Rev. October 30, 2005

21ST CENTURY AMERICA IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

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 I added a section on Iraq but it is already out of date.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

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1. **International Overview**
   a. Comparisons among nations; Population, labor supply; globalization, technology.

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

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

Israel and Palestine. Return to Contents

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

b. “Israeli wrecking crews protected by hundreds of riot police destroyed 14 homes yesterday at the edge of a Palestinian refugee camp in East Jerusalem... At the Shuafat camp, bulldozers tore down 14 unfinished homes built by Palestinian families who had planned to move out of their cramped quarters in the camp. ... Distraught families scuffled with police officers, and some people threw themselves on the ground in a futile attempt to block wrecking crews. ... The homeowners, served with demolition orders on Sunday, had no chance to appeal. ... Palestinians and civil rights advocates say that it is virtually impossible for East Jerusalem Arabs to obtain building permits because of Israeli zoning restrictions designed to limit the growth of their neighborhoods and restrict Arab population growth in the city. ... The Shuafat camp, a garbage strewn warren of cramped houses and narrow alleys that receives virtually no city services, lies across a valley from the Jewish settlement of Pisgal Zeev, where thousands of homes have been built in the past ten years. ... In Washington, the State Department was also sharply critical of the Israeli action.” [July 10, 2001. Chron, from NYT]

c. In June 2002 the Israeli Air Force bombed a residential area in Gaza in order to kill a Hamas militant, and also killed 14 others. The Israeli commander blamed the problem on faulty intelligence. On July 7 soldiers in a Gaza town felt threatened by dozens of Palestinians and, to disperse them, fired into an “open area,” killing an 11 year old boy playing soccer and wounding two of his friends. According to the boys, the shots came from an Israeli observation tower about a kilometer away. The army determined that the soldiers were acting according to regulations and an investigation was not necessary. B’Tselem, an Israeli human rights group, says it has military documents showing a cover-up and false statements. On Sept. 1, 2002, Israeli soldiers killed four Palestinian stone workers, allegedly on a Jewish-owned plot of land in the West Bank. Military investigators said the workers were behaving suspiciously and had clubs, axes, and wire cutters. Palestinians say the men were sitting together in the parking lot of their factory at the end of their night shift. Aug. 29, 2002, an Israeli tank attacked a house in a Bedouin village killing a four year old boy and three other members of the family. On Aug. 31 an Israeli missile attacked a car in the West Bank and killed an alleged Palestinian militant, but also two teenagers, and two children playing nearby. The military has launched 30 investigations, and the military police over 100 more, into various killings and eight soldiers have been indicted. Palestinians and human rights groups believe there are many more cases than are investigated, that few are prosecuted, charges are for lesser offenses, and those not vigorously prosecuted. Investigations use soldier testimony, not Palestinian witnesses. Where soldiers have been found in the wrong, the army issues apologies. B’Tselem reported that the army shields soldiers, allowed looting, disregarded the immunity granted to medical personnel, and misused flechettes, a weapon that shoots thousands of metal darts over an area about 300 meters by 90 meters. The military has guidelines for open-fire orders but will not release them. The Palestinian Authority, for its part, does not even try to investigate complaints about its forces.

4. The United States. The U.S. has never been a “honest broker” of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
   a. The U.S. supported the most anti-Palestinian Israelis of the Netanyahu coalition and now of the Sharon regime, impeding the peace process. The Barak government continued the pace of land seizures, building of Jewish settlements on Palestinian land, denial of

permits to build houses, destruction of houses of alleged terrorists without due process, appropriation of water, and arbitrary restrictions on movement which often prevented Palestinians from reaching jobs. In June 2001 Palestinians shot and injured seven Israelis. Israel imposed again a curfew on the part of Hebron, the largest West Bank city, which they controlled, affecting 30,000 Palestinians, and also sealed off the whole city, with 130,000 Palestinians, meaning that none of them could travel outside the city.

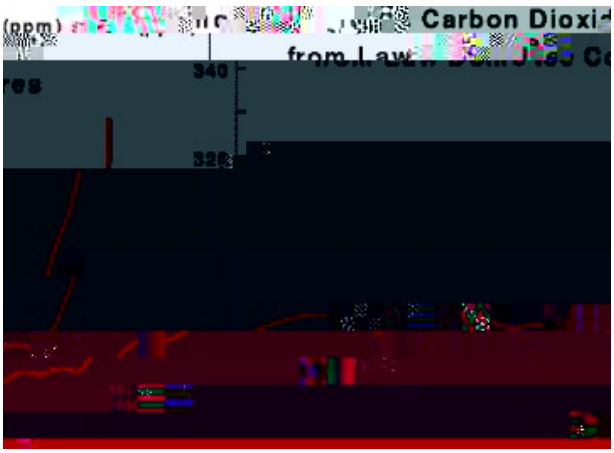
b. The U.S. is the only other nation besides Israel itself defending Israel's discriminatory polices against Palestinians. On July 13, 1998, the U.S. alone prevented the Security Council from approving a resolution condemning Israel for its decision of June 21, 1998, to expand Jerusalem's boundaries at the expense of non-Jews. Despite some progress under Barak, the peace process foundered on Israeli unwillingness to allow Muslim control of the Temple Mount, one of the three most sacred holy places of Islam. Violence erupted yet again over a “visit” by Sharon and an armed contingent into the Muslim holy place, and this led to an escalation of horrific terrorism and violence and the disintegration of the Oslo accords and the Palestinian Authority.
c. The U.S. now supports the right-wing, anti-Palestinian Sharon regime, impeding the peace process. Sharon years earlier during the Civil War in Lebanon permitted Lebanese Phalangists to enter Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Chantilla and massacre unarmed Palestinian civilians. Early in 2000 [?] a commission headed by former U.S. Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell, recommended a peace plan, which Israel fully accepted. The plan required a freeze on building new Israeli houses in the West Bank, ending a policy of promoting “natural growth” within existing settlements. On June 25, 2001 Israel announced more plans to build more settlements in the West Bank, in violation of the plan it said it had accepted. In May 2001 Housing Minister Sharansky reaffirmed plans for 700+ new houses. On June 25, 2001 the Israeli Lands Authority announces 38 plots for sale in Maaleh Adumin, the largest in West Bank. About 200,000 Israelis live on West Bank land seized from Palestinians.
d. Israel continues as the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, $4.2 billion in 2000, and of military assistance.
e. “Our apparent policy is to support almost every Israeli action in the occupied territories and to condemn and isolate the Palestinians as blanket targets of our war on terrorism, while Israeli settlements expand and Palestinian enclaves shrink.” [Jimmy Carter, Sept. 2002, cite at end]

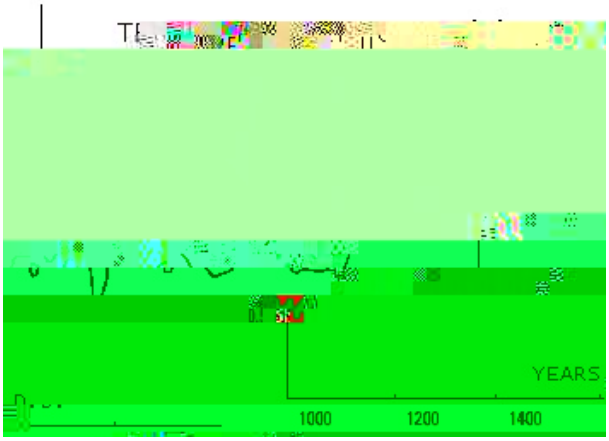
5. I think the solution to the conflict to remove all Israeli settlement from areas occupied since 1948 or 1967 and creating security for a secular and democratic Israel within its boundaries. Withdrawal includes Golan Heights and East Jerusalem as well as West Bank and Gaza. The Wailing Wall and Al-Aqsa mosque should be controlled by a joint authority of Moslems and Jews and should initially be policed by the UN. The rights of non-Jews within Israel must be respected, and some right of return of those expelled from Israel must be kept as a goal even though it will take decades for sufficient security to be established for this to be consistent with internal security. The Palestinians for their part must also create a state which respects the security of Israel, which means limits on its armed forces and some degree of international intervention to assure democracy and governmental performance. Such a plan will not be accepted by Israel and may not be accepted by the Arafat regime, but can be imposed by the Security Council if the US decides to make it happen. It would be

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

6. Some Jews support Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967 and condemn both Israeli and Palestinian violence, arguing that legitimate grievances do not justify illegitimate terrorism. A

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





2. RESULTS. The following deals only with the effects of warming that have already occurred and excludes extreme weather events and fires.
   a. **Global temperatures** have risen .3 to .6 degrees Celsius over the last 100 years. The 1980s and 1990s were the warmest decades in human history. U.S. temperatures are up 1.5 degrees Fahrenheit over the average since 1895, and the rate of warming increased in the last 25 years.
   b. **Ice is melting.** Arctic Sea ice has thinned by 40 percent in 50 years and its ice-covered area has shrunk 10 percent. Newly open sea covers thousands of square miles around the pole, documented by hundreds

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

g. **The ocean** is warming, changing its biology. Near Monterey, a tidal area was studied over a 67 year period. A two degree warming of water affected 62 species, all moving north, warmer water species moving in and colder water species moving out. Elsewhere, sooty shearwaters declined 90 percent from 1987 to 1994 as the California Current warmed 1.1 degea w

population and emit 1,494 million metric tons of CO_2 per year, almost one-fourth of the world total. Our per capita emissions, mostly from electrical power plants powered by fossil fuels and motor vehicles and secondarily from factories, are about 7 times more than the rest of the world.

4. INTERNATIONAL POLICIES. The Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992, Rio) established a series of steps and meetings to deal with the issue. The most important was in 1997 in Kyoto, where industrial nations agreed to reduce warming gases by 5.2 percent below the levels of 1990 by 2012. The Protocol takes effect when 55 countries representing 55 percent or more of industrialized country emissions ratify it. The Kyoto Protocol required the U.S. to reduce carbon emissions by 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2012. However, in the 1990s the U.S. increased its emissions by 15 percent. Kyoto committed Europe to more, to an 8 percent reduction, despite its lower income levels and much lower emissions. Germany agreed to a 21 percent cut and UK to 12.5 percent, and both are succeeding. Europe in general has pursued policies for carbon efficiency much more than the U.S. Kyoto, however, commits to only a fraction of the reductions needed and did not seriously deal with developing countries.
   a. CHINA AND THE U.S. American policy makers have complained about China's lack of commitment to lower emissions. China, however, has reduced its coal consumption by 25 percent from 1996 to 2001 by slashing subsidies to improve efficiency and air quality and by converting to natural gas. Its economy in 2000 continued to grow at 5 percent per year. The U.S. increased its emissions despite a per capita level nine time higher than China's, and is now a larger coal burner than China. The U.S. ranks third on the UN's Human Development Index (HDI) and is the wealthiest nation in the world; China ranks 99th on the HDI.
   b. U.S. POLICY. PRES. CLINTON. Despite strong commitments by U.S. Vice President Al Gore, the Clinton administration committed reluctantly and minimally at Kyoto to reductions in emissions, and failed to implement any meaningful policy, largely because of intense opposition from Congressional Republicans and vested interests, and a lack of popular support (e.g., the carbon tax trial balloon). In 2000 negotiations in The Hague, Netherlands, following up Kyoto, failed over these issues. The Administration demanded

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Return to Contents Return to Global Warming

5. U.S. POLICY. BUSH. Pres. Bush opposed the Kyoto Protocol in his campaign, but admitted global warming was a problem and pledged to reduce CO2 emissions by power plants. The energy industry discounted his position because he was a Republican and because they gave him large sums of money. In 1999-2000, coal interests gave $3.3 million to the Republican Party, electric utilities gave $12.5 million, and the oil and gas industry gave $26.1 million. [Public Citizen News, July/August 2001, p. 4]
   a. In March 2001 EPA Administrator Whitman advised Bush to keep his campaign pledge. A week later, on March 13, 2001, having been in office less than two months, Bush reneged on the pledge and renounced American commitments in the Kyoto Protocol . He claimed there was an **energy crisis**, but the existence and the nature of the crisis, and how related to reducing emissions, was not explained.
   b. The crisis, if any, seemed confined to California and was caused by the state's failure to build power plants, selling electricity for less than the cost of purchasing it, manipulation by natural gas carriers and power plants, a power exchange (PX) that structured bidding to escalate prices, price controls on energy distributors, and by excessive prices paid by the state agency, the ISO. Part of California's solution–building natural gas plants and increasing prices, favored by Republicans and environmentalists–would, in fact, reduce carbon emissions. Pres. Bush said there was a need, nationally, for more coal burning power plants, but did not discuss external costs, pricing incentives, energy efficiency, alternative technologies, and carbon efficiency policies of other advanced nations.
   c. In July the Bush energy plan proposed 1,300 more power plants, drilling for oil in wildlife habitat–the Arctic National Wildlife Preserve–, and weakening of air pollution regulations. He proposed cutting enforcement of the Clean Air Act to control coal burning plants. Besides global warming, pollution from existing plants causes premature death of 30,000 persons per year and many more cases of asthma.
   d. One c Na n

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

h. Pres. Bush's announcement caused a storm of **protest** in Europe and Japan. In uncharacteristically blunt and undiplomatic language, Margot Wallstrom, European Commissioner for the Environment, said Bush's reversal "sent a wave of shock and resentment across the world" and was "totally unacceptable." She emphasized how Bush was creating an uneven playing field for business, making it more difficult for those businesses required to reduce emissions to compete with those allowed to pollute. [London Independent, in Chron Mar 19 01] Terms such as arrogant, irresponsible, betrayal of responsibility, complete abdication, world's biggest polluter, unrepentant outlaw, great-power greed, isolationism, not big enough for his job, and moral lapse came from all over the world–governments, NGOs, and the media.
i. Japan, affronted by rejection of negotiations it had hosted, has taken a lead in pushing for implementation. Japan is facing imposing emissions controls during its prolonged recession, but continues to support the Kyoto Protocol. The resolve of a difficult, slow, but emerging international consensus was undermined because the gains from discipline and sacrifice by one nation can be so easily overwhelmed by the pollution of another. Bush officials turned down all pleas from the European Union to reconsider his position [Ap 4 01 Chron from W post].
j. In Bonn in July 2001 about 180 (news reports were varied) nations discussed what to do after the failure at The Hague and Pres. Bush's opposition. Many Europeans believe that "the Bush administration will do what it can to ensure that the Bonn talks end in failure." Bush promised in Goteborg, Sweden not to interfere with the Bonn talks, but seems to be trying to persuade more states to renounce Kyoto. By mid 2001 Bush was proposing more research but no action. [Kettman, "EU fears Bush...", SF Chron, July 15, 2001] EU leaders replaced Americans as the primary offstage negotiators to salvage Kyoto from the failure at The Hague. Despite preference for stronger policies, they knew compromise was essential.
k. Concurrently with Bonn, in Genoa Pres. Bush came under personal pressure from European leaders. EU leaders took Bush's measure on global warming and found him wanting, long on friendly, sincere personality and short on substance.
l. Back in Bonn, U.S. fears of adverse impacts on the economy were shared by Japan, Canada, Russia and Australia, who negotiated to weaken the proposal. Japan's size, closeness to the U.S., and parlous economy made it an especially important player. The compromise plan allows emissions trading, so that one country which reduces CO_2 more than required can sell credits to one producing too much, benefitting Russia. Tree planting and agricultural projects that reduce CO_2 can be offset against each nation's requirements, benefitting Japan, Canada, and Russia. Developing countries will get over $450 million to reduce pollution. Countries that miss their targets have to make it up, plus penalties and interest, but the penalties are not legally binding. The U.S. refused to support even this compromise. The consensus meant the treaty could be ratified without U.S. support. [Drozdiak, W Post, in SF Chron, Jl 24 01]
m. The U.S. under the administration of Pres. B

n. The next meeting was in October 2001 in Morocco. Pres. Bush promised to propose a plan there; the Europeans and othe

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

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

since 9/11 has the regime come to realize the threat posed by the extremists to their more important relationship with the West. The American oil party led by Pres. Bush feels comfortable with the Saudi regime but others are not so sure. In August 2002 the Rand Corporation reviewed for the first time in detail and sc

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

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

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

The War on Drugs. Return to Contents

1. The War on Drugs has superceded the dirty war against the violent left in Latin America. The dirty war included U.S. interventions in Guatemala (twice), Grenada, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama, and U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the elected Allende regime and subsequent violence in Chile. Some countries–Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Mexico–had or are having their dirty wars without extensive U.S. involvement. The new war on drugs primarily involves U.S. military assistance to Colombia.
    a. In Colombia three armed forces war for control of the countryside and the drug trade. The FARC is a large guerilla force that has controlled a large rural area south of Bogotaȧ and its poppy for many years. On Feb. 20, 2002, three years of peace negotiations broke down and the Colombian army has taken increased action, e.g., many bombing runs, against the FARC. The AUC, the large paramilitary, controls other territoryg3Ur–jl2Tj5.6400 0.0000 Tcooperilla for

6. The IISS speculates that Iraq may have missiles to deliver its weapons. The Institute believes Iraq has about a dozen medium range missiles.
   a. According to several defectors, Saddam wants to rebuild his illegal arsenal. However, the economic sanctions have limited his ability to do so, and US surveillance has yet to find anything concrete on his progress. New roofs and possible underground plants raise suspicions but may not alone be enough to justify going to war. Suspicions are also raised by the Bush administration by its claims about aluminum tubes and that it knows that Saddam met several times with his nuclear scientists and praised their work, yet can not produce evidence about atom bombs, biological and chemical weapons, and missiles.
7. Before Dick Cheney became VP, he was CEO of Halliburton, the largest U.S. oil services company and the fifth largest defense contractor, which employs 100,000 workers world-wide and takes in $15 billion per year. Halliburton did $23.8 million in business with Iraq afer the Gulf War, more than any other American company. Halliburton (through subsidiaries Dresser-Rand and Ingersoll-Dresser) helped the regime repair and modernize its oil operations, which in turn helped it get more funds. Halliburton and other companies sometimes acted through European companies which loaned their names to help the American firms deal with Iraq. Iraq was then able to become the second largest supplier of Mid-East oil to the U.S. While in 1991 after the Gulf War he opposed regime change, by 2002 he had changed his mind. Cheney alleged that Saddam wanted to share his weapons of mass destruction with terrorists. US intelligence has as yet been unable that Saddam has such weapons or that he has any links to al-Qaida terrorism. [Molly Ivins, Sept 4, 2002, SF Chron]
8. All of our allies including Britain oppose unilateral U.S. action to change the regime in Iraq.
9. Preemption or aggression?
   a. 1. aggression: one state attacks another, initiates military action into the other state, for purposes of controlling the people and resources of the target state to benefit the attacker.
   b. 2. preemption: one state attacks another under certain conditions:
      i. - the target state expresses hostility to the preempting state
      ii. - it expresses a desire to act militarily on that hostility
      iii. - it has the funds to develop a military capability
      iv. - there is a lack of evidence that it is not developing such a capability
      v. - it has developed and used such capability in the past
      vi. - it refuses to allow thorough inspection to show it is not developing a capability
      vii. - the military threat is not one which can be effectively guarded against from observation and forces adjacent to the state (CBW, nuclear, terrorism).
      viii. - diplomacy has failed
      ix. - deterrence through massive retaliation might not work, such that the preempting state would suffer unacceptable damage, e.g., 9/11/01, even though retaliation would occur, e.g., US capabilitio the1d(c)Tj5.2800 0.0.2000 0n w

i. -Shiites
ii. -Kurds, 50-100,000 deaths; use of poison gas
iii. attack on Kuwait

c. Assertions that Iraq already has CBW can not be substantiated, but neither can the opposite. Iraq has produced larg

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

4. The steps forffrea

reversed 50 years of support for such a court. Besides the Pentagon, major opposition comes from Congressional Republicans. Senator Helms, opposing ratification, called it “this international kangaroo court” and “this global Star Chamber.” [Chron Jn 1 01 from W Post]

10. On December 31, 2000, the last day allowed by the Rome Treaty, President Clinton had the U.S. sign the Treaty, allowing the U.S. to continue to be involved in the details of implementation from which it would otherwise have been excluded. Pres. Clinton expressed concern that the ICC can claim jurisdiction over Americans once enough nations have ratified it, even if the U.S. has not ratified the Treaty. He and the Pentagon feared U.S. soldiers could be prosecuted, but have not dealt with the logical necessity of having the rule of law apply to all. The fundamental issue is whether the ICC would be subject to political and ideological considerations above the law, which is not an idle concern considering the abuse of power by U.S. Supreme Court in the 2000 Presidential vote counting in Florida. Most nations and human rights organizations have made a judgment that the procedural safeguards of the Treaty and the general maturity of the international community outweigh the risk of arbitrary prosecution. While Clinton’s motivation to sign may have been to influence implementation, signing also committed the U.S., including Pres. Bush, to not violate the spirit of the Treaty.
11. On May 6, 2002, Pres. Bush renounced the ICC, excluded Americans from its jurisdiction, declared he would not seek ratification, and nullified the US signature to the Treaty. Congress passed and on June 7 Pres. Bush he signed the American Servicemembers’ Protection Act, designed to defy ICC jurisdiction. “The act authorizes the President to ‘use all means necessary’ to free any American held by the ICC.” The act withholds military aid from countries unless they agree not to turn over U.S. citizens to the Court. [http://www.wfa.org/issues/wicc/article98/article98home.html; UNA-USA East Bay Chapter News, July August 2002, p. 1] By June 2003 the US had signed agreements with 37 counties to guarantee that US personnel would not be extradited to the ICC. [Felicity Barringer, “U.S. stance on war crimes court reopens rift with allies,” *New York Times / SF Chronicle*, June 11, 2003.]
    a. Up to July 2002 he demanded that the U.N. Security Council grant *permanent* immunity to Americans serving on UN peacekeeping forces. He threatened to shut down UN operations in Bosnia and “reconsider” U.S. support for 14 other similar UN operations. The U.S. was concerned about “frivolous and politically motivated prosecutions.” Bush reversed his position because of intense, strong, unified opposition by the European Union, Canada, Mexico and others and because the peacekeeping was serving U.S. interests. On July 12, 2002, the Security Council unanimously agreed to exempt temporarily (one year) American military personnel in peacekeeping operations from prosecution before the ICC. The

check to the ICC to alert elected officials that international justice is a priority for them. [http://www.amnestyusa.org/; *MoveOn Bulletin*, Friday, August 1, 2003, Noah T. Winer, Editor; http://amicc.org/; http://usaforicc.org/facts_unsigning.html; http://www.victimstrustfund.org/]

14. **Coming into force.** By Nov. 24, 2000, 115 nations had signed the treaty and by Dec. 31, 2001, 137 nations had signed it. On April 11, 2002, the final ten nations to ratify the treaty deposited their instruments of ratification at a special ceremony at the United Nations. Since 60 states were needed, and the total then reached 66, the treaty and thus the ICC came into force July 1, 2002, as a matter of international law. By Dec. 10, 2002, over 85 countries had ratified the treaty. [http://www.isc-icc.org/signedlist.html]
    a. The governing body assembled in September, 2002. The ICC has been established in the Hague, the Netherlands, with 18 judges, the Office of the Prosecutor, and the Office of the Registrar. The ratifying nations elect the judges and Prosecutor. The ICC is a creation of its ratifying states and funded by them independent of the UN.
    b. "In February 2003, the Assembly of States Parties -- composed of representatives from each of the ratifying countries -- elected the ICC's first panel of 18 judges using a transparent voting process. http://www.wfa.org/issues/wicc/asp/aspfeb03.html. In April, Luis Moreno-Ocampo was named as the first Chief Prosecutor for the ICC. An Argentine lawyer, Mr. Moreno-Ocampo successfully prosecuted leaders of that country's military dictatorship in the 1980s. His comments upon the occasion can be found on the ICC website. http://www.icc-cpi.int/php/news/persbericht_details.php?id=5. An interview on Radio Netherlands discusses Moreno-Ocampo's qualifications for the job. http://www.rnw.nl/hotspots/html/icc030422.html. By June 2003, 90 countries had ratified.
    c. On July 16, 2003, Moreno-Ocampo announced the ICC's Office of the Prosecutor will gather information on the situation in Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting from ethnic strife, HIV/AIDS, starvation, landmines, and the exploitation of natural resources. If a formal investigation follows, criminal charges could include summary executions, systematic torture, unlawful arrests and detention of individuals, abductions, mass rape, ritual cannibalization, large-scale displacement of civilians, and the forced recruitment of child soldiers. There are also alleged links to the activities of African, European, and Middle Eastern companies and the international banking system." http://www.icc-cpi.int/docs/news/pids009_2003-en.pdf." [Winer in *MoveOn Bulletin]*

15. Like other issues, the U.S. position on this issue manifests American exceptionalism: We want to apply rules to others; we do not want others do not apply rules to us. Yet the rule of law advances in the face of American opposition, and without American participation. Every developed democracy in the world, all members of NATO, and all the European nations except the United States support the ICC. China and Russia also have not ratified. [Lewis Dolinsky, "Behind the Debacle in Rome," *SF Chronicle*, July 31, 1998; William Coblentz and Jeff Bleich, "We need a World Criminal Court," *SF Chronicle*, Nov. 5, 1998. Cesar Chelata, "The U.S. should support International Criminal Court," Forum, *SF Chronicle*, September 1, 2000; Johnson 2000. Barbara Crossette, "U.S. Decision Looms on War-Crimes Court," *SF Chronicle*, Nov. 24, 2000]

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

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

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

3. The CTBT, expands the prohibition to underground tests. It has been signed by 155 countries. The CTBT prohibits tests of nuclear bombs above a very low yield and provides for monitoring and inspection of possible nuclear weapons tests. It will be difficult to stop the spread of nuclear weapons without the CTBT, which can be enforced to stop nuclear weapons testing.
4. In October, 1999, 51 Republican Senators, in an effort to humiliate Pres. Clinton, rejected the treaty, embarrassed the U.S. internationally, and undermined national security by encouraging the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
    a. Claims that the treaty was poorly written, unverifiable, would prevent weapons development, prevent testing for maintenance and so on were either false or misleading.

a

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

a. The new, first strike warheads would be delivered by U.S. Trident missiles, which are not affected by the new agreement.
b. The agreement reduces deployment of less accurate, strategically useless weapons.
c. The agreement does not require destruction of any weapons, only that weapons be stored away from the launch site.
d. Either side may wi[illegible]Tj5.2800 0.0000 TDtal

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America in Intrna

7. In mid-2002 the Kim regime began implementing the most radical economic reforms since the founding of the regime. It phased out public distribution of basic goods like rice at a subsidized price, significantly increased prices (rice up 400 percent) and wages (at some risk of inflation), and reduced subsidies to inefficient manufacturers. Prices had been low but there was nothing to buy. Prices had been so low so long that farmers would not sell, and a black market grew using yen and dollars to avoid starvation. A pilot project was started in one province to allow farmers private use of plots once part of a collective farm, following what China started in 1978 and Vietnam started in the 1980s. A delegation reportedly went to Beijing to study banking. Kim in September 2002 launched a free enterprise zone in the north west on the Chinese border, run by a successful Chinese businessman, and is seeking investors from South Korea, China, Russia, and Japan. The power of the secret police is expected to continue.
8. By August 31, 2002, Kim Jung Il apologized for the naval attack. Talks with the south led to an unblocking and an increase in food aid. The north announced a schedule for starting construction on the rail line to rea

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

7. The final Small Arms Agreement was weakened at U.S. insistence. 189 nations supported a stronger version. [Raum, AP, in SF Chron, Jl 27 01] The EU, South Africa, Colombia and the Secretary General of the UN criticized the U.S. position. The U.S. opposed provisions to regulate civilian ownership of military weapons and to stop sales to rebel movements, as infringing on the Second Amendment and denying liberation movements the ability to overthrow illegitimate rulers. The agreement, however, does not limit the ability of legal manufacturers and exporters to sell to private groups. The only U.S. concession was to drop its opposition to additional negotiations. In 2001 the U.S. position impeded its own efforts to stop the flow of arms from Albanians in Kosovo, where U.S. troops were on the ground attempting interdiction, to Albanian rebels nearby in Macedonia.
8. The U.S. is the leading exporter of small ar

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

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

2. The agreements include the World Trade Organization (WTO, which includes by reference the General Agreement on Tarriffs and Trade, GATT); the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS, 1995); the North American Fr

was being reviewed and the government had not paid the fine. Metalclad estimated the cost of clean-up at $5 million.

d. MMT, a toxic gasoline additive, causes brain damage in lab animals. Canada banned the import and transport among provinces of MMT. Ethyl Corp. imported MMT from the U.S. and mixed it with other chemicals. Ethyl sued Canada, arguing the ban was a arbitrary performance requirement requiring Ethyl to buy an MMT substitute in Canada. In 1998 Canada settled before a decision, paying CA$13 million and canceling the ban on MMT.
e. Deforestation of Sierra Tarahumara, Chihuahua, Mexico where 25 percent of logging is illegal. Huffman
f. Salmon loss, Chekamus River, British Columbia, Canada; failure to enforce fisheries act and flow of water through hydro dams, allowing fluctuations that kill fish. Government refused to provide evidence. Huffman
g. An increase in truck and rail traffic across international borders has caused an increase in diesel fuel pollution (NOx, PM) of 3 to 16 percent in the relevant travel corridors. Huffman
h. Unsafe

globalization Roquefort cheese.wpd.]

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

Biological Diversity. Return to Contents

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

Biosafety Protocol. Return to Contents

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

www.organicconsumers.org/ge/eu_frankencrops_canada.cfm]

7. Also in May, the Congress passed a resolution attached a non-biding resolution to AIDS prevention funds, calling for them to be cut off to any country which refuses to accept GMOs. . [BioDemocracy News #43 Aug. 2003 citing www.organicconsumers.org/ge/aids.cfm]
8. . The protocol was to protect global biodiversity and human health from harm by genetically modified crops. 132 nations favor strict controls; 6 do not. Every developed democracy in the world supports an effe

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

3. The Pesticide Action Network North America (PANNA) is a leading NGO in this area. It found POP residues in 100 percent of a sample of 9,000 people studied by the US Center for Disease Control.
4. Most POPs are alr

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

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

Civil and Political Rights Return to Contents

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

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Return to Contents

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

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

World Poverty and Hunger. Return to Contents

1. Bread for the World, a Christian citizen movement, lobbies the Congress to improve food programs and related policies here and abroad. Its review of key votes in 1998-99 reveals that Republicans are hostile to world food programs and Democrats are largely supportive. [www.bread.org/election2000/]. Most Republicans voted against hunger programs 5 of 5 or 4 of 5 times, while most Democrats voted for them 5 of 5.

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

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

Rights of Women Return to Contents

1. Official title: U. N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
2. In 1979 the U.S. helped write CEDAW, the international women's bill of rights. CEDAW bans female genital muo0fining

a. Women in Nigeria have been stoned to death for adultery when they were raped.
b. In Jun

women.

a. Women in Costa Rica, Colombia, Botswana, Rwanda, Tanzania, South Africa, Ukraine, Moldova, Turkey, Nepal, Korea, Japan, and other counties have used CEDAW to educate

women under the Constitution. Most established family planning organizations, e.g., Planned Parenthood, refuse to accept aid conditioned on restrictions on needed and legal service

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

VOTING Return to Contents

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

See also World Poverty and Hunger.

DISCUSSION Return to Contents

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

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

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

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

U.S. politics. Generally, most Democra00 0r1 TD BT72.009uT [illegible]

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

The Example of Korea. In 2001 South Korean President Kim went to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace prize and asked for European help in dealing with the North. After Bush undercut his negotiations, President Kim adde

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

By mid 2001, Europeans were increasingly concerned about American isolationism and the g

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

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

"...while evil people hate us for who we are, many good people dislike us for what we do. And if we want to win their respect we need to be the best, most consistent, and most principled global citizens we c9 p