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苏丹常驻联合国代表给安全理事会主席的信

1. 谨随函附上1999年5月13日《波士顿环球报》刊登的一篇社论,题目是“苏丹境内被袭事件的丑恶真相”。

2. 该报说,1998年8月21日上午,Al-Shifa制药厂被美国巡航导弹摧毁。同日稍后时间,克林顿总统为该次袭击辩护,说Al-Shifa事实上是一家化学武器工厂,同乌萨马·本·拉丹有关。因此,在1998年8月21日的晚上,该厂厂主,在国际商界享有良好声誉的Saleh Idris被指为国际恐怖主义分子。该报并说,“直至今今天,克林顿总统办公室的国家安全委员会仍在精心宣传,以损坏他的名声。这是卑鄙的行为,每个参与的人都知道对Idris的指控是假的,因此更显得卑鄙”。

3. 该报表示,Idris先生在接受美国电视广播公司新闻人员的访问时解释说,他收购Al-Shifa是因为他要回馈他出生的国家。在被炸时,Al-Shifa供应的药物是苏丹这个亟需医药的贫穷国家国内药物消耗总量的一半以上。该报继续说,令人不可思议的是,克林顿政府在下令用巡航导弹袭击时竟然完全不知道这些事实。它甚至不知道Idris先生是Al-Shifa药厂的主人。

4. 该报并说,总统的国家安全小组不顾事实,对袭击事件作出如下解释:

(a) Al-Shifa邻近苏丹军事工业综合体;该厂不对外开放,设有围栏,同四周隔离;由苏丹重兵看守。

(b) 从该厂厂址取得的一份土壤样本证实该处生产炭疽。

5. 该报指出,国际新闻界迅速驳斥这种说法。Al-Shifa不属于苏丹军事工业

综合体。它对外开放。该厂四周没有围栏,“除了在袭击事件中遇害的看更外”,没有守卫巡逻该处。

6. 该报说,该厂厂主财力雄厚,聘请了 Akin Gump 先生的法律事务所(该所的其中一名合伙人是他的好朋友、民主党全国委员会前主席 Robert Strauss 先生),以驳斥美国政府的指控。Akin Gump 接着聘请 Kroll and Associates 私家侦探公司彻查 Idris 先生的背景。Akin Gump 并聘请波士顿大学化学系主任 Tom Tullius 对 Al-Shifa 是否有生产炭疽进行科学调查。

7. 该报接着说,Kroll and Associates 的调查否定了 Idris 先生同本·拉丹有任何事实上或推测上的连系。科学调查的结论认为,Al-Shifa 不是一家生产化学武器的设施,而美国政府的土壤样本几乎可以确定是错误的阳性化验结果。这些调查使人人(克林顿政府高级官员除外)确信这次可怕的误炸任务是由低劣的情报和低劣的科学工作造成的。1999年5月3日,美国财政部默认错误,将 Idris 先生的资产解冻。财政部是按照司法部的命令采取上述行动的,而后者则是奉白宫的指示行事。

8. 这篇社论的结论认为,美利坚合众国政府最好坦白承认错误,就其不光彩的行为向 Idris 先生道歉,立即赔偿他生意上的损失。“但是”,该报说,“这是克林顿政府,它最不要做的事情就是那些应做的事情”。

9. 这篇文章只是受尊敬的国际报纸所刊登的一系列文章的其中一例;这些文章着重说明了美国袭击该制药厂的严重错误。

10. 请将本信及其附件作为安全理事会的文件分发为荷。

常驻代表

埃勒法提赫·埃尔瓦(签名)

附件

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By John Ellis, Globe Columnist, 05/13/99

On the night of Aug. 20, 1998, Saleh Idris went to bed as a member in good standing of the international business community. He had friends on every continent and held ownership stakes in business enterprises in the Middle East, Europe, and Africa. One of those enterprises was the al-Shifa pharmaceutical packaging plant in the Sudan.

On the morning of Aug. 21, al-Shifa was demolished by American cruise missiles. Later that day, President Clinton justified the attack by saying that al-Shifa was, in fact, a chemical weapons factory linked to Osama bin Laden, the Saudi exile who allegedly masterminded the bombing of Americas embassies in Kenya and Tanzania earlier that month.

And so it was that on the night of Aug. 21, Saleh Idris, member in good standing of the international business community, went to bed branded as an international terrorist. The campaign to defame his good name continues to this day, orchestrated from the offices of President Clinton's National Security Council. It is a despicable campaign, made more so by the fact that everyone involved in it knows that the charges against Idris are false.

Saleh Idris was born in the Sudan and educated in Saudi Arabia. He went into the banking business in Riyadh and prospered. Along the way, he made friends in high places in many countries, including the United States.

In March of 1998, Idris bought al-Shifa. In an interview with Chris Isham of ABC News, Idris said he did so in part because of his desire to give something back to the country of his birth. At the time it was destroyed, al-Shifa supplied more than half of all the medicines consumed in the Sudan, a desperately poor country in desperate need of medicine.

Incredibly enough, the Clinton administration knew none of

these facts when it ordered up the cruise missile attack. It did not even know that Idris was the owner of al-Shifa. Unencumbered by facts, members of the president's national security team explained the attack as follows:

Al-Shifa was an adjunct to the Sudanese military-industrial complex. It was closed to the public, fenced off and heavily guarded by Sudanese military personnel. In addition, a soil sample taken from the plant's premises proved that anthrax was being produced there.

The international press corps quickly made hash of all but the last of these assertions. Al-Shifa was not part of the Sudanese military-industrial complex. It was open to the public. There was no fence, and no guards patrolled its grounds (other than the night watchman who was killed in the attack).

Caught, the administration reconfigured its story. The new, improved version argued that Idris had a web of double-secret business connections to bin Laden that could not be discussed publicly, lest sources and methods be disclosed. These connections combined with the findings from the soil sample merited his designation as a terrorist. Idris's financial assets in the United States were frozen as a result.

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f) Being a man of considerable means, Idris hired the law firm of Akin Gump (where his good friend and former Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss was a partner) to refute the US government's charges.

Akin Gump, in turn, hired the private investigative firm of Kroll and Associates to do a complete background check on Idris. Akin Gump also hired Tom Tullius, chairman of the chemistry department at Boston University, to do a scientific inquiry into whether or not Al-Shifa might have been manufacturing anthrax.

The Kroll investigation exonerated Idris of any ties, real or imagined, to bin Laden. The scientific inquiry concluded that al-Shifa was not a chemical weapons manufacturing facility and that the US government's soil sample was almost certainly a false positive. The net result of these investigations proved to all but senior Clinton administration officials that bad intelligence and bad science had led to a terribly mistaken bombing mission.

On May 3, 1999, the US Department of the Treasury tacitly admitted as much by unfreezing Idris's financial assets. Treasury did so under orders from the Department of Justice, which did so on instructions from the White House.

But the White House, true to form, continued its attack on Idris's good name. At the same time it was (de facto) lifting Idris's designation as a terrorist, National Security Council staffers told reporters that Idris was in fact a terrorist who maintained reprehensible associations.

Having successfully sued the US government to unfreeze Idris's financial assets, Akin Gump is now planning to sue the US government for compensatory damages (in the amount of \$30 million). As surely as the government settled the first case, it will settle the second.

It would be better if the government simply confessed its error, apologized to Idris for its disgraceful conduct, and immediately compensated him for the damage done to his business. But this is the Clinton administration, and the right thing to do is the last thing it would think of doing.

John Ellis is a Globe columnist.

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