CHAPTER -V

Iraq and Economic Sanctions

Ever since its mistake of invading Kuwait on August 2, 1990 Iraq is not only facing the severest of economic sanctions ever imposed in its history but also ire of sole super power, the USA. Although is nearly a decade since the Persian Gulf War ended, the UN economic sanctions against Iraq continue to remain in force today, causing an unprecedented human toll and suffering. The UN sanctions, stringently pursued by the United States and European countries have proved to be extremely disastrous for all sections and layers of the society. Those who have suffered more from sanctions are vulnerable: women, children and those heavily dependent on the societal "safety net" provided by international relief agencies.

The negative humanitarian consequences of sanctions have outweighed their intended political benefits.¹ These concerns have led many to question the very instrumentality of sanctions. In his January 1995 report, *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace*, former U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali asked "whether suffering inflicted on

vulnerable groups in the target country is a legitimate means of exerting pressure on political leaders?\textsuperscript{2} Current UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has also expressed concern that "the hardship imposed on the civilian population is greatly disproportionate to the likely impact of sanctions on the behaviour of the protagonists."\textsuperscript{3}

Although the instrument of sanctions as a means to uphold and enforce the international norms, is not new. But it became a focus of world attention and of an academic debate after the UN Security Council imposed comprehensive sanctions against Iraq following the Gulf War of 1991. Since then it has become a controversial episode in international relations. There are some who justify the sanctions against Iraq. But there are others also who consider sanctions as unethical and detrimental to the population of Iraq.

Since the end of the Cold War, economic coercion has become a popular response to myriad threats to international peace and security. The Iraqi challenge was the first major threat to international law and order to take place after the mechanism of international peace keeping, long deadlocked by US-Soviet rivalry, had been unshackled. Actions against Iraq demonstrated that the end of the cold war had made possible an unprecedented degree of consensus and cooperation among the major


During the cold war the enforcement powers of the United Nations Security Council were hardly used. The main exception was the Korean war, when the Security Council was able to authorize assistance to South Korea because the Soviet Union was boycotting its meetings. Apart from this exception, the only enforcement actions under chapter VII of the UN charter adopted by the Security Council were a mandatory embargo of the white breakaway regime of Rhodesia in 1966 and a mandatory arms embargo declared against South Africa in 1977. But with the radical shift in Soviet Policy or rather with the demise of Soviet Union sanctions have become a frequent instrument of United Nations authority.\textsuperscript{5} Sanctions are no longer the virtual dead letter of the UN Charter. The UN Security Council has currently imposed partial or comprehensive multilateral sanctions against Iraq (1990), the former Yugoslavia (1991), Libya (1992), Liberia (1992), Somalia (1992), Haiti (1993), parts of Angola (1993), Rwanda (1994), Sudan (1996), Sierra Leone (1997) and most recently against Afghanistan. Sanctions have also become very popular in the United States' Policy tool of choice. A 1997 study by the National Associations of Manufacturers listed 35 countries targeted by new American sanctions


\textsuperscript{5} While in the UN's first four decades the Security Council could impose economic sanction only twice it has invoked them over dozen times in present decade. See James C.Ngobi " The United Nations Experience with Sanctions" in David Cortright and George A. Lopez, eds., \textit{Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post Cold War World}? (Boulder, Colo: Westview. 1995) pp. 17-18.
from 1993 to 1996. What is noteworthy, however, is not just the frequency with which sanctions are used but their centrality; economic sanctions are increasingly at the core of US foreign policy.⁶

Sanctions have long been used in international politics not only as means to uphold international norms but also as instruments to secure political advantage and maintain indirect control. But all too frequent use of sanctions in the recent years and the same on the behest of one member of the Security Council has raised many doubts about their intention. The end of the cold war has transformed the Security Council as one of the department of the US government. In many cases the United States has hijacked the proceedings of the council to serve narrow national purposes, as has been the case with sanctions against Iraq.⁷ The role of sanctions as an instrument of the mighty is troubling. This is especially true when the United States labels certain countries "rogue states" and subjects them to unilateral punitive pressure. Such policies have little or nothing to do with global justice and the enforcement of international norms, which are often used as pretext by the United States while imposing sanctions on states which either refuses to toe the US line on particular international issue or challenges its hegemony in certain regions. The misuse of sanction instrument by Washington is troubling particularly

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with the US, fiercely asserting its self-appointed role of omnipotent global cop bent on instant retribution to errant nation. All these foster resentment and skepticism.

**Conceptualizing Economic Sanctions:**

According to Oxford dictionary the literal meaning of sanction is an "action taken by a country to penalize and coerce a country or organisation that is considered to have violated a law or code of practice or basic human rights". Webster's dictionary defines the term as "coercive measures applied to a nation taking a course of action disapproved by others". Or "motive for obedience to any moral or religious law". Galtung offers a useful general definition of sanctions. They are "actions initiated by one or more international actors (the senders) against one or more others (the receivers) with either or both of two purposes: to punish the receivers by depriving them of some value and/or to make receivers comply with certain norms the senders deem important." 8

In 1938 the British Royal Institute of International Affairs defined sanctions as an "action taken by the members of international community, against an infringement, actual or threatened, of the law" 9 These sanctions include the rupture of diplomatic relations, cultural and sports boycotts,

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commercial sanctions both on exports and imports, and naval blockades. Of all these measures, the most widely used are economic sanctions.

Lloyed Brown John says that economic sanctions may be grouped into three types—embargoes, boycotts and blockades. Daoudi and Dajani have defined that embargo means a ban on export of goods to any sanctioned country by one or more countries. Boycotts on the other hand have been defined by them as sanction imposed by one or more countries to stop the importation of some or all goods from the sanctioned country. Finally, blockade means the closure of territorial waters of the target country to deprive it from imports and exports facilities.

Robert A Pape writes that states use economic pressure against other state for a variety of political purposes. There are two main categories of international economic weapons—trade restrictions and financial restrictions—each of which can be employed with varying intensity and scope. For example trade may be suspended completely or tariffs merely raised slightly; financial flows may be wholly or partially blocked or assets seized; the entire opposing economy may be targeted or just one critical sector. Although the same economic weapons can be employed in support of different political goals, different political purposes yield different strategies. There are three main strategies of international economic pressure: economic sanctions, trade wars, and economic warfare.

10. Ibid, p. 16.

Although Robert A Pape makes distinction among these strategies, there are many who use the term "economic sanctions" to apply to all three strategies. Recently Baldwin has argued that concept of economic sanctions should be broadened to encompass all aspects of "economic statecraft" including not only economic coercion for political purposes (the traditional understanding of sanctions), but also coercion of economic goals (trade disputers) as well as goals other than changing the target state's behaviour, such as engaging in economic warfare, rallying domestic political support, demonstrating resolve to third party audiences, or simply inflicting punishment.

Economic sanctions seek to lower the aggregate economic welfare of a target state by reducing international trade in order to coerce the target government to change its political behaviour. Sanctions can coerce either directly, by persuading target government that the issues at stake are worth price, or indirectly, by inducing popular pressure to force the government to concede. or by inducing a popular revolt that overthrows the government, resulting in the establishment of a government that will make the concessions. Although coercers may suspend trade either comprehensively or partially, economic sanctions characteristically aim

to impose costs on the economy as a whole. Partial trade suspensions are generally adopted either as a part of a calculated strategy to signal the potential of still worse pain to come if the target fails to comply, or as a second best measure because more pressing domestic or international political constrains rule out comprehensive pressure.

In each cases in which sanctions have been applied there appear at first sight to be clear objectives relating to changes in the behaviour of the government against whom they are directed. It is these objectives which are emphasised by those imposing the sanctions. But the study of particular cases of sanctions makes clear that the objectives for which sanctions are imposed are far from simple or straightforward. The objectives pursued can broadly be divided into three categories. There are "primary objectives" which are concerned with the actions and behaviour of the state or regime against whom the sanctions are directed-the 'target state'. There are 'secondary objectives' relating to the status, behaviour and expectations of the governments imposing the sanctions-the 'imposing state'. And there are 'tertiary objectives' concerned with broader international considerations relating either to the structure and operation of the international system as whole or those part of it which are regarded as important by the imposing states.15

It is these primary objectives which have received the most attention in the studies of sanctions and tend to be given the most emphasis in

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the imposing state. However, these primary objectives are themselves diverse. They may include attempts to induce internal political change within the target state-sometimes to topple the target regime, as the United States is currently seeking to do in Iraq. They may be directed to forcing an erring member of a regional alliance back into the fold, as Russians tried to achieve with Yugoslavia. They may be designed to deter the target state from some action beyond its borders. They may seek to weaken or punish the target state or they may be intended to force a target state to accept broadly agreed international norms.16

Thomas G. Weiss finds a change in the pattern of sanctions. He says that the new pattern distinguishes itself from the old not only by the frequency with which sanctions have been imposed, but also by the wide range of purposes they serve, the centerpiece of efforts to repel aggression, restore democracy, condemn human rights violations and punish regimes harboring terrorists and international war criminals.17 The United States for more than any country, uses sanctions to discourage the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, promote human rights, end support for terrorism, thwart drug trafficking, discourage armed aggression, protect the environment and oust governments. To accomplish these ends, sanctions may take the form of arms embargoes, foreign assistance reduction and cutoffs, export and import limitations,


asset freezes, tariff increases, import quota decreases, revocation of most favoured nation (MFN) trade status, votes in international organisations, withdrawal of diplomatic relations, visa denials, cancellation of air links, and credit financing, and investment prohibitions.\textsuperscript{18}

Although increasingly popular especially after the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union, efficacy of economic sanctions has always been doubtful. Study after study shows their questionable utility. For example Galtung in his study of sanctions against Rhodesia concludes that the probable effectiveness of economic sanctions is generally negative.\textsuperscript{19} Doxey summing of her analysis of the UN and southern Africa concedes that the deterrent and coercive force of sanctions is weak on almost every count.\textsuperscript{20} Another scholar Adler-Karssom says that "it is hard to avoid the overall conclusion that the described embargo policy has been a failure."\textsuperscript{21} Another influential study concludes from analysis of more than 100 cases that economic sanctions have worked to some extent about a third of the time.\textsuperscript{22}

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\item 18. Richard N. Haass, n.6, p. 74.
\item 19. Galtung, n.8, p. 409.
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In many cases sanctions have even proved counter productive and resulted in unintended and undesirable consequences. Generally proponents of economic sanctions argue that negative humanitarian impact of sanctions would encourage the people to revolt against the incumbent regime. But in many cases things have been totally reverse. Assumptions of political collapse following economic disaster in the target state have proved to be unfounded. Contrary to belief economic sanctions generally have opposite effect of creating a sense of community and solidarity in the target state. Sanctions have also generated the feeling of staunch nationalism which often makes states willing to endure considerable punishment rather than abandon their national interests. States involved in coercive disputes often accept high costs, including civilian suffering to achieve their objectives. Even in the weakest and most fractured states, external pressure is more likely to enhance the nationalist legitimacy of rulers than undermine it. The best example is Iraq, which has been subjected to the most extreme sanctions in history but it has not buckled. Economic hardship and suffering of Iraqis continue without causing its population to rise up against Saddam Hussein.

But this is not that sanctions have not worked altogether. Haass writes that under the right circumstances, sanctions can achieve, or help achieve, various goals ranging from modest to the fairly significant. Although sanctions alone have seldom brought about major policy changes, they

may make a difference when blended with other international actions. It is mistake to expect economic sanctions alone to achieve the desired primary objectives. Sanctions in fact, should be implemented as a flexible component of a wider diplomatic strategy rather than as the main policy toward a target country, and that should seek to persuade rather than punish. To be effective sanctions must be combined with incentives, as a part of a carrot and stick diplomacy designed to resolve conflict and bring about a negotiated solution. This strategy requires that the imposing authority establish clear and consistent standards for the lifting of sanctions. This logic of instrument also demands that steps toward compliance by the target be rewarded with an easing of coercive pressure. The easing of sanctions will work as incentive for further compliance by the target state. But in case of Iraq the Security Council has adopted an unyielding posture and refused to reciprocate Baghdad's occasional concessions and cooperation.

Sanctions may also prove counter-productive when the imposing body does not provide or properly administers humanitarian exemption and other measures to protect the innocent. The severe economic and social hardships which are inevitable consequence of sanctions have been a point of intense controversy and debate. Considered as an alternative to the use of military force, sanctions may still cause economic and social hardships equivalent to those caused by war. For example in Iraq

more and more people have died as a direct result of sanctions in comparison to number of casualties caused by Gulf War and subsequent US bombings. In some cases, the negative humanitarian consequences of sanctions arguably outweigh whatever political objective may have been accomplished. The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has pointed out that economic sanctions are “too often a blunt instrument”, and has called for measures to mitigate their adverse humanitarian impacts. He has also noted that sanctions pose a dilemma for the United Nations' dual mandate to preserve peace and protect human needs.25

Despite the fact that sanctions have imposed hardship on vulnerable sections of the society many argue that they may be ethically justified if carried out for a higher political and moral purposes such as halting aggression or preventing repression.26 However, in even that case the degree of pain caused by sanction must not exceed to the point that drive living standards below subsistence levels. A US policy analyst has argued that while a certain level of civilian hardship is unavoidable, sanctions must not deprive people of the basic right to life and survival. Nations imposing sanctions have a responsibility to provide humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations. The principle of civilian immunity applies no less in the imposition of sanctions than in the conduct of war. The sanctioning


authorities cannot be exonerated from the fundamental responsibility of mitigating humanitarian impacts within target countries. They must also ensure that the measures enacted to uphold international norms do not cause suffering disproportionate to the ends served.

**Impact of UN Sanctions on the Iraqis:**

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 stimulated an immediate international response. In the changed political scenario of the post-cold war world order Iraq was exposed to an international consensus of unusual strength. The result was the most extensive use ever of the Security Council's powers. The Security Council through its myriad of resolutions imposed the most comprehensive and severest economic sanctions on Iraq ever enacted in its history. With near total support sanctions were implemented with the most effective enforcement ever put in place. The Council linked their lifting to Iraq's unconditional compliance with all of its resolutions.

On August 6, 1990 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 661, the first of the sanctions resolutions. The resolution called upon a total ban on trade and trans-border financial transaction with Iraq and occupied Kuwait. Supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs were exempted. The resolution also established a committee, consisting of all members of the Security Council, to monitor the implementation of these economic measures,
known informally as the "Sanction Committee". On 9 August President Bush issued further executive orders to strengthen US sanctions in response to UN Resolution 661. President Bush, with a stroke of pen, was in a position to affect the patterns of world trade. The European Economic Community through its regulation No. 2340/90, issued on August 8, reaffirmed the 661 embargo conditions.

Over 300 items were included on the 'red list' of banned goods compiled by the Sanctions Committee, ranging from light bulbs, socks, and wrist watches to oven, sewing machines, needles, nails and refrigerators. The banning of some of the items had a clear strategic rationale: for example, the bans on pesticides, seed, fertilizer, and spare parts for agricultural machinery were clearly designed to have an impact on agricultural production. But, as Eric Rouleau, a former French ambassador to Turkey, noted that, the logic of including some items was not always clear: apparently pencils were included because the graphite used in lead has military value.

As experts generally urge, sanctions were imposed quickly and comprehensively, with effective enforcement from early days. Given a well disposed international constellation at the time, international support was overwhelming; more than 150 nations had, as required, reported to


the UN Sanctions Committee on their compliance with sanctions. Secondary enforcement was more effective than in any previous case; compensation was paid to states for losses incurred by complying with embargo, and international financial institutions made available low-cost loans. Other oil producing states, Saudi Arabia in particular, increased oil production to compensate for lost Iraqi oil and to drive down oil prices after a temporary jumps. The impact of these measures was in fact unprecedented.

On August 25, 1990 the five permanent members of the Security Council agreed on a framework for the use of force to support the embargo in case of established and clear violations of sanctions. A key section of Resolution 665 declares that the Security Council "calls upon those member states cooperating with the government of Kuwait which are deploying maritime forces to the area to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations and to ensure strict implementation or the provision related to such shipping laid down in Resolution 661" The wording of the resolution was highly significant. "Such measures ...as may be necessary" made it plain that force was not prohibited.  


From the outset, the sanctions regime had to grapple with the problem of food. Iraq was net importer of food and the tight sanctions net maintained by naval forces provided by the coalition assembled by the US President George Bush proved to be very effective. Indeed, so effective was the blockade that by September 1990 the Security Council felt it necessary to instruct the Sanctions Committee to monitor the availability of food in Iraq and prepare for the possibility of supplying food in order to relieve 'human suffering'. Resolution 666, adopted on September 13, 1990, sought to ensure that food reached the civilian population. The resolution also made specific mention of groups likely to be more affected than others: "Particular attention will be paid to such categories of persons who might suffer specially, such as children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and elderly".\(^{31}\)

In March 1991, the Security Council Sanctions Committee determined that 'humanitarian circumstances apply with respect to the entire civilian population of Iraq, and that food and medical supplies should be allowed immediately'. Subsequently on April 3, 1991 the Security Council passed resolution 687 which formally exempted food stuffs and medical supplies from the sanctions regime.\(^{32}\) Further efforts were made by the Security Council to conclude an agreement with Iraq under which Iraqi oil could


\(^{32}\) For full text of Resolution 687, see Geoff Simons, n. 30, pp. 259-67.
be sold and revenue from these sales used for 'humanitarian' purchases of food, medicines, and other clearly civilian goods and services. However, it was not until May 20, 1996 that Iraq accepted the terms of Resolution 986 of April 14, 1995, which outlined the terms of the 'food-for-oil' arrangement, and not until December 1996 that the first oil flowed to Turkey.33

While measuring the impact of sanctions on Iraqis one has to grapple with many challenges. First, the evidence of the effects of sanctions in Iraq is primarily anecdotal, consisting mainly of impressions gathered by UN officials, Journalists, public health workers, and peace activists. Reliable official government data is nonexistent. And whatever information the Iraqi government does provide about the effects of the international sanctions must be viewed with considerable scepticism, since the Saddam Hussain has a deep interest in protraying conditions in Iraq as grim terms as possible in order to generate sympathy abroad, and a rally round the flag effect at home. Thus it is difficult to assess the effects of sanctions on aggregate measures such as gross domestic product (GDP) or formal employment, leaving one to rely on estimates.

Second, assessing causality for condition of the Iraqi economy in the early and mid-1990s is complicated by the fact that a great deal of damage was caused by the eight year Iran-Iraq war, the two months of military attacks by the coalition during the Gulf-war, and the civil wars

33. Ibid, pp. 279-83.
within Iraq after 1991. However, according to a study team dispatched to Iraq in June 1991 by the Secretary General of the United Nations Boutras Ghali, sanctions played an important part in causing economic damage. The team concluded that 'the impact of sanctions had been, and remains, very substantial on the economy and the living conditions of its civilian population.'

And finally there is problem of assessing the responsibility. Who should assume responsibility for the consequences of sanctions? Critics see the suffering occasioned by Security Council decisions as the responsibility of member states. They argue that if sanctions had not been imposed, and normal patterns of economic intercourse had been allowed to prevail, people would not have experienced such an extreme form of suffering and hardships. Proponents, in contrast, blame reprobate regime which did not change its objectionable policies and bring the sanctions to an end. They argue that Iraqi children are dying not because sanctions have curtailed financial and commercial transfers, but because Saddam Hussein has poured resources into opulent palaces, rebuild his military, and continued to develop weapons of mass-destruction. Baghdad publishes appalling statistics on child mortality but lets food and medicines rot in warehouses and postpones purchasing vital goods permitted through limited oil sales.34 However this study does not try to solve the vex question that who should be held responsible, but feels that both Iraq and the

34. Thomas G. Weiss, n. 17, p. 505.
Security Council should take their share of responsibility so far as suffering of Iraqis are concerned. There may be differences about assuming responsibility but all agree whether proponents or critics of sanctions that they have caused severe hardships in Iraq.

Although sanctions have severely affected and still continue to affect almost all sections of Iraqi society but those who have been hit more are the vulnerable: women and children. Similarly at institutional level four sections have been affected most seriously by the sanctions and have long term consequences are health, food supply, eduction and sanitation. Sanctions have devastating impact on entire Iraqi economy-an economy that in previous decades had advanced into the front ranks of the developing world is rapidly backtracking to a pre-industrial state. Never before has a country faced such prolonged economic strangulation, with the value of lost revenues from prohibited oil exports amounting to more than $130 billion, industrial output dropping by 50 percent, inflation rising by more than 5,000 per cent and per capita income plummeting to levels equivalent to those found in the poorest nation.\textsuperscript{35} The social cost of sanctions has been enormous. Children have been forced to work, to beg and engage in crime. Young women have been forced into prostitution by the destitution of their families.\textsuperscript{36}


The impact of sanctions has been well documented over the years. All the reports from journalists, oil agencies, UN officials and others convey a consensual picture of a civilian population facing unprecedented catastrophe. A report from an UN agency confirms that continued sanctions since August 1990, against Iraq have virtually paralyzed the whole economy and generated persistent deprivation, chronic hunger, endemic undernutrition, massive unemployment and widespread human suffering. A vast majority of the Iraqi population is living under the most deplorable conditions and is simply engaged in a struggle for survivals but with increasing numbers losing out in the struggle, every day a grave humanitarian tragedy is unfolding.  

Sanctions have maximized human suffering in all manifestations. They have resulted in dramatic increase in child and maternal deaths, malnutrition, polluted water, shortage of basic human needs and medicines, deterioration in educational standard, unemployment, diseases and de-industrialization of Iraq. Sanctions have proved to be the most suicidal and destructive instrument to the human beings.

Informations about plight of children in Iraq are more shocking. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported in 1996 that 45,000 children under the age of five dying every month in Iraq as a result of sanctions-induced starvation and disease. A more recent report, noting

pre-sanctions mortality for the under fives at 540 a month, stated that the figure for May 1997 was around 56000 a month and still rising. One of the most alarming reports appeared in a December 2, 1995 letter to Lancet, the journal of the British Medical Association, in which members of a 1995 Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) team asserted that sanctions were responsible for the deaths of 567,000 Iraqi children. This figure, generally rounded to 600,000 has been the most frequently cited number. Critics claim that more Iraqi children have died as a result of sanctions than the combined total of two atomic bombs on Japan and the recent scourge of ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{38} The surviving Iraqi children-typically malnourished, sick and facing premature death-inevitably suffered in other ways as well.

To the catastrophic impact of war and sanctions on the physical health of Iraqi children was added the traumatic devastation of their psychological condition. A substantial research has revealed a highly disturbed child population characterised by intrusive thoughts about the war and various patterns of 'avoidance' behaviour. Around two-third of the children surveyed, were experiencing sleep problem and about a half were worried that they might not live to become adult. Moreover, there were suggestions that psychological problems were worsening. For a whole generation of Iraqi children, the world is not a safe place anymore, anything can happen, and it can literally happen out of the blue. A majority of

\textsuperscript{38} George A Lopez and David Cortright, "Pain and Promise" \textit{The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists}, May/June 1998, p. 41.
the children felt 'more alone inside': they had lost all sense of security and optimism.\footnote{Cited in Geoff Simon, n. 30, p. 124.}

Women have been hit more and they suffer in unique ways, due to sanctions and resultant economic strangulation. Only the desperately hungry pregnant women can experience the anguish of knowing that her foetus is already malnourished, that her baby will stand a greater chance of being born disabled or dead, and that if it survives it is destined to suck in vain on shrivelled breasts. Sanctions have a direct impact upon the roles that have been traditionally assigned to women in Iraqi society and culture. Bearing in mind the status of women in Iraq, as in many third world countries, one expects that women have borne and are still bearing the brunt of recent upheavals in family, economy and society. Iraqi women, having lost husbands, sons and brothers in war, have been forced to shoulder an immense burden. Many of the women who are the sole earners in their families have great difficulties feeding their children. Economic sanctions have produced greater unemployment, making it difficult for women to earn the money not being provided by war maimed or absent husbands. So many women in Iraq today are driven to take up humiliating ways of earning in order to assure the survival of their dependents. They have had to compromise with the traditional notions of hounour and shame. Women can be seen begging at street corners, hidden completely in the anonymity of the \textit{abya} (the traditional black...
garment covering the entire body). Because of poverty many women now turn to prostitution in order to be able to make a living. Women typically go hungry to provide for their children and elderly relatives.\(^40\)

According to one survey nearly two-third women in Iraq are suffering from such psychological problems as depression, anxiety, headache and insomnia. They are also suffering from severe malnutrition, increase susceptibility to disease, menstrual irregularity and breast feeding difficulties. The 1991, long before the full impact of sanctions was being felt, Sadruddin Agha Khan report estimated that about a third of all pregnant and lactating women were under-nourished and in need of nutritional support.\(^41\) Dr. Abed-al-Amir, head of the Babylon Paediatric and Maternity Hospital, has stated that the much increased incidence of miscarriages, premature labour and low-birth weight babies has been caused by the mounting physical and psychological pressures on women, the lack of medicines and pre-natal care, and the difficulty in reaching hospitals because of transportation problem.\(^42\)

Dr. Al-Amir also commented that the lack of contraception facilities, a further consequence of war and sanctions, was having various adverse consequences. Now contraceptives were only being made available to women

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40. Ibid, p. 132.


for medical reasons and in rare cases to older women with large families.
The researchers for the International Study Team encountered one woman, anaemic and weak, who had two caesarian operations in one year because of lack of contraception. Aid workers were soon to report caesarian operations taking place without anaesthetics—yet another consequence of sanction A teenage girl was cited who had bleeding problems that could only be countered by the birth control pill, which at that time had become unavailable. Another consequence, reported by a women gynaecologist from Hilla, was an increase in the incidence of illegal abortions and a related increase in the number of maternal deaths. A large number of women were now testifying that they or their daughters were now suffering from irregular menstruations, excessive bleeding and severe pains; with an increase in the incidence of hair loss, skin complaints, weight loss, insomnia and other problems.43

With the progressive collapse of the medical infrastructure, the Iraqi women are now forced to take on the burden of health caretakers. This in turn put mounting stress on women, already struggling to find food and water, and usually unable to feed their families properly. Many women take their sick children to health centres and hospitals, only to find that the sanctions have blocked the medical access to drugs and to the spare parts necessary to keep medical equipment working. The women then stay with their dying children in hospital wards denuded of effective medical care provisions.

43. Ibid, pp. 44-45.
Sanctions have drastically changed the women's domestic roles. Almost all Iraqi women claim that their lives have changed since the sanctions were imposed. Now they have extra-domestic responsibilities due to the destruction of infrastructure, such as water supply and electricity and because of fuel shortages.44 Water is major worry for most of the Iraqi women. While in some rural areas women are used to fetching water from wells or rivers, many Iraqi villagers are in fact equipped with water pipes, fetching water become an added responsibility for many women when supply of piped water were disrupted. Most of the women interviewed by the International Study Team indicated that their household duties had increased since the onset of crisis, even though their husbands had in many cases lost their jobs because of the collapse of the economy. Free men in Iraq do not assist women in household works because it is treated as degradation of manhood.45

The sanctions imposed on Iraq has badly affected the marriage prospects of the Iraqi women. In particular it has become increasingly difficult to put together the mahar—the traditional bride-price or dowry of cash, gold and jewellery provided by the husband's family to the wife as a result of the collapse of the Dinar and the widespread practice of selling the family's gold for food. And women, particularly the mothers of marriage-age daughters, are reportedly unwilling to forgo the mahar.

44. Ibid, p. 46.
expressing concern about not only their daughter's good standing with their prospective in-laws, but also their daughter's security. The gold jewellery was traditionally the way in which married women ensured their financial stability or secured a voice in family decision making.46

In short, the evidence presented in International Study Team, newspaper accounts, the work of many scholars and UN reports speak volumes about miserable conditions of the Iraqi women caused by prolonged UN economic sanctions. The vast majority of the Iraqi women contend with a variety of problems; more difficult roles, a greatly reduced ability to feed their families, an increased chance of unemployment, general impoverishment, lack of medical care and of an hygienic environment, anxiety and psychological trauma, marital collapse and family breakdown, increased problems in pregnancy and childbirth, an increased likelihood of sickness and disability.47

The health sector in Iraq has totally collapsed. Nearly all medicines are in short supply, increase in the incidence of disease. no anesthetics to operate, no ambulance, power failure in the middle of emergency heart operation, a high infant mortality rate and high rates of morbidity and mortality in general, rising rates of preventable disease caused by malnutrition and unsanitary conditions, closure of hospitals and community health centres due to shortage of medicines, staff and equipments. These facts depict an appalling humanitarian tragedy.


47. Geoff Simons, n. 30, p. 135.
In late 1991 it was estimated that, following the imposition of sanctions and the destruction of medical facilities in the war, less than one thirtieth of Iraq's medicine requirements were being met. Iraq had been accustomed to importing medicines on a massive scale, a practice that was almost totally blocked by the embargo. This meant that soon all medicines—including medicated milk for infants, vaccines, drugs (for diabetes, asthma, angina, tuberculosis, etc), anaesthetics and antibiotics were in short and diminishing supply. In the same way all other medical supplies (such as syringes, intravenous fluids, surgical supplies, new medical equipment and spare parts for X-ray machines, incubators etc.) were rapidly becoming unavailable, either deliberately blocked by the Sanctions Committee or mischievously delayed by cumbersome and bureaucratic procedures. In addition the collapse of the infrastructure—power supplies, clean water, transportation. etc. meant that many of the formerly sophisticated health provisions could no longer operate, substantially reducing the access to health care.\textsuperscript{48}

According to Agha Khan Mission 2.5 million Iraqis were without access to potable water in summer 1991, and access had been cut to a quarter of pre-war capacity for a further 14.6 million. By November 1992, the situation had not much improved, according to some reports a liter of drinkable water cost more than a liter of petrol.\textsuperscript{49} The unavailability

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, pp. 150-51.

of clean water has led to gastroenteritis epidemics with thousands of deaths. With the water and sewage systems repeatedly attacked by allied bombers, the World Health Organisation estimated that the Baghdad water supply was down to 5 percent of its pre war level, which meant that people were forced to take drinking water from heavily polluted rivers. As a result, diarrhoeal diseases have spread because of raw sewage in streets and in many rivers. In conjunction with the inability to provide adequate immunization, and the collapse of health services, these poor sanitary conditions have prompted outbreaks of poliomyelitis, measles and tetanus, all of which were previously uncommon. The breakdown in the clean water supplies has made the populace vulnerable to an epidemic of typhoid.

Throughout Iraq there is acute shortage of medicines even life saving one are simply not available. Even if some medicines are supplied they do not come with the required combinations and frequency. According to a UN worker, "The medicine part is the most depressing. If a person has less food, he still survives but he cannot do without medicine". When the UN workers go around the smaller towns, people come up to them with prescription and empty vials and ask when is this medicine going to come? Before the war the Iraqi Ministry of Health was moving 1,500 tons of medical supplies around the country every month using large trucks and trailers with 35-ton capacity in the immediate post-war period about 90 per-cent the Ministry vehicle fleet had been immobilised. Many

drugs required by the Iraqi Ministry of Health are produced only by specialist companies in the United States and Britain and governments in these countries are effectively blocking all exports to Iraq. The London based charity Medical Aid for Iraq (MAI) reported that in Baghdad pharmacies a constant stream of people with prescriptions was arriving only to be turned away. Some pharmacists were turning away 90 per-cent of people, elsewhere only 1-2 per-cent of people were being served.

Eric Hoskin, a doctor who was the medical coordinator for the Gulf Peace Team has reported on the collapse of health care infrastructure, claiming that hospitals had been reduced to 'reservoirs of infection' as a result of the lack of medicines, the closure of laboratories and operating theatres. In Kirkuk Hospital a physician described how she had just performed an emergency cesarian section with flies swarming over the incision because operating room windows had been shattered during bomb blasts' and the sanctions regime would not allow their replacement.

The Revel report for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, has noted that Iraq which had formerly enjoyed a very well developed health care system with sophisticated health care facilities nearly free of charge, was now seeing massive deterioration.


52. Ibid.
in its health provisions. In February 1993 the aid charity Medicine for Peace (MFP-New York) noted that it was quite clear that the functional embargo of medicines and biologicals (vaccines), hospital and laboratory equipments and most critically, spare parts for medical equipment had resulted in a complete collapse of the health delivery system. The government's warehouses for medicine have reportedly run out of such basics as bandages, and there is acute shortage of syringes. The equipment the hospitals lacks ranges from simple sutures to blood filters, from bags to incubators. Another alarming fact about Iraqi hospitals: most have gone back to the old system of glass boiled syringe. This is due to fact that Iraq's disposable syringe factory in Babel was destroyed by the Americans during the war. All over the world this method was discontinued because of the danger of hepatitis and other cross infections.

It is also significant to note that Iraq has relied mostly upon sophisticated medical technology imported from around the world; and that now Iraq is prohibited by the sanctions regime from importing such equipments and necessary spare parts for equipment already in Iraq. Iraq is no longer allowed to acquire X-ray plates, laboratory scanners, spare parts for incubators and intensive care units, inks, paper and much else


for which there is a clear medical need. Due to lack of paper prescriptions are being written on scraps of cardboard. One doctor in Iraq reported: 'we have lost patients because we didn't have any instruments. Either we have run out of spare parts or laboratory kits. We have radiological equipment, but no X-ray paper. We can't monitor cardiac patients because the monitor don't work.\footnote{Diane Weathers, "Life under Sanctions", \textit{WFP Journal}, World Food Programme, Rome, June 1991, p. 27.}

The ongoing sanctions against Iraq have had a devastating effect on Iraqi people and society. Once a prosperous nation with western tastes and secular outlook, most of the country now live in a state of severe poverty. The people of Iraq are fighting a daily battle against the hardship imposed upon them by sanctions. The sanctions have completely ruined the economy of Iraq. Since the war earnings have not increased for most people, while the prices of basic commodities have increased drastically. As a result, the purchasing power of Iraqi households has dramatically declined. The average food basket purchased by a family of six used to cost about 66 dinars, soon after the war the same costs more than 100 dinars. Before the embargo, a cartoon of 30 eggs used to cost 400 Iraqi fils or less than half a dinar. Now the same cartoon costs 3000 dinars. The same goes for basic food stuffs such as sugar, rice, wheat, tea and cooking oil\footnote{\textit{The Pioneer}, New Delhi, March 5, 1999.} One of the main causes of hardship is the rocketing prices of many food stuffs, an inevitable consequence.
of the shortages caused by sanctions. The massive price escalation that occurred in the first year of sanctions continued in subsequent years.

In addition there has also been sharp decline in the value of the Iraqi dinar. In 1990 one Iraqi dinar was equal to 3.5 US dollar but now two dollar is equal to 4000 dinars. Both per capita income of Iraqis and salaries of personnel are in worst condition beyond our imagination. A university Professor in Iraq hardly gets even one hundred US dollar as monthly salary. Most households in Iraq today earn an income well below what is needed to satisfy elementary needs. Iraq's economy is facing one of the most serious resource crisis in the history with increasing debt burden. Iraqi government is finding it very difficult to built peace, to meet the rising expectations and to implement the rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes on which its political legitimacy is hinging upon.

There have been major changes in the lives of ordinary people of Iraq. Day to day existence has become a struggle for survival. The Iraqi people have been plunged into poverty, an affliction with many faces—hunger being one of them. Hasar, as the sanctions are known in Arabic is now a household term and are perceived by the Iraqis as to be the root causes of their plight. In the last few decades Iraq had made rapid progress in development and public services. This was reflected in the standards of living of the people and the fact that very few people were below the poverty line. Those who were in the 'destitute' category were
provided with a pension of 54 dinars. Presently very few people are above this destitution line. These same people, for whom acquiring bread did not pose any significant problem before the war, now regard it as a major preoccupation.

War and sanctions have led to a sharp deterioration in formal employment. During the war and the internal conflict that followed, most sources of employment came to standstill. In the aftermath of the war the destruction of industries, power and telecommunications system in the coalition bombings and shortages of spare parts due to the economic blockade have prevented a speedy recovery from taking place. A visit to a factory shows evidence of this—row upon row of idle machines. The condition of these machines gives an idea of the predicament that their operators must be in. A large percentage of the industrial workers have lost their jobs. Government employers fared better only to the extent that they had stable jobs. However, the worth of their salaries (unchanged in money terms) has been greatly reduced by price increase. The condition of casual labourers is no better. Even though their daily wages have increased a little in money terms, their work opportunities have been reduced by about 50 per cent. A large number of families in Iraq seem to be surviving on pensions. There are different categories of pensions for retired government employees, war widows, parents of soldiers killed or missing in war, and the destitute.
In the state of near total collapse of real income from wage employment and pension many people have started finding ways and means of being self employed. Many government employees can be seen selling cigarettes, sweets, newspaper or anything which would allow them to make some extra money. In Baghdad one can see series of stalls with young people (often educated and unemployed) selling various home cooked food items like vegetable and lentil stews. There were hardly any roadside stalls in the pre-sanctions days. While travelling from Baghdad to nearby down, one is struck by the number of small children who should have been in school but instead are selling cans of soft drinks and mineral water. What is more ironical that they sell mineral water to make a little money to help their families but they themselves drink unpurified water due to the scarcity of chlorine (essential for purification) which is embargoed as a chemical.

Sanctions have created serious financial crises for Iraqis. Many have incurred debts and sold gold and other household items such as refrigerators, televisions as a result of economic need. Indeed Iraqis have sold everything even the kitchen sink in some cases - to survive the international embargo. Many of those who did not sell any household items were among those who had nothing to sell. The ongoing sell of household items is a telling indication of the extent of poverty in the household. Besides meeting basic needs the distress sales are also made

in order to raise capital to assist the setting of petty trade or business of relatives demobilized from the army, prisoners of war who have returned, or those who are seeking to be self employed.

Perhaps the most pervasive and negative effects of the sanctions involved the availability of food. Though technically exempted from the sanctions imposed on Iraq, from the outset of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, the availability of food to the population was affected because of the ripple effects of the sanctions, decline in export revenues, particularly from oil, led to a steep drop in purchasing power. Even before the outbreak of the war in January 1991 there were reports of sharp decline in the amount of food people were able to purchase,\(^58\) after the war, there were further drops of 5-7 per cent of the pre-war levels. However, food prices continued to spiral, jumping by over 650 per cent is 1994 alone; wages, particularly in the public sector, simply did not keep up.\(^59\)

The draconian economic sanctions have created deepening food crisis in Iraq. The position is deteriorating rapidly in virtually all parts of the country. Now food has become the main preoccupation of the most of the Iraqi families, for whom managing two times meal had never been a problem. With around 70 per cent of Iraq's food imported, the sanctions have resulted a massive decline in the amount of food available. The

\(^58\) Patrick E. Tyler, “Iraq's Food Rations are Reduced as Trade Embargo Cuts Supplies” *New Yorks Times*, January 2, 1991.

\(^59\) Eric Rouleau estimates that for a mid-level official a month's salary would be required to purchase a kilo of meat, two months' for a pair of shoe. See Eric Rouleau, n. 28, p. 65.
systematic bombing of Iraq's infrastructure has also helped to erode the civilian access to food: food processing plant has been destroyed, refrigeration facilities has no electricity, and the normal mechanisms for food distribution (roads, bridges, transport) have been totally disrupted.

The food crisis, a direct result of the economic sanctions, was further exacerbated by denying Iraq the opportunity to reconstruct its own devastated agricultural sector: sanctions apply not only to foodstuffs but also to seed, pesticides, agricultural machinery and plant, and the spare parts that would have allowed the repair of existing equipment. The bombing of the power stations has dramatically affected the agricultural sector, as like others. The collapse of the power system has resulted in the long-term flooding of much agricultural land and increased salt concentrations in the soil. With spare parts for damaged pumps no longer available, large areas of agricultural land have been lost. There has also been sharp decline in the yield of grain crops (wheat, barley, grain, corn and rice). For example, the wheat yield was 900 Kg/donum (1 hectare = 4 donums) in 1989, but only 165 kg/donum in 1994, barley saw a similar decline, from 830 kg/donum to 195 Kg/donum over the same period. Thus sanctions have two way impact: food imports were blocked and domestic production was collapsing.

The deepening food crisis in Iraq has increased the people's dependence on the public distribution system (PDS) which has become

the line of majority of the Iraqi families. Many families have become totally dependent on ration and charity for survival. The rationing system was established in September, 1990 a few weeks after the imposition of the sanctions regime. Ration cards were issued by the Iraqi government to each family without any kind of discrimination. Under this scheme each family member was entitled to identical monthly rations of basic food items including wheat flour, rice, sugar, tea and cooking oil. Besides, a few other items like lentils, dairy products, razor blades etc. were occasionally distributed. The main purpose of the rationing system was to ensure that every citizen received at least a certain secure food allocation, which if purchased on the open market, would cost 20 to 30 times as much.

Although the public distribution system was being administered very efficiently and effectively but it was felt to be insufficiently to meet out the needs of the Iraqis. The rations provided enough food to feed an average family for fifteen days each month; the rest of the month was the responsibility of the individual or family. The rationing system remained in place in subsequent years, though it became increasingly inadequate with time. The government rationing system according to one estimate, could provide only about one third of the typical family's food needs, resulting in a strikingly low level of dietary intake. The situation was particularly alarming with respect to the nutritional status of children,

pregnant and lactating mothers as well as households especially headed by widows, divorced and deserted women. In consequence, large numbers of Iraqis have now food intakes lower than those of the populations in the disaster stricken African countries. The situation was to further deteriorate with the passage of time: by early 1996, the World Health Organization was reporting that ‘the vast majority of Iraqis continue to survive on a semi starvation diet.’

The food consumption pattern of the Iraqi families has also been severely affected due to sanctions. Most families now subsist on bread and occasionally seasoned vegetables such as okra, tomatoes, potatoes and eggplants. Iraqis are known for favouring meat in most of their meals including breakfast. But due to the hike in meat prices it has become beyond their reach. The consumption of meat, for many formerly eaten once or twice weekly has ceased altogether.

Thus sanctions have caused ‘persistent deprivation’ severe hunger and malnutrition for a vast majority of the Iraqi population, particularly the vulnerable groups—children under five, expectant/nursing women, widows, orphans, the sick, the elderly and disabled. To continue the sanctions in their present form would only serve to aggravate the already grave food supply situation.

62. Ibid.
The effect of sanctions is much more than economic. Deprivation and a deep sense of isolation has triggered a host of social changes that are changing the faces of Iraqi society. Family values have been damaged, children have been forced to work, to become street kids, to beg and engage in crime. Young women have been forced into prostitution by the destitution of their families. Fathers have abandoned their families. Crimes are in rise. Thefts, burglaries and armed holdups are multiplying. So called Islamic measures taken by the government - the amputation of thieves' hands, the banning of alcohol in public place among others have not reduced crime or halted the decomposition of society.  

Since the President Saddam Hussein's ruling Bath Party came to power following a coup in 1968, the secularism and socialism have been the ideological pillars of the regime. Now a religious revival is sweeping over country. Iraqis who plunged from a middle class life-style the depths of despair are embracing religion. One indication of the new religious observance is mosque attendance. Ten years ago only a trickle of people heeded the call of the Muezzin, these days Friday prayers are making a comeback. At the same time an increasing number of Iraqi women are honouring the Muslim dress code, at least in Public. More Shiaite women have taken up the all in one abaya like their counterparts in neighbouring Iran. Many Sunni women have adopted the simple head scarf, which was until recently, the trademark of Palestinian women in Iraq. It is not only

63. Eric Rouleau, n. 28, p. 65.
Muslims who are moving closer to religion. Iraq's one million Christians have also rediscovered the Church\textsuperscript{64}.

This new adherence to religion is not in itself cause of alarm. But there is no telling what kind of influence it will have on the political culture when Saddam Hussein either dies or is ousted from power. During 19 years of dictatorship, political challenges have been routinely crushed so there is little chance that a formidable fundamentalist movement will emerge just yet. However, a vibrant Islamic political force, backed by the country's majority Shiaite population and supported from the outside by the Islamic Republic of Iran, is entirely possible in the post-Saddam period\textsuperscript{65}.

The embargo has also badly hit the educational system which are considered to be backbone for the development of any country. Although sanctions have terribly affected entire educational system the worst affected have been the primary and secondary education. Thousands of schools have been destroyed or damaged by bombing and that now they are in bad need of repair. Basic items such as chalk, pencils, erasers, notebooks, textbooks, papers and blackboards are either absent or in short supply.\textsuperscript{66} Many of the surviving schools are without electrical supply, water or sanitation facilities. There has been massive increase in drop out rates.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{64} Gale Cardozo, \textquotedblleft A Slow but Steady Decline\textquotedblright \textit{The Middle East}, August 1998, p. 46.
  \item \textsuperscript{65} \textit{Ibid.}
  \item \textsuperscript{66} \textit{Ibid}
\end{itemize}
According to the UN Children's Fund, two children out of five have dropped out of school. As a result the rate of illiteracy is on the rise.

Higher education is also suffering. Most universities are barely limping along and students themselves are hardly interested in earning an advanced degree, since these days a college graduate can expect to take home the equivalent of $2 a month. Many educated young people have left their academic studies to work in services, taking menial jobs such as taxi drivers and mechanics. Intellectuals, writers and professors in search of a better life have left Iraq for Libya, Yemen and other Arab states where they have found relatively high paying jobs in schools and universities. Naturally the education system has been hit hardest by this 'brain drain'.

A New Iraq Policy:

The impact of sanctions has been well documented over the years. The destructive potential of economic sanctions can be seen most clearly, albeit in an extreme form in Iraq. No one knows with any precision, how many Iraqi civilians have died as a result, but various agencies of the United Nations, which oversees the sanctions have estimated that they have contributed to hundreds of thousands of deaths. By 1998 Iraqi infant mortality had reportedly risen from the pre-Gulf war rate of 3.7 per cent to 12 percent. Inadequate food and medical supplies, as well as breakdown in sewage and sanitation system and in the electrical power system needed

67. Ibid
to run them, reportedly cause an increase of 40,000 deaths annually of children and of 50,000 deaths annually of older Iraqis. If the UN estimates of the human damage in Iraq are even roughly correct, therefore, it would appear that in a so far futile effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power-economic sanctions may well have been a necessary cause of the deaths of more people in Iraq than have been slain by all so-called weapons of mass destruction throughout history.

Study after study shows that sanctions almost always fail to achieve their stated objectives. They tend to miss a country's leadership and hit the innocent. They impact most on democratic societies, but fail to impress the dictatorial regimes whose leaders often remain untouched and whose civilian pay the price. They are in toto notoriously unsuccessful. World community should realize that the sanctions would only hurt the innocent Iraqi people not weaken Saddam Hussein whose removal has always been sought by the United States as main political goal of the sanctions. But unfortunately sanctions have missed the target. It is not a prudent policy to target helpless people for the sins of their leader. Continuation of sanctions are tantamount to shooting down a plane full of innocent people because there are hijackers aboard. One should not forget that sanctions are as much a violation of the rights of the Iraqi people as the brutal tactics used by Saddam.

The suffering of the Iraqi people has reached a point where it can no longer be overlooked or ignored because it now threatens to bring
upon the society as a whole a horrendous disaster that may lead to its collapse. Iraq's younger generation of professionals, the political leadership of the future-bitter angry, isolated and dangerously alienated from the world is maturing in an environment not dissimilar to that found in Germany under the conditions set by the Versailles treaty. An entire people have been stripped of their pride and dignity; they are humiliated and angry, and may find it difficult to move forward, to collaborate with other nations in the gulf—indeed with the entire international community. We need to worry about the longer term social and political impact of sanctions together with today's death and despair.

With this distressing situations we need to find a compromise to address the plight of Iraq. The current sanctions policy toward Iraq is rigid and increasingly counter productive. Members of the Security Council must sit together and evolve fresh initiative not only to defuse the rising tension but strive for a ultimate solution to end misery on Iraq. For more than ten years, injustice has been done to the Iraqi people for none of their faults and embargo has caused deaths of hundreds of thousands people. How long will they be denied justice? Any further extension of embargo in present form would further violate international laws and human rights in Iraq. Any further move to suppress Iraq would be mockery of the UN and international watchdogs.

Let us retain all possible control over arms manufacture and sales of arms to Iraq. Let us retain the capacity to monitor and observe. Remove
economic sanctions now and sustain the capacity to prohibit military renewal and the development of weapons of mass destruction. Let us give up the UN weapons of mass destruction: economic sanctions. Let us risk a new approach. In other words accept the early success of UNSCOM and reject the continuing and politically motivated search of needles in the military capacity haystacks of Iraq. Let us restrict ourselves to the wording and intent of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Avoid add-ons of toppling the Iraqi leadership, of assassinating Saddam Hussein, these calls will simply enhance the president not only in Iraq but throughout the Arab and Islamic world. Let us adopt a genuinely evenhanded approach to the pursuit of peace and disarmament throughout the entire middle east.

Furthermore, Security Council deliberations, and resulting outcomes that grossly neglect improper behaviour of some member states while authorizing retaliatory enforcement on others, are noted with great bitterness in the Arab-Islamic world and beyond. Not only are the reputation and glaringly undemocratic workings of the council severely threatened, but the credibility and the very integrity of the United Nations itself widely questioned. Finally, let us take the United Nations back to the legal and moral high ground on which it belongs.