



EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN ON IRAQ

*We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent coannihilation.*¹

– Martin Luther King Jr.

HISTORY²

Iraq is the fabled location of the Garden of Eden, the ancient home of Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Ur, and the land where humanity invented written language, mathematics, and the code of law. Since the spread of Islam in the seventh century, the population has been overwhelmingly Arab and Muslim.

1918: The British control Iraq after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in WWI and install King Feisal, the son of the Sharif of Mecca, as monarch.

1958: General Abd al-Karim Qasim overthrows the monarchy and declares Iraq a republic.

1968: The Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'ath Party) takes power in a military coup.

1979: Saddam Hussein becomes president and consolidates power through a violent internal purge of the Ba'ath Party.

1980-88: Iraq invades Iran. The US gives Iraq significant economic and military aid, including biological and chemical agents, despite Iraq's reported use of chemical weapons against Iranian soldiers and Kurdish civilians.³

Aug. 2, 1990: Iraq invades Kuwait.

GULF WAR AND SANCTIONS

*I am resigning because the policy of economic sanctions is totally bankrupt. We are in the process of destroying an entire society. It is as simple and terrifying as that.*⁴

– Denis Halliday, former UN Assistant Secretary General and Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq

Prior to sanctions, oil accounts for over 60% of GDP and 90% of foreign exchange. Oil revenues are used to build a centralized bureaucracy and modern infrastructure, import 75% of food and medical supplies, and provide the population with the highest level of health care and education services in the Arab world.⁵ War and sanctions change all that.⁶

Aug. 6, 1990: The UN Security Council imposes comprehensive sanctions banning all trade with Iraq,⁷ and on Nov. 29 authorizes the use of "all necessary means" to reverse the occupation.⁸

Jan. 15, 1991: US-led military forces target Iraq's civilian infrastructure including electrical plants, water treatment facilities, food warehouses,



Area: 167,174 sq. miles (size of California)

Population: 24 million (including 4 million Kurds in northern Iraq)

Literacy: 58% in 2002 and 95% in 1989⁹

factories, roads, bridges, telecommunications, and oil facilities.¹⁰ The first post-war UN mission reports that Iraq has been "relegated to a pre-industrial age."¹¹

April, 1991: The cease-fire resolution demands the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and calls for the same throughout the region.¹²

Summer, 1991: Scientific missions to Iraq report a massive increase in hunger and disease due to war and sanctions, documenting 46,900 excess child deaths between January and August,¹³ and estimating the need for over \$22 billion to restore basic services.¹⁴

May 10, 1996: To ease the worsening crisis, Iraq and the UN finally agree on a temporary oil-for-food deal allowing limited oil sales under strict UN control for the purchase of humanitarian goods.¹⁵

Dec. 16, 1998: UN weapons inspectors are forced to evacuate by US and UK air strikes against Baghdad. Iraq later refuses them re-entry.¹⁶

Spring, 1999: UN humanitarian panel reports that under sanctions Iraq has "experienced a shift from relative affluence to massive poverty,"¹⁷ and UNICEF survey estimates over 500,000 excess child deaths between 1991-1998 alone.¹⁸

Nov. 8, 2002: Security Council Res. 1441 establishes new weapons inspections but rejects US pressure to re-authorize the use of force.¹⁹

COSTS OF WAR FOR IRAQIS

*We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other's children.*²⁰

– Jimmy Carter, former US President

A new war will be devastating for the people of Iraq, especially vulnerable groups like women, children, the elderly, and the poor. Many Iraqi families—impoverished and dependent upon government food rations after 12 years of crippling sanctions—will find it difficult to survive the sudden shocks of war.²¹ A confidential UN assessment warns of "diseases in epidemic if not pandemic proportions," 500,000 direct or indirect casualties, and up to 2 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees.²²

Food Crisis: In one of the largest logistical operations in world history, over 400,000 metric tons of food are distributed monthly throughout Iraq, providing 2,257 kilocalories per person per day. UNICEF calls the likely war-time collapse of this system a "nightmare scenario."²³



Sarah Zaidi

Women and children bear the brunt of war and sanctions.

Health Crisis:

As in the 1991 war, destruction of Iraq's electrical grid will disrupt the sanitation and public health systems and cause a spike in water-borne disease and child mortality.

Civilian Casualties:

"During a conventional conflict of three months,

estimates range from 48,000 to 261,000. If there is civil unrest and nuclear attacks are launched, the range is 375,000 to 3.9 million."²⁴ The CIA reports: "should Saddam conclude that a US-led attack could no longer be deterred, he probably would become much less constrained in...conducting terrorist attacks with conventional or chemical and biological weapons."²⁵ The US, UK, and Israeli governments warn that they would consider nuclear retaliation.²⁶

1 King, M.L., "Beyond Vietnam" address (4-4-67)

2 Tripp, C., *A History of Iraq* Cambridge University Press (5-02)

3 The Washington Post, "U.S. Had Key Role in Iraq Buildup: Trade in Chemical Arms Allowed Despite Their Use on Iranians, Kurds" (12-30-02); MERIP, *Why Another War? A Backgrounder to the Iraq Crisis* (10-02)

4 Halliday, D., Resignation letter, (10-97)

5 *The Economist Intelligence Unit* (1996)

6 Arnone, A. (ed.), *Iraq Under Siege: The Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War*. South End Press (2002)

7 UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 661 (8-6-90)

8 SCR 678 (11-29-90)

9 CIA World Factbook 2002; The Guardian,

"Sanctions teach nothing to Iraqi children" (4-4-00)

10 International Study Team, *Health & Welfare in Iraq After the Gulf Crisis:*

An In-Depth Assessment (1991)

11 Ahtisaari, M., *Report to the Secretary-General on the Humanitarian Needs in Kuwait and Iraq in the Immediate Post-Crisis Environment* (3-20-91)

12 SCR 687 (4-3-91)

13 Ascherio, A., Chase, R., Cote, T. et al., *Effect of the Gulf War on Infant and Child Mortality in Iraq*, New England Journal of Medicine, 327:931-36 (1992)

14 Aga Khan, S., *Report to the Secretary-General on humanitarian needs in Iraq* (7-15-91)

15 SCR 986 (4-14-95); UN-Iraq Memorandum of Understanding (5-20-96)

16 FAIR, *Spying in Iraq: From Fact to Allegation* (9-24-02)

17 Amorim, C.L.N., *Report of the second panel established pursuant to the note by the president of the Security Council of 30 January 1999 (S/1999/100), concerning the current humanitarian situation in Iraq* (3-30-99)

18 UNICEF, *Child and Maternal Mortality Survey* (8-12-99)

19 SCR 1284 (12-17-99)

20 Carter, J., *The Nobel Lecture* (12-10-02)

21 Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq, "Guide to Sanctions"; Save the Children, et al., "Joint NGO Statement Against War" (9-23-02)

22 CASI, "Confidential UN Document Predicts Humanitarian Emergency in Event of War on Iraq" (1-7-03)

23 UNICEF, *Household Food Security: Some Food for Thought* (2-20-02)

24 MedAct, *Collateral Damage: the health & environmental costs of war on Iraq* (11-12-02)

25 The New York Times, "C.I.A. Sees Terror After Iraq Action" (10-9-02)

26 Oxford Research Group, *Iraq: Consequences of a War* (10-02)

COST OF WAR FOR AMERICANS

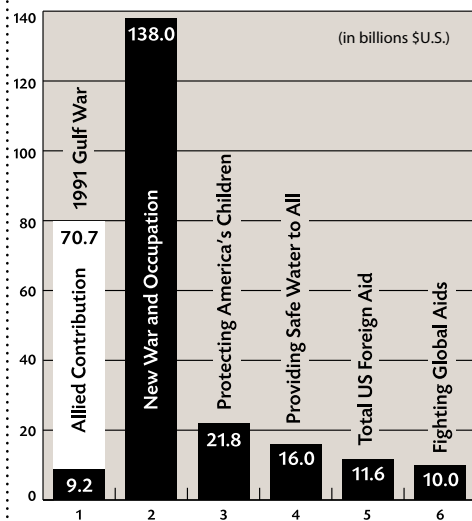
*Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.*²⁷

– Dwight D. Eisenhower, former US President

War in Iraq will impose heavy losses on our nation, ranging from military casualties to increased economic insecurity to loss of basic liberties.

Loss of Life: American casualties will be higher than in the first Gulf War due to the likelihood of urban warfare and extended military occupation.²⁸ Experts also warn that war will inflame anti-American sentiments and result in increased incidence of terrorism against U.S. targets.²⁹

The Costs of War



- The 1991 Gulf War cost \$79.9 billion—87% paid by U.S. allies such as Saudi Arabia, Germany, and Japan. House Budget Committee Democratic Staff, *“Assessing the Cost of Military Action Against Iraq”* (9-23-02)
- War in Iraq will cost U.S. taxpayers \$93 billion, and the first year of military occupation up to \$45 billion. House Budget Committee Report, *“Assessing the Cost of Military Action Against Iraq”* (9-23-02); Congressional Budget Office, *“Estimated Costs of a Potential Conflict with Iraq”* (9-30-02)
- For \$21.8 billion we can provide health insurance, housing, and immunizations for all America’s children in need. Global AIDS Fund
- For \$16 billion per year we can provide safe drinking water to all the world’s children in need – and prevent two million deaths every year from water-borne diseases. WHO/JUNICEF *Global Water Supply and Sanitation Assessment 2000 Report; Implementing the 20/20 Initiative* (1998)
- U.S. annual non-military aid to all the world’s countries totals \$11.6 billion—0.1% of our GDP. CDF 2002 Report
- For \$10 billion per year we can fully fund the global fight against AIDS. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Wasted Resources: The US paid only 10% of the costs of the first Gulf War,³⁰ but this time the American taxpayer will likely foot the entire bill.³¹ Government sources have estimated costs at \$50-93 billion for the war itself, \$17-45 billion annually for the occupation, and \$5-15 billion annually for reconstruction.³² One economist estimated total costs to the American economy over the next decade at \$1.6 trillion.³³

Economic Insecurity: Millions of Americans face unemployment, homelessness, lack of health care, and poverty.³⁴ War in Iraq will divert even more money from underfunded social programs and welfare to feed the swelling military budget. The National Governors Association recently warned that states face budget shortfalls of \$40 billion—their worst fiscal crisis since World War II.³⁵

Loss of Freedom: War with Iraq will result in increased government surveillance, restrictions on political speech, and racial profiling of minority and immigrant communities—trends already established in the USA PATRIOT Act and criticized by a broad spectrum of liberals and conservatives.³⁶ War will also heighten the atmosphere of fear that is undermining traditional American principles of tolerance, non-discrimination, and liberty.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

*The attitude of the United States of America is a threat to world peace...No country should be allowed to take the law into its own hands.*³⁷

– Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa

The United Nations was established after the horrors of World War II to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”³⁸ The U.N. Charter bans states from “the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state,” and requires them to “settle their international disputes by peaceful means.”³⁹ War is allowed only in “self-defense if an armed attack occurs,” or if the Security Council resolves that force is necessary as a last resort to maintain international peace and security.⁴⁰ Neither has occurred, yet the Bush administration is preparing to attack Iraq alone—outside the limits of international law.

An unauthorized pre-emptive war against Iraq will set a dangerous precedent for other countries to settle disputes through military force rather than peaceful negotiations. The most effective way to eliminate weapons of mass destruction everywhere is through multilateral approaches binding on all members of the international community.

International law also protects civilians during conflict. Warring parties must restrict attacks to

military targets only, avoid causing excessive civilian casualties, and refrain altogether from attacking “objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population.”⁴¹ Yet the U.S. is preparing to target Iraq’s civilian infrastructure and cause the collapse of its public health and food distribution systems—placing millions of innocent civilians at grave risk.

Iraqis do not forfeit their fundamental rights due to the sins of their leaders.⁴² International law is meant to protect every single human being. Upholding the law is our shared responsibility. How we fulfill this duty—in Iraq and elsewhere—will mean the difference between life and death for millions of people.

WHAT WE CAN DO

*If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.*⁴³

– Martin Luther King, Jr.

With our nation poised at the brink of war, we all share a democratic responsibility to participate in the national debate over the justice and wisdom of our government’s policies. Starting today we can each:

- **Educate ourselves!** Learn the facts behind the media headlines before allowing war to be waged in our names.
- **Educate our communities!** Organize teach-ins with experienced speakers at our schools, congregations, and community centers.
- **Contact our media!** Call radio programs, write letters and opinion pieces, and meet with reporters and editors to ensure that they cover our views on this war.
- **Lobby our elected officials!** Demand that our politicians begin to represent the true diversity of American opinions, starting with our own.
- **Work for human rights!** Donate our time and resources to the many groups fighting for justice in Iraq and at home.
- **Demonstrate for peace!** Stand together and join the rapidly growing national and global movement for peace in Iraq and elsewhere.
- **Resist the drive to war!** Engage in nonviolent civil disobedience and direct action.
- **Visit our website** at www.cesr.org/iraq to learn more about the Iraq crisis and access a set of online resources to follow up on these suggested actions.

27 Eisenhower, D., “Chance for Peace” speech (4-16-53)

28 O’Hanlon, M., “Counting Casualties: How many people would die in an Iraqi War?” (9-25-02)

29 The New York Times, *C.I.A. Sees Terror After Iraq Action*” (10-9-02);

30 House Budget Committee Democratic Staff, *Assessing the Cost of Military Action Against Iraq* (9-23-02)

31 The Washington Post, “With Allies Unlikely to Pony Up for a War to Punt Saddam, the American Taxpayer Could be Stuck with an Enormous Tab—Perhaps as Much as \$200 Billion” (12-8-02)

32 Congressional Budget Office, *Estimated Costs of a Potential Conflict with Iraq* (9-23-02); Berger, S., *Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations*

Committee (8-1-02)

33 Nordhaus, W., *The Economic Consequences of a War with Iraq* (10-29-02)

34 US Conference of Mayors, “Hunger, Homelessness on the Rise in Major US Cities” (12-18-02)

35 National Governors Association, “State Budget Outlook Remains Bleak” (11-25-02)

36 “Blue Triangle Network, *Stop the Repression Against Muslim, Arab and South Asian Immigrants!* (1-03); Center for Constitutional Rights, *What’s So Patriotic About Trampling on the Bill of Rights?* (11-01); CATO Institute, *USA Patriot Act: We Deserve Better* (10-02)

37 Associated Press, “The World Speaks Up Against A U.S. Strike On Iraq”

(9-3-02)

38 UN Charter, Preamble (6-26-45)

39 UN Charter, Ch I, Article 2

40 UN Charter, Ch VII, Articles 42-43

41 *Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War* (8-12-49); *Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II)* (6-8-77)

42 Center for Economic and Social Rights, *Unsanctioned Suffering* (5-96)

43 King, M.L., “Beyond Vietnam” address (4-4-67)

