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A DIFFERENT KIND OF WAR The UN Sanctions Regime in Iraq H.C. von Sponeck

"In this sober and impressive study, Sponeck reminds us of the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 that bar any penalty inflicted on people for actions for which they are not responsible, an elementary moral principle and for the past century, a binding obligation on all states. In his meticulous and carefully reasoned review, he demonstrates with painful care and precision that the UN Security Council, but particularly the US and UK, radically violated these minimal conditions of civilized behavior in their sanctions program directed against the tortured population of Iraq, including the oil for food program that he valiantly tried to direct in a humane manner, struggling against their cruel and unremitting interference. It is necessary reading, with crucial lessons for the immediate future as well. And immensely sad". - Noam Chomsky

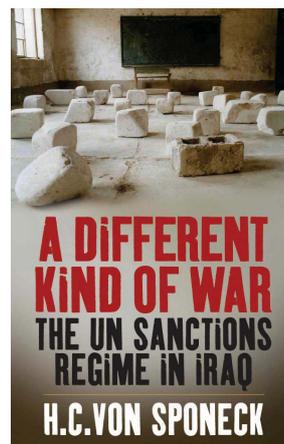
"This is one of the most important books I can remember. Hans von Sponeck, one of the UN's most senior and respected officials, who resigned rather than carry out inhuman US Administration-driven policies against the ordinary people of Iraq, has blown the whistle on one of the greatest acts of aggression: the medieval siege of Iraq. Read this superb book and you will understand the danger the world faces from an imperialist power." - John Pilger

Summary

H. C. von Sponeck explores the UN's sanction policies against Iraq, their consequences, and the domestic situation between the two Gulf Wars; his research is based on previously unpublished internal UN documents and discussions with UN decision makers (such as General Secretary Kofi Annan), Iraqi officials and politicians (including Saddam Hussein), and ordinary Iraqis. He questions who really benefitted from the program, what role the UN Security Council and its various member states played, and whether there were then and are today alternatives to the UN's Iraq policies.

About the Author

H. C. von Sponeck worked for the United Nations for more than thirty years and in 1998 was appointed by Secretary General Kofi Annan as UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq and UN Assistant Secretary General. During his UN service, he represented the United Nations in Botswana, Pakistan and India. Other UN assignments included postings in Accra, New York, Ankara and Geneva. Since his resignation from the UN he has served as a member of the board of trustees of various non-government organisations in Switzerland, Italy and the US, as an adviser for multilateral issues, and as a consultant for personnel development in international organisations.



**With a Foreword by Celso N. Amorim,
Foreign Minister of Brazil**

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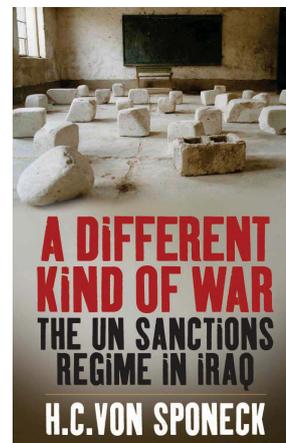
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10 KEY POINTS OF A DIFFERENT KIND OF WAR

1. In the 1990s, the UN Security Council created genocide-like conditions in Iraq with its sanctions policies.
2. Iraqis had to pay 100% of the so-called 'UN humanitarian assistance' with the sale of their own oil. There was no humanitarian assistance of the UN for the people of Iraq. The oil-for-food programme was the veil of the international conscience behind which a devastating human catastrophe was hidden.
3. US\$17 billion out of the \$64 billion revenue Iraq earned between December 1996 and March 2003 were deducted by the United Nations from the oil-for-food programme to compensate primarily Kuwait for the 1990 invasion of Iraqi troops. Additionally, the UN Sanctions Committee blocked large amounts of essential supplies from arrival in Iraq during the same period. In July 2002 the value of such supplies exceeded US\$ 5 billion. The US and UK Governments argued that such blocked items (including at one point pencils) were dual-use items which could be misused by Saddam Hussein's government for military purposes.
4. The Government of Iraq obtained from its oil exports and imports an est. US\$ 2 billion per year in 'kickbacks' and surcharges. Since there was no tax system, a large part of the national budget had to be used to finance the upkeep of the infrastructure, civil servants, schools and hospitals and the military. Palaces and luxury items were also paid from these sources.
5. The value of the supplies obtained through the oil-for-food programme was less than 60 cents per person per day. Even if the Government of Saddam Hussein had not used funds from illegal income for palaces and personal luxuries, the amount available would not have increased beyond 70 cents. This amount would not have prevented the human catastrophe.
6. UNICEF confirmed that during 13 years of sanctions 1.5 million Iraqis died; 600.000 of these were children. Two UN officials at the rank of assistant-secretaries general as well as the head of the World Food Programme in Baghdad resigned from their posts in protest over UN sanctions policy.
7. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan visited Baghdad in early 1998 and saw the desperate conditions of the Iraqi population. He argued for a substantial increase in the UN humanitarian exemption. The US and UK Governments made it clear that they wanted the UN Secretary General to refrain from such direct contacts with the Government of Iraq. Special reports of UN offices in Iraq about the human catastrophe were prevented, discouraged or ignored.
8. The two no-fly-zones in Iraq had been maintained by the US and UK Governments for over a decade, ostensibly to protect Kurds in northern Iraq and Shias in the south of the country. Following the US/UK 'Operation Desert Fox' in December 1998, these two no-fly-zones became increasingly convenient areas of destabilization. From 2002 onwards, they became training grounds for the US & UK air forces to prepare the illegal invasion of Iraq. During the years 1991-1998, the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) in Baghdad was mis-used for espionage activities.
9. The UN arms inspectors were withdrawn by the UN in December 1998 under pressure by the United States. They were not asked to leave by the Government of Iraq, as often maintained by western governments. At that time Iraq had destroyed about 95% of all of its weapons of mass destruction according to Scott Ritter, a former senior American UN arms inspector. This reality was known to the US, UK, UN and IAEA authorities.
UNSCOM, the UN disarmament commission, left behind a laboratory in Baghdad which contained dangerous toxic chemical and biological substances, including a kilogram of mustard gas and a tube marked 'small pox virus'. These were items confiscated by UNSCOM yet had not been disabled for over seven months.
10. On 19 March 2003 US-led troops entered an Iraq that after 13 years of UN sanctions and decades of dictatorship was mentally exhausted, physically disabled and incapable of defending itself.

"This book is my personal history. I grew up during the embargo years - no health care, poor education, not enough food. God and my parents helped me to survive." - Wissam Khalifa (18), Al-Fallujah/Iraq



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