

110TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 663

To redeploy United States Armed Forces from Iraq and to establish a new direction for United States policy toward Iraq.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 24, 2007

Mr. BLUMENAUER (for himself, Mr. FARR, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BISHOP of New York, and Mr. HARE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, 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 redeploy United States Armed Forces from Iraq and to establish a new direction for United States policy toward Iraq.

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 AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “New Direction for Iraq Act of 2007”.

6 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for  
7 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.

Sec. 2. Goals of United States policy toward Iraq.

TITLE I—REDEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES  
FROM IRAQ

Sec. 101. Prohibition on escalation of United States military presence in Iraq.

Sec. 102. Redeployment of United States Armed Forces from Iraq.

Sec. 103. Restoration of Iraqi sovereignty.

TITLE II—ASSISTANCE FOR IRAQ

Sec. 201. Assistance for reconstruction and economic development.

Sec. 202. Assistance for democracy and civil society promotion.

Sec. 203. Assistance for militia disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration.

Sec. 204. Federal contracts for Iraq reconstruction.

TITLE III—DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

Sec. 301. Regional and international diplomacy.

Sec. 302. Internal Iraq diplomacy.

Sec. 303. Refugees from Iraq.

**1 SEC. 2. GOALS OF UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD IRAQ.**

2       The goals of United States policy toward Iraq are—

3               (1) to support the people of Iraq in their desire  
4       for security, democratic self-determination, and an  
5       end to the United States occupation of Iraq;

6               (2) to mitigate against a worsening of violence  
7       in Iraq and seek to prevent, to the extent possible,  
8       additional sectarian violence;

9               (3) to reestablish United States international  
10      credibility, military readiness, and fiscal responsi-  
11      bility; and

12              (4) to refocus on the threat posed by violent  
13      fundamentalists and other real threats to the na-  
14      tional security of the United States.

1 **TITLE I—REDEPLOYMENT OF**  
2 **UNITED STATES ARMED**  
3 **FORCES FROM IRAQ**

4 **SEC. 101. PROHIBITION ON ESCALATION OF UNITED**  
5 **STATES MILITARY PRESENCE IN IRAQ.**

6 Funds appropriated or otherwise made available to  
7 the Department of Defense under any provision of law  
8 may not be obligated or expended to increase the number  
9 of members of the Armed Forces serving in Iraq so that  
10 the total number of members serving in Iraq at any time  
11 exceeds the number of members serving in Iraq as of the  
12 date of the enactment of this Act unless the increase is  
13 specifically authorized by an Act of Congress.

14 **SEC. 102. REDEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED**  
15 **FORCES FROM IRAQ.**

16 (a) **COMMENCEMENT OF REDEPLOYMENT.**—Not  
17 later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this  
18 Act, the Secretary of Defense shall begin the redeployment  
19 of United States Armed Forces from Iraq.

20 (b) **TIMETABLE FOR COMPLETION OF REDEPLOY-**  
21 **MENT.**—The redeployment required by subsection (a)  
22 shall be completed in the shortest appropriate time frame,  
23 based on the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and de-  
24 tailed plan for the transfer of security responsibility on  
25 a sector-by-sector basis to be negotiated with the appro-

1 priate authorities of the Government of Iraq. It is the  
2 sense of Congress that the phrase “shortest appropriate  
3 time frame” should be no longer than one year.

4 (c) REDEPLOYMENT LOCATIONS.—The majority of  
5 units of the Armed Forces redeployed pursuant to sub-  
6 section (a) should be returned to the United States. Other  
7 units should be redeployed as part of a rapid reaction force  
8 in the Middle East, with the capacity to respond to contin-  
9 gencies in Iraq and in Afghanistan for the purpose of ex-  
10 panding secured areas and preventing the reemergence of  
11 the Taliban.

12 (d) MISSION OF ARMED FORCES IN IRAQ.—Until the  
13 redeployment required by subsection (a) is completed, the  
14 mission of the Armed Forces in Iraq should focus on sup-  
15 porting the Iraqi Army in holding and stabilizing popu-  
16 lation centers, rather than using the Armed Forces to en-  
17 gage in combat operations against insurgents.

18 **SEC. 103. RESTORATION OF IRAQI SOVEREIGNTY.**

19 (a) PROHIBITION ON PERMANENT UNITED STATES  
20 MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN IRAQ.—No permanent or  
21 long-term military installation, which is designed or in-  
22 tended to be occupied by a unit of the United States  
23 Armed Forces after the redeployment of the Armed Forces  
24 from Iraq pursuant to section 102, may be constructed  
25 in Iraq.

1 (b) PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES ACTIONS TO  
2 CONTROL OIL RESOURCES IN IRAQ.—No official or rep-  
3 resentative of the Government of the United States shall  
4 seek to exercise control over the petroleum infrastructure,  
5 petroleum resources, or the economic policies of Iraq.

## 6 **TITLE II—ASSISTANCE FOR IRAQ**

### 7 **SEC. 201. ASSISTANCE FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND ECO-** 8 **NOMIC DEVELOPMENT.**

9 (a) REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE  
10 THROUGH IRAQI BUSINESSES AND NATIONALS.—Funds  
11 appropriated or otherwise made available for the recon-  
12 struction of Iraq or economic development in Iraq under  
13 any provision of law shall, to the maximum extent possible  
14 and appropriate, be expended through—

15 (1) Iraqi-owned businesses, with a preference  
16 for small businesses; and

17 (2) private voluntary organizations or busi-  
18 nesses of any nationality whose Iraq-based staff con-  
19 sists primarily of individuals who are nationals of  
20 Iraq.

21 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING IRAQ COMMU-  
22 NITY ACTION PROGRAM.—It is the sense of Congress that  
23 the Iraq Community Action Program of the United States  
24 Agency for International Development is an effective eco-

1 nomic development program being carried out at the local  
2 level in Iraq and should be greatly expanded.

3 **SEC. 202. ASSISTANCE FOR DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL SOCI-**  
4 **ETY PROMOTION.**

5 (a) ASSISTANCE.—The President is authorized to  
6 provide assistance for the promotion of democracy and  
7 civil society in Iraq.

8 (b) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Assistance provided  
9 under subsection (a) shall, to the maximum extent prac-  
10 ticable, be used to strengthen participatory, nonpartisan,  
11 multi-ethnic institutions of civil society in Iraq, including  
12 labor and trade unions, chambers of commerce, environ-  
13 mental organizations, peacebuilding and reconciliation  
14 programs, and social and community organizations.

15 (c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—To carry out this section,  
17 there are authorized to be appropriated to the Presi-  
18 dent \$40,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2007  
19 through 2010.

20 (2) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—Amounts  
21 appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appro-  
22 priations under paragraph (1)—

23 (A) are authorized to remain available  
24 until expended; and

1 (B) are in addition to amounts otherwise  
2 available for such purposes.

3 **SEC. 203. ASSISTANCE FOR MILITIA DISARMAMENT, DEMO-**  
4 **BILIZATION, AND REINTEGRATION.**

5 (a) ASSISTANCE.—The President is authorized to  
6 provide assistance for the disarmament, demobilization,  
7 and reintegration of militias in Iraq.

8 (b) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Assistance provided  
9 under subsection (a) shall, to the maximum extent prac-  
10 ticable, be used to support—

11 (1) the presence of neutral international experts  
12 as advisors to the Government of Iraq on the proc-  
13 esses of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegra-  
14 tion of militias; and

15 (2) the establishment of a single office in the  
16 Government of Iraq to coordinate assistance for dis-  
17 armament, demobilization, and reintegration of mili-  
18 tias.

19 (c) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
20 gress that members and units of the United States Armed  
21 Forces should not carry out or otherwise participate in  
22 activities supported under this section.

23 (d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

24 (1) IN GENERAL.—To carry out this section,  
25 there are authorized to be appropriated to the Presi-

1       dent such sums as may be necessary for each of the  
2       fiscal years 2007 through 2010.

3               (2)   ADDITIONAL   REQUIREMENTS.—Amounts  
4       appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appro-  
5       priations under paragraph (1)—

6                   (A) are authorized to remain available  
7               until expended; and

8                   (B) are in addition to amounts otherwise  
9               available for such purposes.

10   **SEC. 204. FEDERAL CONTRACTS FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUC-**  
11                   **TION.**

12       (a)   TERMINATION OF ALL CONTRACTS OF CON-  
13   TRACTOR NOT FULFILLING TERMS OF ONE CONTRACT.—

14   In the case of a contractor with more than one contract  
15   awarded by the Federal Government to perform Iraq re-  
16   construction, the President may terminate all such con-  
17   tracts of the contractor if the contractor is not fulfilling  
18   the terms of one of its contracts for Iraq reconstruction.  
19   Any funds recovered from the termination of such con-  
20   tracts shall be considered to be funds available for the re-  
21   construction of Iraq or economic development in Iraq and  
22   shall, to the maximum extent possible and appropriate, be  
23   expended in accordance with section 201(a).

24       (b)   RECOVERY OF FUNDS.—It is the sense of Con-  
25   gress that the President should make aggressive use of



1 the authority to recover funds from any contracts for Iraq  
2 reconstruction that are terminated, whether terminated  
3 pursuant to the authority in subsection (a) or as otherwise  
4 provided by law.

5 (c) WAR PROFITEERING.—It is the sense of Congress  
6 that the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secre-  
7 taries of Defense and State, should aggressively seek to  
8 prosecute any perpetrators of criminal fraud in the award-  
9 ing and carrying out of Federal contracts for Iraq recon-  
10 struction.

11 (d) CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT.—It is the sense of  
12 Congress that the appropriate committees of jurisdiction  
13 in the House of Representatives and the Senate should  
14 use their full authority to investigate the awarding and  
15 carrying out of contracts by the Government to conduct  
16 activities in Iraq regarding the following matters:

17 (1) The award of such contracts, including the  
18 solicitation and evaluation of bids or proposals.

19 (2) Standards for the auditing of such con-  
20 tracts.

21 (3) Procedures for oversight of the performance  
22 of such contracts.

23 (4) Forms of payment and safeguards against  
24 money laundering.

1           (5) Accountability of contractors and Govern-  
2           ment officials involved in the award and carrying out  
3           of such contracts.

4           (6) Penalties for violations of law and abuses in  
5           the awarding and carrying out of such contracts.

6           (7) The use of subcontracts under large, com-  
7           prehensive contracts.

8           (8) The inclusion and use of small businesses in  
9           such contracts, through subcontracts or otherwise.

10                           **TITLE III—DIPLOMATIC**  
11                           **EFFORTS**

12           **SEC. 301. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY.**

13           (a) IN GENERAL.—The President, acting through the  
14           Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense, shall un-  
15           dertake a regional diplomatic effort to establish a regional  
16           security dialogue to provide support and cooperation in  
17           promoting stability in Iraq. Such an effort shall include  
18           direct bilateral negotiations with all of Iraq’s neighboring  
19           countries and other relevant regional and nonregional gov-  
20           ernments and international organizations, such as the  
21           United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization,  
22           the Arab League, and the Organization of the Islamic  
23           Conference.

24           (b) DIPLOMATIC OPTIONS.—If appropriate, the  
25           President, acting through the Secretary of State and the

1 Secretary of Defense, shall seek to formalize the regional  
2 security dialogue required under subsection (a) in a multi-  
3 lateral support group framework and host a regional secu-  
4 rity conference.

5 (c) SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING POLICY.—It is  
6 the sense of Congress that the negotiations and security  
7 dialogue required under subsection (a) should not under-  
8 mine United States policy in support of the security of  
9 Israel, the sovereignty of Lebanon, or the autonomy of  
10 Iraqi Kurds.

11 (d) COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENTS.—The President,  
12 acting through the Secretary of State and the Secretary  
13 of Defense, shall seek to use the negotiations required  
14 under subsection (a) to reach comprehensive agreements  
15 with Syria and Iran regarding ending support for ter-  
16 rorism, nuclear nonproliferation, cessation of violence  
17 against Israel, and other outstanding issues. The Presi-  
18 dent, acting through the Secretary of State and the Sec-  
19 retary of Defense shall further demonstrate a willingness  
20 to provide the necessary security guarantees and economic  
21 and diplomatic incentives for such agreements.

22 (e) ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE.—

23 (1) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of  
24 Congress that United States support for progress in  
25 the Israeli-Palestinian peace process is an important

1 factor for the United States to regain credibility and  
2 influence in the Middle East.

3 (2) UNITED STATES EFFORT.—The President,  
4 acting through the Secretary of State and the Sec-  
5 retary of Defense, shall undertake a renewed effort  
6 towards securing Israeli-Palestinian peace by encour-  
7 aging negotiations aimed at the establishment of an  
8 independent and contiguous Palestinian state living  
9 alongside a secure Israel in peace, on a basis similar  
10 to the parameters for peace presented to Israel and  
11 the Palestinian Authority by former President Bill  
12 Clinton in December 2000 and the unofficial Geneva  
13 Accords of 2003.

14 (f) UNITED NATIONS.—The President shall direct  
15 the Permanent Representative of the United States to the  
16 United Nations to seek a new resolution in the United Na-  
17 tions Security Council supporting regional and inter-  
18 national cooperation in promoting stability in Iraq and au-  
19 thorizing renewed United Nations assistance to promote  
20 security and political reconciliation in Iraq.

21 **SEC. 302. INTERNAL IRAQ DIPLOMACY.**

22 (a) BENCHMARKS.—The President, in partnership  
23 with the Government of Iraq, shall develop a series of  
24 benchmarks in the areas of national reconciliation, secu-  
25 rity, and governance.

1 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING SUPPORT FOR  
2 THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ.—It is the sense of Congress  
3 that further political and economic support for the Gov-  
4 ernment of Iraq should be conditioned on significant  
5 progress towards achieving the benchmarks referred to in  
6 subsection (a).

7 (c) SPECIAL ENVOY.—

8 (1) APPOINTMENT.—Not later than 15 days  
9 after the date determined in subsection (d), the  
10 President shall appoint an individual to serve as  
11 Special Envoy for Iraq Reconciliation.

12 (2) CRITERIA FOR APPOINTMENT.—An indi-  
13 vidual appointed under paragraph (1) shall be of sig-  
14 nificant stature and shall have the respect and trust  
15 of parties within Iraq.

16 (3) DUTIES.—The Special Envoy shall—

17 (A) encourage dialogue between sectarian  
18 communities within Iraq with the goal of pro-  
19 moting peace and national reconciliation;

20 (B) engage all political and military enti-  
21 ties, including all militias and insurgents (ex-  
22 cept militias and insurgents associated or affili-  
23 ated in any way or manner with al-Qaeda) with-  
24 in Iraq in a peace process; and

1           (C) encourage religious and tribal leaders  
2           to speak out in favor of peace and reconcili-  
3           ation.

4           (d) **ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.**—The require-  
5           ment for the President to appoint a Special Envoy in ac-  
6           cordance with subsection (c) shall be satisfied by the ap-  
7           pointment by the United Nations of such a special envoy  
8           based on the same criteria and with the same duties as  
9           described in such subsection, provided such United Na-  
10          tions appointment occurs not later than 30 days after the  
11          date of the enactment of this Act.

12          **SEC. 303. REFUGEES FROM IRAQ.**

13          (a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Con-  
14          gress that—

15                (1) the humanitarian impact of the war in Iraq,  
16                particularly the problem of refugees from Iraq,  
17                needs greater attention from the United States Gov-  
18                ernment;

19                (2) the United States should greatly increase  
20                the number of refugees from Iraq who are admitted  
21                to the United States and increase the amount of as-  
22                sistance provided to support Iraqi refugees else-  
23                where;

24                (3) the Secretary of Homeland Security and  
25                Secretary of State, as appropriate, should seek to

1 streamline procedures for the admission to the  
2 United States of refugees from Iraq and ease the  
3 burden of applying for refugee status;

4 (4) the 20,000 unallocated refugee admissions  
5 authorized by Presidential Determination No. 2007–  
6 1 should be used for refugees from Iraq; and

7 (5) special attention should be given to particu-  
8 larly vulnerable Iraqi refugee populations, including  
9 Iraqis who worked with United States Armed  
10 Forces, ethnically mixed families, and members of  
11 religious minority groups.

12 (b) ACTION.—The President, acting through the Sec-  
13 retary of Homeland Security and the Secretary of State,  
14 as appropriate, shall, for any country containing a signifi-  
15 cant population of Iraqi refugees—

16 (1) if, appropriate, seek to negotiate a bilateral  
17 refugee resettlement agreement for the purpose of  
18 expediting the admission into the United States of  
19 such refugees; or

20 (2) if the bilateral refugee resettlement agree-  
21 ment referred to in paragraph (1) is not achievable,  
22 devise strategies, in consultation with the host gov-  
23 ernment and relevant international organizations  
24 and agencies, for the provision of assistance to facili-

1       tate the well-being, safety, and integration into their  
2       host environments of such refugees.

3       (c) SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING FUNDING.—It  
4       is the sense of Congress that the President should submit  
5       to Congress a supplemental appropriations request to pro-  
6       vide sufficient funding to carry out subsection (b).

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