

Sanctions on Iraq: background, consequences & strategies

Conference, 13-14th November 1999
Cambridge, UK

Hosted by the Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq

PRESS PACK

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Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq,
c/o Seb Wills, Clare College,
Cambridge CB2 1TL, UK

Tel: 01223 363882

Fax: 0870 0881933

Email: soc-casi@lists.cam.ac.uk

Website: <http://welcome.to/casi>

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Press release

From: Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq
Primary contact: Seb Wills - tel. 01223 363882 / fax 0870 0881933
Secondary contact: Colin Rowat - tel. 0468 056984
Email: soc-casi@lists.cam.ac.uk Website: <http://welcome.to/casi>

1st November 1999 - FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

“Sanctions on Iraq: background, consequences & strategies”

A Cambridge-based student group is to host a conference on the sanctions on Iraq. The conference, titled “Sanctions on Iraq: background, consequences & strategies”, takes place in Cambridge on the 13-14th November and features 18 expert speakers from the US and Europe. Among the speakers are Prof. Richard Garfield (Columbia University epidemiologist specialising in the effects of sanctions on civilian populations); Ivor Lucas (former head of the Middle East Dept in the Foreign & Commonwealth Office), Anthonius de Vries (the European Commission's Economic & Financial Sanctions Coordinator) and Dr Doug Rokke (former Pentagon depleted uranium expert). Also speaking are representatives of the Save the Children Fund, journalists and academics. Diplomats with the British and French governments are speaking off the record.

Up to 150 participants from across the UK and Europe are expected to attend. Conference organiser Seb Wills explains, "From the outset we intended the conference to be accessible to a wide range of people - ticket prices have been kept extremely low with this in mind. We've managed to get an impressive line-up of speakers and I'm keen for everyone with an interest - but not necessarily much prior knowledge - in this topic to be able to attend."

The conference is organised by the Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq (CASI), a registered society at the University of Cambridge. CASI is exclusively concerned with the humanitarian consequences of sanctions on Iraq; it does not oppose military sanctions on Iraq. Since its formation in 1997, the group has developed into a respected national source of information about sanctions on Iraq, and has advised BBC Radio 4, News Night, members of the House of Lords and the New Internationalist magazine, as well as running the UK's premier electronic discussion forum (with over 230 participants worldwide) and website on sanctions. CASI is funded entirely by voluntary donations from its supporters; its committee members are all students.

The November conference comes at a time when there is growing public awareness of the side effects of the sanctions. Media interest has also been renewed by Unicef's August estimate that an additional half million Iraqi children under five had died under sanctions. CASI coordinator Colin Rowat says, "The number of excellent speakers who accepted our invitation reflects, we think, a growing sense that Britain must rethink its support for the sanctions."

CASI intends the conference to focus on the sanctions' consequences, rather than who is to blame for those consequences. "We're not trying to deny guilt," says Rowat, "but focusing on blame has kept this issue polarised for nine years. And the Iraqi people are paying the price. So we need to move beyond blame for now and ask how to improve the situation for these people, or at least stop making it worse."

Further information about the conference, including the venue, is contained in the following pages of this press pack.

Logistical Details

Venues

Saturday's sessions are in the McCrum Lecture Theatre, which is part of Corpus Christi College. The entrance is next to 'The Eagle' pub on Bene't Street, Cambridge.

Sunday's sessions are in the Winstanley Lecture Theatre, which is part of Trinity College. The entrance is opposite the main entrance to Trinity College on Trinity Street.

A map is available on request, but neither venue is difficult to find.

The times of each session are given on the following page.

Travel

Cambridge railway station is 25mins walk or a short bus or taxi journey from the centre of town. The bus & coach station is in the centre (see map). Most of the centre of Cambridge is pedestrianised.

Accommodation

Speakers are being accommodated in college guest rooms and with local families. Conference participants need to arrange your their accommodation if required. Cambridge Tourist Information Centre on 01223 322640 can provide details of hotels and Bed & Breakfasts. Visiting students are offered free 'crashpad' accommodation in a church hall.

Booking & Press information

Advance tickets cost £20 (waged) or £10 (unwaged) for both days, or half price for one day only, and can be booked via the contact details on the front cover of this document. Anyone with an interest in the conference is welcome to attend. Journalists are welcome to attend the conference in part or in full at no cost, although a donation towards running costs would be appreciated. Interviews with the speakers can be arranged at their discretion. Please note that two of the speakers, Jon Davies and Anis Nacrou, will be speaking under the Chatham House Rule, i.e. off the record, and must not have information or quotes attributed to them.

Contacting the conference organisers during the conference

To contact the conference organisers during the weekend of the conference, please telephone 0468 056984 or telephone 01223 363882 for recorded information which may include alternative contact arrangements.

Prior to the conference, please contact Seb Wills (conference organiser) on 01223 363882 or Colin Rowat (CASI coordinator) on 0468 056984, or by email on soc-casi@lists.cam.ac.uk

Conference Programme (provisional)

Saturday 13th November

McCrum Lecture Theatre (Corpus Christi College), Bene't St.

10:15 - 10:50 *Registration & Coffee*

10:50 - 11:00 *Welcome address*

11:00 - 12:00 **Background 1 : History**

Ivor Lucas, former head of Middle East Department, Foreign & Commonwealth Office: "20 years of Saddam Hussein, 1979-1999"

George Joffé, Royal Institute of International Affairs: "How did we get here? A history of British & American relations with Iraq"

12:00 - 12:55 **Consequences 1 : Health**

Professor Richard Garfield, Columbia University: "Changes in health and well-being in Iraq during the 1990s - what do we know and how do we know it?"

12:55 - 13:30 **Strategies 1 : Non-Governmental Organisations**

Rita Bhatia & Andrea Ledward, Save the Children Fund: "NGO opportunities, options and constraints regarding Iraq"

13:30 - 14:45 *Lunch*

14:45 - 16:15 **Consequences 2 : Social & Cultural**

Harriet Griffin, Oxford University: "The Iraqi exodus"

Dr Nadje Al-Ali, University of Sussex: "Sanctions and women in Iraq"

Emad Salman, Iraqi Community Association: "Sanctions from an Iraqi perspective"

16:15 - 16:45 *Tea/Coffee*

16:45 - 17:30 **Background 2 : Weapons of Mass Destruction**

Professor Hugh McDonald, University of East Anglia

17:30 - 18:30 **Background 3 : Depleted Uranium**

Dr Doug Rokke, Jacksonville State University: "Depleted Uranium and its effects in Iraq"

Sunday 14th November

Winstanley Lecture Theatre (Trinity College), Trinity St.

9:30 - 10:15 **Consequences 3 : Personal accounts**

Felicity Arbutnot, freelance journalist & Nikki van der Gaag, editor of *New Internationalist* magazine: "Experiencing Iraq today"

10:15 - 10:45 **Strategies 1 : Anti-sanctions campaigning**

Milan Rai, Voices in the Wilderness UK: "Popular anti-sanctions groups in the UK"

10:45 - 11:15 *Coffee/Tea*

11:15 - 12:45 **Strategies 2 : International politics**

Chris Doyle, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding: "Sanctions & the Middle East"

Anthonius de Vries, Economic and Financial Sanctions Coordinator, European Commission: "EU sanctions policy: opportunities & limits"

12:45 - 14:00 *Lunch*

14:00 - 16:15 **Strategies 4 : The British & French Government positions**

Dr Eric Herring, Bristol University: "Between Iraq and a Hard Place: a Critique of the British Government's Narrative on UN Economic Sanctions"

Jon Davies, Middle East Desk, Foreign & Commonwealth Office : "The British Government's policy towards Iraq & the current proposals to the United Nations Security Council"

Anis Nacrou, French Embassy in London : "The French proposals to the UN Security Council"

16:15 - 16:30 *Closing comments*

The Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq - a profile

The Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq (CASI) is a registered society at the University of Cambridge. It was founded in February 1997 after the local Amnesty International chapter was addressed by a speaker on the plight of the Iraqi people under sanctions. All CASI members are volunteers; its committee members are students. CASI is exclusively concerned with the humanitarian consequences of sanctions on Iraq. It does not support Saddam Hussein's regime and is not opposed to military sanctions on Iraq.

In its first year, CASI functioned primarily as a local group. It held speaker meetings to better inform itself, met its local MP, hosted a fundraising cultural event (for Help the Children of Iraq, a London-based registered charity), and organised stalls in the market square. This year left CASI better informed about the situation in Iraq, but also with the belief that the UK government was adhering to an official line that was not intellectually defensible. Suspecting that the government could only continue to adhere to its official line in the absence of greater public awareness and concern, CASI has therefore focused its attention on providing information for public debate. CASI also believes that the polarisation of Iraqi policy that began with the Gulf War has led the UK government to regard alterations to its policy as a form of appeasement. CASI has therefore concentrated on portraying the sanctions as a failed policy in need of alteration, rather than attempting to allocate blame for this failure.

In January 1999, CASI organised the UK speaking tour of former UN Assistant Secretary-General Denis Halliday. Mr Halliday coordinated the "oil for food" programme until he resigned in protest, claiming that "We are in the process of destroying an entire society. It is as simple and terrifying as that" [The Independent, October 15, 1998]. CASI also maintains the UK's premier public electronic discussion group on the sanctions (see <http://welcome.to/casi>). With over 230 members, it has enabled the anti-sanctions community to communicate more quickly, and to ensure the accuracy of its arguments. As an example, the list recently corrected a substantial misinterpretation of the August Unicef report's conclusions on maternal mortality. CASI has advised BBC Radio 4, News Night, members of the House of Lords and the New Internationalist magazine; it has an article forthcoming in The Guardian. Our newsletters are distributed to 300 individuals by post and nearly 700 by e-mail. Last December, CASI played a pivotal role in establishing a series of National Coordination Meetings, still ongoing, for members of groups opposed to the sanctions. In August, to mark the ninth anniversary of the sanctions' imposition, a National Petition Against Sanctions on Iraq, co-sponsored by a range of groups including CASI and the United Nations Association, was launched as a result of these meetings. The petition calls for the UK government to cease punishing the Iraqi people for its government's failures by lifting the non-military sanctions on Iraq.

CASI is currently guardedly optimistic about the prospects of a shift in UK sanctions policy. With Unicef's August 1999 estimate that an additional half million children under five have died in sanctioned Iraq it has become quite obvious that the sanctions have had devastating consequences for the same people who rose up against their regime after the Gulf War in 1991. Foreign Office staff admit privately that they know their public position is indefensible and that they are desperate to change it. Recent months have seen an increase in background public awareness of the situation, perhaps fuelled by an increasingly detailed and reflective media coverage.

Information about the speakers

Hon. Ivor Lucas C.M.G. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, Ivor Lucas served in the Royal Artillery from 1945-8 in the Middle East. From 1951-1984 he worked for H.M. Diplomatic Service, serving in the Gulf States, Pakistan, Libya, South Yemen, Northern Nigeria and Denmark. He was head of the Middle East Department at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 1975-1979 and has also been ambassador to Oman and to Syria. From 1985-1987, he was Assistant Secretary-General at the Arab-British Chamber of Commerce. From 1991-1994 he was Fellow in the International Politics of the Middle East at the Centre of International Studies, Cambridge University. He is currently Chairman of the editorial board of *Asian Affairs*, a vice-president of the Anglo-Omani Society, a member of the Central Council, Royal Overseas League, and a trustee of the Commonwealth Linking Trust. Publications include *A Road to Damascus: Mainly Diplomatic Memoirs from the Middle East* (Radcliffe Press, 1997) and *Britain and the United Arab Emirates: Old Patterns and New Horizons* (Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, SOAS, Occasional Paper no. 17, 1999).

George Joffé is Director-of-Studies at the *Royal Institute of International Affairs* in London. He was previously engaged in academic activities, independent consultancy and in journalism. His journalistic activities have included both print journalism and radio and television work on Middle Eastern and North African topics for the past twenty years. As a consultant, he dealt with the political, economic and social affairs of the Middle East and North Africa, with special reference to Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Israel-Palestine and Iraq, and was also engaged in research and research management of work into international boundary disputes and international economic arbitration. He has written widely on topics connected with the contemporary history, economics, society and current affairs of the Middle East and North Africa and is currently engaged in writing a study of the contemporary crisis in Algeria, a book on the Qadhafi regime in Libya and an analysis of the Barcelona Process in the Mediterranean. He also lectures widely on these themes at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies where he is a senior research fellow in the Department of Geography. Mr Joffé is also a visiting fellow at the Centre for International Studies in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Professor Richard Garfield RN DrPH is Professor of Clinical International Nursing at Columbia University. He is a nurse and epidemiologist, and has focused mainly on the effects of wars on civilians. He has spent the last 6 years mainly doing comparative studies on the impact of sanctions by working with governments in Cuba and Iraq, and UNICEF in Haiti to document the effects of sanctions and revise Ministry of Health actions accordingly. In this regard, he has been consultant to the governments of Canada and Sweden. He is regarded as the most careful analyst of Iraqi child mortality. Professor Garfield's articles on the issue of sanctions include "Unconventional warfare: the silent deadly weapon", *Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy* (1999; 14(2): 52-8); "Public health and human rights issues in economic embargoes", *The Sciences* (1999: 19-23); and "Mortality Changes in Iraq, 1990 - 1996, a review of the evidence", Occasional Paper, *Fourth Freedom Forum*, 1999.

Rita Bhatia has been working as policy analyst in the policy section of Save the Children Fund UK for nearly two years. She is involved with a broad range of economic and political issues as they relate to children and the realisation of their rights. She has been leading on a project analysing the impacts of international sanctions on the rights of children in a number of countries where Save the Children is based. Previously, she worked at ActionAid, a UK non-governmental organisation, on creating an advocacy strategy for the organisation. She has a background in international development, completing an MPhil in Development Studies in 1996 from the Institute for International Development, University of Sussex. She has a BA in Geography from the University of Oxford.

Andrea Ledward is the research and advocacy officer on Iraq at Save the Children Fund (UK). She was previously a research fellow at the University of Harvard, focusing on children's rights

and NGO policies for children in conflict and AIDS-affected communities. While in the US, she was a consultant for Save the Children Fund, working around the United Nations, following the sanctions debates, NGO activity and politics around Iraq. Her disciplinary training is in anthropology and psychology, and her practical experience has mainly been the development of child-centred research methodologies for evaluating health education and HIV/AIDS projects.

Harriet Griffin is a researcher at the Centre for Environmental Change at Oxford University, having previously been an exhibition manager at the Natural History Museum. She currently works on domestic energy use in Europe, however has also been pursuing research interests in the socio-economic impacts of sanctions on Iraq in particular and of British foreign policy in general. She has also researched issues of the forced migration, structure and adaptation of migrant communities, and is hoping to pursue this further in the future. She has a BA in Zoology from the University of Oxford.

Dr Nadje Al-Ali is a researcher at the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex. She is an anthropologist who is currently doing research on Bosnian refugees. She has previously worked on gender issues in the Middle East. Her PhD dissertation (SOAS in London) on the women's movement and political culture in Egypt is forthcoming (Cambridge University Press). She is a member of Women in Black, a loose international and national network of women campaigning for peace and against injustice. Women in Black have been campaigning to lift the sanctions in Iraq and the group is specifically concerned with the ways women are affected by sanctions. Dr Al-Ali is half-Iraqi, half-German; her father's family is still in Iraq.

Emad Salman is Director of the Iraqi Community Association, and is a committee member of the Committee for the Lifting of Economic Sanctions on the Iraqi People (CLESIP).

Professor Hugh MacDonald is senior research associate at the School of Economic and Social Studies, University of East Anglia. He is also adjunct professor of Political Science, Boston University and visiting scholar at the Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies, Bar-ilan University, Israel. He has taught at universities in Britain and Canada, including the LSE and Queen's University, Ontario, and is a consultant in international security and development. Professor MacDonald's background is in arms control and strategic studies; some of his more recent work is on the former Yugoslavia, north-east Asia security and Middle East developments, including the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction. He originally studied economics with international relations and Russian studies, and carried out postdoctoral work in the USA.

Professor Doug Rokke currently teaches environmental engineering and nuclear physics at Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville, Alabama, USA. He has been involved in emergency response and disaster preparation activities for over 20 years. He has written, directed, and edited numerous training films associated with emergency response, and worked as a consultant for news and documentary programmes for the BBC, as well as in the USA, Canada, Germany and France. His combat operations and medical military experience spans over 30 years from the Vietnam War through Operation Desert Storm to the present. During Operation Desert Storm he was originally assigned as the 12th Preventive Medicine Command health physicist and as a member of Bauer's Raider's, the 3rd U.S. Army Medical Command Theater nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare special operations planning and teaching team. He helped develop and teach decontamination procedures and designed casualty treatment facilities. After completion of the ground war he was reassigned to the Theater Depleted Uranium assessment team as the team health physicist and medic. He had responsibility for identifying, planning, and implementing the clean up of all United States Depleted Uranium contaminated equipment, providing initial medical care recommendations, and emergency medical care for contaminated casualties. He was recalled to active duty in the U.S. Army between 1994 and 1995 as the Depleted Uranium Project Director. During this time he conducted research to develop radioactive materials management procedures and to write education and training curricula. Dr Rokke has concentrated his efforts for over 8 years

on the environmental clean up of depleted uranium contamination and ensuring that medical care is provided for all DU casualties.

Felicity Arbuthnot is a freelance journalist who writes on environmental and social issues. She has visited Iraq over a dozen times since 1991. She is currently working as a Leader of Research for Carlton Television and has just returned from Iraq.

Nikki van der Gaag is Co-editor with the *New Internationalist*, a monthly magazine on development issues. She has recently edited an edition on Iraq and has a long-term interest in Middle Eastern affairs since living in Lebanon in the mid-1980s. She recently visited Iraq with Felicity Arbuthnot. She has worked for Oxfam, the Minority Rights Group and the World Council of Churches and written and produced a range of articles and materials on global issues.

Milan Rai has been the co-ordinator of Voices in the Wilderness UK, a leading anti-sanctions campaign group, since 1997. The group violate sanctions by taking medicines and children's toys to Iraq. He travelled to Iraq in February and August 1998. He is also a founding member of ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War). He is the author of *Chomsky's Politics* (Verso, 1995).

Chris Doyle is the Senior Information Officer at the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, where he has worked almost continuously since 1993. Before that he did a degree in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Exeter University. He is also a regular contributor to various Middle East journals including Middle East International.

Anthonius W. de Vries is the economic and financial sanctions co-ordinator within the services of the European Commission. As such he is responsible for designing sanctions policies, drafting EC Regulations and monitoring or managing their implementation. He took up his functions at the Commission in 1990. Before that he was a deputy-Director at the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, lastly responsible for economic relations with developing countries.

Dr Eric Herring, MA, MSc(Econ), PhD is a Lecturer in International Politics at the Department of Politics, University of Bristol. He was formerly Visiting Scholar at George Washington University, Washington DC, and Social Science Research Council MacArthur Fellow in International Peace and Security at Columbia University, New York. In September 1996, he was election monitor in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Crisis Group. Dr Herring's publications include the following books: (co-author Ken Booth) *Keyguide to Information Sources in Strategic Studies* (Mansell, 1994); (author) *Danger and Opportunity: Explaining International Crisis Outcomes* (Manchester University Press, 1995); (co-editors Geoffrey Pridham and George Sanford) *Building Democracy? The International Dimension of Democratisation in Eastern Europe* (Leicester University Press, revised edition 1997); (co-author Barry Buzan) *The Arms Dynamic in World Politics* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998); and (editor) *Preventing the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Frank Cass, forthcoming March 2000).

Jon Davies works at the Middle East desk at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which he joined on leaving university in 1990. He spent a year working on Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda before undertaking two years of full-time Arabic language training in London and Cairo. He worked for the British Embassy in Kuwait from 1991-1993, then returned to work in the Cabinet Office as an analyst on Gulf issues. He is now head of the Iraq section in the Middle East Department of the Foreign Office.

Anis Nacrou is in charge of Middle Eastern, Central Asian and African affairs at the Diplomatic Chancellery at the French Embassy in London. Previously, he has been first secretary at the French embassy in Doha, Qatar, advisor to the French Embassy in Bahrain, and a member of the French delegation to the General Assembly to the United Nations, as well as Assistant-General Consul in Chicago. In 1996, he was seconded to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. He holds a doctorate from the political science faculty of the University of the Sorbonne.

Iraq under sanctions: a brief history

2 August 1990: Iraq invades Kuwait.

6 August 1990: United Nations Security Council imposes near-total sanctions on Iraq (UN SCR 661). Iraq was vulnerable as it had imported 2/3 its food and its oil exports were easily cut off.

January - March 1991: Gulf War fought, in part due to the recognition that the sanctions would not act quickly enough to prevent Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. The Gulf War and the ensuing civil war (in which 15 of Iraq's 18 governorates rose up against Baghdad) both killed directly and damaged Iraqi civilian infrastructure. The civil war leads to the effective partition of Iraq into South/Central and Iraqi Kurdistan, the latter UN administered.

3 April 1991: Security Council Resolution 687 extends sanctions, citing concerns about Iraq's non-conventional weapons and medium range ballistic missiles. UN Special Commission (Unscm) established to work with International Atomic Energy Agency. Their task is to identify, destroy and prevent the future development of these weapons in Iraq. The resolution gives them 120 days to do all of this. After the resolution is passed US President Bush announces that the sanctions will not be lifted until Iraqi President Hussein is no longer in power. This policy is adopted by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Summer 1991: Security Council Resolution 706 approves an "oil for food" plan and asks the Secretary-General to recommend a value of oil that Iraq should be allowed to export. The Secretary-General's report estimates Iraq minimum humanitarian needs to be \$1.73 billion every 180 days. Security Council Resolution 712 approves oil sales worth two thirds this level. Iraq refuses to implement the plan and attempts to make itself agriculturally self-sufficient.

14 April 1995: Security Council Resolution 986 approves a new "oil for food" plan. It allows Iraq more oil sales, seems more sensitive to Iraqi sovereignty concerns and is explicitly temporary. Iraq, whose efforts at agricultural self-sufficiency have failed, eventually accepts it and "oil for food" begins in late 1996, allowing Iraq up to \$2 billion of oil sales every 180 days. All revenues from oil sales are paid directly into a UN controlled escrow account. Thirty percent are paid into a "compensation fund" for victims, individual and corporate, of the Gulf War. 53% are available for South/Central Iraq (home to 85% of the population) and 13% to Iraqi Kurdistan. The UN Sanctions Committee of the Security Council then decides on Iraqi requests for imports, a single veto from a permanent member being sufficient to block the request. If the request is approved, the money is paid directly from the escrow account to the supplier. UN observers in Iraq ensure the correct use of the imports.

Summer 1995: a UN Food and Agriculture Organization delegation to Baghdad estimate child mortality there. Two of its researchers publish their estimate in the Lancet that 567,000 extra children under five have died in Iraq under sanctions. Although this estimate is no longer felt accurate it is implicitly accepted in 1996 by Madeleine Albright, who judges that "the price is worth it".

August 1998: Unscm inspector Scott Ritter resigns after two of his "challenge inspections" of Iraqi weapons facilities are blocked by Washington. He accuses the Security Council of interest only in the "illusion of arms control"; he accuses Unscm's executive director, Richard Butler, of consciously subverting the independence of Unscm. Iraq has obstructed Unscm's work throughout.

September 1998: UN Assistant Secretary-General Denis Halliday, in charge of UN operations in Iraq, resigns, saying that "we are in the process of destroying an entire country. It is as simple and terrifying as that." His successor, Hans von Sponeck, is currently being pressured by the US and the UK to resign as his views are similar to Halliday's.

December 1998: Unscm inspectors leave Iraq just before US/UK bombing begins; Iraq has not allowed them back. Their report is generally accepted to have been written with the help of the US administration and was not debated by the Security Council (Unscm's boss) before the

bombing began. The bombing continues on a smaller scale; concrete warheads are apparently being used now.

Winter 1999: The Security Council seeks a new consensus on Iraq: permanent members China, France and Russia favour easing the sanctions while the UK and the US oppose this. Three panels (on disarmament, humanitarian concerns and Kuwaiti claims) report at the end of March. The second finds that Iraq under sanctions had experienced a shift from "relative affluence to massive poverty". A French proposal is met by an Anglo-Dutch proposal. Both accept the principle of sanctioning the Iraqi population in the hopes of influencing its leadership but the former makes more provisions for humanitarian exemptions.

May 1999: The UN Food and Agriculture Organization estimated that a drought afflicting the Middle East had "caused complete failure in germination of about 70% in the rainfed areas [of central and south Iraq], and very low yields (expected) in the remaining 30%". In the north, the drought is more severe than any seen in the 120 years of recorded data.

July 1999: Forbes magazine ranks Iraqi President Saddam Hussein world's sixth richest head of state. (<http://www.forbes.com/forbes/99/0705/6401220a.htm>)

August 1999: Unicef publishes a preliminary report on the first independent national mortality survey in Iraq. They find the (under five) child mortality level in South/Central to have doubled; in Iraqi Kurdistan it has declined slightly. One in three Iraqi women who die between the ages of 15 and 49 die of pregnancy-related causes. Unicef's accompanying press release estimates that an additional half million children under five have died in Iraq under sanctions. The US and UK blame the increased mortality on the Iraqi leadership, denying sanctions' role.

September 1999: Two weeks of meetings in London fail to achieve an agreement between the two camps of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Currently (November 1999): High oil prices allow Iraq to reach its export cap (now \$5.3 billion every 80 days) for the first time; the Security Council grants it permission to exceed the cap to compensate for previous inability to do so. Malnutrition seems to have stabilised under "oil for food" at about 20% of the child population. The UN Secretary-General publicly expresses concern about the number of holds being placed on Iraqi import requests by the UN Sanctions Committee.

Compiled by Colin Rowat (cir20@cam.ac.uk, tel 0468 056984), November 1999

Sources to be added, and are available on request in the meantime.