

CHAPTER 19

Out of the Wilderness—Three Plans

Blessed Are the Peacemakers

Gimli: “*Never thought I’d die fighting side by side with an elf.*”

Legolas: “*What about side by side with a friend?*”

Gimli: “*Aye. I could do that.*”

—*Lord of the Rings: Return of the King*

Set forth in this final chapter are the following three plans, which together constitute a way forward for America:

I. Withdraw from Iraq and Win in Afghanistan—An 8-Point Plan

II. Beyond Iraq and Afghanistan—A 7-Point International Plan

III. A 6-Point Plan to Support America’s Troops

America has been slowly waking up to the nightmare of Bush’s reign of terror and wars of error. It took years for America to acknowledge the truth that has been so obvious to the rest of the world—that Bush is America’s worst president ever, and that he has waged an imperial, incompetent and unchristian foreign policy.

Roll the calendar back to 2000 and imagine a candidate for president discussing international affairs and promising you that, as America’s president, he would:

- allow 9/11, the worst terrorist attacks in history on American soil, to occur on his watch, while ignoring the flashing red warning lights and taking record vacation time (taking only five years to beat Reagan’s eight-year record);
- destroy the huge global goodwill towards America following the 9/11 attacks;
- be unable, perhaps unwilling, to kill or capture the criminal ringleader of the terrorist attacks;
- spin a web of deceptions and lies in order to invade Iraq, a nation that: (a) was not an imminent threat to the United States or any other nation, and (b) had absolutely nothing to do with 9/11 or bin Laden or the Taliban or al Qaeda;

- cause the death of several hundred thousand Iraqis, not one of whom was involved in the 9/11 attacks or had any advance knowledge of them;
- become the world's number one war criminal;
- through faith-based incompetence, implement policies to spawn more terrorists than all other sources of terrorism in the world combined;
- in the rightwing style of bin Laden, assert that he is directed by God;
- by thus hijacking God, absolve himself of the responsibility to deal with reality and truth;
- determine conclusions and policies first, and then manufacture facts "to fit" the conclusions and policies, counting on America's cheerleading corporate media to function as stenographers, not professional journalists;
- become hated by the vast majority of the citizenry in every predominantly Muslim nation—where his stated mission would be to win hearts and minds—while achieving a favorable rating only a fraction of bin Laden's;
- increase America's trade deficit to record highs, allowing creditor nations like Saudi Arabia and the People's Republic of China to buy huge chunks of American assets and seize control of America's financial future;
- make America more dependent than ever on foreign oil;
- bankrupt America;
- insult America's allies and friends, and renege on treaties and other commitments;
- create unprecedented worldwide animosity towards the White House and America;
- stay the failed course in a failed immoral war of his own creation; and
- disrespect and wreck America's military.

The world views Bush as an uninformed incompetent who is clueless as to the job of president of the United States of America. They have "read his heart." They see nothing in his entire life experience to suggest he is qualified to make decisions regarding war or to lead America's troops. There see nothing in his words or deeds to suggest he has the slightest interest in learning how to lead.

America's traditional allies and friends yearn for America to make a 180-degree turn from the Dark Side and return to America's core strengths and progressive values, which were highly respected throughout the world before Bush's Reign of Error and Terror.

America's allies and friends want America to rediscover its moral footing, to reverse the catastrophic decline in its effectiveness and trustworthiness, and to once again join the world community as a partner—the leader among leaders, not a dictator without followers. They want America to regain its sanity.

They want America to have a leader who is a visionary, not a leader who has visions.

They want to trust America again.

It will take an incredibly intense effort to restore the goodwill towards America—inherited and squandered by Bush—that existed before and following the 9/11 attacks. Bush and his Confederate Party have repeatedly proven themselves intellectually and morally incapable of doing this.

I. Withdraw from Iraq and Win in Afghanistan—An 8-Point Plan

“If you want to make peace, you don’t talk to your friends. You talk to your enemies.”—Moshe Dayan (1915-1981)

1. Immediately withdraw from Iraq.^{139 140}
 - Declare victory for America’s troops, who removed Saddam’s regime from power, destroyed Iraq’s nonexistent WMDs, and carried out every order.
 - Declare defeat for Bush, the rubberstamping GOP and the neocons, who lied to America, America’s troops and the world.
 - Immediately withdraw all American forces from Iraq.¹⁴¹
 - Immediately also withdraw from Iraq all of America’s private mercenary armies, an action which is as important as withdrawing America’s troops.
 - If necessary, be prepared to be part of a UN or NATO force imposing a no-fly zone in Northern Iraq to protect Iraq’s Kurds.
 - Immediately stop the construction of the huge American “embassy” complex—21 buildings on 104 acres—in the Green Zone in Baghdad, which is many times larger and more expensive than any other embassy in the world and has so inflamed Iraqis.¹⁴²

2. Bury the imperial plans of the Bush League neocons, especially The Project for the New American Century.
 - Repudiate the neocon dream of a puppet regime in Iraq, a permanent platform from which the neocons intended, and still intend, to exert imperial military and economic power throughout the oil-rich Middle East.

¹³⁹ See Chapter 5 for a list of ten reasons why the United States must immediately withdraw from Iraq.

¹⁴⁰ The *second-best* alternative to withdrawal is for the United States to request immediately an Iraqi referendum in which the citizens of Iraq would democratically decide the fate of the foreign occupation, including its scale and duration, and including the opportunity to set a firm date for complete military withdrawal by the United States and its Bush League partners. Although the ideal time for this referendum (2003 or 2004) has long since passed, it could still—for the first time since the 2003 invasion—show *right intentions* and improve America’s shattered credibility.

¹⁴¹ Assuming the United States retains an embassy in Baghdad and normal diplomatic and intergovernmental relations with Iraq, the United States would, of course, retain in Iraq appropriate security forces for its embassy and other personnel, on a scale consistent with its security policies governing the protection of its diplomats and other personnel elsewhere in the world.

¹⁴² The complex is more an imperial citadel than an embassy. Designed by the *heartless and mindless* for the GOP’s *Pirates of the Citadel*, it is totally inappropriate for an America that wants to win the *hearts and minds* of Iraqis. During the construction of the complex, the American embassy was located on a temporary basis in Saddam’s *Republican Palace*. It thus may be fitting to name the new embassy complex the *Republican’s Republican Palace*.

- Repudiate the neocon plan to have up to 14 permanent U.S. military bases in Iraq.¹⁴³ Do not enter into treaties to occupy bases in any nation in the Middle East without the overwhelming approval of the people of the host nation in each case.
- Immediately shut down the Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo prisons.
- Immediately disband the Bush League of Nations, the so-called Coalition of the Willing in Iraq. The few remaining “members”—who for all practical purposes have already “cut and run”—will gratefully make their own decisions as to withdrawal of their remaining token forces.¹⁴⁴

3. Win in Afghanistan—At Least Try

- Strategically re-deploy up to 25,000 additional American troops from Iraq to Afghanistan, doubling the U.S. military presence there, but only if:
 - the American troops in Afghanistan are under UN or NATO command;
 - the total number of American troops does not constitute more than one-third of the total international forces in Afghanistan under UN or NATO command;
 - the deployment is requested by the Afghani government and approved by a supermajority of Afghanistan’s citizens; and
 - the deployment is part of a comprehensive development-focused peace plan for Afghanistan and the region approved by Afghanistan and all concerned parties.
- The overriding principles are that:
 - Afghanistan, purportedly a sovereign nation, must determine its own future; and
 - the United Nations and NATO are the best bodies to lead international peacekeeping and reconstruction efforts.
- Strategically re-deploy some troops to nearby locations, principally Kuwait and Qatar, consistent with the advice of America’s senior military leaders.
- Greatly reduce America’s military footprint in the Middle East.
- The majority of the 160,000 troops in Iraq would return home.

4. Work with Iraq, the United Nations, the Arab League, Iraq’s neighbors (including the non-Arab nations of Iran and Turkey) and other interested parties, to try to create an International Peacekeeping Force (IPF) in Iraq that would replace the Bush League of Nations.

¹⁴³ Even Bush family mouthpiece James Baker recognizes that these bases are counterproductive to America’s interests. “Any appearance of a permanent occupation will both undermine domestic support here in the United States and play directly into the hands of those in the Middle East who — however wrongly — suspect us of imperial design,” Baker says.

¹⁴⁴ Even Bush’s staunchest ally, Great Britain (previously led by Tony Blair, the other “half” of the Bush/Blair *Axis of Feeble*), had *already* cut and run by withdrawing more than 80% of its forces by 2007, with more withdrawals planned.

- Recognize that creating a viable IPF in Iraq will be difficult at best, perhaps impossible.
- The IPF should be under UN command if possible, but definitely not under U.S. command.
- Offer to pay up to 50% of the IPF's costs over a period of ten years, but only if the IPF is requested and approved by the Iraqi government and approved by: (a) a supermajority vote of Iraq's population, and (b) a majority vote of each of Iraq's three major constituencies: Sunnis, Shia and Kurds. In any case, America's withdrawal from Iraq is not contingent on the IPF being approved or put in place.
- If a viable sufficiently muscular IPF is not created—which is likely if too many nations decide not to help clean up Bush's and the GOP's mess—then the United States is not obligated to make any payments.
- A limited number of American troops could serve in the IPF in Iraq, provided:
 - they are under UN command, not U.S. command; and
 - the American forces do not constitute more than 10% of the total UN blue helmet force.
- The overriding principles are that:
 - the United Nations is the proper and best authority to run the peacekeeping efforts; and
 - Iraq, purportedly a sovereign nation, must determine its own future, including deciding whether it wants an IPF in Iraq.

5. Working primarily with the United Nations, the Arab League and Iraq's neighbors, encourage the Iraqi government to come to a national agreement of reconciliation that recognizes minority rights, provides for power sharing with minority populations in order to mitigate the tyranny of the majority, and provides for the sharing of Iraq's oil revenues on the basis of population or some other acceptable basis.

- Recognize that under no scenario is it possible or desirable for the United States to control the outcome, and that continued Bush League mucking only worsens all possible scenarios, all of which are ugly. Ultimately it is up to the Iraqi people to make the necessary compromises and reach an agreement of reconciliation.
- Stop the Bush League hypocrisy of mouthing platitudes about Iraqi "freedom" and "democracy"—intended for gullible consumption in America but counterproductive in Iraq—while at the same time manipulating and dictating results in Iraq. Stop the lying.

6. Repentance and Reparations

- The United States should immediately apologize to the United Nations and NATO for America's Bush League policies regarding Iraq and those two organizations. The apology should include the total repudiation of all neo-con imperial goals.

- The United States should thank the United Nations for its vote following 9/11 to support U.S. military action against al Qaeda in Afghanistan. It should request even more support for Afghanistan.
- The United States should thank NATO for its unwavering support following 9/11, including invoking Article 5 of the NATO Treaty to treat 9/11 as an attack against each and every NATO member. It should thank NATO for its work in Afghanistan and request even more support for that nation.
- Bush should personally apologize and repent.
- The United States should immediately acknowledge the mistakes that were made in its name, and apologize to the Iraqi people.
- The United States should pay up to \$1 billion per month—which is much less than 10% of what the Bush regime squanders in Iraq—through the United Nations for the security and reconstruction of Iraq, provided these funds are matched, dollar-for-dollar, by other nations. The United Nations and the Iraqi government would jointly manage the reconstruction efforts, with U.S. firms receiving no preferential treatment. The Bush League policy of awarding no-bid and no-audit contracts to rightwing politically connected war profiteers like Halliburton would end.
- The reconstruction plans would be subject to the approval of the Iraqi government and the Iraqi people. If a particular Iraqi province fails to approve the plan by a majority vote, then that province would not participate in the plan and would receive no U.S. funds.
- Iraq should be empowered and encouraged to set policies that maximize the creation of jobs for Iraqis, not foreign contractors who are paid a multiple of the market rate for Iraqis.
- The United States must establish a U.S. commission independent of the White House and Congress, but with congressional oversight, to work with the United Nations to ensure that comprehensive accounting and auditing controls are established. Its principal goal would be to eliminate the fraud, profiteering and mismanagement that are the hallmark of GOP and Bush League efforts in Iraq to date. The United States would retain comprehensive accounting and auditing authority regarding U.S. funds. With proper controls, the corruption in the UN and Iraqi managed programs would be only a small fraction of the corruption under GOP and Bush League mismanagement.
- The United States should immediately cancel all debts owed it by Iraq.

7. Impeach Bush and Cheney. (See Appendix A, “A Doubleheader: Impeach Bush and Cheney Now.”)

8. Immediately after they leave office—whether or not impeachment is successful—Bush and Cheney should be arrested, indicted and tried for their war crimes and other criminal acts.

II. Beyond Iraq and Afghanistan—A 7-Point International Plan

“The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.”—Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945)

1. The United States must respect the rule of law, both U.S. law and international law, and abide by its treaty obligations.
 - The United States must unequivocally endorse the *just war principles*.
 - The United States must unequivocally repudiate torture and endorse the Geneva Conventions regarding torture. This clear unequivocal statement must come straight from Congress and the president.
 - The United States must repeal the 2006 U.S. Military Commissions Act.
 - The United States must immediately join the International Criminal Court.
 - The United States must support and accept the jurisdiction of the World Court.
 - The United States must support and stop undermining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Specifically, America must: (1) begin working effectively again with Russia to safeguard and destroy Russia’s stockpiles of nuclear weapons and nuclear material; (2) stop testing and developing “better” nukes; (3) stop undermining the NPT by unilaterally and illegally cutting separate deals with nations such as India, and by ignoring the obligation of the United States and the other nuclear powers to work together to reduce and liquidate their stockpiles of nuclear weapons; (4) stop acting as the world’s number one nuclear proliferator; and (5) immediately and dramatically cut America’s stockpile of nukes to a number that still ensures unquestioned American deterrence.

2. America must rejoin the world community as a leader, not a dictator.
 - America must reject the illegal, immoral and counterproductive Bush Doctrine of “preemptive intervention,” which gives America the right to attack any nation and kill its citizens anytime it wishes, without just cause and without a congressional declaration of war. This rejection will: (a) help restore America’s moral position in the world; (b) help restore a proper constitutional balance of power between America’s legislative and executive branches; and (c) not diminish America’s right of self defense under international law.
 - America must abandon and completely repudiate forever all of the neocons’ imperial goals, which have their noxious roots in The Project for the New American Century.
 - Recognizing that force multiplication results from friends and allies willingly working together to attain shared objectives, America must make major league efforts to rebuild bridges with its friends and allies.
 - America must follow the *Five Pillars of a Strong Coalition* proposed in this book.
 - America must dump the “war on terrorism” slogan that means nothing and justifies everything. Rather than relying on slogans to drive and defend U.S.

military policy, America must define each of its military initiatives with specificity as to target, objective and justification. It must stop the use of partisan slogans masquerading as policy.

- America must join and lead the world community in addressing global warming. The best first step is for America to sign and embrace the Kyoto Protocol, which has been signed by more than 160 nations.

3. America must support and help lead *international* peace efforts.

- America must stop bashing—and once again support, improve and lead—key world organizations, including the United Nations and NATO.
- America must endorse, support and help expand the UN’s role as the world’s preeminent vehicle to resolve international crises.
- America should pay up to an additional \$1 billion per year to strengthen the UN’s peacekeeping missions, provided these funds are matched, dollar-for-dollar, in additional funds by other nations.
- America must abrogate its ineffective counterproductive Bush League role as the world’s self-appointed cop, and help the United Nations meet its charter obligations to maintain peace. In doing so, the United States will be able to dramatically strengthen its military at the same time it reduces its military spending.
- America must end the Bush League bashing and misuse of neutral international assistance organizations such as Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders).

4. America must engage the world community in nation building, with the goal of justice and freedom for all the citizens of each nation, not just the freedom of ruling elites and multinational corporations to have their way.

- America should greatly expand the *humanitarian* capabilities and capacity of its military. This would include an expanded fleet of hospital ships, search and rescue teams, and quick response teams, which could act immediately in the event of major natural disaster anywhere in the world.
- A Tithe For Peace: By 2012 America should devote an amount equal to 10% of its annual defense budget to worldwide peaceful initiatives and organizations such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. Peace Corps, a permanent “Marshall Plan” for third world countries, anti-HIV/AIDS programs for sub-Saharan Africa, and UN assistance organizations.
- Making the United States Number One: By 2012 America should achieve the intermediate goal of making America the number one nation in the percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) devoted to international nonmilitary aid.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ As of 2004 the United States was dead last among the developed nations, spending less than 0.15% of its gross domestic product on such aid.

- America must use consistent verifiable metrics to measure the effectiveness of its nonmilitary humanitarian assistance, and the assistance programs must be free of religious and racial bias.
- America must adopt a *human rights scorecard* that tracks freedom, justice and human rights. This human rights scorecard would replace Bush's and the GOP's *corporate rights scorecard* that measures only the freedom of corporate cronies and Big Business to have their way in the world, to the detriment of the least, the last, and the lost.¹⁴⁶

5. Israel and Palestine.

- America should ask and empower Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton to represent America in an international effort to restart a peace process involving Israel, the Palestinians and their neighbors, with the goal of a permanent lasting peace mutually agreeable to the nations of Israel and Palestine.

6. Impeach Bush and Cheney. (See Appendix A, “A Doubleheader: Impeach Bush and Cheney Now.”)

7. Immediately after they leave office—whether or not impeachment is successful—Bush and Cheney should be arrested, indicted and tried for their war crimes and other criminal acts.

III. A 6-Point Plan to Support America's Troops

“The Bush regime has no respect for America's foot soldiers. Why should it care for the footless ones?”—Jim Swanson

1. The best way for America to support its troops is to adopt the two plans set forth above:

- Withdraw from Iraq and Win in Afghanistan—An 8-Point Plan
- Beyond Iraq and Afghanistan—A 7-Point International Plan

2. America must support its veterans as well as its active forces, together with their families.

- America must greatly increase education and job training support for its veterans.
- America must reverse Bush's and the GOP's budget cuts for the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA).
- America should pay \$1 million to the family of each American soldier who dies in Bush's wars. The total amount so paid for all American deaths in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2001 through 2007 would be about \$4 billion, which is much less than the amount Bush spends in two weeks in Iraq.

¹⁴⁶ The Bush administration and the GOP avoid using the term “human rights” because it refers to the rights of *humans*, preferring instead in Orwellian fashion to use the more ambiguous word “liberty,” which in Bushspeak connotes the liberty of huge *corporations* to pillage and profit without restraint.

- When the cause is just and our troops are sent into harm's way, the American people must demand that the commander in chief have a viable plan and the troops have everything they need to achieve the mission.
- America must kill or capture bin Laden, the criminal who was 100% responsible for 9/11 (compared to zero percent responsibility for Saddam or *any* other Iraqi, whether dead or alive.)

3. America must never again fight a war to gain domestic political advantage, or for the privileged, the chosen few and the president's political base.

- When America goes to war, everyone, including the rich, must share the sacrifice, and the president must specify how it is shared.
- America must restore accountability and auditing to government military contracting, and stop putting the interests of war profiteers ahead of our troops.
- The rationale for war must be overwhelmingly clear and based on facts, analysis and broad public debate, not partisan politics. The lying must stop.
- There must be comprehensive investigation of all aspects of the war in Iraq, including any and all malfeasance of the Bush administration, both in the run-up to the war and in the conduct of the war, and including government contracting.

4. America must restore integrity and accountability to the U.S. military chain of command.

- America must renounce the shifting of blame for Abu Ghraib and other violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to low-level scapegoats in America's military, and must establish and empower independent investigations that lead to accountability and punishment as high in the chain of command as warranted, which in the case of Abu Ghraib is very high.
- America must discipline its military leaders and other personnel who jeopardize America's foreign policy interests and the lives of America's troops by carrying a Crusader banner against other religions. America must eradicate the bullying rightwing evangelism at the Air Force Academy and elsewhere in America's military.
- America must greatly reduce or eliminate the use of mercenaries to fight America's wars, since they are not employees of the United States, are not directly in the U.S. military chain of command, and are not subject to the rules of engagement and Code of Conduct that apply to America's armed forces.

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