

**Subject:** OMNI NEWSLETTER: SPECIAL No. on IRAQ  
**From:** Dick Bennett <[jbennet@uark.edu](mailto:jbennet@uark.edu)>  
**Date:** Thu, 26 Apr 2007 13:26:29 -0500  
**To:** OMNINEWS@LISTSERV.UARK.EDU

## OMNI NEWSLETTER, SPECIAL NUMBER ON IRAQ APRIL 26, 2007, BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE Dick Bennett Editor

### MOYERS ON MAINSTREAM MEDIA COLLUSION WITH THE BUSH ADMIN. TO INVADE IRAQ

Bill Moyers Journal: "Buying The War" examines how the media helped Bush make the case for war in the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq. Wednesday, April 25 2007 PBS

If you missed this great documentary (that performs what PBS was meant to be when it was founded), purchase it and invite others who have not seen it to watch it with you. Google: "Buying the War". Or phone AETN 1-800-662-2386, or email: [info@aetn.org](mailto:info@aetn.org) If you saw the film, call or write AETN to tell them that's the kind of program you want to see more often.

### MAY 3 MEETING TO END IRAQ WAR

Bring popular pressure on 'international community' diplomacy.

**From:** [Ricken Patel - CeasefireCampaign/Avaaz.org](http://RickenPatel-CeasefireCampaign/Avaaz.org)

**To:** [rsayigh@cyberia.net.lb](mailto:rsayigh@cyberia.net.lb)

**Sent:** Wednesday, April 25, 2007 10:44 AM

**Subject:** Iraq is Dying

Dear friends,

The nightmare in Iraq worsens daily. It's make-or-break time -- but next Thursday in Egypt, we could start to turn the tide. Because **on May 3rd -- for the first time ever - top US and Iraqi leaders will meet with Iran and Syria** plus international powers. They can agree on negotiations to end the war -- or escalate their bloody conflict.

Iraq: It Ends on May 3rd **Avaaz is launching a major advertising and text-message campaign inside Iraq this week to bring Iraqi voices to this decisive meeting.** As citizens around the world, **let's join our voices with theirs** to end this war -- sign the petition calling for negotiations and a withdrawal of US troops here:

[http://www.avaaz.org/en/iraq\\_new\\_plan/](http://www.avaaz.org/en/iraq_new_plan/)

To make sure we're heard, **we'll hand-deliver our petition to the leaders' conference in Sharm El-Sheikh on May 3rd**, and project Iraqi text-messages on to a huge wall near the US Capitol building in Washington.

Thousands of Iraqi Avaaz members have supported our N.E.W. plan -- for all-party "Negotiations", "Empowering" international mediators and the responsible "Withdrawal" of US troops. **Please read the personal email below from Khalid, an Iraqi Avaaz member.** Khalid and our other Iraqi members need a show of global support from the rest of us. The campaign is already supported by over 75,000 people as well as key international experts -- let's gather a massive, united voice of Iraqis and citizens round the world to tell our leaders to do the right thing in Iraq:

[http://www.avaaz.org/en/iraq\\_new\\_plan/](http://www.avaaz.org/en/iraq_new_plan/)

With hundreds of thousands dead and 4 million made refugees, just criticising the US government for this catastrophe is not enough. It's now the responsibility of all of us to help save Iraq, and the only solution is a political solution.

Khalid Jarrar and his mother Faiza Jarrar have been wonderful supporters of Avaaz in Iraq. We asked Khalid to write a message to Avaaz members, here's what he emailed us yesterday:

*Dear AVAAZ,*

*I want to introduce myself, and tell you a story, but i don't know how to start, and where to stop.*

*My name is Khalid, i am an environmental engineering student and i am 24, but this is the least important to know about me, what's really important for me to tell, and for you to know, is that I am Iraqi, and that I have a deep, deep wound in my soul, that has been bleeding for over four years now.*

*Iraq, my soul, is bleeding. And i had to leave it against my will, because of the incredibly bad security situation that led to me getting kidnapped and my family paying a huge ransom, which made me leave immediately after i was released in fear that i would be kidnapped again. I left Iraq one month before my graduation and had to come to Jordan, which made me lose two years of my university time and life, but even worse, made me lose the company of the Tigris and the Euphrates.*

*I had to travel, leaving Iraq behind me, to live like a refuge, one of a million other refuges, in a country of less than five millions people, that already has its own financial problems without needing our additional burden to add to it. I am an Iraqi refuge in Jordan.*

*Since I left in July 2005, things have exponentially deteriorated in every possible aspect,*

On May 3rd, US, Iraqi, Syrian, and Iranian leaders will meet for the first time to debate Iraq's future. Join thousands of Iraqi Avaaz members sending messages telling these leaders to follow a NEW course: negotiations and the withdrawal of US troops:

[Click Here](#)

## CONG. KUCINICH'S HB 1234

### **A. Kucinich Introduces HR 1234 To Immediately End the U.S. Occupation of Iraq**

Submitted by davidswanson on Thu, 2007-03-01 03:24. [Congress](#)

WASHINGTON, D.C. (Feb. 28) - Congressman Dennis Kucinich (D-OH) introduced HR 1234, a bill to immediately end the United States occupation of Iraq, in the House of Representatives today.

"This is the plan that will get our troops home the fastest. It is workable and achieves the goals of ending the war and enabling our troops to come home," Kucinich said.

HR 1234 is a plan for the United States to use existing money to bring the troops and necessary equipment home and transition to an international security and peacekeeping force.

"I drafted this with expert advice from those involved in international peacekeeping missions, the United Nations and the U.S. military," Kucinich said.

Kucinich first introduced a withdrawal plan from Iraq three years ago when he proposed that the United States hand the United Nations control of Iraq, including its oil resources and contracts for rebuilding.

"I have given more than 140 speeches on the floor of the House of Representatives, speaking out against this war. I have been one of the most active and vocal Members of Congress on this issue," Kucinich said.

Kucinich led the effort to challenge the Administration's war in Iraq in 2002. In advance of the Iraq war resolution in Congress, he organized 126 Democrats, two-thirds of the House Democratic Caucus, to vote against the resolution. He has constantly challenged the Administration's war against Iraq.

Kucinich has been circulating the plan with Members of Congress for two months and recently had it put in legislative form. He will be speaking to Members of Congress to gain support for the bill in the coming weeks and months.

###

TEXT OF BILL: HR 1234 IH 110th CONGRESS 1st Session H. R. 1234  
To end the United States occupation of Iraq immediately.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 28, 2007

Mr. KUCINICH introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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A BILL

To end the United States occupation of Iraq immediately.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### SECTION 1. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) The insurgency in Iraq has been fueled by the United States occupation and the prospect of a long-term presence as indicated by the building of permanent United States military bases.

(2) A United States declaration of an intention to withdraw United States troops and close military bases will help dampen the insurgency which has been inspired to resist colonization and fight aggressors and those who have supported United States policy.

(3) A United States declaration of an intention to withdraw United States troops and close military bases will provide an opening in which parties within Iraq and in the region can set the stage for negotiations toward a peaceful settlement in Iraq.

(4) The cost of withdrawing United States troops from Iraq could be as low as \$10 billion according to the Congressional Budget Office.

(5) A United States shift in policy away from unilateralism and toward cooperation will provide new opportunities for exploring

common concerns about the situation in Iraq.

(6) The United Nations is best equipped to build a political consensus in Iraq through the crafting of a political agreement.

(7) The end of the occupation of Iraq creates a political environment that enables the world community to assist the United States in an orderly transition.

(8) The United Nations is the only international organization with the ability to mobilize and the legitimacy to authorize peacekeeping troops.

(9) The United Nations can implement the basis of an agreement that will end the occupation of Iraq and begin the transition to international peacekeepers.

(10) The United Nations can field an international security and peacekeeping mission, but such a mission cannot take shape unless there is a peace to keep, and that will be dependent upon a political process which reaches agreement between all the Iraqi parties.

(11) Reconstruction activities must be reorganized and closely monitored in Iraq by the Iraqi Government, with the assistance of the international community.

(12) Any attempt to sell Iraqi oil assets during the United States occupation will be a significant stumbling block to peaceful resolution.

(13) There must be fairness in the distribution of oil resources in Iraq.

(14) A reconciliation process that brings people together is the only way to overcome their fears and reconcile their differences.

(15) It is essential to create a minimum of understanding and mutual confidence between the Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds.

(16) The process of reconciliation must begin with a national conference, organized with the assistance of the United Nations and with the participation of parties that can create, participate in, and affect the process of reconciliation, defined as an airing of all grievances and the creation of pathways toward open, transparent talks producing truth and resolution of grievances.

(17) The only sure path toward reconciliation is through the political process.

(18) All factions and all insurgents not associated with al-Qaeda must be brought together in a relentless process which involves Saudis, Turks, Syrians, and Iranians.

(19) Achieving peace requires a process of international truth and reconciliation between the people of the United States and the people of Iraq.

(20) A reparations program to assist Iraqis is essential to enable reconciliation.

## SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States that--

(1) the United States should end the occupation of Iraq immediately, simultaneously with the introduction of a United Nations-led international peacekeeping force pursuant to an agreement with nations within the region and which incorporates the terms and conditions specified in section 1;

(2) the Department of Defense should use readily available existing funds to bring all United States troops and necessary equipment home while a political settlement is being negotiated and preparations are made for a transition to an international security and peacekeeping force;

(3) the Department of Defense should order a simultaneous return of all United States contractors and subcontractors and turn over all contracting work to the Iraqi Government;

(4) the United Nations should be encouraged to prepare an international security and peacekeeping force to be deployed to Iraq, replacing United States troops who then return home;

(5) the United States should provide funding for a United Nations peacekeeping mission, in which 50 percent of the peacekeeping troops should come from nations with large Muslim populations;

(6) the international security force, under United Nations direction, should remain in place until the Iraqi Government is capable of handling its own security;

(7) the Iraqi Government, with assistance from the United Nations, should immediately restart the failed reconstruction program in Iraq and rebuild roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, and other public facilities, houses, and factories with jobs and job training going to local Iraqis;

(8) the Iraqi Government, in an act of political sovereignty, should set aside initiatives to privatize Iraqi oil interests or other national assets and abandon all efforts, whether at the behest of the United States or otherwise, to change Iraqi national law to facilitate privatization;

(9) the Iraqi Government, in an act of political sovereignty, should set forth a plan to stabilize Iraq's cost for food and energy, on par to what the prices were before the United States invasion and occupation;

(10) the Iraqi Government, in an act of political sovereignty, should strive for economic sovereignty for Iraq by working with the world community to restore Iraq's fiscal integrity without structural readjustment measures of the International Monetary Funds or the World Bank;

(11) the United States should initiate a reparations program for the loss of Iraqi lives, physical and emotional injuries, and damage to property, which should include an effort to rescue the tens of thousands of Iraqi orphans from lives of destitution; and

(12) the United States should refrain from any covert operations in Iraq and any attempts to destabilize the Iraqi Government.

### SEC. 3. DISENGAGEMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM IRAQ.

(a) Withdrawal of Armed Forces- Not later than the end of the 3-month period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, all United States Armed Forces serving in Iraq shall be completely withdrawn from Iraq and returned to the United States or redeployed outside of the Middle East.

(b) Prohibition on Use of Funds To Continue Deployment of Armed Forces in Iraq-

(1) PROHIBITION- Funds appropriated or otherwise made available under any provision of law may not be obligated or expended to deploy or continue to deploy members or units of the United States Armed Forces to Iraq as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

(2) EXCEPTIONS- Paragraph (1) does not apply to the use of funds--

(A) to provide for the safe and orderly withdrawal of the Armed Forces from Iraq pursuant to subsection (a);

(B) to ensure the security of Iraq by carrying out consultations with the Government of Iraq, other foreign governments, the United Nations, and other international organizations; or

(C) to ensure the security of Iraq by funding the United Nations-led peacekeeping mission.

(c) Armed Forces Defined- In this section, the term `Armed Forces' has the meaning given the term in section 101(a)(4) of title 10, United States Code.

## RITTER ON PUBLIC IGNORANCE

Dear Folks (from Chris)

Check out Scott Ritter's essay on US ignorance of roots of Iraqi conflict which I made into a 3 page printout or read it at [www.truthdig.com/dig/item/20070323\\_calling\\_out\\_idiot\\_america/](http://www.truthdig.com/dig/item/20070323_calling_out_idiot_america/)



Calling Out Idiot  
America by Scott Ritter

Common Dreams [NewsCenter](#)

**It's Time to Get Out!**

"Sooner or later, the United States must admit that it has made a terrible mistake in Iraq, and it must move quickly to undo it. That means the United States must yield not only command of the occupation force, but participation in it. The United States must renounce any claim to power or even influence over Iraq, including Iraqi oil. The United States must accept the humiliation that would surely accompany its being replaced in Iraq by the very nations it denigrated in the build-up to the war. "

"With the United States thus removed from the Iraqi crucible, those who have rallied to oppose the great Satan will lose their raison d'etre, and the Iraqi people themselves can take responsibility for rebuilding their wrecked nation."

"All of this might seem terribly unlikely today, but something like it is inevitable. The only question is whether it happens over the short term, as the result of responsible decision-making by politicians in Washington, or over the long term, as the result of a bloody and unending horror."

- James Carroll, '[Facing the Truth About Iraq](#)'  
Boston Globe 9/2/2003

For More Info:

- [Bring Them Home Now!](#)
- [Cost of War](#)
- [Iraq Body Count](#)
- [Iraq Coalition Casualty Count](#)
- [Military Families Speak Out](#)
- [Occupation Watch](#)
- [September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows](#)
- [United for Peace and Justice](#)
- [Veterans Against The Iraq War](#)
- [Veterans for Peace](#)
- [Voices in the Wilderness](#)
- [War Resisters League](#)
- [Win Without War](#)



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(1st Class postage included)
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- **1000 stickers - \$225.00**  
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In 2002-2003, as George Bush was beating the war drums to attack Iraq, Common Dreams shipped 400,000 **Attack Iraq? NO!** bumper stickers to all 50 US states and over 30 nations.

This effort is not a fundraiser for Common Dreams - we are only trying to cover the costs of printing and distributing these bumperstickers. If you would like to support the ongoing work of Common Dreams, please [click here](#).

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### IRAQ TIMELINE AND NOTABLE EVENTS

Taken from [http://www.npr.org/news/specials/iraq2003/war\\_timeline.html](http://www.npr.org/news/specials/iraq2003/war_timeline.html)

3/1/03 Iraq meets a U.N. deadline to begin destroying roughly 100 Al Samoud 2 missiles. Chief U.N. weapons inspector Hans Blix demanded Iraq destroy the missiles because their range exceeded U.N.-set limits.

3/6/03 In a prime-time news conference, President Bush says he's prepared to go to war against Iraq, with or without United Nations or other international support. Mr. Bush says he believes Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein has no intention of disarming.

3/7/03 U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell argues before the U.N. Security Council that Iraq has not complied with Resolution 1441. Britain introduces a U.S.-backed amendment to Resolution 1441 setting a March 17 deadline for Iraq to comply or face "serious consequences."

3/10/03 France and Russia -- permanent members of the U.N. Security Council -- vow to veto a U.S.-backed U.N. resolution that in effect authorizes war in Iraq.

3/16/03 President Bush, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar reinforce a March 17 deadline for the U.N. Security Council to endorse the use of force to compel Iraq's immediate disarmament. Meeting with the foreign leaders in the Azores for an emergency summit, Mr. Bush calls it a "moment of truth for the world."

3/17/03 President Bush gives Saddam Hussein and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq or face "the full force and might" of the American military "at a time of our choosing." In a prime-time address to the nation, Mr. Bush says "The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities. So we will rise to ours."

3/20/03 The U.S. launches a pre-dawn missile attack on what President Bush calls "selected targets of military importance" in Iraq. Hours after missiles fall on Baghdad, Saddam Hussein appears on Iraqi television to denounce the attacks and rally his people.

3/21/03 The war in Iraq escalates. U.S. and British troops pushing toward Baghdad from the south seize Umm Qasr, an important Iraqi port city. Special Operations troops capture two airfields in the west, about 50 miles from the Iraq-Jordan border.

3/22/03 Army tanks push towards Baghdad while U.S. and British troops close in on Basra, where they meet Iraqi resistance. In Baghdad, Iraqi forces set fire to oil-filled trenches in an effort to shield the capital city in smoke. Officials say seven crew members are missing and feared dead in the collision of two British helicopters over the Persian Gulf.

3/23/03 U.S. forces make it within 100 miles of Baghdad but meet heavy resistance in Najaf and Nasiriyah. Ground fighting resumes in Umm Qasr as pockets of resistance emerge there. Al-Jazeera, the Qatar-based news network, airs footage from Iraqi sources that appears to show the bodies of four U.S. soldiers, and five Americans held as prisoners of war. The Pentagon says the report appears to be genuine.

3/24/03 U.S. forces advance to within 70 miles of Baghdad but are hampered by crippling sandstorms. American ground troops arrive in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq. Officials say the two crewmen of an Apache helicopter shot down near Baghdad are missing. At least 10 American soldiers are reported killed in fighting around the southern town of Nasiriyah.

3/25/03 U.S. forces consolidate within 60 miles of Baghdad; Iraqi militia volunteers prepare to defend the capital. The Pentagon says American troops killed 150 to 200 Iraqis during a battle near Najaf. In Basra,

the British report a possible rebellion against the Iraqi government may be under way. President Bush asks Congress for \$75 billion to pay for the war.

3/26/03 As U.S. and British forces push closer to Baghdad, Iraqi units strike along a 200-mile stretch of allied supply lines. The most serious fighting takes place at Najaf and Nasiriyah. A Baghdad marketplace is bombed, killing as many as 36 civilians. Iraqi officials blame U.S. missiles, but the Pentagon denies it targeted the area. Arab journalists in Basra cast doubt on a British military report that suggested a rebellion against the Iraqi regime was brewing in the city.

3/27/03 Resistance from Iraqi militia continues to slow the advance of U.S.-led forces toward Baghdad. Iraq's defense minister says he expects U.S. forces to encircle the city within five to 10 days. About 1,000 U.S. soldiers parachute onto an airfield in a Kurdish-controlled area in an effort to threaten the Iraqi regime from the north. Iraq's health minister says 350 Iraqi civilians have been killed in the first week of war.

3/28/03 Iraqi officials blame American bombs for an explosion in a crowded Baghdad market that left more than 50 dead and nearly 50 wounded. More U.S. paratroopers arrive in northern Iraq as Kurdish fighters seize positions abandoned by Iraqi paramilitary forces. The Kurds say they're within 15 miles of the oil city of Kirkuk. Several people are injured in an explosion near a seaside shopping mall in Kuwait City; an Iraqi missile is suspected in the incident.

3/29/03 A suicide car bomber kills four U.S. troops in an attack near Najaf. Iraqi Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan says the bomber was an Iraqi army officer and warns that such attacks are now "routine military policy." In northern Iraq, Iraqi troops consolidate around the oil city of Kirkuk to protect it from a Kurdish advance. U.S. officials deny Iraqi resistance is stalling the drive to Baghdad. The British humanitarian aid ship Sir Galahad arrives in the southern port of Umm Qasr.

3/30/03 Fires burn in Baghdad as the U.S.-led bombardment of the city and nearby Republican Guard positions continues. Inside the city, the infrastructure begins to degrade as telephones fail and supply shortages threaten. U.S. Gen. Tommy Franks says the war in Iraq is on schedule, pointing to the allies' control of southern Iraq's oil fields and much of western Iraq as campaign successes.

3/31/03 Pentagon officials say they're starting to see a breakdown among Republican Guard forces outside Baghdad as ground battles and heavy airstrikes take their toll. About 50 miles south of Baghdad on the Euphrates River, a U.S. Army division seizes the river town of Hindiyah. Farther south, Marines struggle to hold bridges over the Tigris River. Military officials say U.S. soldiers opened fire on a civilian van after the driver failed to stop as ordered at a checkpoint near Najaf. At least seven Iraqi civilians are killed in the incident.

Sent: Wednesday, January 17, 2007 9:03 AM

Subject: Real Cost of Iraq War

Dear friends,

The true cost of the Iraq War is finally filtering out to mass media. Here are two articles just published in the *New York Times* and in *Rolling Stone* with cost estimates between \$1 to 2.3 trillion. The *Rolling Stone* article is especially good.

Thanks, Abel

*NY Times*:

[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/17/business/17leonhardt.html?\\_r=1&ref=business&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/17/business/17leonhardt.html?_r=1&ref=business&oref=slogin)

*Rolling Stone*:

[http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/12855294/national\\_affairs\\_the\\_2\\_trillion\\_dollar\\_war](http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/12855294/national_affairs_the_2_trillion_dollar_war)

Expect The Worst In Iraq

By David Ignatius

Wednesday, February 7, 2007

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/06/AR2007020601527.html>

## **CULTURAL DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ BY THE U. S. INVASION**

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## LEAVING IRAQ:

### HOW THE U. S. SHOULD EXTRICATE ITSELF FROM IRAQ

By Dick Bennett

I opposed the invasion of Iraq, because I believed it violated the United Nations Charter (a treaty the U. S. had helped create and signed) prohibiting unilateral attacks on another country except in self-defense; I believed no weapons of mass destruction were there (because I had listened to Scott Ritter and other U. N. investigators); I believed the huge untapped store of oil in Iraq was a main motive for the invasion; I believed the mainstream media would follow the Administration in focusing on terrorism instead of oil; I knew the invasion was not the last resort (as Just War ethics demand); I suspected tens of thousands of our own soldiers and of Iraqi soldiers and innocent civilians would be killed; I knew the nation's cities and infrastructure would be further destroyed; I feared the invasion would raise a storm of enemies against our country throughout the world; I suspected no plans had been made for the occupation, little thought given to the problems that might ensue; and I feared the U. S. Army would be morally undermined by all of these conditions, as it was during the Vietnam War.

But that is the past, and we are confronted with the fearsome present. The urgent, the desperate question is: what do we do now, as the occupation plunges our soldiers and the Iraqi people deeper into chaos, violence, and death?

The recent presidential election offered an opportunity to clarify this catastrophe. But there was no debate by President Bush and Senator Kerry about the invasion and withdrawal from Iraq. Senator Kerry even at times seemed to one-up President Bush in martial rhetoric and policy regarding Iraq. Only one argument was given the people, that we are there and must stay the course. Governor Dean, Congressman Kucinich, and Ralph Nader did urge our government to leave Iraq, but Dean was early eliminated from public discourse, and Kucinich and Nader never gained national access.

Nor was the war debated by our Congress. Most of our representatives voted quickly for invasion, and they have never held hearings regarding the prudence of their hasty decision.

In such circumstances, it becomes the task of ordinary citizens to explore the option of departure. Now we must try to conceive a

just and constructive policy for U. S. withdrawal, at least in order for us to think more clearly—"outside the box"-- about our future in Iraq, the Middle East, and the Muslim world.

But what of our soldiers, the dead, the wounded, the still living? Many soldiers believed President Bush and went to Iraq full of patriotic idealism. The wife of Arkansas' Sgt. Eugene Villarreal, luckily home for Christmas, says "He felt like he had to go...He wants to try to make sure his oldest son doesn't have to go." Matt Pedone of Springdale, serving in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry, said he was "fighting to protect his family and country in a post-Sept. 11 world." Ursula Pirtle of La Mesa, NM, widow of Army Spc. James Pirtle, killed Oct. 3, 2003 north of Baghdad, still supports the war. According to a Scripps Howard report, "most other surviving spouses....say they are profoundly proud of their loved ones' willingness to give their lives for their country and to help bring democracy to Iraq."

We must listen to these suffering citizens, as we support them by urging the safe and soon return home of soldiers and their adequate care and rehabilitation. But would leaving Iraq render in vain the soldiers killed, wounded, and still living? How respond to their patriotism and their grief and that of their loved ones? If the invasion were wrong and continuation of the occupation certain to needlessly kill more soldiers and civilians, would it then be right to leave? Not to stop the destruction and slaughter would unethically extend the original harm?

Six arguments hold promise of an answer to these questions: A. Examine the morality and legality of the occupation. B. Consider the impracticality of the occupation. C. Acknowledge the possible damage by the occupation to the war on terrorism. D. Remember U. S. responsibility for the people of Iraq, the victims of invasion and occupation. E. Discern the importance for the future of changing U. S. foreign policies. F. Leave Iraq.

#### **B. The Immorality and Illegality of the Occupation**

1. The needless deaths of Iraqis and U. S. soldiers and civilians by the battles raging in Iraq, now an estimated 100,000 to 500,000 Iraqis and over 3000 U. S. soldiers and civilians, and some 15,000 wounded.
2. The deaths and crippling of countless people in the U. S. and around the world by the diversion of the billions of dollars to war instead of to health care, sewage, water, environmental protection, schools, police and fire protection.

#### **C. The Lack of Planning and Impracticality of Democracy:**

1. President Bush defends the possibility of having the first free election in the Middle East and the salutary effect of establishing a democracy in the Middle East, how by example it might have a domino effect, and he cites the example of Japan and Germany after WWII. By the end of WWII, however, the allies, remembering the failed punitive policy against Germany after WWI, had thoroughly prepared for rebuilding the defeated Axis Powers. The reconstruction of Japan began immediately with sufficient resources for rebuilding. For example, 500 interpreters had been trained well in advance. Such planning turned our former militaristic enemies into friendly democracies. In contrast, this Administration, forgetting the lessons of both World Wars, reverted to the punishment model of WWI and ignored the lessons of nation-building. The illegal invasion of Iraq to force it to adopt democracy is imperialism, and as we have seen has produced the weapon of anti-imperialists, as used in Algeria by the FLN to drive out the French—terroristic insurgency, the one effective weapon the weak have against the strong.
2. Electoral democracy will result in domination by the Shias, 60% of Iraq's population, who will suppress the Sunnis, who have possessed power since Ottoman times. Why should the U. S. fight and die and kill for a Shia-dominated Iraq?

#### **D. The Negative Results of the Occupation for the War on Terrorism**

1. A Defense Science Board study for the Pentagon has affirmed that the invasion and occupation have made ordinary Muslims hate the U. S. and caused a global backlash against the U. S. The struggle for the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people has failed, and the opposite occurred: the stature and support for radical Islamists has increased. More than 90% of the populations of some Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, are opposed to U. S. policies (alliances with Israel and Middle Eastern autocracies).
2. U. S. behavior since 9/11 has played into the hands of al-Qaeda, which has gone from being a marginal movement to a growing power across the entire Muslim world.
3. By increasing hostility against the U. S., the invasion and occupation of Iraq have weakened the war on terrorism and increased dangers to U. S. national security.

#### **E. Need for New Policies**

The people of the Middle East do not hate the people of the U. S. They hate our policies. The overwhelming majority oppose what they perceive as one-sided U. S. support in favor of Israel and against Palestinian rights and the long-standing support for tyrannies—especially Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, the Gulf states, including, just a few years ago, Iraq. Consequently, U. S. claims of bringing democracy to Islamic societies, and to Iraq specifically, are seen as self-serving hypocrisy. The *policies* of the U. S. government have created the terrorism; a change of policies will diminish hatred and revenge.

#### **F. Responsibility to the People of Iraq**

Yet the U.S. should not walk away. The terrible consequences to the Iraqi people of the 1991 Gulf War, the decade of embargo, the 2003 invasion, and the occupation cannot be dismissed with a "Sorry, gotta go." The Iraqi people lack security and safety, clean running water, sewage systems, reliable electricity, and adequate hospitals and schools. Having wrongly devastated the country, the U. S. owes the people of Iraq a more hopeful future.

But not necessarily a democratic future. The U. S. cannot force-feed democracy to Iraq under the gun, as is daily abundantly clear; the Iraqis now equate "democracy" with tyranny and bloodshed. But the U. S. can provide the material assistance to enable the Iraqis to choose their own political organization. Even then, endless guerrilla war might ensue. But not until this humanitarian mission has been carried out or genuinely attempted will the U. S. regain its reputation as a decent member of the international community.

"or genuinely attempted": I am not making the "if you break it, you own it" argument. We can stop to reflect and try to turn around.

We might have been able to stay if the United Nations, the European Union, and the Arab League had contributed troops, even just to protect the voting booths, but the U. N. Security Council voted against the invasion, and the EU and AL have not offered support. We might have been able to remain if the battle for hearts and minds had begun at once after the invasion, but that was not prepared for. Now the disenchantment is so deep that U. S. officials and the mainstream media not only do not report it, they avoid probing into it. So the U. S. must leave Iraq. As Pat Buchanan says: It is time for the President to decide—"as LBJ and Nixon did in Vietnam—that the cost to the U. S. is so great that we must get out and risk the awful consequences of a mistaken war that we should never have launched?"

### **G. Leaving Iraq**

But how might the U. S. get out of Iraq deliberately and humanely—with careful planning and minimal loss of life? What follows are steps that enable us to think outside the present trap of dogmas and slogans. The United States should:

Immediately cease attacking Iraqi cities and villages with F-16s and AC-130 gunships, which terrorize the population and have contributed to the thousands of civilian deaths.

Through the U. N. send in massive shipments of food and medicine, with supportive medical personnel.

Express regret for supporting Saddam Hussein through his worst atrocities against Iranians and Kurds, for a decade of sanctions, which caused an estimated half-million dead children, and for the devastation of two invasions. Explain and apologize to the people of the United States and the world for botching the peace in Iraq.

Stop talking—as in the Vietnam War—about national "will," "staying the course," and instead undertake to convince the Iraqis not by public relations but by substantive actions that the U. S. now embraces a humanitarian, human rights policy.

Declare its unequivocal intention and provide the material assistance to enable the Iraqis to choose their own political organization.

Declare its full support of all Geneva conventions regarding warfare, occupation, and all other relevant conventions.

Hold a popular election within a year under U. N. auspices for a representative national assembly that would itself choose an interim government, adopt a constitution, and then schedule elections for the new permanent institutions of government.

Gradually increase Iraqi control of security, until they gain authentic sovereignty over their own country. Support a fully international (well-represented by Arab countries), sufficiently numerous peacekeeping force under U. N. control and trusteeship to enforce security for the Iraqi people while the new political system is being established, turn over authority to this new security force on a fixed, announced timetable.

Encourage constitutional protection of minorities—especially of women—in whatever form of government the Iraqis choose.

Abandon plans to establish military bases in this intended client state at the heart of the world's major energy resource. Do not repeat Saudi Arabia.

Stop transforming Iraqi economic institutions to fit the U. S. corporate model and to place the economy in the hands of Western banks and corporations, which violates international law regarding occupying nations.

Turn over the rebuilding of Iraq to Iraqis, whose skilled engineers and carpenters can be hired at small cost compared to Halliburton employees. Under U. N. supervision offer international engineers, electricians, and city planners to assist them.

Redirect the military budget for Iraq to a rebuilding budget (since 9-11 \$165 billion to the Pentagon for Iraq, Afghanistan and anti-terrorism, and at least \$50 billion more to be requested for next year, plus the \$402 billion War Department 2005 budget). As President Eisenhower said in 1953, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed."

Spend ten billion dollars a year for rebuilding Iraq for the people because both cheaper and more effective against terrorism than a military occupation that costs five times as much, while terrorism—both small group and state—has escalated.

Fully fund the development of alternative energy sources with the goal of ending our dependence on foreign oil.

We cannot be sure these new approaches to Iraq will produce a stable and humane society among conflicting Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds, but they are consistent with U. S. democratic ideals of self-determination, and we well know how destructive and futile is the present policy.

A list of the sources for this argument is available from Dick..

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