

110<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

# H. R. 5507

To require the safe, complete, and fully-funded redeployment of United States Armed Forces and contractor security forces from Iraq and to prohibit the establishment of any enduring or permanent United States military bases in Iraq, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 27, 2008

Ms. WOOLSEY (for herself, Ms. LEE, Ms. WATERS, Ms. CLARKE, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mr. GRIJALVA) 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 require the safe, complete, and fully-funded redeployment of United States Armed Forces and contractor security forces from Iraq and to prohibit the establishment of any enduring or permanent United States military bases in Iraq, and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

2 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
 3 “Fully-Funded United States Military Redeployment and  
 4 Sovereignty of Iraq Restoration Act of 2008”.

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

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—REDEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES  
 FROM IRAQ

Sec. 101. Findings.

Sec. 102. Statement of policy.

Sec. 103. Repeal of Public Law 107–243.

Sec. 104. Disengagement of United States Armed Forces and contractor secu-  
 rity forces from Iraq.

Sec. 105. Prohibition on permanent United States military installations in Iraq.

Sec. 106. Deployment of international stabilization force to Iraq.

Sec. 107. Closure of detention centers operated by United States in Iraq.

Sec. 108. Liability of United States for certain acts against prisoners and de-  
 tainees in Iraq.

Sec. 109. Limitation on total number of United States Government personnel  
 at United States Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq.

Sec. 110. Prohibition on production sharing agreements for Iraqi petroleum re-  
 sources.

Sec. 111. Iraqi-American Interparliamentary Group.

Sec. 112. Assistance to support international efforts for political reconciliation  
 in Iraq.

TITLE II—COMPREHENSIVE POST-CONFLICT SUPPORT IN IRAQ

Sec. 201. Statement of policy.

Sec. 202. Plan to initiate a diplomatic surge to bring an expeditious end to the  
 occupation of Iraq.

Sec. 203. Deployment of the Armed Forces to achieve an over-the-horizon mili-  
 tary presence for the purpose of targeting global terrorism.

Sec. 204. Commission on Funding the Reconstruction of Iraq.

7 **TITLE I—REDEPLOYMENT OF**  
 8 **UNITED STATES ARMED**  
 9 **FORCES FROM IRAQ**

10 **SEC. 101. FINDINGS.**

11 Congress finds the following:

1           (1) The brave men and women of the United  
2 States Armed Forces continue to serve with distinc-  
3 tion in Iraq and have earned the respect and grati-  
4 tude of the American people.

5           (2) On May 1, 2003, under a banner displaying  
6 the words “Mission Accomplished,” President  
7 George W. Bush stated: “Major combat operations  
8 in Iraq have ended.”. At that point, the occupation  
9 of Iraq began.

10          (3) The civilian leadership at the Department  
11 of Defense has failed to adequately support United  
12 States Armed Forces in Iraq, which were not trained  
13 to carry out an occupation and did not receive the  
14 proper equipment to achieve their stated mission.

15          (4) The occupation of Iraq has made the  
16 United States economically and militarily weaker,  
17 has made the United States less safe because it has  
18 enhanced the recruitment of terrorists, and has di-  
19 minished America’s prestige and influence in the  
20 world.

21          (5) Iraq is embroiled in a civil war character-  
22 ized by daily occurrences of retaliation and revenge,  
23 fueled by the occupation of Iraq by United States  
24 Armed Forces. The civil war in Iraq was predicted

1 by United States military commanders before the  
2 2003 occupation of Iraq.

3 (6) The United States has pursued military ac-  
4 tion rather than diplomatic alternatives in Iraq, and  
5 has reduced reconstruction efforts in Iraq.

6 (7) On May 13, 2003, the President stated,  
7 “We will stay as long as necessary to make sure that  
8 the Iraqi people have a government of, by and for  
9 the Iraqi people. And then we’ll come home.”.

10 (8) On December 15, 2005, the Iraqi people  
11 participated in elections to directly elect a full-term  
12 government. Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki  
13 and other high-ranking Iraqi Government officials,  
14 as well as leaders from the Sunni, Shiite, and Kurd-  
15 ish communities in Iraq, have since called for a  
16 timetable for the withdrawal of United States Armed  
17 Forces from Iraq.

18 (9) Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has  
19 stated that Iraqi political leaders must bring security  
20 and stability to Iraq.

21 (10) During the summer of 2006, General  
22 George Casey, the top United States military com-  
23 mander in Iraq, proposed a plan for the deployment  
24 from Iraq of a substantial portion of United States  
25 Armed Forces and briefed the President accordingly.

1           (11) United States military commanders in  
2 Iraq, including General David Petraeus, have repeat-  
3 edly stated that there is no military solution to the  
4 turmoil in Iraq.

5           (12) In the United States elections held on No-  
6 vember 7, 2006, the American people clearly voted  
7 for a change in United States policy in Iraq and in  
8 favor of United States military disengagement from  
9 Iraq.

10          (13) In December 2006, the bipartisan Iraq  
11 Study Group recommended against the United  
12 States making an open-ended commitment to keep  
13 large numbers of United States troops deployed in  
14 Iraq.

15          (14) Furthermore, the Iraq Study Group rec-  
16 ommended that the primary mission of United  
17 States forces in Iraq should evolve to one supporting  
18 the Iraqi army, which should take over responsibility  
19 for combat operations.

20          (15) In particular, the Iraq Study Group con-  
21 cluded that by the end of the first quarter of 2008,  
22 all United States combat brigades not necessary for  
23 force protection could be withdrawn from Iraq, sub-  
24 ject to unexpected developments in the situation on  
25 the ground, and urged a fundamental change in mis-

1 sion wherein remaining United States combat forces  
2 should be deployed only in units embedded with  
3 Iraqi forces, in rapid-reaction and special operations  
4 teams, and in training, equipping, advising, force  
5 protection, and search and rescue.

6 (16) In disregard of these bipartisan rec-  
7 ommendations, the President on January 10, 2007,  
8 ordered a surge of 30,000 additional United States  
9 troops be deployed to Iraq for the expressed purpose  
10 of providing Iraqi leaders inside and outside of the  
11 central government until September 2007 to nego-  
12 tiate, reconcile, and achieve much-needed funda-  
13 mental reforms deemed essential to attaining greater  
14 stability, curbing sectarian violence, and re-building  
15 civil society and respect for the rule of law in Iraq.

16 (17) No substantial progress has been made to-  
17 ward achievement of the aforementioned reforms  
18 within the Iraqi body politic.

19 (18) Consequently, an even greater majority of  
20 the American people are opposed to prolonging an  
21 open-ended deployment of United States Armed  
22 Forces in Iraq and concur with the recommendation  
23 of the bipartisan Iraq Study Group that the Presi-  
24 dent should publicly renounce any United States de-  
25 sire for permanent military bases in Iraq.

1 **SEC. 102. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

2 Congress declares that it is the policy of the United  
3 States—

4 (1) to commence the safe and orderly redeploy-  
5 ment of United States troops and military contrac-  
6 tors and end the military occupation of Iraq on the  
7 basis of the findings specified in section 101;

8 (2) to pursue security and stability in Iraq  
9 through diplomacy;

10 (3) to help preserve the territorial integrity of  
11 Iraq as a nation state and establish a strong, effec-  
12 tive, and democratic central government consistent  
13 with the provisions of the Constitution of Iraq;

14 (4) to take all appropriate measures to account  
15 for any missing members of the United States  
16 Armed Forces or United States citizens in Iraq; and

17 (5) to turn over all internal security activities  
18 and military operations in Iraq to the elected Gov-  
19 ernment of Iraq not later than the end of the one-  
20 year period beginning on the date of the enactment  
21 of this Act.

22 **SEC. 103. REPEAL OF PUBLIC LAW 107-243.**

23 The Authorization for Use of Military Force Against  
24 Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107-243; 50 U.S.C.  
25 1541 note) is hereby repealed.

1 **SEC. 104. DISENGAGEMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED**  
2 **FORCES AND CONTRACTOR SECURITY**  
3 **FORCES FROM IRAQ.**

4 (a) WITHDRAWAL OF ARMED FORCES.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
6 graph (2), not later than the end of the one-year pe-  
7 riod beginning on the date of enactment of this Act,  
8 all United States Armed Forces serving in Iraq as  
9 part of Operation Iraqi Freedom shall be withdrawn  
10 from Iraq and returned to the United States or re-  
11 deployed outside of the Middle East.

12 (2) LIMITED PRESENCE.—After the end of the  
13 one-year period beginning on the date of enactment  
14 of this Act, the Secretary of Defense may deploy or  
15 maintain not more than 500 members of the United  
16 States Armed Forces in Iraq to protect the United  
17 States Embassy in Baghdad and to safeguard Amer-  
18 icans remaining in Iraq for nonmilitary purposes.

19 (b) WITHDRAWAL OF CONTRACTOR SECURITY  
20 FORCES.—

21 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the end of  
22 the one-year period beginning on the date of enact-  
23 ment of this Act, all security forces under contract  
24 or subcontract with the United States Government  
25 and working in Iraq shall be withdrawn from Iraq.

1           (2) TERMINATION OF CONTRACTS.—The con-  
2           tract or subcontract providing for the use of such se-  
3           curity forces shall be terminated as soon as prac-  
4           ticable after the forces are withdrawn.

5           (c) PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS TO CONTINUE  
6 DEPLOYMENT OF ARMED FORCES AND CONTRACTOR SE-  
7 CURITY FORCES IN IRAQ.—

8           (1) PROHIBITION.—Except as provided in para-  
9           graph (2), funds appropriated or otherwise made  
10          available under any provision of law may not be obli-  
11          gated or expended to deploy or continue to deploy  
12          members or units of the United States Armed  
13          Forces or contractor security forces to Iraq as part  
14          of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

15          (2) EXCEPTIONS.—Paragraph (1) does not  
16          apply to the use of funds—

17                 (A) to provide for the safe and orderly  
18                 withdrawal of the Armed Forces and contractor  
19                 security forces from Iraq pursuant to sub-  
20                 sections (a) and (b); or

21                 (B) to ensure the security of Iraq and its  
22                 transition to democratic rule by carrying out  
23                 consultations with the Government of Iraq,  
24                 other foreign governments, the North Atlantic

1 Treaty Organization, the United Nations, and  
2 other international organizations.

3 (d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
4 tion shall be construed to prohibit or otherwise restrict  
5 the use of funds available to any department or agency  
6 of the United States, other than the Department of De-  
7 fense, to carry out social and economic reconstruction ac-  
8 tivities in Iraq.

9 (e) ARMED FORCES DEFINED.—In this section, the  
10 term “Armed Forces” has the meaning given the term in  
11 section 101(a)(4) of title 10, United States Code.

12 **SEC. 105. PROHIBITION ON PERMANENT UNITED STATES**  
13 **MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN IRAQ.**

14 (a) PROHIBITION.—No permanent or long-term mili-  
15 tary installation, which is designed or intended to be occu-  
16 pied by a unit of the United States Armed Forces after  
17 the withdrawal of the Armed Forces from Iraq pursuant  
18 to section 104(a), may be constructed in Iraq unless ex-  
19 plicitly approved by Congress in the form of a treaty or  
20 statute.

21 (b) TRANSFER OF MILITARY FACILITIES.—The  
22 President of the United States shall transfer to the Gov-  
23 ernment of Iraq all right, title, and interest held by the  
24 United States in any military facility in Iraq that was con-  
25 structed, repaired, or improved using amounts appro-

1 priated to the Department of Defense and occupied by a  
2 unit of the United States Armed Forces.

3 **SEC. 106. DEPLOYMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STABILIZA-**  
4 **TION FORCE TO IRAQ.**

5 (a) DEPLOYMENT.—If requested jointly by the execu-  
6 tive and legislative branches of the Government of Iraq  
7 (including with the support of the National Assembly of  
8 Iraq), the President of the United States is authorized to  
9 support the deployment of an international stabilization  
10 force to Iraq to enhance public security in Iraq after the  
11 withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Iraq pur-  
12 suant to section 104(a).

13 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
14 gress that the deployment of the international stabilization  
15 force to Iraq described in subsection (a) should commence  
16 not later than the end of the one-year period beginning  
17 on the date of enactment of this Act, and terminate not  
18 later than the end of the two-year period beginning on  
19 the date of commencement of such deployment.

20 **SEC. 107. CLOSURE OF DETENTION CENTERS OPERATED BY**  
21 **UNITED STATES IN IRAQ.**

22 (a) CLOSURE REQUIRED.—No later than the end of  
23 the one-year period beginning on the date of enactment  
24 of this Act, all detention centers operated by the United

1 States Armed Forces in Iraq or operated under contract  
2 with the United States Government in Iraq shall be closed.

3 (b) TREATMENT OF REMAINING PRISONERS AND DE-  
4 TAINÉES.—

5 (1) INDICTED IRAQIS WHO SERVED IN SADDAM  
6 HUSSEIN REGIME.—An Iraqi prisoner or detainee in  
7 a detention center closed under subsection (a) who  
8 served in the regime of Saddam Hussein and has  
9 been indicted by the Government of Iraq as of the  
10 date of the closure of the center shall be transferred  
11 from United States custody to the control of Iraqi  
12 authorities.

13 (2) OTHER IRAQIS WHO SERVED IN SADDAM  
14 HUSSEIN REGIME.—An Iraqi prisoner or detainee in  
15 a detention center closed under subsection (a) who  
16 served in the regime of Saddam Hussein and is sus-  
17 pected of crimes, but who has not been indicted as  
18 of the date of the closure of the center, shall be  
19 transferred from United States custody to the con-  
20 trol of Iraqi authorities. All records held by the  
21 United States related to the prisoner or detainee  
22 shall be transferred to the Iraqi Ministry of Justice  
23 and related courts.

24 (3) RELEASE OF CERTAIN IRAQIS.—An Iraqi  
25 prisoner or detainee in a detention center closed

1 under subsection (a) who is suspected or accused  
2 solely of participation in the insurgency, but no spe-  
3 cific crime, shall be released.

4 (4) NON-IRAQIS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE  
5 IRAQI INSURGENCY.—A non-Iraqi prisoner or de-  
6 tainee in a detention center closed under subsection  
7 (a) who is suspected or accused of participation in  
8 the insurgency shall be transferred to the control of  
9 the International Committee of the Red Crescent in  
10 collaboration with the International Committee of  
11 the Red Cross.

12 (5) AL-QAEDA MEMBERS.—Notwithstanding  
13 any of the preceding paragraphs, a prisoner or de-  
14 tainee in a detention center closed under subsection  
15 (a) who is suspected or accused of being a member  
16 of, or associated with, the terrorist group al-Qaeda  
17 shall be brought to the United States for indictment  
18 and trial, as determined in a United States court of  
19 law.

20 **SEC. 108. LIABILITY OF UNITED STATES FOR CERTAIN ACTS**  
21 **AGAINST PRISONERS AND DETAINEES IN**  
22 **IRAQ.**

23 (a) LIABILITY.—

24 (1) TORTURE.—Any citizen or national of Iraq  
25 or of any other foreign country who was imprisoned

1 or detained in Iraq by a covered person during the  
2 period beginning on March 19, 2003, and ending at  
3 the conclusion of the one-year period beginning on  
4 the date of enactment of this Act, may bring an ac-  
5 tion against the United States in an appropriate  
6 court of the United States for money damages for  
7 personal injury or death caused by an act of torture  
8 committed by a covered person, during such impris-  
9 onment or detention, in violation of the obligations  
10 of the United States under international law or in  
11 violation of any law of the United States (if the im-  
12 prisonment or detention had occurred in the United  
13 States).

14 (2) ILLEGAL IMPRISONMENT OR DETENTION.—  
15 Any citizen or national of Iraq or of any other for-  
16 eign country who was imprisoned or detained in Iraq  
17 by a covered person in violation of the obligations of  
18 the United States under international law or in vio-  
19 lation of any law of the United States (if the impris-  
20 onment or detention had occurred in the United  
21 States) during the period beginning on March 19,  
22 2003, and ending at the conclusion of the one-year  
23 period beginning on the date of enactment of this  
24 Act, may bring an action against the United States  
25 in an appropriate court of the United States for

1 money damages for personal injury or death in-  
2 curred by reason of such imprisonment or detention.

3 (b) JURISDICTION.—The United States district  
4 courts shall have original jurisdiction, concurrent with the  
5 United States Court of Federal Claims, of any civil action  
6 against the United States under subsection (a).

7 (c) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—An action under this  
8 section is barred unless it is commenced within 5 years  
9 after the cause of action arose.

10 (d) NATURE OF REMEDY.—The remedy provided  
11 under this section is in addition to any other remedy pro-  
12 vided by law.

13 (e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

14 (1) COVERED PERSON.—The term “covered  
15 person” means—

16 (A) any member of the United States  
17 Armed Forces;

18 (B) any other officer or employee of the  
19 United States Government; or

20 (C) any employee of security forces under  
21 contract or subcontract with the United States  
22 Government.

23 (2) TORTURE.—The term “torture” has the  
24 meaning given that term in section 3 of the Torture

1 Victim Protection Act of 1991 (28 U.S.C. 1350  
2 note).

3 **SEC. 109. LIMITATION ON TOTAL NUMBER OF UNITED**  
4 **STATES GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL AT**  
5 **UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN BAGHDAD,**  
6 **IRAQ.**

7 (a) LIMITATION.—Notwithstanding any other provi-  
8 sion of law, the total number of officers and employees  
9 of the United States Government assigned to the United  
10 States Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, may not exceed 500  
11 individuals, not including the members of the United  
12 States Armed Forces described in section 104(a)(2).

13 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Subsection (a) shall take ef-  
14 fect beginning on the first day after the conclusion of the  
15 one-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this  
16 Act.

17 **SEC. 110. PROHIBITION ON PRODUCTION SHARING AGREE-**  
18 **MENTS FOR IRAQI PETROLEUM RESOURCES.**

19 (a) PROHIBITION.—On or after the date of the enact-  
20 ment of this Act, no department, agency, or other entity  
21 of the Government of the United States and no national  
22 of the United States may enter into a contract of longer  
23 than thirty days for the development, production, or mar-  
24 keting of petroleum resources in Iraq.

1 (b) SUNSET.—Subsection (a) shall cease to be effec-  
2 tive beginning on the date on which the President of the  
3 United States certifies to Congress that the Government  
4 of Iraq has established and is enforcing laws that provide  
5 for the regulation of activities of foreign governments and  
6 foreign nationals pursuant to contracts for the develop-  
7 ment, production, or marketing of petroleum resources in  
8 Iraq.

9 (c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “national  
10 of the United States” means—

11 (1) a natural person who is a citizen of the  
12 United States or who owes permanent allegiance to  
13 the United States or is an alien lawfully admitted  
14 for permanent residence in the United States, as de-  
15 fined in section 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and  
16 Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(20)); or

17 (2) a corporation, partnership, or other busi-  
18 ness association that is organized under the laws of  
19 the United States, any State or territory thereof, or  
20 the District of Columbia.

21 **SEC. 111. IRAQI-AMERICAN INTERPARLIAMENTARY GROUP.**

22 (a) ESTABLISHMENT AND MEETINGS.—There is es-  
23 tablished an Iraqi-American Interparliamentary Group (in  
24 this section referred to as the “Group”).

1 (b) MEMBERSHIP.—The Group shall be composed of  
2 not more than 24 Members of Congress, who shall be ap-  
3 pointed to meet annually, including at times when Con-  
4 gress is not in session, with representatives of the National  
5 Assembly of the Republic of Iraq for discussion of common  
6 problems in the interest of relations between Iraq and the  
7 United States. The Members of Congress so appointed  
8 shall be referred to as the “United States group” of the  
9 Iraqi-American Interparliamentary Group.

10 (c) APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS.—Of the Members  
11 of Congress appointed to the Group—

12 (1) half shall be appointed by the Speaker of  
13 the House of Representatives from among Members  
14 of the House (not fewer than four of whom shall be  
15 Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs); and

16 (2) half shall be appointed by the President Pro  
17 Tempore of the Senate, upon recommendations of  
18 the majority and minority leaders of the Senate,  
19 from among Members of the Senate (not fewer than  
20 four of whom shall be members of the Committee on  
21 Foreign Relations) unless the majority and minority  
22 leaders of the Senate determine otherwise.

23 (d) CHAIR AND VICE CHAIR.—

24 (1) HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The  
25 Speaker of the House of Representatives shall des-

1        designate the Chair or Vice Chair of the House of Rep-  
2        resentatives delegation of the United States group.  
3        The Chair or Vice Chair shall be a Member of the  
4        Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-  
5        resentatives.

6            (2) SENATE.—The President Pro Tempore of  
7        the Senate shall designate the Chair or Vice Chair  
8        of the Senate delegation of the United States group.  
9        The Chair or Vice Chair shall be a Member of the  
10       Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

11       (e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

12            (1) IN GENERAL.—There is authorized to be  
13        appropriated \$100,000 for each fiscal year to assist  
14        in meeting the expenses of the United States group.

15            (2) DISTRIBUTION.—Half of the amount appro-  
16        priated in accordance with paragraph (1) shall be  
17        for the House of Representatives delegation and half  
18        of such amount shall be for the Senate delegation.

19            (3) DISBURSEMENT.—The House and Senate  
20        portions of such amount shall be disbursed on  
21        vouchers to be approved by the Chair of the House  
22        delegation and the Chair of the Senate delegation,  
23        respectively.

24        (f) CERTIFICATION OF EXPENDITURES.—The certifi-  
25       cate of the Chair of the House of Representatives delega-

1 tion or the Senate delegation of the United States group  
2 shall be final and conclusive upon the accounting officers  
3 in the auditing of the accounts of the United States group.

4 (g) ANNUAL REPORT.—Not later than 45 days after  
5 the conclusion of a fiscal year with respect to which an  
6 appropriation was made for the United States group, the  
7 United States group shall submit to Congress a report  
8 containing information relating to its expenditures under  
9 such appropriation.

10 **SEC. 112. ASSISTANCE TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL EF-**  
11 **FORTS FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION IN**  
12 **IRAQ.**

13 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

14 (1) The bipartisan Iraq Study Group report  
15 found that “national reconciliation is essential to re-  
16 duce further violence and maintain the unity of  
17 Iraq”.

18 (2) The bipartisan Iraq Study Group report  
19 recommended that diplomats work to “energize  
20 countries to support national political reconciliation  
21 in Iraq”.

22 (3) The January 2007 National Security Coun-  
23 cil report, entitled the Iraq Strategy Review, set an  
24 objective to “foster the conditions for Iraqi national

1 reconciliation, but with the Iraqi government clearly  
2 in the lead”.

3 (4) United States Ambassador Ryan Crocker,  
4 in testimony to Congress on September 10, 2007,  
5 noted that the United States “will continue our ef-  
6 forts to assist Iraqis in the pursuit of national rec-  
7 onciliation”.

8 (5) In 2006, the Iraqi Government announced  
9 the creation of the National Council for the Rec-  
10 onciliation.

11 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—Congress—

12 (1) strongly supports reconciliation efforts with-  
13 in Iraq; and

14 (2) strongly supports the creation of an Iraqi-  
15 supported international commitment to reconciliation  
16 in Iraq and a safe and secure future for the Iraqi  
17 people.

18 (c) PURPOSE OF ASSISTANCE.—The purpose of as-  
19 sistance under this section is to support international ef-  
20 forts to encourage peaceful and positive contact, dialogue,  
21 and reconciliation among the Iraqi people.

22 (d) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The Presi-  
23 dent of the United States Institute of Peace is authorized  
24 to provide assistance to carry out the purpose of sub-  
25 section (c).

1 (e) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Activities that may be  
2 supported by assistance under subsection (d) include—

3 (1) preventing violent conflicts in Iraq;

4 (2) promoting post-conflict stability and devel-  
5 opment in Iraq;

6 (3) increasing conflict management capacity,  
7 tools, and intellectual capital within Iraq;

8 (4) promoting tolerance and forgiveness; and

9 (5) facilitating dialogue in the region.

10 (f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—To carry out this section,  
12 there are authorized to be appropriated to the Presi-  
13 dent of the United States Institute of Peace  
14 \$20,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2008  
15 through 2012.

16 (2) OTHER PROVISIONS.—Amounts appro-  
17 priated pursuant to the authorization of appropria-  
18 tions under paragraph (1)—

19 (A) may be referred to as the “Political  
20 Reconciliation in Iraq Fund”; and

21 (B) are authorized to remain available  
22 until expended.

1 **TITLE**                    **II—COMPREHENSIVE**  
2        **POST-CONFLICT SUPPORT IN**  
3        **IRAQ**

4 **SEC. 201. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

5        (a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
6 United States to work with the Government of Iraq and  
7 the international community to provide for the reconstruc-  
8 tion of Iraq.

9        (b) TYPES OF ACTIVITIES.—In carrying out the pol-  
10 icy described in subsection (a), priority should be given  
11 to carrying out reconstruction activities such as—

12            (1) redeveloping Iraqi civilian institutions;

13            (2) supporting independent, nonprofit Iraqi  
14 think tanks dedicated to developing peace and non-  
15 violent conflict resolution strategies and to devel-  
16 oping education and training materials, basic and  
17 applied research opportunities, and information serv-  
18 ices to promote domestic tranquility and inter-  
19 national peace;

20            (3) rebuilding public health infrastructure, in-  
21 cluding restoring hospitals and clinics and the pur-  
22 chase of diagnostic and therapeutic equipment and  
23 services for hospitals and clinics;

1 (4) demining and the destruction of landmines,  
2 unexploded ordinances, and clean up of depleted  
3 uranium artillery shells; and

4 (5) dismantling and disposing of fortifications  
5 and other remnants of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

6 **SEC. 202. PLAN TO INITIATE A DIPLOMATIC SURGE TO**  
7 **BRING AN EXPEDITIOUS END TO THE OCCU-**  
8 **PATION OF IRAQ.**

9 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

10 (1) The Iraq Study Group Report states that  
11 “Iraq cannot be effectively addressed in isolation  
12 from other major regional issues.”.

13 (2) The Iraq Study Group Report further states  
14 that a diplomatic effort “cannot be successful unless  
15 it includes the active participation of those countries  
16 that have a critical stake in preventing Iraq from  
17 falling into chaos”.

18 (b) PLAN REQUIRED.—The President shall establish  
19 and implement a plan to initiate an escalation of diplo-  
20 matic efforts by the United States to—

21 (1) directly engage with Iran and Syria to gain  
22 the commitment of such countries for constructive  
23 policies relating to Iraq;

24 (2) convene a regional conference with Iraq’s  
25 neighbors, regional stakeholders, and international

1 allies for bringing peace and stability to Iraq and de-  
2 veloping coordinated strategies for the reconstruc-  
3 tion of Iraq;

4 (3) work with the Government of Iraq to de-  
5 velop milestones and promote efforts for promoting  
6 reconstruction, improving security, and ensuring  
7 good governance; and

8 (4) create and train a national reconstruction  
9 corps in Iraq.

10 (c) REPORTS.—Not later than 60 days after the date  
11 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall transmit  
12 to Congress a report that contains a description of the  
13 plan established under subsection (b). Not later than 90  
14 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every  
15 90 days thereafter until the occupation of Iraq is over,  
16 the President shall transmit to Congress a report that con-  
17 tains the results of the implementation of the plan estab-  
18 lished under subsection (b).

19 **SEC. 203. DEPLOYMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES TO**  
20 **ACHIEVE AN OVER-THE-HORIZON MILITARY**  
21 **PRESENCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAR-**  
22 **GETING GLOBAL TERRORISM.**

23 (a) DEPLOYMENT REQUIRED.—The President, in  
24 consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Sec-  
25 retary of State, shall deploy the Armed Forces outside the

1 United States in such numbers as the President deter-  
2 mines is required to achieve an over-the-horizon presence  
3 of the Armed Forces for the purpose of targeting global  
4 terrorism.

5 (b) ARMED FORCES DEFINED.—In this section, the  
6 term “Armed Forces” has the meaning given the term in  
7 section 101 of title 10, United States Code.

8 **SEC. 204. COMMISSION ON FUNDING THE RECONSTRUC-**  
9 **TION OF IRAQ.**

10 (a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

11 (1) the United States has a moral obligation to  
12 assist the Government of Iraq with the reconstruc-  
13 tion of Iraq; and

14 (2) contractors of the Federal Government  
15 should not derive excess profits from work per-  
16 formed under contracts on behalf of the taxpayers of  
17 the United States.

18 (b) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established the  
19 “Commission on Funding the Reconstruction of Iraq” (in  
20 this section referred to as the “Commission”).

21 (c) DEFINITIONS.—

22 (1) FEDERAL CONTRACTOR.—The term “Fed-  
23 eral contractor” means an individual or an entity  
24 that has been awarded a contract by an Executive  
25 agency to provide goods or services.

1           (2) EXECUTIVE AGENCY.—The term “Executive  
2 agency” has the meaning provided in section 105 of  
3 title 5, United States Code.

4           (3) EXCESS PROFITS.—The term “excess prof-  
5 its” means profits that exceed the average rate of  
6 profit for the specific industry in which a Federal  
7 contractor provides goods or services.

8           (d) DUTIES OF COMMISSION.—The Commission shall  
9 perform the following duties:

10           (1) Determine the profits of Federal contrac-  
11 tors under contracts relating to Operation Iraqi  
12 Freedom, whether such contracts are entered into or  
13 performed in the United States or outside the  
14 United States, including contracts—

15                   (A) for the reconstruction of Iraq;

16                   (B) for the logistical support of coalition  
17 forces in Operation Iraqi Freedom; and

18                   (C) for the performance of security and in-  
19 telligence functions in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

20           (2) Determine the average rate of profit for the  
21 specific industries in which Federal contractors pro-  
22 vide goods or services.

23           (3) Determine the amount of excess profits that  
24 Federal contractors have received under the con-  
25 tracts described in paragraph (1).

1           (4) Determine a fair and appropriate tax on  
2 such excess profits.

3           (5) Determine the most appropriate method to  
4 collect such a tax on excess profits.

5           (6) Determine the most appropriate method to  
6 use such a tax on excess profits for the reconstruc-  
7 tion of Iraq.

8           (7) Submit to Congress a report pursuant to  
9 subsection (i) containing detailed statements of the  
10 Commission's findings, conclusions, and rec-  
11 ommendations as determined by a majority of the  
12 members of the Commission.

13 (e) MEMBERSHIP.—

14           (1) NUMBER AND APPOINTMENT.—The Com-  
15 mission shall be composed of 12 members as follows:

16           (A) 1 member appointed by the Secretary  
17 of Defense who is a senior-level official of the  
18 Department of Defense with responsibility for  
19 contracting with private firms.

20           (B) 1 member appointed by the Secretary  
21 of State who is a senior-level official of the De-  
22 partment of State with responsibility for con-  
23 tracting with private firms.

24           (C) 1 member appointed by the Secretary  
25 of Treasury who is a senior-level official of the

1 Department of the Treasury with responsibility  
2 for contracting with private firms.

3 (D) 2 members who are Members of the  
4 House of Representatives including—

5 (i) 1 member appointed by the Speak-  
6 er of the House of Representatives who is  
7 a member of the majority party; and

8 (ii) 1 member appointed by the minor-  
9 ity leader of the House of Representatives  
10 who is a member of the minority party.

11 (E) 2 members who are Members of the  
12 Senate including—

13 (i) 1 member appointed by the major-  
14 ity leader of the Senate who is a member  
15 of the majority party; and

16 (ii) 1 member appointed by the minor-  
17 ity leader of the Senate who is a member  
18 of the minority party.

19 (F) 5 members from the private sector ap-  
20 pointed by the Speaker of the House of Rep-  
21 resentatives and the President pro tempore of  
22 the Senate jointly, in consultation with the lead-  
23 er of the minority party in the House of Rep-  
24 resentatives and the leader of the minority  
25 party in the Senate, who are drawn from posi-

1           tions of responsibility with respect to inter-  
2           national human rights, international develop-  
3           ment, and the law of taxation of corporate enti-  
4           ties.

5           (2) TERMS.—Each member shall be appointed  
6           for the life of the Commission.

7           (3) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the Commission  
8           shall be filled in the manner in which the original  
9           appointment was made and shall not affect the pow-  
10          ers of the Commission.

11          (4) BASIC PAY.—Members shall serve without  
12          pay.

13          (5) TRAVEL EXPENSES.—Each member shall  
14          receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of  
15          subsistence, in accordance with applicable provisions  
16          under subchapter I of chapter 57 of title 5, United  
17          States Code.

18          (6) QUORUM.—6 members of the Commission  
19          shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number may  
20          hold hearings.

21          (7) CHAIRPERSON; VICE-CHAIRPERSON.—

22                 (A) CHAIRPERSON.—The chairperson of  
23                 the Commission, who shall be a Member of  
24                 Congress and a member of the majority party,

1 shall be elected by the members of the Commis-  
2 sion.

3 (B) VICE-CHAIRPERSON.—The vice-chair-  
4 person of the Commission, who shall be a Mem-  
5 ber of Congress and a member of the minority  
6 party, shall be elected by the members of the  
7 Commission.

8 (8) MEETINGS.—The Commission shall meet at  
9 the call of the chairperson or a majority of its mem-  
10 bers.

11 (f) DIRECTOR AND STAFF OF COMMISSION; EXPERTS  
12 AND CONSULTANT.—

13 (1) DIRECTOR AND STAFF.—

14 (A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to such policies  
15 as the Commission may prescribe, the chair-  
16 person of the Commission may appoint and fix  
17 the pay of a director and such additional per-  
18 sonnel as the chairperson considers appropriate  
19 to carry out the duties of the Commission.

20 (B) APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN CIVIL  
21 SERVICE LAWS.—The director and staff of the  
22 Commission may be—

23 (i) appointed without regard to the  
24 provisions of title 5, United States Code,

1 governing appointments in the competitive  
2 service; and

3 (ii) paid without regard to the provi-  
4 sions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of  
5 chapter 53 of that title relating to classi-  
6 fication and General Schedule pay rates.

7 (2) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—The Com-  
8 mission may procure temporary and intermittent  
9 services under section 3109(b) of title 5, United  
10 States Code.

11 (g) DETAIL OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—Upon  
12 the request of the Commission, the head of any Federal  
13 agency may detail any of the personnel of such agency  
14 to the Commission to assist in carrying out the duties of  
15 the Commission.

16 (h) POWERS OF COMMISSION.—

17 (1) HEARINGS AND SESSIONS.—The Commis-  
18 sion may, for the purpose of carrying out this sec-  
19 tion, hold hearings, sit and act at times and places,  
20 take testimony, and receive evidence as the Commis-  
21 sion considers appropriate. The chairperson, or such  
22 other member of the Commission as the chairperson  
23 may designate, may administer oaths or affirmations  
24 to witnesses appearing before it.

1           (2) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—The Commis-  
2           sion may secure directly from any department or  
3           agency of the United States, including the Office of  
4           the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruc-  
5           tion, information necessary to enable it to carry out  
6           its duties under this section. Upon request of the  
7           chairperson of the Commission, the head of that de-  
8           partment or agency shall furnish that information to  
9           the Commission.

10           (3) MAILS.—The Commission may use the  
11           United States mails in the same manner and under  
12           the same conditions as other departments and agen-  
13           cies of the United States.

14           (4) ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SERVICES.—  
15           Upon the request of the Commission, the Adminis-  
16           trator of General Services shall provide to the Com-  
17           mission, on a reimbursable basis, the administrative  
18           support services necessary for the Commission to  
19           carry out its duties under this section.

20           (5) SUBPOENA POWER.—

21           (A) IN GENERAL.—The chairperson, or  
22           such other member of the Commission as the  
23           chairperson may designate, may issue sub-  
24           poenas requiring the attendance and testimony  
25           of witnesses and the production of any evidence

1           necessary to enable the Commission to carry  
2           out its duties. The attendance of witnesses and  
3           the production of evidence may be required  
4           from any place within the United States at any  
5           designated place of hearing within the United  
6           States.

7           (B) FAILURE TO OBEY A SUBPOENA.—If a  
8           person refuses to obey a subpoena issued under  
9           subparagraph (A), the Commission may apply  
10          to a United States district court for an order  
11          requiring that person to appear before the Com-  
12          mission to give testimony, produce evidence, or  
13          both, relating to the matter under investigation.  
14          The application may be made within the judicial  
15          district where the hearing is conducted or where  
16          that person is found, resides, or transacts busi-  
17          ness. Any failure to obey the order of the court  
18          may be punished by the court as civil contempt.

19          (6) IMMUNITY.—Except as provided in this  
20          paragraph, a person may not be excused from testi-  
21          fying or from producing evidence pursuant to a sub-  
22          poena on the ground that the testimony or evidence  
23          required by the subpoena may tend to incriminate or  
24          subject that person to criminal prosecution. A per-  
25          son, after having claimed the privilege against self-

1       incrimination, may not be criminally prosecuted by  
2       reason of any transaction, matter, or thing which  
3       that person is compelled to testify about or produce  
4       evidence relating to, except that the person may be  
5       prosecuted for perjury committed during the testi-  
6       mony or made in the evidence.

7               (7) CONTRACT AUTHORITY.—The Commission  
8       may enter into contracts with and compensate gov-  
9       ernment and private agencies or persons to enable  
10       the Commission to discharge its duties under this  
11       section, without regard to section 3709 of the Re-  
12       vised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5).

13       (i) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after its estab-  
14       lishment, the Commission shall submit a report to Con-  
15       gress.

16       (j) TERMINATION.—The Commission shall terminate  
17       30 days after it submits its report.

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