

ACTION ON COLOMBIA

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Forging Ties with People in "one of the most violent cities in the Western Hemisphere"

Editor's Note: In September, CSN and both sides are in the process of chapter coordinators Dan Kovalik formalizing their plans. During



Dan met these displaced people as they arrived by canoe at the Cimitarra River Valley peace community.

their trip, the men were hosted by the Program for Peace and Development in the Magdalena Medio (PDPMM), with which CSN is closely connected. Their host was German Plata of the PDPMM. The article below contains excerpts from both Dan and Rolando's accounts of their brief trip.

(Pittsburgh) and Rolando de Aguiar (Philadelphia) made a short trip to Barrancabermeja, Colombia. Dan, who is a lawyer for the United Steelworkers of America, wanted to propose a project to Colombian unionists under fire: a worker's center monitored from violence by international observers. Colombian unionists responded positively to Dan's plan

Rolando: Barrancabermeja is Philadelphia's sister community, a city of 250,000, where a person has been assassinated every 17 hours so far this year. Barranca is the center of the Colombian oil industry and the birthplace of Colombia's trade union movement, and one of the most violent

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International Red Cross Pulls Out of Colombian War Zones

The international Red Cross is known throughout the world as a humanitarian organization that tends to victims of disease, malnutrition, natural disaster and violence. Members of the Red Cross brave countless perils to be able to carry their mission to people in some of the most dangerous areas of the world.

It is not surprising, then, that the International Committee of the Red Cross has a substantial

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CSN in Action!
A Look At Some of Our Recent
Urgent Actions

Urgent Actions are CSN responses to requests for help made by Colombian NGOs. We send descriptions of events through e-mail to an Urgent Action list of CSN members, who then write letters to political figures. To subscribe to the list, contact CSN.

***Embera Katio-** On September 16, 21 members of the Embera Katio indigenous group were abducted by members of the AUC paramilitary. CSN joined other human rights groups in the U.S., Canada and Colombia in demanding their safe return. On October 16, **all hostages were safely released.**

***U'wa-** On October 2, the Occidental Petroleum Corporation made efforts to move drilling equipment onto ancestral lands that are legally owned by the U'wa people, who vehemently oppose the drilling. On October 6, CSN participated in an "International Day of Solidarity with the U'wa," launched by the Rainforest Action Network. The action included a public protest by members of the Madison office and a letter-writing campaign. The Occidental Corporation has not yet begun drilling.

***SOS Barrancabermeja-** As highlighted in this issue, Barrancabermeja is a region that suffers the brunt of violence in Colombia. In September, CSN launched an action highlighting the pattern of violence in Barranca and asking members to urge Colombian and U.S. officials to recognize Barranca as a city and region of peace and to respect the basic human rights of all its residents.

***San Jose de Apartado-** In early September, CSN launched an action asking that the Colombian government extend basic protections to residents of La Union, part of the San Jose de Apartado Peace Community. The residents, under attack by paramilitaries, were denied the protection of the Colombian state. On September 29, CSN reported that paramilitaries had erected checkpoints on the road to the Peace Community and were "disappearing" those who entered the community. **CSN staffers called General Vargas of the 17th Brigade**, whose troops are stationed in the area. He denied that anything other than normal military activity is taking place in San Jose.



Red Cross, continued from page 1

presence in war-torn Colombia. Until recently, Red Cross workers fulfilled their pledge to help all victims of violence by tending to paramilitary, military, and guerrilla combatants as well as civilian non-combatants caught in the crossfire of war zones. The ICRC was able to carry out this mission because it had secured promises of safety from representatives of all the major armed actors.

This all changed after October 2, when FARC guerrillas pulled a wounded paramilitary combatant from a Red Cross ambulance and shot him to death. This attack was in retaliation for a similar incident on September 22, when AUC paramilitaries dragged a guerrilla combatant out of an ambulance and shot her.

As a result, the ICRC in Geneva released a statement that they would no longer allow Red Cross workers to treat combatants in war zones. The statement indicated that the safety of Red Cross workers was in jeopardy and that their work had been rendered impossible by the violence. The ICRC stated that Red Cross workers would refrain from attending to combatants until "reliable guarantees can be obtained from the parties in conflict."

"The ICRC exhorts all parties involved in the conflict to implement humanitarian law. These laws demand abstention from attacking those who do not play an active role in the hostilities and to respect the Red Cross emblem and the individuals participating in humanitarian work in favor of the victims of the conflict," read the Geneva statement.

We at Colombia Support Network are shocked (but not surprised) that the situation in Colombia has become so dangerous and out of control that even respected international NGOs do not feel safe to carry on humanitarian work. The existing violence in Colombia is being exacerbated by promises of an escalation of the war. We fear that the nearly \$1 billion of U.S. helicopters, machine guns and bombs are not going to make the Red Cross or any other humanitarian organization in Colombia feel more secure. It will only fuel the flames of an already horrendous situation.

A child at the San Jose de Apartado Peace Community stands amidst peace symbols. This community is threatened with constant violence.

IN BRIEF

Who's New?

Kate McCoy, the new full-time Assistant for Program, comes to Madison from St. Louis, where she was involved with the Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America.

Kara Sparks, our part-time administrative assistant, is pursuing a degree in anthropology at the University of Wisconsin.

Many thanks to

Jacqueline Downing, Johanna Stirling, and Beatriz Vejarano, who contributed greatly to CSN during their summer internships. They worked on the environmental conference and program development.

In Brief

Catch her if you can...

As usual, Cecilia has been busy spreading the word about the violence in Colombia and what individuals and groups can do to help. Here's a glimpse of where she's been:

*** September 22-23** in Chicago for the International Tribunal of Opinion.

Also present were Rosita Balch (CSN-Minneapolis), who brought Mark Anderson, advisor to Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN) and Daniel de la Pava (CSN-Chicago), as well as several CSN board members and staffers.

*** September 24-25** Washington DC for the SOA Watch advisory council meeting to plan the November protest at the School of the Americas.

***October 12-13** in Detroit and Ann Arbor, MI to speak at an awards ceremony in honor of Rep. Lynn Rivers (D-MI), who consistently voted against Plan Colombia. Cecilia also met with coordinators of the new MI chapters.

***October 16-18** in St. Louis for "Where's the Debate?" Demonstration outside the final Bush-Gore debate. Although ignored by the mainstream press, the protest highlighted issues not covered by either of the major party candidates, such as the effects of globalization, corporate control of the media, and the feebleness of our current democracy. Cecilia was invited by CSN-St. Louis to participate in a teach-in and give a speech on the connection between globalization and Plan Colombia.

***October 29-30** in Grand Rapids, MI for a forum at Grand Valley State Univ.

***November 2-5** in Milwaukee, WI for the Call to Action Annual Conference. Cecilia will be one of several panelists at this national meeting.

***November 12-16** in Madison/Dane County, WI to present Luis Eduardo Guerra to local organizations. Luis Eduardo will speak about his experiences as part of the San Jose de Apartado Peace Community.

***November 17-19** in Fort Benning, GA for the School of the Americas protest. Cecilia will be at the CSN table to answer questions and support SOA Watch.

Close it down!

From November 17-19, staff from the CSN office will be at the School of the Americas protest in Fort Benning, GA. CSN will have a table at the event and will host a speaker from the San Jose de Apartado Peace Community, the sister community to Madison.

The speaker, Luis Eduardo Guerra, is a leader in his community. He will speak in Chicago from Nov. 10-11 and in the Madison area from Nov. 13-16.

Please join us in protesting the School of Assassins and stop by the CSN table. Protest materials will be available. We will also be circulating petitions and distributing membership information.

JOIN US!

There are two CSN delegations planned for this winter: a general fact-finding trip from January 20-28 and a delegation to the CSN sister communities from February 3-11. Spaces on both are limited. For more information, please contact the national office.

WICOLA/CSN Treasurer's Report

October 2000

Your generosity to date is most appreciated.

Your contributions have made it possible for CSN to provide the work environment and staff to develop and encourage local CSN chapters in the U.S., educate increasing numbers of people on issues concerning peace and justice in Colombia, participate in conferences and tribunals, react and respond to events in Colombia and in Washington, publish a newsletter, expand our website, answer and send e-mail and snail mail, to make and respond to phone and fax inquiries and messages.

This has all been possible through your many individual membership donations. There have been larger grants from foundations (Levinson, Funding Exchange, Franciscan sisters of Rochester, MN and Tiffin, OH). There have been three substantial individual donations, including two in stock.

A number of year 2000 goals have been accomplished....

1. For the first time, our director has been paid her full salary and fringe every month.
2. A full-time Asst. for Program is at last on board.
3. There is now health insurance for both full-time staff members.
4. We have been able to attract excellent part-time office help and volunteers for specific tasks.
5. Office upgrades: a new computer (iMac), printer, scanner, fax machine, comfortable/adjustable computer chairs, telephones, a large work table, and a portable Apple for the director. A good copier was donated.
6. Additional space is being rented in the adjoining office so that the director will have a quieter place to work.

This is the very good news. The other news is that for CSN to move faster and do more things better, operation costs have been increased. We now are spending close to \$10,000 each month to react, respond, educate, and at the same time visiting and encouraging an increasing number of local chapters to multiply the efforts of the Madison office.

What you can do: All of this is made possible and may continue only through your ongoing support and participation. You can also help by letting us know about possible foundations and major donor support.

-John Hickman, Treasurer

International Tribunal Battles Impunity

Editor's Note: This article refers to the International Tribunal of Opinion which CSN co-sponsored this Fall. The Tribunal was convened by the Northwestern University International Center for Human Rights and led by its director Douglass Cassel. Public hearings took place in Chicago on September 22-23. "Impunity" means acting without fear of punishment and refers to the Colombian government's pattern of ignoring the actions of human rights offenders.

"Witness 3" and her children and grandchildren were nervous as they started heating food on their stove around 6 a.m. the morning of Dec. 13, 1998. Planes and helicopters had been circling around their small village, Santo Domingo, in the northeastern Arauca region of Colombia for most of the previous day.

The helicopters were battling with the FARC guerrillas in the brush about half a mile from the village, shooting machine guns at them as they swooped low.

Around 10 a.m. she went to put more wood on the stove, when everything went black. Seconds later her children and grandchildren were screaming and bleeding. Her two daughters, ages 5 and 7, were dead. Her son and grandson died soon after. "He was saying 'Help me, Mom, help me,'" the middle-aged woman, who did not want to reveal her name, told an international human rights tribunal.

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The Tribunal in session

PHOTO BY TOM KELLY

areas in the Western hemisphere.

The May 1998 massacre of over 30 people was one of Colombia's most notorious acts of violence in recent years, prompting an international tribunal in Toronto. An article in the September Harper's quotes a source who indicates that paramilitaries plan a 100-person massacre there before the end of 2000.

Dan: *Barranca is also home to the oil union, the USO, the oldest and most powerful of Colombia's trade unions with a radical and militant tradition. In this city which generates so much wealth [much of which is not reinvested in Colombia], seventy percent of the population lives beneath Colombia's poverty line. All of this has made Barranca a center of Colombia's class conflict and of the civil war which has arisen out of this class conflict.*

Rolando: With these conditions in mind, Dan Kovalik of CSN-Pittsburgh asked me to accompany him on a short trip to Barranca, September 15-19. The trip gave me an obvious opportunity to finally visit our sister community, and to meet face to face with community leaders in Barranca.

Meetings in Barranca

Rolando: We met with a diverse group of community organizations in Barranca. In each of these meetings, the community organizers we met with expressed their wishes for a "physical presence" of Americans in Barranca. They felt that violent actors in Barranca would be much more reluctant to murder people like them if Americans were watching. I asked German how many Americans were in the city during our visit.

He estimated ten (Dan, myself, and eight engineers at ECOPETROL, an international oil company). In an effort to discover more about Northern (Western) presence in Barranca, we asked the experts--Peace Brigades International, which maintains about 10 volunteers in Barranca. PBI does accompaniment of ASFADDES [Association of Families and Friends of the Disappeared and

Detained], CREDHOS (Regional Human Rights Committee) and OFP (a poor women's organization). At the moment, none of its volunteers are Americans.

Trade Unions Under Fire

Dan: We also met with trade union activists from both the CUT (Colombia's largest trade union federation) and the USO. One of the USO representatives, Ramon Rangel Guerra, who works for the Human Rights Commission of that union, was threatened with assassination by paramilitaries in May of this year. The threat came in the way of AUC [paramilitary] graffiti in Barranca. CSN affiliates in the U.S. quickly responded to this threat by sending letters to U.S. and Colombian officials pleading for the protection of his life. Possibly, it is such a response which has helped to prevent the worst from happening to Señor Rangel.

Again, as with the other groups, the trade unionists from the CUT and the USO were quick

to point out how much a civilian presence from the U.S., particularly from U.S. trade unions, could help to save Colombians from political violence.

The trade unionists in



This soccer field was the site of the 1998 massacre. It faces the ASFADDES office.

Colombia in general, and in the region in particular are major targets of the paramilitaries. According to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, over 2,500 trade unionists in Colombia have been murdered since 1987, making Colombia the most dangerous country in the world for labor leaders. Many more trade unionists were kidnapped, tortured and threatened during this same period. This violence continues unabated. A number of assassinations and disappearances have already been reported this year.

Pittsburgh's Sister Community

Dan: One day, we ventured outside Barranca into Pittsburgh's sister city of the Cimitarra River Valley. The trip there required passage through both a military and a guerilla checkpoint. This community is a declared peace community.

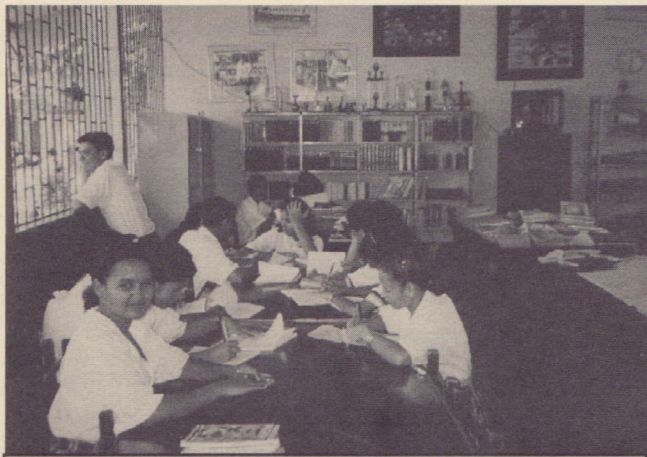
It is also one that is constantly under attack by the para-

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militaries. For example, on Sept. 1, 2000, paramilitaries attacked a local leader. On Sept. 8, paramilitary troops entered the area and assassinated five residents. Then, on Sept. 16, paramilitaries killed two others in the area. Yet, this poor community under attack is managing to survive. While residents are prevented by a paramilitary blockade from leaving the area to go into the city to buy food and supplies, they have their own farming project by which they grow staple foods for subsistence.

Fe y Alegría

Rolando: Unlike other CSN sister community relationships, the Philly-Barranca link is one between two sizable cities. There is not a central person or organizing force in Barranca with which CSN Philadelphia can maintain contact. Therefore, we are attempting to create direct links



School children in Barranca

between community organizations in Barranca and in Philadelphia.

During German's visit to Philadelphia in May, we introduced him to the Gesu School in North Philadelphia, the poorest part of the city. It is a private Catholic school with over 98% African-American students. Rev. George Bur, S.J., the school's

president, was very excited about the possibility of a sister school relationship between Gesu and a Colombian school.

In Barranca, German found the perfect counterpart to Gesu; the Fe y Alegría (Faith and Joy) school. The students at Fe y Alegría are the same age as Gesu's and the teachers are wonderfully excited and motivated. We brought art from the Gesu School to Fe y Alegría, and a kind letter from Fr. Bur to the students of the school. In the coming weeks and months, we hope to start a dialogue, language barrier permitting, between the teachers and the students of the two schools. (See letter->)

Further Work

Rolando: During the next few months, we in Philadelphia have a lot of work to do. We need to maintain close contact with the organizations we met in Colombia. We can see that the people on the ground fear daily for their safety. But we also see people who help community organizations survive in a climate of terror. It's our responsibility to help them in these efforts.

All photos by Dan Kovalik

Barrancabermeja

October 2000

Friends at Gesu School:

Friendly greetings, full of caring for each and every one of you. We wanted to tell you that we are excited about the visit of Rolando de Aguiar and his friend. We spoke of your school, of the children, and of your interest in knowing us and becoming friends. We want to share this happiness with you and we hope that we can continue our correspondence.

The photos, pictures, cards and letters were very pretty. They meant a lot to us, and we have put them on display in the bulletin board of the school, so that everyone can know about our new friends.

Our home (Barranca) is very hot (95-105 °F) but also very pretty and with happy people who love life, who believe and confide in a God of life and love, so that every day is a beautiful gift to be enjoyed.

Our neighborhood is one with many social, economic and political problems. Fe y Alegría is in Comuna #7, but this is not an obstacle to fighting to live as a community. In this school we live as if we are a big family, which is very close, accepting and loving.

Children between 5 and 15 years old come to the school, wanting to make friends, to play, to have fun and to learn.

There is a team of 14 teachers and a Jesuit priest, Father Jose Fernando Posada. We are all very happy at school, and we want to continue writing and exchanging our experience of work, of life and of discovering God every day.

With love,
Fe y Alegría Teacher's Group
Barrancabermeja

Our Voices

Clinton Waives Human Rights Requirements on U.S. Aid to Colombia

Just days before his August 30 trip to Cartagena, President Clinton waived the human rights stipulations that Congress had approved as part of the \$1.3 billion in (mostly military) aid to Colombia. Below is part of the statement that CSN released in response to the waiver.

"Although Colombia Support Network has opposed Plan Colombia, we recognize that the criteria [of compliance with human rights] were a sincere effort by many in Congress to monitor the human rights situation in Colombia.

While the State Department quite properly found that the Colombian government and its military had not made sufficient progress on all but one of the criteria to permit certification of compliance, President Clinton decided to waive the requirement of compliance on national security grounds.

This action will almost certainly convince the Colombian government, and particularly Colombian military officers, that compliance with human rights is not important and certainly not necessary for

them to receive massive military aid.

We pledge to demonstrate to Congress and the President how the funds [of Plan Colombia] are used on a local basis, and with what results, for our sister

By signing a waiver of all human rights stipulations to Plan Colombia, President Clinton seemed to trust the Colombian Army (and Claudia Schiffer) that the armed forces are indeed a "model of virtues."



communities. We welcome those who wish to work with us for a lasting peace with justice in Colombia, and to oppose militaristic solutions that will mean more killings, displacement, and suffering for all kinds of Colombians."

Senator Wellstone Supports International Tribunal

On October 3, Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN) sent an open letter to Judge Seymour Simon, the justice who is presiding over the International Tribunal of Opinion in Chicago (see "International Tribunal Battles Impunity", page 2). In the letter, Sen. Wellstone thanked the justice for his participation in the Tribunal and praised the proceedings, calling them "an important forum for those who suffered the loss of family members and loved ones to have their stories heard by the wider world." The Senator also referred to the Tribunal as "an important contribution to the struggle for accountability in Colombia" and expressed concerns that the \$1.3 billion "Plan Colombia" aid package would further encourage impunity for human rights abusers.

Witness at Earlier Tribunal Assassinated

On July 11, Elizabeth (Betty) Canas Cano was assassinated in Barrancabermeja. Betty had testified at an International Tribunal in Toronto, Canada about her son and brother, both of whom were disappeared during a 1998 massacre in Barranca. Betty was shot dead by unknown assassins while leaving the hospital where she worked as a nurse.

Tribunal

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In all, 19 people including seven children were killed that morning in Santo Domingo. At least 25 more were seriously injured.

"Witness 2" (a girl 16 years old at the time) dressed in white and sat on the road so that the soldiers in the helicopters could clearly see they were civilians, not guerrillas. Around 10 a.m. she saw a helicopter dropping what appeared to be rolls of paper with smoke coming out. Then everything became dark. When she tried to run, she realized she [was hit by shrapnel and] couldn't move her shoulder. "I could hear my friends screaming all around me...They were desperate."

The witnesses and other residents of Santo Domingo say they have no doubt the attack on their town came from Colombian military helicopters dropping bombs. But the Colombian government maintains that the town was decimated by a powerful homemade car bomb placed in an abandoned truck by guerrillas with the FARC.

The tribunal aims to determine whether the government was in fact responsible for the massacre and whether they violated five international human rights treaties in the process. While it is not judicially binding in any way, human rights workers hope the publicity the tribunal garners will show the Colombian government that its practices of brutality and impunity are not going unnoticed.

The Republic of Colombia was represented at the tribunal by two Chicago attorneys, since the Colombian government refused to send a representative. They did send a sensational government-produced video called "La Gran Verdad en Santo Domingo" ("The Great Truth in Santo Domingo"). The video features B-horror movie-style music and footage of actors dressed as guerrillas negotiating a transfer of 1,300 kilos

of cocaine, as an English voice-over describes the government's efforts to "keep the dangerous drugs from reaching the U.S."

The tribunal prosecutor, Chicago attorney David Stahl, called on activist and founder of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Barry Romo, to show that the shrapnel fragments and other ballistic evidence found at the scene would be inconsistent with a truck bomb. Romo also testified that at least some of the munitions are of U.S. origin. Romo's testimony is backed up by the FBI itself, which issued a report in May confirming that specimens recovered after the massacre came from "a United States designed AN-M41 fragmentation bomb and fuse."

The tribunal will review evidence until mid-October, and a verdict will be announced in early December. It is part of a growing movement of international tribunals for crimes which aren't being brought to justice in their own countries. There have been three other international tribunals regarding Colombian atrocities in the past few years - two in Canada and one in the Colombian town of Barranca.

"The massacre in Santo Domingo is one among thousands of serious crimes committed in Colombia every year," said Javier Giraldo, a Jesuit priest who headed the Commission on Peace and Justice for the Religious Commission of Colombia for 10 years. "One of the most profound problems we encounter is impunity. International tribunals like this are necessary because even if they don't affect the judiciary, they bring injustice to light in the international community. It shows the government and the paramilitaries that in other parts of the world there are people watching." *Originally published in "In These Times" as "The Great Truth of Santo Domingo" by Kari Lydersen. Published with the author's permission. To view the full article, see our web page.*

Here are some suggestions for CSN chapters that want to support and promote the Campaign for Justice in Colombia.

*** Ask local organization in your area to endorse the Tribunal.** We need as many endorsing organizations as possible to make a big impact in December when the judgement and recommendations will be announced.

*** Get a letter from your US Senator or Representative supporting the Tribunal.**

*** Come to Chicago on December 6-7** for the event to announce the judgement and recommendations of the Tribunal.

*** Participate in the Tribunal delegation** going to Arauca, Colombia, during the week of December 10-15, for the second anniversary of the Santo Domingo massacre.

*** Widely distribute the Tribunal information** posted at www.colombiasupport.net/tribunal

*** Organize a vigil** or some public event in your city on December 13th to commemorate the second anniversary of the Santo Domingo massacre

*** Send letters of support** and friendship to the people of Santo Domingo and support the Arauca regional social movement.

*** Organize local educational events** about the Tribunal on the case of Santo Domingo.

***Contact CSN Chicago** or our national office in Madison for more information and to get educational packages.

-Daniel de la Pava, CSN-Chicago

INTERESTED IN BECOMING AN ACTIVE CSN MEMBER? CONTACT A CSN REPRESENTATIVE IN YOUR AREA!

*CHAPTERS-IN-FORMATION NOT LISTED HERE. PLEASE CONTACT THE CSN OFFICE TO LEARN OF CHAPTERS-IN-PROGRESS NEAR YOU!

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environmental conference

We are currently seeking more donors to help sponsor our environmental conference, which will take place at Edgewood College (Madison) from March 30-April 2, 2001. The conference will focus on the environmental impact of crop fumigations in Colombia.

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See us on the Web at
www.colombiasupport.net
or email **csn@igc.org**

New Items Available

T-SHIRTS with CSN's new logo, pictured above. XL \$15.

The Palace of Justice, by Ana Carrigan. A beautifully crafted book which unveils the truth about who makes decisions in Colombia and in whose interests. \$15 each.

**CSN: 608-257-8753 phone
608-255-6621 fax**

We would like to thank our anonymous donor and other generous individuals who do not want their names printed here.

Many thanks to our network of volunteer translators, who make our urgent actions possible.

These generous individuals donate their time and energy so that you can help make a difference!

**WANTED-ASAP:
Grantwriter/fundraiser to work on commission. Please contact CSN if interested or if you know someone who might be.**

The Colombia Support Network "Action on Colombia"

Editors

Kate McCoy
John Hickman

Special Thanks to the Contributions of



Rolando de Aguiar
Dan Kovalik
John Hickman
Kari Lydersen
Daniel de la Pava

The Colombia Support Network is a national peace and justice network of groups and individuals working to promote respect for human rights in Colombia and a just relationship between the United States and Colombia through grassroots activism. CSN supports a nonviolent, negotiated resolution to the conflict in Colombia.

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☐ I would like to become a member of CSN

WICOLA/CSN membership donation \$_____ (\$25 regular, \$15 low income)

☐ I am sending a donation of \$_____

☐ Send items: _____ @ \$_____ each and _____ @ \$_____ each. Total: _____

☐ Check enclosed ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA

Account number _____

Expiration date _____ Name _____

I am interested in volunteering:

- ___ starting a CSN chapter in my city
- ___ going on a delegation to Colombia
- ___ translating / interpreting
- ___ setting up a talk at my school, group, or church
- ___ participating in CSN working groups

Name (please print) _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone/Fax _____

E-mail _____

**Please make checks payable in \$ US to
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