

Between the Lines

Nuremberg Actions, P.O.Box 13, Boulder Creek CA 95006

March 1991

OIL WAR REPORT:

As I sit down to write, three days into the ground war, the U.N. Security Council is in emergency closed session, Hussein has announced his withdrawal and release of Kuwait, but nothing, it appears will stop George Bush from drinking his quart of blood. Now, apparently we are committing genocide because Hussein didn't say he was sorry. Reporters on aircraft carriers in the last hours have reported that returning U.S. pilots are jubilant about the ease with which they are dropping 1,000 lb. bombs on vehicles on roadways and cluster bombs on Iraqi foot soldiers fleeing for their lives.

VIOLENCE AT HOME

The constant barrage of war images and calm acceptance of inhuman brutality coming from the media is taking its toll on the American psyche. (Some are calling it the Pentagon Trade Show, others PNN.) Violence and bullying has been overtly legitimized, and a rise in aggressive behavior can be seen from school playgrounds to freeway lanes. Rape crisis lines are reporting a 10-20% rise in calls. Racist attacks have been widespread, with 24 incidents against Arab American individuals or businesses in the Bay Area in the first two weeks alone. Assaults on lesbians and gays have stepped up, and attacks on peace activists have increased in both frequency and violence. The ugly American has come home.

At the Nuremberg Actions vigil at the Concord Navy Weapons Station, most violence occurs anonymously at night. Car windows have been smashed, death threats issued, the portable toilet overturned, and vigil materials repeatedly vandalized, destroyed or stolen. The driver of a loaded munitions truck delivering weapons to the base attempted to run over two protesters. On January 23rd, a week after bombing stopped, a driver fired three shots after verbally harassing vigiliers. Police have shown much less willingness to apply the protection of the law equally to protesters, by refusing to file reports and telling protesters they should not be there. Although under injunction not to do so, they have used pain holds on at least one recent occasion. Fortunately, no one has been injured at Concord so far.

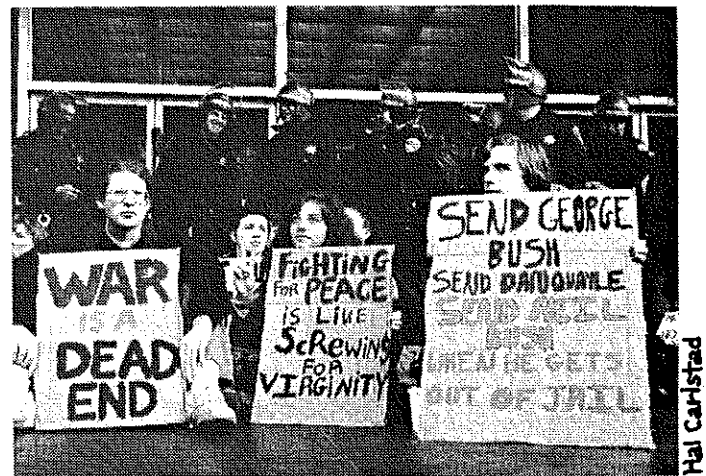
Protesters everywhere have shown great restraint in the face of extreme provocation. Some one recently noted that happy 49er fans caused a great deal more destruction in San Francisco following the Superbowl two years ago than the over half million protesters in the hundreds of Bay Area events in the last six weeks.

VIOLENCE WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

Overt racism and mysogeny are seriously afflicting U.S.
continued on page 5

Peter Arnett:

"In Vietnam when I was there, my organization, the AP, insisted that we never portray the Viet Cong sympathetically. One of our reporters who had written a story [portraying] the Viet Cong as people, as willing and dedicated fighters, actually got a note from the foreign desk saying, hey, they're our enemies! This was early in the war. I later grew to understand that if we had presented the Viet Cong in a proper light from the beginning, maybe we would have had a better assessment of how the war was going. And that's why I am here now. I feel that an assessment is really important."



Protesters at San Francisco Federal Building, January 1991

CONCORD RALLY ON MARCH 16TH

A major rally and direct action is being planned by Bay Area anti-war groups for Saturday, March 16th. It will be held in conjunction with other nationally coordinated events, following a conference this weekend between the January 19th and 26th contingents in which plans were unified.

Concord shipped 80% of all weapons used in the Vietnam War, and continues to supply atrocities against civilians from El Salvador to the Philippines, from the Pacific to the Persian Gulf. It is the primary west coast weapons shipping facility for the U.S. for conventional and nuclear weapons.

Protesters are being asked to park between Highway 4 and the base, and gather at 11:30 am at the intersection of Port Chicago Highway and Arnold Industrial Way. Shuttles will start running from the Concord BART station at 10:30 am. At noon, all will march to the main gate.

A pre-action gathering is being held on Tuesday, March 12th, at New College, 766 Valencia in SF. For more info, call the Pledge of Resistance at 415-655-1177.

PENTAGON PAPERS II

A 200 page Pentagon document was revealed by Pacific News Service on February 25, which outlines a frightening plan of South-Africa style martial law to be implemented by the U.S. military in Kuwait following an Iraqi defeat.

When Bush talks about restoring 'the legitimate government of Kuwait', he is not referring to the Constitution or the elected Parliament which were suspended by the Emir in 1986, in the face of growing political dissent. This plan rolls time back to 1976, with press restrictions such as: 1) No criticism of the Emir or any other Arab leader, 2) No quoting the Emir without permission, and 3) No information that might effect the Kuwaiti currency or economy.

The plan states that senior Kuwaiti officials (read the Al-Sabah family) plan to restructure the Kuwaiti economic system, claiming that "the Palestinians virtually control the banking system." Throughout the plan are frightening glimpses of revenge planned for Palestinians who supported Saddam as the first Arab head of state to take up their cause.

The plan clearly states expectations of 25% civilian casualties in Kuwait, with estimates of 40,000 dead, 100,000 wounded and 42,000 seriously ill. It states that the Kuwaitis (whose Emir is personally worth \$60 billion) do not intend to fund any medical aid for non-Kuwaitis, who comprised 61% of the population before the war. The planners calmly predict widespread casualties because of this, many of them children. Non-Kuwaitis are often 3rd and 4th generation workers (from Pakistan, Yemen, Palestine, the Philippines, etc.) who live in shanty-towns and enjoy no education or legal rights.

In addition, as early as November 8th, 1990, the U.S. military was finalizing contracts with four major oil companies to put out anticipated oil well fires in Kuwait. The report is incredibly detailed, down to how many calories should be provided for each Kuwaiti citizen.

Total martial law will be implemented by the U.S. forces for three months, with lesser involvement planned for three, five or even more years. Everyone in the country will be interrogated and issued ID cards, and non-citizens will be kept in concentration-like camps. War tribunals are planned for anyone thought to have collaborated with Iraq. This is frighteningly familiar to the techniques used in Panama to purge the left and any form of dissent after the U.S. invasion.

There is no mention of the United Nations or the 'Coalition' in this document. In fact, it contains statements like "Emergency medical supplies will be purchased from U.S. sources whenever possible." It was drawn up by a group called the 352nd Civil Air Command, and includes the work of many teams of military planners. The latest entry was January 15th, the day before the air war started.

WHY ARE WE FIGHTING IRAQ?

Much research now indicates that it is the vast wealth of the Al-Sabah family that George Bush rushed to protect, not Saudi Arabia, which even the CIA says was never really threatened. With enormous investments in the shaky U.S. banking system (including S&L criminals like Charles

Keating), Kuwait commands incredible leverage over the U.S. economy. The Board of Directors of the royal family's corporation reads like a Who's Who of the Republican Party for the last 20 years. Kuwaitis were rumored to be thinking of converting from a dollar-based system to yen or marks, before the Iraqi invasion. With this threat to hold over the U.S., they could provide strong incentive for not waiting for effective sanctions before returning home. Thus, a hideous structure of happy fascists will be built in the Middle East: Kuwait will continue to prop up failing banks in the U.S., the U.S. military will police an apartheid-like regime to squash any form of dissent against them, under cover of a total media blackout, and the Israelis will be mollified because of the formidable repression heaped on Palestinians in Kuwait, many of whom had been supporting financially the Palestinians in the occupied territories. As I write this the radio announcer is saying that the Emir has just declared a three month period of martial law in Kuwait.

IS THIS AN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY?

"President Bush's New World Order is a misnomer", says Herbert Schiller in a recent article. "It's actually the military industrial complex's corporate business as usual."

Last August, only days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the White House lifted the legal requirements of the 1970 National Environmental Policy Act. This makes possible an end-run around the usual Environmental Impact Study and the public review process for the military. This information was not made public until Jan. 30.

For the Pentagon, plans can move ahead for new weapons and tank testing in Nevada and Idaho, increased production of material, and new and expanded activities at bases behind a veil of secrecy.

A Pentagon spokesperson says that this might only be a first step. If the war drags on, other laws may be reviewed. These could include: The Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, the Endangered Species Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.

In recent days, George Bush revealed his energy plans, which feature primarily liquid petroleum gas and offshore oil drilling as alternatives to Mideast oil. There was virtually no mention of conversion or conservation. Most areas as yet undrilled have been staunchly guarded by environmentalists and native people because either their ecologically fragile or sacred nature.

On Feb. 24th, U.S. plans to sell 23 gas and oil leases. They range along the east, southern and west coasts, and Alaska.

It should come as no great surprise that George Bush made many of his millions in off-shore drilling, primarily in the Caribbean, where he may have been moonlighting as a CIA operative at the time of Kennedy's assassination in the early 60's. In addition, he and Secretary of State James Baker are partners in LPG2, producing liquid petroleum gas. Keeping it in the family, George Bush Jr., Director of the Harken Energy Corp. of Dallas has an exclusive Oil concession with the Bahrain government, Kuwait's neighbor. No doubt, daddy's Marine presence will be a welcome sight to him as well.

OIL DRILLING ON SACRED LAND

The Forest Service is moving forward to let two oil companies, Chevron and Fina Oil & Chemical Co. of Dallas, begin drilling in the 133,000 acre Badger-Two Medicine region of Montana, last sacred ground of the Blackfoot people. The area is also home to the endangered grizzly bear and many other species.

Blackfoot members sold the land to the Federal Govt. in 1896 when the tribe was decimated by war, small-pox and starvation. They retained rights to hunt, fish and gather timber, and routinely use the vast wilderness land for ceremonial sweats, vision quests and sun dances.

Blackfoot chief Tiny Man Heavy Runner compared a gas well in the area with "a knife in the breast of our mother" and said the idea is as insulting as "an oil well in St. Patrick's cathedral."

George Kipp is a vocational-education teacher in a place with 85% unemployment. "Our young people are being taken by alcohol and drugs. One of our best weapons is the rekindling of pride in our culture, in belonging to something great and old. We need the Badger-Two Medicine. It is our church."

The Forest Service says that chances of establishing a commercially viable well are less than half of one percent, which are apparently typical odds for exploratory wells. Many local environmental experts as well as Blackfoot members feel that those are ridiculous odds to justify tearing up 7,000 acres in an area of such pristine beauty.

The Forest Service is apparently trying to capitalize on the Oil War, as evidenced by a leaked memo titled "Proposed Strategy for Mitigating Persian Gulf Situation". It proposes weakening the environmental review process for drilling on public land, and reducing the role of public comment and appeal in granting drilling permits.

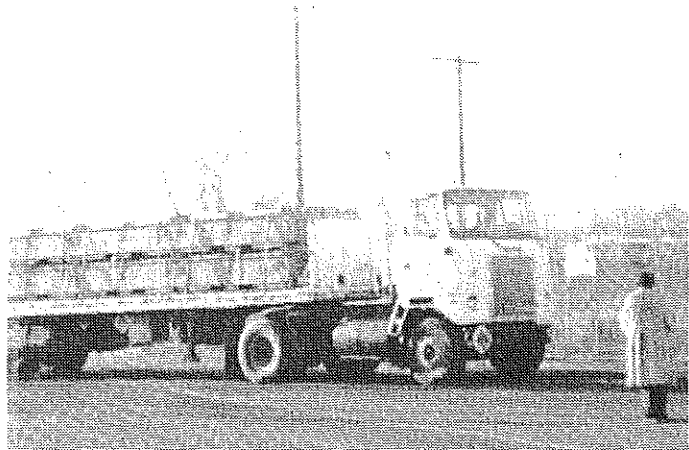
From a Nov. 11/90 Examiner article by Dan Baum

ALAMEDA MUD RADIOACTIVE

Score one for North Bay activists Woody Schwartz and others who have foiled a Navy attempt to transfer toxic and radioactive mud dredged in Alameda via pipeline to Skaggs Island Naval Reservation. The Navy plans to deepen ship channels by 48 feet to accommodate two fully loaded aircraft carriers.

But the news is not all good. The Navy plans to continue the dredging, even though Alameda is slated for closure, and dump the 1.6 million cubic yards of sludge 11 miles out to sea, near the Farallon Islands National Wildlife Refuge. The Navy has already dumped radioactive waste and munitions there in the 1950s, which are already leaking according to recent reports.

Most frightening of all was the Navy's disclosure that the mud was highly radioactive as anti-nuclear activists had long suspected. The Navy spokesperson Dave Easter stated (with a straight face) that, "We found that the amount of radiation in the soils is something that has been in the mud for years. It is not any different from what landed on the ground as a result of nuclear testing. There might be greater concentrations in the mud, but it's the same type of radiation." Wanna go fishing?



Greg Getty

Missile shipments headed for the Gulf from Concord CA

NOTHING NEW...ASK A MARINE

I spent 33 years and 4 months in active military service as a member of our country's most agile military force--the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major-General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall St and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all members of the military profession I never had a single original thought until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of the higher-ups. This is typical of everyone in the military service.

Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall St. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light into the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, 'a swell racket'. I was rewarded with honors, medals and promotion. Looking back on it, I feel that I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three city districts. I operated on three continents.

Major General Smedley Butler
USMC Ret.

Nuremberg Actions is an affiliate of the National Mobilization for Survival, and a member of the Nicaraguan Solidarity Coalition and the Coalition for Peace and Sovereignty in the Asia-Pacific.



CONCORD

NAVAL WEAPONS STATION

Stop the War Now

Stop Bombing Iraq

**Non-Violent
Civil Disobedience
and Direct Action**

- Legal Protest

Saturday
March 16

Concord Naval Weapons Station supplied the majority of bombs dropped on the people of Vietnam. It is the main supplier of napalm and white phosphorus bombs to the death squad government of El Salvador. Now the bombs that leave Concord are also killing and maiming the people of Iraq.

11:30 a.m. Gather Arnold Industrial Way & Port Chicago Highway (just north of Highway 4)

12:00 noon March to the main gate

For those taking BART: Take Concord BART to end of line (Concord stop). Shuttles to the gathering site will leave starting at 10:30 a.m.

For those driving: Take 580 East to 24 East to 680 North to 242 North to Port Chicago Highway North/Clyde.

Initial Sponsors: Pledge of Resistance • Attention Shoppers Affinity Group • Bay Area CISPEs • Central America Solidarity Committee (CASC) at SFSU • Dykes and Gay Guys Emergency Response (DAGGER) • Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East • Global Exchange • Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention (LAGAI) • Middle East Children's Alliance • Nicaragua Center for Community Action (NICCA) • Political Ecology Group • Prairie Fire Organizing Committee • United Bay Area Veterans Against the War • Veterans Peace Action Teams • Women Against Imperialism

Pre Action Gathering

Tuesday, March 12, 7:00 p.m., New College, 766 Valencia, SF

For more information, call 655-1177.

continued from page 1...

forces in Saudi Arabia. Blacks in the Gulf are finding that local Arabs look like their neighbors at home, and it is fellow GI's who further that bond by openly using terms like 'sand nigger'. In particular, Black Muslims are openly ridiculed and their belongings destroyed. Some have reported from the front that they fear for their lives at American hands. Support from commanding officers is nonexistent.

This abuse, along with Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act, is fueling a rising militancy and bitterness among many of the 125,000 Blacks in the Gulf. The military's growing repression is only furthering the problem. Specific music, haircuts and even colors associated with the African National Congress are banned, causing many Blacks to wonder just whose freedom they are fighting for.

Lance Waters, an Army mechanic with 6 years experience, who refused to take arms against fellow Muslims, feels that he was sent home because of his outspoken views. He says that Black veterans will be bringing their newfound awareness and solidarity home with them. "This country will have a hard time going back to racism as usual...this country will never be the same again."

Black veterans and activists should keep an eye on Richard Held at the San Francisco FBI. He was highly successful in leading the COINTELPRO campaign which assassinated, imprisoned and discredited the last wave of militant Black leadership in the 60's and 70's.

The National Congress of American Indians, representing over 500 tribes, has demanded an apology from Marine Brigadier General Richard Neal, who described Iraqi-held territory in Kuwait as 'Indian territory' when describing a helicopter rescue mission.

An African American doctor from Highland Hospital now stationed in the Gulf reports that female troops in the Gulf are being raped. Her C.O.'s only comment was that "these men haven't had any for a long time, so get your penicillin shot."

LIES OF THE MONTH

"Smart Bombs, Stupid President", read many signs at an SF protest. While TV viewers are subjected to endless reruns of Baghdad as seen through the eyes of high-tech weapons, reports are even hitting the lap-dog press of serious mistakes. Admiral Gene Carroll, Ret. Navy, estimated in one instance from the Pentagon's own figures that only 8% of bombs were hitting their targets, leaving a horrible 92% falling on someone or something else. With 120 million pounds of explosives dropped on Iraq, the potential for disaster is overwhelming.

Initial reports on the Gulf oil spills were vastly overstated, and responsibility was loudly placed on the Iraqis. Saudi Arabia stated recently that the total spill was 1.5 million barrels, about 1/10th of the original estimate, and that at least 30% was caused by American bombing. In addition, little or no information has been released about the effects of U.S. bombing of the pipeline further inland to stop the oil from reaching the water, or of plans to dispose of the 12 million gallons of sewage generated daily, garbage and toxic waste.

The London Independent reported that a senior U.S.

military source who spoke on condition that his name be secret, said that U.S. excuses for attacking the civilian bomb shelter in which at least 400 women and children were incinerated in Baghdad were a sham. "There's not a soul who believes it was a command and control bunker" as was officially explained. He says it was targeted because key military personnel (read Saddam Hussein) were thought to be inside. "Senior commanders in the field do not report to command and control bunkers in Baghdad," he added, saying that the U.S. explanation did not make sense. The carefully planned bombing, which first sealed the only exit and then dropped an incendiary bomb down an air shaft, wiped out the entire female and youth population of one Baghdad neighborhood.

The most oft repeated story for likening Saddam Hussein to Hitler is the gassing of Kurdish rebels in 1988, in Halabja, northeastern Iraq. Little mention is given to the fact that abrupt abandonment of Kurdish rebels by the CIA and the Shah of Iran in 1973 caused widespread death and misery. When Kissinger was called before Congress to explain this event, he said, "One should not confuse foreign policy with missionary work." In addition, research has proven that the Kurds were killed in large part by cyanide gas, which is in the arsenal of Iran, but not Iraq. A study by the U.S. Army War College states that "It seemed likely that it was the Iranian bombardment that had actually killed the Kurds." If the Army knew that, chances are that the CIA president knew it too.

WORLDWIDE DISSENT

Though largely unreported in the U.S. press, millions of people have protested the U.S. led war against Iraq, from Europe to Northern Africa to Southeast Asia. Three government Ministers have resigned in Turkey and Egypt is under virtual martial law. As predicted, violent attacks have happened in many places, including Greece, the Philippines and Peru. Two Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets were blown up in Lima, as well as a bombing at the U.S. Embassy.

PALESTINIANS UNDER CURFEW AGAIN

When the ground war began, so did round two of the brutal 24 hour curfew for Palestinians under Israeli occupation. Over 4,000 have been arrested since the bombing began, and are being held without charges. One woman was shot in the head and killed as she looked out of her house. No passes have been issued for medical workers, even though several SCUD missiles have landed in the West Bank. Life has stopped.

Since the intifada, or unarmed rebellion, started three years ago, 900 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli settlers or military, 225 of them children. 105,000 have been seriously wounded, and 15,000 have been displaced. Over 1700 homes have been demolished.

Since 1967, over 50% of the land has been seized in the heavily populated occupied territories, and about 65,000 Jewish settlers have moved in. Over 140 U.N. Resolutions have been issued condemning the occupation and human rights violations. The U.S. has vetoed many of them. The U.S. continues to provide Israel with \$3 billion in aid each year, approximately the cost of maintaining the occupation.

TRACK RECORD:

March 1st is the 1359th day of consecutive protest at the Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS), demanding an end to world-wide killing of civilians through U.S. military aid. CNWS continues to function 22 hours a day arming the Oil War. Incidents of violence toward protesters continue (see page 1) but no one has been seriously hurt. Some vigilers report having rewarding and interesting conversations with pro-war demonstrators also at CNWS, attesting to the value of nonviolence and openness.

A 'divide and conquer' campaign has been mounted on the vigil, apparently in the hopes of making it too difficult to continue around the clock. Parking near the vigil has been severely restricted during the day, and prohibited completely from 6 PM to 6AM. Vigilers are stretched, trying to prevent vandalism and assault at both the vigil and parking site through the night, when they are far apart. Legal counsel is being obtained, in what is clearly a selective application of the law.

On Feb. 2nd, about 50 from two separate groups protested the war at CNWS, Bay Area Veterans and an SF affinity group called the Princesses. On Valentine's Day, 25-30 people gathered for a morning event, and then read Valentine's Day messages for peace to Captain Owen, commander of the base. He responded by saying that he had been working for peace for 30 years, as a member of the U.S. military, and although he did believe in following moral law, he also believed in obeying his Commander in Chief. He bridled somewhat when it was pointed out that Nazi officers at the Nuremberg Trials unsuccessfully offered the same defense.

Moments later, S.A. Appleby, who organized the event, David Hartsough and his mother Ruth, 82, were arrested for blocking the first loaded weapons truck of the day. Others arrested for attempting to uphold international law this month are: Dorothy Brownold, Abraham Zwickel, Caroline Johannson and Greg Getty.

This month three commercial ships have been loading at the piers usually filled with Navy ammo vessels. They are: the S. LETTER, the FLAG MARS and the LETITIA LYKES.

We strongly encourage anyone interested to come to the Nuremberg Actions vigil on Thursday mornings between 8:30 and noon when orientation and blockade training are available. You can contact the vigil directly at 415-689-9620.

This newsletter is the mostly monthly publication of Nuremberg Actions, and is sent to N.A. supporters who request it. Additional donations make it possible to distribute it more widely for educational purposes.

The goal of the newsletter is to support citizens' rights in calling for just, sustainable non-exploitive policies from government and business alike, through nonviolent, creative and responsible means. Submissions accepted to 20th of month. Editor and Publisher: Jennifer Viereck

N.A. PO BOX 13 BOULDER CREEK CA 95006 (408) 338-9416

WHERE TO BE, WHEN TO BE THERE:

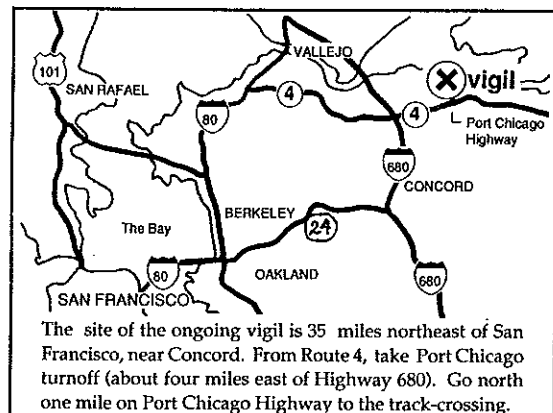
AT THE TRACKS:

- 3/2--10:30 am March for Peace and the Environment, assemble UN Plaza, SF and march to 1 pm rally at Marina Green. BAEPAN, 415-788-3666.
- 3/7--7 pm War & Censorship: Central America and the Gulf War Panel with Larry Bensky, Lou Dematteis, Laura Fraser New College Auditorium, 777 Valencia SF. 415-665-8649.
- 3/8--5 pm Wall of Women Against the War gather at Justin Herman Plaza and march to Union Square. 415-995-4735.
- 3/14--Redwood Friends, Sonoma County, War Tax Resisters. Nonviolence discussion group with David Hartsough.
- 3/16--11:30 am Stop the War Now, at Concord Naval Weapons Station see article and flyer for details.
- 3/17--10:00 am Buddhist Morning of Meditation. Sitting and walking. Rides leave Berkeley Zen Center at 9:15, 1933 Russell St.

IN THE BAY AREA:

For a complete listing of ongoing events as well as current events and activist groups, send a SASE to Ken Cheetham. 415-848-9862. PO Box 11232, Berkeley CA 94701-2232.

Mideast Crisis & Referral Service, PeaceNet 415-923-0700
For help with military resistance: National Resistance Committee, POB 4248B, San Francisco CA 94142, 415-824-0214.



You can order copies of The Oil War Primer postpaid for \$3.50. For larger orders, the cost is \$3.00 after the first five books. Call number below directly about bulk orders.

____ Please send me more information about Nuremberg Actions.

____ Please send me the monthly newsletter Between the Lines.

I enclose a donation of \$10____ Other \$____ to cover costs.

Name _____

Address _____

Organization _____

Public doesn't get picture with Gulf satellite photos

When President George Bush began his massive deployment of American troops to the Persian Gulf last August, he claimed that Iraq, which had just invaded Kuwait, had set its sights on Saudi Arabia. Last September 11, Bush addressed a joint session of Congress, saying, "We gather tonight witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within three days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 350 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then I decided to act to check that aggression."

On January 6, however, Jean Heller reported in the St. Petersburg [Fla.] Times that satellite photos of Kuwait taken the same day the president addressed Congress failed to back up his claim of an imminent Iraqi invasion. In fact, there was no sign of a massive Iraqi troop buildup in Kuwait.

Heller told in These Times, "The troops that were said to be massing on the Saudi border and that constituted the possible threat to Saudi Arabia that justified the U.S. sending of troops do not show up in these photographs. And when the Department of Defense was asked to provide evidence that would contradict our satellite evidence, it refused to do it."

But the national media has chosen to ignore Heller's story. St. Petersburg Times editors approached the Associated Press twice about running her story on the wire, but to no avail. Likewise, the Scripps-Howard news service, of which the St. Petersburg Times is a member, chose not to distribute the story.

"I think part of the reason the story was ignored was that it was published too close to the start of the war," says Heller. "Second, and more importantly, I don't think people wanted to hear that we might have been deceived. A lot of the reporters, who have seen the story think it is dynamite, but the editors who have seen it seem to have the attitude, 'At this point, who cares?' If the war ends badly with a lot of casualties, more than the administration had led us to expect, you might hear of this story again."

We believe you should hear about Heller's story now. In These Times does not as a rule publish articles that previously appeared in other newspapers, but in this case we decided to make an exception. Below is her story as it originally appeared in the St. Petersburg Times.

By Jean Heller

WASHINGTON

SATELLITE PHOTOS OF KUWAIT TAKEN five weeks after the Iraqi invasion suggest the Bush administration might have exaggerated the scope of Iraq's military threat to Saudi Arabia at the time.

The photos are not conclusive proof that the administration overestimated Iraq's buildup along the Saudi border, a buildup that was cited as a justification for the deployment of U.S. troops. But two American satellite imaging experts who examined the photos could find no evidence of a massive Iraqi presence in Kuwait in September.

"The Pentagon kept saying the bad guys were there, but we don't see anything to indicate an Iraqi force in Kuwait of even 20 percent the size the administration claimed," said Peter Zimmerman, who served with the

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Reagan administration.

A Soviet commercial satellite took a photo of Saudi Arabia on September 11 and a photo of Kuwait on September 13. At the time, the Defense Department was estimating there were as many as 250,000 Iraqi troops and 1,500 tanks in Kuwait. The photos were obtained by the St. Petersburg Times in late December.

The Times informed the Defense Department of the results of the photo analysis in early January and asked to see evidence that would support the official U.S. estimate of the Iraqi buildup. Spokesman Bob Hall turned down the request.

"We have given conservative estimates of Iraqi numbers based on various intelligence resources, and those are the numbers we stand by," Hall said.

Playing with numbers: The mystery surrounding the number of Iraqi troops first surfaced in November after ABC News purchased several Soviet satellite photos of Kuwait taken on September 13 and could find no evidence of large numbers of Iraqi troops.

ABC officials decided not to air the photos because they did not include the strategically important area of southern Kuwait. Without seeing that territory, ABC officials said, they could draw no conclusions about what they were seeing—or not seeing.

The Times bought the missing photo of Kuwait, as well as a photo of part of Saudi Arabia, from Soyuz-Karta, a Soviet commercial satellite agency that sells pictures worldwide for such purposes as geological studies and energy exploration. The cost was \$1,560 a photo.

The Times retained two satellite image specialists to interpret the photos: Zimmerman, a nuclear physicist who now is a professor of engineering at George Washington University in Washington, D.C.; and a former image specialist for the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) who asked not to be named because of the classified nature of his work.

While Iraqi troops cannot be seen, it is easy to spot the extensive American military presence at the Dhahran Airport in Saudi Arabia.

"We could see five C-141s, one C-5A and four smaller transport aircraft, probably C-130s," said Zimmerman. "There is also a long line of fighters, F-111s or F-15s, on the ground. In the middle of the airfield are what could be camouflaged staging areas."

"We didn't find anything of that sort anywhere in Kuwait. We don't see any tent cities, we don't see congregations of tanks, we don't see troop concentrations, and the main Kuwaiti air base appears deserted. It's five weeks after the invasion, and from what we can see, the Iraqi air force hasn't flown a single fighter to the most strategic air base in Kuwait."

"There is no infrastructure to support large numbers of [military] people. They have to use toilets, or the functional equivalent. They have to have food. They have to have water at the rate of several gallons per man per day. They have to have shelter. But

where is it?"

The former DIA specialist agreed: "I simply didn't see what I expected to see. There should be revetments—three-sided berms with vehicles inside facing the anticipated direction of attack. There should be trenches. But they aren't there."

"Maybe we waited too long to act over there. Given their [Iraq's] apparent lack of structure for defending Kuwait in September, maybe we would have had a lot more success against Iraq then than we would now."

Glaring omission: Both analysts say there are several possible explanations for their inability to spot Iraqi forces.

The troops could have been so well camouflaged that they were hidden from the Soviet cameras. However, Zimmerman said that would be a departure from Iraq's strategy during its war with Iran in the 1980s, when virtually no effort was made to hide military positions. Both analysts recall seeing Iraqi troop deployments during that war on poorer images from the French SPOT satellite.

It's also possible that the troops were so widely dispersed that the satellite couldn't "see" them because its cameras could not resolve images smaller than five meters, or about 16 feet, across. Or it might be that glare from the sun on the Kuwaiti sand smudged out troop images, although images taken over Saudi Arabia appear unaffected by glare.

Another possibility is that the Soviets deliberately or accidentally produced a photo taken before the Iraqi invasion.

"We have to take on faith that the image is what the Soviets say it is," Zimmerman said. "I think that's a reasonable assumption, because they wouldn't have a motive to misrepresent it, and if they did misrepresent it and the word got out, they'd never sell another picture to anybody."

"We're willing to concede, at least for purposes of argument, that it is not impossible that all Iraqi activity is below the level of resolution. But if there were tent cities, if there were bunkers, if there were staging, supply and maintenance areas, we find it really hard to believe that we missed them."

On September 18, only days after the Soviet photos were taken, the Pentagon said Iraqi forces in and around Kuwait had grown to 360,000 men and 2,800 tanks, a movement of troops and equipment sizable enough to leave telltale marks and scars on the landscape that should be visible by satellite.

In fact, the photo of southern Kuwait bought by the Times clearly shows the tracks left by vehicles that serviced a large oil field, but there are no indications of tank tracks.

Moreover, both analysts said all Kuwaiti roads leading to the Saudi border were covered at intervals by deep deposits of wind-blown sand.

"The sand cover is very extensive," the former DIA analyst said. "In many places, it goes off for 30 meters [about 100 feet] and more."

"They would be passable by tank but not by personnel or supply vehicles," Zimmerman

man said. "Yet there's no sign that tanks have used those roads. And there's no evidence of new roads being cut. By contrast, none of the roads we see in Saudi Arabia has any sand cover at all. They've all been swept clear."

A satellite photo of the same area of Kuwait taken on August 8, just a few days after the invasion, shows some sand cover on the roads, Zimmerman said, and the cover appeared to be less extensive, suggesting that it continued to build up over the next month.

"It certainly indicates that nobody's been driving over them and that the [Iraqi] military hasn't bothered to clear them for traffic," he said.

Suppressed evidence: That there was an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait early in August and that some Iraqi troops remained in the small nation in mid-September is not in doubt, of course. Kuwait City was occupied

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and heavily damaged, atrocities were committed by Iraqi troops, and Westerners fleeing Kuwait for Saudi Arabia reported encountering Iraqi soldiers in the Kuwaiti desert.

"But does that mean there were 250,000 [Iraqi] troops or that there were 10,000?" Zimmerman said. "The Kuwaiti border with Saudi Arabia isn't very long. It wouldn't take more than 10,000 Iraqi soldiers to cover the border area to the point that people fleeing would run into them all over the place."

"In Kuwait, City, 2,000 nasty MPs would have been enough to terrorize the city. Everything we've seen and heard about could have been done by a small enough Iraqi contingent that two Marine divisions might have driven them back into Iraq relatively quickly and with relatively little bloodshed."

At the time the Soviet photos were taken, there were more than 100,000 U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia.

The photos give no hint, of course, of the situation in Kuwait today. The Bush administration estimates that Iraq now has more than 500,000 troops in and around Kuwait. An agent for Central Trading Systems, the American representative of Soyuz-Karta, told the Times no further satellite photos of Kuwait were scheduled to be taken until late January at the earliest.

Asked if Defense Department officials could dispel the mystery created by the Soviet photos, Pentagon spokesman Hall replied: "There's no mystery as far as we're concerned. They [the Iraqi troops] are there. We'd like it to remain a mystery to [Iraqi President] Saddam [Hussein] what our intelligence capabilities are. We are not going to make our intelligence public."

The Pentagon, apparently, has not revealed the evidence to Congress, either.

Rep. Charles Bennett of Jacksonville, the No. 2 Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee, told the St. Petersburg Times: "We've had evidence in the sense that we've had testimony about what the situation was back in September, but I've seen no photographic evidence to back up the administration's claims."

Members of the Armed Services Committee staff said they had not seen any conclusive evidence of Iraqi troop strength, either, and had simply relied on what the administration was saying.

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Last September, the Defense Department claimed that at least 250,000 Iraqi troops were stationed in Kuwait. But the

St. Petersburg Times reported recently that military experts could find no evidence in

satellite photos taken that month of such a massive Iraqi buildup.

So, why haven't you heard about it?