away from them as you can, because it's suicide to be in them. Because you will never see the plane, never hear the plane, just get blown to smithereens.

The United States lost fewer aircraft in 110,000 aerial sorties than it lost in war games for NATO where no live ammunition was used. When you fly that many flights, a few crash, that's all. With all the NATO war games, our casualty rate, without live ammunition, was higher than the assaults on Iraq.

There is not a reservoir, a pumping station, a filtration plant that wasn't deliberately destroyed by U.S. bombing to deprive the people of water. By the time I arrived in Baghdad on Groundhog Day of 1991, February 2, dump trucks were backing into the Tigris, lowering their tail gates, letting the water come in, closing

Speech to an IAC forum held on the 5th anniversary of war against Iraq, Jan. 20, 1996, New York. First published in *The Children Are Dying* (1998)



the tail gates and driving out. Seems to me there would be a lot of leakage. They did it to take the water to people, raw water from the Tigris.

The head of the Red Crescent, Dr. Alluring, told me that week there were 6,000 deaths from dysentery and vomiting. They didn't have simple dehydration tablets costing a penny apiece. The babies simply died. Whoever got that bad water couldn't last long. It's not fun. The only liquid you have for dehydration is more of the dirty water that made you sick in the first place.

We knocked out the power. It doesn't sound like a big deal. You can get along without lights for a little while. But it meant, among other things, that 90 percent of the poultry was lost in a matter of days, because they had had a very sophisticated system of raising chickens — like I've seen driving around the countryside in Texas. They lost over a third of all their livestock — goats, sheep, whatever they had. Another third was driven out of the country to save them. Because you couldn't pump water. They either died or you got them across the border where they could get something to eat and drink. You didn't have food or forage — that was used up during the five months of the blockade already in effect.

We systematically destroyed every aspect of the food system we reasonably could — not a grain silo left standing in the country, not a food distribution center, a food processing center, not even the famous date processors. You can live on dates for a while, but they're too sweet for a regular diet.

Why were we destroying fertilizer plants, fertilizer storage, insecticide storage, insecticide plants? Why were there fires in grain fields? It's a lot of work starting fires in grain fields, unless you use napalm from planes or helicopters. Even then, it takes a lot of napalm. Fields are big places. Yet fires were reported all over. Even strafing cattle — like South Africa used to do in southern Angola. It looked like the Depression in the thirties in the cattle country of the Southwest. Just skeletons of steers lying around. They wanted to destroy the food supplies.

We drove 2,200 miles and even at that time I didn't see a single hospital that wasn't damaged. I didn't see a single hospital in Baghdad that didn't have the windows out. We saw some in the towns and villages that were flattened. Little things like a factory that manufactures hypodermic needles for injections — wiped out.

You can't dissociate the military violence from the sanctions because you can't enforce the sanctions without the military violence. Only the powerful and the rich can enforce sanctions and only the weak and the poor will suffer them. And that's inherent in the nature of the beast.

I saw Dan Rather say that the real cause of poverty was not the sanctions, it was the Iran-Iraq war. Let me tell you, the Iran-Iraq war was awful. It ended almost a decade ago. But any fool who dared to say that is claiming that \$20 billion a year in oil sales wouldn't have made a difference in the quality of life of the people in Iraq. That's what Iraq could sell if it weren't for the sanctions. That wouldn't make a difference? You wouldn't have a little food, a little medicine if you could sell your oil? Rubbish! What kinds of fools are we taken for, really?

I mourn for the 148 Americans who died. Rather said, at the end of the show, that “There’s one thing we can all agree on” — without saying a thing about the Iraqis who died or are dying — “it’s the heroism of the 148 Americans who gave their lives so that freedom could live.” He didn’t mention that a majority of them died from what we call “friendly fire,” which means that we shot them! He didn’t mention the African American family who were told their son died a hero’s death, virtually in hand-to-hand combat with the Iraqis, when nobody got within 3,000 meters of Iraqi ground troops.

What really happened to their son? He was in a Bradley armored personnel carrier and his legs were cut off by a depleted uranium rocket, a silver bullet as we call it. It came right through and cut his legs off. His family finally got a letter a month later describing how they tried to pull him out of the turret. He can’t stand up, he keeps falling over. What’s the matter? He doesn’t have any legs. He dies by an American rocket and they tell his family . . . well, they’re nauseated. We’ve lost a son, our hearts are broken, and our government lies to us about how it happened.

It never mentions the tons of depleted uranium that will infect the lives and health of the Iraqi people with a radioactive half-life of 125,000 years.

Why didn’t they go to Baghdad? A general on the Rather show said they could have been there in a goddamn 36 hours, there was not one soldier to stand in the way, Republican Guards or anything else. But they needed a demon to bring the country down for five years, they didn’t want the Iraqi people mobilizing under new Iraqi leadership.

Never forget Vietnam. Our war against the Vietnamese people was awful. But our twenty years of sanctions after the war were far crueler, far deadlier and never even recognized. That’s what brought them down to utter poverty, that’s what brought their living standard below that of Mozambique, that’s what forced them out into the sea in open boats into settlements in Hong Kong and places like that. They were crushed. A people who during the bombing were so proud they could raise five tons of rice per hectare, working night and day, cut off from everything for twenty years, until finally there is nothing left except an agreement. And the next day Pepsi blimps flying over Ho Chi Minh City. Free at last, thank God almighty, free at last.

One crime against humanity exceeds all others in its magnitude, its cruelty in all the ways that humanity has discovered to be cruel to each other, and most significantly in what it means for the future: sanctions. The sanctions against Iraq are the most dramatic, crushing, unbearable example. And let me tell you that in Cuba today, the food intake, caloric and otherwise, is still less than two-thirds what it ought to be. One of the great human beings of our time is there today with a million dollars worth of medicine for a people who are deprived of medicine: His name is Muhammed Ali. He’s got a lot of medicine for Parkinson’s disease.

The United States alone imposes that embargo on 11 million people in Cuba. Every man, woman, and child there. And it does it in defiance of all the nations of the world. Over one hundred nations have voted in the UN to condemn the

United States for its unilateral blockade against Cuba.

These sanctions are a killer beyond compare. They have killed five or ten people for every person who died from the assault on Iraq. They have injured far more. You've got over 30 percent of the population under ten stunted in their physical and mental development from malnutrition in the early years of their lives, the number of underweight births is five times what it was before. If you are born under two kilos [4.5 pounds], you're going to have a hard time, you won't live a very happy life. You'll have lots of aches and pains, and you probably won't live very long.

We're doing that deliberately and we know it. And systematically — because we want to cripple that country so it won't bother us again and so we can have its oil with impunity. We are now spending \$50 billion on military personnel and equipment in the Gulf per year. Do you realize that? It's 20 percent of our total military budget. It exceeds NATO; it exceeds Japan; it exceeds Korea.

It's exactly what we said in Indictment 19 in the War Crimes Tribunal. The United States has by force secured a permanent military presence in the Gulf, for control of its oil resources and geopolitical domination of the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf area. Do you know what our imports from that area are? \$15 billion. We're spending \$50 billion on the military and we're importing \$15 billion in oil. Now tell me how a businessman makes money like that?

Part of it, of course, is that we are ripping off Japan, which gets half its oil from there, and we get the cream, and Europe gets 25 percent of its oil from there, and we get the cream from that. You and I can use some of that money for the homeless here, the people we care about, the hungry, the schools, all the things that are needed.

We have to find the will to tell our government it must end its economic sanctions, because it's our government alone that's doing it. It's not the UN. It's not the Security Council. Of the five permanent members, three have agitated every way they can — the People's Republic of China, France, the Russian Federation — to end the sanctions. It's the United States that wants the sanctions. It's the United States that is benefiting from the sanctions.

If we can't compel our government to end those sanctions, what freedom can we hope to have for the poor here, what health care can we hope to have for the sick here, what schools can we hope to have for the children here who need education? It is our struggle, our responsibility. We have to end those sanctions, we have to recognize that they are the cruelest form of death.

If you have children, or grandchildren, or loved ones, and they have to choose between dying in an explosion or dying by sanctions — hope and pray they go with the bomb. It's over. With sanctions they'll waste away for months, they'll see the rest of the world watching them die slowly and not doing a thing to save them.

In the cradle of civilization — that's what Iraq was called for a millennium or so — the babies and children are dying at the hand of this technologically advanced society. It worships Mammon and doesn't have the will to defy its own government and say, "Stop this now." We must and will stop it. And we depend on you.

Ban Depleted Uranium Weapons

On December 4, 1990, the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting just a few hundred yards from here and apparently having decided that the United States was determined to attack Iraq and that it was powerless to prevent the attack, resolved that no attack should be made on any nuclear reactor — an inherently dangerous facility. The vote on this resolution was 144 to 1; only the U.S. voted against.

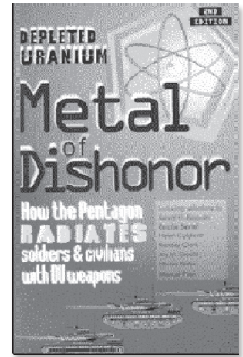
The resolution should not have been necessary — such attacks have been war crimes since Protocol 1 Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1977. Article 56 of the Protocol prohibits what would obviously be catastrophic to life, any “attack (that) may cause the release of dangerous forces... and consequent severe losses among the civilian population.” The article protects works and installations from an attack which can endanger thousands and thousands of people in the immediate vicinity and beyond and perhaps in ways we don’t know.

On January 23 of 1991 — the end of the first week of the assault on Iraq — General Colin Powell announced — and the international media were all there — that Iraq’s “two operating reactors... are both gone. They’re down. They’re finished.” (*New York Times*, January 24, 1991, p. A11.) He said it proudly and no member nation of the UN, no member of the U.S. Congress, no international leader, none of the media said a mumbling word in protest.

A week later on January 30, 1991 — and many of us in this room saw it when it happened — General Schwarzkopf on worldwide television proudly announced that “allied forces,” meaning U.S. forces, had attacked eighteen major chemical plants in Iraq, ten major biological, and three nuclear plants. Apparently one more nuclear plant was attacked than existed. The Geneva Conventions which prohibit making “Works or installations containing dangerous forces the object of attack, even where their objectives are military objectives” were not mentioned. (*New York Times*, January 31, 1991, p. A1.)

No one asked about the effects of such criminal attacks on the people of Iraq. No one asked how it is that the Pentagon can defy with impunity the resolution of the

From a talk given Sept. 12, 1996 at the UN Church Center in New York. First published in *Metal of Dishonor: Depleted Uranium* (1997)



General Assembly and the Geneva Conventions forged from the horrible experiences of the two great world wars of this century, this most violent century in human history.

These proud boasts of senior military officers expose a central problem of militarism: There is no respect for law, or life, there is no restraint on violence, there is no accountability for crimes, there is glorification of superior violence. Worse, there is general applause from the American people. It sounds like a good day's work to have destroyed all those facilities, but there is little concern over what it means for humanity, or, at least, "their" humanity.

After the assault on Iraq, the world slowly learned that there was a new weapon employed against Iraq. There may be others we haven't learned about yet. Those who studied the assault on Iraq saw some evidence of it because this new weapon seemed to be able to penetrate solid steel plates destroying tanks and armored vehicles.

As we began to hear more and more about it from the military, the message was what a wondrous weapon it was. The silver bullet, the Army called it. It's the one that always hits the target in the cause of justice.

After a lot of research and effort while we were working on *The Fire This Time* — our book about the Gulf War — we were able to count from all sources then available between five thousand and six thousand depleted uranium shells fired by the U.S. Army. This was compiled from all sources, including replies by the Pentagon to direct questions. It was the number we could verify by the time we went to press in 1992, after an exhaustive search. The Army now concedes there were at least fourteen thousand depleted-uranium shells fired into Iraq.

All our efforts in research for *The Fire This Time* led us to believe that there were about fifty thousand depleted-uranium missiles and rockets fired from U.S. aircraft in more than 110,000 aerial sorties over Iraq. U.S. aircraft dropped over eighty-eight thousand tons of bombs on that country, the equivalent of seven-and-one-half bombs of the size of the atomic bomb that incinerated Hiroshima. We believed then and reported that there were about fifty thousand DU rockets and missiles fired. Only now are we learning there were probably more than nine hundred thousand rounds of depleted-uranium ammunition fired on Iraq.

The Pentagon does not seem to care about the consequences of its use of depleted uranium, even for its own soldiers, and certainly not for people living in southern Iraq and the other areas in Iraq where there was a concentrated presence of depleted uranium from this kind of firing. The Pentagon doesn't care about future generations, or what widespread release of depleted uranium might mean to survival of life on the planet. The Pentagon has a new weapon and it intends to deploy and use it and sell it to other governments regardless of the consequences of its use. It will go right on. It will deploy, even sell depleted uranium missiles worldwide. It will cover up its deployment, use and sales; it will lie about its use and distribution of this extremely dangerous substance. And it will flout the law.

Pentagon scientists and contractors in the laboratories are working to find more efficient means of killing people on the quick. We have to stop it, or it will stop us.

And if we don't have the will to do it, then perhaps it is justice that we suffer the consequences. This is because we are responsible for the acts of our agents and, like it or not, they are our agents.

How many years did it take to find out about Agent Orange? How long will the struggle go on to find the real consequences of DU? How many soldiers will die from exposure to DU weapons and debris from their use? What are the causes of "Gulf War Syndrome"?

If you want to see professionals suffer, look at the doctors in Iraq. It's wonderful to read about the doctors of Japan working with all the resources, facilities, medicines and therapies to help surviving victims of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nobel laureate Kinzaburo Oe's book *Hiroshima Notes* tells of the doctors who treated those victims, what courageous professionals they were, some devoting their whole careers and lives to the even more courageous Japanese who bore the living death scars of those blasts. But the doctors in Iraq work with nothing except their wits and their training, for they have no medicines, no medical supplies, no sanitation, not even pain killers, nothing to help the thousands still dying monthly in Iraq from the combined effects of aerial assaults and the sanctions.

In the south of Iraq, with all the horror they had seen during the bombing, medical doctors had rarely heard of diseases caused by severe malnutrition such as kwashiorkor and marasmus. Soon tens of thousands of people were dying from them. Bad water, spoiled food, dehydration, uncontrolled preventable diseases were killing thousands and thousands of people each year.

Then in 1993, when we went back to Iraq, doctors told us that suddenly they were seeing things that were very difficult to understand, that they hadn't seen before. They were diagnosing many more people with leukemia, particularly children. There were increases in leukemia, tumors, cancers, birth defects, unlike anything they had seen before, or heard of.

When we went to Iraq in 1994 the cause of these radical increases in leukemia, tumors, cancers, birth defects and other problems had become the preeminent concern for the Ministry of Health in Iraq. They didn't know where the tumors were coming from: What was causing these tragic, death-dealing unprecedented increases in this range of abnormalities. They just knew the numbers of new cases were leaping out at them. They still don't know when it will stop or how far such cases will spread. But they are convinced that the many tons of depleted uranium left in their soil, ground water and air is the major, perhaps sole contributing cause of this human tragedy.

Iraq is a country that has lost a million people to sanctions. This is a crime against humanity. Sanctions are a weapon of mass destruction like a neutron bomb. Sanctions kill life and preserve property. However, DU is even more dangerous. We know about hunger and we know about sickness and what happens when we don't have food and medicines for the sick and hungry. We know food and medicines can prevent hunger and heal the sick. But we really don't know the full consequences

from what the Pentagon has done and is doing with depleted uranium, only that nothing has stopped the Pentagon from doing what it wants to do and that depleted uranium can kill, cause cancer, mutations and will continue to do its work at more than half its present force for two hundred fifty thousand years.

If the U.S. military wants to bomb Iraq tomorrow [September 13, 1996] as it has done often since September 1991, it will do it. If it chooses to use depleted-uranium shells, when will we know?

This government defies world opinion. Consider the blockade against Cuba. The United Nations General Assembly voted again last year to condemn the United States for its blockade against Cuba. This time the margin was 107 for condemnation, two [the U.S. and Israel] against. Washington couldn't care less. Even if the whole nation is hungry and every living human being in Cuba or in Iraq suffers, the U.S. government intends to continue this policy.

It is a vital moment in the struggle to prevent the use of depleted uranium and sanctions that punish an entire population. DU is a symbol of the challenge to people who want to stop such mindless violence. Sanctions are the symbol of the challenge to people who want to end poverty, hunger, sickness and their uses to control poor nations.

If we in the United States can come to grips with the absolute need to stop DU and sanctions, it is conceivable that we can meet the challenge to stop all uses of technology against life, even those grimmest reapers — militarism and forced impoverishment as a means of control.

Is it acceptable by any human standard that we would permit for one moment one weapon using depleted uranium to be manufactured, to be stored, to be used, or one child to die of sanctions?

No! We must stop both now. End them now. Abolish DU weapons, criminalize sanctions, prohibit them forever. Deal with the manufacture and use of DU weapons as the war crime it is. Deal with sanctions as a crime against humanity. Prosecute those who violate the law. And realize that this is only the beginning of the challenge.

Technology was supposed to be able to liberate all of humanity from want. Instead it exposes humanity to unprecedented suffering and death. Technology is used both to create weapons of mass destruction and to isolate whole populations to enforce death dealing sanctions. If we don't come to grips with the effects of technology used against life, that same technology, that liberator, will destroy us. Weapons technology is not the liberation we should seek. The question is, who is to be the master of technology — the people, or the plutocracy?

We need your help. We must accept this challenge and persevere for the duration in this struggle. We must stop DU now, and sanctions and militarism and nuclear weapons and plutocracy which wrings its wealth from the suffering of the poor.

The Impact of UN Sanctions on the Civilian Population of Iraq

I have just returned from my seventh trip to inspect hospitals, food supplies and general health in Iraq since imposition of the genocidal United Nations sanctions on Hiroshima Day 1990.

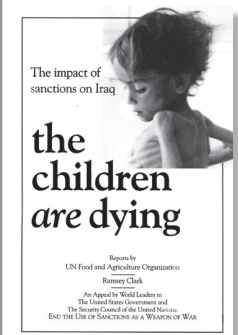
Over these years the general health of the people of Iraq has drastically and steadily deteriorated as a direct result of United States forced sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

Deterioration in health, medical supplies and increased death rates caused by U.N. sanctions

On this trip I found health and hospital conditions poorer than ever. Rates of illness in every category are at all time highs. The physical conditions of the hospitals, medical care facilities, pharmaceutical and medical supplies plants continue to decline. Availability of medicines, medical supplies and working equipment are at the lowest level since 1989. Every doctor reports that patients they could save die every day. Often their patients die in their presence because of shortages of medicine, medical supplies and operational medical equipment.

The overall death rate from monitored causes due to the sanctions has increased each year since 1989. For children under age five the increase in deaths exceeds a multiple of 8, from 7,100 in 1989 to 57,000 in 1996. For persons over age 5 the death rate has increased more than 4 times, from 20,200 to 83,200. Diseases related to malnutrition continue to increase. Kwashiorkor, virtually unknown in 1980, has increased nearly 60 times to reach 21,000 cases last year, marasmus 50 times to 192,000 cases last year. Other malnutrition related illnesses have increased 18 fold to 1,354,000 cases in 1996.

Ramsey Clark's Report
to the Members of the
UN Security Council
November 14, 1997
First published in *The
Children Are Dying*
(1998)



Sicknesses related to poor sanitation continue a steady increase. Last year amoebic dysentery was up 27 fold to 243,000 cases. Malaria increased more than 7 fold to 32,000 cases. Typhoid fever 8 times to 15,000 cases. Scabies has increased from no cases in 1989 to 37,000 in 1996. Cholera is up from no cases to more than 3,000 in 1997 through September.

Births of infants weighing under 2 1/2 kg. have increased more than five fold to include 23.8% of all live births in September 1997, a tragedy evidencing the stunted generation the sanctions have caused in Iraq.

Major surgery is down from a monthly average exceeding 15,000 operations in 1989 to 4,100 operations in September 1997.

The total cost in lives directly resulting from U.N. sanctions is now 1,500,000 deaths over the normal death rate.

These tragic statistics do not convey the human horror of the sanctions.

In two large general hospitals, both serving poor areas, one in Basra and one in Saddam City, Baghdad, I saw among many other children, an eleven-month-old child of a young Bedouin woman, her first child, wasted, bloated and not expected to live for more than a day. In Qadisiya Hospital in Baghdad, a 19-month-old girl and a 3-year-old boy lay wasted and dying in adjoining beds. Ample food and safe drinking water would have prevented the illnesses of all three. Rehydration tablets could have saved all three. All three are by now dead.

A 35-year-old man was dying in Basra, for the lack of simple catheters to perform a crude method of renal dialysis. Only one of the four machines available was working for lack of spare parts. The man was not expected to last through the night. He could have been saved but for the unavailability of catheters. Before sanctions the unit could treat 175 patients a month.

A 17-year-old male who had suffered severe headaches was brought in by taxi. No diagnoses were possible for lack of medical supplies. Intravenous feeding required 6 pints a day. Only one was available in the hospital. He has almost surely died by now.

There is no operational ambulance for all but a few hospitals and the contract with a French company for ambulances has been intentionally delayed by the sanctions committee.

A beautiful 14-year-old girl with leukemia, which is occurring in unprecedented numbers apparently from depleted uranium and chemicals released by U.S. bombing, received no treatment, because of the lack of essential medicines and supplies. There is an enormous increase in cancers, tumors, leukemia, birth defects and miscarriage, probably from the same cause. These victims suffer extreme pain with little or no relief before they die.

A 23-year-old woman who had suffered polio, TB and was dying from malnutrition was angry and bitter at the injustice of her fate. Most older patients enter-

ing hospitals now have multiple medical problems from the effect of the sanctions over these seven years.

A 27-year-old TB patient, badly wasted, a 21-year-old woman with severe anemia, two older women with advanced diabetes, foot sores and infections and a woman with breast cancer lay dying with family around them. There has been no insulin for two months. No chemotherapy is available except on rare occasions. All these human beings, near death, were receiving no medications, even pain killers, because nothing was available.

If you saw the faces of these people, needlessly dying, and the doctors, nurses and families trying to comfort them, you would never forget them.

In Basra, the surgery department in the Training Hospital performs fewer than 100 operations a month, compared to 1000 per month in 1989, because of the lack of anesthesia, antiseptics, gauze, bandages, antibiotics and other medical supplies. Only emergency surgery is performed. Everything else is delayed often until it is too late. Surgery is performed without X-rays in many cases, because of shortages. There is no clean water to wash the floors, no air conditioning, inadequate heat, poor lighting and none in stairwells, recesses and most corridors. The electricity is off for hours most days. There are not enough sheets, blankets, towels and other supplies.

Most areas in the city of Basra and parts of Baghdad have no running water or sewage disposal because of the bombing. The sanctions make replacement impossible. This combination compounded by malnutrition is a major cause of death.

Less than half the contracts entered into under U.N. supervision have been fulfilled because of harassment. Production of pharmaceuticals in Iraq, once meeting nearly half of national needs, has declined to an insignificant level because of lack of machine parts and raw materials.

In short, there is a human disaster created by the United Nations. A genocide intended to destroy a national, religious, and ethnic group, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

Continued sanctions inspections and punitive bombing are crimes against peace and humanity

Against this unprecedented tragedy you can see the pity of the U.S. determination to continue the sanctions and to again bomb Iraq after seven years of sanctions for absurd claims that it is seeking weapons of mass destruction when the U.S., the only nation to use atomic weapons against people, maintains and develops its nuclear arms and President Clinton threatens indiscriminate bombing of Iraq if it "murders" a U.S. U2 pilot overflying Iraq whose photography will be used to decide what targets to send missiles toward. The accuracy of U.S. missiles and bombs can be measured by the fact that during the systematic assault on a defenseless society in January and February 1991 every type of civilian facility

was destroyed, homes, apartment projects, markets and shops, schools, hospitals, mosques, churches and synagogues. The punitive cruise missiles in later years killed such dangerous people as hotel workers at the Al Rashid in Baghdad and the director of the Museum of Modern Art and one of the most inspired women artists in the world in her home. These terrorist strikes, the functional equivalent of public flogging in colonial times, are murder.

U.S. Participation in Sanctions Enforcement Is a Conflict of Interest

There is a clear, inescapable conflict of interest in permitting U.S. personnel to participate in bombing, or missile strikes, inspections, or in surveillance flights over Iraq.

The debate over Iraq's determination to prevent U. S. personnel from inspecting throughout its territory and conducting aerial surveillance is shameful. The unwarranted and unprecedented foreign intrusion aside: Can U.S. personnel be deemed fair, objective, diligent or neutral when the highest U.S. officials proclaim that the United States is in the Gulf to stay and that the sanctions will remain until Saddam Hussein is removed (even if in the meantime every infant, child, pregnant and nursing woman, emergency medical case and chronically ill and elderly person in Iraq must die)? The U.S. constantly claims Iraq is hiding weapons of mass destruction. It regularly threatens Iraq with military attacks claiming existing U.N. authority. The U.S. was responsible for the murderous assault in 1991, and random missile and air attacks since. It must maintain its violent posture and deeds to justify those acts and its continuing presence in the Gulf.

The Travel Ban Violates Fundamental Human Rights

In the long struggle for freedom, the right to travel has consistently been recognized as fundamental in such charters as the Magna Carta in England and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13. The Security Council prohibition of travel by Iraqi leadership is doubly offensive, because its clear motive is to silence voices. You do not want the Iraqi Minister of Health to inform the world of the genocidal effect of your sanctions. You do not want political leaders to answer, or debate the false claims of U.S. propaganda. You want the people of Iraq to suffer and die in isolation, voiceless and without remorse. With such moral leadership can the peoples of the planet expect peace from the efforts of the United Nations?

The Security Council knows these sanctions are genocide¹ and that hunger cannot be used as a weapon even in war.²

You must act to end the sanctions now.

Ramsey Clark

1. “[G]enocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:…
 - (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
 - (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;…”
 - **Art. II**, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 78 U.N.T.S. 277.

2. “Starvation of civilians as a means of warfare is prohibited.”
 - **Article 54.1**, Protocol I additional Geneva Convention 1977.

This is one of the series of letters sent by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark to all members of the Security Council. The report is based on a November 1997 fact-finding tour to Iraq. Ramsey Clark’s letters have been the voice of conscience against sanctions.

Fire and Ice

The Devastation of Iraq by War and Sanctions

*Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice*

Robert Frost

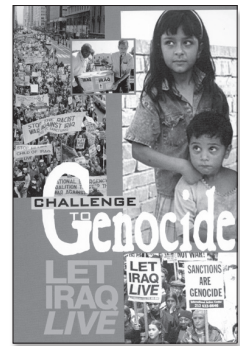
I. U.S. Strategy for Domination of the Gulf

The reasons for U.S. actions in the Middle East and Gulf are no mystery. The British withdrawal from the region, beginning fifty years ago, left up for grabs the vast oil resources and strategic area where southwest Asia and northeast Africa front on Europe. The whole region began to be shaken by anti-colonial nationalist movements. U.S. policy makers, as an excuse for intervention, used the argument that it was exposed to Soviet seizure, with Israel unprotected on its eastern flank.

By 1953, the U.S. had placed the young Shah on the Peacock Throne in Iran. For twenty-five years Iran was the U.S. surrogate in the region, and the most powerful military presence, purchasing tens of billions of dollars in advanced U.S. weaponry. It also served as a major regional distribution center for American products. William Colby, former director of the CIA, called this the CIA's proudest achievement, even after the Shah's disastrous demise. It assured U.S. domination of the region for one fourth of the twentieth century.

Shortly after the popular nationalist revolution came to power in Iraq on Bastille Day 1958, the CIA formed a "health alterations committee" to plot the assassination of the new Iraqi leader, Abdel Karim Kassem. At the same time, U.S. generals in Turkey devised a military plan, code-named Cannonbone, for invading northern Iraq and seizing the oil fields there, the same oil fields targeted by the U.S. severance of areas of Iraq it called "Kurdish" in 1991. In 1963, Kassem and thousands of his supporters were massacred in

Written after a trip to Iraq between 6-13 May 1998, which took \$4 million worth of medicine without a license. It appeared in *Challenge to Genocide: Let Iraq Live* (1998)



a bloody CIA-backed coup. Testifying before a Senate committee about the coup, a CIA member quipped, "The target suffered a terminal illness before a firing squad in Baghdad."

When Iraq nationalized its oil industry in 1972, the United States placed it on a list of countries that it claimed supported terrorism. In 1975, Iraq agreed to share control of the disputed Shatt-al-Arab waterway with Iran in a pact reached in Algiers. The United States and the Shah abruptly terminated their support for the Kurdish insurgents in Iraq, whose leadership abandoned the struggle and fled the country. But the fate of the Kurds left behind did not concern the U.S. government. As Henry Kissinger explained to an aide, "Covert operations should not be confused with missionary work."¹

Over the years, the U.S. has supported Iran, Iraq, and most directly and fatally, Turkey, in assaults on the Kurdish people. In 1991, the U.S. exercised its newfound concern to protect the Kurds from Iraq by excluding the government of Iraq from most of the north-western part of the country. It then assisted Turkey when the latter sent division-strength ground forces and continuous air assaults to crush the Kurdish people in that region. Yet a major part of the demonization of Saddam Hussein has been based on the false portrayal of Iraqi government policy toward the Kurds.

The one constant in U.S. policy through all the years was the determination to dominate the vast oil resources of this region, not only for their wealth, but for the economic and military advantage this gave over both rich and poor oil-importing countries. Among scores of statements reflecting this policy is a warning in 1977 from Senator Henry Jackson's Energy and Natural Resources Committee of the U.S. Senate: "A U.S. commitment to the defense of oil resources of the Gulf and to political stability in the region constitutes one of the most vital and enduring interests of the United States."

In February 1979 the Shah fled Iran, having killed as many Iranians as he dared, probably forty-five thousand in the previous year alone. The Iranian people had won their long struggle to overthrow U.S. control of their lives. That November the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, after months of protest demonstrations, was overrun by Iranian students, tens of thousands of whom had studied in the U.S. The small remaining U.S. staff was taken hostage.

U.S. policy then took another sharp turn. Adopting a supportive stance toward Iraq, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski publicly encouraged Baghdad to attack Iran and take back the Shatt-al-Arab waterway — although just four years earlier Iraq had been pressured by the U.S. to cede control of this strategic route to Iran.² Washington expressed no moral outrage at the 1980 Iraqi attack on Iran. The attack served U.S. interests as a means of weakening Iran — where U.S. Embassy personnel were still being held hostage — and the anti-U.S. influence of its Islamic government in the Muslim world. War against the much larger Iran

would weaken Iraq as well. Washington did not want either side to win.

“We wanted to avoid victory by both sides,” a Reagan administration official told the *New York Times*.³ Henry Kissinger has been quoted variously as stating, “I hope they kill each other” and “Too bad they both can’t lose.”⁴

In 1984 the United States increased its support for Iraq, becoming its principal trading partner by increasing purchases of Iraqi oil while encouraging Europe and Japan to do the same. The Reagan administration issued a still top-secret authorization for increased intelligence sharing with Iraq. Leslie Gelb, writing in the *New York Times* reported that the authorization was interpreted as mandating that the United States “do anything and everything” to help Iraq prevail against Iran.⁵ That same year Vice President Bush, the State Department and the CIA began lobbying the Export-Import Bank to begin large-scale financing of U.S. exports to Iraq. And in 1986 the U.S. dispatched a high-level CIA team to Baghdad to advise the Iraqi military. The Pentagon encouraged and helped funnel billions of dollars worth of arms to Iraq through pro-U.S. governments in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and elsewhere.

During the Iran-Iraq war, the Reagan administration removed Iraq from the list of countries it charged with supporting terrorism. This allowed U.S. companies to sell directly to Baghdad such “dual-use” equipment as jeeps, helicopters, and Lockheed L-100 transport planes. The Agriculture Department extended \$5 billion in credits to Iraq through a program, authorized for agricultural purchases only, that illegally funded many of these sales. Among the items sold to Iraq were forty-five Bell helicopters originally built as troop carriers for the Shah’s army.⁶

The eight-year Iran-Iraq war was a clear consequence of U.S. actions in overthrowing Iran’s democratic Mossadegh government in the early 1950s and installing the Shah. He radically altered the country by pursuing U.S.-approved plans to make it a major industrialized nation. Then, after the fall of the Shah, Iraq was induced to attack Iran.

Isfahan, the wondrous city of Haji Baba, had been among the world’s ten largest cities in 1500 A.D., with half a million people. It remained nearly the same size and culturally pristine into the late 1960s. By 1978 this city in Iran had grown to 1.5 million people, the great majority of them peasants who had abandoned the land and millennia-old irrigation systems to live in squalid slums, hoping for work in Bell Helicopter and British Motors assembly plants.

Nearly a million young men died in the Iran-Iraq war, which radically militarized and divided the entire region.

While supporting Iraq against Iran during the war, the U.S. was planning to intervene militarily in the region as the only way remaining to regain domination after the fall of the Shah. Central to new U.S. intervention strategies was War Plan 1002. It was designed at the beginning of the Reagan administration to implement the earlier Carter Doctrine, which said that any challenge to U.S. access to

Middle East oil would be met by military force. In addition, the Pentagon had created the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force in 1980, which in 1983 became U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and began secret construction of a more extensive network of military and surveillance bases in Saudi Arabia. Though U.S. military installations were already present in Saudi Arabia in the late seventies, the new facilities were more sophisticated, and would later provide essential in-place support for the assault on Iraq.

By the end of the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet Union was withdrawing from Afghanistan and collapsing economically. It now became possible for the U.S. to intervene militarily in the region with little risk of Soviet opposition. Only the weak governments in the region and their Muslim populations remained as obstacles.

With the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, contingency plans for war in the Gulf region identified Iraq as the enemy instead of the USSR. In January 1990, CIA director William Webster testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the growing Western dependence on Persian/Arab Gulf oil. In February, General Norman Schwarzkopf told the same committee that the United States should increase its military presence in the region. He described new military plans to intervene in a conflict. With Japan and Western Europe's much greater dependence on Gulf oil, the United States considered control over the region crucial to worldwide geopolitical power for decades to come.

In Schwarzkopf's early 1990 testimony before the Senate, he said that CENTCOM should increase its military presence in the Gulf region through permanently assigned ground forces, combined exercises, and "security assistance," a euphemism for arms sales. In 1989, even before this testimony, CENTCOM's War Plan 1002 was revised and renamed War Plan 1002-90.⁷ The last two digits of the war plan, of course, stood for 1990. CENTCOM began devising war games targeting Iraq.

In 1990 at least four war games, some premised on an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, were conducted before the invasion occurred. One of the first, a computer exercise called Internal Look, was held in January. In June 1990, General Schwarzkopf was conducting sophisticated war games pitting thousands of U.S. troops against armored divisions of the Republican Guard.⁸

In May 1990 the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a Washington-based think tank, had completed a study begun *two years earlier* predicting the outcome of a war between the United States and Iraq. This study, according to the CSIS's Major James Blackwell (Retired), was widely circulated among Pentagon officials, members of Congress, and military contractors. Thus, far from being a surprise, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait had actually been the scenario for intense U.S. planning.

The ceasefire between Iran and Iraq took effect on 20 August 1988. Almost immediately the U.S. began a systematic propaganda campaign to demonize Sadd-

am Hussein and prepare for its assault on Iraq. In early September, the U.S. announced that Iraq had used poison gas against the Kurds much earlier in the year. On the same day that Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi was scheduled to meet Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington for the first time since the war, State Department spokesperson Charles Redman made a blistering attack on Iraq, charging the U.S. was "convinced" chemical weapons were used against Kurdish guerrillas and calling the act "abhorrent."⁹ When Minister Hammadi, unaware of the charges, arrived at the State Department two hours later, he was delivered to the U.S. press. Surprised, he was unable to respond. Within twenty-four hours the U.S. Senate voted unanimously to impose sanctions that would cancel technology and food sales to Iraq.

Just when Iraq was struggling to recover from eight years of war, feeling the effect of unilateral U.S. sanctions and fearing default on its foreign debts, Kuwait began violating quotas on oil production set by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). This forced oil prices down at the same time that Kuwait was demanding repayment of \$30 billion it had provided Iraq during the war. Kuwait also began excessive pumping from the Rumaila oil field, which it shared with Iraq. Kuwait accelerated its provocative and hostile actions toward Iraq through months of crisis up to the day it was invaded.

While this was happening, the U.S. took a number of steps designed to make Iraq believe that Washington did not oppose Iraq's rehabilitation of its battered army. Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly in early 1990 had privately assured Saddam Hussein that the U.S. believed Iraq was a "force for moderation" and that the U.S. wanted to improve relations.¹⁰

On 25 July — a day after the U.S. announced joint military exercises in the Gulf with the United Arab Emirates, while Iraqi troops were massing on the Kuwaiti border, and as General Schwarzkopf readied CENTCOM for war against Iraq — Saddam Hussein summoned U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie to his office in what seems to have been a final attempt to clarify Washington's position on his dispute with Kuwait. Glaspie assured him: "We have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait. [Secretary of State] James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction."¹¹ She said she was expressing official policy. On 24 July, she had received a cable from the State Department explicitly directing her to reiterate that the United States had "no position" on "Arab-Arab" conflicts.¹²

Iraq then invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990. The Rubicon was crossed. The U.S. frustrated every effort to negotiate an agreement to resolve the Iraqi-Kuwait disputes and Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The U.S., in confident control of the UN Security Council, imposed complete economic sanctions against Iraq on 6 August — Hiroshima Day — and steadily tightened the noose until the assault began nearly six months later. By 16 January 1991, when the bombings started,

540,000 U.S. troops were positioned against Iraq, the vast majority of all the forces, naval and land, arrayed by the so-called UN coalition.

As early as September of 1990, Air Force Chief of Staff Michael Dugan told reporters that, as far as targets went, the “cutting edge would be downtown Baghdad.” The *Washington Post* reported that the list of targets Dugan proposed included Iraqi power grids, roads, railroads, and “perhaps” domestic petroleum production facilities.

Within days of that statement, Dugan was fired. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney called his statements “inappropriate,” but the real reason for his firing was that Dugan jeopardized both domestic and international support for military action against Iraq. President Bush had been insisting that the U.S. military build-up in Saudi Arabia was strictly defensive, but Dugan’s statements revealed that Washington was not only planning an offensive, but would target civilians. In late January 1991, after two weeks of bombing, the *London Times* observed that allied attacks were closely following Dugan’s description, “with the liberation of Kuwait as only part of the overall plan.”¹³

II. The Fire This Time

From earliest times most cultures have speculated about how the end of the earth may come. Until the fate of Hiroshima permeated human consciousness, most who believed the end would come assumed that their God’s wrath or some natural calamity would be the cause. Even with the proliferation of homicidal nuclear weapons systems like the Trident II, which have the capacity to destroy human life on earth, few have thought humanity would terminate itself.

Now, more than two millennia after Athens destroyed Melos and Carthage was burned by Rome, the United States, a technologically advanced superpower, has created weapons systems and executed plans to devastate a small and defenseless country half a world away, first with a direct assault by fire, then with the more deadly ice of enforced isolation, malnutrition, and impoverishment.

On the night of 16-17 January 1991, the stars shone above, little changed since Hammurabi ruled from Babylon on the Euphrates four thousand years earlier. The land remembered Ashurbanipal’s great library, with its collection of all existing writing from all known languages at Nineveh on the Tigris, and its fabled Palace Without Rival of three thousand years ago. The dreams of Alexander the Great died with him in Babylon as he strove to conquer the world over two thousand years ago. Kublai Khan’s brother Hulegu sacked Baghdad and executed the caliph in 1258; within two generations, the empire of the khans was gone. And still the people tilled the earth, crowded into the cities, and absorbed the shards of the many cultures, races, energies, and imaginations that had populated the place.

The Tigris and Euphrates rivers flowed quietly toward the Gulf in the darkness of the early hours. The same stars silently witnessed another approach of human

violence, unprecedented in its nature and intensity. The wind gently stirred the date palm fronds. In darkened cities, towns, and farms, men, women, and children tried to sleep, not knowing what the night held for them. In Kuwait, the remaining population and Iraqi occupying forces, backed up in southern Iraq by hundreds of thousands more, waited for war. To the south, 540,000 U.S. troops and 150,000 from other countries were on alert, anxiously wondering what might happen to them. They had been told they would engage a dangerous and powerful enemy in direct combat.

At 2:30 a.m. on 17 January 1991 the bombs began to fall, and for forty-two days U.S. aircraft attacked Iraq on an average of once every thirty seconds. U.S. technology smashed the cradle of civilization, and George Bush called it liberation.

Without setting foot on Iraqi soil, or engaging Iraqi troops, U.S. aircraft and missiles systematically destroyed life and life-support systems in Iraq over a period of six weeks. There were two thousand air strikes in the first twenty-four hours. More than 90 percent of Iraq's electrical capacity was bombed out of service in the first few hours. Within several days, "not an electron was flowing." Multimillion-dollar missiles targeted power plants up to the last days of the war, to leave the country without power as economic sanctions sapped life from the survivors. In less than three weeks the U.S. press reported military calculations that the tonnage of high-explosive bombs already released had exceeded the combined allied air offense of World War II.

By the end of the aerial assault, 110,000 aircraft sorties had dropped 88,500 tons of bombs on Iraq, the equivalent of seven and a half atomic bombs of the size that incinerated Hiroshima. Aircraft flew from distances as great as Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana and the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, without landing — just to show it could be done. Thousands of missiles were fired from ships, including submarines, in the Indian Ocean, the Gulf, and the Mediterranean. More than 93 percent of all bombs were free falling and many of the bombs and missiles directed by laser systems were misguided. Weapons used included five-ton fuel-air explosive bombs that create pressures approaching those of low-yield nuclear weapons. Cluster bombs containing 250 bomblets capable of spewing 500,000 high-velocity, razor-sharp shrapnel fragments over an acre were used against Basra and on congested highways. Napalm bombs were used against people and to ignite oil well fires.

Within days there was no running water in Iraq. For many weeks, people in Baghdad — without television, radio, or newspapers to warn them — were getting their drinking water from the Tigris in buckets. The Iraqi News Agency and Baghdad Broadcasting Station lost six wireless broadcast stations, twelve television stations, and five radio stations.

Iraq's telephone system was put out of service in the first few days of the war. The International Telecommunications Union's (ITU) fact-finding trip to Iraq

in June-July 1991 reported that 400,000 of Iraq's 900,000 phone lines had been destroyed. Fourteen central exchanges were irreparably damaged, with thirteen more put out of service indefinitely.

Lack of communications frustrated attempts to conduct most organized activity, including caring for the sick and injured. The destruction of transportation links compounded the problem. In a country built around two great rivers, 139 automobile and railway bridges were either damaged or destroyed, including twenty-six in Basra province alone. Major highways and other roads were hit, making travel a nightmare. Road maintenance stations were bombed to prevent repairs. All kinds of civilian cars, trucks, buses, and even taxis were attacked along Iraq's major highways.

Iraq's eight major multipurpose dams were repeatedly hit and heavily damaged. This simultaneously wrecked flood control, municipal and industrial water supply, irrigation, and hydroelectric power. Four of Iraq's seven major water-pumping stations were destroyed. Bombs and missiles hit thirty-one municipal water and sewage facilities. Sewage spilled into the Tigris and out into the streets of Baghdad, adding water-borne disease to the list of killers. In Basra, the sewage system completely collapsed. Water purification plants were incapacitated nationwide.

Iraq's agriculture and food-processing storage and distribution system was attacked directly and systematically. Half of Iraq's agricultural production came from irrigated lands, and all of the irrigation systems serving them — including storage dams, barrages, pumping stations, and drainage projects — were attacked. Farmers lost the ability to flood or drain land, cutting food production in half.

Widespread saltwater intrusion occurred in Basra province. At least three food warehouses in the Baghdad province were hit, seven were struck in Asra province, and all of Iraq's General Company of Foodstuffs warehouses in Al-Qadissiya province were destroyed. Important pesticide storage was destroyed. Three separate facilities of the Iraqi Dates Company were damaged.

Iraq's factory in Abu Ghraib to produce baby milk powder, unique to the region, was attacked on January 20, 21, and 22. Although the Pentagon claimed it was a chemical plant, the attacks were simply part of the deliberate targeting of Iraq's food production. The Al-Ma'mun vegetable oils factory and the sugar factory in Meisan Province were hit. In Al-Taji, a small town near Baghdad, the country's biggest frozen-meat storage and distribution center was destroyed. It was bombed three times in one day — at 8 a.m., 3 p.m., and 8 p.m.

Farm herds were decimated — three and a half million sheep from a total of ten million and two million cattle were lost by summer, primarily from feed shortages. Ninety percent of the country's poultry production was destroyed.

Grain silos across the entire country were hit methodically, and hundreds of farms and farm buildings were attacked. The nation's tractor assembly plant and major fertilizer plant were destroyed in bombing raids that took sixteen lives.

In June 1992, more than a year after Iraq was driven from Kuwait and with

sanctions still in place, the United States burned grain and wheat fields with incendiary bombs near Mosul in northern Iraq.

U.S. bombing hit twenty-eight civilian hospitals and fifty-two community health centers. Zubair Hospital in Basra province totally collapsed from bombing. At the Ibn Rashid Mental Hospital, southeast of Baghdad, ceilings collapsed onto patients' beds. At Ulwiyya Maternity Hospital, shrapnel and broken glass hit babies and mothers. The student health clinic and school in Hilla was bombed. Five of Iraq's military medical facilities were also damaged.

Allied bombs damaged 676 schools; thirty-eight were totally destroyed. Eight of those hit were parts of universities. Nor were mosques, other religious buildings, or historic sites immune from U.S. attacks, though the Pentagon insisted that they were not targeted. Iraq reported that twenty-five mosques in Baghdad alone were hit, and thirty-one more were reported damaged around the country. During the first week of February, I saw two mosques in Basra that were totally destroyed, six badly damaged, and three damaged Christian churches. The 900-year-old Church of St. Thomas — in Mosul, more than a thousand miles from Kuwait — was attacked, as was the Mutansiriya school, one of the oldest Islamic schools in Iraq.

Bombers hit civilian government office buildings in Baghdad, including the Ba'ath Party headquarters, City Hall, the Supreme Court, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labor, the National Palace, and the Central Post Office. Baghdad's impressive new convention and conference center, built to host the international Non-Aligned Nations meeting in 1989, was extensively damaged.

Many manufacturing plants were hit. Seven textile factories sustained damage, as did five engineering plants, five construction facilities, four car assembly plants, three chlorine plants, a major ammonia export facility, and sixteen chemical, petrochemical, and phosphate plants. A major hypodermic syringe facility in Hilla was destroyed by laser-guided rockets.

All major cement plants were hit. Twelve industrial contracting companies reported extensive damage to their facilities. The Baghdad factories of the Al-Sa'ad Company, the Al-Balsam Cosmetics Company, the Baghdad Razor Company, the Akad Clothes factory, and the Muwaffak J. Janna factory were all totally destroyed.

Iraq's oil industry was a priority target. U.S. planes hit eleven oil refineries, five oil pipeline and production facilities, export pipeline facilities, and many oil storage tanks. Three oil tankers were sunk and three others set on fire.

Saddam International Airport and Al-Muthana Airport were attacked, along with parked passenger and cargo planes. Rail stations and yards, transportation hubs, bus stations, and car lots were systematically attacked everywhere.

As the infrastructure and life support systems were being bombed, Iraqi civilians were killed by the thousands. Attacks on life support systems assured that many more thousands would perish, even though they might be far from the line of fire.

Dr. Q. M. Ismail, director of Baghdad's Saddam Central Children's Hospital, was on duty the night U.S. bombs began to fall. Forty infants were in incubators, their mothers at their sides. When the electricity went out, the incubators stopped working. With the thunder of war all around them, the desperate mothers grabbed their children and rushed them into the basement.

Six hours later, twenty of the children were dead. "Those forty mothers nearly went crazy," Dr. Ismail recalled. "I will never forget the sight of those women."

On 11 February the U.S. press, following a briefing from General Richard Neal on the bombing of Basra, reported it was "a military town." (Like Norfolk, Oceanside, Omaha, San Antonio, San Diego, Watertown, and scores of other American cities?) During the third week it was "a hellish nightmare of fires and smoke so dense that witnesses say the sun hasn't been clearly visible for several days at a time. . . . [The bombing is] leveling some entire city blocks [and there are] bomb craters the size of football fields and an untold number of casualties."¹⁴

Four months before the bombing, the Air Force Chief of Staff said the "cutting edge would be downtown Baghdad." "We're going after hard targets in Baghdad. Therefore, it takes more bombs on each target in order to be successful," Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly told reporters.¹⁵

The sprawling area of Baghdad was bombed every day. On 12 February journalists in Baghdad reported more than twenty-five explosions in the central part of the city. Six days later, the allies launched a fierce two-hour bombardment that began at 11:00 p.m. A journalist wrote of the raid: "[M]issiles began skimming past the windows of the al-Rashid hotel. Against a background roar of high-flying aircraft, the hum of a cruise missile was heard every ten minutes or so, followed by a terrific explosion that shook the entire hotel."¹⁶

Among the "hard targets" in Baghdad was the Amariyah bomb shelter, which was hit with two missiles early on 13 February, killing many hundreds of civilians, most women and children.

Two nights before the ceasefire, on 27 February at 1:35 a.m., Iraq announced its pullout from Kuwait. Seemingly in response, Baghdad was subjected to another fierce raid, described by a resident as "a sleepless night of horror."

The assault on the Iraqi military, which was as defenseless as the civilian population, was relentless. More than 40,000 tons of bombs targeted the military, often in proximity to civilian areas. B-52s carpet-bombed military areas from extremely high altitudes. Estimates of the numbers of Iraqi soldiers killed by the end of the bombing ranged from 100,000 to 200,000. On March 22, 1991, the Defense Intelligence Agency placed Iraq's military casualties at 100,000.

Near the end of the bombing, as U.S. troops planned to advance on Kuwait City and Iraq, U.S. General Kelly said of Iraqi forces: "There won't be many of them left." When asked for his assessment of the numbers of Iraqi soldiers and civilians killed, General Colin Powell answered, "It's really not a number I'm interested in." General Schwarzkopf had a strict policy that Iraqi dead were not to be

counted. Both violated international law requiring respect for enemy dead, their identification, notification of family, and proper religious burial. Americans know how *they* feel about their MIAs from Vietnam and earlier wars.

The U.S. claims to have destroyed 4,300 tanks and 1,856 armored vehicles. The Pentagon claimed 1,500 tanks were destroyed by F-111s alone, confirmed by video camera. Nearly all these planes employed laser-guided depleted-uranium missiles, leaving 900 tons of radioactive waste spread over much of Iraq with no concern for the consequences to future life.¹⁷ The rate of tumors, cancers, leukemia, and other fatal growths has increased alarmingly in the last few years in Iraq. Doctors believe radiation is a major cause.

At the end of the bombing campaign, tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers were simply murdered. The European Parliament heard this description in April 1991:

[H]undreds, possibly thousands, of Iraqi soldiers began walking towards the U.S. position unarmed, with their arms raised in an attempt to surrender. However, the orders for this unit were not to take any prisoners.

The commander of the unit began the firing by shooting an anti-tank missile through one of the Iraqi soldiers. This is a missile designed to destroy tanks, but it was used against one man.

At that point, everybody in the unit began shooting. Quite simply, it was a slaughter.¹⁸

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* carried an early Reuters dispatch on the ground action, entitled "Getting Blown to Bits in the Dark":

The first high-tech video of ground fighting in the Persian Gulf war shows terrified Iraqi infantrymen shot to pieces in the dark by U.S. attack helicopters.

One by one they were cut down, bewildered by an enemy they could not see.

Some were blown to bits by exploding cannon shells. Others, jarred from sleep, fled their bunkers under a firestorm.

The tape was shot through the night-vision gun sights of the Apache AH-64 attack helicopter, which turn pitch dark into ghostly day.

Reporters and even hardened soldiers held their breath when the first video was shown in a briefing tent of the 18th Airborne Corps, whose chopper crews had begun carrying the war to the Iraqis.

Combat reporters permitted to see the video did not say where or when the engagement took place. No casualty count was given. Reports from the front are subject to U.S. military censorship.

Apaches — equipped with cannons, laser-guided missiles, and infrared optics — have led several lightning strikes behind Iraqi lines in recent days, raiding bunkers and taking prisoners.

The pilots of the 6th Cavalry exult in their prowess.

"I just didn't quite envision going up there and shooting the hell out of everything in the dark and have them not know what the hell hit them," said one Balak of Beemer, Neb.

“A truck blows up to the right, the ground blows up to the left. They had no idea where we were or what was hitting them,” he said.

“When I got back I sat there on the wing and I was laughing. I wasn’t laughing at the Iraqis. I was thinking of the training, the anticipation. ...I was probably laughing at myself ... sneaking up there, and blowing this up and blowing that up.

“A guy came up to me and we were slapping each other on the back and all that stuff, and he said, ‘By God, I thought we had shot into a damn farm. It looked like somebody opened the sheep pen.’”¹⁹

Reuters thus confirmed not only that Iraqi soldiers were totally unable to see the enemy, or defend themselves, but that U.S. troops quickly realized this. It was like slaughtering animals in a pen. A report from William Branigin in the *Washington Post* described what the 1st Cavalry Division encountered as it moved into Iraq:

By the side of a dirt road in Iraq’s southeastern desert sat a truck belonging to President Saddam Hussein’s elite Republican Guard. In and around it lay the bodies of eight Iraqi soldiers. The immediate area was cordoned off with white tape like a police crime scene.

The headless corpse of one of the soldiers was on its back a short distance from the truck. Another body was wedged inside the engine compartment. Two more lay face up in the bed of the truck, their feet sticking grotesquely over the side.

This was the gruesome face of the Persian Gulf War, a facet of the conflict not previously seen by many of the young American soldiers who took part in the allied ground offensive against Iraq this week. After weeks of a high-tech war waged largely from the sky, the horrors on the ground took some of the troops by total surprise.

...Already, units of the Army’s 1st Cavalry Division that had suffered no combat casualties in their unopposed drive through southern Iraq have seen several of their number killed or wounded by bombs or mines in the area they are holding. ...

A couple of miles away from the vehicles, a large expanse of desert that apparently had been a Republican Guard training area was devastated by aerial bombardment well before the U.S. armored units swept through. ...

The entire area was littered with pieces of ordnance, including hundreds of unexploded individual yellow cluster bombs sticking into the sand.²⁰

Even Iraqi units with operational tanks and the will to resist were helpless. Here is how the *New York Times* reported one slaughter:

The battle, which raged on February 27, the day before a ceasefire went into effect, was a showcase for the superiority of American weapons. But it was also the sort of one-sided victory that some American soldiers who tasted combat for the first time say they will not want to talk about a lot when they get home.

The sky was overcast and it was raining as the Americans approached the ridge around noon.

When the battle began the American tanks generally fired from a safe

distance of about 2,500 yards. Unable to find the Americans with their targeting system in the overcast weather, the Iraqis aimed their guns at the muzzle flashes of the guns of the American tanks, and their rounds fell well short.

Other soldiers said the biggest fear was not the Iraqis but the worry that the American tanks might be hit by other allied units in the battle.²¹

The psychological effect on the few American troops who actually witnessed this massacre will be important to monitor. Many will be casualties of the horror, psychological victims of American unfriendly fire power.

Reports by the U.S. press, although censored by the Pentagon and approved by the military, still could not help but reveal the war crimes committed against Iraq's armed forces. *New York Newsday* published a graphic, lengthy summary of the "ground war" on March 31, 1991. It portrayed the attack upon an army that did not want to fight. It described "one-sided carnage," vehicles with white flags of surrender being destroyed, and "dazed and starved frontline Iraqi conscripts happily surrender[ing] by the thousands." It spoke of how U.S. pilots called the assault a "turkey shoot," and carrier crews frantically reloaded attack planes so they could shoot "fish in a barrel."

New York Newsday reported yet another slaughter of Iraqi soldiers that was approved by General Schwarzkopf two days after the ceasefire. According to U.S. military officials, it was the biggest clash of the Gulf War ground campaign, yet no Americans were killed.

The battle occurred March 2 after soldiers from the 7,000-man Iraqi force fired at a patrol of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division. ...

"We really waxed them," said one American Desert Storm commander who asked not to be identified. ...

...Although the number of Iraqi troops killed is still unknown, *New York Newsday* has obtained Army footage of the fight showing scores of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's elite soldiers apparently wounded or killed as Apache helicopters raked the Republican Guard Hammurabi Division with laser-guided Hellfire missiles.

"Say hello to Allah," one American was recorded as saying moments before a Hellfire obliterated one of the 102 vehicles racked up by the Apaches.

...Although McCaffrey's division was equipped with loudspeakers mounted on helicopters, they were never used to broadcast word of the ceasefire. "There wasn't time to use the helicopters," said Lamar.

Instead, after the 6:30 a.m. Iraqi attack, McCaffrey assembled attack helicopters, tanks, fighting vehicles and artillery for the assault, which began at 8:15 a.m. According to Lamar, the attack ended after noon, with the wreckage strewn over a couple of miles of Route 8, the main Euphrates River valley road to Baghdad.

A senior Desert Storm commander said details about the post-ceasefire attack were withheld at the time even though officials in Riyadh and Washington knew the extent of the damage shortly after the battle ended.

...“We knew exactly [what the damage was] but it didn’t look good coming after the ceasefire,” the Desert Storm officer said. ...

The combat film of the March 2 attack shows the Apaches destroying vehicles to create a roadblock so that the Hammurabi could not escape on the highway, which is elevated above the nearby Haw al Hammer swamp.

“Yee-HAH,” said one voice. At one point, an Iraqi soldier runs in front [of] a tank just as the Hellfire explodes, hurling the soldier and chunks of metal into the air.²²

The Pentagon has documentary evidence, including hours of videotape, of this deadly assault on a virtually defenseless unit.

Months later, *Newsday* broke perhaps the most horrifying story of all. Thousands of Iraqi troops had been buried alive in the first two days of the ground offensive.

The U.S. Army division that broke through Saddam Hussein’s defensive front line used plows mounted on tanks and combat earth movers to bury thousands of Iraqi soldiers — some still alive and firing their weapons — in more than seventy miles of trenches, according to U.S. Army officials.

In the first two days of ground fighting in Operation Desert Storm, three brigades of the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division — “The Big Red One” — used the grisly innovation to destroy trenches and bunkers being defended by more than 8,000 Iraqi soldiers, according to division estimates. While 2,000 surrendered, Iraqi dead and wounded as well as defiant soldiers still firing their weapons were buried beneath tons of sand, according to participants in the carefully planned and rehearsed assault.

“Once we went through there, other than the ones who surrendered, there wasn’t anybody left,” said Captain Bennie Williams, who was awarded the Silver Star for his role in the assault.

The unprecedented tactic has been hidden from public view. ...

“For all I know, we could have killed thousands,” said Col. Anthony Moreno, commander of the 2nd Brigade that led the assault on the heaviest defenses.²³

The article said that after the first wave of bulldozers incapacitated the Iraqi defenders, a second wave filled the trenches with sand, ensuring that none of the wounded could survive.

Many of those massacred fleeing Kuwait were not Iraqi soldiers at all but Palestinians, Sudanese, Egyptians, Filipinos, and other foreign workers. They were trying to escape to save their lives. As *Newsday* reported of the Highway of Death between Kuwait City and Basra:

The vast majority of the vehicles photographed were cars, buses, and military and civilian trucks apparently carrying Iraqi soldiers and some civilians, as well as their rifles and large quantities of goods they had looted from Kuwait. Reporters described one section of the highway as a virtually unbroken wall of wrecked and fire-blackened vehicles, piled on top of

each other in a jumble of charred, twisted metal; truck cabs crushed, cars flattened underneath buses, other cars flipped upside down, tank guns pointing crazily skyward while the rest of the tank lay on its side.

Less than 10 percent of the vehicles in the one section photographed were tanks, personnel carriers, or artillery. ...²⁴

North Carolina GI Mike Ange described what he saw:

I actually went up close and examined two vehicles that basically looked like refugees maybe trying to get out of the area. You know, you had like a little Toyota pickup truck that was loaded down with the furniture and the suitcases and rugs and the pet cat and that type of thing, all over the back of this truck, and those trucks were taken out just like the military vehicles.²⁵

The bombing of Iraq took more than 150,000 lives outright and left a broken and bleeding nation.

The bombs killed indiscriminately, mostly Iraqis, but others as well. Among the dead were Muslims and Christians, Kurds and Assyrians, young and old, men, women, children, babies.

In 110,000 aerial sorties, the U.S. lost thirty-eight aircraft, probably all from mechanical failure, pilot error, and accident. This is a lower rate than aircraft losses in war games when live ammunition is not used. Not a single B-52 was lost as they carpeted Iraq with 27,500 tons of bombs. Major bombing raids against Germany during World War II cost as high as 25 percent of the planes participating.

Total U.S. war casualties, including thirty-seven acknowledged to have died from "friendly fire," were 148, according to the Pentagon.

The U.S. has continued to attack Iraq with its aircraft, which patrol its skies night and day, and by cruise missiles launched from its enormous military positions in the region, including the largest naval armada since World War II. As the end of President Bush's term approached, attacks increased. On 13 January 1993 more than one hundred U.S. aircraft bombed and strafed southern Iraq. The press interviewed the jubilant pilots, who described how they "honed in with deadly accuracy," delivering bombs containing "two thousand pounds of American anger." On 17 January 1993, the second anniversary of the assault on Iraq and three days before President Bush left office, he ordered an attack across Iraq. Baghdad was hit by fifty cruise missiles. One of the missiles hit the al-Rashid Hotel, killing two employees. An international Islamic conference scheduled there at the time, to be attended by Saddam Hussein, had been moved. Strikes the next two days were heavier. Iraq acknowledged twenty-one deaths on 19 January 1993. The attacks were deliberate criminal violence.

President Bill Clinton showed what he was made of by ordering minor attacks in the first days of his new presidency. On 26 June 1993 he authorized an attack with twenty-three cruise missiles on Baghdad. One hit the home of Layla al-Altar, a renowned artist and director of Iraq's National Center for the Arts, killing her and her husband. Sporadic attacks have continued, the most recent in June 1998.

Continuing to call Iraq dangerous and a threat to peace, the U.S. maintains a nuclear arsenal larger by far than all other nations combined. In fiscal year 1996 it spent \$264 billion on its military compared to \$47 billion spent by the Russian Federation and \$32 billion by the People's Republic of China. Iraq's gross national product, with which it had to meet all the needs of its people, was \$11.5 billion — less than 5 percent of U.S. military costs.

With an arrogance to match its violence, the U.S. requested that the UN Security Council investigate war crimes committed by Iraq against U.S. soldiers and Kuwaiti citizens. This presaged later requests by the U.S. for UN prosecution of Serbs, Hutus, Pol Pot and — after his death — surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge, Saddam Hussein and others, while opposing an independent International Criminal Tribunal capable of equal protection under law.

There was no war. No combat. There was only a deliberate, systematic genocide of a defenseless population while barely setting foot on Iraqi soil. When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said in 1967, “the greatest purveyor of violence on earth is my own government,” he could not have dreamed in his worst nightmare what the U.S. did to Iraq.

III. The New Ice Age

Those who planned the aerial assault on Iraq intended a harm far greater than the bombs themselves could inflict. Those who conducted the forty-two-day assault and those who observed it on television knew the bombs and missiles would cause a continuing threat to life long after their thunder fell silent and the dust of their explosions settled to earth.

A Pentagon planner later candidly acknowledged the major purpose of the bombing: “People say, ‘You didn’t recognize that it was going to have an effect on water and sewage.’ Well, what were we trying to do with sanctions — help out the Iraqi people? No. What we were doing with the attacks on the infrastructure was to accelerate the effect of sanctions.”²⁶

As early as 23 June 1991, an article in the *Washington Post*, following extensive research on bombing targets and interviews with top Pentagon planners, reported: “Military planners hoped the bombing would amplify the economic and psychological impact of international sanctions on Iraqi society. ...They deliberately did great harm to Iraq’s ability to support itself as an industrial society.”

On 12 February 1991, immediately after returning from Iraq and with more than two weeks of heavy bombing yet to come, I wrote UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, President Bush, and others, observing in part:

The effect of the bombing, if continued, will be the destruction of much of the physical and economic basis for life in Iraq. The purpose of the bombing can only be explained rationally as the destruction of Iraq as a viable state for a generation or more. Must the United Nations be a party to this lawless violence?

My letter noted:

Dr. Ibrahim Al-Nouri has been head of the Red Crescent and Red Cross of Iraq for ten years. He is a pediatrician by training who interned at Children's Hospital in London, later headed Children's Hospital in Baghdad and served in the Ministry of Health for some years, rising to Deputy Minister. Dr. Nouri estimates that there have been 3,000 infant deaths since 1 November 1990 in excess of the normal rate, attributable solely to the shortage of infant milk formula and medicines. Only 14 tons of baby formula have been received during that period. Prior monthly national consumption was approximately 2,500 tons.

The effect of damage to municipal water systems on health and safety is tremendous. The Minister of Health considered potable water for human consumption the single greatest health need in the country. Tens of thousands are known to suffer diarrhea and stomach disorders. There are believed to be hundreds of thousands of unreported cases. Several thousands are believed to have died.

In the hospitals, there is no heat, no clean water except limited quantities for drinking supplied in bottles, no electric light in wards and hospital rooms, and inadequate medicine, even for pain alleviation, in the face of a great increase in critically and severely injured persons. Doctors we talked with in four hospitals are deeply concerned over the absence or shortage of needed medicines and sanitary supplies. Surgeons and medics treating wounds cannot keep their hands clean or gloved, and work in the cold, in poor light with greatly increased numbers of patients in unrelieved pain. Seven hospitals are reported closed by bomb damage. Many if not most have had windows shattered.²⁷

Since the end of the bombing, there has been a constant flow of information from a wide range of sources reporting on the deadly effects of the sanctions. Every UN agency dealing with health, food, agriculture, or children, including the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Food Project, and UNICEF, has reported repeatedly and often graphically about tens of thousands of deaths annually resulting directly from the sanctions. UNICEF reported as of August 1991 that already at least 47,500 children had died as a direct result of sanctions.

Independent medical teams from more than forty nations have investigated and reported on the human horror and death deliberately inflicted on the population of Iraq. It has been recognized from the beginning, as all human experience teaches, that the principal victims of the sanctions are infants, the elderly, small children, pregnant and nursing women, and the chronically ill. These are the very people that every decent society has worked hardest to protect.

Both President Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton, known for her work to protect children, were informed of the deadly effects of the sanctions before his inauguration on 20 January 1993, and again in February 1993. The President has received reports regularly ever since. A question posed to Hillary Clinton was

how can she profess to love children and not speak out on behalf of the children of Iraq. It was pointed out that if President Clinton failed to reverse U.S. policy, he would share responsibility for its genocidal consequences. Now more Iraqis have died as a result of the U.S.-forced sanctions in the Clinton administration than died in the Bush administration from the bombing and sanctions combined.

I have been to Iraq eight times since sanctions were imposed and reported to the UN Security Council and others on the steady deterioration in the human condition there on each occasion after the first.

Typical is the report dated 14 November 1997, which included the following:

Over these years the general health of the people of Iraq has drastically and steadily deteriorated as a direct result of United States forced sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

Deterioration in Health, Medical Supplies and Increased Death Rates Caused by UN Sanctions

On this trip I found health and hospital conditions poorer than ever. Rates of illness in every category are at all-time highs. The physical conditions of the hospitals, medical care facilities, pharmaceutical and medical supplies plants continue to decline. Availability of medicines, medical supplies, and working equipment are at the lowest level since 1989. Every doctor reports that patients they could save die every day. Often their patients die in their presence because of shortages of medicine, medical supplies, and operational medical equipment.

The overall death rate from monitored causes due to the sanctions has increased each year since 1989. For children under age five the increase in deaths exceeds a multiple of eight, from 7,100 in 1989 to 57,000 in 1996. For persons over age five the death rate has increased more than four times, from 20,200 to 83,200. Diseases related to malnutrition continue to increase. Kwashiorkor, virtually unknown in 1989, has increased nearly sixty times to reach 21,000 cases last year, marasmus fifty times to 192,000 cases last year. Other malnutrition-related illnesses have increased eighteen-fold to 1,354,000 cases in 1996.

Sicknesses related to poor sanitation continue a steady increase. Last year amoebic dysentery was up twenty-seven-fold to 243,000 cases. Malaria increased more than seven-fold to 32,000 cases. Typhoid fever increased eight times to 15,000 cases. Scabies has increased from no cases in 1989 to 37,000 in 1996.

Cholera is up from no cases to more than 3,000 in 1997 through September.

Births of infants weighing under two and a half kilograms have increased more than five-fold to include 23.8 percent of all live births in September 1997, a tragedy evidencing the stunted generation the sanctions have caused in Iraq.

Major surgery is down from a monthly average exceeding 15,000 operations in 1989 to 4,100 operations in September 1997.

The total cost in lives directly resulting from UN sanctions is now 1,500,000 deaths over the normal death rate.

These tragic statistics do not convey the human horror of the sanctions.

In two large general hospitals, both serving poor areas, one in Basra and one in Saddam City, Baghdad, I saw among many other children, an eleven-month-old child of a young Bedouin woman, her first child, wasted, bloated and not expected to live for more than a day. In Qadisiya Hospital in Baghdad, a nineteen-month-old girl and a three-year-old boy lay wasted and dying in adjoining beds. Ample food and safe drinking water would have prevented the illnesses of all three. Rehydration tablets could have saved all three. All three are by now dead.

A thirty-five-year-old man was dying in Basra, for the lack of simple catheters to perform a crude method of renal dialysis. Only one of the four machines available was working for lack of spare parts. The man was not expected to last through the night. He could have been saved but for the unavailability of catheters. Before sanctions the unit could treat 175 patients a month.

A seventeen-year-old male who had suffered severe headaches was brought in by taxi. No diagnoses were possible for lack of medical supplies. Intravenous feeding required six pints a day. Only one was available in the hospital. He has almost surely died by now.

There is no operational ambulance for all but a few hospitals and the contract with a French company for ambulances has been intentionally delayed by the sanctions committee.

A beautiful fourteen-year-old girl with leukemia, which is occurring in unprecedented numbers apparently from depleted uranium and chemicals released by U.S. bombing, received no treatment, because of the lack of essential medicines and supplies. There is an enormous increase in cancers, tumors, leukemia, birth defects, and miscarriage, probably from the same cause. These victims suffer extreme pain with little or no relief before they die.

A twenty-three-year-old woman who had suffered polio, TB, and was dying from malnutrition was angry and bitter at the injustice of her fate. Most older patients entering hospitals now have multiple medical problems from the effect of the sanctions over these seven years.

A twenty-seven-year-old TB patient, badly wasted, a twenty-one-year-old woman with severe anemia, two older women with advanced diabetes, foot sores, and infections and a woman with breast cancer lay dying with family around them. There has been no insulin for two months. No chemotherapy is available except on rare occasions. All these human beings, near death, were receiving no medications, even pain killers, because nothing was available.

If you saw the faces of these people, needlessly dying, and the doctors, nurses, and families trying to comfort them, you would never forget them.

In Basra, the surgery department in the Training Hospital performs fewer than one hundred operations a month, compared to 1,000 per month in 1989, because of the lack of anesthesia, antiseptics, gauze,

bandages, antibiotics, and other medical supplies. Only emergency surgery is performed. Everything else is delayed often until it is too late. Surgery is performed without x-rays in many cases, because of shortages. There is no clean water to wash the floors, no air conditioning, inadequate heat, poor lighting and none in stairwells, recesses, and most corridors. The electricity is off for hours most days. There are not enough sheets, blankets, towels, and other supplies.

Most areas in the city of Basra and parts of Baghdad have no running water or sewage disposal because of the bombing. The sanctions make replacement impossible. This combination compounded by malnutrition is a major cause of death.

Less than half the contracts entered into under UN supervision have been fulfilled because of harassment. Production of pharmaceuticals in Iraq, once nearly half of national needs, has declined to an insignificant level because of lack of machine parts and raw materials.

In short, there is a human disaster created by the United Nations. A genocide intended to destroy a national, religious, and ethnic group, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.²⁸

The *1997 Britannica Book of the Year* shows the death rate for Iraq at 9.8 per thousand. For poor neighboring Jordan it was 3 per thousand. Rich neighboring Kuwait experienced 2.2 deaths for every thousand people in 1997.

Per capita income in Iraq, from the *1989 Britannica Book of the Year*, was \$2,420. By 1996 it was down to \$720. By 1997 it had dropped to \$540, less than 25 percent of the average individual income in 1989.

In May 1998 we were able to take over four million dollars (U.S. wholesale value) in medicine and medical supplies directly to hospitals in Iraq, from Mosul to Basra. The group of eighty-four persons carried more than 140 large boxes of the most urgently needed medicines and supplies by arduous overland travel from Amman, Damascus, and Beirut. Despite the goodwill of thousands in the U.S. who contributed to purchase and transport the desperately needed medicine, there could be no satisfaction from the effort, because it did not meet even one thousandth of the annual need.

The U.S. used the occasion of our shipment and others — including its own strategically employed AmeriCares flight, which was quickly organized for propaganda purposes — to claim medicines are not as badly needed in Iraq as in many other countries. There are few if any countries with the shortages of medicines and medical supplies that exist in Iraq, and there are none that have experienced such a drastic decline in available medicines when professional medical and health care personnel are ready to beneficially use them. And, of course, no other country experiences such shortages because of international sanctions — “man’s inhumanity to man.”

Ending the sanctions is the essential first step toward the recovery of Iraq and of America’s honor.

When this whole tragic story is examined, the most difficult question will be why the member nations of the Security Council surrendered to U.S. pressure to continue sanctions against Iraq and why the American people let their government do it. The criminal nature of the bombing of Iraq was undeniably obvious. Over a period of more than eight years now, Security Council members have accepted the most cynical, duplicitous, and absurd arguments from the U.S. to continue sanctions. During most of these years the sanctions committee reviewed continuation of the sanctions every two months.

As awareness of the murderously criminal effect of the sanctions spread, the U.S. would come up with the most patently foolish and false excuses to continue the sanctions. Sometimes, appealing to prejudice, it would claim that Saddam Hussein had spent extravagant sums for a yacht on the Euphrates which could have been used to purchase medicines. At other times it would appeal to fear, claiming he was obtaining missiles, or developing nuclear weapons, or manufacturing, deploying, or concealing chemical or biological weapons. These claims would be followed by insistence on further inspections, searching the most intimate places of government, demanding follow-up searches, then claiming Iraq is not cooperating, is lying, is concealing weapons or the evidence of their existence.

Occasionally the U.S. would suggest compliance has improved, then follow with new allegations of discovery, deception, or concealment. Through it all, every Security Council member has known it was a charade. Each member has known the U.S. will not agree to end sanctions unless forced to do so. That the U.S. intends to maintain its major military presence in the Gulf, which it uses the UN to justify, is equally clear. A 1997 *Foreign Affairs* article coauthored by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft, national security advisers for presidents Carter and Bush, respectively, stated the obvious quite clearly: "Every president since Richard Nixon has recognized that ensuring Persian Gulf security and stability is a vital U.S. interest."²⁹ It is imperative that all parties understand an important strategic reality: the United States is in the Persian Gulf to stay."³⁰

The U.S. has always blamed Saddam Hussein for the condition of the Iraqi people. Madeleine Albright has repeatedly argued that she loves the Iraqi people more than Saddam Hussein does. He is constantly cited for using "weapons of mass destruction" against his own people.

Unbearably terrible, the vicious assault on defenseless Iraq and the slow, tortured genocide by sanctions happened and the American people have known it all along. The facts are inescapable and undeniable. Still, knowing that our own government has devastated Iraq doesn't enrage many, because our media, government, and leading public figures falsely tell us that the U.S., with the approval of the United Nations, has acted courageously and selflessly against a dangerous and evil enemy. And most Americans pay little attention. They are distracted by personal problems and insecurities and absorbed in the many circuses provided by power to consume their conscious time and sedate their pain from conscience —

television, movies, professional sports, and celebrity antics. The American culture conditions the people to value their own material well-being more than they love justice. As individuals, Americans feel helpless to affect government action anyway. These factors at least partially explain how some millions of Americans could watch a *60 Minutes* TV program filmed in late 1995 — which portrayed and described the deaths of more than 500,000 children in Iraq caused by U.S.-forced sanctions and then showed UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright saying of those deaths, “Yes, the price is worth it” — without smashing their TV sets and taking to the streets.

Finally, the U.S. reluctantly agreed in 1996 to permit inadequate sales of oil by Iraq. But it required that nearly half the proceeds go to pay reparations, support enemies of Iraq, and pay for intrusive, meaningless inspections. The U.S. has since systematically delayed, frustrated, and often rejected Iraqi contracts requiring Security Council approval for medicine, medical equipment, and food. It has attempted to control the delivery of every purchase, a means of physical and economic intervention.

It became so embarrassing and transparent, as the U.S. manufactured a new crisis every two months, that in 1996, just as opposition to sanctions was mounting within the Security Council, the U.S. forced an agreement for biannual reviews. Meanwhile, several hundred people die every day.

There can be no better evidence of the importance of the second reform to the UN Charter — replacement of the Security Council — proposed in Chapter 12 of *The Fire This Time*.³¹ Permanent membership for five nations is undemocratic and the veto power a guarantee of both abusive action and immoral inaction. Now the Security Council, largely paralyzed for its first forty-five years by the struggle between the U.S. and USSR, has succumbed to the domination of the U.S., which can dictate even genocide.

All the arguments for continuing sanctions against Iraq fail to acknowledge that no threat, or failure, by the government of Iraq can justify sanctions that kill infants, children, pregnant and nursing women, the chronically ill, and the elderly. No sentient moral being can believe the “price is worth it,” as Albright proclaimed. But even in a world so cruel and heartless as the secretary of state would have it, there is no rational justification for such sanctions against a small and exhausted Iraq while the U.S. brandishes its nuclear arms, developing more homicidal delivery systems, and the UN ignores threats of nuclear war in south Asia that are more dangerous than any since Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As a person who, despite all evidence to the contrary, still believes law is an essential element in the quest for peace, I hesitate to analyze the positive international laws and the domestic laws of my own country that are violated by the fire and ice imposed on Iraq. It demeans law and life to have to parse out how law is violated by such horrendous acts. Most clearly, the law is worthless, indeed

dangerous where needed most, if it fails to make criminal the conduct of the U.S. toward Iraq these past eight years.

The aerial assault on Iraq — the Fire — which took more than 150,000 lives, violates the UN Charter; provisions of the Hague Conventions of 1907; the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Articles 51-57 of Protocol 1, Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1977; the Nuremberg Charter of 1945, including crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity; provisions of numerous international covenants, conventions, and declarations, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Civil, Political, Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Genocide Convention; various treaties; customary international law; a large number of U.S. criminal statutes, and the laws of armed conflict cited in several U.S. military service manuals, among others.

The sanctions against Iraq that have taken more than one and a half million lives — the Ice — violate the UN Charter; the Nuremberg Charter of 1945, crimes against humanity; Article 54.1, Protocol I Additional, Geneva Convention of 1977 (“Starvation of civilians as a means of warfare is prohibited”); provisions of numerous international covenants, conventions, declarations, and treaties; customary international law; and other agreements, most explicitly the Covenant Against Genocide, which provides:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;³²

Starvation of civilians as a means of warfare is prohibited.³³

It is clear beyond a reasonable doubt that with the sanctions it forced on Iraq, the United States intended to destroy in whole, or in part, the people of Iraq, largely Arab and Muslim, by causing them serious bodily and mental harm and by inflicting on them conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction in whole, or in part. Sadly, the complicity of the UN cannot be ignored, because in a time of moral crisis threatening the life of a nation, it did nothing to prevent tragedy. Dante described some very hot places in hell reserved for such failure.

The sanctions against Iraq must be ended immediately and unconditionally. Sanctions impacting on poor, weak, helpless, hungry, or sick people must be prohibited in all cases.

Then all must work for essential reforms of the United Nations and the United States based on truth and seeking reconciliation.

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An International Appeal to the United States Government and the Security Council of the United Nations

Economic sanctions and blockades, as now applied as the weapon of choice by the United States and by the Security Council of the United Nations at the urging of the U.S. and its allies, are weapons of mass destruction directed at a whole people.

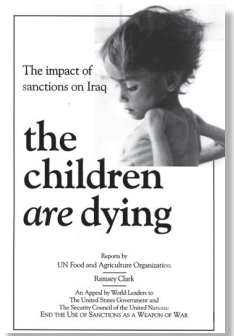
These blockades have been used only against poor countries, and while the entire people is punished by their economic impact, the greatest harm is overwhelmingly on the poorest and weakest — infants, children, the chronically ill, and the elderly.

There is no crueler violation of fundamental human rights than this sanctions policy. The case of Iraq has demonstrated that the U.S. and its allies do not stop short of the deliberate creation of a new zone of death and destitution, with thousands of deaths monthly, dehydration, organ failure, and pain without relief, permanent physical or mental disability, and generalized shortening of life.

All humanitarian law from its inception has endeavored to limit violence to combatants, to prevent use of cruel and unfocused weapons, to protect civilians from the scourge of war, and to outlaw the principle of collective punishment. The sanctions policy is clearly a “Crime Against Humanity” as defined under the terms of the Nuremberg Principles. It also clearly violates the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Convention and other fundamental documents of contemporary international law.

- **Ahmed Ben Bella**, *first President of Algeria*
- **Daniel Ortega**, *former President of Nicaragua*
- **Clodomiro ALMEYDA**, *former Deputy President of Chile*

First published in
The Children Are Dying
(1998)



- **Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici, *former Prime Minister of Malta***
- **Romesh Chandra, *President, World Peace Council***
- **Roosevelt Douglas, *Member of Parliament, Dominica***
- **Ben Dupuy, *former Ambassador at Large, Haiti***
- **Sir Gaetan Duval, *former Deputy Head of Government of Mauritius***
- **Sheikh Mohammed Rashid, *former Deputy Head of Government of Pakistan***
- **Morad Ghaleb, *former Foreign Minister of Egypt***
- **Fr. Miguel d'Escoto, *former Foreign Minister of Nicaragua***
- **Tony Benn, *Member of Parliament, Britain***
- **Ramsey Clark, *former Attorney General of the United States***
- **Margarita Papandreou, *former First Lady of Greece***

The above Appeal was drafted by Ramsey Clark and introduced by the International Commission of Inquiry on Economic Sanctions.

Heroic Gaza

Here is the story of the most heroic and successful Palestinian resistance to unrelenting Israeli oppression and aggression, intended to drive the Palestinian people from their homeland, since 1948. It is a tale well told by authors with a wide range of personal backgrounds, knowledge, experience and perspectives, but a common commitment to a united, independent, free, secure and prosperous Palestinian nation and people. Their theme is the necessity of effective resistance to all forms of repression and aggression as essential to the freedom, dignity, and - with omni-destructive weapons and the environmental degradation that they cause — the survival of humanity.

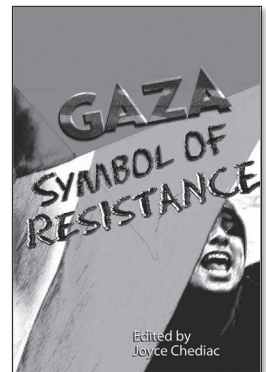
The story of Gaza is twofold. On the one hand, the death and destruction that Gaza has suffered is tragic. On the other hand, Gaza's heroism and resistance is an inspiration which promises a strong, united Palestinian state.

Will of the Palestinian people ignored

The will of the Palestine people should determine who heads their government. Hamas received nearly 75 percent of the vote in the last Palestinian elections, despite all the handicaps imposed on it. Both Israel and the essential supporter of its belligerent and expansionist policies, the United States, profess to be and to esteem democracies. Yet both ignore the palpable will of the Palestinian people.

Israel, with U.S. cover, only dallies with Fatah while daily expanding its presence and power in the West Bank and Jerusalem. At the same time, Israel tightens its noose around Gaza, cutting off virtually all importation of human neces-

For 30 years Clark was the attorney in the United States for the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that time he successfully litigated against attempts to close the P.L.O. Mission to the United Nations and stopped attempts to seize Palestinian assets in the U.S. He wrote this piece in January 2011, after leading a solidarity delegation to Gaza. First published as the foreword to *GAZA: Symbol of Resistance* (2011)



sities. This blockade is spiced with bombings, shootings and political assassinations nearly daily.

A tale of two trips: Gaza in the 1990s and now

Representing the P.L.O. in U.S. courts for 30 years required close communication with Chairman, and later President, Yasser Arafat, and many trips to Palestine. Two of my trips to Gaza, one in the 1990s and one in January 2011, stand in marked contrast.

In the late 1990s, this crowded strip of land was brimming with a confident people. The streets were full of traffic. An airport was nearing completion. Schools and colleges were overflowing with students. Stores and pharmacies were full of goods. Restaurants were full of customers, good food and cheer. Government services and health care met basic needs. That was before the blockade, which began in 2006 and continues, and before the massive bombing of Gaza in 2008 to 2009.

In the 1990s, the drive from Cairo to Gaza and entry took four hours. In 2011 it took 19 hours.

The delay, deliberately caused by the Egyptian government, was designed to prevent or discourage entry. We left Cairo at 5:00 a.m. and could not enter Gaza until nearly 1:00 a.m. the next day. A large delegation had waited in Gaza since noon to meet us. When we finally arrived, they insisted on feeding us a dinner of scarce food, then taking us to a virtually empty Mediterranean beach front hotel.

Gaza is about the size of Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx combined, three boroughs of New York City. We drove the length and breadth of Gaza — 140 square miles. Rarely were we out of sight of destruction, damage and destitution, or a grim, if determined, adult population and their many cheerful children.

Hospitals are overflowing

Hospitals were full to overflowing with the injured and ill. There were severe shortages of life-saving medicines and medical equipment reminiscent of Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War. In Iraq, the sanctions killed more than were killed in the “shock and awe” invasion. One-and-a-half million Iraqis died as a result of sanctions, half of them children under the age of five. This is what Gaza faces now. Its hospitals are damaged, dialysis machines are broken — but it carries on.

Thousands of Palestinian prisoners are held in Israel, most often for purely political purposes. Many are from Gaza. Meetings with the parents, wives and children of prisoners was heart wrenching.

The greatest activity I saw in 2011 was education. It is booming even though many classrooms had been destroyed and there are near-daily military attacks on the Strip, attacks which have included assassinations of civilian leadership and military personnel.

Meeting Hamas leadership

Much is said in the West about Hamas and the Hamas leadership, little of it good or accurate. A lengthy meeting and lunch with Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh and members of his cabinet gave me great hope for Palestine's future. Haniyeh is a naturally cheerful man at 48, focused optimistically on the creation of a united Palestinian state that is free, independent and secure. More than grace under pressure, he showed knowledge, understanding, reasonableness, even a personal gentleness, and compassion.

Asked by many if Hamas plans a state in Gaza, Prime Minister Haniyeh has said: "We have no desire to establish a state in Gaza, particularly as its limited resources render it unfit for statehood. And from a strategic, political and national perspective, we say, 'There can be no state in Gaza, and there can be no nation without it.' We have no desire to create a separate entity in the Strip, let alone a state."

Regarding an Islamic state, he has added, "It is impossible to define a nation before it has even been born because its identity is based on two factors: First, liberating the land and establishing a political entity upon it; and second, giving the people the right to present and choose. It is true we are Islamists, yet we respect our people's choices. If our citizenry choose an Islamic identity, we will work towards that; if they opt otherwise, we will equally understand and honor the people's voice."

I found the leadership of Hamas to be strong, committed to the unity of all Palestinians in their struggle for statehood, independence and freedom, and free from subversive influences that serve Israeli and U.S. policy. This leadership respects President Mahmoud Abbas and is open to work with him, consistent with the expressed will of the Palestinian people. It is the chosen leadership of the Palestinian people.

A world that believes in democracy must seek out Hamas to negotiate any meaningful resolution of disputes and hope for peace in the Middle East and beyond. And people of good will must do all within their power to bring a united, strong, independent, secure and prosperous Palestine into existence now.



YUGOSLAVIA

U.S. and NATO plans to divide Yugoslavia

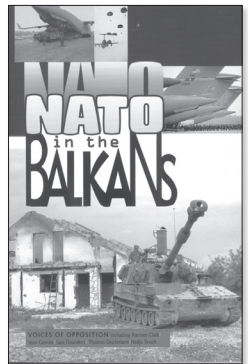
The first time I went to Yugoslavia — as it was then called — I got shot at, literally. It was 1946, and it was either August or September. I was an eighteen-year-old Marine getting ready to be discharged and flying courier service. The week I went in, two C47s had been shot down by ground anti-aircraft fire. We were flying in and you looked out and there were bursts all around. And you think, my God, these are belligerent people down there. What was going on? What the hell was I doing there?

Today I had a meeting for about an hour with a Bulgarian lawyer. He had started out in human rights and had actually been justice minister in the early 1990s for about a year. As we talked and he told me his perception of what was going on today, I realized they were right, back in 1946. They *should* have been shooting at me. It wasn't anything personal, but they knew what they were doing. They just didn't have enough guns to do it, that's all.

This Bulgarian, who is quite an interesting man, was appalled at what the United States was doing. He couldn't believe the sanctions on Yugoslavia. They've affected Bulgaria pretty drastically. I've driven from Sophia, Bulgaria, to Belgrade twice in the last couple of years. It's a beautiful and easy drive — about three hours. And they feel the pressure constantly, physically and psychologically. In fact, sanctions have affected the whole area all the way down through Greece. Sixty percent of all Greece's exports were trucked into or through Yugoslavia before the war.

The bombing absolutely appalled this Bulgarian lawyer. But the most depressing thing he said was, "We just can't understand what's going on." Sadly, I think

Adapted from a speech given by Ramsey Clark at a IAC teach-in on the U.S. role in Bosnia in New York, Oct. 1995. First published in *NATO in the Balkans: Voices of Opposition* (1998)



it's pretty easily understood, if you can get the pieces together. We need to look at the region and the people. They're a sturdy people, they've been through a lot for much longer than Europeans have been in this country, and they've never been subdued.

They're a creative and energetic people. They're overwhelmingly a happy people. They make good wine and good music, and good talk — if you've got a translator, in my case. They love to sit around and talk in the evening.

There's a book I find helpful in understanding Yugoslavia. It deals with the history of the region from the time that the Ottomans came in. It's told in an ingenious way — through the history and story of a bridge. The building of the bridge, the lives on the bridge, the loves of the bridge, the suicides off the bridge, the fights on the bridge — and the final dynamiting of the bridge at the beginning of World War I. It's called *A Bridge on the Drina* and was written by Ivo Andric, Nobel Laureate. Most Nobel Laureates are and should be forgotten. But here's a man who really understood the history and the people and wanted to give us some sense of what it was like.

The people lived together through Ottoman power and Austro-Hungarian power — five hundred years. They did and can live together. That didn't mean it was all a bed of roses, but in terms of internal violence, it was peaceful compared to what we see now.

Yugoslavia was an idea. There are not too many countries that are created as an idea — other than those the oil companies created. But the idea was, we need a federation. In this little microcosm of so many peoples and cultures of the world, we need a way to function together and live together and prevail together.

It was a strange idea and it was hard to work with. The idea had many enemies from the beginning, because that would make the area hard to exploit. If the Caribbean can't do it and Central America can't — then those small countries have no chance, in my opinion, except total exploitation. They face a future of free trade zones like Bob Herbert wrote about in the *New York Times*, where women work ten to twelve hours a day and can't feed their children or themselves. The Gap and Liz Claiborne and other corporations are selling the stuff they're putting together for slave wages and aren't paying any taxes there.

Yugoslavia had one of the worst experiences in World War II. It's not commonly told. But there was a major killing camp — concentration camp, as we tend to call them — at Jasenovac in the Nazi state of Croatia, according to a very detailed, elaborately researched book called *The Yugoslav Auschwitz*. It's by Vladimir Dedijer, a really interesting man I've had the good fortune to know for many years. He was vice chairman of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal and also wrote a major biography of Tito, with some understanding of what was accomplished in the Yugoslav Federation after World War II. His research on the slaughter of the Serbs came out in a new reprint in the United States recently.

It is a document of basic historic importance. Many of the children of those killed, and even some of those interned, are still alive. Without a federation to protect them living with each other, it wouldn't be easy, and everybody knew that.

Don't think that NATO isn't planning the map of Europe every day, knowing exactly what it wants it to look like. Don't think they don't know the composition of the peoples, the physical terrain and the natural resources, the industry and all the rest. They're working on it constantly.

And if you think a country is too small for them to be interested in, you just haven't seen anything. Was Grenada bigger? There's never been a military engagement in history where so many armed troops went so far to attack so few. A people with no defense. The Pentagon inflicted more casualties per capita on the Grenadian population than the United States lost in World War II.

Don't think there's not a purpose to it. Not long after Tito died, as the influence of the Soviet Union declined and its capacity to intervene in anything became negligible — which made the Gulf War possible — the plans to divide Yugoslavia were under way. There can't be any doubt about that. Just look at our legislation, look at what so many people have said in memoirs and other things. The plans were under way.

And there are lots of interests in there. In Slovenia there are over one million Italians. Slovenia and Croatia are the richer parts of the country. We can talk about the success of the federation in terms of the basic quality of life. The people had food, clothing, education, housing, and things like that. In terms of per capita income it was a Third World nation, richer in the north than in the south. Slovenia had about \$9,500 per capita income, Croatia over \$7,000, Serbia \$3,500, Bosnia less than that. Go a bit further south and it's a poor, underdeveloped country.

The purposes of dismantling Yugoslavia have to be understood. Germany obviously had a keen interest. Everybody knew when it was dismantled there would be hell to pay. The United States used ways to direct the violence, and for four or five years now the violence has been directed in the way the United States likes to fight a war "You and them fight."

It's the same way that the Iran-Iraq war went. Remember Kissinger's famous statement when the war began: "I hope they kill each other." He did everything he could to see that they did. And about a million young men — some very young, thirteen to fourteen years old — lost their lives.

In Yugoslavia, the purpose is, among others, to consolidate NATO and European control in the richer northern part of the former Yugoslavia, to cripple for a long time the Serbian people, and to debilitate as deeply as possible the Muslims.

One of the real ironies of United States' treachery is in the Muslim world. There are a billion and a half Muslims on the planet. They cheer U.S. aid and Israeli support, as they see it, for the Muslims in Bosnia. But who's getting killed? Who's getting the living daylight bombed out of them?

It's not as bad as all that. General Charles G. Boyd, a full four-star general and former deputy European commander for U.S. forces, wrote in *Foreign Affairs* that in 1994 in Sarajevo — which we think of as one of the most violent places in the world today — the total number of deaths from gunfire on all sides, friendly fire, unfriendly fire, whatever it is, is lower than the murder rate in Washington, D.C. I don't mean to put that down, that's tragic, but we have to have a sense of proportion, and that's the fact.

General Boyd pointed out, "Half of the Slavs [Serbs] have been driven out of what we call Bosnia." They're gone. A good many are dead, and a good many are refugees in all kinds of uncomfortable places, exiled from their homeland. We have to realize what is happening. We're coming toward a NATO-developed buffer that will include northern-oriented, Austro-Hungarian participants as a part of the north, and a vast debilitation of Muslims and a vaster debilitation of Serbs.

We don't think much about the sanctions, but the sanctions are more deadly than the bombing in this war. The same was true in the Gulf War. The United States dropped 88,500 tons of bombs in Iraq — one every thirty seconds for forty-two days. But that killed far fewer people than the sanctions have. There are four million people in Iraq today on the brink of death because of the sanctions. Already, seven hundred thousand people have died from the sanctions.

If you look at the people in Belgrade and other cities and towns of Serbia, Yugoslavia, you see deprivation and severe malnutrition. But there is no malnutrition in Sarajevo, according to General Boyd. Of course, he's right.

That's how you really break the country down. What happens to all those undersized children that survive, who didn't get enough nutrition before and after birth?

Gun supplies to Muslims are restricted. They come through Croatia, which is heavily armed. Peter Galbraith is the U.S. ambassador there, and he's calling a lot of the shots for this overall plan. He pushed the Serbs down as far as you can, and it's related geopolitically as much if not more than economically.

There's been a lot of talk about the economics of it. Fortress Europe is coming back because the rich countries are getting richer and the poor countries are getting poorer. It's the greatest problem on the planet today, just as the rich are getting richer here in our country and the poor are getting poorer. They're concerned about the teeming hordes, and they want barriers to immigration.

NATO is more concerned, as is the United States, about Islamic fundamentalism, domestically and internationally, than any other single threat, probably. That's what the FBI said constantly in Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman's case. That's the number one priority for the CIA and the FBI. They're terrified about these people, they're true believers.

What the United States is doing is consolidating the position of Europe, fortifying it, breaking down not just Serbs, but Slavic people as much as possible.

Slavs are by far the largest ethnic group in Europe, bigger than the French, the Germans, or anybody else. And they are looked down upon almost racially by northern Europe and by too many Americans.

We have to recognize that these things don't just happen, that this is planned and controlled attrition. It will be a major policy. There won't be a real cease-fire. You want them to kill a few more people. You want them to take it down and down and down. Then you send a garrison force in, and the people will be miserable. But they'll be rebellious, and there won't be peace. We'll have more trouble.

And we'll have mothers over here like the mothers of British Tommies in the north of Ireland. They're getting their sons home in boxes and wondering what in the world they were doing there anyway, because they should never have been there. And the U.S. should never have been planning these things. It should never have participated in these things. Those of us who live here have an absolute moral obligation to see that it ends now — there and everywhere.

We knew what's coming out now about Central America, but no one could prove it. Battalion 316 in Honduras, trained here, directed from here, killing people all over the place to undermine the FSLN in Nicaragua, to support the contras and all the rest. The systematic carnage in Guatemala, which we have generally attributed to the Guatemalan elite, had the direct participation of the U.S. CIA. They thought: How do you take care of these restless natives if you don't control them and kill them and impoverish them?

There will be a billion more people on the planet in the next four to five years. And the vast majority are going to have beautiful, dark skin and live short, miserable lives of violence and hunger and sickness and poverty, unless we act radically here. In Bosnia obviously we've got to move for a major federation of the whole Balkan peninsula that can give them an opportunity to construct their own lives in the way they choose without outside interference. But because of the tragic history that others have imposed on them, we will need a Marshall Plan of enormous magnitude to help them rebuild their lives. If we do that, we can hope to have some bearable conscience in some peaceable future.

Indictment of U.S./NATO

For Crimes Against Peace, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity

THE LIST OF CHARGES

THE COMPLAINT

This Complaint is presented to end the scourge of war, prevent future violations of fundamental human rights, protect international and national organizations, governments and institutions and to hold those convicted of the violations alleged accountable for their acts.

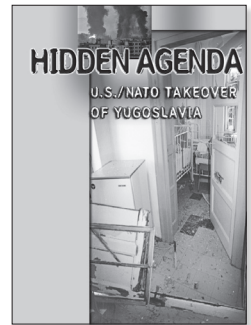
The Governments, Organizations and Individuals named herein are charged with:

Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity and Other Offenses in Violation of the Principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal (Nuremberg), The Hague Regulations (Hague) and Geneva Conventions (Geneva) and Other International and national Laws;

Grave Violations of the Charter of the United Nations (UN Charter), the North Atlantic Treaty (NAT), other international treaties, International Law, the Federal Constitution and Domestic Laws of the United States, the Basic Laws of Other Nations Including the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Turkey, the Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, Spain and other Governments of NATO members and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Written July 1999 and used as a basis for hearings leading up to the International Tribunal for U.S./NATO War Crimes in Yugoslavia held on June 10, 2000, in New York.

First published in *Hidden Agenda: US/NATO Takeover of Yugoslavia* (2002).



Grave Violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Genocide Convention, and Other International Covenants, Conventions, Treaties, Declarations and Domestic Laws named herein.

A. DEFENDANTS

1. President William J. Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Secretary of Defense William Cohen and Commanding Generals, Admirals, U.S. personnel directly involved in designating targets, flight crews and deck crews of the U.S. military bomber and assault aircraft, U.S. military personnel directly involved in targeting, preparing and launching missiles at Yugoslavia, the government of the United States personnel causing, condoning or failing to prevent violence in Yugoslavia before and during NATO occupation and Others to be named.
2. The United Kingdom, Prime Minister Tony Blair, the Foreign Minister, the Defense Minister and Commanding Generals, Admirals, U.K. personnel directly involved in designating targets, flight crews and deck crews of the UK military bomber and assault aircraft, U.K. military personnel directly involved in targeting, preparing and launching missiles at Yugoslavia, the government of the United Kingdom personnel causing, condoning or failing to prevent violence in Yugoslavia before and during NATO occupation and Others to be named.
3. The Federal Republic of Germany, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, the Foreign Minister, the Defense Minister and Commanding Generals, Admirals, German personnel directly involved in designating targets, flight crews and deck crews of the German military bomber and assault aircraft, German military personnel directly involved in targeting, preparing and launching missiles at Yugoslavia, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany personnel causing, condoning or failing to prevent violence in Yugoslavia before and during NATO occupation and Others to be named.
4. The Government of every NATO country that participated directly in the assaults on Yugoslavia with aircraft, missiles, or personnel and Commanding Generals, Admirals, NATO personnel directly involved in designating targets, flight crews and deck crews of the NATO military bomber and assault aircraft, NATO military personnel directly involved in targeting, preparing and launching missiles at Yugoslavia, the governments of the NATO countries' personnel causing, condoning or failing to prevent violence in Yugoslavia before and during NATO occupation and Others to be named.
5. The Governments of Turkey, Hungary, Italy and others who permitted

the use of airbases on their territory to be used by U.S., or other military aircraft and missiles for direct assault on Yugoslavia.

6. The North American Treaty Organization (NATO), Secretary General Javier Solana, Supreme Commander General Wesley K. Clark.
7. For Condemnation: Each NATO member that voted to authorize military assaults on Yugoslavia.

B. THE CHARGES

1. Planning and Executing the Dismemberment, Segregation and Impoverishment of Yugoslavia.

The United States, Germany, NATO and other defendants engaged in a course of conduct beginning in, or before 1991 intended to break the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into many parts, segregate different ethnic, religious and other groups among and within newly balkanized borders, weaken the Slav, Serb, Muslim and other populations by causing and prolonging internal violence and by direct assaults by the United States and certain NATO members. As a consequence Yugoslavia, which had 25 million people in an integrated society and economy, is now comprised of many small nations, the largest of which is Serbia. Defendants intend to divide Yugoslavia until all parts of Yugoslavia have fewer than 5 million people, each to be overwhelmingly of a single ethnic origin and religion, to have severely impaired economies largely dominated by foreign interests, in which two groups, Orthodox Christian Serbs and Muslims suffer severest casualties, most extensive property damage, a vast reduction of productivity now down by three-quarters or more, and a generation of impoverishment.

UN Charter; Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty (Non Intervention Decl.), 1965 USGA Res. 2131.

2. Inflicting, Inciting and Enhancing Violence between Muslims and Slavs.

The United States and other defendants engaged in a course of conduct beginning in or before 1991, to cause Muslims and Orthodox Christian Slavs to engage in protracted fratricidal violence, in wars of attrition, similar to conflicts in Afghanistan and Chechnya between Muslims and Russian Slavs, which caused death, destruction and division in Bosnia, Kosovo and elsewhere between the groups and dangerous frictions and enmity between two major peoples the U.S. government considers its enemies, Slavic peoples and Muslims, in other regions, weakening both. Tactics included both providing and depriving select Muslim groups of arms to attack others, or adequately defend themselves in Bosnia; motivating, training and supplying KLA with arms to attack Yugoslav

police and military to seize control of Kosovo during NATO occupation and attack Serbs and others; preventing outside efforts to prevent and control the violence; committing, causing and condoning violence against persons displaced by U.S. and NATO bombing campaigns, and by KLA and Yugoslav police and military ground actions; causing and supporting clashes between Yugoslav military/police/civilian groups and KLA/paramilitary/civilian groups; condoning and failing to prevent assaults on displaced persons returning to and persons who remained in Kosovo, both before and after the NATO/U.S. occupation of Kosovo. In 1999, the U.S. caused the largest numbers of deaths, injuries and destruction by aerial and missile assaults against all elements in the population and its life support systems.

UN Charter, Art. 2; Non Intervention Declaration; Resolution on the Definition of Aggression (Res. on Aggression), 1997 UNGA Res. 3314.

3. Preventing and Disrupting Efforts to Maintain Unity, Peace and Stability in Yugoslavia.

From the beginning of its efforts to implement its plans for dismemberment and destruction of Yugoslavia, the U.S. acted to prevent any interference, negotiation, or other efforts within Yugoslavia, or by other nations, leaders, or individuals to prevent the accomplishment of its intended purposes. Its techniques included political, military and economic threats and control of highly publicized peace negotiations much like those at Dayton, Ohio, during the Bosnia struggle, at Rambouillet, France, in 1999, which created an appearance of earnest peace negotiations, but offered Yugoslavia only two choices, agree to foreign military occupation, or expect a devastating military assault.

UN Charter; Non Intervention Declaration; Resolution on Aggression; Pact of Paris 1928, Art. I and II.

4. Destroying the Peace-Making Role of the United Nations.

The United States acted and coerced other nations to act to block the United Nations from performing its duties under the UN Charter to prevent conflict, control violence and maintain peace in Yugoslavia in violation of the Charter of the UN and threatening its viability as an international institution capable of maintaining peace and ending the scourge of war.

UN Charter; Non Intervention Declaration; Resolution on Aggression, Pact of Paris 1928, Art. I and II.

5. Using NATO for Military Aggression Against and Occupation of Non-Compliant Poor Countries.

The United States acted and coerced other nations to act to cause NATO to authorize direct military assaults on Yugoslavia in violation of the UN Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty relying overwhelmingly on U.S. weaponry and

military technology and to cause NATO members to provide and finance the majority of the military forces to occupy Kosovo for the foreseeable future thereby employing the wealth and power of the rich former colonial powers of Europe against the poor and defenseless people of Yugoslavia.

United Nations Charter; North Atlantic Treaty 1949, Art. I.

6. Killing and Injuring a Defenseless Population throughout Yugoslavia.

Beginning on, or before March 24, 1999, the United States, without a declaration of war by the Congress, aided and abetted by certain NATO members, including the United Kingdom, Germany, Turkey, Spain and the Netherlands, as well as Hungary, Croatia, Italy and others, commenced a war of missile and aerial bombing assaults, often indiscriminate in its targeting, against the populations of Yugoslavia, intentionally killing and injuring many thousands of Serbs, Albanians, Romas, Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, foreign nationals throughout Yugoslavia with malice aforethought.

Hague, Art. 22 and 23; Geneva 1949, Art. 19; Nuremberg, Principle VI a, b and c; U.S. Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. II.

7. Planning, Announcing and Executing Attacks Intended to Assassinate the Head of Government, Other Government Leaders and Selected Civilians.

The United States planned, announced and carried out missile and aerial bombardment attacks intended to assassinate the Head of Government of Yugoslavia, members of his family, other government leaders and selected civilians to destroy existing government leadership and terrorize it and its closest personal support into submission.

UN Charter, Art. 2, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons (Protected Persons Convention); U.S. Army Field Manual 27-10; U.S. Presidential Executive Order 12333 (Ex. Order 12333); Geneva Conventions 1977, Protocol I Additional (Geneva 1977), Art. 48, 51.

8. Destroying and Damaging Economic, Social, Cultural, Medical, Diplomatic and Religious Resources, Properties and Facilities throughout Yugoslavia.

Beginning on, or before March 24, 1999, the United States, aided and abetted by certain NATO members, including United Kingdom, Germany, Turkey, Spain and the Netherlands and others, including Croatia, Hungary and Italy, commenced a systematic missile and aerial bombing assault on resources, properties and economic, social, cultural, medical, diplomatic and religious facilities intentionally destroying and damaging them throughout Yugoslavia to crush the

productive, economic, social, cultural, diplomatic and religious viability of the whole society.

Hague, Art. 22 and 23; Geneva 1949, Art. 19; Geneva 1977, Protocol, Additional, Art. 48, 52, 53; UN Charter, Art. 2; Protected Persons Convention; U.S. Army Field Manual 27-10; Exec. Order 12333; Geneva 1977, Art. 48, 51; ICESCR.

9. Attacking Objects Indispensable to the Survival of the Population of Yugoslavia.

Beginning on or before March 24, 1999, the United States, aided and abetted by others, for the specific purpose of depriving the population of Yugoslavia of food, water, electric power, food production, medicines, medical care and other essentials to their survival, engaged in the systematic destruction and damage by missiles and aerial bombardment of food production and storage facilities, drinking water and irrigation works for agriculture, fertilizer, insecticide, pharmaceutical, hospitals and health care facilities, among other objects essential to human survival.

Hague 1907, Art. 22 and 23; Geneva 1949, Art. 19; Nuremberg 1970, Principles VIa, b and c; Geneva 1977, Art. 48, 54.

10. Attacking Facilities Containing Dangerous Substances and Forces.

The United States attacked chemical plants and storage facilities, petroleum and natural gas refining, processing and storage facilities, fertilizer plants and other facilities and locations for the specific purpose of releasing and scattering toxic, radioactive and other dangerous substances and forces into the atmosphere, soil, ground water and food chain to poison the environment and injure the population.

Nuremberg Principle VI; Hague, Art. 22 and 23; Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, Geneva 1925 (Poisonous Substances Protocol); Geneva 1977, Protocol I Additional, Art. 48, 51, 56.

11. Using Depleted Uranium, Cluster Bombs and Other Prohibited Weapons.

The United States used prohibited weapons capable of mass destruction and inflicting indiscriminate death and suffering against the population of all Yugoslavia. Despite knowledge of its deadly long-term effect on life and warnings of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the U.S. attacked Yugoslavia with depleted uranium missiles, bombs and bullets. These depleted uranium weapons spread radioactive matter into the atmosphere, soil, ground water, food chain and solid objects, placing the Yugoslav population at risk of death, genetic dam-

age, cancers, tumors, leukemia and other injuries for generations. Cluster bombs were used extensively, spraying deadly razor sharp metal shards over wide areas against hospitals, churches, mosques, schools, apartment developments and other heavily populated places inflicting death, injury and property damage. The use of other illegal weapons is under continuing investigation.

Hague, Art. 22 and 23, Geneva 1977, Art. 48, 51, 54, 55, POONA Indictment for the Subversion of Science and Technology 1978 (POONA Indictment).

12. Waging War on the Environment.

The United States aerial and missile assault intentionally created a widespread, long-term and severe environmental disaster in Yugoslavia. Air pollution from overflights alone multiplied normal impurities in the atmosphere. Thousands of tons of explosives unleashed enormous quantities of chemicals into the air, raised clouds of dust and debris from

places hit and started fires that often raged for days. Chemical, petrochemical, oil and gas refinery, storage and transmission facilities purposely targeted in the vicinity of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis and other major cities exposed huge populations to dangerous and noxious pollution. Depleted uranium scattered across Kosovo and the remainder of Serbia will threaten life for generations.

Hague, Art. 22 and 23; Geneva 1977, Art. 48, 51, 54, 55; Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment 1972; Principles I, II (UN Conf. on Human Environment), et al.

13. Imposing Sanctions through the UN that Are a Genocidal Crime against Humanity to Achieve Impoverishment and Debilitation of the People of Yugoslavia.

The United States began an economic attack on Yugoslavia designed to break it up politically and tear it down economically before 1989. It caused the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to use its strongest shock therapy to attack Yugoslav productivity, add to its foreign debt burden and expose national wealth to foreign capital by forcing removal of trade barriers and privatizing vital public industry, commerce, utilities and facilities. In May 1991 U.S. Secretary of State Baker stopped all U.S. aid programs to all six Yugoslav Republics and vetoed future IMF credits, creating an enormous economic incentive and powerful political argument for political opposition to Belgrade to separate other Republics from Serbia. The U.S. forced UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, but relieved Republics that seceded from Yugoslavia of sanctions. Such sanctions devastated the entire economy of Yugoslavia to the degree that a normal growth rate free of U.S. coercion would require thirty years to return Yugoslavia to its 1989 levels of productivity. Per capita production value for all six Republics of Yugoslavia in 1989 was \$6,220. Today [July 1999] for Serbia and Montenegro, the remaining Republics of Yugo-

slavia, it is \$1,510. Ninety percent of all trade was among the six republics before the break-up. All former republics have suffered economically, but Yugoslavia now, with barely forty percent of its 1990 population, including Kosovo, has had a far greater decline economically than the favored northern Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which are today more overwhelmingly Roman Catholic than before their secession. The sanctions against Yugoslavia continue and Serbia, excluding Kosovo, is barred from receiving any planned reparations and aid to rebuild from bomb damage and economic attrition. The sanctions have had a far more damaging effect on life, health, the economy and the quality of life in Yugoslavia than the military assault, increasing death rates, lowering life expectation, reducing nutrition and health care and driving production down. As in Iraq, and elsewhere, the sanctions are an economic crime, a crime against humanity and genocide.

Nuremberg, Principle VI c, Crimes Against Humanity; Genocide Convention; Geneva 1977, Art. 48, 54, 55.

14. Creating an Illegal Ad-Hoc Criminal Tribunal to Destroy and Demonize Serb Leadership.

The United States acting through defendant Madeleine Albright coerced the UN Security Council to create ad hoc criminal tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda in violation of the UN Charter to destroy and demonize enemy leaders in those two countries and threaten leaders elsewhere. The Charter does not authorize creation of criminal tribunals. The U.S. strongly opposes the International Criminal Tribunal treaty approved by 120 nations at Rome in July 1998 and in the process of ratification by nations now. It did so because it does not intend to subject its leaders or military forces to the jurisdiction of an independent international Court and the rule of international law. By targeting individual enemies in ad hoc courts and charging them with genocide, it achieves their isolation internationally, pressures their own countries to remove them from power, corrupts and politicizes justice and uses the appearance of neutral international law to adjudicate and punish enemies as war criminals and establish itself as an innocent champion of justice.

UN Charter, Statute of the International Court of Justice (Statute ICJ); UDHR; ICCPR.

15. Using Controlled International Media to Create Support for U.S. Assaults Anywhere and to Demonize Yugoslavia, Slavs, Serbs and Muslims as Genocidal Murderers.

The United States defendants have systematically controlled, directed, manipulated, misinformed and restricted press and media coverage concerning Yugoslavia and the U.S. assaults on it to gain public support for the massive bombardment of a defenseless Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, as had been done in Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan and elsewhere. The international media has

supported and celebrated U.S. political goals of further fragmentation of Yugoslavia and other areas, segregating each region; demonizing selected government officials, other leaders, generals, military officers and soldiers as genocidal murderers; controlling other nations by the threat of popularly supported missile and air assaults and crippling economic sanctions and stimulating acceptance and support from the U.S. public for future operations against other nations and to increase military budgets to support an expanding global role for U.S. military presence and control.

16. Establishing the Long-term Military Occupation of Strategic Parts of Yugoslavia by NATO Forces.

The United States has coerced defendant NATO members and others to provide and support military occupation forces for the occupation of Kosovo, as it did in Bosnia, in order to physically control key parts of Yugoslavia to enforce permanent separation and segregation of States and peoples, to further injure the populations, to create barriers to immigration from Asia Minor, Arab states in the Middle East, North Africa, and former southern republics of the USSR, and elsewhere; to provide a buffer between Europe and the regions described by controlling the territory of divided, segregated and impoverished Slavs, Serbs, Orthodox Christians, Albanians, and others; to exploit the resources of the region; and to prepare and condition NATO members for future participation against other nations.

UN Charter; NAT, Art. 1; Non Intervention Decl.

17. Attempting to Destroy the Sovereignty, Right to Self Determination, Democracy and Culture of the Slavic, Muslim, Christian and Other Peoples of Yugoslavia.

The United States has attempted to destroy the Sovereignty of Yugoslavia, the rights of its people to self determination, the democratic institutions it has developed and its culture that defines the heritage, values and traditions of its people. The United States overthrew the democratically elected Mossadegh administration in Iran in 1953, which it replaced with the Shah of Iran, who ruled absolutely for twenty-five years; the democratically elected Arbenz government of Guatemala, which was followed by forty years of brutal governments; the democratically elected Lumumba government of the Congo in 1962, which was followed by the violent dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko for thirty-five years; the democratically elected Allende government of Chile, which promised health, education, social and economic justice, which was replaced by a reign of terror and military dictatorship under General Pinochet now sought by Spain and other nations for human rights violations. Popularly elected leaders in Vietnam, Pakistan, the Philippines, Panama, Haiti and elsewhere were replaced

by U.S. surrogates. The U.S. has opposed, assaulted and blockaded Cuba and its people for forty years. The UN General Assembly voted 155 to 2 to condemn the U.S. for its blockade of Cuba in December 1998. The U.S. has maintained repressive governments on five continents in too many countries to name; all seeking to destroy the cultures that define the people, their history, character, values, arts, literature, music, with commercially exploitative products having no substantive worth and one overriding purpose — profits from the poor. A goal of U.S. policy is to entrench the belief that only one system works, capitalism, that only one culture has value, that of the U.S. and Western European, and that history will end with the globalization of U.S. culture.

UDHR; ICCPR; ICESCR.

18. The Purpose of the U.S. Actions Being to Dominate, Control and Exploit Yugoslavia, Its People and Its Resources.

The long term purpose of all the acts complained of is to dominate, control and exploit the poor nations of the world and the poor people of the U.S. and other rich countries to further enrich and empower concentrations of wealth and neutralize the whole population of poor, overwhelmingly darker skinned people with fear, powerlessness, poverty, bread and circus.

19. The Means of the U.S. Being Military Power and Economic Coercion.

The United States with a near monopoly on nuclear weapons, military aircraft, missiles, advanced armored vehicles, firepower, equipment, and highly sophisticated technology continuously expands its physical power to destroy, expending more on its military power than the rest of the UN Security Council members combined. This year, U.S. military expenditures will be near 300 billion dollars. The demonized People's Republic of China will spend 34 billion dollars, acquiring far less in destructive power for each dollar. The U.S. sells more destructive arms to other governments and groups seeking to overthrow governments than the rest of the arms-selling countries combined. Often the intention is that they "kill each other," a preferred means of achieving domination.

The U.S. does not sell arms it cannot destroy without incurring significant casualties. The U.S. uses its enormous economic power to coerce foreign governments to comply with its wishes, without regard to the interests of the people of those foreign countries. The threat of economic sanctions alone coerces countries to meet U.S. demands contrary to their sovereignty and self-interest.

C. RELIEF SOUGHT

1. Freedom for all Balkan peoples to form a federation of their choice to provide political, civil, social, economic and cultural independence and viability for all the peoples of the region.
2. Comprehensive efforts to create mutual respect, common interests and bonds of friendship among and between Muslims, Slavs and all national, ethnic and religious groups in the Balkans.
3. Strict prohibition on all forms of foreign interference with or disruption of efforts to establish unity, peace and stability in the Balkans.
4. Restoration of peace-making functions of the UN and reform of the UN to make it effective.
5. The abolition of NATO.
6. Full accountability by individuals and governments for criminal and other wrongful military assaults and economic injustice, including sanctions inflicted on all the people of Yugoslavia, their lives, resources, properties and environment to include criminal prosecutions and reparations sufficient to place all the population in the condition it would be in had it not suffered the wrongs inflicted on it, together with resources with which to build a better future of the peoples' choice.
7. Abolition of the illegal *ad hoc* international criminal tribunal for Yugoslavia and reliance on a legal international tribunal of worldwide non-discriminatory jurisdiction capable of equal justice under the law.
8. Providing adequate media access to inform the world of the human destructiveness of the use of high technology weapons by the U.S. against poor and defenseless people and the practice of genocide by sanctions.
9. Removing all foreign troops from the Balkans at the earliest feasible moment and U.S. troops from NATO countries and elsewhere immediately.

A broader range of relief and reform may be found in Chapter 12 of *The Fire This Time* [Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992]. It is drawn from the experiences and recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry and the International War Crimes Tribunal, which heard evidence in 20 countries concerning the assault on Iraq in 1991, the continuing assaults on Iraq thereafter and the genocidal sanctions that continue to this day.

SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

The Commission of Inquiry will focus on U.S. criminal conduct, aided and abetted by NATO, because of the dominant U.S. role in the military and other wrongful acts against Yugoslavia. The U.S. did not incur a single casualty to itself while causing thousands of deaths in Yugoslavia. The U.S. is also the focus because of the peril of continuing U.S. conduct to all the people of Yugoslavia and the risk of aerial and missile strikes against other nations in view of its recidivist record.

The Commission of Inquiry will seek and accept evidence of criminal acts by any person or government, related to the conflict, because it believes international law must be applied uniformly. It believes that “victors’ justice” is not law, but the extension of war by force of the prevailing party. U.S. propaganda and international media coverage demonized Yugoslavia, its leadership, Serbs and Muslims to fit its purposes, but rarely noticed the criminal destruction of Yugoslavia by U.S. acts as set forth in this complaint.

Comprehensive efforts to gather and evaluate evidence, objectively judge all the conduct that constitutes crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity and to present these facts for judgment to the court of world opinion requires that any serious fair effort focus on the United States. The Commission of Inquiry believes its focus on U.S. criminal acts is important, proper, and the only way to bring the whole truth, a balanced perspective and impartiality in application of legal process to this great human tragedy.

The Greatest Purveyor of Violence

Let me remind everyone of some words from our spiritual host today, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for whom this high school of hopes and dreams is named. They are words that were very important to him, spoken in 1967 at the height of American anguish over the war in Vietnam, before the fever broke, and exactly one day short of one year before he was murdered for saying what he believed.

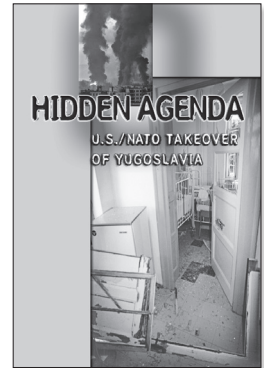
They are words of enormous courage and patriotism — if that's not an unpopular concept — or at least patriotism as I see it. And they are the most important words for our time. They are not chest-beating words like “Give me liberty or give me death,” which means, “Do what I say or I'll kill you.” They are not pompous words like “Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead.” They are not even modest words like “Nuts!” the words uttered by General Anthony McAuliffe during the Battle of the Bulge when he was asked to surrender.

What Dr. King said was, “The greatest of purveyor of violence on earth is my own country.”

The incredible thing is that we don't all feel that constantly every day, because it is perhaps the most abundant truth of our time. Brian Becker mentioned the \$300 billion that the Pentagon will spend on arms next year. That's a small part of it actually, but that happens to exceed the combined military budgets of the rest of the countries on the United Nations Security Council. One of the new “great evils” that we are seeking to make enemies of — the incredible people of the People's Republic of China — spend only a tenth of that, \$34 billion, on their military.

But our arms include the vast majority of all weapons of mass destruction that exist on the planet. They include far and away the most sophisticated and deadly

Based on a talk June 10, 2000, in the auditorium of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. High School in New York summarizing the evidence presented at the International Tribunal for U.S./NATO War Crimes in Yugoslavia. Published in *Hidden Agenda: US/NATO Takeover of Yugoslavia* (2002)



delivery systems. They include the capacity for ecocide. They could easily render Mother Earth a moonscape with literally only two launches from Trident II nuclear submarines. These can cover a hemisphere — half the world — and strike in one launch 408 centers of human population with warheads ten times more powerful than the one that incinerated Nagasaki.

What utter madness.

This morning I talked about the long, hard, and often deadly roads that so many who came here traveled. Today has provided a glimpse of those roads, from the speakers and from the films and from the documents that you've been given. And the scenery wasn't pretty. It was hard to take.

How could we let this happen? What terrible failure of human will and courage could permit it to happen, could restrain us from tearing the place down? I'm not going to summarize the evidence. I don't think it's necessary. You have heard about as much of human violence and misery in one day as anyone ought to have to hear in a lifetime.

The Case Speaks For Itself

The case is what Roman law called *res ipsa loquitur*. It's obvious. It speaks for itself. Who needs to say anything about it? If each of us can't see it and understand that simple point by now, there's no hope. What we have seen and heard answers the question, "Isn't understanding the obvious more important than an investigation of the obscure?"

Let's just listen to what NATO says. They say it's true that they didn't intercede to save a single person being assaulted. They said that, but it's obvious. Look at their technique. Until there was a cease-fire they never set foot in Kosovo or in Yugoslavia, did they? They just bombed from a distance. They bombed defenseless people. They killed thousands directly by violence and tens of thousands more over who knows how long, indirectly, by the variety of violence that they used.

It should be clear beyond question that the war crimes committed are almost beyond counting. I mentioned earlier how pathetic it seems that there's such an uproar about Amnesty International's report of four acts of violence against civilians. I saw evidence of hundreds of such acts on my two trips to Yugoslavia, one at the beginning in late March and one toward the end in late May and early June, hundreds of different direct assaults on civilians. There was no other purpose.

These were not mistakes. Nearly all of the bombing was that way.

We must remember that the long struggle for freedom is between remembering and forgetting. We have to remember. When the war was going on NATO was telling us how many armored vehicles it hit. If you were reading the general media about three months ago you read that it was overestimated by about tenfold. They weren't hitting military targets. They were bombing to break the country down.

You can't break the spirit of the people of Yugoslavia, but you can sure make

life miserable for them. Anyone who saw 50,000 defiant people out in Republic Square, asking to be bombed, knows that.

Remember Jaleh Square in Iran in the last days of the shah, where the people wore burial shrouds and were accommodated by the shah with Huey helicopters manufactured in the United States. The copters' .50-caliber machine guns killed 2,500 Iranians on "Black Friday," August of 1978. The U.S. supported the shah to the bitter end and seeks to overthrow the successor government to this day.

The people of Yugoslavia, they stood on the bridges and the bridges were bombed. You can't break their spirit but you can set them back so far. You can make their future difficult.

Read the nineteen counts in the indictment for what they are. They are nineteen ways of killing. How many ways of killing are there? Each one is deadly in its own design, some immediate and ghastly, some slow, torturous and wasting, from radiation, illness without medicine, malnutrition, chemical or other pollution in the environment — for your children and your grandchildren and generations in the future. NATO used high-tech killing methods for seventy-eight days, without the perpetrators of the crimes suffering casualties or any imminent accountability. If we can't stop publicized mass murder, what hope is there for peace or justice?

Some of NATO's targets are hardest to forget. The sorrows of the many families we saw who had lost loved ones are not forgettable. I remember on the first trip in the first days of the bombing coming into Novi Sad and seeing a huge apartment complex just half smashed down, and the rest unlivable with stunned survivors still seeking the missing. How many people were in there? How do you mistake an apartment complex just south of the Hungarian border for a military target?

NATO hit Hungary a few times, too, of course. High-tech weapons are not as accurate as they claim. U.S. bombs or rockets also hit Bulgaria and Macedonia. Kosovo was devastated. These bombing were deliberate.

You remember, day after day, pictures of the U.S. bombing Pristina, bombing the heart of Pristina, proudly announcing it and the flames coming up for the world to see on CNN. And then we must remember when the cease-fire came and NATO troops occupied Pristina they looked at horror at the heart of Pristina and said, "Look what the Serbs have done to Pristina!"

What fools they take us for and make of us. Have we no memory of their boasting about their bombing? I remember meeting the chancellor of the University of Pristina, about the fifth or sixth day of the bombing, and already three or four important buildings devoted to higher education in Kosovo had been destroyed there. Can that be anything but the basest of crimes? It was murder, mass murder by war machines that the American citizens pay for.

Greek Consulate Destroyed

Nis is in the far south. It's the last big city, down toward Bulgaria and Greece on the main highway, the international highway that comes from Athens to Western

Europe. All the trucks go through Nis. The beautiful Greek Consulate-General is the first building you see as you enter the city from the south. It marks the gateway for Greek people entering Yugoslavia as they travel all the way into Germany and Scandinavia. Sixty percent of European Greek trade comes up that highway.

The Greek Consulate was virtually destroyed by bombing, like the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, which overlooks the Sava River. The Yugoslav people brought piles of flowers to each to show their love and sorrow at what had been done.

I remember the hospital in Nis, a huge complex with a courtyard. It looked like a city in WWII where urban warfare had gone on. All the buildings were pock-marked, some badly damaged. We saw five unexploded cluster bombs still sticking in the ground or lying there, unexploded and dangerous. A hospital yard, hit with cluster bombs designed to rip apart anybody within hundreds of yards of the place.

It's a bad rap for mother, but they call the large container for bomblets the "mother bomb." That's the huge metal cylinder that breaks open and unleashes — depending on the model — 400 or more hand grenade-type cluster bombs that explode, sending razor-sharp pieces of metal into the surroundings. This was in the middle of a major regional hospital complex.

Two of Amnesty International's complaints were about strafing of refugees. NATO forces strafed refugees and civilians many times, all of which added to the many war crimes they committed.

An important story appeared in the press in the United States this Thursday [June 8, 2000]. It came apparently from pressures generated by new revelations of the slaughter of Koreans fifty years ago in late June-early July of 1950 at a place called No Gun Ri. Already there was a big dispute about whether it really happened, with the U.S. denying and explaining what happened. But even the Encyclopedia Britannica states that three million civilians died in northern Korea and 500,000 in the south from 1950-1953.

We speak of revelations, but a lot of people have known about this for a long time. Then there is an effort to make it appear that No Gun Ri was the only offense during the whole Korean war. The U.S. leveled Pyongyang, but they treat this like it was nothing. Everything became focused on this one bridge incident. And now they claim it didn't happen. The same day an Air Force colonel released a memo that reported that the Army had been asking the Air Force for military support to strafe columns of refugees before No Gun Ri.

If we don't reveal the truth, if we don't stand on the truth, if we don't spread the truth every place we possibly can, does anyone believe U.S. and NATO assaults will not happen again in fifty years, in five years, and in five months — on and on?

Look at the power and presence of U.S. arms everywhere. The largest naval armada since WWII is in the Persian/Arabian Gulf right now. This is U.S. power, and nobody who lives in the Gulf region wants it there. Certainly the Muslim populations don't want it there for good reason, religious and human, and yet there it is. Who dares defy that kind of power?

The truth of what happened in Kosovo and throughout Yugoslavia is clear. The important first step in our process in this tribunal is to have our judges declare the truth as they see it. The toil and sacrifice of thousands of people have gathered it over the last fifteen months and brought it here for presentation.

But justice is truth in action. Without action there can be nothing but sorrow and rage. And now we begin the new road. It's a steeper, harder road.

The hardest thing that I had to say in Yugoslavia was on an occasion when I spoke at the University of Belgrade. It was a cruel thing to say, but it had to be said. "You're enduring bombing now that seems unbearable, but it will be worse when the bombing ends."

How can you tell people something like that? But you have to tell the truth. Vietnam struggled against the French and the Americans for thirty years, from 1945 to 1975, and prevailed. They drove them out. Sanctions remained on Vietnam for twenty years from 1975 to 1995. We paid no attention to it. Yet there can be no question that those sanctions caused more human misery and caused more human deaths than thirty years of war.

People who had nothing but a pair of pants and maybe some shoes and a rifle and a sack of ammunition, a little bowl for rice, living underground for months and months and gone from home and loved ones for years, never gave up.

And yet soon after the war ended many Vietnamese were taking to the sea in open boats because with economic strangulation and human isolation the future seemed hopeless at home.

Look at Iraq

Look at Iraq — nine years of sanctions. Malnutrition. Twenty-five percent of the infants born there today at weights of less than two kilos, which means that you're lucky if you make it, or maybe you're unlucky if you make it, depending on how you define luck. Because if you do make it, that is if you live, the probability that vital organs won't develop, the probability of mental retardation and physical damage, of short lives full of pain and suffering, is very high. British doctors started declaring Iraq a "generation of dwarfed people" more than five years ago, yet the sanctions and more bombing continue.

The imperative need is for us to act, to organize and act. There will be no justice, however well known the truth is, unless we act on it. And we have to define carefully what must be done. NATO won't replace the United States as the greatest purveyor of violence on earth, but it will make U.S. capacity to purvey violence much greater.

One thing we notice is that U.S. political leaders prefer it when soldiers from other countries are the ones that have to stand on the ground out there and perhaps get caught between conflicts that these leaders created in Kosovo and elsewhere, in the rising violence.

Let's look at another human tragedy just for a moment to see what follows if we fail to act. We all know how profoundly distressed we were and are about violent deaths in Rwanda in 1994. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed. What was behind it? How does it happen that the prevailing governments of Uganda and Rwanda and Burundi are all governments that the U.S. supported? Yesterday we read in the papers that 1.7 million people have been killed in eastern Zaire or eastern Congo — as it's called now — in the last two years. That's three times the number of people killed in Rwanda, where the U.S. didn't intercede but promoted the overthrow of the prior government.

More Rwandan refugees may have died in Zaire/Congo since 1994 than in Rwanda that year. Now satisfied with the new government, Washington supports its repression of the people and prosecutes victims of this regime's violence in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The U.S. and other NATO members created the Rwandan conflict very much as they created the conflicts in Yugoslavia, forcing the division of Yugoslavia by balkanizing it into small, contentious but dependent segregated peoples in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo.

The rate of violence in all those regions is higher than it has ever been and growing higher. And the impoverishment of the people is the deepest it's been since World War II and growing deeper. It's because the U.S. knows how to coordinate these nineteen techniques for killing, to dominate.

It's imperative first that we find the truth, that can set us free, but that we realize that the truth won't act without human energy and commitment. It will take our vision and courage and compassion and energy and perseverance for the rest of our lives and for those who come after. There is no more important business for humanity.

So we ask our tribunal to find the truth. And then we ask all of us to act to abolish NATO now, to provide reparations for all the peoples of Yugoslavia. Start with the poorest and most deprived and discriminated against always, that's where my heart is and it will never be elsewhere.

That means you start with the poorest, but you neglect no one. There is no other way to live together. We need new concepts of federation, not segregation.

Whoever decided to use the word "Balkanize" to describe political fragmentation that will create perpetual war never imagined in their wildest dreams how the Balkans would be Balkanized by NATO into the tiniest fragments not unlike cluster bombs. The masters of apartheid never had such dreams themselves, that you could break a country up and hold it in so many shards and set them against each other so you could dominate and exploit their labor and the resources of their land.

We ask the court to weigh the evidence and decide it truly, and we ask all of us to enlist for the duration in the struggle to overcome the powers that are impoverishing the great majority of the people of the planet, who are overwhelmingly the peoples with beautiful darker skin.

Ramsey Clark's Letter to Kofi Annan

Re: The Trial of Slobodan Milosevic, Former President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

Dear Secretary General Annan,

The Prosecution of the former President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is scheduled to end its presentation of evidence to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on February 19, 2004, more than two years after its first witness testified.

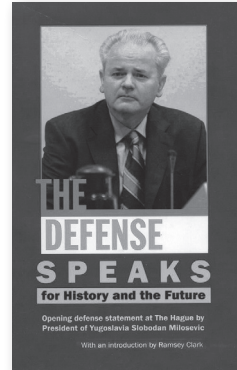
Over 500,000 pages of documents and 5,000 videocassettes have been placed in evidence. There have been some 300 trial days. More than 200 witnesses have testified. The trial transcript is near 33,000 pages.

The Prosecution has failed to present significant or compelling evidence of any criminal act or intention of President Milosevic. In the absence of incriminating evidence, the Prosecution apparently hoped to create a record so massive that it would be years, if the effort was ever made, before scholars could examine and analyze the evidence to determine whether it supported a conviction.

Meanwhile the spectacle of this huge onslaught by an enormous prosecution support team with vast resources pitted against a single man, defending himself, cut off from all effective assistance, his supporters under attack everywhere and his health slipping away from the constant strain, portrays the essence of unfairness, of persecution.

In contrast, the Prosecution of the "first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world" at Nuremberg began November 20, 1945 against 19 accused and ended just over three months later on March 4, 1946 after four nations pre-

Appeared in
*The Defense Speaks for
History and the Future*
February 12, 2004



sented evidence. In his opening, Chief Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson observed

There is a dramatic disparity between the circumstances of the accusers and the accused that might discredit our work if we should falter. ... in even minor matters, in being fair and temperate... We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a poisoned chalice is to put it to our lips as well.

The Prosecution began its investigation of President Milosevic under Richard Goldstone of South Africa in October 1994. When he left office in December 1996 he had found no evidence to support an indictment. His successor, Louise Arbour of Canada, continued the investigation without formal action until late May 1999 when President Milosevic was first indicted for acts allegedly committed earlier in 1999.

The indictment came during the heavy U.S./NATO bombing of all Serbia including Kosovo, a war of aggression. It had killed civilians throughout Serbia and destroyed property costing billions of dollars to replace. It had destroyed President Milosevic's home in Belgrade in an assassination attempt on April 22, 1999. The Chinese Embassy in Belgrade had been bombed on May 7, 1999. Depleted uranium, cluster bombs and super bombs had targeted civilians and civilian facilities. Hundreds of civilian facilities were destroyed and civilians killed from Novi Sad to Nis to Pristina.

The initial indictment made no allegations of any crimes in Croatia, or Bosnia. It dealt exclusively with alleged acts by Serb forces in Kosovo in 1999. All of Serbia, including Kosovo, remained under heavy U.S./NATO bombardment at the time of the indictment. There were no U.S., or NATO forces, or ICTY investigators in Kosovo. Investigation was impossible. The indictment was purely a political act to demonize President Milosevic and Serbia and justify U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia which was itself criminal and in violation of the U.N. and NATO Charters.

As U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Madeleine Albright led the U.S. effort to cause the Security Council to create the ICTY. Later she wrote in her memoir that while she was U.S. Secretary of State she had sought removal of President Milosevic from office for years:

With colleagues Joschka Fischer and others, I urged Serb opposition leaders to build a real political organization and focus on pushing Milosevic out... In public remarks I said repeatedly that the United States wanted Milosevic "out of power, out of Serbia, and in the custody of the war crimes tribunal."

President Milosevic was indicted and is on trial because he intended and acted to protect and preserve Yugoslavia, a federation that was essential to peace in the Balkans. Powerful foreign interests, supporting nationalist and ethnic groups and

business interests within the several republics of Yugoslavia, were, for their various reasons, determined to dismember Yugoslavia. Foremost among these was the United States. Germany played a major role. Later NATO lent its name to the effort in violation of its own Charter. The violence that followed was foreseeable and tragic.

Throughout there was no more conciliatory leader than President Milosevic who avoided all out war as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia seceded from the Federal Republic. For his later defense of Yugoslavia, reduced to Serbia and Montenegro, he will be remembered primarily for his compromises at Dayton, Ohio and, later, to end the brutal U.S. bombing of Serbia from March to June 1999. His conduct intended peace and the survival of a core federation of southern Slavs which in a better day might seed a broader federation of Balkan states which is essential to peace, political independence and economic viability in the region. The U.S. and others intended otherwise.

The consequences have been disastrous for each of the former states of the federal republic. Today there is economic intervention and stagnation, political unrest, public dissatisfaction and growing threats of violence in former Yugoslavia. The U.S. is courting Croatia for membership in NATO as the base for European forces to control the region and maintain its division. Croatia has sent a small military unit to assist NATO in Afghanistan and is being pressured to send troops to Iraq, thereby continuing its confrontations with Muslim peoples in Croatia and Bosnia. U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, met with the nationalist leadership of Croatia, including the President and Prime Minister, on February 8, 2004. He proclaimed "I look forward to the day when Croatia becomes a part" of NATO.

The former President of Yugoslavia is on trial for defending Yugoslavia in a court the Security Council had no power to create. In contrast, the President of the United States, who has openly and notoriously committed war of aggression, "the supreme international crime," against a defenseless Iraq killing tens of thousands of people, spreading violence there and elsewhere, faces no charges. President Bush continues to threaten unilateral wars of aggression and presses for U.S. development of a new generation of nuclear weapons, tactical nuclear bombs, after invading Iraq on the fabricated claim it was a threat to the U.S. and possessed weapons of mass destruction. This can happen only because power, not principle, still prevails.

The United Nations cannot hope to end the scourge of war until it finds the will to outface power and stands united for the principles of peace. What better evidence is needed of U.S. intention to stand above the law and rule by force than the extensive U.S. efforts to destroy the International Criminal Court and coerce bilateral treaties in which nations agree not to surrender U.S. citizens to the ICC. Compound this obstruction of justice with the June 30, 2002, statement of the U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N., Ambassador John Negropo-

te, demanding immunity for the U.S. from foreign prosecution, to which the Security Council submitted. Negroponte threatened that the U.S. would veto a pending Security Council resolution to renew the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, unless the Security Council provided immunity, that is impunity, for personnel contributed to Security Council authorized peace keeping missions. The purpose was to place U.S. personnel and U.S. surrogates above the law while U.S. enemies are victims of discriminatory prosecution in illegal courts.

The ICTY and other *ad hoc* criminal tribunals created by the Security Council are illegal because the Charter of the United Nations does not empower the Security Council to create any criminal court. The language of the Charter is clear. Had such power been placed in the Charter in 1945 there would be no U.N. None of the five powers made permanent members of the Security Council in the Charter would have agreed to submit to a U.N. criminal report.

The ICC was created by treaty, recognizing the U.N. had no power without amendment of its Charter to create such a court. Creation of the ICC should preclude creation of any additional criminal tribunals and calls for the abolition of those that exist. They were created to serve geopolitical ambitions of the U.S. The issue is of the highest importance. It determines whether the Security Council itself is above the Charter and the rule of law.

The *ad hoc* criminal tribunals are inherently discriminatory, evading the principles of equality in the administration of justice. The discrimination is intended to destroy enemies. The International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda has not indicted a single Tutsi after nine years, though Faustin Twagirimungu, the first Prime Minister under the Tutsi RPF government in 1994 and 1995, testified before it that he believed more Hutus than Tutsis were killed in Rwanda in the tragic violence of 1994. Hundreds of thousands of Hutu's were slaughtered later in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, and remain endangered today. The ICTR is an instrumentality for U.S. support of Tutsi control in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and for a time and perhaps again, the Democratic Republic of Congo.

ICTY prosecutions are overwhelmingly against Serbs and only Serb leaders have been indicted by it, including not only President Milosevic and Serb leadership, but Serb leaders in Srpska, the segregated Serb part of Bosnia.

As the prosecution of the former President of Yugoslavia draws to a close his health is seriously impaired and has become life threatening. Hearings were canceled last week because he was too ill to participate, but the Tribunal added onerous hours of hearings for the two final weeks of the prosecution case. Only yesterday the Tribunal was forced to reduce the hearings to half days because of a medical report on President Milosevic prepared by court appointed doctors. President Milosevic has been kept in total isolation for months during the period he headed the socialist party's ticket in parliamentary elections and when his party joined the coalition which elected the new speaker of the Parliament last week.

Earlier this week the Tribunal extended his isolation for another month because of political events in Serbia.

President Milosevic, imprisoned, his health dangerously impaired, defending himself alone in the courtroom, has been given less than three months to prepare his defense to more than two years of evidence before the defense presentation is scheduled to begin in May. These most recent actions of the Tribunal are representative of the gross consistent unfairness of the proceedings during the years of President Milosevic imprisonment and the prosecution case against him.

To properly prepare the defense, it will be necessary to secure and review tens of thousands of documents, find and interview hundreds of potential witnesses and organize the evidence into a coherent and effective presentation.

The United Nations must take the following acts in the interest of simple justice, to right former wrongs, to assess the legality and fairness of a court it created and to maintain credibility in the eyes of the Peoples of the United Nations:

1. Declare a moratorium on all proceedings in all U.N. *ad hoc* criminal tribunals for a period of at least six months and for such additional periods as may prove necessary for the United Nations to:
 - A. Create a Commission of international public law scholars and historians to examine the precedents, the drafting, language and intention of the Charter of the United Nations to determine whether the Charter empowers the Security Council to create any criminal tribunal and, if so, the basis, authority and scope of such power, or refer the issue to the International Court of Justice for decision.
 - B. Create a Commission of international criminal law scholars to review the trial proceedings in the case against President Milosevic to determine whether legal errors, violations of due process of law, or unfairness in the conduct of the trial compel dismissal of the proceedings, and whether the evidence presented by the prosecution against former President Milosevic is sufficient under international law, before any defense is presented, to support and justify continuation of the trial.
 - C. Provide former President Milosevic with funds to retain advisory counsel, investigators, researchers, document examiners and other experts sufficient to effectively respond to the evidence presented against him and assure the time required to complete the task before any further trial proceedings resume, such efforts being essential even if the court is abolished, or the prosecution has been dismissed in order to help establish historic fact for future peace.

D. Prove funds to secure independent medical diagnoses, treatment and care for former President Milosevic in facilities in Serbia.

Respectfully submitted, Ramsey Clark

The identical letter has been sent to:

- Members of the UN Security Council
- The President of the UN General Assembly
- The Secretary General of the UN
- The President of the United States
- The International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia

Truth vs. Power: A Ramsey Clark Reader

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Father Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann
President, U.N. Gen. Assembly, 2008-09;
Foreign Minister of Nicaragua's Sandinista
government, 1979-1990

I can say with complete honesty that I have never had the good fortune to work with a better or more committed attorney than Ramsey Clark, and I have worked with many. He was always generous, always understanding, always brilliant. . . . A tribute to him cannot hope to measure up to the stature he has maintained for a lifetime.

Lynne Stewart
Attorney, political prisoner serving
10 years in U.S. federal prison

*To find a truth-teller
among statesmen
Is like trying to find
A needle in a haystack
Impossible
But for every implausibility
There is an exception
That proves the rule*

*For those who advocate
Human Rights
Global Justice
World Peace
He is their spokesman
The conscience of the universe
An elder statesman
A truth teller*

*A thorn in the eyes
Of those who espouse
Domination and hegemony
Arrogance and oppression
War and aggression . . .*

*If you wonder who he is,
He is Ramsey Clark.*

**Palestinian political prisoner
Dr. Sami Al Arian**

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ISBN 978-0-97475-215-0



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