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administration – ‘is uniquely well-placed to advance the commercial interests of American grain companies and bust open the Iraqi market – but singularly ill-equipped to lead a reconstruction effort in a developing country.’

On 13 April, the *Observer* revealed that US military contractor Dyncorp had won a multi-million-dollar contract to police post-Saddam Iraq. ‘DynCorp, which has donated more than £100,000 to the Republican Party’, has been accused of involvement in human rights violations, and ‘a British employment tribunal recently forced DynCorp to pay £110,000 in compensation to a UN police officer it unfairly sacked in Bosnia for whistleblowing on DynCorp colleagues involved in an illegal sex ring.’

The Associated Press reported on 6 May that it has only recently come to light that the ‘emergency contract the Bush administration gave to Halliburton Co.’ (formerly run by Vice-President Dick Cheney) ‘to extinguish Iraqi oil fires also gave the firm a more lucrative role in getting the country’s oil system up and running’. Senior Democrat Henry Waxman said that ‘only now, over five weeks after the contract was first disclosed, are members of Congress and the public learning that Halliburton may be asked to pump and distribute Iraqi oil under the contract.’

The privatisation of Iraq allows the U.S. to conduct foreign policy by proxy through corporations which are effectively unmonitored and only answerable to the profit drive.

• **that ordinary Iraqis are not forced to pay Saddam Hussein’s debts and ‘reparations’ for the 1991 Gulf War.**

Saddam Hussein owes over \$300bn in debts and reparation claims. These must be cancelled if Iraq is to begin to reverse the devastating effects of war and sanctions. Under current rules, the UN diverts a quarter of all Iraq’s oil revenues to pay ‘reparations’ for the invasion of Kuwait and the 1991 Gulf War. More information including an on-line petition, on [www.jubileearaq.org](http://www.jubileearaq.org).

• **that now informers would be safe from reprisal, the British Government publish all of the intelligence it held on Iraq prior to the war.**

US and British officials claimed that they were giving us ‘facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence’ (Colin Powell, 5 February 2003) but so far no evidence has been presented that Iraq either possessed weapons of mass destruction prior to the attack or, if it did, that it posed a grave and imminent threat to any other country. The Government must refute - if it can - the claims of one British intelligence official that it presented ‘a few strands of highly circumstantial evidence ... as a cast iron case’ (*Independent on Sunday*, 17 April).

• **that no further countries are attacked in the so-called ‘war on terrorism.’**

Now is the time to get commitments - from your MP and from the Government - rejecting the creation of further conflicts with countries such as Syria, Iran and North Korea. US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has already ‘implied [that] some of President Saddam’s suspected weapons of mass destruction might have been moved [to Syria]’ (*Independent*, 10 April). In January journalist Seymour Hersh quoted an anonymous ‘American intelligence official who has attended recent White House meetings’ as stating that “Bush and Cheney want [North Korean leader Kim Jong Il’s] head on a platter.” Britain must not permit the use of US bases in Britain for any future military attack.

**voices uk** have campaigned against economic sanctions and war on Iraq since 1998. Please help with the costs of printing these campaigning materials by sending a donation (cheques made payable to ‘voices in the wilderness’) to **voices in the wilderness uk** 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, 0845 458 2564, [www.voicesuk.org](http://www.voicesuk.org), [voices@viwuk.freemove.co.uk](mailto:voices@viwuk.freemove.co.uk).

# 10 DEMANDS

**voices in the wilderness uk**

**7 may 2003**

**Please write to: Jack Straw**, The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Whitehall, London, SW1A 2AH; **Geoff Hoon** Ministry of Defence, Old War Office Building, Whitehall, London SW1A 2HB; **Tony Blair** 10 Downing Street, London, SW1A 2AA; **Clare Short** Department for International Development, 1 Palace St, London SW1E 5HE; **your MP** c/o House of Commons, House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA **to demand:**

• **that the US and UK end their illegal occupation of Iraq.**

On his brief trip to Iraq in late April US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld ‘assured Iraqis that “Iraq belongs to them” and promised them that US troops would not stay “one day longer” than was needed to establish a democratic government.’ (*Guardian*, 30 April). However the *New York Times* (April 20) cited anonymous ‘senior Bush administration officials’ as saying the US ‘is planning a long-term military relationship with the emerging government of Iraq’ that ‘will grant the Pentagon access to military bases and project American influence into the heart of the unsettled region.’ What ordinary Iraqis think about this has not - as far as we know - been ascertained.

‘All across Baghdad,’ Robert Fisk reports ‘you hear the same thing, from Shia Muslim clerics to Sunni businessmen, that the Americans have come only for oil, and that soon – very soon – a guerrilla resistance must start.’ (*Independent*, 17 April).

• **that Iraqis must be allowed to determine their own political future free from foreign interference.**

The US and Britain must not be permitted to grant immunity to leading Ba’athists, or to restore the leadership or the institutions of the Ba’athist regime. The Pentagon want to install their favoured Iraqi exile groups, led by Ahmed Chalabi – a convicted embezzler who, apart from a brief period organising resistance in the Kurdish north in the 1990s, has not lived in Iraq since 1956 and has no support inside the country. The CIA and State Department on the other hand ‘favour encouraging an indigenous leadership, even if it means dealing with former figures in Saddam’s military or ruling Ba’ath party’ (*Times*, 10 April). According to the *Guardian*’s Suzanne Goldenberg (21 April) ‘less than two weeks after the collapse of the regime, thousands of members of the Arab Ba’ath Socialist Party, the all too willing instrument of Saddam, [we]re resuming their roles as the men and women who run Iraq.’

On 5 May the US civil administrator in Iraq, Jay Garner, stated that the ‘nucleus’ of an interim Iraqi government was emerging and he named five figures likely to become part of a committee ‘that would govern Iraq under US tutelage for a number of months until a new political system and government can be organised’ (*Washington Post*, 6 May): Ahmed Chalabi (Iraqi National Congress); the leaders of the two main Kurdish parties, the PUK and KDP; Ayad Alawi (Iraqi National Accord); and Abdul Aziz Hakim (Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq). Both the INC and the INA – which is largely made up of Ba’athists and former military officers - ‘have long been backed and financed by the United States’ the *Post* noted.

On 23 April, Colin Powell met Iraqi women activists who registered their concern that women are being excluded from the political process. At the meeting organised by the US in Ur on 15 April, only 4 out of 80 delegates were women, despite a long history of political participation in Iraq. UN Resolution 1325 (October 2000) urges member states to ‘ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.’

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- **that the US/ UK fulfil their obligations under international humanitarian law and use all the resources at their disposal to end the current humanitarian crisis.**

As occupying powers the US and UK have obligations under international humanitarian law to:

- ‘ensur[e] the food and medical supplies of the population’;
- restore public order and safety;
- and ‘facilitate by all means at [their] disposal’ humanitarian relief by impartial aid agencies (See Amnesty International’s briefing *Iraq: Responsibilities of the occupying powers*, available at <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engmde140892003>).

So far they have failed to fulfil these obligations:

- **FOOD:** Although the US has so far spent at least \$20 bn on their illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq (*FT*, 17 April) – and ‘in the end should not exceed the \$62.5 bn Congress approved for extra military spending’ in April – the UN World Food Programme (WFP) has been unable raise the \$1.3 bn it needs for its emergency operation to re-establish food distribution inside Iraq and ‘avert a humanitarian catastrophe.’ Prior to the war 60% of Iraq’s population were dependent upon a Government food ration, distributed via a network of 44,000 agents. Reactivating and supplying this network will be one of the largest logistics operations in the WFP’s 40 year history. The WFP had estimated that the poorest Iraqis might start running out of food in early May. As at 25th April – almost a month after the WFP launched its appeal – there was still a \$778 mn funding shortfall. The UK had contributed a mere \$53 mn.

- **MEDICAL SUPPLIES:** According to Medicines Sans Frontieres (2 May) the US/UK have ‘failed to meet [their] responsibility under international law to ensure that the health and well-being of the Iraqi people is being provided for.’ ‘Despite three weeks of occupation and many months of planning ... Baghdad, a city the size of Houston and Chicago combined, still does not have functioning hospitals ... [I]n the hospitals that MSF has visited in Baghdad, Amarah, Basrah, Karbala, Nasariya and elsewhere, life-threatening illnesses such as tuberculosis ... are going untreated due to lack of medicines.’ Treatments for illnesses such as cancer have run out in many places (*BBC News Online*, 29 April) and maternity and childbirth complications, reported to be sharply increasing, (Refugees International, 30 April) are not being adequately treated.

- **PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY:** While much planning and resources were devoted to securing Iraq’s oilfields and the Ministry of Oil, Iraq’s hospitals and water-treatment plants were left to the looters. On the 19 April the *Independent* reported that all but three of Baghdad’s hospitals were ‘closed because of looting and arson.’ Oxfam’s engineers found that water-treatment plants in the south – and even a chlorine factory in Zubayr – had been badly looted (*Guardian*, 19 April). According to Save the Children (2 May) ‘Iraq’s hospitals, water plants and sewage systems ... already under severe strain and under-resourced before the war began ... have been crippled by the conflict and looting. Hospitals are overwhelmed, diarrhoea is endemic and the death toll is mounting.’

- **HUMANITARIAN RELIEF:** During April the US military prevented Save the Children (SCF) from landing desperately needed medical supplies in areas declared safe by the UN. According to SCF this lack of cooperation was ‘a breach of the Geneva convention’ which ‘cost children their lives’ (*Guardian*, 18 April).

- **an immediate end to the economic sanctions on Iraq.**

Over the past twelve years these sanctions – which remain in place – have created massive poverty in Iraq, devastating the lives of millions of ordinary Iraqis. The existing UN humanitarian programme (‘oil-for-food’) has not resolved – and cannot resolve – this humanitarian crisis. Sanctions must end immediately in order for Iraqis to have a chance of rebuilding their lives.

- **an immediate ban on the use of cluster bombs, Depleted Uranium (DU) and weapons such as the 21,000 pound Massive Ordnance Air Blast (MOAB).**

According to Oxfam ‘cluster bombs ... can by their very nature only be indiscriminate’ and their use is therefore illegal. The same is true of weapons such as the MOAB – the biggest non-nuclear bomb in the US arsenal. On the 25 April the Pentagon claimed that ‘only one of the nearly 1,500 cluster bombs used by coalition forces in Iraq resulted in civilian casualties.’ However data compiled by the Iraq Body Count project ([www.iraqbodycount.org](http://www.iraqbodycount.org)) from widely published press and media reports ‘shows that at least 200 civilian deaths have already been reliably reported as being due to cluster bombs, with up to a further 172 less firmly linked deaths that also involved other munitions.’ Furthermore these munitions continue to kill civilians, eg. on April 15 *Newsday* reported that two children had been killed, and one seriously injured, when a cluster munition they were playing with exploded.

Unexploded and unsecured ordnance of all types are endangering Iraqi lives. Human Rights Watch reported on 5 May that ‘Civilians are being wounded by abandoned ordnance in Basra, Iraq, because British forces have failed to secure weapons caches.’ In April, the Mines Advisory Group reported that one hospital in Kirkuk dealt with fifty-two people killed, and 63 injured, by landmines and unexploded ordnance in just one week.

DU is chemically toxic and weakly radioactive. It was used in the 1991 Gulf War as well as in the recent invasion and may be implicated in the very large rise in cancers in southern Iraq since the ‘91 war. The Royal Society recently (24 April) called upon the US and British governments ‘to reveal where and how much depleted uranium was used’ in the recent invasion ‘so that an effective clean-up and monitoring programme of both soldiers and civilians can begin.’ The Pentagon claims that no such clean-up is necessary.

- **that the US/UK pay compensation to people in Iraq who have lost family members, houses, businesses or who have been injured, by the US/UK invasion and occupation.**

- **that the reconstruction of Iraq takes place free from foreign interference and allows the full use of Iraq’s resources by its own people.**

Prior to the war BP, Shell, and ExxonMobil indicated that they might exploit the fall of Saddam Hussein to fight for their old ‘possessions’ in Iraq by arguing that the compensation/nationalisation deal they agreed to in 1973 was signed under duress. On May 4 the US announced the appointment of Philip Caroroll – a former Chief Executive Officer of Shell Oil with ‘ties to an Irvine firm vying for reconstruction projects’ in Iraq – to chair ‘an advisory board ... to oversee Iraq’s oil industry until a new government is formed.’ (*LATimes.com*, 4 May).

The US Government has already awarded a contract to rebuild Iraq’s electrical, water and sewage systems – worth more than \$680 mn – to the San Francisco – based Bechtel Group. According to the *Guardian* this ‘could end up giving Bechtel an overwhelmingly important role in virtually every area of Iraqi society’ (18 April). Bechtel’s senior vice-president Jack Sheehan, is also a member of the Defence Policy Board, a Pentagon advisory group whose members are approved by US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. Bechtel board member and former secretary of state George Schultz is also chair of the pro-war Committee for the Liberation of Iraq.

Meanwhile a former senior executive of Cargill – the biggest grain exporter in the world – has been put in charge of agricultural reconstruction in Iraq, a move which Oxfam has described as ‘like putting Saddam Hussein in the chair of a human rights commission’ (*Guardian*, 28 April). According to Oxfam, Dan Amstutz – who served as a trade negotiator under the Reagan

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