

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	re: personal survivor stories (4 pages)	n.d.	b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
First Lady's Office  
Melanne Vermeer  
OA/Box Number: 20040

### FOLDER TITLE:

Landmines: Landmine Survivors Network

2013-0534-S

rc1611

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

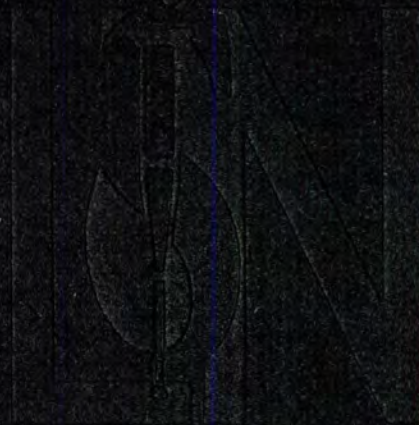
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



HUMANITIES  
SURVIVORS  
NETWORK





*file Landmines*

April 19, 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton  
The First Lady  
Office of Correspondence, Room 18  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I am writing to invite you to visit landmine survivors on a humanitarian mission to Jordan. As you know, 300,000 people live with shattered lives and limbs in countries around the world. Someone steps on a landmine every 22 minutes. 26,000 people are maimed or killed each year.

You may recall that we met during the White House unveiling of the Superman Comic for mine awareness in Bosnia. In 1984, I was a Brown University Junior enjoying a semester abroad in Israel. I went camping with friends in the Golan. Ignorant of the fact that we had made camp in a minefield, I woke up and stepped on a mine and lost my leg below the knee. I always say that I am the luckiest survivor in the world. My medical care and rehabilitation were excellent. I returned to the United States—a society that protects the rights of the disabled—graduated from college, established my professional life, married and have four children.

In many mine-afflicted countries, a landmine explosion ends life even if the injured person survives. Some societies discard their disabled. Medical care is minimal and rehabilitation frequently non-existent. Landmine survivors lose more than an arm or a leg: they often lose their place as valued members of their communities.

Founded in 1997, Landmine Survivors Network works to assist mine victims and their families to recover, heal, and resume their role as participating and contributing members of society. Our programs are designed to promote comprehensive rehabilitation through an integrated system of peer counseling, sports, social and economic re-integration.

LSN monitors the care of survivors worldwide and has in-country programs under development in Bosnia, Jordan, Mozambique, Eritrea and Ethiopia. I am sure you are aware that Her Majesty Queen Noor is our honorary chair/international spokesperson.

LSN is a member of the coordinating committee of the Nobel Prize-winning International Campaign to Ban Landmines and chairs the first Global Taskforce on Victim Assistance. You may also recall that co-founder Ken Rutherford and I accompanied the late Diana, Princess of Wales to Bosnia in 1997. We learned on that trip that when international

guests like Princess Diana, Queen Noor, or you are willing to reach out to survivors, it is an effective intervention in a sometimes hopeless environment. The overall status of the landmine survivor begins to change in their society and the international community is reminded that there is need for humanitarian relief and economic development.

The trip to Jordan would be organized to accommodate your schedule. In conversation with Queen Noor last week in Amman, it was clear Her Majesty would be delighted to accompany you on visits to rehabilitation centers and survivors' homes. We also would be honored to escort you to the Jordan Valley to witness mine-clearing activities underway by the Jordanian Royal Corps of Engineers. The trip would be a wonderful tribute to the visionary King Hussein who called for a landmine-free Jordan Valley in the year 2000.

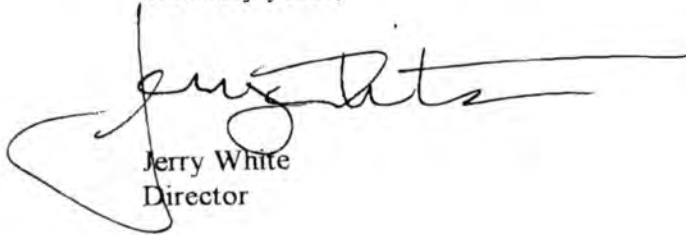
We think you would be delighted to see with your own eyes the redemption of historically sacred landscapes such as Bethany, where the New Testament says Jesus was baptized by John. Last July, I had the privilege to make a special visit to this recently demined area. It is not yet open to the public, though preparations are being made for tourism in the year 2000 to celebrate the bi-millennial birth of Christ.

Jordan has been a leader in mine action in the Middle East. Last summer, Jordan courageously signed the Mine Ban Treaty in August and then ratified in November. This month, Landmine Survivors Network became the 29<sup>th</sup> international NGO registered to work in Jordan. LSN will develop a pilot project to serve nearly 3,000 amputees, including an estimated 700 to 900 Jordanian mine victims. LSN will establish the first effective amputee peer support network—a project model that can be replicated in other mine-affected countries, or applied to other types of trauma recovery such as breast cancer.

Needless to say, we are very eager to discuss our work with you in person. We hope you will consider joining LSN on this creative orientation to the scourge of landmines in the Middle East.

I have attached some background information about LSN, including several media clips. I can be reached at my office in Washington by phone (202-661-3537) or fax (202-661-3529). I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,



Jerry White  
Director

## Home News

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### Landmine Survivors Network opens branch in Jordan to aid victims

AMMAN (J.T.) — Her Majesty Queen Noor Tuesday met with Minister of Social Development Faisal Rufu' and the founder of the Landmine Survivors Network (LSN) Jerry White at Bab Al Salam.

Queen Noor, the patron of LSN, expressed her satisfaction that the LSN registered a branch in Jordan at the Ministry of Social Development.

The Queen noted that the LSN Jordanian branch will play an important role in fulfilling Jordan's ratification of the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty: a key component of the treaty is humanitarian support to landmine survivors.

The Queen added that the Middle East and North Africa, one of the most heavily mined in the world, will benefit from LSN's branch, that will develop model pilot programmes for Jordan and the region.

According to Jerry White, the LSN branch constitutes the "first amputee support network in the Middle East."

LSN is completing an overview of the prosthetic and rehabilitation centres in the country. The list will be published soon as the first

national rehabilitation services directory. There are an estimated 700-900 landmine survivors in the Kingdom.

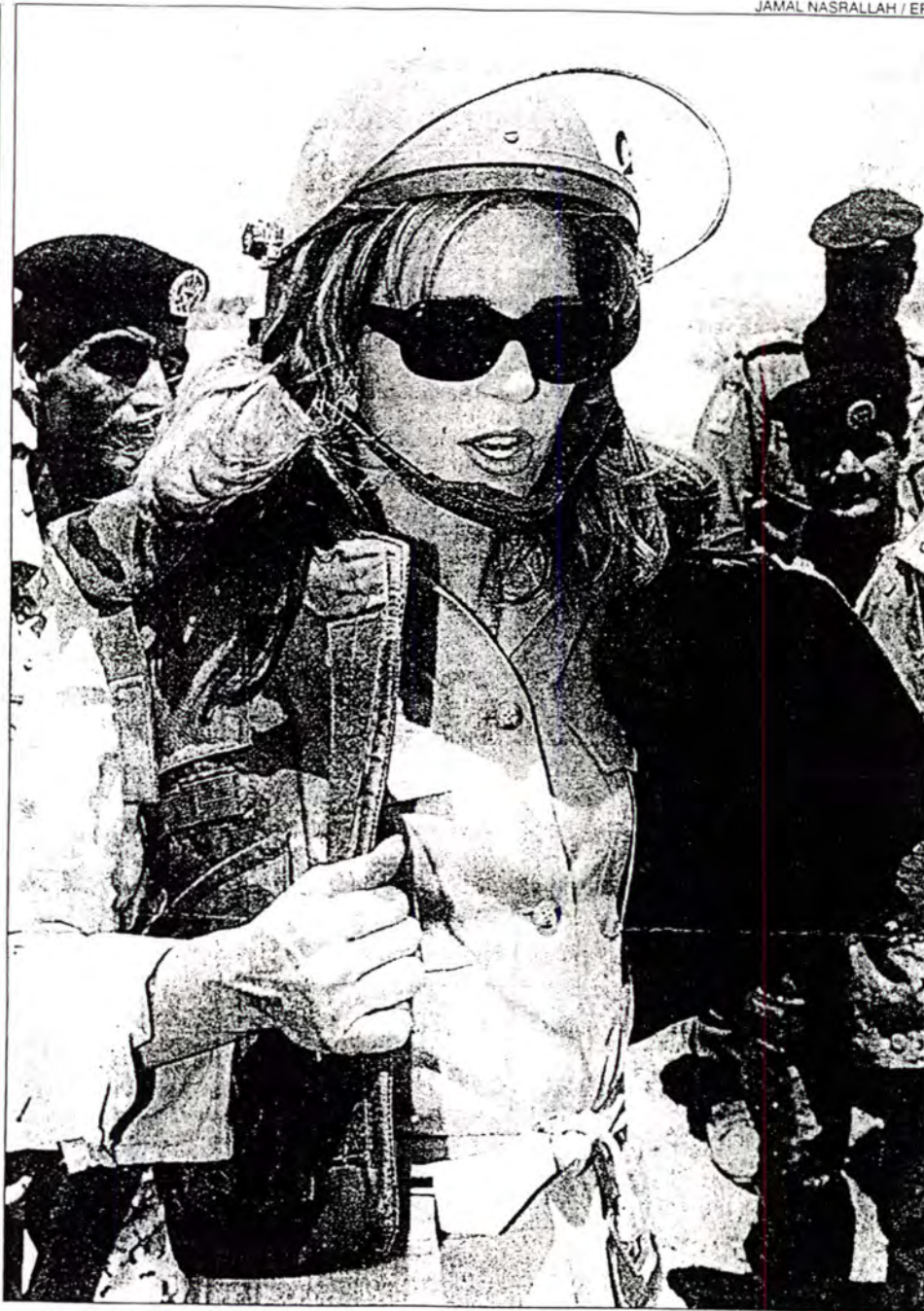
Later, Queen Noor met Foreign Minister Abdul Ilah Khatib to discuss the first meeting of state parties to the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty in Maputo, Mozambique, May 3-7.

Jordan has been offered the opportunity to co-chair the conference, and HRH Prince Zeid Ben Ra'd will head Jordan's delegation. He will read a message from the Queen.

The 1997 Mine Ban Treaty comprehensively bans all anti-personnel mines, requires destruction of stockpiled mines within four years, requires destruction of mines already laid within ten years, and urges extensive programmes to assist victims.

The treaty entered into force on March 1, 1999. To date, 135 countries worldwide have signed the convention and 71 countries have ratified it. In the MENA region, only Jordan, Qatar and Yemen have signed and ratified the ban treaty, while Tunisia and Algeria have signed, but not yet ratified.

JAMAL NASRALLAH / EPA



Queen Noor dons protective gear during her visit to the Jordan Valley yesterday

## Jordanian Queen in landmine crusade

BY CHRISTOPHER WALKER

QUEEN NOOR of Jordan yesterday lent her support to the anti-landmine crusade, previously led by Diana, Princess of Wales, when she spoke against the weapons at an event in the Jordan Valley at the climax of the first Middle East conference on the issue.

The 46-year-old American-born Queen was persuaded to take up the mantle after meeting the co-founders of the Washington-based Landmine Survivors Network at the Princess's funeral. Yesterday was her first public appearance in the field as patron of the group which organised the Amman conference for 350 delegates, including 38 landmine survivors.

Before appearing in helmet and dark glasses in a fashion reminiscent of the Princess, the Queen, King Hussein's fourth wife, told delegates: "If, in recent years, Jesus were to have spent his 40 days in the wilderness, or Elijah to have crossed the River Jordan, or John the Baptist to have proclaimed his message of repentance, they would have had to survive not only the ancient tests of hunger and thirst, but modern threats of minefields."

She said that 10 per cent of Jordan's population lived in areas that had been rendered dangerous or unproductive by landmines.

● 4 July 1998

# the times magazine

and  
tanita tikaram  
jonathan meades  
steven berkoﬀ  
john diamond

## secret weapon

queen roor

takes on diana's  
landmines battle

the three tenors  
raise their game

will self on  
christie v mcvicar

fathers lost  
and found

PLUS



In the months before her death, Diana became the patron saint of landmine victims with her high-profile trips to Angola and Bosnia. Yet one year later nothing has changed. Now Queen Noor hopes to make the world care again

# diana's forgotten people



Mirzeta Gabelic (pictured last month, right) had her leg blown off by a mine when she was just 15. Diana visited the teenager in Bosnia last year (left) — “She had real feelings,” says Mirzeta. “It wasn’t like talking to an important person.” Queen Noor of Jordan (top) is set to succeed Diana as patron of the Landmine Survivors Network

PETER NICHOLLS



report by  
daniel mcgrory  
photographs by  
tom stoddart



They were friends, but Queen Noor of Jordan visibly winces whenever Diana's name is mentioned. She will have to get used to it, though, for next week the Queen goes public with her decision to take up Diana's role as patron of a front-line charity for landmine victims.

For a few short weeks last year, Diana brought landmines to the forefront of world attention. Suddenly newspapers were more than happy to carry the story on their front pages, world leaders only too eager to rush to condemn these most cruelly destructive of weapons that kill up to 25,000 civilians a year. Now the anti-landmine lobby is hoping that another beautiful, blonde royal mother can regain the lost momentum of the past year.

Queen Noor is uncomfortable at the thought of inviting comparisons between herself and Diana, Princess of Wales. She is passionate about the cause but wary of people thinking she is just another photogenic royal replacing Diana as the international conscience who looks good on magazine covers. "I can't play the same role as her," she says. "I'm in a different position and I have a different approach to the work." She has chosen to announce her involvement not by cradling children in a war zone for the cameras but with a speech to an international conference of landmine survivors in her own capital,

IPC



Clockwise from above: Ken Rutherford (left) and Jerry White of the LSN talk to Queen Noor about what it means to be a landmine victim; young casualties of war Zarco Beric (left) and Malik Bradoric playing football; and posing with Diana during her Bosnia visit last year; Ken Rutherford with Diana at Sarajevo airport



PELLE RICHARDS

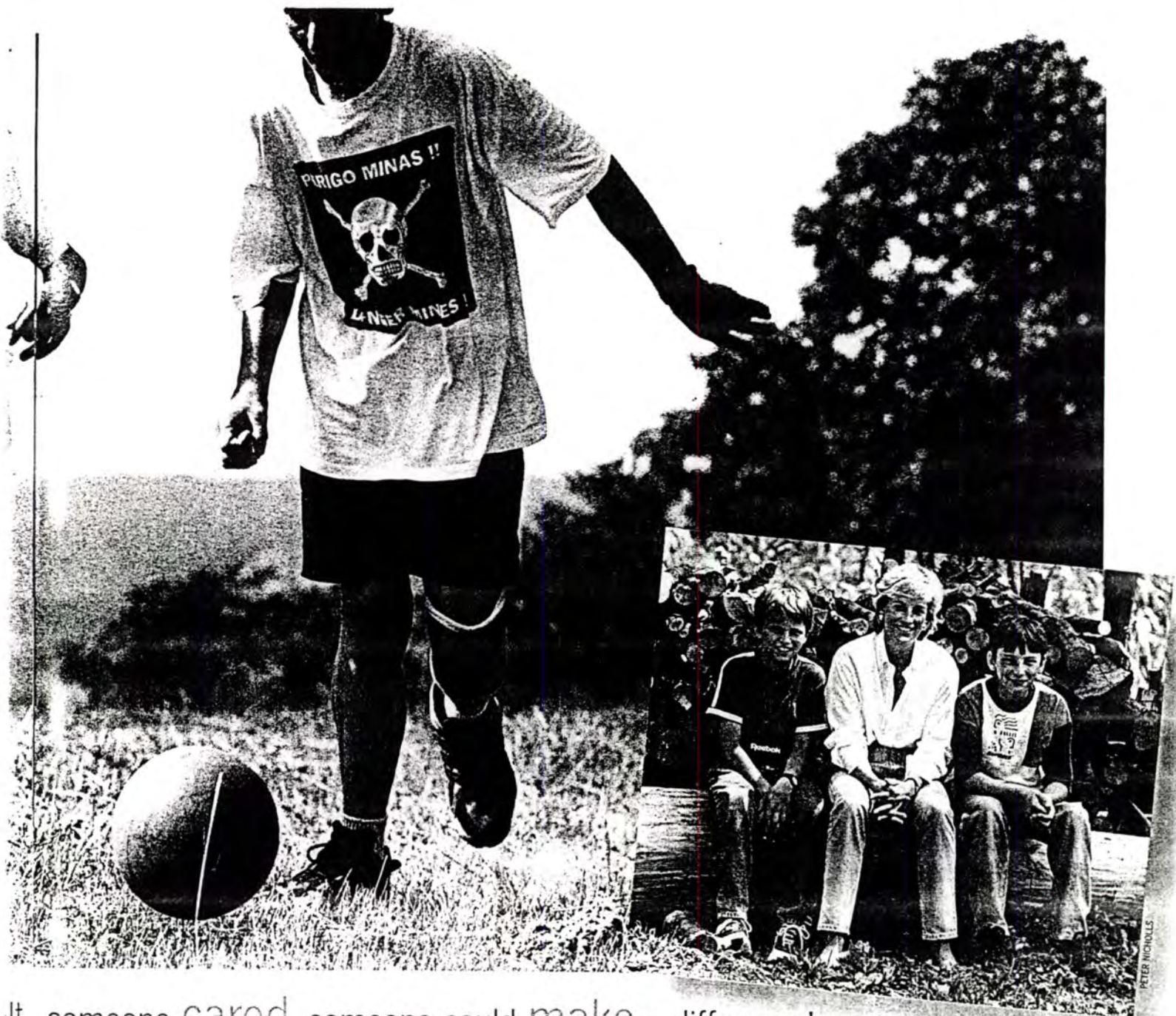


'For a time these people felt

Amman, next Friday. More Islamic scholars will be there than paparazzi, which is just how she wants it.

Hers is an easily understood caution. Nearly a year on, so many gaps have been left by Diana's death that no one dares fill. Charities feel awkward about asking anyone to take her place, but in the meantime those who most needed Diana's help feel abandoned. It is the forgotten plight of some 300,000 crippled victims that persuaded Queen Noor to brave the inevitable comparisons.

Over a hundred charities have been set up in the past five years to campaign for a ban on landmines, but the Washington-based Landmine Survivors Network (LSN) claims to be the only one working directly with the victims. Its co-founders, Jerry White and Ken Rutherford, were the men with whom Diana travelled to Bosnia just weeks before her death last year. White lost his leg as a student in 1984 on a walking holiday in the Golan Heights. Rutherford was an aid worker in



## It someone cared, someone could make a difference'

Somalia when he lost both legs after his car ran over a landmine in 1993.

After agonising over who to enlist as their new patron, they sent what they admit was a presumptuous fax to Queen Noor, whom they had met at Diana's funeral, saying only she could rescue their cause. White flew to Amman with a sheaf of documents promoting LSN's work, and prominent in the pile were pictures of Diana's trip to Bosnia. "She liked the work we were doing and said, 'Just how involved do you want me to be?' She also asked the King to join us at the conference, which will be the biggest-ever international gathering of landmine victims."

What Rutherford and White are banking on is that, like Diana, Queen Noor will make presidents and prime ministers listen. She is friends with the Clintons and the Blairs and has already tried to enlist Hillary Clinton's support. "We need somebody to make us heard again," says White. "We need an individual who is as passionate as Diana but is not intimidated to step into a role that she was so closely involved in."

Queen Noor is no stranger to this cause. She was campaigning on the issue 25 years ago when as Lisa Halaby, student activist and peacenik, she joined the American campus protests against the Vietnam war. She intends to lobby every leader she knows to ratify the so-called Ottawa Treaty that was meant to eradicate the use and manufacture of anti-personnel mines. (Tony Blair appears to have already got the message, as he is making MPs come in for a weekend sitting to rush through the legislation before the August anniversary of Diana's death.)

Lisa Halaby grew up in Washington and California with a Syrian father and a Swedish mother. When she met King Hussein 20 years ago she was 25, working as an architect, and he had lost his third wife in an air crash. She was employed by the British firm commissioned to replan Tehran, and was involved in planning a pan-Arab aviation university in Amman — the brainchild of the King. She remembers going to the palace uninvited along with her father, a former president of the airline Pan-Am — "The romance blossomed by chance." ▶

◀ They managed to conduct their courtship despite the smothering presence of security guards and courtiers. She became “Light of Hussein” – “Noor Al Hussein” – a stepmother to eight, mother to four of her own, and a stateswoman prepared to speak her mind in a region not known for encouraging women to take a prominent political role. When she gave her first speech in Washington on the Middle East peace process in 1982, several newspapers sent along their fashion writers.

Though she is an obvious beauty, those who gauge her by looks alone do so at their peril. By her own admission she is addicted to facts. Although she intends to visit those countries blighted by landmines, she stresses that her approach will be more intellectual than intuitive.

She has been quietly doing her homework since LSN approached her to be their patron, and has already made one low-key fact-finding visit to Bosnia. She is also known to be particularly concerned about the curse of landmines in her own backyard. Half the world’s estimated 100 million landmines are littered around the Middle East, and she admits that her life there has shaped her views that “an obscene amount of money is spent on weaponry and military hardware”. What is so obscene about landmines is that they are meant to kill and maim the innocent. “Wars aren’t won by them and no legitimate government can justify the use of such a terrible weapon,” she says.

Privately, she has lobbied her husband about Jordan becoming the twentieth country in the world to ratify the international convention which would rid the earth of these cruel weapons. Even if he does, it would take 40 countries to do the same before it comes into force. “I would not want there to be fantastic expectations about what I can achieve. I would be happy if I could promote awareness. I have contact with lots of heads of state and I speak abroad on a number of issues. If I can pull those themes together with landmines, then be assured I will.”

‘What chance have I got now? What girl is going to look at me?’

**W**hen Ken Rutherford and Jerry White first contacted Diana in July last year, they had no idea she would become so quickly and practically involved in their charity. “We were a real cowboy operation. Just the two of us and a student volunteer who helped answer the telephone, so we wrote to her and asked her to advise us.”

The surprise response was an invitation to Kensington Palace. “She sat with her legs curled up underneath her, patted the settee where we should sit and said, ‘Right, boys, what do you want me to do?’” Ken Rutherford remembers. “We blurted out that if she really wanted to see our work she should come with us to Bosnia. She said, ‘Great idea. I’ll be there in six days.’”

It wasn’t long before an international consensus about landmines emerged. “No democratic politician could fail to see the attraction of being on the same side as Diana,” says White. And the Princess was the first to recognise that. “It didn’t matter why they were doing it. Her view was that if they signed treaties, funded operations to clear mines, and most importantly recognised the need to help the 300,000 injured by land-

mines, then anything she had to do to please them was worth it.” At a \$3,500-a-plate dinner in Washington for the American Red Cross the party people were fighting to shake Diana’s hand. “She turned to me and whispered, ‘If it gets money for the survivors, then so what?’” remembers White.

There was incredulity inside Buckingham Palace when Diana informed them she was going to Bosnia with two maverick Americans. But in a few short weeks they became as close to the Princess as any who had worked with her. On the eve of her funeral the two men said prayers with her two sons, Prince Charles and other close relatives in the room where her coffin was laid in Kensington Palace. “Prince William made a point of telling us how much the trip to Bosnia meant to his mother and how she had planned more visits with us in the future. We told him that she made a difference to people who never had anyone care for them before,” says Rutherford.

With the anniversary of Diana’s death just a matter of

**Bosnian Halil Beganovic had a football career wrecked by a mine**



weeks away, there will be any number of claims made about the course her life would have taken had she lived. White and Rutherford are adamant that she was committed to making the plight of landmine survivors her priority. “She told us she was fed up with being a poster princess for big-name charities who just wanted to use her face for fund-raising. Diana was better versed than us in what our campaign should be doing, and she wanted to get her hands dirty.”

Many of those closest to Diana confirm that she was planning a radical reappraisal of her working life and wanted to be associated only with organisations that let her use her skills, not just her profile. Some claim she felt her visit to Angola was too much of a stunt. She wanted to meet more victims and get a feel for what they needed from her.

Rutherford and White persuaded her they needed at least ten days to rent a flat for her to sleep in. They didn’t dare tell her they also needed to borrow a car. When the British ambassador in Sarajevo got wind of the idea he, the Foreign Office, Downing Street and the Palace tried to dissuade her ▶

◀ from going. "Diana told us there was nothing anyone could do about it and they had better get used to it because this was the way she was going to conduct herself in the future," remembers White.

She vetoed arrangements for her to meet the Bosnian president, explaining she wanted to use her limited time visiting survivors, not making small talk. The British Army offered to use its peacekeepers in Bosnia as bodyguards, but again Diana insisted on taking the two detectives who usually guard her sons.

Jealous rivals in the charitable sector sent indignant faxes to Kensington Palace warning the Princess that she risked damaging her reputation as a humanitarian champion if she associated herself with "cowboys like LSN". Rutherford remembers: "She tore up the faxes. We were at dinner on our first night in Bosnia and, angry at all the people telling her what she should do and how she should do it, she pointed her knife at my throat and said, 'You know, Ken, no one double crosses me and gets away with it.' She told us that since her divorce every action Buckingham Palace took was to drive her further into isolation. She said: 'They have to know I am not going to sit still and be crushed.'"

Bosnia was the ideal place for Diana to dodge protocol. The country is so anarchic that rival militias didn't have a clue what her cavalcade of vehicles was doing careering over craters trying to shake off two busloads of journalists shouting out questions about Dodi Fayed. Her convoy bumped its way over the potholes to her first appointment in a shanty town beside Sarajevo's rubbish dump.

She had gone to see Mirzeta Gabelic, who had lost her right



**Ediba Viteskic from Sarajevo lost a leg in an explosion which also injured her six-year-old daughter, Yasmina**

still leaks from the mortar holes and the bedding is still scorched from when a shell exploded in the front room.

Mirzeta confesses her first impression was disappointment when Diana walked through the door. "I thought she would be a rich woman, with lots of jewellery, but she was wearing jeans." The Princess insisted on going into the house alone, which was just as well since there was barely room enough in the cluttered lean-to for Mirzeta, her sister, two brothers and her parents.

Diana stopped and knelt by Mirzeta's eight-year-old sister, Selima, who lay rigid on a urine-stained sheet. "She cradled the child, talking to Mirzeta, and then turned to us and said Selima had cerebral palsy," says Rutherford. "What was apparent to me was the unique way Diana touched people. She made them feel they were the centre of her universe and she would make a difference to their lives."

For over an hour Mirzeta explained how she had missed out on a year's schooling while she went through a dozen operations in Sarajevo and Germany to fit her artificial limb. "We had already introduced Diana to the world of stumps when we met at Kensington Palace the first time," says White. "We took off our prostheses so she would be comfortable with what survivors have to do. She never flinched. She understood what girls like Mirzeta needed."

She is an attractive girl, with black, bobbed hair, at that self-conscious age when looks matter among your peers. Mirzeta told Diana how she made her schoolfriends come to her house and take away all her short skirts because she couldn't bear to let anyone see her stump. She wouldn't go to her school's grad-

## Ediba talks about the princess: 'My children have me, so we are blessed'

leg in April 1997 when she stepped on a landmine as she took a shortcut across a field on her way to market. Mirzeta was then 15. The girl had not been told who was coming to visit her, only that it was some "important woman" from abroad. The only name Mirzeta could think of was Hillary Clinton. One year on, Mirzeta is very well aware of who her important visitor was. But, despite the Princess's high-profile visit and the snapshots recording the event, there is little sign of her lot having improved. Faded magazine pictures of Boyzone cover walls still pockmarked by mortar fire.

To have stood here outside Mirzeta's home during the war would have been an act of suicide. Civilian homes like this used to provide target practice for the Serbs who sat on the hillside opposite. But in this same city, families now picnic on the hill-tops from where Serb gunners strafed the old town. Mirzeta's house has been patched together with repairs, but the tin roof

uation party because she couldn't find a dress long enough to hide her false limb. "She had real feelings," says Mirzeta. "It wasn't like talking to an important person. Diana said she would help us get the materials so my sister and I could have our own bedroom." Since that visit, and the Princess's death three weeks later, no one in authority has been to see the Gabelics. Their experience is typical of all the people Diana met.

"For a time these people felt someone cared, someone could make a difference. Governments, pop stars and movie producers all wanted to get on board; there were big promises of money. Then Diana is killed and the telephones don't ring any more," says Rutherford. "We've lost the momentum."

Landmines don't respect ethnic borders, and Diana was determined to visit all sides of Bosnia's divided house. Crossing the front lines in this madhouse takes 100 meetings, bribery, patience and, for a stranger, considerable nerve. ▶

◀ British military commanders were nervous, but Diana was undaunted. She took pleasure at managing to unite two families divided by war yet bound by the tragedy of their sons. Malik Bradoric, 15, was helping his father to collect firewood at the end of March 1996 when his leg was blown off by a landmine. The Bradorics are a Bosnian family whose home had the misfortune to straddle the front line at Svtjelica. Three days after Malik was injured, and 4km away, 13-year-old Zarco Beric lost his leg in precisely the same way.

What Diana did not live to see was the friendship that has developed between these boys and their families. Malik wears a T-shirt that ironically implores us to "beware of mines", and like too many teenagers in this country is familiar with the techniques of orthopaedic surgery. He explains, just as he did to Diana, how he needs frequent sessions in hospital to have his artificial limbs match his growth. Zarco was among those invited to walk behind the cortège at Diana's funeral. He ignored the pain of his prostheses, remembering only his feelings about the Princess. "I was really sad she died. I thought things would be better for me and Malik and the others. Sometimes it feels like a dream that a princess cared."

The legacy of landmines is that they do their worst years after the guns fall silent. Ten days ago Zumreta Mehmedovic walked back to her home on a deserted front line that is known locally as "the empty village". Most of her neighbours were too scared, but 85-year-old Zumreta had survived two world wars and her country's senseless bloodletting. Not much was left after the fighting, but Zumreta was determined to reclaim what



**Eighty-five-year-old Zumreta Mehmedovic returned to her abandoned village only to fall victim to a landmine**

not just Ediba's strength but her stoicism. She talks about how hard it must be for Princes William and Harry to lose a mother. "Mine still have me, so I and they are blessed."

Some victims confess they would rather have lost their life than a limb. Eighteen-year-old Halil Beganovic was an accomplished footballer who recently went back to his old village with friends to see which, if any, of his favourite bars survived the bombardment. He stepped off the road to urinate. "There was this huge thud. I shouted to my mate to see if he was all right. It was only about a minute later I felt for my left leg and it wasn't there. What chance have I got now? There aren't jobs for the able-bodied. What girl is going to look at me?" he says.

LSN has scant funds to help Halil and the hundreds of other Bosnian victims. "People think because we were associated with Diana we are rich," says White. "We never received a penny. Twenty days after she travelled with us she was

killed." The final blow is that the charity established in her memory has refused LSN's appeal for money. "They told us, 'We know the Princess loved you, and your work is what she wanted, but you're American and we are under pressure to give it to homegrown charities.'"

At the Mine Action Centre in Sarajevo, the coordinator, Dave Armitt, points to the maps plotting the whereabouts of mines. The red dots that mark each mine are like a rash. In two years, de-mining teams have checked 6,000 areas known to be mined; there are another 24,000 areas still to be investigated. Of the million mines thought to be buried in Bosnia they have cleared just over 5,000, but the money allotted by government for their

'Diana's work had only just begun, and it is up to us to carry it on'

was hers. On her arrival she went searching for firewood. The explosion tore off her left leg beneath the knee, injured her hand and breast. She has no other family, and doctors at Tuzla hospital admit no one has yet given any thought as to what happens to her now. There are too many like her to count.

The authorities have never heard of Ediba Viteskić and how she survived Sarajevo's siege with her 12 children. Her way of celebrating the peace was to visit a friend trapped on the wrong side of the front line. The landmine, long forgotten by whichever uniform had hidden it near the bombed-out Bristol hotel, shattered her leg. Her six-year-old daughter, Yasmína, had her legs and face scarred by shrapnel. "I tried to reach out for my daughter but I couldn't move," Ediba says. "I could see my dress burning and smell my flesh, like a barbecue."

The only money the family gets is a war pension worth about £60 a month. What strikes any visitor to her home is

work is dribbling away. "We were promised \$28 million, and this year we got \$2.5 million," says Armitt. Diana's picture hangs on a wall beside a letter thanking him for the time he spent with her in Sarajevo. He shakes his head. "When Diana came to see us, people wanted to bury us in money. Now nobody cares."

Queen Noor is confident the world will come to its senses and end "the greatest sin facing mankind". "I was so delighted when Diana got involved in this campaign because I knew she would make such a difference. The pity is I never got the chance to talk to her about it. Remember that 20 days after she was in Bosnia she was killed. Her work had only just begun, and it's up to us all to carry it on." ●

*For donations to, or further information about, Landmine Survivors Network, write to: LSN, 700 Thirteenth Street NW, No 950, Washington DC 2005 (tel: 001 202 6613537)*

# Queen: Jordan to sign Ottawa Convention

By Hind-Lara Mango  
Special to the Jordan Times

AMMAN — Her Majesty Queen Noor yesterday announced that Jordan will sign the 1997 Ottawa Convention prohibiting the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel (AP) landmines, becoming the 128th country to do so.

Speaking at the opening of the first Middle East conference of the Landmines Survivors Network (LSN), the Queen said that the Cabinet will now proceed with constitutional arrangements for the signing and ratification of the treaty. She also committed herself to joining efforts aimed at achieving an international ban on mines and addressing the needs of survivors.

"It is with a great sense of privilege that I commit myself to join your efforts to seek to realise our shared goal of not only a worldwide ban on mines but also a collective commitment to survivors," the Queen said.

"Much global attention is focused on preventing new weapons of mass destruction... but less attention is paid to these weapons of mass destruction in slow motion... these indiscriminate killers constitute one of the greatest public health hazards of the late twentieth century, a modern man-made epidemic," Queen Noor said in her opening remarks.

The Queen stressed that landmines are the cruellest and most severe form of warfare with an average life span of 50 to 100 years. She described the venue of the conference as "unfortunately appropriate" because the Middle East is littered with more than half of the world's deployed landmines.

"Landmines are generally placed in rural areas in order to shatter the morale and integrity of the family, clan, tribe and village," she said, adding that "even in long hoped-for peace, these

insidious leftovers are a bitter reminder of past conflict and a threat to future progress."

The Queen noted that in addition to the multiple operations survivors need to salvage limbs and the multiple visits to hospitals to fit prosthetics, the less quantifiable cost of "psychological scars and shattered dreams" also add their toll on victims and the community alike.

"About 10 per cent of our population live in areas still dangerous and economically unproductive because of landmines," Queen Noor said.

She noted that mines have rendered farmland useless, endangered livestock and wildlife, and made forests and pastures off-limits.

Queen Noor said that 26 conflicts over the past 58 years were examined in a 1995 study by the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent which found that AP mines did not play a significant role in the outcome of any conflict.

There are over 100 million landmines planted all over the world and it is estimated that 53 per cent are located in the Middle East, with the highest concentration in Egypt. Mines left behind after World War II are still killing children all over the world with psychological and socio-economic impacts.

According to General Nasser Majali from the Royal Corps of Engineers, Jordan embarked on a national demining programme in 1993, but nevertheless, "400 people have been injured from landmines in Jordan, including 221 military personnel."

Military sources believe that there are approximately 300,000 mines planted in the northern and western parts of the Kingdom.

Gen. Majali said the first phase of the programme ended in 1995 with the clearance of 30 minefields in the Jordan Valley —

*'These indiscriminate killers constitute one of the greatest public health hazards of the late twentieth century; a modern man-made epidemic*

destroying 14,000 mines.

The second phase began in 1995 and has cleared 50,000 mines of the estimated 300,000 mines in the Kingdom, mostly in the northern and western areas.

ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga told the Jordan Times on the sidelines of the meeting that Jordan's announcement of its intent to sign the Ottawa Treaty was "a historical opening to this conference. Jordan's decision will be a signal to other countries of the region."

From the Middle East only Qatar, Algeria, Tunisia, and Yemen have signed the Ottawa Treaty. On Friday, Norway ratified the treaty bringing the number of states to have done so to 24. However, the treaty will only go into effect after 40 states have

ratified it.

Mr. Sommaruga said the ICRC is currently running physical rehabilitation programmes in 11 countries tailored to each country's social and economic needs.

"To eliminate the need to import expensive, ready-made prosthetic components from abroad, the ICRC has introduced new materials and developed special moulds to facilitate low-cost production at the local level," he said.

Jordan is working on setting up a similar centre.

At the opening of this venue, 12-year-old Ibrahim Waradat, a landmine survivor who lost his left hand, four of his right fingers, his left eye and part of his vision in his right eye, presented the Queen with the first Bill of Rights for Landmine Survivors. The

Bill includes 10 laws stressing that landmine survivors should share the same rights and protection enjoyed by all people.

His Royal Highness Prince Ra'd, patron of the Hashemite Charitable Society for Soldiers with Special Needs, will open this morning's session. Plenaries include the social and economic reintegration of landmine survivors in addition to religious perspectives on landmines and survivor assistance.

This event is attended by 350 participants representing 33 countries mainly from the Middle East. It is organised by the LSN in cooperation with the Jordan Red Crescent, the Hashemite Charitable Society and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL).

# Jordan Times

Committing herself to efforts  
for global mine ban:



Her Majesty Queen Noor receives a Bill of Rights for Landmine Survivors from Ibrahim Waradat, a Jordanian landmine victim, at the opening of a two-day conference on landmine survivors in Amman on Saturday. Queen Noor pledged her support for a worldwide campaign against landmines, a cause which was championed by Diana, Princess of Wales, before her death last year (Reuters photo)

# The New York Times

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TUESDAY MARCH 2, 1999

A10

## Land Mine Pact in Effect, Without U.S.

GENEVA, March 1 (AP) — An international treaty to ban land mines, which kill and maim some 25,000 people each year, took effect today and was hailed by ceremonies, choirs and bells of peace.

The treaty, concluded in Ottawa in 1997, has been signed by 133 nations and ratified by 65 of them. About 12 countries have destroyed their entire stocks of land mines.

Major users and producers — including the United States, Russia and China — have refused to join in. And even with the treaty, it will take still take decades to clear the tens of millions of mines scattered in more than 60 countries.

“The battle ahead is to make this treaty full effective not just in law but also in implementation,” the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, said in a message to the ceremony in Geneva.

Underlining the continuing problem, two children were killed and six others wounded when a mine exploded in northern Rwanda, the Rwandan radio reported today.

The treaty, agreed to after a campaign by charities working with victims, commits signers to stop the production, use and export of land mines.

President Clinton has set 2006 as a target for joining the accord, saying the United States needs to use mines until then along the tense border between North and South Korea.

Seats for the United States delegation were conspicuously empty at the start of a ceremony marking the land mines accord at United Nations headquarters here. The sounds of a “peace bell” and a children’s choir floated through United Nations offices in Vienna.

Susan Walker, coordinator of the International Campaign to Ban Land Mines, which was awarded the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize, said her group would focus this year on the Middle East and former Soviet Union to try to persuade nations there to go along with the accord.



Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

Demonstrators in front of the White House yesterday displayed artificial limbs of victims of land mine explosions to protest the United States decision not to join the new treaty banning the mines. Here 3-year-old Hayden Rutherford sat on the lap of his father, Ken Rutherford, who lost both legs to a land mine while working as a credit union training officer in Somalia. Mr. Rutherford had temporarily detached his artificial lower limbs for the demonstration.

## LECTURE

## Landmine Survivor Network founder calls for ban

by Shannon Wingard  
Staff Writer

Landmines maim or kill someone every 20 minutes. They injure more than 26,000 men, women and children each year. Landmines have harmed more than 100,000 Americans and they have caused about 70,000 amputations in Angola alone. Almost 100 million landmines exist throughout 60 countries of the world today.

Jerry White, co-founder of the Landmine Survivors Network, spoke about the hazards of landmines and their "Destruction in Slow Motion" for the Chautauqua Peace Society on Tuesday in the Hall of Philosophy.

"I didn't know what a landmine was, until I stepped on one," he said. "Even then I

*"I didn't know what a landmine was until I stepped on one."*

— Jerry White

didn't know what it would mean for my life."

During his junior year at Brown University in Providence, White decided to go abroad and study the Jewish background of Christianity in Israel. He went hiking with some American friends in Northern Israel on April 12, 1984. As he hiked down the side of a hill, White said he heard an explosion and was thrown to the ground. He said he thought terrorists caused the explosion and he and his friends waited for another attack.

"We looked down at my wounds and we realized that the threat wasn't coming from the air, or anywhere, but beneath us," White said. "We were in a mine field, whatever that was, and for however long that extended, on this beautiful hill in Israel." He and his friends were walking on a Syrian stronghold from the 1967 war.

He said he believes landmines represent a "coward's weapon" because they are designed to maim and mutilate people. Landmines don't discriminate against any-

one because they don't know "the footfall of a soldier or of a child," he said.

The landmine's explosion caused White to lose his right leg below the knee, and his left leg was blown wide open. He spent six months in Israeli hospitals before he returned home. After finishing his education at Brown, White began working as the assistant director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control where he tracked the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the missiles that delivered them.

Ken Rutherford, an American landmine survivor, contacted White in 1995. Rutherford lost both of his legs beneath the knee in a landmine explosion in Somalia. White and Rutherford met and began discussing their personal landmine encounters.

According to White, Rutherford said "landmines have killed more people than nuclear, chemical and biological weapons combined."

White and Rutherford went to the United Nations Review Conference on Landmines in Vienna in September 1995 and spoke about the threat posed by landmines. They met other survivors from around the world.

"There was this strange shared suffering," White said, "a family among survivors."

White and Rutherford, with the help of other survivors, announced the creation of an international organization for landmine survivors in Geneva, Switzerland in April 1995. The Landmine Survivors Network, based in Washington, DC., was the first organization created by landmine survivors to help landmine survivors.

"I found myself impassioned to work on this issue," White said, who is the director of the organization.

The LSN became actively involved in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, which received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1997. The campaign combines more than a thousand world-wide organizations who dedicate themselves to expanding the public's awareness



Photo by Debra Swanson

**Jerry White, co-founder of the Landmine Survivors Network, spoke about the human tragedies caused by landmines around the world and the need for all nations, including the United States, to agree to stop using them. White spoke Tuesday evening in the Hall of Philosophy.**

about landmines and to ban them. The campaign also wants to exterminate landmines, which cost \$3 each to make and will cost \$1,000 each to detect and destroy.

"Americans don't really understand," White said. "We have peace here and we don't think much about landmines."

Princess Diana of Wales was introduced to LSN in June 1997 and took an interest in the organization. White said she helped transform the perception of landmines from a security to a humanitarian issue.

"That was an enormous contribution," he said. "In addition, she brought the issues to the homes and living rooms across America. This woman had a charismatic gift of compassion."

Rutherford and White took Princess Diana to meet some of

the landmine survivors in Bosnia before her death in 1997. She met families who lost a loved one to a landmine as well as meeting with landmine survivors, White said.

The LSN focuses on helping the survivors find "the recipe for survival and recovery," he said. "This is something we brought to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, an awareness that the survivors have to be helped."

The Ottawa Treaty to ban landmines was signed by 124 countries in December 1997. The treaty recognizes the need to ban the production, importation and exportation of landmines. It also helps rehabilitate landmine survivors and it became the first arms control treaty to include humanitarian assistance. The treaty becomes

an international law after 140 countries signed it.

"In Vietnam, 90 percent of the casualties, American casualties, were caused by American-made landmines or landmines that had American-made components," White said. "It is a shame and a horror to me that our president has not signed the global mine ban treaty."

White said the United States' allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization all have signed the treaty, except for Turkey, and every country in our hemisphere has signed it, except for Cuba.

He said the United States joins countries, such as Iran, Iraq, China, North Korea, Pakistan and Russia, as non-supporters of the treaty.

White recently returned from the National Disability Conference of Landmine Survivors and Other Disabled Persons. The conference, which was held on Aug. 8-9 in Bosnia, was the first and largest gathering of international survivors. Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan became the Landmine Survivors Network's new patron.

"She is a tremendous advocate and understands, coming from the mine fields herself, what the problem is," White said.

"As I show people around

the world a view of this mass suffering, I say 'don't pity, do something to help and understand that these are strong people,'" White said.

Of the internationally estimated 500 million disabled people, 80 percent live in third world countries and only 3 percent of these people have access to medical care, White said.

White said people should write to President Clinton if they think the United States should sign the landmine ban treaty.

He said he encourages people to thank the president for his Sept. 17 pledge to "increase assistance to land mine victims to help them heal and take their place as productive members of their societies."

Write to the president at:  
President William J. Clinton  
Attention: Sandy Berger, Director

The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, DC 20500

Landmine Survivors Network directs its assistance to more than 300 thousand landmine survivors around the world. People should visit the LSN web-site at [www.landminesurvivors.org](http://www.landminesurvivors.org) for more information about the organization and the ways they can help.

# AT HOME WITH HIS FAMILY IN WASHINGTON AMERICAN ANTI-LANDMINE CAMPAIGNER KEN RUTHERFORD

# SHARES PERSONAL MEMORIES OF DIANA'S TRIP TO BOSNIA A YEAR AGO AND SPEAKS OF THE INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION SHE MADE ON HER LAST HUMANITARIAN VISIT ABROAD

American aid worker Ken Rutherford, who lost both legs after his car hit a landmine in Somalia in 1993, was the man who inspired the Princess of Wales to become actively involved with the anti-landmine campaign. He, in turn, drew inspiration from Diana's dedication to his cause.

In August last year, millions of television viewers worldwide saw Ken, 35, alongside the Princess in Bosnia – on what was to be the very last working trip of her life.

During that visit, which she undertook on the invitation of Ken and his partner in the Landmine Survivors Network, Jerry White, Diana's immense energy and capacity to care drew her close to her companions. Three weeks later, she was dead. But, with the momentum she brought it and with Queen Noor of Jordan as the new patron of the

Landmine Survivors Network, Ken's work goes on.

His courageous story, told in graphic detail, is due to be broadcast in a TV special on landmines on August 21, entitled *Diana's Legacy: A 1999 Special*.

Here, on the eve of the anniversary of Diana's death and that crucial visit to Bosnia, Ken talks about his relationship with the Princess and his own personal triumph over tragedy.

At the beautiful Washington home he shares with his wife Kim, Ken pauses to reflect, cuddling his two sons, Hayden, three, and 19-month-old Campbell.

"Of all the visits to landmine victims we made in Bosnia, the ones with children were the most emotional," he says. "Diana always had this pleasant, comforting demeanour, but when she

saw children, it went into overdrive and something came over her."

Ken believes it was his own family life and desire to help others that forged a special link between him and Diana.

"It seemed strange that out of the people Diana could have been with, she chose us. Me and Jerry were just two Americans with one leg between us. But Jerry has four kids and I have two. Diana could relate to all that. She liked the idea of disabled people helping other disabled people. I think she was happiest with her own kids and working with those people who needed help."

Ken first met Diana when he travelled to London to give a speech to the Royal Geographical Society about his horrific landmine accident.

Already involved with the banning of landmines through her British Red Cross work, Diana gave a speech too. Afterwards she found time to talk to Ken's wife.

"After seeing her so much on television we wondered what she was really like underneath," says Kim. "But she was very sweet, very personable and sincere."

Ken had mentioned in his speech that he wanted to take me for a walk in his favourite London park. Diana warned us that the media might be lurking in the bushes as we went by. I guess she was speaking from personal experience."

Ken's next meeting with the Princess was the very following week when she visited Washington on behalf of the British Red Cross.

"We were there together again and joked about giving the same speech," says Ken. "Later that night Kim and I were invited to an official banquet hosted by the American Red Cross. There was Diana again. She said, 'Ken, I really want to help you. If I can be of assistance, please call me.'"

"About a month later, we sent her a letter telling her we were going to Bosnia to work with landmine victims, and invited her along. Her response was to ask us to drop by Kensington Palace."

"So Jerry and I went there and she was upstairs waiting for us. We soon discovered she was already well on board with the idea of coming with us to Bosnia."

Despite being told not to go on the trip by official sources, Diana was insistent. "She said she would go as a private British citizen and British citizens can go where they like!" says Ken.

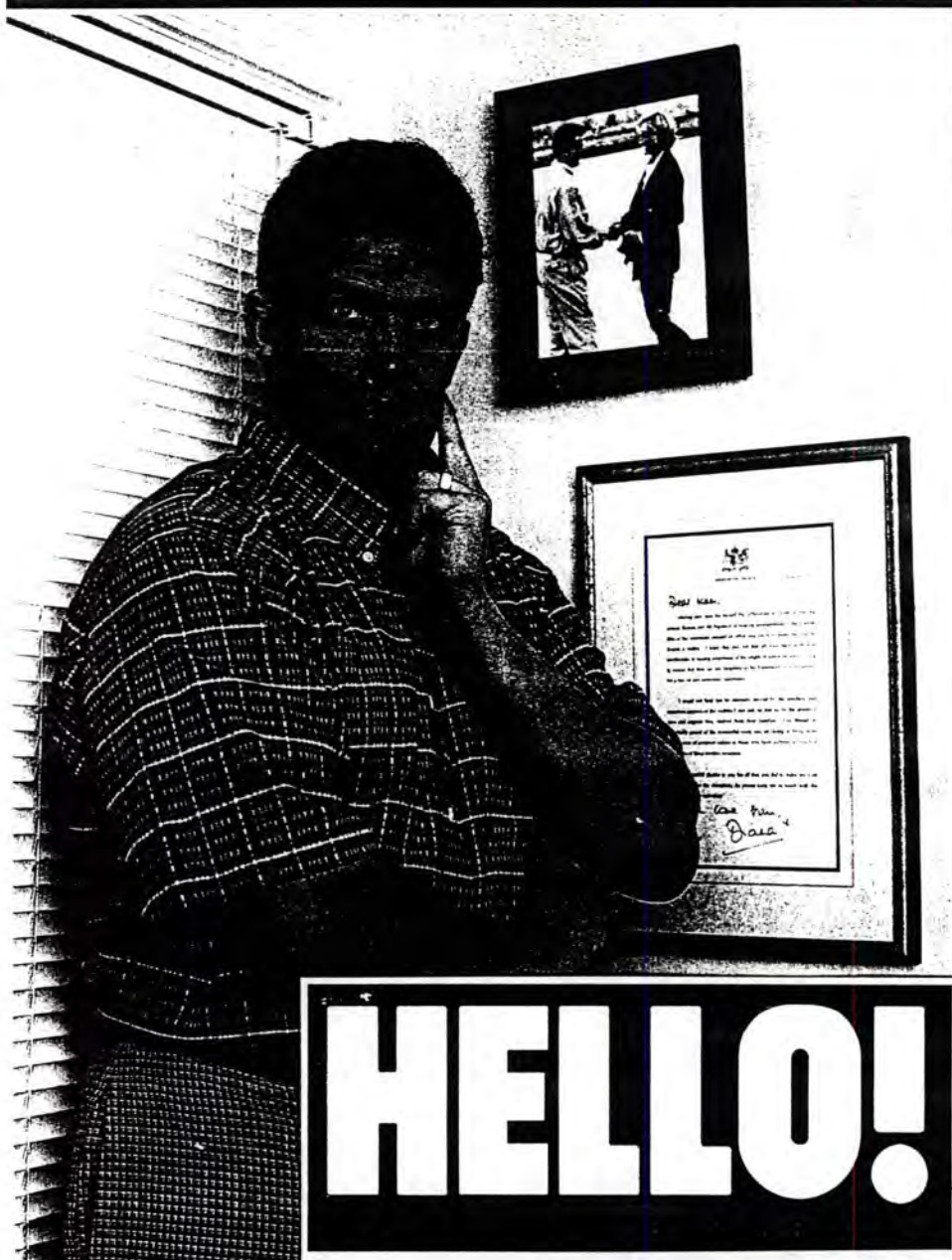
"What struck me most was that a person in her position, with so much glamour and status, who could go anywhere in the world and do what she wanted, could take off with two disabled men and work with us on a personal basis. She didn't care that Bosnia was dangerous or that the roads were bad. She cared about people."

That trip took place in August last year. It was stressful, not just because of the tragic victims Diana saw. Her romance with Dodi Fayed was big news and she had just been photographed on holiday with him.

"I didn't even know who Dodi was," recalls Ken. "I only learned about it all from the reporters. And Diana never mentioned anything."

During the short, but poignant trip, Ken got as close as anyone to Diana. "Jerry and me always wondered how she could have survived so much. It seemed that in everything she was trying to do, she was being closely investigated, watched for everything she wore, what she ate, where she was and who she was with."

Along with two bodyguards and her loyal butler Paul Burrell, Ken, Jerry and Diana spent two nights and three highly pressurised days in Bosnia, travelling miles to visit those who had lost limbs after stepping on landmines.



# HELLO!

74 Ken Rutherford with the thank-you letter he received from Diana only the day after she arrived back from their trip to Bosnia (above). He decided to turn down a request to allow the letter to go on show at Althorp: "That letter is too precious to me." With wife Kim, and sons Hayden, three, and 19-month-old Campbell (above right). Meeting Diana for the August 1997 trip (right)



"Sometimes we were working for 16 hours," says Ken. "And even though we had a schedule worked out, it always went wrong. Diana wanted to stay up longer to talk to people and also get an earlier start the next morning. It was a hard trip on terrible roads. And it was very emotional."

"We rented a house the first night and stayed in a hotel the second. On that last night Jerry and I worked out the menus. We did stuffed cabbage and a Bosnian speciality of apple marinated in some form of alcohol with a ginger snap in it."

"Paul Burrell said Diana wouldn't eat it - but she did. She tried everything. We did our best to make everything right for her. Paul had told us Diana liked fruit so we made sure there was loads of fruit in her room and in all the cars she travelled in."

"On the first night, we held a focus group and had 20 landmine victims from Bosnia in one room to talk about their problems."

"It came at the end of a long day. We'd already put Diana into a car and driven her for nearly three hours. Then we ended up in this room, with no air conditioning, for more than two hours. The guys all forgot Diana was there and talked about everything - their personal problems with wives and girlfriends and of course about not being able to walk."

"It was after 11pm when we finished, and we were up by 8.30 the next morning. We called on several families and visited a graveyard. We took Diana to an area which is the most infested with landmines. We had a walk round, visited a landmine action centre and then had a farewell reception."

"It was no wonder we faxed Diana before the trip to ask if we'd crammed in too much. But she wanted to do *more*."

"If you see pictures of her at the start of that trip and then at the end, you can see how exhausted

she was. And you couldn't blame her. It was really hard."

Although she saw 60 landmine victims on her trip, Ken recalls one little girl in particular who was singled out for some special Diana magic.

The child was the sister of a victim and suffered from cerebral palsy. When Diana called round to

the family's shack, she made straight for the bedridden child.

"Diana took her in her arms, with the child's poor legs and arms just dangling over her lap," Ken recalls. "She rubbed the girl's legs while looking up at us. Then the little girl started to smile at her. It was the first time I'd ever seen ▶"





By chance, Ken and his colleague Jerry White met Princes Charles, William and Harry outside Kensington Palace on the day before Princess Diana's funeral (above). Ken at home with Hayden and Kim, who is expecting their third child this month (below). The Rutherford's cannot forget Diana, and her contribution to their cause. "She may no longer be around," says Kim, "but she made the landmine campaign high profile and that's something that can't be taken away"

## 'Diana made it cool to talk about landmines as a humanitarian, not just military, issue. She talked about victims'

seems such a part of our life that I guess it feels normal."

Ken adds quietly: "Yes, there were some bad times. When I decided to have my second leg amputated, in particular. I did that because Hayden was learning to walk and with my crippled foot, I couldn't keep up with him. But I did get to have that walk in my favourite London park with Kim."

"And we have baby number three due at the end of this month. It would make me feel strange if the baby was born on August 31, the anniversary of Diana's death."

To have had such a high-profile figure involved with the Landmine Survivors Network for longer would have been wonderful for the organisation and those it helps, but Ken is quick to point out: "Now that we have Queen Noor of Jordan as patron we'll carry on in a different way. Queen Noor is just as committed to the campaign."

"But we all still think of Diana. We can't forget her. She just got a thrill out of working in places that really needed help."

"I will be having a private moment on the anniversary of her death. But to commemorate her visit to Bosnia, we have also organised a reunion of all the 60 landmine victims she met there. That reunion will be something really special."

"Diana's visit to Bosnia seems light years away now. Who could have known it would be her last working trip?"

INTERVIEW SUE BLACKHALL  
PHOTOS MIKE WILSON  
CO-ORDINATION SARAH CARTLEDGE

her smile. Diana looked straight into her eyes and smiled right back. The world never saw that.

"I'm sure that if Diana could have another lifetime, she would be some sort of health carer or physical therapist. You hear about the Diana magical touches and that 'one to one' effect... and it's true."

Diana's generosity to those in need is, of course, well known, but Ken was also impressed by the strength of her feeling for her own sons, Prince William and Prince Harry.

"The love for her two sons was extraordinary," he says. "She said they were her best friends."

"She also talked about her father, the late Earl Spencer, who instilled in her this discipline to write thankyou letters within 24 hours. She said if she didn't write her thankyou letter in that time, why bother?"

"So we weren't surprised, Jerry and I, when we got these long letters from her the day after she arrived back in England from the Bosnia trip."

That letter, thanking Ken for his help and expressing her wish to remain involved with the Landmine Survivors Network, is now framed. It sits on the mantelpiece next to a letter from President Clinton.

"Diana had a hard life... and the way she lived it, I think, did justice to her strength and personalty. She got a lot of joy out of giving life to her two sons and she wanted them to have as much experience of the world as possible."

"She was a tremendous asset to charity work. She knew it. And even though no one in Bosnia knew she was coming, they all recognised her."

Having known Diana so briefly, but perhaps more intimately than many of her longer-term friends, Ken will never forget the moment, shortly after they'd returned from their trip, when he heard of her death.

"Kim and I were at a party when we heard that Dodi had been killed. We

got home where my mother was babysitting and the TV was on. Then we heard about Diana. Radio and TV stations rang me, but I couldn't talk to anyone."

"Then on the Tuesday I got a call from Michael Gibbins [Diana's accountant] at Kensington Palace, asking if I would go to the funeral. He asked if I could bring my wife because that's how Diana would have wanted it. I said we'd be honoured."

"We flew to London. The day before the funeral, when we were coming out of Kensington Palace, by sheer chance we bumped into Princes Charles, William and Harry during their walkabout. Jerry told Prince William that we had been in Bosnia with his mother and he said: 'Yes, she told me all about it.' Jerry added: 'Your mother brought a lot of hope to the people she met there.' William replied: 'Yes, she loved everybody.'"

"I turned to Prince Charles and told him we had been in Bosnia with the Princess. He said: 'Oh yes, you work with landmines.' He asked if I was a victim and we discussed how there were landmines all over the world."

"Diana made it cool to talk about landmines as a humanitarian, not just military, issue. She talked about the victims and the whole language of the debate changed. She had tremendous energy and time to give. It gave me the feeling that I could do more, and do it better."

"When I lost my legs in the explosion, I remember thinking that all I wanted was to marry Kim, have a family and fulfil my dream of being a teacher. I had never had a challenge before. But I believe everything happens for a reason."

As Ken plays with his two boys, Kim looks on. "If I had to sum Ken up, I guess I'd say he's a very charismatic man," she says. "People are drawn to him and he has this trait towards helping people. He has a very big heart. When Ken had his accident, we

realised that things like that just make you kick into overdrive and you do what you need to, to get through."

"It was very hard - but when you're in the thick of it, you just kind of plug along and you can't get caught up in just how miserable it could be or how difficult it is. You have to make the best of the situation."

"The first year was the most difficult - just getting to the point where Ken could stand on two legs and walk down the street like any other normal person. To get to that stage was a time of frustration and impatience for Ken. He knew he had to get to that point of physical healing where he could put on a pair of legs. I was always optimistic about medical technology. Now it just



December 26, 1997

# MAGAZINE

**'If you are going to step on a land mine, you should do it in Israel,' says Jerry White. In 1984 he did, and lost a leg.**

**Today he is leading a global mission to aid other victims. 'Israel should do away with this horrible weapon,' says White.**



## BURIED TERROR

# Buried Terror

**Jerry White, who lost his leg when he stepped on a land mine in Israel, is now leading a global effort to help the victims of this controversial weapon.**

By Eetta Prince-Gibson

**I** am one of the luckiest land-mine survivors in the world," says Jerry White. "After all, if you are going to step on a land mine, you should do it in Israel." White, 34, is director of the Landmine Survivors Network, a Washington-based international advocacy and lobbying group. He recently returned from Ottawa where he attended ceremonies marking the signing by more than 120 nations of the Treaty to Ban the Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Antipersonnel Mines.

It is estimated that there are more than 70 million land mines strewn in more than 60 countries killing or brutally maiming some 26,000 people a year. Although White is ecstatic at the success of the movement which led to the Ottawa ceremonies, he is also concerned that not enough attention is being paid to the needs of survivors of land mines and foresees that his fledgling organization still faces serious challenges.

But 13 years ago, in 1984, he was a 20-year-old student on the One-Year Program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was hiking through Galilee and the Golan Heights when he stepped on a land mine at Givat Azaz, near Banyas, blowing off his right foot at the ankle and ripping open his left calf and knee.

A native of a Cohasset, Massachusetts, a small town on Massachusetts Bay, and a devout Catholic in his youth, White took a year off from his studies at Brown University to find out more about his own religious beliefs. "I had to know the Jewish context of Christianity, so that I could understand if Christ really was the Messiah, or just a fanatic, part of a bizarre cult."

8 THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE



"And, anyway," White adds during a recent interview in Washington. "I had always preferred the Old Testament. After all, Paul had a really annoying personality. I was religious and Catholic, but I sure didn't want to be a priest, so I had to find some answers."

He "fell in love" with modern Israel. Tall, athletic, good-looking, easygoing — and, he adds with an ironic grin, "very Gentile and preppie-looking" — he made friends easily. He learned Hebrew quickly, worked on a moshav and "generally had a good time." When spring break came around, White and two American friends set off with their backpacks and sleeping bags to explore the northern countryside and walk where Jesus had preached to his disciples.

White and his friends had camped out in a wood, and at about 9 a.m., they set out through a field to hitch a ride to Kiryat Shmona. White was in front, his friends several meters behind. Then suddenly, his life and world changed.

"The earth exploded around me," he recalls. "I landed on my hands and knees. I smelled something horrible, it was my own burning flesh — and I tasted dirt and blood."

At first, White thought he was under rocket attack. "At the university, they had warned us about terrorists, about suspi-

tion that helped him to "get back on his feet." After two weeks of treatment in Safed, he was taken to Sheba Hospital, where he was placed in a unit with soldiers, many of whom had also suffered traumatic mine amputations. On his first day there, another amputee came up to him. Pointing to his head, the soldier said, "It's all up here, you know, not down there," pointing to his stump. "And you're just a Bee-Kay [a below-the-knee amputee], so it's like you just have a head cold."

"And I was thinking, I guess this guy is right. Get over it, Jerry. And I didn't want to feel like the American kid, soft and spoiled. I wanted to show them that I was just as tough as any Israeli guy."

White demanded that they speak to him in Hebrew ("Maybe I didn't want to understand everything"), joined in on the black humor, and became a part of the crowd.

"When [then-defense minister] Yitzhak Rabin paid a visit, all the guys told him, 'Hey, there's this American guy who speaks Hebrew.' So they made me talk to him, cameras clicking and all. And in the background, the guys are shouting, 'Tayar metumam, tayar metumam' ('Stupid tourist, stupid tourist')."

White believes it was a combination of faith and humor, together with a "tough love" approach to rehabilita-

tion that helped him to "get back on his feet." After two weeks of treatment in Safed, he was taken to Sheba Hospital, where he was placed in a unit with soldiers, many of whom had also suffered traumatic mine amputations. On his first day there, another amputee came up to him. Pointing to his head, the soldier said, "It's all up here, you know, not down there," pointing to his stump. "And you're just a Bee-Kay [a below-the-knee amputee], so it's like you just have a head cold."

"And I was thinking, I guess this guy is right. Get over it, Jerry. And I didn't want to feel like the American kid, soft and spoiled. I wanted to show them that I was just as tough as any Israeli guy."

White demanded that they speak to him in Hebrew ("Maybe I didn't want to understand everything"), joined in on the black humor, and became a part of the crowd.

"When [then-defense minister] Yitzhak Rabin paid a visit, all the guys told him, 'Hey, there's this American guy who speaks Hebrew.' So they made me talk to him, cameras clicking and all. And in the background, the guys are shouting, 'Tayar metumam, tayar metumam' ('Stupid tourist, stupid tourist')."

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White and Ken Rutherford with two local teens and Princess Diana in Bosnia last August. "Diana was a woman who was drawn to the most vulnerable populations of the earth," says White. "There are a lot of people who see mines as a security issue, or a military issue — an issue, not a question of human suffering. And she could see beyond the statistics and numbers to the real human suffering."

White and his friends realized that he had stepped on a land mine. "And my friend turned me over, and I vaguely realized that my leg was gone. And then the onset of the pain, the terrible, terrible pain, when I wished I had died so it wouldn't hurt so much."

He remembers that he began to chant and scream. "I have no foot. I have no foot, I have no foot." But his friends kept their heads. "They yelled at me, 'Don't move and shut up!' Yeah, right, like I could really move or that I shouldn't be screaming when I had just lost my foot."

"But I did stop myself, because somehow I knew that we had to cope. I was able to pay attention to my friends, so that we could get out. The human will is so strong, you can make decisions about how you will respond, even in this terrible situation."

"And I had faith," White continues. "Early on, I remember, I had a sense of grace, that it would be OK, that we would get out alive. I just believed, and I prayed for mercy and for God's grace." Despite the pain, White remained conscious. It took a brief moment until the young men realized that there was only one way out — through the minefield to the road. His friends started to carry him, trying to

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ining, and there are lots of organizations providing various services, but we are the only organization for survivors, by survivors, about survivors."

According to UN statistics, the vast majority of mine victims are civilians, many of them children. In the former Yugoslavia, an estimated four to six million mines have been laid on mountain roads, in villages, fields and forests. Between five and 10 million mines were laid in Angola during the extended civil war. In Cambodia, which has the world's highest proportion of mine amputees, there are nearly 10 million mines lurking beneath the soil, claiming more than 300 victims a month. But survivors are a vulnerable group, with no political power and deeply in need of services and assistance.

In most countries, medical care — if the victims can get it — is poor and irregular, according to White. Prostheses are expensive, and distribution of the devices is often hampered by corruption. Frequently, victims of land mines are shunned by their own societies. Many are destitute. LSM seeks to improve service provision and rehabilitation of mine victims worldwide. At the same time, it enables victims to be heard as stark witnesses to the horror of mines.

"People don't realize," White says, "that a minefield doesn't look like a minefield. A beautiful pasture may be a minefield, and a hillside with a cool stream running through it may be mined. It isn't usually demarcated or fenced off. If it were, who would go in?"

"Look at me," he continues. "Israel takes pride in how well it has fenced and marked its minefields, but fences break down, signs fade, fall or are stolen, and mines shift with changes in weather and soil erosion. [Givat Azaz] looked beautiful, calm and inviting. It looked like a place to take a walk, not a place to get blown up."

Contrary to the common misperception, most mines are not laid according to well-marked maps, waiting for demining. "And even if you had a map, would you, as a deminer, trust it?" White challenges. "All the talk about fencing and marking minefields is a distraction from the real need: to stop the proliferation of land mines and to help the survivors."

Moreover, mines "won't win wars, and they have never kept an army from meeting its objective. Warring sides can just go in and pick up the mines, so they are really just a boomerang. They are messy and they come back to haunt us. In the Persian Gulf, American soldiers were wounded wading through the mines that the American forces had sown from the air."

"So it is clear: the human suffering outweighs the military utility. Mines should be outlawed, like poison gas and chemical warfare."

Although LSM began in the context of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, White and Rutherford quickly concluded the ban has limited value for victims. "Obviously, we support the ban," White says, "and I am overjoyed that so many nations have signed the treaty. But what about the victims? The ban won't help them. The treaty stipulates obligations about demining, but it only urges the countries to provide victims assistance. I'm thankful that that is there; even the urging was absent in the initial drafts of the treaty. The treaty may urge, but justice demands that countries that have used land mines be responsible to their victims," White says.

White believes that his organization deserves much of the credit for gaining recognition for victims, inadequate as it is, in the treaty. In August, LSM hosted the late Princess Diana's three-day, house-to-house visit of Bosnian mine victims and their families. White and Rutherford had first met Diana the previous June at a land-mine conference in London, then they saw her again at a Red Cross fund-raising dinner in Washington.

In July, as they headed for Bosnia for a project aimed at getting Croat and Moslem disability groups to cooperate, Diana invited them to stop for tea at Kensington Palace. After listening to their plans, Diana said that she "wanted to follow in their footsteps."

"Diana was a woman who was drawn to the most vulnerable populations of the earth. She seemed to have radar for those who suffered and an ability to reach out to them. And it was real. There are a lot of people who see mines as a security issue, or a military issue — an issue, not a question of human suffering. And she could see beyond the statistics and numbers to the real human suffering."

Diana — ahead of other public figures, White says — understood that even after a ban, there would still be victims. In what was to be her last official visit abroad, Diana visited families, rehabilitation centers, and with the factious disability groups.

White still has many friends in Israel, where he visits every few years. He is outspokenly critical of Israel's decision not to sign the treaty.

"I respect the Israeli decision to stop all exports and to decrease internal use. And I know that what happens in the Middle East is different than in Europe, and that Israel has valid security concerns. But having said that, I still think that Israel should sign the ban. Israel should join the other countries and do away with this horrible, inhumane weapon. Countries with longer borders and security issues

that are no less severe than Israel's, like nations from the former Soviet Union, have agreed to demine.

"Israel is only parroting some of the American arguments, saying, 'We aren't the problem,' 'We don't export mines,' and all that. But this is a global issue. There is now a code of behavior endorsed by more than 120 countries, and I would expect Israel to join that code."

The US did not sign the treaty, either, but White believes that it will. "And then," he warns, "Israel will remain alone with rogue states like Pakistan and Iraq. And that won't be pleasant."

White also believes that mines hurt more Israeli civilians than most Israelis believe, although he acknowledges that he has no data. "Most Israelis, and especially Israeli Jews, who live in the bigger cities, consider mines a minor issue."

"But the issue is deeper than that. Banning land mines is a global issue, and Israelis just don't get involved in global issues. The success of the Campaign to Ban Land Mines is a story of the success of civil society throughout the world, of people lobbying their governments and spurring them to action. That's why it won the Nobel Prize. But Israelis are ignoring this. Israelis move in spheres that are comfortable to them. They travel throughout the world, but they remain isolated.... The ban is an opportunity for global awareness and civil action."

Banning mines, he believes, could be a confidence-building measure between Israel and its neighbors. "It's an ironic sort of opportunity, since there is not much at stake. Israel and her neighbors can't talk about cutting back on serious weapons, but they certainly could talk about weapons that matter less, like mines. This could be a peace-building opportunity, with Lebanon, for instance."

White also wishes that the Israeli medical community would be more involved with worldwide efforts. "The Israeli model of rehabilitation works," he says. "I am proof. So let's look at that model, and then see how it could work in Mozambique or in Cambodia. That's a peace-building opportunity, too."

As he gets older, White's injuries cause him increasing pain. "There are different levels of annoyance and pain," he explains. "I get sores [where the stump meets the prosthesis] all the time, and sometimes the prosthesis falls off. Or suddenly it just doesn't fit anymore, and I get blisters or sores."

"Getting up in the middle of the night to go to the bathroom — only another amputee can understand how that mundane activity can be so difficult. Because you have to fully wake up so that you don't fall. If you fall on your stump, it is one of the most excruciatingly painful experiences you could ever imagine."

And there is the phantom pain. "It's so strange, it comes and goes. For a second, it is as though someone came with an ice pick and stabbed me in my foot, then took the pick out, and there is no residual pain. And there have been times when I have had a phantom pain attack for 20 minutes."

"Sometimes, I can feel my toes, or cramp my ankle, the one I don't have. I can even make my foot hurt, the one that isn't there."

"When I see how life comes full circle, it is as though I have been trained to do exactly what I do now," White observes. "I have a sense of an emotional commitment to this cause. It's also a sense of a spiritual vocation, as though I cannot [help but do] what I do now."

"At this time in my life, I am completely emotionally engaged in what I am doing. I do not remain aloof or apart. For the LSM, I can play the political game here in DC, but



An IDF soldier defuses a mine. 'Israel has valid security concerns,' says White. 'But having said that, I still think that Israel should sign the ban.'

this is not something that does not affect me personally. When I see a boy who has been torn apart, when I see a family destroyed, when I walk into a hospital stinking of urine and blood, I am incredibly affected. Does it cloud my judgment? Probably. Does it make me more ferocious in doing what I have to do? Absolutely.

"I realize," White continues, "that I have a unique position. I have an American face, so in this very isolationist country, I can tell my story. And that will help Americans to start to care, to start to think about the stories of people who are so much less fortunate. It's more effective than a Cambodian coming over and telling his story, even though his tale is much, much sadder. So how can I but do this?"

Yet, he insists, he does not think of himself as a land-mine survivor or disabled or victimized. "Professionalizing my injury makes me shudder. But this is the time to do the work I do, so I will apply my professional and emotional skills to this mission. But I don't see myself as Mr. Mine Victim, and in five years, I hope I'll be doing something else." ■

## A NEED FOR MINES

Israel is surrounded by "millions" of land mines, the government acknowledges, and that's how things will remain as long as it is in a state of war with its Arab neighbors. The Foreign Ministry says the state cannot commit itself to a total cessation of the use of land mines, as long as the terrorist threat against us is real.

In principle, Israel agrees with the Treaty to Ban the Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Antipersonnel Mines, but joined the US as one of the few countries refusing to sign the treaty at this time.

"We support the treaty. But, because of the special security situation Israel is in, we can't agree to the immediate and all-encompassing implementation that [the treaty] demands," ministry spokesman Aviv Shiron says. "As long as the security situation does not stabilize, [compliance with the treaty] can't progress."

Israel manufactures antipersonnel land mines. Shiron says that Israel has extended its moratorium on exports of land mines to 1999, but is unable to commit itself for now to a total ban on their use until an effective alternative is available to ensure the protection of civilians "threatened on a daily basis by terrorists. We will support all efforts to prevent proliferation and the export of antipersonnel land mines, and we will agree to gradual implementation [to prevent] their proliferation in the region."

Shiron says that, in recent years, mines have been removed from some areas, including the border with Jordan. Under the peace treaty, minefields have been removed. "It's a joint effort," Shiron says.

But military sources say that the removal of tens of thousands of mines along the border with Jordan was a strictly IDF endeavor, since the Israeli method of mine removal is to blow up the entire field. Arab armies, on the other hand, still employ the doctrine of removing them by hand so they can be used elsewhere. This causes more casualties.

Due to the numerous wars and fluid borders, the territory under Israeli control is scattered with live minefields. Some of these are marked, but some remain unfenced and other mines are often washed away by flooding.

"Over the years, we have had problems with old minefields," Shiron says. "Today when you lay a minefield you map it out. But in the past, either they are not mapped out, or in some cases they are not marked at all."

Shiron adds that Israel is involved in humanitarian actions against antipersonnel land mines. This included sending a team to Angola and an observer delegation to Ottawa. "We have agreed with Canada to build a special project to rehabilitate victims of land mines. Israel will be involved either in rehabilitating the victims or in removing the land mines." — Arieh O'Sullivan



TO WALK  
WITHOUT

**FEAR**

The Global Movement  
to Ban Landmines



Edited by Maxwell A. Cameron,  
Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin

## CHAPTER 7

# THE ROLE OF THE LANDMINE SURVIVORS NETWORK

Jerry White and Ken Rutherford

When the Ottawa Convention was signed in December 1997, it included a clause to provide humanitarian relief for the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who have been maimed by landmines. It was an unprecedented achievement that came about through the efforts of many people. But, most importantly, landmine survivors themselves played a central role in ensuring that the people most wounded by these inhumane devices would not be forgotten in the first treaty to ban their use. Landmine victim statistics are well known to many people, but after a while the numbers become mind-numbing. It is easy to forget that there is a face and a name behind each landmine casualty. Also less well understood is the personal horror that each victim experiences in the moments after an explosion. Landmines tear off limbs and shoot shrapnel and dirt into the body. Even one's own bones become projectiles. If the eyes are not blinded during an explosion, a victim can see his own body torn, mangled, and bleeding. Without nearby help, the unfortunate victim usually dies alone.

The voices of landmine survivors were first heard at the international level at the Vienna CCW conference in September 1995. In an unusual development, representatives of NGOs working directly with landmines and landmine victims were invited to speak to the delegate assembly. It was not just another diplomatic discussion with government officials stating the same stale points of view. Instead, people who were experiencing the tragedy firsthand were helping to set the tone of the discussions. During their speeches, persons injured by landmines from Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the United States provided powerful evidence for urging the ban on these weapons.

### THE VOICES

*Ken Rutherford (United States):* 'In December of 1993, I was working in Somalia with the International Rescue Committee. I was inspecting a program site near the border with Ethiopia when my car hit a landmine. After the explosion, I saw my foot lying on the floorboard of the car. I thought, "Is it mine?" I kept trying to put it back on. I dragged myself out of the car and called for help on my radio. I am here today because of the resources I had at my disposal. I had a radio, airplanes evacuated me to a hospital, and

I returned to the United States to receive, to date, over \$300,000 in medical care. Needless to say, most mine victims are not so lucky.'

*Jerry White* (United States): 'I was only four years old when Syrian soldiers, retreating during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, laid Soviet-supplied mines in the Golan Heights. My mine waited silently in the ground for 17 years before it exploded under my right foot while I was hiking in an unmarked minefield. I wasn't a soldier. I was a student taking a break from studies to explore the Middle East. There were no fences and no signs to keep me out. I was lucky I had friends with me and a farmer nearby who heard the blast. All the talk about fencing and marking minefields is a distraction from the real problem: how to stop the proliferation of landmines. Even in a small, security-conscious state like Israel, fences break down, signs fade, fall, or are stolen, and mines shift.'

*Abdul Rahman Sahak* (Afghanistan): 'Can you think for a moment what a human being would suffer in this situation? Imagine the extent of the injuries and pain while struggling between life and death with blood all around. I am proud to be a spokesman for my country. I would like to join the voices of my disabled brothers and sisters . . . to call for a total ban on production of all types of mines.'

As the UN landmine conference unfolded, however, the disabled participants felt they were being relegated to the conference sidelines. While most conference attendees were respectful, there was a sense that no one quite knew what to do about the needs of the survivors. As landmine survivors themselves, the authors saw a need to increase the volume and to become more a part of the process. The authors discussed the need for more representation for landmine survivors both within the ICBL and at conferences. If this debate was about landmines, then who was more suited than survivors to provide evidence of the indiscriminate nature of the weapon?

### GENEVA: THE UN CCW CONFERENCE

In April 1996, at the follow-up conference in Geneva, the issue causing the most disappointment was that the needs of the victims, mostly civilians injured through no fault of their own, were not being discussed. Our landmine-disabled friends had travelled a great distance to Geneva, only to discover apathy concerning their needs. Did no one really care, or had the needs of survivors not been properly communicated? One of the slogans of the international campaign had been 'to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves'. Perhaps the time had come for landmine survivors to start speaking on their own behalf.

At that time, in Switzerland, the authors decided to create a new international organization, the Landmine Survivors Network (LSN), to become a powerful advocate for those disabled by mines and to offer practical assistance to one of the most vulnerable populations in the world. It was a radical concept in some ways: a new NGO staffed by landmine survivors to empower and offer peer support to other survivors. The authors recognized that in the fellowship of suffering that survivors share, there is also empowerment and strong motivation to do whatever it takes to end the suffering. A strong bond began to form among mine victims, along with a strong desire to work together towards a global ban and to find help for the wounded.

Together, the survivors decided to increase the pressure on governments and international organizations. First, Ken Rutherford and Tun Channareth, a Cambodian landmine survivor, introduced the 'Wall of Remembrance', a photographic collection of mine victims in Battambang Province, Cambodia. The victims were injured between the closing of the Vienna CCW conference in October 1995 and the opening of the Geneva CCW conference in April 1996. During this brief period there were more than 230 mine accidents in a province of fewer than 250,000 Cambodians. Behind the Wall of Remembrance display, the ICBL had set up an electronic counter that clicked every 22 minutes to signal another mine victim injured somewhere in the world. Like the Wall of Remembrance display, the scoreboard only counted victims since the end of the UN CCW landmine conference in Vienna. By the end of the Geneva conference the haunting clicker had registered nearly 15,000 new victims.

Tun Channareth, known as Reth by his friends worldwide, has been an inspiring leader in the global movement to rid the world of anti-personnel mines. Reth lost both his legs to a landmine in 1982 near the Thai-Cambodian border. His friend had to carry him nearly 30 kilometres to a medical post for emergency care. Reth has travelled the world and met with scores of world leaders and various groups to discuss the impact of mines on countries such as Cambodia and call for much-needed assistance for mine-contaminated communities. At the conference Reth told the delegates that 'if it were their children being blown up' they would have already banned landmines. He then asked, 'How can so many clever people sit together for two weeks and fail to do what ordinary people back home are asking them to do?'

The second way that landmine survivors amplified their voices at the Geneva CCW was at a press conference organized by Jerry White and a team of budding LSN 'associates' working under the umbrella of the ICBL. In the main lobby of the United Nations conference centre, survivors read a

statement, 'We Are Outraged'. Survivors from Cambodia, Afghanistan, Mozambique, England, Bosnia, and the United States voiced their anger and frustration with the world's diplomats and politicians. One by one, the survivors removed their prosthetic limbs, describing their personal encounters with mines and calling on the world's diplomats to ban these weapons. In their statement, the mine-injured asked, 'Why do you covet weapons that primarily kill civilians and do not discriminate between soldiers, women, and children? Most of the delegates here have never seen a minefield or experienced firsthand the horror caused by landmines. One short visit to a mine-infected country would do wonders to cure the indifference of the world's politicians and diplomats.' The press conference included testimonies from the authors, Tun Channareth, and other persons with disabilities who had travelled on crutches and in wheelchairs to speak out.

### MORE VOICES

A young Cambodian boy, Khern Man So, recounted: 'I was blown up in Cambodia . . . in January. I was going to school with two friends when they picked up a landmine and were killed. We didn't know it was a mine. I am 14 years old and now have only one leg. Why did they just make it easier to make new mines?'

A brave Bosnian survivor, Pero Jakic, recalled: 'I was injured by a mine while visiting my burnt-out house in Sarajevo. Mines will prevent families from returning to their villages. My closest neighbour and her 17-year-old son were killed by a landmine when they went back to visit their former home. I came here to describe what people are suffering in Sarajevo and other parts of the world. I would like the whole world to know that producers of mines must stop now so that people don't die and so that there are no more handicapped.'

Mozambique's leading disability rights advocate, Farida Gulamo, said: 'For years, I have witnessed the human suffering and economic devastation caused by landmines in my country. Mozambique's richness is in its agriculture, but landmines have devastated the rural areas where farmers can no longer safely grow crops. It saddens me to watch these diplomats discuss ways to improve mines. Don't they see the humanitarian crisis?'

Usman Fitrat, 25 years old and from Afghanistan, shared his own poignant story: 'I was 11 years old when my mother and cousin were mercilessly killed by landmines on the way home from a local health clinic. Ten days later, I lost both my hands and my left eye in a mine explosion. My own grandmother saw it and thought I was dead. Let me ask one question: What was my fault and that of several hundred thousands of innocent

people who have been killed or maimed by mines in Afghanistan? I condemn the use of mines and can't believe that this conference has agreed to their continued use.'

British mine-clearance expert Chris Moon also spoke forcefully: 'I accept the loss of my right lower leg and hand with good grace because I chose to run humanitarian mine-clearance teams. For this reason, I do not consider myself a victim but want to point out that people in mined areas have no choice. Blown up by a mine in Mozambique in March 1995, I have sympathy for mine victims. In fact, I ran in the London Marathon a year after my accident to assist those less fortunate because I believe actions speak louder than words.' True to his word, Chris continues to raise money for landmine survivors through actions. In 1997, he also ran marathons in Cambodia, Mozambique, and Australia and ran 150 miles in the Sahara Desert to raise over \$150,000 to make artificial limbs for amputees in Vietnam. Chris also raised awareness of the Landmine Survivors Network when he carried the Olympic torch during the opening ceremony of the 1998 Winter Olympics at Nagano, Japan.

In Geneva, landmine survivors met in small groups and targeted their messages one-by-one to intransigent government delegations. In sum, survivors said they came to Geneva 'to put a human face on the mass suffering caused by landmines. We have travelled a long distance with crutches, artificial limbs, and wheelchairs to tell our personal stories in the hope that the world's diplomats would listen to our plea to ban anti-personnel landmines from the earth. But this conference has turned a deaf ear to our cries. We have no choice but to denounce the CCW's shameful agreement.' The statement concluded: 'We were warned that this conference would not address our desire for an immediate and total ban. But we had no idea that the conference would settle for such a reprehensible agreement. Therefore, we cannot support it and we must express our outrage.'

### DEFINING VICTIM ASSISTANCE

What, exactly, is meant by victim assistance? What kind of structure is needed to co-ordinate assistance? Which categories of humanitarian relief should be included? The LSN began to define survivor assistance to include the 'care and rehabilitation provided for the immediate and long-term needs of mine victims, their family members and/or dependants, and mine-affected communities. Victim assistance includes, but is not limited to, emergency and medical care; access to prosthetics, wheelchairs and other assistive devices; social and economical reintegration; psychological and peer support; accident prevention programs; and legal and advisory

services.' The definition of 'victim assistance' was derived from discussions with other NGOs active in the ICBL as well as from informal discussions with government and UN representatives.

Looking into the needs of the victims, especially in developing countries, the LSN was nearly overwhelmed by the desperation of thousands of survivors with no access to affordable care. Aside from the emergency and acute medical care required immediately following a mine blast, the production and training for the use of assistive devices, including prosthetics, wheelchairs, crutches, and specially designed transportation, are of urgent necessity. There is also a need for psychosocial support programs, data collection of mine-affected populations, mine awareness programs, social reintegration, employment opportunities, and legal services. It was obvious that, to offer this range of services, landmine survivors would need to enlist the help of all governments and NGOs pushing for a ban treaty. Today, an enormous gap exists between rehabilitative care available in affluent countries and what most mine victims receive in developing countries recovering from years of war. For example, the American authors of this chapter have received care approaching a combined cost of \$800,000.<sup>1</sup> This is in contrast to the United Nations estimate that the average lifetime care of a landmine victim is between \$5,000 and \$7,000.

Another question was how to define landmine victims. In consultation with other NGOs, the LSN proposed a broad definition: 'human beings impaired due to physical, psychological, social or economic harm or injury caused by the explosion of landmines; family members and/or dependants of the mine-disabled or mine fatalities; all human beings affected by the existence of mines who, due to the threat of mines, could not or cannot pursue their normal activities.'

In late 1995, very few people in the campaign were pushing for victim assistance. Several organizations such as Veterans International, Handicap International, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) were, of course, providing prosthetics and other assistance in the field, but NGOs were not lobbying for such assistance to be part of the talking points for solving the landmine problem. The pursuit of a global ban was the central, unrelenting focus of the ICBL. On the surface, at least, it seemed logical that wealthier states would resist the inclusion of landmine victim assistance in the treaty, as many of them do not have landmine-disabled populations. Any mine victim assistance provided by these states would necessarily go to foreign populations. And poorer countries, those most affected by landmines, have limited means and infrastructure to support the growing number of survivors. Victim assistance seemed a no-win situation for garnering political support.

Meanwhile, the United Nations was still talking about legitimizing new types of landmines, and a global ban seemed years, if not decades, away. Some members of the campaign, though reluctant to say so publicly, believed that insisting on victim assistance measures would just muddy the waters and potentially give governments another excuse for not committing to a ban of any sort. Landmine survivors respectfully disagreed. As the debate continued over the next few months, much was made of 'the poor victims'. One of the biggest challenges was to convince other campaigns that survivors were more than just 'poster children' for the ban movement. Strangely, it was as if amputees had to demonstrate that though landmines had blown off limbs and left horrible scars, survivors' minds, dreams, and humanity were still intact.

The Landmine Survivors Network, now an official NGO, decided to take its concerns regarding the need for victim assistance directly to policymakers. Not willing to wait until other campaigners understood the centrality of victim assistance to the larger issue of banning landmines, the LSN charged ahead by setting up independent meetings with the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the American Red Cross, and the US National Security Council, Department of Defense, State Department, and Agency for International Development (USAID). We hammered away at the same message—of course, a global ban was imperative, but a 'paper' treaty that did not take into account the urgent need to help rehabilitate hundreds of thousands of survivors would be a tragically missed opportunity. To our thinking, victim assistance had to be a part of any meaningful discussion on how to stop the mass suffering caused by mines. Solving the landmine problem would require an integrated approach that took into account the need for accelerated mine clearance and survivor assistance.

In a May 1996 letter, Jerry White, Ken Rutherford, and Marianne Holtz, an American nurse who lost both legs to a landmine in Zaire in 1995, strongly urged US President Clinton to remember that 'most mine victims are civilians, including women and children. Many have trouble supporting their families and many are ostracized and denied proper medical attention or rehabilitation.' The President's response communicated his desire to secure a special exemption for mines in Korea and that he had instructed the Secretary of Defense to look into improving demining technology. No mention was made about victim assistance. In his defence of US policy, the President seemed blind to the humanitarian need for urgent action to protect civilian populations.

In October of 1996, the LSN demonstrated a prototype of the first database designed to track the needs of mine victims worldwide and the limited resources to help them. As word of the LSN's new information strategy

started to reach mine victims in all regions, it began to serve as a small clearinghouse of information and resources. By 1998, the database contained profiles of scores of landmine survivors and their families in Mozambique, Angola, Bosnia, Cambodia, Jordan, Lebanon, and Afghanistan. It also contains detailed information on over 1,000 organizations and has been used by media and NGOs alike as a source of information about the world's mine-affected people and communities. But, while a database is useful to keep track of needs, it cannot meet those needs. Only by engaging the international community in a global effort would the LSN succeed in its efforts to respond to the pleas of landmine survivors.

### OTTAWA CONFERENCE, 1996

At the October 1996 landmine conference in Ottawa, the LSN called for an integrated approach to mine action, including a ban, accelerated mine clearance, and increased assistance for survivors. At the time, the call for a global ban was receiving the greatest attention. The CCW was still calling for legalizing some mines and for increasing the metallic content of older mines so that they would be easier to detect. The ICBL and its members, including the LSN, were calling for nothing less than an immediate and comprehensive ban without loopholes. Victim assistance and demining were secondary goals of the ICBL, however. The LSN approached the ICBL co-ordinator to determine whether its leadership would object to the LSN's efforts to promote effective victim assistance in Ottawa. There was no response, so the LSN took matters into its own hands and prepared to fight for the rights of survivors. As the victims who had stared out from silent photographs for too long, the Landmine Survivors Network believed it was time to be heard.

The LSN found an ally in Jill Sinclair, an official in Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Sinclair understood Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy's sympathy for mine victims, and her office helped arrange for the LSN to make a presentation to the plenary meeting of the Ottawa conference. Speaking on the final day of the conference, Jerry White made a statement that was intended as a wake-up call:

Despite all the talk about the human suffering of mine victims, it seems that we still have trouble putting our money where our mouth is. What is really being done to help these victims? Very little, I'm afraid. I do not doubt that every person in this audience is horrified and personally moved by the stories of landmine victims. They would need a heart of stone not to be

I am also convinced that individuals, NGOs, and governments all want to help. But why is it that victim assistance has not moved beyond the rhetorical level? Survivors tend to be awfully strong and motivated people. They want a chance to be productive again, not to become dependent on charity.

White ended his statement by encouraging the Canadian government to honour its own survivors—the brave peacekeepers now threatened by landmines spread throughout the former Yugoslavia. He reminded the Canadians of Mark Isfeld, 'one of Canada's finest military sons, who was killed removing mines in Croatia in 1994 on his third peacekeeping duty'. Mark's father, Brian Isfeld, was sitting among the governmental and NGO delegates as White went on to describe how 'Mark cared deeply about stopping landmines from killing children. He would take candy and little dolls knit by his mother, Carol, to hand out to the children where he served.' Brian and Carol Isfeld are landmine survivors. They, like hundreds of thousands of families worldwide, know what it means to have your life suddenly and forever changed by losing a loved one to these cruel and unpredictable weapons.

By the end of the Ottawa conference, victim assistance had received rhetorical support as something that should be included in the treaty. The American and Irish delegations seemed keenly interested in pursuing the issue, and Canada appeared ready to take a leadership role. Without their early interest, victim assistance might very well have stayed on the shelf. But now, there was a glimmer of hope that mine victims would get the support they needed to help each other on the road to recovery.

The LSN privately urged the ICBL members to help landmine survivors get proper care instead of just flying them around the world to speak at international landmine conferences. Usman Fitrat, for example, was given a false eye during his trip to the Ottawa, thanks to the *pro bono* assistance provided by Canadian eye specialists, Thomas Dean and Dr A.G. Watson, who enthusiastically heeded the call by the LSN to help mine victims, and the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights pitched in to make sure Usman made it to all his eye appointments between media interviews and panel discussions.

### MOZAMBIQUE NGO LANDMINE CONFERENCE

In February of 1997, the Fourth International NGO Landmine Conference was held in Maputo, Mozambique—an appropriate venue as Africa is the most mined-contaminated continent in the world, with Angola alone

having tens of thousands of amputees from landmine explosions. Once again, the LSN was asked to identify and invite survivors to participate in the conference. We came with high hopes, even arranging for Bosnian landmine survivors to join us in Maputo. While eager to embrace the survivors, conference participants appeared unsure of how best to include their disabled guests in the dialogue on the treaty and the role of victim assistance. This was something that required focus through the eyes of survivors themselves. The challenge was to communicate effectively survivors' needs without offending the incredibly committed and hard-working conference planners.

LSN organized a dinner for the disabled gathered in Maputo. It was a wonderful opportunity for survivors from across the world to relax and talk openly. How should survivors play an active role? What were our own goals? It came out during the dinner that there was a frustration with the portrayals of victims in the international campaign. Survivors were shown almost exclusively as 'victims', many photographed only in their worst moments of pain and anguish. By showing the horrible effects, the media had assigned to mine victims an aura of tragedy and helplessness. Yet most of the survivors didn't see their own lives as over after a landmine explosion. Most felt lucky to have survived. It was clear at that special dinner in Maputo that the survivors who gathered to eat and talk were some of the strongest and most motivated people we had ever met. It was in Maputo that survivors started to address more pointedly the campaign language that often depicted the disabled as helpless victims. LSN was determined to add images of strength, empowerment, and survival. Extraordinary strength is required to overcome disfiguring injury and sometimes ostracism. Somehow, that message needed to come out, as well as a realistic portrayal of the human suffering. We would now work toward empowerment.

### RAISING THE PROFILE OF SURVIVOR ASSISTANCE IN THE ICBL

Throughout 1996–7, the ICBL issued periodic statements on the status of the campaign, dealing primarily with the platforms it currently supported. Survivors began to push for stronger language on the need for effective victim assistance. At the very least, we argued, the issue deserved its own bullet, instead of being lumped in as an inconspicuous clause together with the issue of demining efforts. During strategy sessions the response was usually supportive, but there still was no initiative by the ICBL as a whole to advocate for the rights of the victims. Instead, most members were overwhelmingly concerned with the ban and with building support for that. Some in the campaign leadership felt that the LSN was being counter-

productive to the overriding goal of the campaign, which was, of course, a total ban on landmines.

### OAU Conference in Johannesburg

In May of 1997, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) hosted a conference on landmines. As with previous conferences, not enough survivors were invited, and again, we had a small voice. The LSN had pushed consultants and conference organizers to include victims and disability support issues in panel discussions, and urged that disabled persons and rehabilitation specialists be invited to speak, including Farida Gulamo from Mozambique and Abraham Gebreyesus from Eritrea. During the conference, Ken Rutherford arranged a small press conference with Gebreyesus and Mozambican survivor Luis Wamuce, who posed the question to the government participants: 'What are you doing to help the victims?'

African delegates quoted statistics on landmines and the casualties, but there was little indication that they understood or had much contact with the real people behind the numbers. To put a face on the issue, Rutherford, Wamuce, and Gebreyesus told their stories and pushed for social and economic support of mine victims and their families. Wamuce, a secretary for the Association for Disabled People of Mozambique (ADEMO), urged the OAU 'to adopt and implement victim assistance policies so that landmine survivors can be more easily reintegrated back into society.' The LSN succeeded in having mine victim assistance included in the OAU final declaration and action agenda. In addition, the LSN called for co-ordination of data collection and development of a comprehensive database on assistance for survivors. These recommendations were incorporated in the final OAU conference proceedings. One of the wonderful benefits of arranging for Abraham Gebreyesus to attend the OAU conference was that he was introduced to Lieutenant General D.P. Knobel, who assured him that South Africa could arrange a corneal transplant operation that Abraham had been waiting for since he was 11 years old when a landmine accident caused blindness and the loss of his right hand.<sup>2</sup>

### Diana, Princess of Wales

Perhaps the greatest contribution to the issue of victim assistance came from Diana, Princess of Wales. In January 1997, Diana had visited Angola as a guest of the British Red Cross and HALO Trust, a British NGO working to clear landmines. Photographic images of her walking through minefields and meeting with landmine-disabled persons were beamed around the world. During her visit, she called on her own country to ban landmines.

At the time, the British position was similar to that of the United States—unwilling to give up these weapons and wishing to develop new types of mines. Diana's remarks in the minefields of Angola put her at odds with Britain's Tory government. Many back home criticized her 'political' statements, while most of the world applauded her courage and honesty. Without a doubt, the Princess of Wales, more than any other individual, caused global awareness of the devastation caused by landmines to skyrocket. Her willingness to use her celebrity as a lightning rod for the issue was an invaluable service to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Wherever she went, cameras followed, sending pictures of the Princess in minefields to living rooms throughout the world.

In an effort to encourage the Princess's work on landmines, the LSN and the Mines Advisory Group (MAG), a demining organization, co-hosted a seminar at the Royal Geographical Society in London, entitled 'Responding to Landmines'. Rae McGrath, MAG's founder, had invited the Princess to deliver the keynote address. Kensington Palace agreed, with the understanding that the seminar was geared to address the practical needs of those working or living in minefields, including demining and victim assistance. It was at the Royal Geographical Society on 12 June that the Princess delivered her first major speech on landmines, describing with emotion her reaction to what she saw firsthand in Angola: 'I am not a political figure. I'd like to reiterate now, my intentions are humanitarian. That is why I felt drawn to this human tragedy.'

With the Princess's involvement, the media was hooked. Landmines and the human suffering they caused were now in the headlines. Diana understood her contribution to the cause. She realized better than anyone that the media would closely follow any move she made. Why not take them to mine-infested countries! Thus, by the summer of 1997, it seemed that landmine survivors had found a compassionate spokesperson for their cause and an ally to help alleviate their suffering.

### Bad Honnef Conference

Also in June 1997, members of the German Campaign to Ban Landmines arranged a workshop in Bad Honnef, Germany, to develop guidelines for integrated mine action programs from a development point of view. Again, the focus of Medico International, Jesuit Refugee Service, Misereor, the LSN, and other international organizations was to draft a set of guidelines for people seeking to help mine-affected communities and the growing number of victims. The Bad Honnef guidelines emphasized community and development. Among them were:

- Mine action programs support the reconstruction and development of the community and aim at rebuilding the socio-economic and cultural infrastructure.
- Empowerment and training of the community to carry out all aspects of mine action programs are the ultimate goal.
- Mine-affected people have a right to participate in political and economic decision-making, to shape their own lives, and to have their dignity restored.

### Brussels Conference

Later that same month, a conference in Brussels, Belgium, reviewed the draft treaty and lined up those countries willing to be counted as ban supporters. Just before the opening of the conference, the LSN and other sympathetic NGOs, such as Medico International, Jesuit Refugee Service, and Handicap International, discovered that there was not one word on victim assistance in the first draft of the treaty. It was a devastating discovery. Time was getting short, and a serious push was needed to lobby the government delegates. There were only a dozen survivors present in Brussels, and all 12 prepared a joint statement emphasizing the need to include language on victim assistance: 'We ask you to re-read the current draft of the treaty and consider how it appears to us landmine survivors. There is virtually nothing in it to urge governments to take responsibility for the victims. Yet people are bleeding and dying even as we speak. To this day, the real needs of mine-affected communities are not being addressed. Survivors remain an afterthought. Their numbers grow each day, but without your help they have little hope of ever receiving proper medical attention or rehabilitation.' The reaction from delegates and the International Committee of the Red Cross was positive. Several governments, particularly South Africa, responded by indicating they would not support a treaty without provisions for the survivors.

Although most campaigners were enthusiastic, one of the ICBL steering committee members expressed dismay that the LSN had 'surprised' him with its statement and suggested that, in the future, the LSN would be better advised to consult first with the treaty committee, which had been working for months on the draft. Others in the campaign were also not supportive of adding victim assistance to the mix. The LSN had to identify its allies in the campaign and determine what chance victim assistance had to be included in the treaty. It did not look promising, since the priority for most organizations was simply to achieve a global ban as soon as possible. At the eleventh hour, victim assistance would complicate the negotiations. Furthermore, wealthier 'donor' countries would be wary of any language that would oblige them to put their money in the 'tin cup' of poorer mine-

The LSN decided to turn international law to its advantage by enlisting the services of the Washington-based law firm of Arnold & Porter, who agreed to work *pro bono* to research legal precedents and draw up a memo regarding mine victim assistance proposals that could be included in the treaty. The LSN discussed its initiative with the Canadians, and Axworthy's office offered support by faxing a list of core group contact information so the LSN could approach other countries directly. Again, this independent initiative was not well received by some in the campaign leadership. The LSN was accused of pursuing its own agenda rather than that of the campaign. Nevertheless, we persisted, and throughout the summer, Arnold & Porter's attorneys, led by Anthony O'Donnell, searched for precedents and ways to legitimize the inclusion of victim assistance language in the treaty.

### A VISIT TO BOSNIA

Meanwhile, the LSN was busy planning a secret trip to Bosnia with Diana, Princess of Wales. In late July 1997, the LSN's co-founders visited Kensington Palace to brief the Princess on its mission to survey the rehabilitative needs of Bosnia's landmine victims. Diana had repeatedly offered her help to the LSN and immediately picked up on the idea of survivors helping survivors. She wanted to join us in Bosnia. That summer afternoon, drinking tea in Diana's plush living-room, we started to brainstorm her three-day visit to Bosnia. The Princess's overriding interest was to meet privately with the survivors and their families. She did not want to discuss policy, meet government officials, or detonate another mine, as she had done in Angola. She insisted on direct contact with those who had suffered.

In Bosnia, her impact on the survivors was spectacular. She listened attentively to their gut-wrenching stories, holding their hands and stroking their scarred limbs. She resolved to do more for them in the future. It was to be her last public act of charity. When Diana lost her life in a car accident in Paris on 31 August landmine survivors lost a true and irreplaceable friend and ally.

### OSLO CONFERENCE

Only days after Princess Diana's death, the Oslo conference commenced to negotiate the final treaty draft to be signed in Ottawa in December. The conference chair, Ambassador Jacob Selebi, from South Africa, was seen as a potential ally. He had, however, set a disciplined agenda within the first three days of the conference. With each passing day, it would be increasingly difficult to add new items or proposed language to the table. In Oslo,

Susan Walker of Handicap International was working to build pressure on governments to get victim assistance into the treaty. She took the lead to ensure that the ICBL platform included some of our proposed draft language on victim assistance. The ICRC was also very supportive. Language worked its way into the draft and was ready for debate, though the LSN was not allowed to sit in on any negotiating sessions. Instead, survivors had to lobby the delegates individually between sessions and after hours. We met with the Germans, the Norwegians, the Americans, the Austrians, the ICRC, the ICBL—in fact, with anyone who had time and was willing to speak with us about victim assistance.

Thankfully, Ambassador Selebi was sympathetic to the inclusion of victim assistance on the agenda. With the encouragement of Canadian Foreign Affairs officials Jill Sinclair and Bob Lawson, the LSN had circulated its memo by Arnold & Porter to the core group of countries working on treaty proposals. Even though the draft treaty did not impose on states direct obligations to assist civilian victims, it did require states to ban and destroy landmines because they were recognized as endangering civilian populations. The LSN hoped the inclusion of mine victim assistance language 'would require states to accept certain affirmative duties toward individuals.'

The LSN argued there were substantial reasons to include humanitarian relief in the ban treaty. First, the primary purpose of the treaty is to protect individuals from the type of excessive and unnecessary injury landmines inflict. The inclusion of language relating to victim assistance furthers the purpose of the treaty by protecting individuals from the long-term injuries that landmines cause. In other words, landmine victim assistance programs were necessary to prevent mine victims' permanent inability to function, work, or otherwise participate as productive members of society. Thus, the inclusion of mine victim assistance was necessary for the Convention to provide a complete response by the international community to the dangers posed by landmines.

Second, the inclusion of victim assistance provisions within the Convention is consistent with international humanitarian law. The Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and the 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions constitute the framework within which humanitarian law pertaining to the protection of civilians, combatants, and prisoners of war has developed. Although these provisions primarily restrict what states can do within the context of war, they also require states to accept certain affirmative obligations towards individuals.

Finally, many international instruments refer to assistance or compensation to victims as a humanitarian duty of states. More significantly, a strong argument can be made that states are legally obligated to assist or

compensate mine victims. The use of mines violates two basic principles of international humanitarian law. Landmines scattered over large areas likely to be used by civilians during or after a conflict do not distinguish between military and civilian targets. This violates the principle of discrimination, which holds that weapons must be able to discriminate between civilian and military targets. Landmine injuries also inflict much more severe injuries than other conventional weapons and often result in excessive injury or suffering to civilians. This violates the principle that prohibits attacks that produce 'unnecessary suffering or superfluous injury'. Violations of humanitarian law trigger a duty to compensate or assist victims of those violations. Therefore, the unlawful use of landmines generates a legal obligation to assist mine victims.

In the end, victim assistance made it into the landmine treaty due to the efforts of many people, but full credit must be given to the landmine survivors around the world. In the keynote address at the opening plenary for the Mine Action Forum at the Ottawa conference, the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, stated that one of the lessons to be learned from the Ottawa Process was that international public opinion will not tolerate 'weapons that cause massive civilian casualties'. In other words, the large and growing number of landmine victims caused the ban dream to become reality.

The Ottawa Convention is the first international arms control agreement that addresses the humanitarian needs of the victims of a particular weapon system. On victim assistance, it states in the Preamble that signatory states wish 'to do their utmost in providing assistance for the care and rehabilitation, including the social and economic reintegration of mine victims'. Article 6 of the treaty elaborates on this issue:

3: Each State Party in a position to do so shall provide assistance for the care and rehabilitation, and social and economic reintegration, of mine victims and for mine awareness programs. Such assistance may be provided, *inter alia*, through the United Nations system, international, regional or national organizations or institutions, non-governmental organizations or institutions, the ICRC, national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies and their International Federation, non-governmental organization, or on a bilateral basis.

7: States Parties may request the United Nations, regional organizations, other States Parties or other competent intergovernmental or non-governmental fora to assist its authorities in the elaboration of a national demining program to determine, *inter alia*: . . . assistance to mine victims . . .

By the time of the signing ceremony in Ottawa, there had been a significant change in the role victim assistance played in the campaign. The catch-phrase 'victim assistance' had become one of the three main pillars of the campaign. In Ottawa, there were several panels on the issue, including 'Addressing Psycho-Social Reintegration for Mine Victims'. Mine-disabled persons were now an official and welcome part of the discussion.

Landmine survivors believe they have won a battle, but the war is not over. It's time to give the treaty legs, so to speak. Though the treaty only 'urges' victim assistance, we believe justice demands that more be done for the survivors and their families. New battles on the horizon include how to raise significant funding to support rehabilitation programs and how best to spend money on community-based programs to help survivors heal and recover from trauma.

There are still mixed signals coming from various signatory governments. For example, more than 100 foreign ministries failed to respond to a letter the LSN distributed asking governments to describe their intentions to promote victim assistance. The letter, signed by more than 20 organizations, urged governments 'to commit significant resources to help rehabilitate the growing numbers of mine victims worldwide'. To this end, the LSN issued a challenge to governments: 'For every three dollars pledged for demining, at least one additional dollar should be directed toward rehabilitation and assistance for landmine victims.'

As of mid-1998, fewer than 10 governments had responded to the LSN query on victim assistance programs. Though Canada immediately pledged \$100 million to support mine action, including support for mine victims, there are questions about how the money will be spent and how much will end up helping mine victims. Norway pledged \$100 million over five years to support mine clearance and victim assistance, but some fear that victim assistance could be reduced to a simple donation to the Red Cross and will not address the range of survivors' needs for rehabilitation and social and economic integration. The British government also pledged to give money towards victim assistance and mine clearance. When asked, government officials could not say when or where the support would be given. Though the treaty calls for reporting and tracking progress on mine clearance, there was no mention of creating a similar mechanism for tracking rehabilitation services. The LSN will continue to monitor governments and ask for concrete victim assistance. We plan on developing a report card to evaluate each signatory's true commitment to comprehensive survivor assistance.

## ICBL GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING

The ICBL held a meeting in Frankfurt, Germany, in February 1998 to restructure the Nobel Prize-winning coalition and chart out future strategy and actions. The Landmine Survivors Network and other organizations were added to the steering committee. At the meeting, the LSN pushed for the creation of the first global task force on survivor assistance. Survivors are now heading up this new effort on behalf of the ICBL.

In preparation for the Frankfurt meeting, the LSN drafted a short list of 'victim assistance goals' and solicited feedback from a selection of NGOs interested in working on victim assistance. The key organizations to offer input included Handicap International, Jesuit Refugee Service-Cambodia, Physicians for Human Rights, and the Kenyan Campaign to Ban Landmines. The LSN redrafted its goals and proposed them to the conference. The following goals were adopted by the ICBL:

1. The ICBL will press governments to commit \$3 billion over the next 10 years to support victim assistance, including social and economic reintegration.
2. The ICBL will press governments to support a whole range of landmine victim assistance activities: acute care, supply of prosthetics and wheelchairs, physical therapy, psychosocial support, data-gathering, landmine awareness, social reintegration, land tenure, and legal and employment services.
3. The ICBL and national campaigns will promote sharing of landmine victim information and assistance strategies among members and other groups to effect the best possible rehabilitation outcomes for mine victims.
4. The ICBL will promote and involve landmine victims and landmine-infested communities in the planning and implementation of mine assistance programs.

Victim assistance is now an established pillar of the ICBL. The treaty language, coupled with the goals established by the ICBL in Frankfurt, mean we have much work to do to ensure that survivors and their families receive the attention, care, and compassion they deserve.

## CONCLUSION

Landmine survivors worldwide commend Canada for its leadership to make our dream for a treaty become reality. We also commend our allies in the ICBL and Red Cross who have helped to move this issue so far and fast. Unlike most organizations, the LSN does not want its constituency to grow

in size. To the contrary, we long for the day when there are no more landmine casualties and no man, woman, or child will experience that terrible pain of losing a limb, eyesight, or life to this inhumane weapon. For the present, we want to see increased resources dedicated to rehabilitate the thousands of innocent and often impoverished mine victims around the world. It won't be easy, as the world's attention focuses elsewhere and the media spotlight turns to new issues.

The challenges for effective victim assistance include: lack of reliable data, and information-gathering exercises that leave most survivors empty-handed; limited information-sharing and collaboration among service providers and local disability groups; and too much attention focused on 'limbs only' (prosthetics) relative to the attention paid to the psychosocial impact of landmine injury and the survivors' needs for social and economic integration.

For the hundreds of thousands of landmine disabled, healing will begin when the weapon that disfigured our bodies and took away the innocence of daily life is banned and proper rehabilitation services become available worldwide. Our scars bear witness to the cruelty and inhumanity of anti-personnel mines. But survivors worldwide believe this weapon can be stopped and that it is within the international community's grasp to help turn victims into survivors who rightfully take their place as valued members of their communities. No one can make the journey alone. We are joining together to demand action and drawing strength from each other, and from humanitarian organizations, and from the states committed to implementing *all* aspects of the Ottawa Convention. Survivors worldwide will monitor the progress closely.

## NOTES

1. Ken Rutherford's rehabilitation has cost nearly \$400,000 in less than four years; Jerry White's rehabilitation costs come to roughly \$400,000 in the 14 years since his accident.
2. Abraham was examined by a specialist and in August 1997 returned to Johannesburg to undergo surgery. He has regained sight in his right eye and was fitted with a prosthesis on his right arm. The LSN wants to recognize the combined efforts that accomplished this act of healing: the South African Surgeon General, Christian Outreach (a British organization), and the fund-raising efforts (swim- and bike-a-thons) of Rae McGrath (founder of the UK-based Mines Advisory Group) to raise money for the operation. When Abraham arrived in Oslo, Norway, for the September 1997 ban treaty negotiations, the LSN nominated him to receive the 1997 Reebok Human Rights Prize, which he was awarded at a ceremony in New York City in March 1998.

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*Chris Moon lost his leg and an arm while working with a humanitarian mine-clearance team in Africa. His was the ultimate donation. But he keeps giving. In April 1997, Chris ran 150 miles across the African desert to raise \$150,000 to make artificial limbs for amputees in Vietnam. Now Chris wonders what you are prepared to do.*





## **LANDMINE SURVIVORS NETWORK**

### **MISSION**

The first and only international organization created by and for survivors, LSN has a two-pronged mission:

- (1) To link survivors and other amputees in mine-affected countries to a range of rehabilitative services, provide peer counseling and direct assistance, and promote social and economic reintegration.
- (2) To protect future generations from the scourge of landmines by advocating that governments ban and destroy antipersonnel mines and offer relief to wounded populations.

### **BACKGROUND**

LSN was founded by two American landmine survivors and registered in 1997 as a nonprofit 501(c)(3) charitable organization based in Washington, DC. Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan is LSN's international patron. Today, there are tens of millions of landmines buried in over 65 countries. Hundreds of thousands of people around the globe live with shattered limbs and lives, and the number grows each day.

### **OVERSEAS NETWORK DEVELOPMENT**

LSN employs local landmine survivors and amputees as "outreach workers" trained to educate and help others who have experienced limb loss. LSN headquarters provides funding, guidance, training and educational materials for each country network. Effective assistance to mine victims must include an integrated program that takes into account the whole person and their community. Replacing a missing limb with an artificial one is important, but, by itself, a prosthesis is no cure-all. Follow-on care is needed to ensure full recovery. LSN has amputee support networks under development in Bosnia, Jordan, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

#### ***Core activities of each network include:***

- ❑ ***Peer Support for All Amputees:*** LSN arranges hospital and home visits to assess needs, offer psychological and social support, and educate families about the effects of limb loss.
- ❑ ***Survivor Interviews:*** Trained outreach workers help LSN assess living conditions and needs for rehabilitation. Interviews with an empathetic listener have therapeutic and other health benefits.
- ❑ ***Rehabilitation Services Directory:*** LSN identifies government and non-governmental support services available and maintains an up-to-date directory of contact information.
- ❑ ***Referrals:*** LSN performs an important social work role in mine-affected communities, linking and referring individual survivors to existing services.
- ❑ ***Direct Assistance:*** When no help or services are available, LSN intervenes to provide the help and material support needed for recovery.
- ❑ ***Resource Library:*** Educational materials available for use by survivors, their families and medical personnel to address a range of issues related to limb loss and rehabilitation.
- ❑ ***Advocacy:*** LSN works closely with local organizations and governments to protect the rights of all persons with disabilities and promote equal access to services, including education and employment.

### **GLOBAL ADVOCACY**

Since 1995, LSN has played a lead role in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), co-recipient of the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize. LSN serves on the Coordinating Committee of the ICBL and chairs the Working Group on Victim Assistance. The main objectives of LSN advocacy are to increase awareness about the landmine problem and the need for comprehensive victim assistance; encourage governments to sign and implement the Mine Ban Treaty; raise awareness about the needs and rights of mine victims; disseminate information to improve access to services and help amputees and caregivers better understand and cope with limb loss; and promote information sharing among service providers, governments and disability groups.

***For more information, please visit LSN's website: [www.landminesurvivors.org](http://www.landminesurvivors.org)***



## THE FOUNDERS

**Ken Rutherford** and **Jerry White** founded the Landmine Survivors Network (LSN) in September 1995 at the United Nations Review Conference on landmines in Vienna--the first gathering in fifteen years dedicated to strengthening controls on weapons considered "excessively injurious" and to have "indiscriminate effects." It was in Vienna that White and Rutherford recognized the power of the personal testimonies of mine victims from all walks of life. Those who have experienced firsthand the pain caused by landmines are naturally suited to communicate the terrible toll these weapons exact on human life. Excerpts of White and Rutherford's statements before the 1995 U.N. conference are included here.

Since losing his right leg and part of his left foot to a landmine in Somalia, Mr. Rutherford has undergone eleven operations, including recent surgery to amputate his lower left leg.

### **Ken Rutherford**

In December 1993, I was working as a training officer for the International Rescue Committee in Somalia, where my job was to help Somalis apply for loans so they could rebuild their country. My project was funded by U.S.A.I.D. On December 16, as I was inspecting a program site near the border with Ethiopia, my car hit a landmine. I suddenly became something rare for an American--a landmine victim. It was to change my life forever.

After the explosion, I first remember seeing a foot lying on the floorboard of the car. I remember thinking: "Is it mine?" It was. It was my right foot. I remember that I kept trying to put it back on, but it kept falling off. Then I looked at my left foot. The top part was ripped off and I could see bones going to my toes, one of which was missing.

I dragged myself out of the car and called for help on my radio. It seemed like a lifetime before help arrived. While I was waiting, I prayed to God. I was also spitting up blood, so I thought that I might have internal injuries that could be fatal. I asked God that if I lived, I would like to marry Kim, my fiancé of two months, and raise a family. In the evacuation plane from Somalia to Nairobi, a Belgian doctor and an American nurse gave me blood from their bodies to mine.

I am here today because of the resources I had at my disposal. I had a radio to call for help and airplanes to evacuate me. Most landmine victims are not so lucky. The U.N. estimates that the average lifetime care of a landmine victim costs from \$5,000 to \$7,000. My medical costs have already exceeded a quarter of a million dollars.

Mr. White's injury in a minefield in Israel belies the arguments of those who believe the mine problem can be solved by better signs and fences. Mr. White spent five months in a hospital in Tel Aviv, where he underwent five operations and learned to walk with a prosthesis.

### **Jerry White**

I was only four years old when Syrian soldiers, retreating during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, laid Soviet-supplied mines in the Golan Heights. The soldiers no doubt hoped the mines would maim or kill Israeli troops. Instead, my mine waited silently in the ground for nearly seventeen years until it exploded under my foot and blew off my right leg.

I was twenty years old. I had taken time from my university studies in the United States to explore the Middle East. I wasn't a soldier. I was armed with only a backpack and an Arabic and Hebrew dictionary. Two friends and I had decided to explore northern Israel on a hiking trip. We were looking for a place to camp and had no idea that we had entered a minefield. There was no fence and no sign to keep us out. The next morning, on a beautiful spring day, I stepped on a mine. I can still remember the deafening blast and the smell of blood, burnt flesh and metal. Only when my friends rolled me over did they see the extent of my wounds. The explosion had ripped off my right foot, shrapnel had lacerated my skin, and my left leg was open and raw--with a bone sticking out of my calf. We screamed for help but it seemed that no one but God could hear. Either I would bleed to death, or my friends would have to carry me out of the minefield. Luckily we made it out without further loss.

All the talk about fencing and marking minefields is a distraction from the real challenge: to stop the proliferation of landmines. I was injured in a country that takes pride in how well it has fenced and marked its minefields. But even in a small, security-conscious state like Israel, fences break down, signs fade, fall, or are stolen, and mines shift with changes in weather and soil erosion.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



## LANDMINE FACT SHEET

### **Landmine Survivors Network**

Landmine Survivors Network (LSN) is the first international organization created by landmine survivors for landmine survivors. The Network's goal is to facilitate among mine victims the comprehensive rehabilitation they need to become accepted and productive members of their communities. LSN was founded by two American landmine survivors, Ken Rutherford and Jerry White, in order to help the thousands of victims of landmines who live in more than 60 countries now infested with millions of mines. Based in Washington DC and established as a nonprofit international organization in 1997, LSN works to help mine victims and their families recover through an integrated program of peer counseling, sports, and social and economic reintegration. LSN strives to protect future generations from the scourge of landmines.

### **International Campaign to Ban Landmines**

LSN is one of 15 organizations serving on the Steering Committee of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. The ICBL works toward an international ban on the use, production, stockpiling, and sale, transfer, or export of antipersonnel landmines; the signing, ratification, implementation, and monitoring of the mine ban treaty; increased resources for humanitarian demining, mine awareness programs, and survivor assistance. The ICBL represents over 1,100 human rights, demining, humanitarian, children's, veterans', medical, development, arms control, religious, environmental, and women's groups in over 60 countries, who work locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally to ban antipersonnel landmines. In 1997, the ICBL and its coordinator, Jody Williams, received the Nobel Peace Prize.

### **The Mine Ban Treaty**

The Mine Ban Treaty is formally referred to as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Antipersonnel Mines and On Their Destruction. The Treaty is also known as the Ottawa Convention after being signed by over 100 countries in Ottawa, Canada in December 1997. The Treaty was ratified in September 1997 after the required 40 ratifications were reached, faster than any treaty in history. On March 1, 1999 the Treaty becomes binding international law for the first 40 ratifiers. Entry into force will occur for others six months after their individual dates of ratification. The Treaty requires destruction of stockpiled mines in four years, and destruction of mines already in the ground within ten years. The Treaty's provisions for providing assistance to landmine victims and increasing mine awareness also take effect. As of February 25, 1999, there are 134 signatories to the treaty and 65 ratifications.

## Landmines

There are two categories of landmines: antipersonnel (AP) and antitank or anti-vehicle (AT): An **anti-personnel (AP) landmine** is, "A mine designed to be exploded by the presence, proximity or contact of a person and that will incapacitate, injure or kill one or more persons." (Mine Ban Treaty definition). An **anti-tank (AT) landmine** is a device designed to detonate by more than 100 kilograms of pressure. AT mines cannot distinguish between a tank and tractor.

There are different types of AP mines according to the types of injuries they inflict: **Blast mines** are usually hand-laid on or under the ground or scattered from the air. The explosive force of the mine causes foot, leg, and groin injuries and secondary infections usually result in amputation. **Fragmentation mines** are usually laid on or under the ground and are activated by tripwire or other means. When detonated the explosion projects hundreds of fragments at ballistic speed of up to 50 meters resulting in fragmentation wounds. Some fragmentation mines lift above the ground (about 1 to 1.5 meters) before detonating, resulting in upper body injuries or even decapitation.

## Number of Mines

Over 400 million landmines have been deployed since the beginning of World War Two - of which 65 million have been laid in the past 15 years. Between 80-119 million lie in wait in approximately 70 countries and a further 100 million are stockpiled ready for use. Each year between 5 and 10 million new mines are produced. The average cost per landmine is between US\$3.00 and \$30.00.

## Mine Clearance

Humanitarian deminers use a toolbox of devices to clear mines: a sensitive metal detector to detect mines with metallic content, vegetation cutters to clear the terrain, a metal prodder to hand probe the ground every square inch, and sometimes dogs to locate the scent of the mines explosive. It is dangerous, time-consuming and costly work. Sometimes heavy equipment, such as flails and rollers are used to limited success. Demining technology has not caught up with the advances in mine manufacturing technology but a number of processes are now being developed, including the use of ground penetrating radar and passive infrared detection. Such methods may still be many years away from reliable application in the rice paddies of Cambodia, mountains of Afghanistan and dense vegetation of Mozambique. The main question is whether high-tech solutions will ultimately be cheap and accessible to help those who truly need it: the rural poor of the world's developing countries.

## Mine Victims

There are over 300,000 landmine survivors world-wide. Every 20 minutes, someone is killed or maimed by a landmine. Landmines continue to claim over 500 victims a week, 26,000 people a year. Three-dollar antipersonnel landmines have killed more people than all the Cold War weapons of mass destruction combined. In Cambodia alone, some 40,000 people, or one person in 250, have lost limbs to mines. Landmines killed no fewer than 85 UN Peacekeepers in Bosnia. There were 33 US landmine casualties in the Gulf War, and 64,000 US landmine casualties during the Vietnam and Korean wars.

# **Bill of Rights for Landmine Survivors**

**Presented by Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan**

*Amman, July 11, 1998*

*Consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;*

*Based on the collective wisdom of world religions;*

*In conformance with U.N. Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities;*

*Recognizing that hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children injured by mines urgently need care and support to resume productive lives;*

*Believing that landmine survivors should share the same rights and protections that should be enjoyed by all persons, Landmine Survivors Network advocates:*

1. The right to select qualified health practitioners, voice concerns about quality of care, and seek redress if services or products do not meet high-quality standards.
2. The right to comprehensive rehabilitation and access to reliable information on the physical, psychological, social, and economic aspects of recovery.
3. The right of families of mine victims to necessary relief and support services.
4. The right to employment commensurate with capabilities and qualifications.
5. The right to obtain such aids, equipment and materials that assist in education, training, movement, and transportation.
6. The right to an environment that allows freedom of movement and transportation in a safe and secure manner.
7. The right to education commensurate with ability.
8. The right of survivors to participate freely and equally in their societies.
9. The right to peer support, recreation and vocational resources to promote social and economic integration.
10. The right of survivors to participate fully in all decisions concerning their health and well-being.



LANDMINE  
SURVIVORS  
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