

21ST CENTURY AMERICA IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

“...the United States has seriously misread the nature of the world and its role in it. ...it has resorted most of the time to bluster, military force, and financial manipulation.” -Chalmers Johnson, “When might makes right,” *SF Chronicle*, Oct. 8, 2000.

This is a work in progress. I try to be factual, but my point of view is not hidden. I added a section on Iraq but it is already out of date. I hope to beef up several short sections. Some longer sections need to have some of the details available by link in order to shorten the main discussion. I'd like to have more consistency of topics discussed for each issue. I'd like to add more links to relevant websites. I started this with just a few things in mind...then it grew, and I don't have time to do it right. Comments to slewis@csuhayward.edu.

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VOTING

DISCUSSION

Note: "Republicans" usually refers to most Republicans and a few Democrats in the House or Senate; "Democrats" usually means most Democrats and possibly a few Republicans.

Comparisons among nations [Return to Contents](#)

1. See Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Human Development Report, International Sustainability Index
2. André Sapir, [report October 2005], Bruegel Research Institute, Brussels:
 - a. Nordic Model: high taxes, high social spending, excellent health care and education for all, strong labor unions, more equal distribution of income and wealth, narrow salary range, freedom to fire workers, strong unemployment insurance, strong work requirements, high incomes, living wage jobs, short work weeks, long vacations
 - b. Continental model: like Nordic except low freedom to fire workers, low work requirements
 - c. Mediterranean model: like Continental except low incomes.
 - d. Anglo-Saxon Model: low taxes, low social spending, minimum health care and education for the poor, weak labor unions, very unequal distribution of income and wealth, wide

salary range, freedom to fire workers, weak unemployment insurance, strong work requirements, very high incomes, below living wage jobs, long work weeks, short vacations

- e. Europe needs to cut ag subsidies, ease dismissal of workers, increase work requirements, deregulate EU market for services and finance.

Performance of four models	Equitable	Inequitable
Productive	Nordic. Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland	Anglo-Saxon: US, UK
Less productive	Continental. France, Germany	Mediterranean. Italy

Bosnia. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republican reluctance to assume international responsibilities short of all-out war has jeopardized our relations with European nations, but made them more independent.
 - a. The Congress opposed U.S. military participation in peace-keeping in Bosnia for three years to the point where it nearly destroyed NATO in the early 1990s. The U.S. finally agreed to come in and Bosnia was rescued from even more Serbian massacres and ethnic cleansing.

Military spending. [Return to Contents](#)

1. The Republican Congress, with Democratic acquiescence, has continued military expenditures which are extremely high by world standards.
2. U.S. military spending is down from Cold War highs, but remains by far the biggest discretionary item in the federal budget. Pres. Clinton proposed \$281 billion in budget authority for the military in his FY2000 discretionary budget, followed by \$35 billion for education and lesser amounts for 16 other functions. In 2000 the Congress voted to raise military spending to \$310 billion, an amount greater than the next ten nations, combined. The Pentagon believes the U.S. must be able to fight two unexpected wars at the same time. This definition of mission and other assumptions lead to a high budget. Pres. Bush's Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld is reexamining the mission, but there is every expectation that spending will rise. No other developed democracy in the world follows a similar doctrine, nor spends so much of its GDP on the military.

United Nations Dues. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Republicans in Congress refused for many years to support payment of U.S. dues to the UN as required by treaty.
 - a. Up to May 2001, Republicans controlled the U.S. Senate. For years they refused to support paying U.S. debts for UN dues and peacekeeping. These debts reached \$1.6 billion by October 2000, which was almost 70 percent of all debt owing to the UN. [w Post in Chron Dec 24 00] They claimed UN demands were wrong while expecting other countries to pay. They conditioned U.S. payments in a way none of the 188 other member nations did. Most countries pay on time, in full, and without conditions. U.S. non-payment violated the UN treaty and precipitated a long financial crisis at the UN.

Meanwhile, they expected the UN to toe the line on American policy demands.

2. In 1997 a NY Times reporter wrote “Diplomats from France, Britain, Japan and other allies of the United States expressed shock and dismay at the rebuff from Washington. . .” European diplomat: “We had been promised time and time again that if certain conditions were met, the bills would be paid. The conditions were met, and we are not being paid a penny.” Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General: “. . .unreasonable and regrettable that the legislation was held hostage to the entirely unrelated domestic policies of abortion.” *New York Times*, Nov. 15 1997.
3. In 1999, Senate Republicans decided to pay a minimum of dues necessary to keep the U.S. from losing its vote and, as part of the deal, severely cut funds to help families through international family planning. But in 2000 the Republicans put “holds” on expenditure of more than half of the already appropriated funds for peacekeeping. The U.S. fell more than \$200 million behind in its payments. Republicans renewed earlier conflicts with the Clinton administration by refusing to support adequate payment of peace-keeping debts. In October 2000, Pres. Clinton and the Republicans reached a new compromise, this time without the extra hit on families.
4. Nonpayment of dues has hampered U.S. policy in Iraq, East Timor, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo.
5. The non-payment of dues is distinct from lowering the dues paid by the U.S. from 25 percent to 22 percent of the UN budget, and lowering the U.S. share of peacekeeping from 30.4 percent to 27 percent of costs by 2003. Dues and peacekeeping assessments were set in the 1970s, and were based on the ability of member states to pay. The ability to pay had changed over twenty years, so there was a basis for changing assessments. In the 1990s, the Republican Congress, however, used non-payment as leverage to lower U.S. dues and peacekeeping payments.
6. In late 2000, the Clinton administration, in persuading other UN members to lower U.S. dues, offered to pay voluntarily (not as dues) the \$34 million difference in U.S. dues for 2001, needed because most nations had already decided their payments for that year and the UN budget was set. The money would come not from the government, but from the UN Foundation, established in 1997 with \$1 billion donated by CNN magnate Ted Turner. An extra \$34 million was given by Turner to the Foundation to give to the Dept. of State to give to the UN. Eighteen nations which had grown economically over the decades agreed to pay higher dues: South Korea (which took the biggest increase), Singapore and Brazil (also big increases), Thailand Argentina, Chile, Czech Republic, Poland, China, and Persian Gulf oil states. Russia was allowed a dues cut but voluntarily increased its contribution. While future dues are settled, the Republican Congress continues to disagree over how the past debt is calculated.
7. Progress was made in 2002 in reducing dues arrears and peacekeeping arrears, but not in paying dues on time. At the start of 2003, US share of all arrears was 36 percent, but because other nations paid up faster than the US, the US portion of remaining arrears was even greater by the end of June. At the end of June 2003, members owed the UN \$2.334 billion, of which the United States alone owed \$1.108 billion, or 47 percent.
8. All other developed democracies pay their dues on time, and only Japan is behind in peacekeeping payments. (In June 2003 Japan owed \$52 million; the US, \$529 million). <http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/core/un-us-03.htm> accessed September 27, 2003

Israel and Palestine. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Both U.S. political parties have a strong pro-Israeli bias, strengthening extensive Israeli ethnic cleansing, human rights abuses, and systematic discrimination against Palestinians, alienating them, Arabs, European allies, and most other nations.
2. The Palestinians. In July 2002 Amnesty International condemned Palestinian suicide bombings against Israel: “The attacks against civilians by Palestinian armed groups are widespread, systematic and in pursuit of an explicit policy to attack civilians. They constitute crimes against humanity. ... They may also constitute war crimes.” “The occasional presence of soldiers among passengers on ordinary commuter buses ... or shoppers in a market does not make such venues legitimate targets for attacks.” “No violations by the Israeli government, no matter their scale or gravity, justify the killing of civilians.” Since renewal of hostilities in September 2000, Palestinians have attacked Israeli civilians about 130 times, resulting in about 350 Israeli civilian deaths (Amnesty). Based on another source, Palestinians have killed 565 Israelis, 251 of them by 71 Palestinian suicide bombings, and the Israelis have killed 1,752 Palestinians. (Associated Press). [Associated Press, July 12, 2002, “Amnesty condemns suicide bombings,” *SF Chronicle*.]
 - a. The Palestinians are at war with Israel, which has taken Palestine by military aggression and occupies it with military force. They feel this justifies taking military action against the Israeli military. Palestinians are divided over terrorism.
 - i. Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Al Aqsa Martyrs support the indoctrination of their children to become suicide bombers against civilian targets. Recently, the extremists began killing Muslim women suspected of collaborating with Israel. In the last week of April 2002, the Al Aqsa group killed Ikhlas Yassin, a 35 year old mother, and Ajah Ibrahim, an 18 year old, in the village of Tulkarem, West Bank. [Serge Schmemann, NYT, in *SF Chron*, Aug. 31, 2002]
 - ii. Many Palestinians appalled by the terrorism.
 - iii. The Palestinian Authority under Arafat has been waffling and ineffectual. In late August, 2002, two top Palestinian security officials, Abdel Yehiyeh and Mohammed Dahlan, condemned the terrorism. Yehiyeh: “Stop the suicide bombings, stop the murders for no reason. Return to the legitimate struggle against the occupation, without violence, and following international norms and legitimacy. ... Children were exploited for these attacks, when they could have made a much more positive contribution to future Palestinian society.” [Serge Schmemann, NYT, in *SF Chron*, Aug. 31, 2002] The Palestinian Authority has been unwilling or unable to stop the extremists, and in September 2002 more bombings led Israel to demolish most of the Authority compound in an effort to arrest suspects holed up with Arafat.
3. The Israelis. Sharon blames Arafat for the fighting and loss of life, mostly Palestinians killed by Israelis. Over 200 Palestinians and over 24 Israelis have been killed in fighting since Sharon’s “visit.”
 - a. Palestinian youth throw rocks; Israeli soldiers shoot them. Amnesty International concluded that Israeli soldiers deliberately aimed above the waist and “shot to kill” unarmed civilians. In 2000 Israeli soldiers shot and killed a 12 year old boy, Mohammed Al-Durrah, as he and his father cowered on the ground fearing for their lives. The photographs indicate the shooting was in cold blood of a defenseless child in plain view. What was unusual was not the event but the great publicity that it received.

- b. “Israeli wrecking crews protected by hundreds of riot police destroyed 14 homes yesterday at the edge of a Palestinian refugee camp in East Jerusalem... At the Shuafat camp, bulldozers tore down 14 unfinished homes built by Palestinian families who had planned to move out of their cramped quarters in the camp. ... Distraught families scuffled with police officers, and some people threw themselves on the ground in a futile attempt to block wrecking crews. ... The homeowners, served with demolition orders on Sunday, had no chance to appeal. ... Palestinians and civil rights advocates say that it is virtually impossible for East Jerusalem Arabs to obtain building permits because of Israeli zoning restrictions designed to limit the growth of their neighborhoods and restrict Arab population growth in the city. ... The Shuafat camp, a garbage strewn warren of cramped houses and narrow alleys that receives virtually no city services, lies across a valley from the Jewish settlement of Pisgal Zeev, where thousands of homes have been built in the past ten years. ... In Washington, the State Department was also sharply critical of the Israeli action.” [July 10, 2001. Chron, from NYT]
- c. In June 2002 the Israeli Air Force bombed a residential area in Gaza in order to kill a Hamas militant, and also killed 14 others. The Israeli commander blamed the problem on faulty intelligence. On July 7 soldiers in a Gaza town felt threatened by dozens of Palestinians and, to disperse them, fired into an “open area,” killing an 11 year old boy playing soccer and wounding two of his friends. According to the boys, the shots came from an Israeli observation tower about a kilometer away. The army determined that the soldiers were acting according to regulations and an investigation was not necessary. B’Tselem, an Israeli human rights group, says it has military documents showing a cover-up and false statements. On Sept. 1, 2002, Israeli soldiers killed four Palestinian stone workers, allegedly on a Jewish-owned plot of land in the West Bank. Military investigators said the workers were behaving suspiciously and had clubs, axes, and wire cutters. Palestinians say the men were sitting together in the parking lot of their factory at the end of their night shift. Aug. 29, 2002, an Israeli tank attacked a house in a Bedouin village killing a four year old boy and three other members of the family. On Aug. 31 an Israeli missile attacked a car in the West Bank and killed an alleged Palestinian militant, but also two teenagers, and two children playing nearby. The military has launched 30 investigations, and the military police over 100 more, into various killings and eight soldiers have been indicted. Palestinians and human rights groups believe there are many more cases than are investigated, that few are prosecuted, charges are for lesser offenses, and those not vigorously prosecuted. Investigations use soldier testimony, not Palestinian witnesses. Where soldiers have been found in the wrong, the army issues apologies. B’Tselem reported that the army shields soldiers, allowed looting, disregarded the immunity granted to medical personnel, and misused flechettes, a weapon that shoots thousands of metal darts over an area about 300 meters by 90 meters. The military has guidelines for open-fire orders but will not release them. The Palestinian Authority, for its part, does not even try to investigate complaints about its forces.
4. The United States. The U.S. has never been a “honest broker” of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
 - a. The U.S. supported the most anti-Palestinian Israelis of the Netanyahu coalition and now of the Sharon regime, impeding the peace process. The Barak government continued the pace of land seizures, building of Jewish settlements on Palestinian land, denial of

- permits to build houses, destruction of houses of alleged terrorists without due process, appropriation of water, and arbitrary restrictions on movement which often prevented Palestinians from reaching jobs. In June 2001 Palestinians shot and injured seven Israelis. Israel imposed again a curfew on the part of Hebron, the largest West Bank city, which they controlled, affecting 30,000 Palestinians, and also sealed off the whole city, with 130,000 Palestinians, meaning that none of them could travel outside the city.
- b. The U.S. is the only other nation besides Israel itself defending Israel's discriminatory policies against Palestinians. On July 13, 1998, the U.S. alone prevented the Security Council from approving a resolution condemning Israel for its decision of June 21, 1998, to expand Jerusalem's boundaries at the expense of non-Jews. Despite some progress under Barak, the peace process foundered on Israeli unwillingness to allow Muslim control of the Temple Mount, one of the three most sacred holy places of Islam. Violence erupted yet again over a "visit" by Sharon and an armed contingent into the Muslim holy place, and this led to an escalation of horrific terrorism and violence and the disintegration of the Oslo accords and the Palestinian Authority.
 - c. The U.S. now supports the right-wing, anti-Palestinian Sharon regime, impeding the peace process. Sharon years earlier during the Civil War in Lebanon permitted Lebanese Phalangists to enter Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Chantilla and massacre unarmed Palestinian civilians. Early in 2000 [?] a commission headed by former U.S. Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell, recommended a peace plan, which Israel fully accepted. The plan required a freeze on building new Israeli houses in the West Bank, ending a policy of promoting "natural growth" within existing settlements. On June 25, 2001 Israel announced more plans to build more settlements in the West Bank, in violation of the plan it said it had accepted. In May 2001 Housing Minister Sharansky reaffirmed plans for 700+ new houses. On June 25, 2001 the Israeli Lands Authority announces 38 plots for sale in Maaleh Adumin, the largest in West Bank. About 200,000 Israelis live on West Bank land seized from Palestinians.
 - d. Israel continues as the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, \$4.2 billion in 2000, and of military assistance.
 - e. "Our apparent policy is to support almost every Israeli action in the occupied territories and to condemn and isolate the Palestinians as blanket targets of our war on terrorism, while Israeli settlements expand and Palestinian enclaves shrink." [Jimmy Carter, Sept. 2002, cite at end]
5. I think the solution to the conflict to remove all Israeli settlement from areas occupied since 1948 or 1967 and creating security for a secular and democratic Israel within its boundaries. Withdrawal includes Golan Heights and East Jerusalem as well as West Bank and Gaza. The Wailing Wall and Al-Aqsa mosque should be controlled by a joint authority of Moslems and Jews and should initially be policed by the UN. The rights of non-Jews within Israel must be respected, and some right of return of those expelled from Israel must be kept as a goal even though it will take decades for sufficient security to be established for this to be consistent with internal security. The Palestinians for their part must also create a state which respects the security of Israel, which means limits on its armed forces and some degree of international intervention to assure democracy and governmental performance. Such a plan will not be accepted by Israel and may not be accepted by the Arafat regime, but can be imposed by the Security Council if the US decides to make it happen. It would be

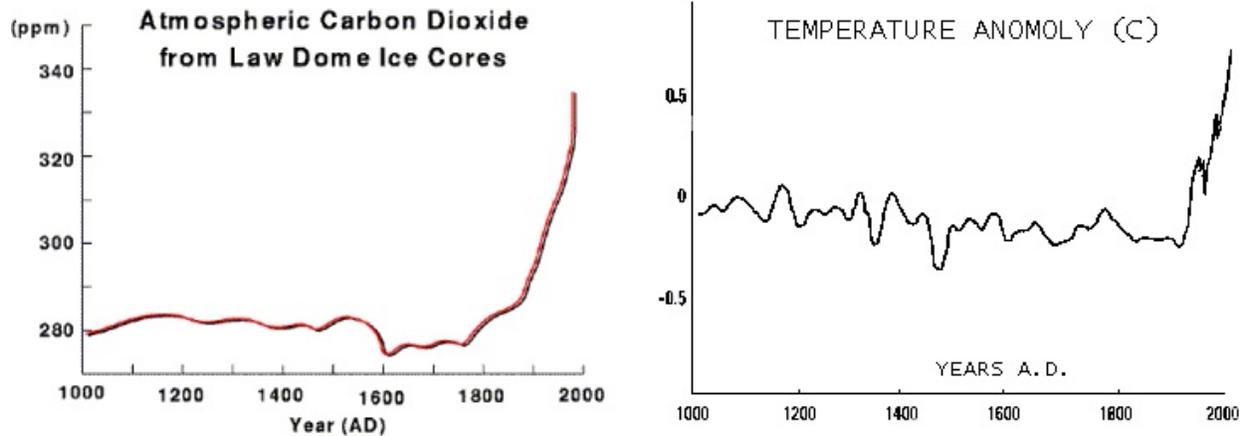
implemented over a period of months and years, starting with the most isolated and controversial settlements.

6. Some Jews support Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967 and condemn both Israeli and Palestinian violence, arguing that legitimate grievances do not justify illegitimate terrorism. A small number of “refuseniks” refuse to participate in the Israeli Defense Force because of its abuses. The leading group of Jews for reform in the U.S. is Tikkun (<http://www.tikkun.org/>). Their position: “We at TIKKUN are very critical of Israeli policy toward Palestinians. We support an end to the Occupation, withdrawal of Israel to the pre-67 borders (with minor border modifications mutually agreed to by both sides), reparations for Palestinian refugees, an end to terror by both sides, and military arrangements for security for both Israel and Palestine.”
7. Every developed democracy in the world supports justice for Palestinians more than the United States.

Global Climate Change (Warming). [Return to Contents](#) [Bush policy](#)

1. The active opposition of Republicans, weak leadership by Democrats, and apathy by Americans in general are destroying the world’s climate.
 - a. **SCIENCE:** “Temperatures Around the Globe Continue to Rise.” [headline, SF Chronicle Dec. 20, 2000] Carbon dioxide and related gases (methane, ozone, chlorofluorocarbons) cause the atmosphere to retain heat, so more such gases produce a warmer climate. Scientists are measuring atmosphere and climate over a period of 400,000 years, much longer than the existence of human beings. They believe carbon dioxide fluctuated up and down within a range of about 100 parts per million, and never over 300 ppm, for most of that time. Average temperature varied also, and there is a strong correlation between atmospheric CO₂ and temperature over geologic time. Five major climate computer models predict continued warming. Model backcasts have accurately predicted past climates. The amount of heat waves (infrared, long wave radiation) escaping earth decreased measurably from 1970 to 1997, based on readings by satellite spectrometers [Nature, March 2001 in Chron Mar 15 01]. Debate continues over details such as cloud formation, variations in temperature data by sea, land, and weather balloons. Warming skeptics use scientific uncertainty and debate to make false claims about “fuzzy science” and “not proven” in the face of massive evidence and scientific consensus of the International Panel on Climate Change. In 2001 in response to a request from Pres. Bush the National Academy of Sciences confirmed the consensus of hundreds of international climate scientists.
 - b. **HISTORY.** For the centuries up to 1800, the CO₂ line is rock steady at about 200 ppm. Then, from 280 ppm in 1850, CO₂ zoomed up to 376 ppm now, a 34 percent increase. (Since the 1950s, CO₂ has been measured at NOAA’s Mauna Loa Observatory in Hawaii. In 2004 CO₂ reached its highest level 376 ppm in at least 420,000 years and likely in the last 20 million years. This was 2.5 ppm over the 2002 high. *WorldWatch*, July August 2004 p. 9) Similarly, the historical temperature line varied only by .2 degrees Celsius, trending slightly downward to about 1915, then shot up by .5 degrees to now. On the thousand year charts below, we see almost vertical lines for recent times, to levels unprecedented in human history. [If charts to not appear here, check end of document.] It is hard to grasp the meaning of these facts because our lives are so short. In geologic

time, however, from year 0 to year 2000 is the blink of an eye, and the last century even shorter.



2. RESULTS. The following deals only with the effects of warming that have already occurred and excludes extreme weather events and fires.
 - a. **Global temperatures** have risen .3 to .6 degrees Celsius over the last 100 years. The 1980s and 1990s were the warmest decades in human history. U.S. temperatures are up 1.5 degrees Fahrenheit over the average since 1895, and the rate of warming increased in the last 25 years.
 - b. **Ice is melting.** Arctic Sea ice has thinned by 40 percent in 50 years and its ice-covered area has shrunk 10 percent. Newly open sea covers thousands of square miles around the pole, documented by hundreds of trips and thousands of measurements over many years. Analysis of five data sets covering 46 years shows the ice is shrinking an estimated 14,000 square kilometers per year. Areas of the immense Greenland Ice Sheet have thinned by over 6 meters and its coastal glaciers are creeping a little faster. The glaciers of the European Alps have lost 50 percent of their volume; in Spain, 14 of 27 glaciers have disappeared. In Alaska, 15 glaciers are melting, one retreating 13 kilometers in 18 years. In Glacier National Park 100 of 150 glaciers have disappeared, and the rest will be gone by 2030. In Peru the Quelccaya Ice Cap is retreating faster, from 3 meters per year to 30 per year. The Upsala Glacier in Argentina is retreating at 60 meters/year and the South Patagonia Ice Field is smaller by 500 square kilometers. The Caucasus glaciers have lost 50 percent of their volume. In China the Duosuogang glaciers shrank 60 percent and the Tien Shan glaciers lost 22 percent of volume. In the eastern Himalayas 2,000 glaciers have disappeared. In India the Pindari Glacier is retreating 135 meters a year. In Indonesia, the Irian Jaya glaciers were retreating at 30 meters per year in the 1920s, and now at 45 meters per year. Mt. Kenya's largest glacier is 92 percent gone; Mt. Kilimanjaro glaciers are 70 percent gone. New Zealand's Tasman Glacier has thinned by 200 meters. Sea ice west of the Antarctica Peninsula is down 20 percent. Huge ice shelves, up to the size of Connecticut, have broken off Antarctica.
 - c. **Less ice** means less reflection of sunlight back into space. Newly exposed land absorbs more heat from the sun. As tundra grows in summer, it stores CO₂ and nutrition for

caribou in winter. Increased warmth also supports bacteria that leak CO₂ and methane into the air, offsetting the plants.

- d. **Sea levels** are rising because of melted ice and thermal expansion of water. A rise of about **10** centimeters has occurred over the last 100 years and much more is predicted. Dozens of coastal metropolises are increasingly threatened by storm-driven water. Thousands of miles of coast around the world, including the Gulf of Mexico and round up past New York, are in danger. Worldwide, thirteen major river basins draining large mountain areas are endangered by floods from increased melt water and rains, deforestation, and accelerated run-off. The red mangroves of Wilson Vailoces in the Philippines can not get started where they used to; the water is now too deep. One third of the Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge in Maryland has been lost to the sea, and once-wooded areas of nearby Smith Island are now salt marsh. Certain barrier islands in the Gulf of Mexico have all but disappeared. Beaches are being lost; the land area of the U.S. is beginning to shrink. Estuaries are increasingly saline.
 - i. **Island nations** are threatened, e.g. the Maldives, the Seychelles, and the Marshall Islands. The Maldives, already 99.6 percent water, have 250,000 people living on 80 of its 1,200 small islands. Kiribati, a Pacific island nation, has removed two islands from its maps due to rising sea levels.
- e. **More evaporation** means more precipitation but in new patterns, generally poleward and in winter. Some areas, such as parts of Africa, get prolonged drought, which slows plant growth, dries out forest areas, and allows epochal wildfires. Others areas get heavier downpours and floods, documented in the U.S., Japan, former USSR, China, and Australia. Heat waves and warm weather occur more often. In 2000 in the U.S. drought in the south and west brought wildfires over seven million acres, while the nation on average got more rain. The world's cold boreal forests store about 30 percent of the carbon of the terrestrial ecosystem. In Alaska and Canada forest fires consumed 3 million acres per year in the 1960s and over 7 million acres per year in the 1990s. The Canadian forest has lost almost a fifth of its biomass, and shifted from storing 118 millions tons of carbon per year to releasing 57 million tons.
- f. **Seasons; species.** Spring is coming sooner; fall, later. Temperate weather is moving poleward. Plants and animals are moving with the weather, if they can. The Inuit of Canada never knew thunder and lightening or robins and barn swallows until recent years. As the permafrost melts, buildings tilt, roads turn to mud, mud slides fill former lakes. Forests are advancing north into tundra. Trees are leafing out earlier. The polar bear, the largest mammalian carnivore, has no more north to go and is dying out. The sea ice the bears need is melting before they can eat enough seals; the seals escape in open water. More than four months on arid tundra provides too little food for polar bears. Mama bear's milk dries up, and the cubs starve. Down south, one-third of Adeli Penguins have disappeared. Sand Hill cranes, surviving from the age of the dinosaurs, are staying 20 days longer in Florida before going to Michigan. Swallows are arriving in the north two weeks sooner. A backyard scientist in Michigan found that over the last 30 years 16 of 47 species are arriving earlier in spring. Butterflies are especially sensitive; of 52 European species, two-thirds have moved 22 to 150 miles north and only 3 percent south. In North America the Edith Checkerspot butterfly has moved out of its southern range and its lower elevations. Twenty species of birds are laying eggs earlier. Altitude matters as

much as latitude; mountain species can run out of “up”. Alpine plants are moving higher, and elsewhere, mosquitoes and their bacteria are found at higher elevations, spreading malaria to new areas of Africa, and dengue fever above 3,300 feet in Colombia and Mexico. In the Monteverde Cloud Forest of Costa Rica, the Golden Toad ran out of habitat and is extinct. Some 50 unique species of amphibians live, or lived, in the forest and 20 have vanished from 1973 to 1998 as the climate warmed and dried, lifting the cloud deck. Reptiles are also changing, and 15 new birds are moving up slope at the expense of the amazing Resplendent Quetzal.

- g. **The ocean** is warming, changing its biology. Near Monterey, a tidal area was studied over a 67 year period. A two degree warming of water affected 62 species, all moving north, warmer water species moving in and colder water species moving out. Elsewhere, sooty shearwaters declined 90 percent from 1987 to 1994 as the California Current warmed 1.1 degrees Celsius.
 - i. **Coral reefs** cover under 1 percent of the ocean, yet nourish one fourth of marine species. Coral, an animal, lives symbiotically with tiny reddish algae, which gives sugars to the coral and uses coral waste. A slight increase in temperature causes corals to eject the algae and turn white, called bleaching. Predators move in for a great feast; soon all life is gone; and the waves reduce the reef to rubble. (Corals are also being upset by sediment and pollution from urbanization, mining, and runoff, and by dynamiting and cyanide poisoning.) In the El Niño of 1997-98, hundreds of square miles of coral reefs thousands of years old ejected their algae in a matter of five days, with recovery hoped for in 25 to 50 years. By 1998, half of the world’s coral reefs had suffered catastrophic mortality.
3. **PREDICTED RESULTS.** At a three-day meeting of climate scientists from 25 nations in 2001, they predicted global warming, in addition to continuing the changes described above, would reduce crop yields, cause an earlier flu season, and cause more frequent storms. The changing of seasons is predicted to allow disease-bearing insects from tropical areas to move north.
- a. **NATIONAL FOSSIL CARBON CONSUMPTION.** Americans are the single largest cause of global warming, per capita and in aggregate. We are 4 percent of world

1989	
Consumption of fossil fuel per capita	
Americans	283 gigajoules
Rest of the world	41 gigajoules
Emissions of CO ₂ , metric tons per capita	
U.S.	33.1
Germany	12.3
UK	10.0
Italy	6.9
France	6.2
Sweden	6.0 (despite long, cold, dark winters)

population and emit 1,494 million metric tons of CO₂ per year, almost one-fourth of the world total. Our per capita emissions, mostly from electrical power plants powered by fossil fuels and motor vehicles and secondarily from factories, are about 7 times more than the rest of the world.

4. INTERNATIONAL POLICIES. The Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992, Rio) established a series of steps and meetings to deal with the issue. The most important was in 1997 in Kyoto, where industrial nations agreed to reduce warming gases by 5.2 percent below the levels of 1990 by 2012. The Protocol takes effect when 55 countries representing 55 percent or more of industrialized country emissions ratify it. The Kyoto Protocol required the U.S. to reduce carbon emissions by 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2012. However, in the 1990s the U.S. increased its emissions by 15 percent. Kyoto committed Europe to more, to an 8 percent reduction, despite its lower income levels and much lower emissions. Germany agreed to a 21 percent cut and UK to 12.5 percent, and both are succeeding. Europe in general has pursued policies for carbon efficiency much more than the U.S. Kyoto, however, commits to only a fraction of the reductions needed and did not seriously deal with developing countries.
 - a. CHINA AND THE U.S. American policy makers have complained about China's lack of commitment to lower emissions. China, however, has reduced its coal consumption by 25 percent from 1996 to 2001 by slashing subsidies to improve efficiency and air quality and by converting to natural gas. Its economy in 2000 continued to grow at 5 percent per year. The U.S. increased its emissions despite a per capita level nine times higher than China's, and is now a larger coal burner than China. The U.S. ranks third on the UN's Human Development Index (HDI) and is the wealthiest nation in the world; China ranks 99th on the HDI.
 - b. U.S. POLICY. PRES. CLINTON. Despite strong commitments by U.S. Vice President Al Gore, the Clinton administration committed reluctantly and minimally at Kyoto to reductions in emissions, and failed to implement any meaningful policy, largely because of intense opposition from Congressional Republicans and vested interests, and a lack of popular support (e.g., the carbon tax trial balloon). In 2000 negotiations in The Hague, Netherlands, following up Kyoto, failed over these issues. The Administration demanded that the contribution of our **forests** to reducing CO₂ be used to reduce our Kyoto Protocol obligation to reduce our emissions. The implication of using forest credits would be to require Europe to reduce its emissions even more. The proposal failed to distinguish benefits of tree planting (which would require action comparable to action to reduce emissions) from those of existing forests (which require no action). The Administration also wanted to pay other countries to reduce their emissions if it were more economical than reducing our own, and to buy **credits** from countries that are emitting below their quotas. It is not clear how well credits would work, since low income countries emit so little compared to the U.S. and would find it even harder to develop compared to the U.S., which is already wealthy and has superior capital and technology to reduce emissions. It is not clear how credits would work for other wealthy countries, which have already reduced their emissions and don't have as much need to sell credits. It is not clear what the price would be, as it could easily be higher than reducing U.S. emissions, especially as it would have to be paid year after year.

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[Return to Global Warming](#)

5. U.S. POLICY. BUSH. Pres. Bush opposed the Kyoto Protocol in his campaign, but admitted global warming was a problem and pledged to reduce CO₂ emissions by power plants. The energy industry discounted his position because he was a Republican and because they gave him large sums of money. In 1999-2000, coal interests gave \$3.3 million to the Republican Party, electric utilities gave \$12.5 million, and the oil and gas industry gave \$26.1 million. [Public Citizen News, July/August 2001, p. 4]
- a. In March 2001 EPA Administrator Whitman advised Bush to keep his campaign pledge. A week later, on March 13, 2001, having been in office less than two months, Bush reneged on the pledge and renounced American commitments in the Kyoto Protocol. He claimed there was an **energy crisis**, but the existence and the nature of the crisis, and how related to reducing emissions, was not explained.
 - b. The crisis, if any, seemed confined to California and was caused by the state's failure to build power plants, selling electricity for less than the cost of purchasing it, manipulation by natural gas carriers and power plants, a power exchange (PX) that structured bidding to escalate prices, price controls on energy distributors, and by excessive prices paid by the state agency, the ISO. Part of California's solution—building natural gas plants and increasing prices, favored by Republicans and environmentalists—would, in fact, reduce carbon emissions. Pres. Bush said there was a need, nationally, for more coal burning power plants, but did not discuss external costs, pricing incentives, energy efficiency, alternative technologies, and carbon efficiency policies of other advanced nations.
 - c. In July the Bush energy plan proposed 1,300 more power plants, drilling for oil in wildlife habitat—the Arctic National Wildlife Preserve—, and weakening of air pollution regulations. He proposed cutting enforcement of the Clean Air Act to control coal burning plants. Besides global warming, pollution from existing plants causes premature death of 30,000 persons per year and many more cases of asthma.
 - d. One way to alleviate the energy crisis, reduce air pollution, and reduce oil dependency is to increase requirements for fuel efficiency in new vehicles. CAFE—Corporate Average Fuel Economy—standard were used with modest success until they were abandoned during the Reagan administration. The Bush administration opposes CAFÉ standards.
 - e. Pres. Bush said he opposed the Kyoto Protocol because it **exempted developing countries** and would harm the U.S. economy. He did not explain how exempting impoverished nations with low per capita emissions alleviates the world's major polluter of responsibility. The responsibility of low income nations to solve the problem is not clear since they did not cause it and are a small part of the problem. It is not clear why they should accept costs if the biggest, wealthiest polluter is not engaged already.
 - f. Pres. Bush did not explain how **damage to the U.S. economy** from reducing carbon emissions compares in the long run to not reducing them. He did not explain why reducing our emissions would damage our future economy when it has not damaged other countries which have already done more than the U.S. is being asked to do. It is costly to change technologies, but it is also costly to maintain and recapitalize old technologies. Bush says he takes the problem seriously but has made no proposals.
 - g. Many Bush supporters said his reversal was caused by heavy **lobbying** by former energy executives newly appointed to White House positions, Congressional Republicans, and

top corporate officials, e.g., Tom Kuhn, Edison Electric Institute.

- h. Pres. Bush's announcement caused a storm of **protest** in Europe and Japan. In uncharacteristically blunt and undiplomatic language, Margot Wallstrom, European Commissioner for the Environment, said Bush's reversal "sent a wave of shock and resentment across the world" and was "totally unacceptable." She emphasized how Bush was creating an uneven playing field for business, making it more difficult for those businesses required to reduce emissions to compete with those allowed to pollute. [London Independent, in Chron Mar 19 01] Terms such as arrogant, irresponsible, betrayal of responsibility, complete abdication, world's biggest polluter, unrepentant outlaw, great-power greed, isolationism, not big enough for his job, and moral lapse came from all over the world—governments, NGOs, and the media.
- i. Japan, affronted by rejection of negotiations it had hosted, has taken a lead in pushing for implementation. Japan is facing imposing emissions controls during its prolonged recession, but continues to support the Kyoto Protocol. The resolve of a difficult, slow, but emerging international consensus was undermined because the gains from discipline and sacrifice by one nation can be so easily overwhelmed by the pollution of another. Bush officials turned down all pleas from the European Union to reconsider his position [Ap 4 01 Chron from W post].
- j. In Bonn in July 2001 about 180 (news reports were varied) nations discussed what to do after the failure at The Hague and Pres. Bush's opposition. Many Europeans believe that "the Bush administration will do what it can to ensure that the Bonn talks end in failure." Bush promised in Goteborg, Sweden not to interfere with the Bonn talks, but seems to be trying to persuade more states to renounce Kyoto. By mid 2001 Bush was proposing more research but no action. [Kettman, "EU fears Bush...", SF Chron, July 15, 2001] EU leaders replaced Americans as the primary offstage negotiators to salvage Kyoto from the failure at The Hague. Despite preference for stronger policies, they knew compromise was essential.
- k. Concurrently with Bonn, in Genoa Pres. Bush came under personal pressure from European leaders. EU leaders took Bush's measure on global warming and found him wanting, long on friendly, sincere personality and short on substance.
- l. Back in Bonn, U.S. fears of adverse impacts on the economy were shared by Japan, Canada, Russia and Australia, who negotiated to weaken the proposal. Japan's size, closeness to the U.S., and parlous economy made it an especially important player. The compromise plan allows emissions trading, so that one country which reduces CO₂ more than required can sell credits to one producing too much, benefitting Russia. Tree planting and agricultural projects that reduce CO₂ can be offset against each nation's requirements, benefitting Japan, Canada, and Russia. Developing countries will get over \$450 million to reduce pollution. Countries that miss their targets have to make it up, plus penalties and interest, but the penalties are not legally binding. The U.S. refused to support even this compromise. The consensus meant the treaty could be ratified without U.S. support. [Drozdiak, W Post, in SF Chron, Jl 24 01]
- m. The U.S. under the administration of Pres. Bush Senior agreed to the Rio Convention, which still obligates the U.S. and Pres. Bush Junior to contribute as much as 40 percent to a fund of about \$1 billion for helping the developing nations. The U.S., however, has refused to pay its share, so the fund has been reduced to about \$550 million. [Drozdiak]

- n. The next meeting was in October 2001 in Morocco. Pres. Bush promised to propose a plan there; the Europeans and other nations are proceeding to implement Kyoto. Bush did not propose a plan.
 - o. International conferences on the environment have been held in Stockholm in 1970?, in Rio in 1981, and in Johannesburg in 2002. Over 100 heads of state attended, but not Bush. A 70 page plan to reduce global warming was developed, not binding, not accepted yet by all countries, but generally a step toward stronger action against fossil fuels and for renewables. Oddly, the US delegate accepted language calling for states to ratify Kyoto in a timely manner at the same time Washington is threatening those who do with economic sanctions.
6. U.S. POLICY. CONGRESS.
- a. The Congress has not ratified the Kyoto Protocol , but neither have any other major industrial nations. Opponents of emissions reductions, however, use the failure to ratify to deflect attention from significant efforts to implement. The more important matter is that other legislatures and parliaments are supporting effective action to achieve the goals. The Congress has refused to support the Kyoto Protocol to reduce global warming, despite adoption by 150 countries, placing the U.S. outside the framework of international efforts. Right-wing Republicans have insisted that impoverished countries like India and China, with fossil fuel consumption well below 41 gigajoules per capita, take action before the U.S. even considers the Kyoto Protocol . In August the Republican-dominated majority voted to not apply fuel economy standards to SUVs, even though they apply to other cars. Ostensibly they were concerned because it would require lighter-weight vehicles, which would be unsafe. Rather than deal directly with improving safety, the Republicans ratified the existing two-class system of vehicle ownership, those who can afford to buy SUVs and lower their risk, and those who for various reasons buy more fuel-efficient cars. While lighter vehicles would incur some marginal increase in risk to their drivers, the risk to other vehicles would be correspondingly reduced, but this safety argument was not made by those opposed to fuel economy and reduced carbon emissions.
 - b. The Congress refuses to support doing a small fraction of what Europe is already doing to reduce CO₂ emissions. Republicans claim the U.S. economy might suffer if it does what other countries with lower incomes are doing. (The U.S. has the highest per capita income and the largest economy in the world. It does not have the highest quality of life or the largest middle class.) Every developed democracy in the world is taking more action on global warming than the United States, but without American action the problem cannot be solved.
 - c. On Aug. 3, 2001 Senators McCain and Lieberman proposed a much stronger anti-warming plan called “cap-and-trade,” which would set a cap on emissions and require companies to buy and sell emissions credits. Senator Jeffords opened hearings on reducing carbon emissions from power plants, which Pres. Bush had supported as a candidate and rejected as President.
 - d. In 2002 Congress considered bills subsidizing fossil fuel technology but not reducing oil dependency.
7. U. S. POLICY, BUSINESS. While portrayed as opponents of Kyoto, business opinion is in fact mixed. The electrical power and coal industries are opposed, but the auto and oil businesses are mixed, and some progressive businesses began to support Kyoto and more.

Dupont, the largest American chemical company, has reduced its warming gas emissions by 60 percent since 1990 [Jane Kay, Apr 8 01 Chron]. Still, the auto industry opposes CAFÉ standards and cleaner cars as a threat to the SUV market and the whole economy. The oil industry supports more drilling.

8. U. S. POLICY, GROUPS. Right wing groups like the Heritage Foundation oppose Kyoto. The environmental groups all support, as well as the World Council of Churches. After Pres. Bush's announcement many prominent individuals asked him to reconsider: Walter Cronkite, John Glenn, Mikhail Gorbachev, Edward Wilson, Jimmy Carter, Stephen Hawking, and George Soros.
9. U. S. POLICY, MEDIA. The media has been generally critical but follows the liberal-conservative split. Time Magazine in April had a cover of the earth in a frying pan and was critical of Pres. Bush. The media recognize warming as a problem but have no real discussion of solutions or consensus on effective action. Sometimes the media misreports news on complex issues, most recently in January 2002 when two scientific articles that had no relation to global warming were portrayed as contradicting the climate change theory.
10. U.S. POLICY, PUBLIC OPINION.
 - a. In a March 2001 Time-CNN poll taken after Pres. Bush's reversal of his campaign promise, 75 percent said they considered global warming to be a serious problem and 55 percent said the government should require improved fuel efficiency in motor vehicles even if it means higher prices and smaller vehicles. However, what is needed is a carbon tax swapped with another tax at a rate inducing optimal elasticity based on the housing moving rate. While the control of the Presidency by the oil and auto businesses is important, it is probably less so than voter unwillingness to do anything about global warming. Bush's pro-oil positions were no secret, and millions, if not a majority, voted for him. In 2002 new cars and trucks hit a 21 year low for fuel economy. Oil consumption has risen 15 percent in ten years, reaching 21 million barrels *per day* in 2001. Also over the last ten years imports went up 28 percent, faster than consumption, so that now the US imports 25 percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf area and 28 percent of its oil from other areas. The US has about 5 percent of world population, has about 3 percent of oil reserves, and consumes 25 percent of world oil.
11. We proclaim our support for "western" "democratic" values to claim moral superiority in the fight against terrorism. But we actually support Arab dictators who sell us cheap oil.
 - a. Saudi Arabia is particularly important in this respect, with historic Saudi ambivalence playing a major role in the development of violent religious extremism, which finally has led to the beginnings of American awakening to the nature of the desert kingdom. Modern educated Saudis generally understand the importance of good relations with the West and support a moderate religiosity that allows them to look up to us and down on us at the same time. Most of the educated and ruling classes have left behind the extreme puritanism of the Wahhabi sect that gave birth to a bedouin nation ruled by the House of Saud.
 - b. Some, however, have become even more fanatical, to some extent as an aspect of internal Saudi conflict over how strict the government should be. For the extremists, Western troops on Saudi soil is anathema and a sign of the weakness and corruption of the ruling class from which they come. The moderates have tolerated and placated the extremists for decades as a means to deflect discontent with the regime against the Americans. Only

since 9/11 has the regime come to realize the threat posed by the extremists to their more important relationship with the West. The American oil party led by Pres. Bush feels comfortable with the Saudi regime but others are not so sure. In August 2002 the Rand Corporation reviewed for the first time in detail and scope the problem: Saudis “are active at every level of the terror chain, from planners to financiers, from cadre to foot soldier, from ideologist to cheerleader.” 15 of 19 9/11 hijackers came from Saudi Arabia and from the middle class. 2/3 of the fighters captured in Afghanistan and held in Guantanamo are Saudi. A few of the ruling class try to play both sides, singing the praises of child suicides in Palestine, an extremism that has lost all grounding human values. Saudi Arabia has no free press, no free speech, no tolerance of religious differences, no constitutional government let alone democracy, and enforced sexual inequality. Misled by a belief that the regime provided stability and a secure source of oil, we now have to confront the reality of instability created by terrorism. There is little basis for democratic change in Saudi Arabia, but there is no basis for continuing support for absolute monarchy. As with Crusaders and communists, religious ideology is only a veneer for political absolutism.

- c. We want the support of others to fight terrorism, but do not give others support on a wide range of other issues, including global warming. Americans know that some people hate us, but they do not understand why many people do not like us. The Alliance to Save Energy sponsors The Patriot’s Energy Pledge [www.saveabarrel.org] where [by Sept. 2002] about 36,000 people had pledged to drive less, car pool, and tune their motors. However, a serious effort requires an urban system based on pedestrian neighborhoods and transit. Such a system would also reduce costs of most auto externalities, be more affordable, and thus increase real progress.
12. Global warming is perhaps the most complex policy problem ever faced by scientists and society. As we learn more, the shape of the issue changes; it acquires a religious dimension. The U.S. is not merely advocating some economic self-interest allowing our companies to pollute in competition with those that do not. America is being greedy, arrogant, ignorant, and destructive of future generations. The U.S. claims domestic reductions would be unreasonably painful, but, in fact, the robust policies needed have many benefits far in excess of costs. We know how to solve the problem while growing the economy; we lack the will. We require a conversion of the heart to embrace a transcendent, rational, loving, shared vision of a world community.

Cuba Embargo. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Both parties and especially the Republicans have supported anti-Castro extremists in Miami with policies which have prolonged Castro’s reign and injured average Cubans.
2. The Congress supports extreme measures against the Castro regime that help reinforce its grip on power. The Cuban economy collapsed in 1991 when the Soviet Union dissolved and stopped its subsidies; by 1993 the GDP had fallen over one third. Imports fell by 75 percent and exports fell by two thirds. The Cuban state budget had a deficit equal to one third of GDP and the value of peso collapsed. Inflation went up; the standard of living, down. Food was rationed. Buses stopped. People started working illegally. In the U.S. in 1992 the Cuban Democracy Act prohibited U.S. subsidiaries in third countries from trading with Cuba and tightened other sanctions. Cuba had been importing food from such subsidiaries, causing

hardships which Castro, credibly, blamed on the U.S. The Act also pushed the United Nations General Assembly into its first of several condemnations of the U.S. trade embargo.

3. In 1996 the Helms-Burton "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act" attempted to punish American companies that do business with foreign companies that do business with Cuba, a law which is both unprecedented and ineffective. The law authorizes action in federal courts against certain foreign companies with investments in Cuba. If, for example, a Canadian company (and Canada was especially angered) bought a property in 1995 which had been expropriated after January 1, 1959, the date of the revolution, it can be sued for compensation in American courts by the 1961 owners. Helms-Burton is a type of secondary trade embargo and has historically been condemned by the U.S. Castro publicized and discussed the law extensively to show that the American interest was in property, not democracy, and reminding Cubans of pre-revolutionary American economic dominance and exploitation. The 1959 date also meant that property seizures by the preceding, corrupt Batista dictatorship were not of interest for "democracy." In 1996 the UN vote against the American embargo attracted even stronger support, the yes votes going from 59 to 143, also a sign of increasing international acceptance of the Castro regime.
4. The trade embargo (and poverty) has slowed Cuba's imports of fax machines, telephone equipment, modems, and computers, easing state security efforts at control of political information, such as rebellions against communism in other countries. The U.S. has kept Cuba out of the IMF, probably reducing the amount it has privatized its economy.
5. Canada trades with Cuba and gives it foreign aid. The EU filed a complaint with the WTO against Helms-Burton as a violation of international law. EU, Latin American, and especially Caribbean ties with Cuba are increasing.
6. Cuba is privatizing, if slowly, its economy, with excellent results in the tourism sector, and the economy is recovering. Deprived of cheap oil and lacking strong exports to get foreign currency, Cuba has been forced to conserve and, in the process, developed a far more organic and energy efficient agricultural system than any other country in the world.
7. The U.S. has ignored nine years of UN resolutions opposing the U.S. embargo, passed in 1998 on a vote of 157 to 2 and in 1999 on a vote of 167 to 3 with 4 abstentions. The U.S. ignores human rights organizations calling for an end to extreme sanctions. In 1999 the Second World Meeting of Friendship and Solidarity with Cuba attracted about 3,800 delegates from 117 countries, including 600 delegates from the U.S. The U.S. ignores farmers and businesses that would like to trade with Cuba. The embargo distracts attention from Castro's dictatorship, reinforces his ability to identify with a popular cause, and thus undermines U.S. objectives in Cuba.
8. By contrast, the Senate opened up trade with China and gave it most favored nation status even though China poses a far greater security threat to American interests, especially in Taiwan, and engages in massive violations of human rights, worker rights, democracy, free press, and the environment.
9. Despite control over U.S. Cuban policy by anti-Castro extremists, some cracks are beginning to appear in the Republican right wing. In July 2002 the House approved 262-167 ending restrictions on travel. Powerful Republican Representative and Majority Leader Dick Armey in August 2002 called for eliminating the Cuba embargo. Armey has felt freed to speak because he is about to retire from Congress and because of increasing discontent behind the scenes.

10. Every developed democracy in the world opposes U.S. policy toward Cuba. Most countries, including Canada and the other developed democracies, without approving dictatorship and human rights abuses, have normal relations with Cuba.

The War on Drugs. [Return to Contents](#)

1. The War on Drugs has superseded the dirty war against the violent left in Latin America. The dirty war included U.S. interventions in Guatemala (twice), Grenada, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama, and U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the elected Allende regime and subsequent violence in Chile. Some countries—Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Mexico—had or are having their dirty wars without extensive U.S. involvement. The new war on drugs primarily involves U.S. military assistance to Colombia.
 - a. In Colombia three armed forces war for control of the countryside and the drug trade. The FARC is a large guerilla force that has controlled a large rural area south of Bogotá and its poppy for many years. On Feb. 20, 2002, three years of peace negotiations broke down and the Colombian army has taken increased action, e.g., many bombing runs, against the FARC. The AUC, the large paramilitary, controls other territory and poppy in cooperation with the army. The army may control directly some territory. The U.S. is supplying the army with advisors, helicopters, and other aid. During the negotiations the government hired civilian police in the FARC controlled zone. After Feb. 20 neither FRAC nor army/AUC felt they could trust these police. Their director was assassinated in his home. In one case, former policeman fled with his family to hide with relatives in the countryside. The army caught him driving his car, accused him of being a guerilla, and threatened him with torture and death. The soldiers showed him a book with his picture and ID numbers and said it was the list the paramilitary were supposed to kill, and let him go. He fled with his family to Bogotá, where a dozen former police are hiding out and seeking asylum.
 - b. Killings are frequent and massacres occur from time to time. As documented in a UN report, on May 2, 2002, FARC and AUC fought in Bojayá, a town near the Pacific. The AUC came by river past several army checkpoints, probably an aspect of army complicity or collaboration with the AUC. 300 townspeople took refuge in a church. The AUC took positions on one side and a FARC mortar hit the church, killing 119 people. Witness for Peace, a religiously inspired peace advocacy group, reported 23 massacres from January through March, 2002. The trade union central reported 69 unionists killed by May 18, a 28 percent increase over 2001. The number of displaced persons is up.
2. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the Washington Office on Latin America documented army refusal to suspend members accused of abuses or of collaboration with the AUC, non-cooperation with civilian prosecutors, failure to transfer cases to civilian courts, and continuing ties with the paramilitaries. General Rodrigo Quizones, accused of two massacres, assassination of 57 labor unionists, and murders of human rights advocates, has been promoted twice. On May 1, 2002, Secretary of State Colin Powell certified Colombia on human rights in order to send \$62 million in aid.
3. Other developed countries do not give assistance partly because of the poor human rights record of the military. [Witness for Peace *Newsletter* 19:2, summer/fall 2002]

Iraq. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Few regimes have been as aggressive, brutal, and dishonest as that of Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The question is what to do about it, given a lack of evidence about rearming with weapons of mass destruction since the Gulf War, a probability that Iraq does not have such weapons, some growing possibility that it might, an inability to find out through inspection, and the ulterior motive of the U.S. to obtain more access to cheap oil, possibly at the cost of our European allies. The policy choices range from partially effective embargoes to military intervention to change the regime.
2. From 1991 to 1998 UN weapons inspectors [UNSCOM], overcoming considerable resistance from the government, destroyed most of Iraq's capabilities, but were unable to account for all chemical and biological warheads and missiles Iraq had made. They reported that Iraq had concealed about 160 bombs and about 24 Scud missile warheads filled with anthrax. UNSCOM verified Iraqi destruction of 34,000 "special munitions" and 823 tons of "key chemical precursors" for nerve gases [VX, mustard gas, tabun, sarin]. UNSCOM was unable to find 2,000 unfilled munitions and 25 warheads for biochemical agents, either because they were destroyed in the war or the Iraqis were still hiding some. Four years have passed without on-the-ground inspection.
3. On Sept. 12, 2002, Pres. Bush addressed the UN, supported by a 20 page litany of Iraqi abuses. The white paper lacked, however, evidence of weapons production or missile development. It mainly covered the regime's executions, tortures, rapes, disappearances, forced military training of children and other crimes against the Kurds in the North, the Shiite Muslims in the South, where he has killed clerics, desecrated mosques, and harassed worshipers.
4. In 2002 Iraq attempted to import thousands of high-strength aluminum tubes from China but they intercepted in Japan. The administration claimed without qualification that these tubes were intended to build centrifuges for enriching uranium in order to build an atom bomb. However, David Albright, a physicist now working for the Institute for Science and International Security, and other experts, disagreed. Albright had inspected Iraq's nuclear program as a member of the International Atomic Energy Commission inspection team in Iraq after 1991. The tubes were poorly suited for the welding needed to make them into centrifuges. The Iraqi program had abandoned aluminum in favor of steel and carbon fiber for centrifuges. The tubes are better suited as launch tubes for artillery rockets. Dissenting administration experts told Albright they were told to remain silent. Energy Department officials declined to comment. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) reported Iraq could gradually produce its own fissile material over five or more years and build a nuclear war head. However, to do so, Iraq would have to spend several years building a large facility for processing radioactive material, requiring foreign equipment and expertise. If it could obtain fissile material from outside, it could build a bomb in a matter of months. However, the possibility of getting such material is remote; it would have to be stolen or somehow imported from a rogue state. [Boston Globe in SF Chron Sept. 10, 2002; Wash. Post in SF Chron Sept. 15, 2002; NYT in SF Chron, Sept. 8 2002]
5. Iraq has tried to rebuild its chemical and biological weapons since 1998. The IISS speculates that Iraq uses mobile production labs that are secretly shuttled among otherwise civilian chemical plants. Iraqi warheads as of 1991 were inefficient; they detonated on impact rather than in an air burst that would disperse their load. Without testing it would be difficult to develop better warheads.

6. The IISS speculates that Iraq may have missiles to deliver its weapons. The Institute believes Iraq has about a dozen medium range missiles.
 - a. According to several defectors, Saddam wants to rebuild his illegal arsenal. However, the economic sanctions have limited his ability to do so, and US surveillance has yet to find anything concrete on his progress. New roofs and possible underground plants raise suspicions but may not alone be enough to justify going to war. Suspicions are also raised by the Bush administration by its claims about aluminum tubes and that it knows that Saddam met several times with his nuclear scientists and praised their work, yet can not produce evidence about atom bombs, biological and chemical weapons, and missiles.
7. Before Dick Cheney became VP, he was CEO of Halliburton, the largest U.S. oil services company and the fifth largest defense contractor, which employs 100,000 workers worldwide and takes in \$15 billion per year. Halliburton did \$23.8 million in business with Iraq after the Gulf War, more than any other American company. Halliburton (through subsidiaries Dresser-Rand and Ingersoll-Dresser) helped the regime repair and modernize its oil operations, which in turn helped it get more funds. Halliburton and other companies sometimes acted through European companies which loaned their names to help the American firms deal with Iraq. Iraq was then able to become the second largest supplier of Mid-East oil to the U.S. While in 1991 after the Gulf War he opposed regime change, by 2002 he had changed his mind. Cheney alleged that Saddam wanted to share his weapons of mass destruction with terrorists. US intelligence has as yet been unable that Saddam has such weapons or that he has any links to al-Qaida terrorism. [Molly Ivins, Sept 4, 2002, SF Chron]
8. All of our allies including Britain oppose unilateral U.S. action to change the regime in Iraq.
9. Preemption or aggression?
 - a. 1. aggression: one state attacks another, initiates military action into the other state, for purposes of controlling the people and resources of the target state to benefit the attacker.
 - b. 2. preemption: one state attacks another under certain conditions:
 - i. - the target state expresses hostility to the preempting state
 - ii. - it expresses a desire to act militarily on that hostility
 - iii. - it has the funds to develop a military capability
 - iv. - there is a lack of evidence that it is not developing such a capability
 - v. - it has developed and used such capability in the past
 - vi. - it refuses to allow thorough inspection to show it is not developing a capability
 - vii. - the military threat is not one which can be effectively guarded against from observation and forces adjacent to the state (CBW, nuclear, terrorism).
 - viii. - diplomacy has failed
 - ix. - deterrence through massive retaliation might not work, such that the preempting state would suffer unacceptable damage, e.g., 9/11/01, even though retaliation would occur, e.g., US et al. destruction of the Taliban and al-Qaida.
 - x. - while not necessary for preemption, violation of UN resolutions to allow inspection could be considered an additional factor supporting it.
 - c. Iraq met the conditions except for inspections and imminent threat, that is, Iraq did over time allow effective and intrusive inspections and never posed a threat to the US.
10. Past behavior:
 - a. attack on Iran, 1.5 million deaths, use of poison gas
 - b. attack on its own population

- i. -Shiites
- ii. -Kurds, 50-100,000 deaths; use of poison gas
- iii. attack on Kuwait
- c. Assertions that Iraq already has CBW can not be substantiated, but neither can the opposite. Iraq has produced large amounts of anthrax, not all of it adequately accounted for. The regime has developed and used mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, and VX nerve gas, in attacks on Iran and about 40 Kurd villages, with about 20,000 casualties .
- d. Iraq probably lacks a nuclear weapon but probably has designs for how to build one and the ability to do so, but lacks fissionable material. It seems likely to get such material within a year to five years; the volume is between a softball and a volleyball. Up to 1998, when the IAEA dismantled them, Iraq had facilities for enriching uranium and other nuclear weapon related activities. Facilities are being rebuilt on the sites of those destroyed. A high ranked Iraqi nuclear engineer who defected reported that the program was continuing. However, claims about attempted import of aluminum tubes for centrifuges is probably wrong; they were probably for artillery missiles.
- e. Iraq has inaccurate missiles able to reach hundreds of miles to Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia. It is building airplanes and drones that could be used to deliver CBW, which could also be delivered by terrorists. Iraq has provided safe haven and training to Palestinian terrorists (Abu Nidal, Abu Abbas; Hamas) and al-Qaida.
- f. Iraq is getting funds from sale of oil despite the embargo and Oil for Food Program. It is rebuilding plants in sites previously used to produce CBW, and may be using mobile facilities.

11. PROBLEMS

- a. - Bush has exaggerated the imminence of the threat based on CIA assessments; despite uncertainties, Iraq does not seem to have a significant capability when balanced against the cost of unilateral action.
- b. - There is a defensive capability against short range missiles, now being deployed in Israel.
- c. - The rationale of preemption could be used to justify aggression.
- d. - The rest of world except Britain does not feel threatened enough to support preemption, and Britain is more strongly committed to UN action.
- e. - Balancing threats: unilateral action sets precedent for other preemption and undermines use of multilateral action by UN.
- f. - Unilateralism increases hatred for the preemption, generates more persons willing to die to hurt preemption; it may break up a point of threat but produces scattered smaller enemies. Israel has preemptively destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reaction delaying Iraq nuclear development but has attacked Palestine for decades without preventing terrorism.
- g. - Preemption needs to deal with US causes of hostility to the US where those causes are justified, e.g., support for ethnic cleaning by Israel against Palestine, and not avoid the issue by complaining about the irrational and unjustified violence that results from our actions.
- h. - The US policy has nothing to do with democracy and everything to do with oil. If oil is not the real factor, the US could commit to not benefitting from oil from a new regime. We have done little to promote democracy in Arab countries.
- i. -The flouting of international agreements is irrelevant; the US has flouted more of them

that any other developed democracy. Israel ignores the UN.

12. The precedents have been established for multilateral intervention (UN, NATO) in domestic affairs of failed states where a regime engages in ethnic cleansing (Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda)
13. Inspection could work and would be better than war if pursued to completion, even in the face of Iraqi resistance. During the inspections of the 1990s, Iraq bugged inspectors rooms, forged documents, and moved or destroyed evidence in anticipation of inspections. Iraq prevented any inspection of 8 areas covering 12 square miles with hundreds of buildings.

The UN Convention Against Torture.

1. In 1978 President Carter also submitted the **Convention Against Torture** and it was ratified in 1994. About 130 countries have ratified the Convention but some countries do not enforce it. Amnesty International reported torture or abuse of prisoners in 111 countries in 2001.
2. To implement the convention, it is necessary for independent observers to visit prisons where torture may take place. A protocol was negotiated “to establish a system of regular visits undertaken by independent and national bodies to places where people are deprived of their liberty, in order to prevent torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment.” Adoption would be optional for each country. Amnesty and Human Rights Watch support the plan.
3. In July 2002 the Bush administration opposed the plan, alleging that “parts of the plan were incompatible with the U.S. Constitution,” that “allowing outside observers into state prisons would infringe on states’ rights,” and it would “allow for international and independent visits to U.S. prisons and terror suspects being held at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba.” The U.S. position was widely criticized by its European and Latin American allies. Denmark on behalf of the EU accused the U.S. of intentionally stalling to kill the proposal.
4. On July 24, 2002, the U.S. moved to reopen ten years of negotiations. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) voted the motion down 15 yes, 29 no, and 8 abstentions. The ECOSOC then voted 35 yes, 8 no, and 10 abstentions to approve the protocol over U.S. objections. The protocol will go to the General Assembly and requires approval by a majority of the 190 members. It then go out to states for ratification and requires 20 to go into effect.
[Dafna Linzer, July 25, 2002, UN council defies U.S. , backs program to curb torture, SF Chronicle from AP]

International Criminal Court. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Pres. Bush, Congressional Republicans, and the Pentagon are opposed to the rule of law in international affairs. They support the rule of law only as determined by the U.S., not as it might be applied by others to the US. They place the U.S. above the institutions of international law established by the other nations of the world.
2. The U.S. first established the principal of international criminal trials at Nuremberg for Nazi war criminals, rather than just executing them. The Nuremberg trials helped the world see the gravity of Nazi offenses, established an orderly procedure for determining guilt, held individuals responsible, and created an historical record. The U.S. has supported other ad hoc tribunals to deal with war crimes in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Bosnia, so that today Slobodan Milosevic stands before the bar. The U.S. has had control over these Court and resisted any prosecution of U.S. citizens.
3. However, under the current, confused situation, as in 2000, Britain imprisoned Augusto Pinochet of Chile, a former head of state and war criminal, and then released him, despite

Spain's requests to prosecute him. Other governments continue to shield war criminals from prosecution. Ad hoc, after the fact tribunals were established to deal with war crimes in Bosnia and Rwanda, but they could not deter future crimes. The lifting of sovereign immunity once protecting former government officials was part of international law, but the logical institution needed, e.g., the new International Criminal Court, did not exist for effective implementation. A permanent International Court, known to function ahead of time by potential criminals, could deter future atrocities.

4. The steps for treaty implementation are approval, signature, and ratification. In July, 1998, the nations of the world, by a vote of 120 to 7, approved the 1998 Treaty of Rome creating an International Criminal Court (ICC). The six others who joined the U.S. in voting no were China, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Qatar, and Yemen.
5. The Court replaces the patchwork of inadequate national and military courts and ad hoc international tribunals. The ICC will help enforce international criminal law, bringing to justice military and political leaders and others accused of genocide, ethnic cleansing, widespread and systematic crimes against civilians (murder, torture, rape, deportation, enslavement), war crimes (such as war-time rape, forced pregnancy, and forcing children to fight), aggression, and similar atrocities.
6. The 1998 Treaty builds on the experience of Nuremberg, Bosnia, and Rwanda, all developed with strong support from the U.S. Like those tribunals, the new Court has jurisdiction over all individuals, including government officials regardless of nationality. The ICC is, thus, stronger than the International Court of Justice in The Hague, which is limited to disputes among nations.
7. The International Criminal Court prevents unjustified prosecutions in its statute and in its rules of procedure and evidence. National sovereignty is protected. The initial responsibility for prosecution rests with the nation. ICC action can be blocked by a nation doing its own investigation of its nationals. Only if the nation fails to act may the Court intervene. Prosecutors may act only on approval from a panel of internationally selected judges using standards that preclude politically motivated charges. In addition, the Security Council can halt any prosecution. There is no conflict with the U.S. Constitution.
8. Since the Nuremberg trials, international law has allowed prosecution of non-nationals by national courts; the ICC has the same power. Thus, the issue is not whether Americans can be tried by non-American courts, but whether those courts will be only those of a foreign state or also the International Criminal Court. The new Court has procedures superior to some nations, is less subject to politicization, helps uniformity of international law, and, thus, increases security for Americans.
9. In Rome the United States reversed its historic support for the rule of law. The U.S. voted against the ICC despite inclusion of weakening amendments to the treaty which it had demanded. Beyond these, the U.S. proposed that any nation that wishes to avoid ICC jurisdiction could pledge to try its own citizens in its own courts, which was contrary to the essential purpose of the treaty. Military courts almost never prosecute their own, and local courts are often too weak to act. The U.S. also argued that American soldiers and spies would be subject to "politically motivated charges" despite protections in the treaty against such abuses. The Pentagon demanded a guarantee that no U.S. officer or civilian official on duty abroad will ever be under the ICC's jurisdiction, whether or not the U.S. is a member of the ICC. (The U.S. is far more involved abroad militarily than any other nation.) The Senate

- reversed 50 years of support for such a court. Besides the Pentagon, major opposition comes from Congressional Republicans. Senator Helms, opposing ratification, called it “this international kangaroo court” and “this global Star Chamber.” [Chron Jn 1 01 from W Post]
10. On December 31, 2000, the last day allowed by the Rome Treaty, President Clinton had the U.S. sign the Treaty, allowing the U.S. to continue to be involved in the details of implementation from which it would otherwise have been excluded. Pres. Clinton expressed concern that the ICC can claim jurisdiction over Americans once enough nations have ratified it, even if the U.S. has not ratified the Treaty. He and the Pentagon feared U.S. soldiers could be prosecuted, but have not dealt with the logical necessity of having the rule of law apply to all. The fundamental issue is whether the ICC would be subject to political and ideological considerations above the law, which is not an idle concern considering the abuse of power by U.S. Supreme Court in the 2000 Presidential vote counting in Florida. Most nations and human rights organizations have made a judgment that the procedural safeguards of the Treaty and the general maturity of the international community outweigh the risk of arbitrary prosecution. While Clinton’s motivation to sign may have been to influence implementation, signing also committed the U.S., including Pres. Bush, to not violate the spirit of the Treaty.
 11. On May 6, 2002, Pres. Bush renounced the ICC, excluded Americans from its jurisdiction, declared he would not seek ratification, and nullified the US signature to the Treaty. Congress passed and on June 7 Pres. Bush he signed the American Servicemembers’ Protection Act, designed to defy ICC jurisdiction. “The act authorizes the President to ‘use all means necessary’ to free any American held by the ICC.” The act withholds military aid from countries unless they agree not to turn over U.S. citizens to the Court. [\[http://www.wfa.org/issues/wicc/article98/article98home.html\]](http://www.wfa.org/issues/wicc/article98/article98home.html); UNA-USA East Bay Chapter News, July August 2002, p. 1] By June 2003 the US had signed agreements with 37 countries to guarantee that US personnel would not be extradited to the ICC. [Felicity Barringer, “U.S. stance on war crimes court reopens rift with allies,” *New York Times / SF Chronicle*, June 11, 2003.]
 - a. Up to July 2002 he demanded that the U.N. Security Council grant *permanent* immunity to Americans serving on UN peacekeeping forces. He threatened to shut down UN operations in Bosnia and “reconsider” U.S. support for 14 other similar UN operations. The U.S. was concerned about “frivolous and politically motivated prosecutions.” Bush reversed his position because of intense, strong, unified opposition by the European Union, Canada, Mexico and others and because the peacekeeping was serving U.S. interests. On July 12, 2002, the Security Council unanimously agreed to exempt temporarily (one year) American military personnel in peacekeeping operations from prosecution before the ICC. The compromise allowed the renewal of UN peacekeeping in Bosnia and Croatia. However, the ICC treaty already provided for a year of delay in prosecution of any citizen from a country not accepting the ICC. The decision, however, set a precedent for the Security Council to interpret treaties created by other parties and not part of the UN. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2986086.stm>
 12. **US Opinion.** Most of U.S. public opinion, under half the Senate, and 152 of 435 Congressmen support the ICC.
 13. **US Support.** There is support in the US for the treaty. The UN Association of the USA supports it. Human rights groups, e.g. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, support ratification. MoveOn, the American NGO Coalition for the ICC (AMICC) with 30 national member groups and USA for ICC debate the Bush administration's concerns in their email and on their websites. The Victims Trust Fund is asking U.S. citizens to send a \$5

check to the ICC to alert elected officials that international justice is a priority for them.

[<http://www.amnestyusa.org/>; *MoveOn Bulletin*, Friday, August 1, 2003, Noah T. Winer, Editor;

<http://amicc.org/>; http://usaforicc.org/facts_unsigning.html; <http://www.victimstrustfund.org/>]

14. **Coming into force.** By Nov. 24, 2000, 115 nations had signed the treaty and by Dec. 31, 2001, 137 nations had signed it. On April 11, 2002, the final ten nations to ratify the treaty deposited their instruments of ratification at a special ceremony at the United Nations. Since 60 states were needed, and the total then reached 66, the treaty and thus the ICC came into force July 1, 2002, as a matter of international law. By Dec. 10, 2002, over 85 countries had ratified the treaty. [<http://www.isc-icc.org/signedlist.html>]
 - a. The governing body assembled in September, 2002. The ICC has been established in the Hague, the Netherlands, with 18 judges, the Office of the Prosecutor, and the Office of the Registrar. The ratifying nations elect the judges and Prosecutor. The ICC is a creation of its ratifying states and funded by them independent of the UN.
 - b. "In February 2003, the Assembly of States Parties -- composed of representatives from each of the ratifying countries -- elected the ICC's first panel of 18 judges using a transparent voting process. <http://www.wfa.org/issues/wicc/asp/aspfeb03.html>. In April, Luis Moreno-Ocampo was named as the first Chief Prosecutor for the ICC. An Argentine lawyer, Mr. Moreno-Ocampo successfully prosecuted leaders of that country's military dictatorship in the 1980s. His comments upon the occasion can be found on the ICC website. http://www.icc-cpi.int/php/news/persbericht_details.php?id=5. An interview on Radio Netherlands discusses Moreno-Ocampo's qualifications for the job. <http://www.rnw.nl/hotspots/html/icc030422.html>. By June 2003, 90 countries had ratified.
 - c. On July 16, 2003, Moreno-Ocampo announced the ICC's Office of the Prosecutor will gather information on the situation in Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting from ethnic strife, HIV/AIDS, starvation, landmines, and the exploitation of natural resources. If a formal investigation follows, criminal charges could include summary executions, systematic torture, unlawful arrests and detention of individuals, abductions, mass rape, ritual cannibalization, large-scale displacement of civilians, and the forced recruitment of child soldiers. There are also alleged links to the activities of African, European, and Middle Eastern companies and the international banking system." http://www.icc-cpi.int/docs/news/pids009_2003-en.pdf." [Winer in *MoveOn Bulletin*]
15. Like other issues, the U.S. position on this issue manifests American exceptionalism: We want to apply rules to others; we do not want others do not apply rules to us. Yet the rule of law advances in the face of American opposition, and without American participation. Every developed democracy in the world, all members of NATO, and all the European nations except the United States support the ICC. China and Russia also have not ratified. [Lewis Dolinsky, "Behind the Debacle in Rome," *SF Chronicle*, July 31, 1998; William Coblentz and Jeff Bleich, "We need a World Criminal Court," *SF Chronicle*, Nov. 5, 1998. Cesar Chelata, "The U.S. should support International Criminal Court," Forum, *SF Chronicle*, September 1, 2000; Johnson 2000. Barbara Crossette, "U.S. Decision Looms on War-Crimes Court," *SF Chronicle*, Nov. 24, 2000]

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republicans have refused to protect national and international security by failing to end nuclear weapons tests, a major cause of the arms race and military instability.
2. There are already in place restrictions on many tests, the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, which

bans nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. Also, the 1967 Outer Space Treaty prohibits nuclear weapons in orbit around the earth, moon, etc., or deploying them in other places in space or space stations. [Defense Monitor, Feb. 2001. pp. 5-6 covers these and the ABM Treaty.] In 1968 the Non-Proliferation Treaty was agreed to.

3. The CTBT, expands the prohibition to underground tests. It has been signed by 155 countries. The CTBT prohibits tests of nuclear bombs above a very low yield and provides for monitoring and inspection of possible nuclear weapons tests. It will be difficult to stop the spread of nuclear weapons without the CTBT, which can be enforced to stop nuclear weapons testing.
4. In October, 1999, 51 Republican Senators, in an effort to humiliate Pres. Clinton, rejected the treaty, embarrassed the U.S. internationally, and undermined national security by encouraging the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
 - a. Claims that the treaty was poorly written, unverifiable, would prevent weapons development, prevent testing for maintenance and so on were either false or misleading. Claims that the ban could not be adequately monitored were sheer demagoguery showing ignorance of modern seismology and other technologies. "The vote . . . was irresponsible and dangerous to American and world security. The vote must not stand; the Treaty must be ratified." -Council for a Livable World, Oct. 22, 1999.
 - b. On April 21, 2000, the Russian Duma approved the CTBT by a vote of 298 to 74. Twenty-nine nuclear-capable states have ratified, including most of America's friends and allies. Fourteen other such states, several seeking nuclear weapons, have held back partly or largely because of lack of U.S. support, reinforced by the Senate's action. India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998 and continue to have deep hostilities over Kashmir. The U.S. has no other leverage to stop their nuclear arms race.
 - c. After Senate Republicans rejected the CTBT in 1999, former Joint Chiefs Chairman John Shalikashvili worked out a proposal for reviewing the treaty after ten years and for adding some additional enforcement methods. The new CTBT could be considered by the Senate if Pres. Bush requested. Bush supports a test moratorium, but that is not binding on India, Pakistan, or North Korea. [More on North Korea under BMD below.] Secretary of State Colin Powell supported the previous CTBT before his appointment as Secretary of State.
5. Every developed democracy in the world except the United States supports this treaty.

START II. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republicans have refused to protect national and international security by failing to limit nuclear weapons, a major cause of the arms race and military instability.
2. The Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT I, or Interim Agreement) limits ICBMs of the U.S. and former Soviet States.
3. The Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START), started by Pres. Reagan as successors to SALT, had the purpose of reducing, not just limiting, nuclear weapons. They have succeeded in substantially reducing the number of missiles and warheads of the U.S. and Russia. START I is concluded. In 1993 Pres. Bush and Pres. Yeltsin signed the START II Treaty. In 1997 Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agreed to two protocols further implementing the START II Treaty, which must be approved by the Senate before the SALT II treaty is ratified. By January 2000 the U.S. was down to 7,763 strategic warheads and Russia, 6,998. START I will cut these to 6,900 by the end of 2001, and START II cuts them to 3,500 by the end of

2007.

4. In 2000 the Senate considered the two protocols, which were caught up in far right militarism and hostility to Clinton.
 - a. One protocol clarified the difference between long-range strategic (nation to nation) and short-range tactical (battlefield) weapons. The second protocol extended the time frame for arms reductions from 2003 to 2007 because of delays in ratification by the Senate which had already occurred. On April 14, 2000, the Russian Duma ratified the START II Treaty with the protocols. START III was being negotiated by Clinton.
 - b. Republicans feared that ratification of START II would reinforce the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. The Senate wanted to break the ABM Treaty in order to escalate the arms race with a “defensive” Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) of questionable effectiveness (see section 8 below).
 - c. Despite lack of ratification by the Senate, the U.S. Executive Branch continues to implement the START II Treaty. [Need to see if Bush is implementing; no reason he would not.]
5. While he has not continued START III negotiations as such, Pres. W. Bush says he wants to reduce the number of U.S. warheads. START activities are linked to BMD negotiations (see below). In April 2002 President W. Bush leaked his *Nuclear Posture Review* to the media. It calls for deterring would-be nuclear powers from atomic bomb development by **threatening them with a pre-emptive first strike**, and lists seven possible target nations. In May the President sought funds for **earth-penetrating warheads** (Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator [RNEP] or bunker buster) to destroy possible underground enemy missiles and to develop lower-yield weapons that could be used in a first strike. If penetration is less than 200 feet, such weapons, even if low-yield, will cause extensive radioactive fallout. 200 feet is many times the depth currently achievable. If targeted accurately by a low-flying bomber, there is risk to the bomber, while stand-off targeting risks missing the target. Development of **new battlefield weapons** provides a reason to other countries to develop small nuclear weapons of their own and makes it more difficult to draw the line between conventional and nuclear war. In turn, if conflict occurs, it becomes easy to escalate from conventional to nuclear arms. These risks need to be balanced against use of conventional weapons to deter or destroy nuclear weapons programs and underground missile silos, which in turn requires international agreements that allow such enforcement. These risks also need to be balanced against the probability that any nation would engage in the expense of nuclear weapons development and underground silos when there are much less expensive methods of defense and of doing harm to an enemy.
 - a. Fragmented history: In August 2002, the U.S. Senate refused funds for the earth penetrator. In 2003 Congress approved funds for both new nukes. Then In 2004 the House Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee disapproved funds for the RNEP, a pit facility for testing, advanced concepts nuclear weapons [?], and reducing preparation time to test. The Subcommittee wants the National Nuclear Security Administration to review its policies and sees no need for new nukes. The Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee supports new nukes, so Republicans are split. Democrats oppose new nukes. [FAS Public Interest Report 57:3, summer 2004 p. 3]
6. In May 2002 President Bush agreed to an unprecedented **arms control agreement** with Russian President Vladimir Putin to reduce deployed nuclear warheads. The U.S. has 7,295 long-range nuclear warheads, to be reduced to 1,700, and Russia has 6,094, to be reduced to

2,200. The agreement was unprecedented in its failure to adhere to the most fundamental principles of arms control agreements and was a three-page public relations exercise designed to hide a dangerous destabilizing escalation of nuclear arms:

- a. The new, first strike warheads would be delivered by U.S. Trident missiles, which are not affected by the new agreement.
 - b. The agreement reduces deployment of less accurate, strategically useless weapons.
 - c. The agreement does not require destruction of any weapons, only that weapons be stored away from the launch site.
 - d. Either side may withdraw for any reason with 90 days notice, allowing redeployment .
 - e. To assure their deterrent, the Russians are likely to store their weapons, which are then at risk of theft.
 - f. Verification procedures to assure compliance: none.
 - g. Time table for implementation: none.
 - h. The two sides are not required to provide the other with a war-head inventory.
 - i. The final deadline for retirement of deployed weapons is December 31, 2012, ten years from now, very long by previous standards.
 - j. The treaty expires the same day that deployed weapons are supposed to reach the stipulated number, allowing the retired weapons to be redeployed.
 - k. Warheads still deployed are on hair-trigger alert.
 - l. There is no pledge to not be the first to use nuclear warheads or to not resume testing.
 - m. War-heads still lack post-launch self-destruct mechanisms. [Council for a Livable World, February 2002 letter; Peter Ferenbach, May 22, 2002, "The arms control shell game," SF Chronicle; Robert Drinan, June 2002 letter, PeacePAC]
7. These strategic arms developments take place in the context of
- a. The lack of any treaty to deal with tactical (shorter range, lower yield) nuclear weapons, which are dangerous because of their number, small size, and lack of electronic safety locks.
 - b. the escalation of ballistic missile defense (below) and
 - c. the refusal to support a test ban (above).
8. Every developed democracy in the world fully supports the START treaties except the United States.

Ballistic Missile Defense. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republicans and Pres. Bush have jeopardized national and international security by promoting ballistic missile defense, a major, wasteful, unnecessary escalation of the nuclear arms race, breaking arms control treaties and leading to the militarization of space. However, the Clinton administration also wanted to escalate the BMD arms race, and Democrats are divided.
2. One argument for a BMD is that it would defend us against a state that does not care if we are able to retaliate. The major example until mid-2002, when attention shifted to Iraq, is North Korea. North Korea is discussed separately in a section below. The North does not have ballistic missile capability and has not tested a mid-range missile since 1998. The North has worked on a weapon and has fissile material with which to build a bomb. The North may have built one or even a few nuclear bombs but has never tested one. Its rhetorical and policy vacillations are subject to varying interpretations but have moved haltingly, with reverses, to rapprochement with the /south and domestic economic reform. There is really no evidence

the North has any interest whatsoever in a nuclear attack on the U.S., suicidal or not.

3. The BMD issue is linked to the ABM Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, the test ban treaties, and START II. The ABM Treaty of 1972 (extended by agreement with states replacing the Soviet Union) limited the two sides to 100 ABM launchers at each of two sites, one a national capital and the other an area of ICBMs, and just for the defense of those sites. A protocol in 1974 limited ABM sites to one. Shorter range, theater (non-ballistic) defensive missiles are permitted. Russia and the U.S. agreed in 1997 to a protocol which defined the limits for theater defenses. The two sides are prohibited from interfering with inspection by satellites. BMD, defined as defending the whole nation from ballistic missiles, is prohibited.
4. Also Article V states "Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based." This language is interpreted to allow research. BMD is a new term for ABM; both are intended to stop an incoming missile on a ballistic (partial earth orbit) trajectory. The technical challenge is akin to shooting a bullet to stop a bullet, but over thousand of miles in the high atmosphere.
5. U.S. Spending on missile defense began in the 1960s and escalated with Pres. Reagan's Star Wars speech of 1984. The U.S. has spent about 120 billion over forty years, raising the question if BMD is worth the cost even if it could be made to work. Technologies studied include space-based X-ray lasers, chemical lasers, particle-beam weapons, kinetic kill (direct physical hit), free electron and other lasers. [Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment, Chron, Jun 10 01]
6. All tests made up to mid 2001 failed their defined missions. The tests are well short of the robustness that would be needed for credibility. In August, 2001, a successful test hit the target. The target had a homing beacon, a precision global positioning satellite signal, to guide the kill missile to itself.
7. As of Feb. 2001, Pres. Bush's Secretary of Defense would increase funding for a Navy sea-based BMD, an Air Force Air-borne Laser, and space-based lasers, all of which are prohibited under the ABM Treaty. The Navy's Aegis destroyers and cruisers would get medium range defensive missiles that intercept in mid-course, deployable by 2010. Bigger missiles to intercept on launch would be added after that, if they can be developed, and if the ships can withstand the stress of blast-off.
8. The proposed \$65 billion program can not succeed even if it does "succeed":
 - a. If BMD does not work, it is mostly a waste of money, although some useful technologies may emerge and may have application to a short range defensive missile, which is more technically achievable assuming lots of intelligence about, and constant surveillance of, the attack missile. There are, however, much more cost-effective ways than BMD research to develop battlefield intercept missiles.
 - b. If BMD does work, then other nuclear missile nations, if they take no action, would have no retaliatory missile defense against an attack by us. Our "defensive" weapon undermines their defense of a reciprocating strike. Thus our purportedly defensive weapon functions as an offense. Their logical response is to build fake missiles and real missiles to overwhelm our BMD, which is far cheaper than a BMD. Russia and China do not want to have to do this and are vehemently opposed to BMD. To be on the safe side they would have to assume our BMD would work the way it is supposed to, while we would have to assume a certain failure rate. An arms race could be limited by treaty, but

then the strategic situation would be the same as not having a BMD in the first place, except at a higher level of nuclear weapons. Alternatively, other nations could decide to reduce their nuclear deterrent, consistent with the end of the Cold War, leaving our BMD with few or no targets.

9. Another factor reducing the need for BMD is the dramatic reduction under START in the number of missiles aimed at us.
10. Thus, without BMD, the historic effectiveness of deterrence would continue to operate at a low cost and with a continuing reduction of over-kill nuclear arsenals. The greatest threat of nuclear war may be related to where there are the greatest number of nuclear weapons, 7,763 of them in the U.S. and 6,998 in Russia.
11. In May 2001 Pres. Bush once again said he wanted to end the ABM treaty in order to deploy a BMD. Can BMD be reconciled with the web of arms control treaties restraining the arms race? In August, 2001, Russia's Putin found a way to perhaps put the BMD genie back the ABM Treaty bottle. If the BMD problem is the way it reduces the credibility of a retaliatory strike, and a limit on BMD deployment reduces the number of deliverable warheads needed to maintain credibility, then a treaty limiting BMD consistent with retaliatory credibility would work. It would be the ABM Treaty in a new guise, and this is essentially what Putin proposes to talk about.
12. A major issue is the right of nations to launch ballistic missiles for peaceful use of space, when nearly identical missiles can be used to deliver nuclear warheads. Similarly, do nations have a right to nuclear electrical power when the fuel can be used for weapons? Should Iran, whose test of September 22, 2000, failed, be prevented from developing a missile because the U.S. fears it might be used for nuclear warheads? 32 nations and about 15 companies already have satellites. Should Iran be prevented from developing nuclear power? Other nations have missiles and nuclear power without U.S. objections. Should Russia be labeled an "active proliferator" of dangerous weapons if it sells technology for missiles and nuclear power to Iran? How does the Russian action relate to U.S. escalation of the arms race with BMD?
13. While both sides make one-sided rhetorical arguments, BMD proponents seem to have manipulated evidence. A top scientist working for a defense contractor revealed test results at variance with those announced by the company and was fired (Nira Schwartz, physicist and engineer, formerly at TRW). BMD defenders have never dealt substantively with concerns of an MIT physicist, Ted Postol, about the inability of the software to distinguish decoys from real warheads. (Postol previously exposed false Pentagon claims about the effectiveness of the Patriot missile against Scud missiles launched from Iraq during the Gulf War.) Postol's analysis was supported by a government report. The report was unclassified when Postol used it, then retroactively classified as secret. The Pentagon now accuses Postol of exposing classified information. The Pentagon wants MIT to "investigate" Postol and controls \$319 million in MIT BMD contracts. In June 2001 the Pentagon released the Coyle report by a top Pentagon evaluator which showed that intercept test goals were continually redefined to be easier and allow a success. Despite exposes by CBS News and the New York Times Magazine, a large lobbying effort is being launched to support \$8.3 billion in the Bush budget for 2002. ["A pattern of deception," editorial, F Chronicle, Aug. 12, 2001.]
14. Most scientists not working for government or defense contractors believe that the testing program could be done within the treaty.
15. In June 2002 the U.S. abrogated the ABM Treaty.

- a. Breaking the ABM treaty and BMD deployment are opposed by every developed democracy in the world except the United States. U.S. allies in Europe are aligning with Russia in opposition to what both see as an unnecessary and dangerous escalation of the arms race.

North Korea.

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1. Kim Jong Il became President in 1994 upon his father's death. In 1994 the regime, in the Agreed Framework with the U.S., stopped its plutonium-based development of nuclear weapons and allowed some verification in exchange for assistance with nuclear energy development based on highly enriched uranium. On August 31, 1998, the North fired a multi-stage missile over Japan into the Pacific, causing great concern there and in the U.S. North Korea is developing missiles for launching satellites and sale of missiles and technology to Iran, but such missiles could be further developed for military purposes. Meanwhile, the North's economy is stagnant, its agricultural sector has collapsed, and millions of its 22 million people are starving.
2. In June 2000 North Korean President Kim Jong Il, and South Korean President Kim Dae Jung met personally and declared the threat of war was over and pledged to overcome divisions.
3. When he left office, Pres. Clinton was working on an agreement with North Korea on stopping the North's long range missile tests. His administration had scheduled talks with the North. In 2001 Pres. Bush reversed Clinton's policy, cancelled the talks, expressed hard-line hostility to North Korea, and did not support South Korean efforts at gradual, careful reconciliation. He embarrassed the South Korean President, Kim Dae Jung. He could have made a carefully nuanced statement balancing Republican hawks with Korean realities. His position seemed motivated by ignorance of foreign affairs, suspicion of the Clinton policy despite advice from Colin Powell that it be continued, Cold War attitudes, and a desire to justify the BMD by antagonizing North Korea and claiming that it was a threat. Bush's actions may have served a domestic political agenda but undercut his influence internationally. (See discussion at end.)
4. On August 4, 2001, in Moscow, North Korean leader Kim Jong Il extended his ban on testing of a missile (but not other aspects of development). He proposed that he would end missile development if he could get help from other countries in launching his satellites. The primary thrust of his visit to Moscow was more trade, military aid, and diplomatic support.
5. In spite of some thaw, e.g., family reunifications, there have also been reversions to hard-line isolation. Kim Jong Il Backed away from his commitments to the South's Kim Dae Jung, blaming Bush, but that alone would hardly be an adequate reason. The North agreed to talks, then cancelled, agreed to rail and road connections (all of which had been broken by the Korean civil war), and then did nothing. The North killed 5 South Korean sailors on June 29, 2002 in the Yellow Sea. These problems led Japan and South Korea to block their food aid. North Korea balked at discussing military issues, indicating that Kim did not have full control over his military despite promoting his choices for generals and supporting a "military first" policy. In 2002 South Korean President Kim lost the election to a hard line opponent, Lee Hoi Chang, mostly caused by reversals of the peace process.
6. In early 2002 Bush named the North as one of three members of the axis of evil, leading the North to fear the U.S. would invade it, just as the U.S. is threatening Iraq.

7. In mid-2002 the Kim regime began implementing the most radical economic reforms since the founding of the regime. It phased out public distribution of basic goods like rice at a subsidized price, significantly increased prices (rice up 400 percent) and wages (at some risk of inflation), and reduced subsidies to inefficient manufacturers. Prices had been low but there was nothing to buy. Prices had been so low so long that farmers would not sell, and a black market grew using yen and dollars to avoid starvation. A pilot project was started in one province to allow farmers private use of plots once part of a collective farm, following what China started in 1978 and Vietnam started in the 1980s. A delegation reportedly went to Beijing to study banking. Kim in September 2002 launched a free enterprise zone in the north west on the Chinese border, run by a successful Chinese businessman, and is seeking investors from South Korea, China, Russia, and Japan. The power of the secret police is expected to continue.
8. By August 31, 2002, Kim Jung Il apologized for the naval attack. Talks with the south led to an unblocking and an increase in food aid. The north announced a schedule for starting construction on the rail line to reach the one already completed by the south. Planning was started for another rail line, in the west, and an eastern road link, to be completed by the end of 2002, and a highway link on the east side by spring 2003.
9. In September 2002, after a year of behind the scenes discussion, North Korea and Japan made major concessions to each other. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi visited the North and Kim Jong Il apologized for the kidnaping of from 11 to 100 Japanese citizens (largely to be forced to be language teachers) by North Korean intelligence in the 1970s and 80s. He promised to extend the moratorium on missile testing. In return he will possibly billions of dollars in aid from Japan for damage from colonization and World War II. (The South received \$500 million in credits and aid when it established diplomatic relations with Japan.) Kim also hopes that normal relations with Japan would forestall a U.S. attack.
10. In September the North sent a large, unprecedented number of athletes to the Asian Games held in South Korea. The North Korean cheerleaders are still a topic of conversation in the 'south today.
11. On Sept. 25, 2002, after 20 months of Cold War, the Bush administration reversed its position on North Korea, reinitiating the policy pursued by the Clinton administration and advocated by Secretary of State Colin Powell.
12. In Oct. 2002 North Korea, under American diplomatic pressure to fess up, based on detailed evidence, admitted they had been secretly trying to develop a nuclear weapon in violation of the 1994 agreement. After the positive overtures, followed by the attack on South Korean sailors and failure to build connections, followed by apologizing for the attack and for the abduction of Japanese citizens, diplomats were not certain what to do, except to end assistance under the 1994 agreement. It could mean Kim was coming clean in order to improve relations longer term, or it could express anger over inadequacies in the promised aid, or it could be part of a plan of an evil empire. The administration conferred with Japan, South Korea, and China and has had to back off its policy of detente, without going back to its policy of Cold War.
13. The North Korean regime seems to be struggling to find a way out of the trauma of the Korean War, an isolationist, hyper-communist culture of militarism and secrecy, a cult of personality, and a collapsed economy. The military resists change in a society where the military is the only institution with political power. Kim seems to be gaining power to take

initiatives for reform in a context of often belligerent rhetoric and massive conventional arms near the border and Seoul. In the face of abysmal poverty and stagnation contrasting with economic growth and democracy in the South, the Kim regime tries to keep some semblance of national pride, maintain its power, and demand concessions from South Korea, Japan, and the U.S. The secrecy of its politics and back and forth diplomacy make it hard to discern movement, but there does seem to be some.

14. There is a long ways to go: the kidnap victims should be released; the excess of weapons should be reduced, moved back from the DMZ, and subject to some kind of treaty and inspection like other places; adequate limits and inspections for its missiles and nuclear power plants should be negotiated, and some improvement of human rights should occur.
15. The CIA believes that the North may have enough nuclear material for two bombs, some intermediate missile capability, and chemical weapons. There is, however, no evidence North Korea (or any other nation) would be willing to suffer the annihilation that would follow a nuclear attack on the U.S. or one of its allies. North Korea, has agreed to a moratorium on further testing of missiles able to go over 300 miles in exchange for having its satellites launched by other countries.

The Landmines Treaty. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Landmines kill about 25,000 people each year, and many more maimed. Ninety percent are civilians, the majority of them women and children. Every 22 minutes, there is another victim. About 60 to 80 million mines remain in the ground.
2. In December, 1997, 123 nations approved the Ottawa Anti-Personnel Land Mine Ban Convention against the development, production, stockpiling, transfer, and use of anti-personnel landmines. Parties to the treaty are required to destroy all stockpiles and to clear all mine fields.
3. Three countries are major manufacturers of land mines banned by the treaty: the U.S. China, and Russia. China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Vietnam won't sign until the U.S. signs. The Senate and the Pentagon have refused to support ratification of the Land Mine Treaty, and Pres. Clinton was unwilling to order a solution.
4. Congressional Republicans and the Pentagon are opposed to protecting civilians from land mines.
5. **Landmines at the DMZ with North Korea.** The Pentagon insists on continued use of landmines in the DMZ to defend South Korea, given the "military advantage" of North Korea. President Clinton and W. Bush have backed the Pentagon. North Korea, however, despite massive conventional forces near the border, does not have a real military advantage; the South is adequately defended without the mines. The threat of war is diminishing. [More details are under BMD below.] The Landmines Treaty does not ban anti-tank mines. The DMZ mines are "mixed system" mines, an anti-tank mine plus the illegal anti-personnel mines to stop the disarming of the anti-tank mine. However, North Korea would have to enter the DMZ to disarm the mine, and the DMZ is under constant surveillance. "Man-in-the-loop" mines, controlled by a soldier, are also legal under the treaty and could be used.
6. The Pentagon, given \$59 million to study the "man-in-the-loop" mine and other legal alternatives, instead proposed a new type of illegal mine. There are numerous alternative tank-killing weapons that could be used. The Clinton administration promised that the U.S. might sign the treaty in 2006.

7. Mines work poorly in battle: Gen. Alfred Gray, USMC ret., said, "We kill more Americans with our own mines than we do anyone else." Gulf War commander, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, USA ret., and many other U.S. military brass also support the treaty.
8. The citizen who won the Nobel Peace prize for her campaign against land mines is an American. The UN of the USA and other Americans raise funds privately for clearing minefields.
9. Countries are already destroying their stocks and stopping their exports, reducing casualties.
10. 139 countries signed the treaty, including Russia. 130 countries excluding the US and Turkey have ratified the treaty. In 1999 it had enough ratifications to come into force as international law. Every developed democracy in the world supports the Landmines Treaty except the United States. [Campaign for a Landmine Free World, Oct. 2000 mailing; Dolinsky, Sep 15 00 Chron.; Johnson 2000.]

The Small Arms Agreement [Return to Contents](#)

1. In over 100 countries governments and rebels alike use small arms "to violate human rights, international treaties, U.N. embargoes, genocide and other illegal acts..." An illegal trade in millions of automatic weapons inflames problems of guerrilla warfare, child soldiers, and flight to camps by refugees from rural violence in Sierra Leone, Colombia, Burma, Bosnia, Rwanda and other countries. The UN estimates about 500 million small arms kill about 500,000 people per year. [Lynch; Amnesty International, 2001, *Human Rights Abuses with Small Arms*.]
2. In July, 2001, at the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, 150 nations negotiated a non-binding, voluntary, cooperative agreement to control small arms.
3. The major thrust of the "program of action" is to mark and trace small arms of legitimate business as a means of reducing the black market trade. The draft treaty calls for "negotiation of a legally binding instrument to identify and trace the lines of supply of small arms and light weapons." Nations would pass new laws to regulate arms merchants, record sales, mark each weapon with a unique identification, destroy surplus weapons, and criminalize illegal making, keeping, and trading small arms. [Lynch, W Post, in SF Chron JI 22 01]
4. On June 26, 2001, U.S. arms makers and other arms manufacturers agreed to a voluntary program with the U.N. to improve marking and registration of weapons so they can be better traced and leakage points found. Every small weapon would have a unique identification. This program goes into effect independent of the Small Arms Treaty. ["Gun makers, U.N. concur," AP in Rapid City Journal, July 12, 2001]
5. On July 9, 2001, Pres. G. Bush announced his opposition to the UN Draft treaty on the international sale of small arms. He feared it would affect legal gun ownership in the U.S.; it might limit the legitimate gun trade and infringe on the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. He objected to committing to negotiation before knowing what the outcome of the negotiation was. He opposed banning civilians from owning assault weapons and grenade launchers. He opposed bans on sales to rebel movements or private organizations. However, he said he would not exclude the possibility of some commitment dealing with the flow of illegal weapons.
6. Pres. W. Bush, supported by the NRA and the arms industry, has refused to support limiting the illegal spread of small arms on the basis that it would interfere with the U.S. constitutional right of the people to "keep and bear arms." As a result, more arms flowed to violent organizations.

7. The final Small Arms Agreement was weakened at U.S. insistence. 189 nations supported a stronger version. [Raum, AP, in SF Chron, JI 27 01] The EU, South Africa, Colombia and the Secretary General of the UN criticized the U.S. position. The U.S. opposed provisions to regulate civilian ownership of military weapons and to stop sales to rebel movements, as infringing on the Second Amendment and denying liberation movements the ability to overthrow illegitimate rulers. The agreement, however, does not limit the ability of legal manufacturers and exporters to sell to private groups. The only U.S. concession was to drop its opposition to additional negotiations. In 2001 the U.S. position impeded its own efforts to stop the flow of arms from Albanians in Kosovo, where U.S. troops were on the ground attempting interdiction, to Albanian rebels nearby in Macedonia.
8. The U.S. is the leading exporter of small arms, but in recent years Russia, China, and eastern European countries have flooded poor countries with small weapons. [“U.S. opposes world curb on gun trade,” W Post in Chron JI 10 ‘01; Lynch] International U.S. weapons sales rose 6 percent in 2000. U.S. manufacturers sold \$18,600 million worth, about half the world total, with over two-thirds purchased by developing countries. Russia sold \$7,700 million; France, \$4,100 million; Germany, \$1,100 million; Britain, \$600 million; China, \$400 million; Italy, \$100 million. [Richard Grimmett, Congressional Research Service, *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 1993-2000*,” Aug. 2001, reported by Thom Shanker, NYT, in Chron, Aug. 20, 2001] The U.S. sells about three times as much weapons as its population relative to Western Europe.
9. Parallel to the UN Small Arms Convention, the Organization of American States has been developing its own Firearms Convention. Illicit arms support crime and drug trafficking in Colombia
10. The 1997 Convention requires member states to control small arms imports and exports by their law enforcement agencies. The US led the effort to draft the convention and signed it early. 33 states have signed and 24 have ratified.
11. The US and Nicaragua have agreed to destroy Nicaragua’s 2,200 shoulder-fired missiles.
12. Since 1998 ratification has been stuck in the Senate because Republican Senators do not want to ratify. [FAS Public Interest Report 57:3, summer 2004 pp.3, 10]
13. The European Union (EU) and most other nations support a stronger Small Arms Agreement, as they did the land mine treaty, also opposed by the U.S.

Chemical and Biological Warfare [Return to Contents](#)

1. Pres. Bush and the biotech industry have rejected adequate inspection to stop germ warfare.
2. The Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 prohibits the development, production, or possession of biological weapons, but lacks adequate enforcement. 23 international meetings have been held over the last six years. In Geneva in July 2001 56 nations once again considered compliance provisions.
3. On July 25, 2001, at the final session the Bush administration rejected the proposal. [Raum, AP, in SF Chron, JI 27, 2001; Olson, NYT, in SF Chron, JI 26 01] The administration and the industry feared rules for inspection could be misused by other governments to harass U.S. governmental and private company labs doing research and steal their secrets. However, a former Clinton administration specialist, an analyst from the Federation of American Scientists, Pres. Nixon’s negotiator of the 1972 treaty, and an expert from the Stimson Center (an arms control research institute), while seeing problems with the proposal, disagreed with Pres. Bush’s conclusions. They believed a better agreement could be negotiated and that the

Bush counter-proposals were too weak. Again in August, Bush rejected proposed inspections for the same reasons.

4. Industry objections were misleading, the Stimson expert said, because “Drug and biotech companies have inspectors on site all the time. It begs credulity that they don’t know how to protect their goodies.” In the 1990s, chemical industry representatives helped Pres. Bush Sr. write rules for inspecting their factories to control chemical warfare, in contrast to the current opposition of the biological industry, which wanted to allow inspections only when there was probable cause of violations. The industry did not explain how evidence of probable cause would be discovered. [Abate, SF Chron, JI 27 01]
5. Pres. Bush committed to coming up with more proposals.
6. 55 nations support the treaty. Europeans and Japanese criticized Bush’s opposition and lack of alternative proposals.
7. The U.S. dominates biological research so much that enforcement can not work without U.S. support. [Olson] Our fear of adverse results on the profits on private companies increases the risks of catastrophic terrorism by bio-chemical agents.

Military discipline. [Return to Contents](#)

1. The Pentagon has failed to discipline U.S. troops on Okinawa, antagonizing many Japanese.
2. On Okinawa are 39 U.S. military bases whose personnel frequently get drunk and abuse the local population, from stiffing taxi drivers to rape. The bases also cause pollution and noise. These problems have persisted for 55 years, revealing an irresponsible attitude that would not be tolerated by a base in the U.S. itself. Okinawans want the U.S. to leave, tempered by the income received from the employment of a large number of Okinawans on the base. Neither the military nor Americans seem to care enough to clean up the environment and to keep rowdy personnel on base. There is also the question of just why we are there. Who is the enemy? North Korea, now the remaining problem in the region, is adequately managed from South Korea. If there is some general concept of a Pacific presence or something to do with China, then that should be made clear. Meanwhile, the U.S. appears to be an imperialistic occupying power. [Johnson 2000]

Foreign Military Aid and Training. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republicans and the Pentagon have strengthened violent, repressive militaries in poor countries.
2. The United States has trained and equipped the militaries of Argentina, Burma, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. These countries have committed a wide array of human rights abuses against their own citizens. Some of the training has been directly contradictory to human rights. Equally important, the U.S. has no training program promoting democracy. A lop-sided program has had lop-sided results. No other developed democracy in the world supports a large program of helping foreign militaries in poor countries. [Johnson 2000]

International Trade Agreements. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Republicans and centrist Democrats have supported free trade without much regard for preservation of protections of labor, the environment, and consumers and based on institutions hostile to open, democratic processes.

2. The agreements include the World Trade Organization (WTO, which includes by reference the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT); the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS, 1995); the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, 1994), and the pending Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). The WTO, created in 1995 after many years of weak implementation of GATT, is the most powerful of all international agencies.
3. Examples
 - a. Suits and threats of suits are now part of politics in Mexico, the U.S., and Canada. Some 17 suits are pending, risking preemption of local law and allowing companies to evade pollution controls. [David Huffman, "Seven Years of NAFTA," *Terrain*, Fall 2001, pp. 17-21.] Examples:
 - b. In the 1990s underground gasoline storage tanks in Santa Monica began to leak methyl tertiary butyl ether (MTBE) into ground water, from which it went into wells used for drinking water. The city had to close over half its wells. While MTBE helped reduce air pollution, and did not cause problems when burned, too much was leaking into water, including Lake Tahoe. In water, MTBE smells bad, can damage kidneys, and breaks down into probable carcinogens. After a public outcry, California Gov. Davis banned MTBE by a future year and supported research to find a substitute (which seems to be, not ethanol, but improved refinery techniques). Methanex, the Canadian company that makes MTBE, sued California under Chapter 11 of NAFTA for \$970 million. Methanex argued that California should have fixed all underground tanks. Methanex also argues that the reduction in expected profits is an illegal "taking" of the company's property. If Methanex wins, California could be liable for hundreds of millions of dollars compensation for lost profits. [Huffman]
 - c. From 1990 to 1993 Coterin, a Mexican company, owned a waste transfer site in Guadalcazar Province, San Luis Potosi, Mexico. By May 1991, Coterin had buried over 20,000 tons of oil, auto, and pesticide waste in three pits, five meters below ground. Mercury, benzene, and other toxics leaked underground to wells for residential areas two kilometers away, and a stream carried additional toxins during the rainy season. Local residents experienced an increase in serious birth defects and cancer. Coterin had no permits. Mexican authorities ordered it shut down but did no enforcement. In September 1991 20 truck-loads of toxic waste moving by night encountered over 200 local citizens with machetes, who blocked all but six trucks from dumping. In 1993 the federal government gave Coterin dumping permits, and Metalclad Corp., a U.S. company, bought the site. Metalclad started rebuilding the site without a local building permit. In 1994 Guadalcazar ordered that construction cease. Metalclad applied for permits and kept building. In March 1995 citizens blocked buses headed for an inauguration of the site and in December the local government rejected the application. In 1997 Metalclad sued under chapter 11 of NAFTA to recover over \$100 million in profits lost because of local policies. Metalclad argued that NAFTA required a "transparent framework," meaning clarity about how it would be treated, which the company argued meant that it had to be told it might be prevented from operating its dump. Mexico argued that Coterin had previously been denied permits, and that Mexico had not waived local permit requirements. Also in 1997, the governor of San Luis Potosi, just before leaving office, designated the site as a nature preserve for cactuses. In 2000 a NAFTA tribunal awarded Metalclad \$16.7 million, to be paid by the Mexican government. In mid-2001 the case

- was being reviewed and the government had not paid the fine. Metalclad estimated the cost of clean-up at \$5 million.
- d. MMT, a toxic gasoline additive, causes brain damage in lab animals. Canada banned the import and transport among provinces of MMT. Ethyl Corp. imported MMT from the U.S. and mixed it with other chemicals. Ethyl sued Canada, arguing the ban was an arbitrary performance requirement requiring Ethyl to buy an MMT substitute in Canada. In 1998 Canada settled before a decision, paying CA\$13 million and canceling the ban on MMT.
 - e. Deforestation of Sierra Tarahumara, Chihuahua, Mexico where 25 percent of logging is illegal. Huffman
 - f. Salmon loss, Chekamus River, British Columbia, Canada; failure to enforce fisheries act and flow of water through hydro dams, allowing fluctuations that kill fish. Government refused to provide evidence. Huffman
 - g. An increase in truck and rail traffic across international borders has caused an increase in diesel fuel pollution (NOx, PM) of 3 to 16 percent in the relevant travel corridors. Huffman
 - h. Unsafe, polluting Mexican trucks threaten to come into the U.S. without having to meet U.S. safety and air standards. Huffman
 - i. In 1995 Canada banned all exports of PCBs by all companies. A U.S. firm, S D Meyers, was disproportionately affected; it exported PCBs to the U.S. for incineration. Meyers sued, arguing that Canada's action was tantamount to discrimination, and in November 2000 the NAFTA tribunal, acting in secret, agreed. Huffman
 - j. Chapter 11, expected to overcome anti-American discrimination by Mexico, is being used to reduce governmental powers within the U.S. NAFTA allows companies to sue governments, but not vice versa. NAFTA tribunals have one arbiter of each party and a third chosen by the first two. The tribunals act in secret with secret briefs and arguments, no public access to oral argument, no participation by third parties with "friend of the court" briefs, and no explanation for their decision. A NAFTA side agreement to protect the environment has no enforcement capability because it requires showing a "persistent failure to enforce," which is not defined and hard to prove. Governments are not required to cooperate. The burden of proof is on the complainants. Citizens can file complaints with a commission, the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (NACEC). Some useful reports are produced but nothing effective happens. Huffman
 - k. Protections for dolphins and for turtles have been undermined by WTO decisions that such protections violate free trade.
 - l. In July, 1999, the U.S. slapped 100 percent duties on Roquefort imports and 60 other European agricultural exports in retaliation for the European Union's refusal to import hormone-fed beef. Unable to cut costs, the cheese producers federation decided to cut their advertising budget and reduce their price to maintain American market share, but are still losing money. Two weeks later a different group, the Sheep Milk Producers Union led by farmer José Bové, trashed a nearby McDonalds and became a French and even European media sensation, compensating for the lack of advertising. Bové is now busy attending anti-globalization events around the world and condemning hormones in beef and transgenic rice. The various food producers formally complained to the European Commission and are seeking compensation for their losses. [See Feb. 9, 2002 news article,

globalization Roquefort cheese.wpd.]

4. 31 countries are negotiating the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) treaty, most recently in Quebec, where demonstrators demanded modification of Chapter 11 “protections” for investors. FTAA also threatens municipal utilities that may compete with a private firm. Huffman
5. Entities concerned with globalization include Global Exchange (415-255-7296), Global Tradewatch (202-546-4996), Texas Center for Policy Studies, International Forum on Globalization (SF, 415-561-7650); Canada: Council of Canadians, Sierra Legal Defense Fund, postal union, public employee union, International Institute for Sustainable Development (Winnipeg) [Huffman]
6. As globalization was initially impelled by corporate opportunities for legitimate profit and for profit based on escaping the protections for consumers, workers, and the environment established by public interest movements in developed countries, it is now experiencing the counter-force of international public interest movements, aided by the almost free, virtually instantaneous organizing technology of the internet, with its email and news power. A new global politics is emerging, where local networks link to national, and national to international, on highly specialized issues.

Biological Diversity. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Official name: The Convention on Biological Diversity
2. Republican pro-property rights anti-environmentalism has prevented protection of biological diversity, and the largest known extinction event in geological time continues.
3. The U.S. has failed to ratify the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 from the 1992 Rio Conference, approved by 172 other countries. Scientists report that we are in the midst of an era of mass extinctions. Domestically, the U.S. has failed to strengthen the Endangered Species Act and a majority in Congress want to weaken it.

Biosafety Protocol. [Return to Contents](#)

1. The U.S. has opposed consumer protection in order to support corporate profits from risky and dangerous products.
2. The U.S. has undermined the Biosafety Protocol to the Convention on Biological Diversity by blocking even minimal constraints on trade. The draft protocol fails to contain labeling requirements, liability for exporters, or the ability to stop imports for human health reasons. [Brian Halweil, “U.S. Derails Biosafety Protocol,” Worldwatch, May/June 1999, p. 10]
3. The WTO’s Codex Alimentarius allows countries to require their own safety testing and labeling for GMOs.
4. Animal feeds are more than 80 percent of global GMO crops.
5. The protocol requires labeling of seeds and prior consent from countries before importing Genetically Modified Organisms. It will come into force in September 2003 despite objections from the Bush administration and Monsanto. [BioDemocracy News #43 Aug. 2003 citing www.organicconsumers.org/ge/un_ge_standards.cfm]
6. On May 13, 2003, after years of threats, the Bush administration filed a formal complaint with the WTO to accept GMOs or be fined for billions of dollars. The EU – its supermarkets, manufacturers, farmers, and consumers – are strongly opposed to “Frankenfoods.” The EU in July approved strict requirements for labeling GMOs and tracing them. It is expected that U.S. exports of GMO animal feed will be curtailed. [BioDemocracy News #43 Aug. 2003 citing

www.organicconsumers.org/ge/eu/frankencrops_canada.cfm]

7. Also in May, the Congress passed a resolution attached a non-binding resolution to AIDS prevention funds, calling for them to be cut off to any country which refuses to accept GMOs. . [BioDemocracy News #43 Aug. 2003 citing www.organicconsumers.org/ge/aids.cfm]
8. . The protocol was to protect global biodiversity and human health from harm by genetically modified crops. 132 nations favor strict controls; 6 do not. Every developed democracy in the world supports an effective protocol except the United States. [Brian Halweil, "U.S. Derails Biosafety Protocol," *Worldwatch*, May/June 1999, p. 10]

Treaty on Plant Genetics

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1. On June 29, 2004, the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture entered into force.
2. The treaty is to conserve biodiversity of plant genetic resources for agriculture. It promotes "past, present, and future contributions of farmers in conserving, improving, and making available plant genetic resources." Over 10,000 years of agriculture crop species have shrunk from about 10,000 to 150, only 12 of which provide 80 percent of human food energy. Preservation of diversity helps discovery of better foods and crops.
3. The Treaty came out of the World Food Summit and is supported by the UN Food and Agricultural organization. It promotes achieving one of the Millennium Development Goals from the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation produced by the 202 World Summit on Sustainable Development.
4. The treaty does not apply to the US and Japan, which have not ratified it.
5. The treaty is supported by the European Community. [*Worldwatch* July August 2004 p. 9]

Desertification Treaty. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Anti-environmental Senate Republicans have opposed efforts to reduce over-grazing, over-cultivation, and deforestation which are devastating many nations.
2. The Senate has failed to ratify the Desertification Treaty, also from the Rio Conference, supported by 124 other countries. It would reduce over grazing, over cultivation, and deforestation now degrading 2.2 billion acres of arid lands with hundreds of millions of people. Every developed democracy in the world supports this treaty except the United States.
3. need to check; may have been ratified.

Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. [Return to Contents](#)

1. The U.S. so far has only partially cooperated with efforts to ban persistent organic pollutants (POPs).
2. POPs are highly toxic, man-made, water-insoluble chemicals which all contain chlorine. They are manufactured as pesticides, are a by-product of other manufacturing, or result from incineration. POPs cause cancer, birth defects, reproductive failure, immune system weakness, and genetic damage. They are passed from mother to fetus. They break down slowly over years and decades, travel freely on wind and in water. Weather patterns have concentrated them in some areas, e.g., the Canadian Arctic. POPs concentrate in body fat and move up the food chain (bioaccumulates). The Inuit tribe, raptors, polar bears and whales have dangerous levels of POPs in their tissues, including breast milk. Workers who make or

use POPs and people living near where they are made or use are at special risk. They are the most dangerous of human pollutants, although lead, mercury, arsenic, etc. are not to be trifled with

3. The Pesticide Action Network North America (PANNA) is a leading NGO in this area. It found POP residues in 100 percent of a sample of 9,000 people studied by the US Center for Disease Control.
4. Most POPs are already banned in developed countries.
5. In December 2000, after two years of negotiation, 122 countries in Johannesburg at a United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) summit agreed to ban the “dirty dozen” POPs: aldrin, chlordane, dieldrin, DDT, endrin, heptachlor, mirex, toxaphene, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), hexachlorobenzene, dioxins, and furans. It also provides a framework for minimizing and eliminating of all hazardous chemicals.
6. The meeting was lobbied by over 300 action groups in a coalition, the International POPs Elimination Network. Environmentalists have been lobbying since the 1960s to restrict POPs. Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund praised the treaty.
7. Industry associations, e.g., the International Council of Chemical Associations and the American Chemistry Council, also support the convention.
8. In May 2001, 127 nations, including the U.S. with Pres. Bush’s blessing, formally signed the treaty.
9. The treaty took effect after 50 countries ratified it, in May 2004. Most use of most of the 12 POPs is banned in those countries. About 25 malaria-infested countries will be able to keep using DDT to kill mosquitoes, following WHO guidelines, pending safer methods. PCBs sealed in electrical transformers, and not leaking, are allowed until 2025.
10. Developed countries talked about committing \$150 million to help poor countries make the transition. They also favored using the Global Environment Fund, which they control, to manage expenditures. Poor countries wanted more influence, and as a compromise the rich countries agreed to changes in how the fund works. The transition requires advanced technologies to destroy POPs without incineration and to find substitutes for the POPs.
11. The treaty now goes to the Senate. The U.S. owes \$100 million to the Global Environment Fund.
12. Australia, Canada and most European countries have ratified; the US has not. [Worldwatch Sept/Oct 2004 p. 9]

Export of hazardous wastes. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Senate Republicans have refused to control export of hazardous wastes.
2. The Senate has failed to ratify the 1989 Basel Convention on the export of hazardous wastes. Every developed democracy in the world supports this convention except the United States.

Law of the Sea Treaty. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Senate Republicans have refused to cooperate with other nations in managing the seas despite negotiations which have met all U.S. objections.
2. From 1958 to 1982 U.S. negotiators played a leading role in negotiating the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The U.S. Navy played a prominent role, assuring U.S. security on issues including territorial seas, navigation, innocent passage, and overflight. The Dept. of Defense and Navy support UNCLOS. UNCLOS also extends national control over

Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) and national fisheries. The deep seabed outside national zones was declared “the common heritage of mankind,” with profits of commercial exploitation to be shared internationally. Unwilling to have the profits of their corporations shared, the U.S. and other rich nations refused to sign, and Article 11 was renegotiated.

3. By July, 1994, all U.S. reservations had been met. The Senate, however, has failed to ratify the 1982 Law of the Sea Treaty. By Nov. 16, 1994, 60 other nations had ratified the treaty and it became international law over 70 percent of the earth’s surface.
4. On Nov. 15, 1998, the U.S. lost certain provisional rights of administration and is now barred from membership on the Tribunal, the International Seabed Authority, and the Continental Shelf Commission. The U.S. cannot name members of arbitration panels. “Jingoism and gun boat diplomacy at sea guarantee stormy relationships with other nations across the world’s oceans.” –Center for Defense Information, April 200 Newsletter, p.4. By 2000, 130 nations had ratified the treaty. Every developed democracy in the world supports this treaty except the United States.

Civil and Political Rights [Return to Contents](#)

1. Official title: The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
2. In 1948 at the end of World War II American leadership, in an effort to reverse its failure to support the League of Nations decades earlier, helped create the United Nations. On December 10, 1948, the new General Assembly unanimously approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration led to two implementing agreements, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, which was ratified by enough other nations to come into force in 1976, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (see below). These two agreements are sometimes called the International Bill of Rights.
3. In 1978 President Carter submitted the ICCPR to the Senate for ratification
4. [Concerning related issues, in 1949 President Truman submitted the **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**. It was resubmitted by President Reagan and ratified in 1989. In 1978 President Carter also submitted the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination** and the **Convention Against Torture** and they were ratified in 1994.]
5. In 1992 the U.S. partially ratified the ICCPR, exempting itself from the provision which bans the execution of children. The U.S. upholds civil and political rights, except reserves the right to execute children.
6. Twenty-five states still have the death penalty for juveniles. The countries that still legally execute children are Congo, Iran, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. China and Pakistan banned execution of children in 2000. *SF Chronicle*, Oct. 8, 2000.
7. Every developed democracy in the world supports the treaty without exemptions except the United States. 144 states have ratified, 3 signed, and 46 neither. [Human Development Report 2000]

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Official title: The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).
2. The ICESCR was ratified by enough other nations to come into force in 1976.

3. In 1978 President Carter submitted the ICESCR to the Senate for ratification.
4. [Concerning related issues, in 1978 President Carter also submitted the **American Convention on Human Rights**, which has not been ratified.
5. Every developed democracy in the world supports the treaty except the United States.

World Poverty and Hunger. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Bread for the World, a Christian citizen movement, lobbies the Congress to improve food programs and related policies here and abroad. Its review of key votes in 1998-99 reveals that Republicans are hostile to world food programs and Democrats are largely supportive. [www.bread.org/election2000/]. Most Republicans voted against hunger programs 5 of 5 or 4 of 5 times, while most Democrats voted for them 5 of 5.
2. By contrast, the Republican Congress and Pres. Clinton supported debt relief for poor nations, which, unlike persons and companies, are unable to declare bankruptcy no matter how bankrupt. With Europe and Japan, the U.S. agreed to forgive governmental, World Bank and IMF loans to 22 poor countries, four in Latin America and the rest in Africa. Religious organizations like Bread for the World, celebrities, and watchdog groups lobbied for the relief. The American share was \$435 million. Countries where many people live on \$1 a day or less had been required to repay large amounts to wealthy nations for loans that never should have been made in the first place. (Technical aid, community development, micro-loans, and bureaucratic reforms are generally more equitable and effective than large capital loans.) Critical to the program were guarantees that funds previously allocated to debt relief would be spent on education, health care, and development and that supporting reforms be implemented. The process is lengthy but necessary due to the low institutional capabilities, inefficiency, and political corruption in many poor countries, not to mention the slowness of the World Bank and IMF. The program should wipe clean two-thirds of their total debt of \$125 billion to foreign countries and international lenders. [NYT in Chron Dec 23 00]
3. In March 2002 Pres. W. Bush reversed U.S. policy and increased aid to poor nations, and not just to deal with terrorism, but to fight poverty. He announced a doubling of US aid to \$10 billion over three years. The funds will be conditioned on competent governance and “economic liberalization” (more opportunity for private enterprise). His position is part of an emerging international consensus that aid from rich countries and reform by poor countries are equally important and can be linked, a kind of “performance contract.”
4. The U.S. gives less than 1 percent of the federal budget to foreign aid. The US gives a smaller portion of its gross domestic product for foreign economic assistance than any other country in the world, even less when the major recipient, Israel, is considered.

Corruption [Return to Contents](#)

5. In 1977 the US approved the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which barred US businesses from bribing foreign officials. For decades the US pressured EU countries to disallow foreign bribes as business expenses. During the Clinton presidency, the US was negotiating the UN Convention Against Corruption with the EU, pushing for a treaty to crack down on bribes by business. In 1999 the Clinton administration persuaded the OECD to propose a strong anti-bribery treaty. This draft was on its way to UN negotiation in Vienna when Bush came in as President.
6. By 2003 Bush had reversed the Clinton position and opposed covering business bribes in the

convention. The US also wants to limit the treaty to government corruption and recovery of assets stolen by governments. It wants to make the convention less restrictive, for example, by requiring countries to have anti-corruption laws but with no guidelines for their content. Europeans have criticized this position as too vague.

7. The Europeans, however, not only accepted the Clinton approach, but moved beyond it to cover false documents, “favoritism,” corrupt practices among businesses, limits on lobbying by former public officials, disclosure of financing by political parties, and defining illegal party funds.
8. Predictably, the convention risks being too vague or too specific. Vagueness can leave a company uncertain as to how to follow the rules and be subject to lawsuit by a rival business. Practices unacceptable for government may be standard among businesses. Nepotism, for example, is illegal for government, but the very foundation of a family business. Business customs vary; an appropriate gift in one country is a kick back or bribe in another. What might be illegal in the treaty could be legal in a country.
9. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund need the Convention to clarify standards for behavior because bribes, patronage and nepotism are slowing economic development. Aid-givers would like to be able to condition aid on controlling corruption.
10. While the Bush regime is willing to negotiate, and has some reasonable concerns with novel expansions of the original purpose, it has also eased up on business corruption and focused on governmental corruption. While China backs the US, the EU countries would like a tougher approach. [Bob Davis, “US battles Europe to narrow a treaty banning corruption,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 17, 2003, p.1]

[Rights of Women](#) [Return to Contents](#)

1. Official title: U. N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
2. In 1979 the U.S. helped write CEDAW, the international women’s bill of rights. CEDAW bans female genital mutilation, sex trafficking, and domestic abuse. It supports female inheritance, other property rights, and political participation. In 1980 the US signed the treaty.
3. Senate Republicans have gone to extremes to oppose equal rights for women.
4. The Senate has refused to ratify CEDAW. In March 2000 Senator Helms introduced a resolution requiring the U.S. to never ratify the treaty. Opponents of the treaty argue that it would require the U.S. to abolish Mother’s Day. [*SF Chronicle* Oct 8 2000]. 165 states have ratified, 3 signed, and 25 neither. [Human Development Report 2000]
5. In May 2001 Secretary of State Colin Powell announced \$43 million in aid to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, making the U.S. its major sponsor. The aid was due to Taliban opposition to growing opium. This aid, however, ran contrary to the U.S. demand that the UN impose sanctions on Afghanistan because it harbored Bin Laden, the anti-American terrorist. The Taliban also subjected the female population to a reign of terror, denying them the most basic human rights, causing many deaths by execution by stoning, starvation, and suicide. Women and girls could not independently get education, work, or travel, and were required to cover themselves in public. Afghanistan was probably the most anti-American and anti-woman regime in the world today and one of the worst in history. Only 9/11/01 precipitated the events overthrowing the Taliban.
6. Example of violation of rights of women:

- a. Women in Nigeria have been stoned to death for adultery when they were raped.
 - b. In June 2002 in Multan, Punjab Province, Pakistan, three men from the higher-caste Mastoi tribal clan kidnaped an 11-year-old, lower caste Gujar boy, Abdul Shakur, took him to a sugarcane field, and sodomized him (verified by a later medical exam). The boy then took refuge in the house of Abdul Khaliq, an 18 year old Mastoi. To cover up the crime, police went to the house and said they found the boy alone in a room with Salma Naseen, Abdul Khaliq's sister, who was in her late 20s. They had her accuse the boy of "illicit relations" with her. A local police official, Assistant Sub-Inspector Mohammad Iqbal, knew about the crime and cooperated in the cover-up, jailing the boy to prevent him from talking with investigators. The boy's father, Ghulam Farid paid a \$185 fine to get his son out of jail. He was assured that the woman's honor would be avenged by having the boy marry her. The tribal council (*panchayat*) however, when it met in Meerwala on June 22, 2002, did not allow this. Instead, it ordered the rape the boy's 28 year old sister, Mukhtaran Bibi. For an hour and a half, four Mastoi men, including Abdul Khaliq, raped her in a hut in Meerwala, surrounded by about 300 villagers while she pled for mercy and cried out for help. "Four men carried out the sentence in public, in front of her father, reportedly as much of the village looked on. She was then ordered to walk home naked." [NYT, July 12, 2002, "Pakistani rape victim's brother assaulted first," *SF Chronicle*] "Human rights groups estimate that a woman is raped every six hours and gang-raped every four days there [in Punjab province]. Yet only 321 rape cases were reported to police last year, according to the human rights commission, because of the social stigma and discriminatory laws that could send victims to jail." There is a tradition of raping women to punish their families. The *Hudood* ordinances which make extra-marital affairs a crime, give a woman's testimony no legal weight, and require testimony from four adult Muslim male eyewitnesses for rape convictions. As a result, about half the rape victims who report the crime are jailed. [Juliette Terzieff, July 19, 2002, "Suspects in Pakistani tribal rape face trial," *SF Chronicle*]
7. Examples of gains made partly due to CEDAW: Pakistan has signed the treaty. In the Multan case, the Farids consulted with a local cleric who supported their filing a complaint outside the village. Then the Pakistani provincial governor investigated, uncovered the details reported above, and arrested the rapists and the ten members of the tribal council (July 19 02). The prosecution tried the 14 men. The Supreme Court required reports every week and ordered an expedited trial in an anti-terrorism court. Soldiers protected the Farid family from the Mastoi. President Pervez Musharraf sent Ms. Bibi \$8,300 in compensation. The state promised to pave a road to her village, provide electricity, build a school, and hire Ms. Bibi to teach. Public opinion and media outside the area sharply condemned the perpetrators. Many people called for better control over extra-judicial but powerful tribal councils. They called for reform of the *Hudood* ordinances. [same news stories] On September 1, 2002, A Pakistani judge acquitted 8 defendants of the tribal council and convicted the four rapists and the two tribal councilmen who had advocated the rape most vociferously. He sentenced the guilty to pay a fine of \$660 and condemned them to death. [Sept. 1, 2002, *SF Chron*, Khalid Tanveer, AP] CEDAW may play a minor role in this case compared with national and international media attention, and when that attention strays to other causes, there will be less pressure to reform the systemic abuses of women. Nevertheless, CEDAW is an important part of the fabric of education, political advocacy, and developing institutional capabilities in defense of

women.

- a. Women in Costa Rica, Colombia, Botswana, Rwanda, Tanzania, South Africa, Ukraine, Moldova, Turkey, Nepal, Korea, Japan, and other countries have used CEDAW to educate and change laws relating to women.
8. In 2002. Pres. W Bush said at West Point: “A thriving nation will respect the rights of women, because no society can prosper while denying opportunity to half its citizens.” [Ellen Goodman, “Will politics trump human rights?, SF Chronicle from Washington Post Writers Group, July 11, 2002] He has given the treaty “general approval” but not advocated ratification. Attorney General John Ashcroft said the treaty needed more study. In July 2002 Secretary of State Colin Powell told the Sen. Joe Biden, Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that CEDAW was in line behind 17 other treaties for Senate approval.
9. Biden plans to move CEDAW to the Senate floor without the Ashcroft study.
 - a. In summer 2002 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 12 to 7 to ratify the treaty, but the whole Senate failed to act. Pres. Bush has not taken a position on the treaty, but the State Dept. recommended ratification.
10. CEDAW has been ratified by 170 countries. Somalia, Sudan, Iran, Sao Tome, Afghanistan, and the U.S. have not ratified. Every developed democracy in the world supports CEDAW except the United States.

International Family Planning. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Congressional Republicans and Pres. W. Bush take a symbolic stance against abortion rights guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution, with results that increase the number of abortions. They impose a “gag rule” on doctors and withhold family planning funds arbitrarily.
2. World population in mid-2002 was approaching 6.5 billion. The major reasons to support family planning services are to improve the status of women by giving them control over their fertility, to improve their incomes by allowing them to gain literacy, education, training, and remunerated work, to improve the ability of the family and society to educate the next generation, to improve more generally the economy by increasing productivity, to reduce infant mortality, maternal mortality, and HIV/AIDS, and to ease population pressures on ecological carrying capacity and reduce risks of ecological overshoot. Population stress on the environment is already evident in drinking water shortages, millions of acres of tropical forest being cut down every year, declining and collapsed fisheries, and declining per capita grain production. The major challenge is to find ways of achieving these goals consistent with respect for the sacredness of life. The major problem is religious and strongly felt differences over how to define when life begins.
3. Experience here and abroad shows that an array of supportive social services—education, health, family planning, welfare, criminal justice, food and nutrition, emergency shelter, counseling, child and juvenile services—are correlated with more engagement by the disadvantaged in mainstream society. Experience shows that denying such services increases rates of early and extra-marital pregnancy and abortions of unwanted pregnancies. Experience shows that making abortion illegal increases the number of dangerous abortions and maternal deaths. Internationally, an estimated twenty million unsafe abortions and about 78,000 abortion related deaths take place each year. Unwanted birth in impoverished countries is often followed by death, about 11 million children under the age of 5 each year. The right to choose whether or not to have an abortion in the first trimester is guaranteed American

- women under the Constitution. Most established family planning organizations, e.g., Planned Parenthood, refuse to accept aid conditioned on restrictions on needed and legal services.
4. The UN Population Fund (UNFPA, <http://www.unfpa.org/>) is the major funder of family programs in poor countries and does not fund or promote abortion. “UNFPA is wholly funded by contributions which are voluntary and not part of the regular United Nations budget. In 1998 UNFPA’s income was \$280.6 million.” [website] It operates in 142 countries. It spends about \$270 million per year, about \$3.5 million of which is in China. In 2001 the China program financed education on women’s reproductive health and informed consent for health care. [Purdum]
 5. Recent Republican Congresses have reduced U.S. support for international family planning assistance, HIV/AIDS aid, and related education programs. Pres. G. Bush and the Republican Congress gave no funds to the UNFPA. In 1999 Congress conditioned payment of UN dues on barring family planning agencies that receive U.S. aid from discussing with foreign governments changes in their abortion laws. To avoid this restriction and to pay UN dues, Pres. Clinton had to accept a substantial cut in funds for the UNFPA. Congressional action has prevented basic health care and education from reaching countries with high infant and maternal mortality. Less family planning has caused more maternal deaths and abortions to occur. See also the discussion above of UN Dues.
 6. No federal funds are used to provide abortions, abortion counseling, or lobbying. On Feb. 15, 2001, Pres. W. Bush reinstated Pres. Reagan’s “gag rule” banning U.S. aid to private international family planning organizations that use **their own funds** for abortions, abortion information, or advice to foreign governments on abortion issues. They are not allowed to mention abortion. Bush will fund other family planning services, including oddly enough, “treating injuries or illness caused by legal or illegal abortion—for example, post-abortion care.” [Chron, Mar 3 01] As a result, Planned Parenthood International and others will receive less federal funding.
 7. President Bush and both political parties supported appropriations for UNFPA in Congress and Bush signed the appropriation. On July 22, 2002, Pres. Bush withdrew the \$34 million for UNFPA for FY2002. Anti-choice conservatives have asked him to withhold the funds because the UNFPA supported forced abortions and sterilizations in China. The fact that the UNFPA has not supported forced abortions in China does not seem to be relevant. Several investigations, have concluded that the evidence shows that the UNFPA has not supported forced abortions in China. UNFPA funds are used only in provinces where there is no evidence of coercive policies. In 2001 Colin Powell at his confirmation hearings to be Secretary of State praised the UNFPA and in 2001 told a House committee UNFPA “provides critical population assistance to developing countries.” In May 2002, a State Department mission sent to China by the White House “found no evidence that the program ‘knowingly supported or participated in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.’” Further, a budget rider prohibits any US funds to be used in China. [Todd Purdum, July 23, 2002, “Bush team blocks money for U.N. Fund, *SF Chronicle* from the *New York Times*.] The *New York Times* editorialized that “the move was motivated by domestic politics at the expense of women and children’s health.”
 8. The UNFPA estimates that, as a result of no U.S. funds, they will be unable to prevent about 2,000,000 unwanted pregnancies, 4,700 maternal deaths, 60,000 maternal infections and injuries, 77,000 infant and child deaths, and 800,000 abortions among the poorest of the poor

worldwide. These estimates include Afghanistan, where we claimed to be intervening to help women. Such assistance is also vital for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS. [Population Connection, *The ZPG Reporter* 34:2p. 16, pp. 24-25] A purist stance against abortions prevents practical services that would reduce them. The funds will still be spent, only through the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), a less effective agency. AID operates in about 80 countries and will have to start a program to serve Afghanistan where the UNFPA is already operating. [Purdum]

9. In 2001 a record 121 nations donated to the UNFPA, a near doubling in three years, the biggest increase coming from countries with UNFPA programs. All developed democracies except the U.S. continue to support the UNFPA. After Bush's decision Kofi Annan said he would seek other donors "because the work we are doing is absolutely essential and we do not want women, particularly poor women, to suffer." On July 24, 2002, the European Union criticized the U.S. position and announced it will give an extra \$34 million to the UNFPA to make up for most of the loss of previously promised U.S. funds.

Rights of the Child. [Return to Contents](#)

1. Official title: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
2. In 1990 60 heads of state, including Pres. G. Bush, attended the historic World Summit on Children at U.N. Headquarters, which led to this convention. It would prohibit military training of children and sending them into combat, as well as other rights to help the health, education, and safety of all children. In July 2000, Pres. Clinton signed a protocol of the convention protecting children from sexual exploitation and another protecting them from use as soldiers
3. The Senate has refused to support the convention. About 90 percent of the treaty is already U.S. law. Well-organized and effective opponents claim the treaty would undermine the American family.
4. The convention has served to educate and improve policy for children in various countries. Turkey has increased basic education and literacy programs and increased aid to children for health and nutrition in especially impoverished areas.
5. The Special Session on Children of the General Assembly was planned to set more detailed standards or rights for children. One issue is the age at which capital punishment becomes permissible. President W. Bush supported the right of the U.S. to execute persons for crimes committed as minors. The Convention outlaws such executions. The ensuing debate limited progress on standards.
6. UNICEF and hundreds of religious, social service, civic, and educational groups support the convention at national, state, and local levels. 191 states have ratified, 1 signed, and 1 neither. [Human Development Report 2000]
7. In July 2002, the US Senate, after four years of public interest group lobbying and with support from Pres. W. Bush, ratified "the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, and its companion protocol on the sale of children." Since its writing in May 2000, 109 governments have signed the protocol and 33 have ratified it. [Amnesty International, July 14, 2002, http://www.amnestyusa.org/victories/child_soldiers_protocol.html]
8. [On a related issue, "Because of opposition from farm-state members of Congress, the United States has not ratified the International Labor Organization's Convention 138, banning child

labor.” [From a caption for a picture showing a child in New Mexico after picking green chilies, Robert Collier, “Free Trade’s Cost for Labor, Environment, *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 26, 1999, p. A18.]]

9. Every developed democracy in the world fully supports the Convention except the United States. Every nation but the U.S. and Somalia, which is in chaos under warlords and has no recognized national government, has ratified it.

Framework Convention on Tobacco Control

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1. The World Health Organization is sponsoring the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, the first treaty to deal with smoking. It would require warnings in the language of the country where cigarettes are sold. It would require licensing of retailers to make it much easier to control smuggling. It would crack down on advertising and marketing to children. It would mandate minimum taxes to raise revenues for health education, health care, and enforcement, and to reduce incentives for smuggling, taxes which also reduce smoking by making it more expensive. It would protect non-smokers from having to breathe the smoke of others.
2. The Bush administration is trying to weaken the treaty, reversing position taken by the Clinton era U.S. delegations:
3. The new U.S. delegation objected to warning labels being written in the language of the country where the cigarettes would be sold.
4. The U.S. delegation objected to licensing of retailers as too expensive. The licensing requirement is supported by Belarus, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, among the poorest countries in the world, which otherwise would face even higher costs of enforcement.
5. The U.S. delegation withdrew its support for protecting children and basic tobacco taxes.
6. The U.S. delegation reversed the U.S. position on curbing the effects of passive smoking. [Wall Street Journal cited in ASH, *Smoking and Health Review* XXXI:4, July-August 2001. p. 4]
7. Tom Novotny, the U.S. chief negotiator quit after privately expressing disagreement with the administration. [Washington Post, also cited in ASH newsletter]
8. HHS Secretary Tommy Thompson reversed these policies and the US has signed the convention in 2003. [check?]

UNESCO

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1. Ideological extremism, anti-American attitudes, and mismanagement led the US to leave the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Social, and Cultural Organization during the Reagan administration. External pressures and internal efforts at reform have succeeded. As long ago as 1993 the General Accounting Office concluded that UNESCO met all the reform goals set by the US as a basis for reentry.
2. UNESCO is an important player in teaching tolerance internationally, an important part of anti-terrorism action. It also is important for improving education and preserving heritage.
3. In Sept. 2002 President Bush committed the US to rejoining UNESCO, but the \$70 million US assessment, which must be paid, is unlikely given huge budget deficits, Republican hostility to international organizations, and a consequent desire to not increase spending on international organizations.
4. All other developed democracies and most other countries of the world support UNESCO.



VOTING

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In 1999-2000 the U.S. Senate held eight key National Security votes. 42 Democrats and one Republican had scores of 63 percent or higher. Three Democrats and two Republicans had scores of 50 percent. 52 Republicans had scores of 25 percent or lower (one 25 percent, 16 at 13 percent, 35 at 0 percent). The Republican, Jeffords, subsequently became independent and votes with the Democratic caucus. Two votes were not close: on BMD deployment, only three votes against, and on sub-launched missiles, only 18 against. The other six were more even: on base closures, two on nuclear weapons, two votes on the test ban treaty, and on BMD testing. [Council for a Livable World, 1999-2000 Voting Record; Senate National Security Index, Feb. 2001]

See also World Poverty and Hunger.

DISCUSSION

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“The United States’ foreign policy, predicated on intractable ideology, isolationism, and economic self-interest, threatens global health and security.” -Anne Smith, “The Failure of U.S. Leadership,” *Worldwatch*, May/June 1999, p. 2. She discusses landmines, Kyoto, family planning, biosafety, and child rights.

“We live in a foreign country, our own.” - Sherman Lewis, May 1, 1999

In 1990 the world entered the “post-Cold War era,” which awaits a better name, probably something with “American” in it, but also needing terms which capture both the leadership and the failures of the U.S., the Great Power in a unipolar world. The U.S. is the richest and most militarily powerful nation – by far – in the world.

Americans are unaware of how knowledgeable foreigners perceive us. We rarely go abroad, and when we do travel, it is usually as tourists, insulated from political information. As we become knowledgeable, it becomes more and more difficult to communicate back to those left behind, who seem to live in a different world, unaware of the consequences of their everyday activities and attitudes. Most Americans involved in Non-Governmental Organizations (non-profits engaged in international affairs) and the United Nations Association of the USA feel acutely this gap in world view.

U.S. politics. Generally, most Democrats and a few centrist Republicans seem willing to engage internationally and take on the complex responsibilities of world citizenship while the conservative wing of the Republican Party plays the role of petulant bully. However, on some topics, like Palestine and Zionism, we find little support even from progressives for the policies advocated by the land-for-peace Jews and Muslims of the region.

Some establishment figures, like Robert McNamara and Chalmers Johnson, have made the intellectual odyssey from arrogance to insight. Some of the above bill of particulars is taken from Johnson’s “When might makes wrong,” *SF Chronicle*, Oct. 8, 2000, showing his transition from defender to critic of U.S. foreign policy. No doubt the far right tail led by Jesse Helms wags the Republican dog and makes change more difficult, but Clintonian centrism also failed to learn, educate, and advocate. The U.S. begins the 21st century with a president with a questionable mandate attempting to govern from far to the right of world leaders as a whole.

The unanswered question at this time is whether the attacks on Bush policy by the media and

the Democrats will resonate with voters. Senate Majority Leader, Democrat Tom Daschle of South Dakota, is leading the charge, accusing Pres. Bush of isolationism and unilateralism, citing many of the issues covered above. [Raum, AP, in SF Chron, JI 27 01; editorial "Bush just says no," SF Chron. JI 27 01]

The Emergence of Europe? The European Union has fifteen members and is increasingly coordinating its internal and foreign policies. As U.S. moral leadership falters and the European Union continues to unify and grow with largely superior, social democratic, domestic policies, it may find more ability to pursue a coherent foreign policy with real influence. European disagreements with the American right wing, which has mostly dominated American politics since 1980, are driving more Europeans away from any mutuality of world view at the same time they become independent militarily and economically.

The growing alienation has cultural, domestic policy, and foreign policy aspects. Concerning culture and U.S. domestic policy, American right wing religiosity, unregulated capitalism, and thoroughly corrupt campaign financing are not popular in Europe. Europeans are generally repulsed by the American gun culture and capital punishment. While Bush was governor of Texas, 150 people there were executed without a single grant of clemency by the governor, facts which bother Europeans far more than Americans.

Concerning foreign policy, Europeans strongly disagree with the U.S. over BMD, Israel, global warming, and virtually all the other items above. Europeans blame the U.S. for the failure of the negotiations on global warming in the Netherlands and for pulling out of the Kyoto Protocol. The election of Pres. Bush increased European concern, yet Americans have little knowledge of these issues and little awareness of their importance. Only Britain supports American hard line policies against Iraq and Iran, The rest of Europe has moved on to find ways to punish, isolate, and contain the repugnant Saddam Hussein regime while not doing the same to the Iraqi people.

Europe required an American push to intervene effectively after the collapse of UN peace keeping at Srebrenica in Bosnia, and realized it needed to do better in its own backyard. Therefore, in 1999 the EU initiated a 50 to 60 thousand person Rapid Reaction Force, in case NATO fails to act. The major impediment to NATO action is now conservative Republican unwillingness to engage in marginal, low grade conflicts where direct U.S. interests are not strong and there is no clear, preferably communist, enemy, but rather a disintegration of institutions and ethnic confrontation. Yet this is NATO's major, if not only, mission. While Republicans want to move away from institution building commitments, rebuilding Afghanistan has required a change in plans, but not the extent of commitment that most believe necessary to prevent continuing disintegration. The EU in 1999 created a new civilian crisis entity of administrators, police, and judges for that very purpose.

It was important, then, that Pres. Bush in July 2001 switched from his campaign position, from questioning U.S. involvement in Kosovo, to strongly supporting it. "America's contribution is essential, both militarily and politically," he proclaimed, at the increasingly permanent Camp Bondsteel, Yugoslavia. [Sanger, NYT, in SF Chron, JI 25 01]. Republicans seem split between the more isolationist Republicans, who sincerely still want great military strength which then stays out of harm's way, and the more pragmatic Republicans, who wanted an opportunistic chance to attack Pres. Clinton and the Democrats.

In general, American hesitancy seems due more to politics than principle. Congress supports U.S. intervention when domestic voting blocs have enough influence to overcome isolationism.

Historically, the exception has been Israel, but more recently American Muslims are pushing for human rights and sovereignty for Palestinians, and evangelical Christians are lobbying for intervention in the Sudan, where the government of the Arab north has attempted since 1983 to impose sharia, Islamic law, on a black, largely Christian south, and where northern raiders press southerners into slavery. The civil war has cost some two million deaths from violence and hunger. No U.S. security interests are at stake; no military bases are there; no big companies are there, so based on the Republican critique of Pres. Clinton for excessive intervention and “nation building,” the U.S. should not get involved. The Republican evangelicals, however, have given traditional liberal groups credibility and weight on the right. Rev. Frank Graham, son of Billy Graham, gave the invocation at Pres. Bush’s inauguration and also has a hospital in Sudan bombed some nine times by Sudan.

The Example of Korea. In 2001 South Korean President Kim went to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace prize and asked for European help in dealing with the North. After Bush undercut his negotiations, President Kim added urgency to his appeal to the European Union. In response, the EU, in an action unthinkable even a few years ago, intervened to sustain the peace process. On March 24, 2001, EU leaders decided to send a team of mediators to conduct talks that Clinton scheduled but Bush canceled. The North, also dismayed by Bush’s hostility, formally invited the EU mediation. The EU is considering development aid conditioned on improvement in human rights. By July 2001, Britain and Germany were planning to open embassies in Pyongyang with others to follow.[W Post, in Chron Mr 25 01] He named North Korea in the “axis of evil.”

The Example of Russia. Russia under Putin is engaged in a bloody and incompetent suppression of revolt in Chechnya. Russia’s economy is in a shambles; cowboy capitalism and “mafias” run much of the country. Its politics is becoming less democratic. Nevertheless, Europe’s differences with the U.S. are proving more important. The Putin regime is close to Europe on many issues and working with the EU on foreign policy. Both Russia and the EU are pushed in this direction by contradictory rhetoric from the Bush administration. Pres. Bush professes friendliness to Russia while pursuing policies and rhetoric contrary to Russian interests—opposing their ability to make foreign sales of weapons and technology (at a fraction of the value of U.S. sales), expanding NATO without adequate Russian involvement, and threatening the credibility of their nuclear deterrent.

Pres. Bush’s appointees—Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Defense Deputy Paul Wolfowitz, and CIA Director George Tenet—have made statements Russia considers inflammatory. In February 2001 Tenet, testifying to the Senate Intelligence Committee, described Russia as a security threat, promoting the spread of weapons of mass destruction and seeking to restore some aspects of communism. Russia, he said, was selling arms to security threats China, India, and Iran. [AP in Chron Feb 10 01] It is, however, the U.S., not Russia, that has failed to ratify the CTBT and START II and seeks to break the ABM Treaty. In March 2001 Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz accused Russia of being an “active proliferator” of dangerous weapons technologies because it was helping Iran build a missile and a nuclear power plant. Wolfowitz: Moscow is selling “obnoxious stuff that threatens our people and our pilots and our sailors.” [NYT in Chron Mar 21 01]

Russian activities should be of concern; the problem is counter-productive Cold War rhetoric driving Europe away from the U.S. and toward Russia. The upshot is that NATO may expand on terms reflecting Russian-European detente, with the U.S. as a third partner.

The Decline of the U.S.? Enormous military and economic power has limits when the

substance of policy deviates too far from world consensus of governmental opinion, and when the Great Power places a low priority on participation in international affairs. By May, 2001, Pres. Bush had not appointed an ambassador to the UN. [need update] The UN Economic and Social Council with 54 members determines membership on the U.N. Human Rights Commission. On May 3, 2001, the Council voted the U.S. off the Commission in a secret vote that was interpreted as “growing frustration with America’s attitude toward international organizations and programs.” Specifically, news articles mentioned right wing attacks on the U.N., nonpayment of dues, reduced contributions across the board, rejection of numerous treaties (most recently land mines and Criminal Court), Mid-East policies, withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol, promotion of BMD, and denial of affordable AIDS drugs. The U.S. had belonged to the Commission since its founding in 1947. The Human Rights Commission had three “Western” vacancies with four nations competing: France (52 votes of possible 54), Austria (41 votes), Sweden (32 votes), and the U.S. (29 votes). The vote combined developing countries traditionally critical of the U.S. and newly critical traditional friends. The Economic and Social Council also determines the 13 members of the International Narcotics Control Board. The Board monitors substance abuse, drug trafficking, and governmental regulation of chemicals used to make illegal drugs, and advises on how to keep such chemicals from illegal use. Also on May 3, the Council voted the U.S. off the Control Board with the same procedures and votes as the Rights Commission. [NYT in Chron May 4 01; AP in Chron May 8 01]

By mid 2001, Europeans were increasingly concerned about American isolationism and the growing gap over key issues. [Raum, AP, in SF Chron, J1 27 01]

In 2002 the U.S. sought to regain its seat by ending elections and using a formula, but failed. The U.S. finally regained its seat on the Commission on Human Rights by pressuring competing Italy and Spain to withdraw. [U.N. Assn of the USA, Spring 2002, U.N. Roundup, *The InterDependent*, p.11]

Speculating about the future, the EU may approach OPEC for some leverage over U.S. oil consumption. The OPEC nations benefit from oil sales but stand to lose long term from global warming. If they can find a way to balance the short with the long term, prices or export quotas could become an international policy tool to force American reductions in fossil fuel use.

While much of the European alienation from the U.S. is at the governmental and policy level, there is also an important antagonism growing among EU citizens. They see Americans as imperceptive and self-indulgent, embracing a car culture and using energy like there were no global warming, risking health with genetically modified foods, as cultural primitives brandishing guns and loving the death penalty. The American way of life is creating problems for European and global sustainability. Pres. Bush plays to all of Europe’s fears: pro-death penalty, pro-gun, anti-Kyoto, pro-car, pro-coal burning power plants, pro-oil exploration in wildlife refuges, anti-Court, and pro-BMD. The London Guardian decried the “redneck unilateralism that is persuading more and more people of the status of the US as the number one rogue state.” Media across Europe echo this view. [Werner Fornos, Population Institute, Fall 2002]

Many Americans sympathize with the perspective of this essay, but relatively few in high positions have spoken out on the broader issues. In September 2002 former President Jimmy Carter spoke out lamenting the historic change in US policy: violating human rights in the name of fighting terrorism, reducing participation in multi-lateral processes, excessively supporting Israel over Palestine, and making unsubstantiated claims in support of aggression against Iraq. “We have thrown down counterproductive gauntlets to the rest of the world, disavowing US commitments to laboriously negotiated international accords. Peremptory rejections of nuclear

arms agreements, the biological weapons convention, environmental protection, anti-torture proposals, and punishment of war criminals have sometimes been combined with economic threats against those who might disagree with us. The unilateral acts and assertions increasingly isolate the United States from the very nations needed to join in combating terrorism.” [Jimmy Carter, “The troubling new face we see on America,” Oakland Tribune, Sept. 9, 2002]

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“Terrorism has no faith. Terror is an unjust response to injustice.” Salam Al-Marayati, president, Muslim Public Affairs Council. [Aug 31 2002 Chronicle Don Lattin, Chronicle Religion Writer]

“...while evil people hate us for who we are, many good people dislike us for what we do. And if we want to win their respect we need to be the best, most consistent, and most principled global citizens we can be.” Thomas Freidman, NY Times, Sep 8, 2002 in S Chronicle]