## 109TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

## S. 1993

To provide for a comprehensive, new strategy for success in Iraq that includes a sustainable political solution and the redeployment of United States forces tied to specific political and military benchmarks.

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 10, 2005

Mr. Kerry introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

## A BILL

To provide for a comprehensive, new strategy for success in Iraq that includes a sustainable political solution and the redeployment of United States forces tied to specific political and military benchmarks.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Strategy for Success
- 5 in Iraq Act".
- 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 7 The Senate makes the following findings:

- 1 (1) The men and women of the Armed Forces 2 have performed with valor, honor, and courage in 3 Iraq.
  - (2) United States military commanders and intelligence community personnel agree that the insurgency in Iraq draws substantial support from disaffected Iraqi Sunnis.
    - (3) The new Iraq constitution was adopted in a national referendum on October 15, 2005, despite the opposition of a great majority of Iraqi Sunnis.
    - (4) Iraq cannot be stable without a sustainable political solution embraced by the Sunni minority as well as the majority Shias and Kurds.
    - (5) Senior United States military commanders and Administration officials have acknowledged that the insurgency cannot be defeated without a political solution.
  - (6) The commander of the Multinational Forces-Iraq, General George Casey, told the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate on September 29, 2005, that "[i]ncreased coalition presence feeds the notion of occupation . . . contributes to the dependency of Iraqi security forces on the coalition . . . [ and ] . . . extends the amount of time that

- it will take for Iraqi security forces to become selfreliant".
- (7) General Casey also said that "[r]educing the visibility and, ultimately, the presence of coalition forces as we transition to Iraqi security self-reliance remains a key element of our overall counterinsurgency strategy".
  - (8) The United States Armed Forces have established a training program for the security forces of Iraq that continues to make possible the assumption of security responsibilities by such security forces.
  - (9) The number of members of the United States Armed Forces in Iraq has risen to more than 160,000 to provide protection for the recent constitutional referendum and the upcoming December elections in Iraq.
  - (10) The people of Iraq will elect their first permanent government since the 2003 invasion on December 15, 2005.
  - (11) The success of the December elections will constitute an important benchmark in transferring political responsibilities to the people of Iraq.
- (12) The phased redeployment of United States
  Armed Forces based on achieving benchmarks for

| 1  | the transfer of political and security responsibilities      |
|----|--|
| 2  | to Iraq is a critical part of a successful strategy in       |
| 3  | Iraq.  |
| 4  | SEC. 3. STRATEGY FOR SUCCESS.                                |
| 5  | To complete the mission in Iraq and bring our troops         |
| 6  | home, the President must implement a comprehensive new       |
| 7  | strategy for success in Iraq that simultaneously pursues     |
| 8  | a sustainable political solution and the redeployment of     |
| 9  | United States forces tied to specific political and military |
| 10 | benchmarks.  |
| 11 | SEC. 4. IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGY.                          |
| 12 | To implement the strategy under section 3, the Presi-        |
| 13 | dent must undertake aggressive diplomatic, political, mili-  |
| 14 | tary and economic measures, including actions to achieve     |
| 15 | the following:   |
| 16 | (1) Reduce the sense of United States occupa-                |
| 17 | tion of Iraq by—   |
| 18 | (A) committing publicly not to establish                     |
| 19 | permanent United States military bases in Iraq,              |
| 20 | or to maintain a large United States combat                  |
| 21 | force on Iraq soil indefinitely;                             |
| 22 | (B) drawing-down at least 20,000 United                      |
| 23 | States troops upon the successful completion of              |
| 24 | the December 2005 elections as the first step in             |
| 25 | the process of reducing the United States force              |

| 1  | presence in Iraq as political and military bench- |
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| 2  | marks are met; and                                |
| 3  | (C) reducing the visibility of United States      |
| 4  | forces by placing as many as possible in rear     |
| 5  | guard, garrisoned status for security backup      |
| 6  | purposes.   |
| 7  | (2) Give Sunnis a real stake in the future of     |
| 8  | Iraq by—  |
| 9  | (A) convincing Iraqi Shias and Kurds to           |
| 10 | address legitimate Sunni concerns about re-       |
| 11 | gional autonomy and the allocation of oil reve-   |
| 12 | nues;   |
| 13 | (B) hosting a conference of the neighbors         |
| 14 | of Iraq, the United Kingdom, other key mem-       |
| 15 | bers of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, and   |
| 16 | the Russian Federation, immediately after the     |
| 17 | December elections, to develop a collective       |
| 18 | strategy to bring the parties in Iraq to a sus-   |
| 19 | tainable political compromise that also includes  |
| 20 | mutual security guarantees among the peoples      |
| 21 | of Iraq; and                                      |
| 22 | (C) urging the Sunni neighbors of Iraq to         |
| 23 | immediately set up a reconstruction fund tar-     |
| 24 | geted to the majority Sunni areas to show Iraqi   |

| 1  | Sunnis the benefits of participating in the polit-    |
|----|---|
| 2  | ical process.   |
| 3  | (3) Appoint a high-level presidential envoy to        |
| 4  | strengthen United States diplomatic efforts with re-  |
| 5  | spect to Iraq.  |
| 6  | (4) Develop a new regional security structure         |
| 7  | with United States participation to enlist the sup-   |
| 8  | port of the Sunni neighbors of Iraq.                  |
| 9  | (5) Accelerate reconstruction efforts in Iraq by      |
| 10 | providing the necessary civilian personnel to do the  |
| 11 | job, establishing civil-military reconstruction teams |
| 12 | throughout Iraq, streamlining the disbursement of     |
| 13 | funds to the provinces of Iraq, expanding job cre-    |
| 14 | ation programs in Iraq, and strengthening the ca-     |
| 15 | pacity of Iraqi government ministries.                |
| 16 | (6) Create the military conditions for the rede-      |
| 17 | ployment of United States forces by—                  |
| 18 | (A) intensifying the training of Iraqi secu-          |
| 19 | rity forces through expanded in-country train-        |
| 20 | ing and the acceptance of outstanding offers          |
| 21 | from other countries to do more training;             |
| 22 | (B) transferring military and police re-              |
| 23 | sponsibilities on a phased basis to Iraqi security    |

forces as their capabilities increase; and

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| 1  | (C) working with the new Iraq government                   |
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| 2  | to secure international support for a multi-               |
| 3  | national force to help protect the borders of              |
| 4  | Iraq until a capable national army is formed.              |
| 5  | SEC. 5. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.                               |
| 6  | (a) Reports Required.—Not later than June 30,              |
| 7  | 2006, and every six months thereafter, the President shall |
| 8  | submit to the appropriate committees of Congress a report  |
| 9  | the actions taken to implement the strategy set forth in   |
| 10 | section 3 including the actions specified in section 4.    |
| 11 | (b) Appropriate Committees of Congress De-                 |
| 12 | FINED.—In this section, the term "appropriate commit-      |
| 13 | tees of Congress" means—                                   |
| 14 | (1) the Committees on Foreign Relations and                |
| 15 | Appropriations of the Senate; and                          |
| 16 | (2) the Committees on International Relations              |
| 17 | and Appropriations of the House of Representatives.        |

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