The Role of "Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities" in Halting One Genocide and Preventing Others

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ABSTRACT
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One partially declassified Defense Intelligence Agency document, one mountain of corpses of children stacked half a million souls high, and one nation's flight from examining the fruits of nearly 11 years of its own military and diplomatic operations. What does the document, the mountain of corpses, and America's willed ignorance of the impacts of its sanctions policy against Iraq say about us, about genocide and about its prevention?

First we analyze a Defense Intelligence Agency document (or more precisely the declassified portion of that document). At one extreme this document, “Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities” (hereafter IWTV) is nothing more than an innocent military intelligence work product, simply asserting that conditions A, B, and C will produce results X, Y, and Z. At the other extreme, IWTV is an early blueprint for genocide against the people of Iraq-- a genocide that has selectively targeted for extermination by contaminated water the very young, the very old and the very ill.

Second we will assess the evidence that IWTV, or its successor refinements, have been and continue to be at least partially implemented by the United States in the commission of genocide. While there is a substantial case for believing that the sanctions policy satisfies even the restrictive definition of genocide in U.S. Federal Statutes, surely the sanctions policy, as implemented, satisfies the less restrictive definitions of genocide of leading members of the Association of Genocide Scholars.

Third we consider the antithetical use of IWTV, not for the commission of genocide, but rather to end this continuing genocide and to prevent future genocides. The “Campaign of Conscience” of the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Pax Christi is quoting IWTV to explain why it risks draconian prison terms and huge fines to ship enough chlorinators and chlorine into Iraq to purify one million gallons of water per day for an entire year. More than a thousand individuals and scores of organization have contributed to the effort and signed the Campaign of Conscience statement indicating their willingness to face severe legal punishment for sending the chlorinators and chlorine to Iraq after the U.S. government refused to issue a permit in timely fashion. Kathy Kelly, Nobel Peace Prize nominee of the AFSC, and Voices in the Wilderness have pioneered the public defiance of government regulations requiring permits even for the importation of toys and medicine for Iraqi children suffering the consequences of IWTV and other aspects of the sanctions regime.

A truth commission, together with panels on IWTV at meetings of relevant disciplines such as genocide studies, military ethics, history, public health, law, media, and political science are proposed as mechanisms to use IWTV to prevent future genocides. The first panel on IWTV was held in January 2001 at the Department of Defense Joint Services Committee on Professional Ethics. The truth commission, other panels, and resolutions supporting the “Campaign of Conscience” and denouncing genocide by sanctions are urgently needed to prevent more “Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities” and their implementation.
Analysis of IWTV


Recipe*
Carolyn Scarr

Into a quart jar
place two cups water
taken from a ditch
beside the pasture
where the cattle once grazed.
If you do not live near a pasture
water from any drainage ditch
or from an urban creek
may be substituted.

Add one cup water
from the toilet bowl
where you rinsed the baby's diaper
when she was sick.
Be sure you do not
flush the toilet first.

Ask your husband
to urinate into the jar.
Only a little is needed.

When your neighbor washes his car
scoop up some of the run-off.
Add half a cup to the jar.

Put in a tablespoon or more
of fine dirt.
Screw down the lid.
Shake well.

Although the cholera
and typhoid bacilli
will probably be lacking –
and the amoebae –
following this recipe carefully
will result
in a reasonable facsimile
of the solution drunk
every day
by millions of people in Iraq
whose sewage treatment plants
and water purification systems
were bombed to smithereens in 1991
and cannot be rebuilt
under the conditions of siege
referred to as
“sanctions”
and maintained by military blockade
principally by the United States of America.

You might take your jar
to your congressperson or senator.
Ask that person
to keep it on the table
where he or she sits
in the halls of Congress
until the water runs clean
from every tap in Iraq
and no baby
dies of dysentery.

IWTV was released into the public domain by presidential order as part of a large-scale release of previously classified documents. The release resulted from a major scandal. The Department of Defense had lied to Congress about U.S. service members’ exposure to chemical warfare agents.

On September 26, 2000, I furnished the following information below regarding IWTV at the request of the staff of Rep. Cynthia McKinney. My submission consists of direct quotes from IWTV and my comments indicated by square brackets. The submission itself is divided into five parts:

A) Background of IWTV
B) Overall Summary of IWTV
C) List of Materials and Chemicals Indispensable to Iraq's Water Treatment System
D) Possible Iraqi Counter Measures for Obtaining Drinkable Water and Why They Can't Succeed
E) DIA's Forecast Regarding the Full Degradation of Iraqi Water Treatment
A) Background on "Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities" (IWTV)


* Date of document: 22 JAN 91

* Disclosure Information: A partially declassified version released to the public via the Gulflink web site: 1995

B) Overall Summary of IWTV

* Iraq depends on importing specialized equipment and some chemicals to purify its water supply, p2, ln 4-6

* Failing to secure supplies will result in a shortage of pure drinking water for much of the population. This could lead to increased incidences, if not epidemics, of disease and to certain pure water-dependent industries becoming incapacitated including:
  Petrochemicals
  Fertilizers
  Petroleum refining
  Electronics
  Pharmaceuticals
  Food processing…     p2, ln 11-16

* Unless water treatment supplies are exempted from the UN sanctions for humanitarian reasons, no adequate solution exists for Iraq's water purification dilemma…since no suitable alternatives meet Iraqi needs.     p2 ln 24-28

* The quality of untreated water… generally is poor. Heavy mineralization suspended solids and, frequently, high salinity characterizes Iraq's water supply.     p3, ln 5-8

* Drinking heavily mineralized water could result in diarrhea… p.3

* The entire Iraqi water treatment system will not collapse precipitously.     p12, ln 19-20

* Full degradation of the water treatment system will probably take another 6 months. p. l3 ln 7 and 11

C) List of Materials and Chemicals Indispensable to Iraq's Water Treatment System

[Significance of this list: According to IWTV: "Unless water treatment supplies are exempted from UNSANCTIONS [sic] for humanitarian reasons, no adequate solution exists for Iraq's water purification dilemma, since no suitable alternatives, including looting supplies from Kuwait, sufficiently meet Iraqi needs." p2, ln 26-26 through p3, ln 1-2. It is really essential to get access to the rest of the document, the designation "(b)(2)" at p. 13, ln 13 means that according to the Gulflink site a portion of the document was withheld due to the internal policies of the DIA. It is also essential to gain access to the related documents, and to the authors of these documents and}
of course to the records of the Sanctions Committee to determine the exact fate of the equipment and chemicals listed below.]

I) CHEMICALS Essential to the Iraqi Water Treatment System

1) Flocculants and coagulants: aluminum sulfate and iron sulphates p5, ln 23-25

2) Chlorination … to kill pathogens… and prevent the equipment from liming: p.6, ln 4, ln 6 possibilities include sodium hypochlorite, calcium hypochlorite, chlorine gas. p6 ln 8-10

3) to adjust pH of water: caustic soda p.6, ln 13

4) to retard algae growth which could clog pipes: copper sulphate, sulfuric acid. p.6 ln 23-24, 26-27

5) to adjust pH of water: caustic soda p.6, ln 13

6) to remove noncarbonate mineral impurities: soda ash and zeolites p. 7, ln 3-5

7) to produce bottled water: softening chemicals p. 7 ln 6, 8-10

II) EQUIPMENT Essential to the Iraqi Water Treatment System

1) To soften and desalinate water: reversible ion exchange electrodialysis systems, reverse osmosis systems, spare membranes. p. 7, ln 12, 14-15, 22-23; p8 ln 1

2) polyamide membranes and sodium metabisulphite (need to pretreat the water) p. 8 ln. 7, 10

3) cellulose acetate membranes. p. 8, ln 1

D) Possible Iraqi Counter Measures to Obtain Drinkable Water Despite Sanctions and They Can't Succeed

1) Truck water from mountain reservoirs (Iraq's best source of quality water) requires sufficient quantities of pipe, pumping stations and chlorine purification or boiling p 11, ln 10-16

   [Note: p11, ln 16-20: "Some affluent Iraqi's could obtain their own minimally adequate supply of quality water…if boiled could be safely consumed. Poorer Iraqis…would not be able to meet their needs.""]

2) Use Rain Water: Iraq could not rely on rain to provide adequate pure water. p. 11, ln 24-25

3) Drill Additional Water wells: Saline or alkaline content of ground water in most locations would constrain wells. p. 11, ln 26-27

E) DIA’s Forecast Regarding the Full Degradation of Iraqi Water Treatment
1) Iraq will suffer increasing shortages of purified water because of the lack of required chemical and desalination membranes. Incidences of disease including epidemics will become probable unless the population were careful to boil water … p. 12, ln 3-7

2) Locally produced food and medicine could be contaminated. p. 12, ln 10

3) Lack of coagulation chemicals will cause periodic shutdowns of treatment plants …interrupting water supplies. p 12, ln 10-11

4) Full Degradation of the water treatment system probably will take at least another 6 months. p13, ln 7 and 11 [the lines in-between are blank]

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Table 1: Information Provided to Staff of Rep. McKinney in September, 2000

Interpretations of IWTV

On its face, the Defense Intelligence Agency’s IWTV gives every appearance of constituting a planning document for the commission of genocide. After all, it provides minute details of a fully workable method to “fully degrade the water treatment system” of an entire nation. From the perpetrator's perspective, IWTV combines the virtues of concealment of the killings by dispersing them across time (more than a decade) and space (an entire country) with high efficiency in liquidating a significant portion of the population of Iraq by creating the conditions for widespread disease, including full scale epidemics. In a word, IWTV is a plan to achieving extermination without the need of constructing extermination camps.

The present author recognizes the gravity of these claims. Many, including the author, recoil from contemplating the possibility that a Western democracy, particularly the U.S., could commit genocide. However, it is precisely this painful and even taboo possibility which needs to be examined as this meeting of genocide scholars after the possibility of genocide has been raised by IWTV and the accusation of genocide against Iraq has been leveled by the former Assistant Secretary General of the UN, the Noble Peace Prize nominee, Denis Halliday (2000). Halliday resigned his post as UN humanitarian coordinator in Iraq after concluding that even with the so-called “Oil for Food”, sanctions constituted nothing less than “steady state genocide”. His successor, Hans Von Sponeck followed Halliday in resigning to protest the sanctions regime as the did World Food Program’s head in Iraq. Even using the very restrictive definition of the Genocide Convention, the charge that the sanctions in Iraq constitute genocide has been made by the international lawyers Francis Boyle (1998) and Shuna Lennon (2000). But even if IWTV and the sanctions regime which empower it, fail to rise to the level of genocide by using the most restrictive definitions, then surely the criteria for genocide are met using the definitions of the most prominent members of the Association of Genocide Scholars (AGS, 2001)

Prudence dictates that before reaching such grave conclusions, we explore two alternative hypotheses, either of which, if true, would lead to an entirely different interpretation. On the other hand, if neither hypothesis can be accepted, then we are compelled to look for evidence that the prescription of IWTV or some refined successor
version of the same notion, has been and continues to be implemented against the people of Iraq by the U.S. government. Let us begin by examining the two hypotheses.

Hypothesis (1): IWTV is a hoax. I viewed IWTV as such a blatant plan for a grave breach of the Geneva Convention and even the Genocide Convention that I hoped the document was a fraud. Only after communicating with the Federation of American Scientists, which also had posted a copy of “IWTV” to its site, www.fas.org, as well as with the DOD's Gullfink site did I conclude that IWTV is what it purports to be: a partially declassified DIA document.

Hypothesis (2): IWTV Is Actually Benign. To test this hypothesis, I posted a copy of IWTV to the JSCOPE (Department of Defense’s Joint Services Conference on Professional Ethics) discussion list. The responses from U.S. and Canadian military colleagues in JSCOPE divided into the following categories:

1) IWTV may be just a training document, only, and as such would be unproblematic.

2) IWTV may actually be a caution to the military to avoid steps which would destroy the water and sanitation system.

3) IWTV, in any case, never says: execute the steps suggested in the document, i.e. use the U.S. veto on the Sanctions Committee to block the items identified in IWTV in order to achieve the full degradation of Iraqi water treatment and in this way commit genocide.

These interpretations of my JSCOPE colleagues do not seem plausible in light of years of the most draconian sanctions regime in modern history, as well as data from the UN Office of Iraq Program and the letter of Rep. Tony Hall to Secretary of State Albright, described in his press release of June 2000 (Hall, 2000). I quote three paragraphs from Rep. Hall's letter to Secretary of State Albright, because these paragraphs reveal that as late as last year, the plan contained in IWTV (or some successor version) was still being implemented by the U.S. government.

“I share UNICEF’s concerns about the profound effects of increasing deterioration of Iraq’s water supply and sanitation systems on its children’s health. The prime killer of children under five years of age - diarrhoeal diseases - has reached epidemic proportions and they now strike four times more often than they did in 1990.

“Holds on contracts for the water and sanitation sector are a prime reason for the increases in sickness and death,” Of the 18 contracts, all but one hold was placed by the U.S. Government. The contracts are for purification chemicals, chlorinators, chemical dosing pumps, water tankers, and other equipment.

“Steps have been taken to assure dual-use items are not diverted, ... UNICEF follows the United Nations' three-tier monitoring system to ensure equipment and supplies are used as they are intended... I urge you [Secretary Albright] to weigh your decision against the disease and death that are the unavoidable result of not having safe drinking water and minimum levels of sanitation.”
The most disturbing aspect of Hall's letter is that it makes clear that the strategy identified in IWTV in 1991 was still taking its lethal toll nine years later in the year 2000. The prime executioner of the fatal strategy of killing the very young was the U.S. which exercises the vast majority of vetoes on material essential to rebuilding Iraq’s water treatment system. Deprivation of systems essential to life is, of course, explicitly prohibited by the Genocide Convention. The U.S.’s junior foreign policy partner, the UK, has wielded the remaining 10% of vetoes to the US’s 90% of vetoes or "holds" on contracts for Iraq.

Another indicator that IWTV’s strategy for denial of potable water to Iraq continues to be followed in updated if not exact form, comes from the UN Office of Iraq Program. OIP data show that as of August 2000, the Iraq government had requested approximately $1 billion worth of equipment and chemicals to rehabilitate its water system from the proceeds of its oil sales. However, the actions of the U.S. and its junior partner, the U.K., had resulted in only $160 million of contracts for water system rehabilitation arriving in Iraq. In addition, $180 million of contracts for water system rehabilitation were currently blocked by the U.S. and U.K. (UN OIP, 2000.)

In addition the head of the Office of Iraq Program as well as Mr. Kofi Annan, whom the U.S. rammed into the position of Secretary General of the UN, both have repeatedly pleaded with the Sanctions Committee to permit more contracts for water and sanitation to go forward (Rowat, 1999). All of the above, strongly suggests that the strategy explicated in IWTV has been followed by the U.S. members of the UN Sanctions Committee. The strategy consists of denial or delay of those items which are indispensable to the restoration of Iraq’s demolished water and sanitation systems.

This interpretation is further corroborated by the reports of the two key NGOs involved with water in Iraq. The International Committee of the Red Cross and CARE. It is also corroborated by key agencies of the UN such as FAO and UNICEF and other NGOs such as CASI and Voices in the Wilderness and the past two heads of the UN Humanitarian effort in Iraq, Assistant Secretary General Denis Halliday and Hans Von Sponeck. Both resigned to protest the sanctions regime which Mr. Halliday, a Nobel Peace Prize nominee, has called "steady state genocide". Rep. David Bonoir has characterized the same sanctions policy as "infanticide masquerading as foreign policy". In addition Rep. Bonoir's letter to Secretary of State Powell, dated June, 2001, cosigned by several other House colleagues, indicates that the policy first articulated in “Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities” continues to be followed to the present day (EPIC, 2001).

The result of following the guidance of IWTV has not been the destruction of the top ranks of the Iraqi government. Rather, implementing the strategy outlined in IWTV has killed hundreds of thousands of civilians and not merely any civilians, but those civilians farthest removed from either the military or political arena: the very young, the very old, the ill.

Had IWTV been merely a training document, surely it would not have to have been so accurate and so detailed in enumerating the precise items whose denial have maximum effect in keeping the water and sanitation systems of Iraq degraded for more than 10 years. If IWTV were a truly a caution against committing the gravest breaches of the Geneva Convention or the Genocide Convention itself, then surely the recipients of the report would have protested the perversion of their “cautions” into a weapon of mass destruction against the most defenseless
members of the civilian population of Iraq. Finally, it is naive to assume that so sophisticated a government as the U.S. would put into writing and then declassify any explicit order to implement a scheme as breathtakingly immoral as the permanent destruction of the water and sanitation system of an entire country.

The public relations benefit of identifying, then blocking the machinery and chemicals needed to “un-degrade” the water system as opposed to simply waging an open and continuous bombing of the water system is clear. However, in terms of the incidence, prevalence and mortality rates of diseases caused by the continuously “degraded” water supply, there is little distinction.

If the true intent of IWTV were to detect unintended consequences of the sanctions, then why didn’t its authors (and those who commissioned it) simply follow their ethical and legal obligation to end this abomination by exposing it? Note that IWTV was hidden from the American public by its secret classification until 1995, long after concerns about the sanctions had been soothed. How many children’s lives would have been spared from death by cholera induced by “degrading” the water purification systems of Iraq had the world known in 1991 what it knows today? I seize on cholera partly because it is listed under the heading of “Biological Warfare, BW” www.gulflink.osd.mil/cross_ref.html in DOD’s Gulflink site. Note also that my discovery of IWTV was almost purely by chance, rather than the result of having been alerted to the existence of the document.

Again, if the intent of "IWTV" were to prevent unintended consequences, then why did the people who commissioned the study, wrote the study and received the study fail to use it to sound the alarm as soon as the impact of the degradation of the water systems became apparent? One might object that they were not aware of the lethal consequences of IWTV. This is unlikely, certainly for the medical personnel involved, in light of a series of studies on the effect of the contaminated water from the degraded water treatment systems of Iraq on childhood mortality published in the leading U.S. and British medical journals such as "New England Journal of Medicine," "British Journal of Medicine," "Annals of Internal Medicine," "The Lancet," and "American Journal of Public Health".

How many thousands of children would be alive today, had they escaped such deadly diseases as cholera resulting from the U.S. policy of deliberately “degrading” the entire water purification system of Iraq? Had the world known back in 1991, even in 1995 how many children would have been saved? Last month approximately 6,000 children died in Iraq. The leading cause of their deaths continues to be water-borne diseases that could have been prevented. Another 6,000 died needlessly the month before, linked to a chain of small corpses stretching back to 1991.

Some Thought Experiments

The most compelling case for the proposition that IWTV is nothing less than a prescription for genocide is the thought experiment. First consider a very quick thought experiment then a more extended one. Suppose, to take an example for the latest large-scale U.S. shooting-war, the CIA had uncovered a study from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which detailed precisely how best to poison the water supply of Albanian villages in Kosovo. Suppose further that credible evidence were advanced by a whole score of UN agencies and NGOs that the water in several Albanian villages were being contaminated by the FRY consistent with the discovered plan. Is there any doubt that the
U.S government, the Human Rights community, the Committee of Conscience of the National Holocaust Museum and indeed the Association of Genocide Scholars would and should characterize the conduct of the FRY as genocide and call for indictments and trials?

Now consider a longer thought experiment. Suppose I distributed to you a document entitled, "U.S. Water Treatment Vulnerabilities" For the purpose of this thought experiment, I ask you to assume that the document is a genuine product of the Iraq Defense Intelligence Agency and that this Iraqi document sets forth the following:

(1) A detailed and feasible Iraqi plan to destroy the entire water and sanitation system of the United States,

(2) An Iraqi plan to prevent the rebuilding of the water and sanitation system of the U.S. for as long as Iraq wishes,

(3) An Iraqi plan spelling out the likely health impact upon the population of the U.S., namely epidemics caused by the resulting contaminated water supply, and

(4) An Iraqi plan which explains in detail why that no U.S. countermeasures can succeed in rebuilding the American water and sanitation system against the wishes of Iraq.

If we could accept the sourcing of the document and its feasibility, who would have any qualms about:

(1) Denouncing the "U.S. Water Treatment Vulnerabilities" document as genocidal, as the gravest possible breach of the Law of Land Warfare, as a plan for infanticide, as a means of selecting killing the very young, as well as the very old, the sick and the pregnant;

(2) Suggesting massive air strikes against Iraq, citing "right" of preemptive military action.

Before considering how IWTV can be used to end the ongoing genocide against Iraq and prevent other genocides, it is helpful to reflect upon McCarthy's poetic rendering of mass murders, past and present; from primitive but highly pictorable mass murders to the latest in efficiency and deniability in mass murder. Mr. McCarthy used the poem as the preface to his posting to an Internet journalism newsgroup of Felicity Arbuthnot's Sunday Herald article, the first major newspaper expose of IWTV (Arbuthnot, 2000).

Murder at Wholesale Prices**

Ken McCarthy
Brasscheck

When the world was a smaller place, I guess it was easy to ride into town and just kill everyone in sight Mongol-style.

Larger populations take more effort, especially if you're trying to keep your handiwork secret from the world.
The Nazis rounded up Jews and other minorities and sent them via boxcar to barb-wired concentration camps.

The US and its allies have developed a more economical solution: Turn the entire target country into an open-air extermination camp.
It saves on the barbed wire, guard towers and incinerators.

Halting the Genocide against Iraq with IWTV

How can IWTV be used, not for the commission of genocide, but rather to end this continuing genocide and to prevent future genocide? IWTV is already being employed to expose this genocide and to end it by the courageous actions of three remarkable groups. The American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Pax Christi are quoting directly from IWTC in their “Campaign of Conscience”. These three groups, 73 affiliate groups and over 1,000 individuals are risking draconian prison terms and huge fines for daring to ship enough chlorinators and chlorine to purify a million gallons of Iraq’s water every day for one year. They have contributed to their money and signed their names to the “Campaign of Conscience” statement indicating their willingness to face severe legal punishment for sending the chlorinators and chlorine to Iraq despite U.S. government refused to issue a permit in timely fashion. In a show of evil harking back to Nazi retaliation against anyone who would offer a cup of water to persons marked for extermination, the Department of the Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control threatens Americans with fines of up to $1,000,000 and 12 years in prison if they dare ship any item to Iraq without securing OFAC permits. Even the most benign item is not exempt from OFAC delays or denials. The Campaign for Conscience waited months for a license to send urgently needed chlorinators and chlorine. When none was granted, like the rescuers of the Nazi era, they took the risk of defying the government (American Friends Service Committee, 2000, 2001).

Kathy Kelly, Nobel Peace Prize nominee of the AFSC, and Voices in the Wilderness have pioneered the public defiance of government regulations requiring permits for even the importation of toys and medicine for Iraqi children suffering the consequences of IWTV and other aspects of the sanctions regime. Ms. Kelly and her co-conspirators now face more than $100,000 in fines for the crime of taking into Iraq “toys and medicine without proper U.S. government permits” (Voices in the Wilderness, 1998).

Resigned UN Assistant Secretary General of the UN and Nobel Peace Prize Nominee Denis Halliday used IWTV as a part of his rationale for judging sanctions against Iraq as genocide in the 10 year CNN retrospective on Iraq.

Preventing Future Genocide with IWTV

A truth commission, together with panels on IWTV at meetings of relevant disciplines such as genocide studies, military ethics, history, public health, law, media, and political science are proposed as mechanisms to use IWTV to prevent future genocide. The first panel on IWTV was held in January 2001 at the Department of Defense Joint Services Committee on Professional Ethics (Nagy, 2001; Gordon, 2001). The truth commission, other panels, and resolutions supporting the “Campaign of Conscience” and denouncing genocide by sanctions are urgently needed to prevent more “Iraq Water Treatment Vulnerabilities” and their implementation.
The Association of Genocide Scholars can play a historical role in preventing future U.S. genocide by first acknowledging past U.S. genocide, such as the extermination of the Native Americans, the U.S. funding for the genocide against Guatemala which was recently documented by a Truth Commission funded in part by the U.S. government and which resulted in an apology by President Clinton. AGS could also take note of the U.S.’s shameful role in preventing UN action to halt the genocide in Rwanda as documented by Physicians for Human Rights and the authoritative Committee of Eminent Personages. The later was also funded in part by the U.S. government and also produced apologies by both President Clinton and Secretary Albright.

The most decisive steps that AGS can take to prevent genocide is to pass a resolution acknowledging that almost 11 years of economic sanctions against the people of Iraq does constitute genocide. Further we can take a risk for ending genocide by signing on as an organizational endorser and as individual endorsers of the Campaign of Conscience.

Dare we, the members of AGS, charge our own government with genocide against Iraq? Dare we put ourselves at legal and financial risk to end this genocide? Dare we not?

Notes

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** “Murder at Wholesale Prices” is used by permission of the author.

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Two of my recent papers have been on the genocide and war crimes delivered in 1999 and 2001 at the U.S. Department of Defense's JSCOPE Conferences (Joint Services Committee on Professional Ethics). At George Washington University I serve as faculty sponsor for the university chapter of the School of the Americas Watch.