

110TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 744

To enhance congressional oversight of Operation Iraqi Freedom by requiring the President to transmit periodically to Congress a consolidated, comprehensive report to detail the terms of completion for Operation Iraqi Freedom and by requiring the President to seek to enter into a multilateral agreement to help provide for the completion of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 31, 2007

Ms. BORDALLO 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 enhance congressional oversight of Operation Iraqi Freedom by requiring the President to transmit periodically to Congress a consolidated, comprehensive report to detail the terms of completion for Operation Iraqi Freedom and by requiring the President to seek to enter into a multilateral agreement to help provide for the completion of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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.**

2       This Act may be cited as the “Iraq Policy Revitaliza-  
3 tion and Congressional Oversight Enhancement Act”.

4 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5       Congress finds the following:

6           (1) On October 31, 1998, the Iraq Liberation  
7 Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338) was enacted into  
8 law.

9           (2) On October 16, 2002, the Authorization for  
10 Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of  
11 2002 (Public Law 107–243) was enacted into law.

12           (3) On March 19, 2003, the President, pursu-  
13 ant to the authorities provided to the President by  
14 Public Law 107–243, committed United States  
15 Armed Forces to combat operations in Iraq.

16           (4) On April 9, 2003, Saddam Hussein’s  
17 Ba’athist regime fell to Coalition Forces.

18           (5) On April 16, 2003, the Emergency Wartime  
19 Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2003 (Public Law  
20 108–11) was enacted into law, which included  
21 \$2,500,000,000 for the relief and reconstruction of  
22 Iraq.

23           (6) On May 12, 2003, the Coalition Provisional  
24 Authority (CPA) subsumed the Organization for Re-  
25 construction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA),  
26 and citing United Nations Security Council Resolu-

1       tion 1483 (2003) and the laws of war, vested itself  
2       with executive, legislative, and judicial authority over  
3       the Iraqi government until such time as the Iraqi  
4       government gained its sovereignty.

5           (7) On November 6, 2003, the Emergency Sup-  
6       plemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for  
7       the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004  
8       (Public Law 108–106) was enacted into law, which  
9       included an additional \$18,400,000,000 for the relief  
10      and reconstruction of Iraq.

11          (8) On June 8, 2004, the United Nations Secu-  
12      rity Council adopted Resolution 1546 (2004), en-  
13      dorsing the transition of sovereignty from the Coali-  
14      tion Provisional Authority to the Interim Govern-  
15      ment of Iraq, reaffirming the responsibilities of the  
16      interim government, and detailing the duration and  
17      legal status of Coalition Forces in Iraq, as well as  
18      authorizing a Coalition component force to protect  
19      United Nations personnel and facilities.

20          (9) On June 28, 2004, the new Iraqi govern-  
21      ment gained its sovereignty.

22          (10) On January 30, 2005, the Iraqi people  
23      successfully elected their first interim National As-  
24      sembly, and 18 provincial and various local govern-  
25      ment councils.

1           (11) On March 16, 2005, the 275-member in-  
2           terim Iraqi National Assembly convened to appoint  
3           an interim national government and to begin the  
4           drafting of a constitution.

5           (12) On September 18, 2005, the interim Iraqi  
6           National Assembly completed negotiations on the  
7           draft constitution.

8           (13) On October 15, 2005, the Iraqi people ap-  
9           proved the draft constitution by a national ref-  
10          erendum.

11          (14) On November 8, 2005, the United Nations  
12          Security Council adopted Resolution 1637 (2005),  
13          extending the Coalition Forces' military mandate,  
14          pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolu-  
15          tion 1546 (2004), in Iraq to December 31, 2006.

16          (15) On November 18, 2005, the House of Rep-  
17          resentatives failed to agree to H. Res. 571, express-  
18          ing the sense of the House of Representatives that  
19          the deployment of United States forces in Iraq be  
20          terminated immediately, by a vote of 3 to 403, with  
21          six members voting present.

22          (16) On November 30, 2005, the President,  
23          through the National Security Council, issued the  
24          National Strategy for Victory in Iraq.

1           (17) On December 15, 2005, the people of Iraq  
2       voted to elect the first permanent National Assembly  
3       in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic  
4       of Iraq.

5           (18) On March 16, 2006, the newly-elected Na-  
6       tional Assembly convened for their first session.

7           (19) On May 20, 2006, the Iraqi Prime Min-  
8       ister-designee named a cabinet, except for the posts  
9       of Minister of Defense and Minister of Interior, and  
10      the Prime Minister-designee and the cabinet received  
11      a vote of confidence from the National Assembly.

12          (20) On June 7, 2006, Iraq's National Assem-  
13      bly approved the individuals that the Iraqi Prime  
14      Minister nominated for Minister of Defense, Min-  
15      ister of Interior, and National Security Advisor,  
16      completing the formation of Iraq's first permanent  
17      democratic government.

18          (21) On June 15, 2006, the Emergency Supple-  
19      mental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global  
20      War on Terror, and Hurricane Recovery, 2006  
21      (Public Law 109–234), was enacted into law, pro-  
22      viding \$400,000,000 for civil-military Provincial Re-  
23      construction Teams, composed of members of the  
24      United States Armed Forces and Coalition Forces  
25      and personnel of the Department of State, United

1 States Agency for International Development, De-  
2 partment of Justice, Department of Agriculture,  
3 U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and contract per-  
4 sonnel.

5 (22) On June 16, 2006, the House of Rep-  
6 resentatives agreed to H. Res. 861, declaring that  
7 the United States will prevail in the Global War on  
8 Terror, the struggle to protect freedom from the ter-  
9 rorist adversary, by a vote of 256 to 153, with five  
10 members voting present.

11 (23) On June 25, 2006, the Iraqi Prime Min-  
12 ister released a 24-point plan for national reconcili-  
13 ation.

14 (24) The Iraq Study Group was formed at the  
15 urging of Congress, and the Emergency Supple-  
16 mental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global  
17 War On Terror, and Hurricane Recovery, 2006  
18 (Public Law 109–234), provided \$1,000,000 for Iraq  
19 Study Group operations.

20 (25) Members of the Iraq Study Group were  
21 appointed in March 2006 and were responsible for  
22 providing a forward-looking, independent assessment  
23 of the strategic environment in and around Iraq, the  
24 security of Iraq and key challenges to enhancing se-  
25 curity within the country, political developments

1 within Iraq following the elections and formation of  
2 the new government, the economy and reconstruc-  
3 tion, and how the situation in Iraq affects the sur-  
4 rounding region as well as United States interests.

5 (26) On July 27, 2006, the Government of Iraq  
6 and the United Nations, with the support of the  
7 World Bank, announced the formal launch of a five-  
8 year international compact with Iraq that, with the  
9 participation of other multilateral organizations and  
10 countries, including the United States, aims—

11 (A) to achieve a national vision for Iraq as  
12 a united, federal, and democratic country;

13 (B) to consolidate peace and pursue polit-  
14 ical, economic, and social development within  
15 Iraq, including enhancing political inclusion and  
16 consensus-building among its various demo-  
17 graphic groups;

18 (C) to establish professional security forces  
19 to serve the Iraqi people;

20 (D) to combat corruption within Iraq;

21 (E) to create a transparent and efficient  
22 oil sector within Iraq;

23 (F) to develop a solid budgetary framework  
24 for the Government of Iraq; and

1 (G) to improve governance by building and  
2 consolidating effective national institutions for  
3 Iraq.

4 (27) On December 6, 2006, the Iraq Study  
5 Group released its report titled, “The Iraq Study  
6 Group Report”.

7 (28) On December 30, 2006, Saddam Hussein  
8 was executed by the Government of Iraq.

9 (29) On January 10, 2007, the President ad-  
10 dressed the American people and provided a plan en-  
11 titled “The New Way Forward in Iraq”.

12 **SEC. 3. STATEMENTS OF POLICY.**

13 Congress makes the following statements of policy:

14 (1) Congress recognizes that Operation Iraqi  
15 Freedom, the deteriorating situation within Iraq,  
16 and the situation in the Middle East region in gen-  
17 eral have become a significant test of, and strain on,  
18 United States military, diplomatic, and financial ca-  
19 pacities, and United States national interests and  
20 prestige.

21 (2) Congress remains supportive of and inspired  
22 by the service and sacrifice made by and dedication  
23 and commitment to the establishment of a demo-  
24 cratic, stable, and prosperous Iraq displayed by  
25 members of the United States Armed Forces and ci-



1       vilian personnel in Iraq and by personnel serving  
2       world-wide in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

3           (3) Congress remains supportive of and inspired  
4       by the service and sacrifice made by and dedication  
5       and commitment to the establishment of a demo-  
6       cratic, stable, and prosperous Iraq displayed by the  
7       military and civilian personnel of Coalition countries  
8       serving in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom, and  
9       by Iraqi patriots working toward a better future for  
10      their country and the children of Iraq.

11          (4) Congress recognizes the achievements to  
12      date made by the United States Armed Forces, Coa-  
13      lition Forces, Iraqi Security Forces, and civilian per-  
14      sonnel toward the political, security, infrastructure,  
15      and economic development of and governance capac-  
16      ity development at and between the various levels of  
17      government in Iraq.

18          (5) Congress recognizes the efforts on the part  
19      of the United States, Coalition countries, and the  
20      Government of Iraq toward the establishment and  
21      maintenance of stable, peaceful, productive, and con-  
22      ciliatory relations between Iraq and its neighboring  
23      states, regional states, and the international commu-  
24      nity.

1           (6) Congress recognizes the complex and inter-  
2           dependent nature of the challenges associated with  
3           the political, security, infrastructure, and economic  
4           development of and governance capacity building at  
5           and between the various levels of government in  
6           Iraq.

7           (7) Congress recognizes that, in order to aid the  
8           efforts of civilian, United States Armed Forces, and  
9           Coalition Forces personnel to establish a democratic,  
10          stable, and prosperous Iraq and to address the com-  
11          plex and interdependent nature of the challenges as-  
12          sociated with the political, security, infrastructure,  
13          and economic development of and governance capac-  
14          ity building at and between the various levels of gov-  
15          ernment in Iraq, the civil-military Provincial Recon-  
16          struction Teams were established in the various  
17          provinces in Iraq to be the primary interface be-  
18          tween United States and Coalition countries and  
19          provincial governments throughout Iraq to assist  
20          local Iraqi governing institutions, such as the provin-  
21          cial councils, provincial governors, and local national  
22          ministry representatives—

23                 (A) to develop a transparent and sustained  
24                 capability to govern at the provincial level of  
25                 government in Iraq;

1 (B) to promote increased security and rule  
2 of law within Iraq's provinces;

3 (C) to promote political and economic de-  
4 velopment at the provincial level of government  
5 in Iraq; and

6 (D) to provide provincial-level government  
7 and governance administration assistance nec-  
8 essary to help meet the basic needs of a par-  
9 ticular province.

10 (8) Congress supports the establishment and  
11 maintenance of a democratic, pluralistic, federal,  
12 and united Government of Iraq.

13 (9) Congress recognizes the importance of fa-  
14 cilitating the fullest participation practicable of  
15 Iraq's eligible voters in national, provincial, and local  
16 elections to determine the composition of provincial  
17 and local governing bodies necessary for the estab-  
18 lishment of good governance practices, peace, and  
19 reconciliation in Iraq, and a stable and united Iraq.

20 (10) Congress urges elected Iraqis to renew  
21 their commitment to establishing, preserving, and  
22 strengthening a national unity government for Iraq  
23 and to govern in accordance with the principles of  
24 a national unity government for Iraq.

1           (11) Congress is gravely concerned by the pros-  
2           pect that the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq  
3           may desire to declare independence from Iraq.

4           (12) Congress is gravely concerned that, as a  
5           result of any declaration of independence from Iraq  
6           made by the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq  
7           (or any future regional government in Iraq), certain  
8           neighboring states may react to such a declaration  
9           of independence with military force against Iraq.

10          (13) Congress notes that the provisions con-  
11          tained in Article 140 of the Constitution of the Re-  
12          public of Iraq require the process to “normalize” the  
13          situation in the province of Kirkuk to be completed  
14          by the end of calendar year 2007, but is gravely con-  
15          cerned that the process called for by the provisions  
16          of that Article cannot be implemented in an unbi-  
17          ased, uniform, and equitable manner during cal-  
18          endar year 2007.

19          (14) Congress recognizes the importance that  
20          implementing, in an unbiased, uniform, and equi-  
21          table manner, the provisions contained in Article  
22          140 of the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq has  
23          toward the establishment and maintenance of—

24                       (A) peace and reconciliation in Iraq;

1 (B) stable, peaceful, productive, and concil-  
2 iatory relations between Iraq and certain neigh-  
3 boring states; and

4 (C) a stable and united Iraq.

5 (15) Congress is gravely concerned about the  
6 extent to which the process called for by the provi-  
7 sions of Article 140 of the Constitution of the Re-  
8 public of Iraq can be implemented by the Govern-  
9 ment of Iraq in an unbiased, uniform, and equitable  
10 manner during calendar year 2007, to include a de-  
11 scription of, and justification for, actions needed to  
12 be taken by the United States, Coalition countries,  
13 the Government of Iraq, the Kurdish Regional Gov-  
14 ernment in Iraq, and the provincial government of  
15 Kirkuk, neighboring and regional governments, and  
16 the international community to ensure that such  
17 process proceeds in an unbiased, uniform, and equi-  
18 table manner during calendar year 2007 or during  
19 future years.

20 (16) Congress is gravely concerned that contin-  
21 ued violence in Iraq could, or the division of Iraq  
22 along notional ethnic, religious, or sectarian lines  
23 would, result in the heightened ethnic, religious, and  
24 sectarian violence within that country, to include

1 incidences of ethnic-cleansing, and result in the fur-  
2 ther destabilization of the Government of Iraq.

3 (17) Congress is gravely concerned by the possi-  
4 bility that a divided or failed Iraqi state could form  
5 the keystone of a geo-political bridge across the Mid-  
6 dle East region, from which a heightened incidence  
7 of acts of violence or acts of intimidation against al-  
8 lies of the United States in the region can be con-  
9 ducted, or otherwise financially or materially sup-  
10 ported, by certain states within the region, violent  
11 transnational entities, or partnerships between cer-  
12 tain states within the region and violent  
13 transnational entities.

14 (18) Congress is gravely concerned by the po-  
15 tential detrimental impacts a geo-political bridge  
16 formed by a failed or divided Iraqi state would have  
17 across the Middle East region if such a bridge is ex-  
18 ploited by certain states within the region, violent  
19 transnational entities, or partnerships of certain  
20 states within the region and violent transnational en-  
21 tities, as evidenced by reports that indicate that  
22 members of Jaish al-Mahdi trained with members of  
23 Hezbollah in Lebanon and fought together against  
24 Israeli Defense Forces in July and August 2006.

1           (19) Congress is gravely concerned that certain  
2       states within the Middle East region, violent  
3       transnational entities, or partnerships of certain  
4       states within the region and violent transnational en-  
5       tities could exploit a geo-political bridge across the  
6       region to the detriment of national and economic se-  
7       curity interests of the United States and those of  
8       the international community as a whole, including—

9           (A) disrupting the unimpeded access to  
10       hydro-carbon resources essential to the func-  
11       tioning of modern economies globally; and

12           (B) disrupting the unimpeded access to the  
13       strategic lines of communication in the region  
14       across and along which international commer-  
15       cial activity is conducted.

16       (20) Congress is gravely concerned that a failed  
17       or divided Iraq could provide a stronger base of op-  
18       erations for terrorists who seek to act regionally or  
19       internationally.

20       (21) Congress is concerned about the fractured  
21       and factional domestic political environment present  
22       today at and between the various levels of govern-  
23       ment in Iraq.

24       (22) Congress finds that the fractured and fac-  
25       tional domestic political environment present in Iraq

1 is the result, in part, of the conflicting policies, pri-  
2 orities, and biases of the various prominent ethnic,  
3 religious, and sectarian-oriented political parties and  
4 elected and appointed leaders at and between the  
5 various levels of government in Iraq.

6 (23) Congress is concerned that the develop-  
7 ment of alternative, moderate political parties and  
8 leaders in Iraq, that can represent broadly the inter-  
9 ests of Iraqis from multiple demographic groups and  
10 govern according to that broad perspective, is im-  
11 peded by the dominant influences of the various eth-  
12 nic, religious, and sectarian-oriented political parties  
13 active in Iraq today.

14 (24) Congress affirms that the fractured and  
15 factional domestic political environment present  
16 today at and between the various levels of govern-  
17 ment in Iraq—

18 (A) contributes to incidences of violence  
19 against United States Armed Forces, Coalition  
20 Forces, and Iraqi Security Forces;

21 (B) creates a significant political barrier to  
22 the establishment and maintenance of peace  
23 and reconciliation in Iraq, that is necessary for  
24 the establishment and maintenance of a stable  
25 and united Iraq; and



1 (C) impedes the completion of Operation  
2 Iraqi Freedom.

3 (25) Congress is concerned that various elected  
4 and appointed officials, to include judicial branch of-  
5 ficials, within the various levels of government in  
6 Iraq, are not fulfilling, to the extent possible, their  
7 chief responsibility to conduct public business in an  
8 unbiased, uniform, and equitable manner, in accord-  
9 ance with law, and for the public good.

10 (26) Congress is concerned by reports that indi-  
11 cate that government offices, the national ministries  
12 systems, and independent agencies are unable or un-  
13 willing to resist dominance by, and are divided be-  
14 tween, beholden to, and guided by the conflicting  
15 priorities, policies, and biases of, the various promi-  
16 nent ethnic, religious, or sectarian political parties in  
17 Iraq.

18 (27) Congress is particularly concerned by re-  
19 ports that indicate that elected and appointed Iraqi  
20 Government officials, acting upon direction from,  
21 and to benefit and promote, the various prominent  
22 ethnic, religious, or sectarian political parties and af-  
23 filiated entities in Iraq—

24 (A) may abuse the budget authority of the  
25 various offices, ministries, and agencies, to in-

clude the direction of public funds to certain political parties or certain individuals;

(B) may abuse personnel hiring practices of the various offices, ministries, and agencies; and

(C) may abuse the contracting practices of the various offices, ministries, and agencies.

(28) Congress recognizes that the inability or unwillingness of elected and appointed officials within the various levels of government in Iraq to deliver public sector goods and services to all Iraqis in a unbiased, uniform, and equitable manner—

(A) contributes to incidences of violence against United States Armed Forces, Coalition Forces, and Iraqi Security Forces;

(B) creates a significant political barrier to the establishment and maintenance of peace and reconciliation in Iraq, that is necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a stable and united Iraq; and

(C) impedes the completion of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

(29) Congress is deeply concerned about the continued and heightened incidence of violence and threats of violence against United States Armed

1 Forces, Coalition Forces, Iraqi Security Forces, ci-  
2 vilian personnel, and Iraqi civilians in Iraq.

3 (30) Congress is gravely concerned about the  
4 increase in ethnic, religious, and sectarian violence  
5 in Iraq following the February 22, 2006, bombing of  
6 the Askariya mosque in Samarra, Iraq, and about  
7 continued ethnic, religious, and sectarian tensions  
8 across Iraq.

9 (31) Congress is gravely concerned about the  
10 increasing power that unauthorized politically-  
11 aligned militias wield in Iraq, their destabilizing ef-  
12 fect on security in Iraq, and the challenges they  
13 present to the development of professional Iraqi Se-  
14 curity Forces.

15 (32) Congress is gravely concerned that the  
16 various prominent ethnic, religious, and sectarian  
17 political parties active in Iraq today, through unau-  
18 thorized, politically-aligned militias, suborned or  
19 sympathetic elements of Iraqi Security Forces, and  
20 suborned or sympathetic vigilante or criminal  
21 groups, fight for the control and dominance of the  
22 various levels of government in Iraq and aim to, and  
23 with the effect of, separate governorates, cities, and  
24 neighborhoods along ethnic, religious, and sectarian  
25 lines.

1           (33) Congress is concerned that the purposeful  
2       internal separation of Iraqi society by violence,  
3       threat of violence, or other means of intimidation  
4       pursued by the various prominent ethnic, religious,  
5       and sectarian political parties in Iraq, forces the  
6       Iraqi people into increasingly apparent ethnic, reli-  
7       gious, and sectarian divisions, or is in part the impe-  
8       tus for significant emigration of Iraqis (particularly  
9       members of the educated and professional classes of  
10      Iraqis essential to the establishment and mainte-  
11      nance of civil society in Iraq) to states within the  
12      Middle East region or the provinces within Iraq gov-  
13      erned by the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq.

14          (34) Congress is concerned that the continued  
15      and further violent, internal separation of Iraqi soci-  
16      ety, pursued and effected by the various prominent  
17      ethnic, religious, and sectarian political parties abets  
18      and strengthens the extremist elements of each  
19      party and destabilizes the security situation country-  
20      wide.

21          (35) Congress considers that the various promi-  
22      nent ethnic, religious, and sectarian political parties  
23      in Iraq are complicit in the operations of the various  
24      politically-aligned militias operating in Iraq today,  
25      and that the political parties have the power and in-

1       fluence necessary to, and the responsibility to, dis-  
2       arm, disband, and reintegrate such militias into  
3       Iraqi society.

4               (36) Congress recognizes the importance that  
5       establishing a political and governance compromise  
6       and reconciliation between the various prominent  
7       ethnic, religious, and sectarian political parties ac-  
8       tive in Iraq has toward—

9               (A) the successful recruitment, training,  
10       and maintenance of professional, unbiased Iraqi  
11       Security Forces;

12              (B) the effective administration of certain  
13       national security oriented offices and ministries  
14       systems; and

15              (C) the defeat of foreign terrorist organiza-  
16       tions operating in Iraq.

17              (37) Congress is gravely concerned that the un-  
18       even state of readiness, capability, and willingness of  
19       Iraqi Security Forces, led by the national security  
20       oriented offices and ministries systems, to provide  
21       internal security for Iraq in an unbiased, uniform,  
22       and equitable manner may require United States  
23       Armed Forces and Coalition Forces personnel to re-  
24       main in Iraq for an extended period of time to pro-  
25       vide both extensive internal security training and as-

1       sistance and the minimum of unbiased internal secu-  
2       rity within that country.

3           (38) Congress is gravely concerned that a pro-  
4       longed commitment of United States Armed Forces  
5       to Iraq may adversely affect the overall readiness of  
6       United States Armed Forces and hamper its ability  
7       to provide adequate resources to United States ef-  
8       forts in Afghanistan and its ability to adequately re-  
9       spond to other contingencies around the world.

10          (39) Congress affirms that the absence of a  
11       lasting and meaningful political compromise reached  
12       between the various prominent ethnic, religious, and  
13       sectarian political parties in Iraq and the uneven  
14       state of readiness, capability, and willingness of  
15       Iraqi Security Forces, led by the national security  
16       oriented offices and ministries systems, to provide  
17       internal security services in Iraq in a unbiased, uni-  
18       form, and equitable manner across that country—

19           (A) contributes to incidences of violence  
20       against United States Armed Forces, Coalition  
21       Forces, and Iraqi Security Forces;

22           (B) creates a significant political barrier to  
23       the establishment and maintenance of peace  
24       and reconciliation in Iraq, that is necessary for

1 the establishment and maintenance of a stable  
2 and united Iraq; and

3 (C) impedes the completion of Operation  
4 Iraqi Freedom.

5 (40) Congress recognizes reported macro-  
6 economic improvement of Iraq's economy, but re-  
7 mains gravely concerned by reports noting the prev-  
8 alence of corruption in Iraq, the uneven distribution  
9 of income, and high unemployment rates at and be-  
10 tween the various levels of government in Iraq.

11 (41) Congress is gravely concerned by reports  
12 that indicate that the various prominent ethnic, reli-  
13 gious, and sectarian-oriented political parties active  
14 in Iraq exercise significant control of Iraq's national  
15 revenues and expenditures to benefit and promote  
16 the conflicting priorities, policies, and biases of such  
17 political parties.

18 (42) Congress is gravely concerned that the sig-  
19 nificant control of Iraq's national revenues and ex-  
20 penditures exercised by the various prominent eth-  
21 nic, religious, and sectarian-oriented political parties  
22 active in Iraq impedes general economic development  
23 at and between the various levels of government in  
24 Iraq, limits economic opportunities for the Iraqi peo-

1       ple, and forces Iraqis into increasingly apparent eth-  
2       nic, religious, and sectarian divisions.

3           (43) Congress is gravely concerned that the na-  
4       tional level economic decisions on key issues, includ-  
5       ing the development and modernization of Iraq's na-  
6       tional energy industry, infrastructure, resources and  
7       the utilization of the resultant revenues, may result  
8       in unstable economic policies and agreements that  
9       reflect the fractured and factional nature of Iraq's  
10      current political environment and the ethnic, reli-  
11      gious, and sectarian bias present in governance in  
12      Iraq.

13          (44) Congress notes that the majority of United  
14      States economic and infrastructure development as-  
15      sistance for Iraq has been expended and has pro-  
16      duced uneven economic results countrywide and an  
17      uneven ability for the Government of Iraq to operate  
18      and maintain both existing and newly constructed or  
19      refurbished infrastructure.

20          (45) Congress further notes reports that indi-  
21      cate that the Government of Iraq requires signifi-  
22      cant and sustained, but not necessarily United  
23      States Government provided, economic development  
24      and infrastructure in order to achieve vital economic  
25      and infrastructure development.



1           (46) Congress urges the Government of Iraq to  
2           pursue, in an unbiased, uniform, and equitable man-  
3           ner, policies to promote the development of—

4                   (A) a market-based economy in Iraq that  
5           increases private-sector employment opportuni-  
6           ties for Iraqi workers;

7                   (B) private-sector investment opportunities  
8           for domestic and international investors; and

9                   (C) a government budget process that re-  
10          flects an appropriate level of investment in the  
11          development of and the continued operations  
12          and maintenance for Iraq's national infrastruc-  
13          ture and that provides for the delivery of public  
14          goods and services to all Iraqis in a unbiased,  
15          uniform, and equitable manner.

16          (47) Congress is gravely concerned that im-  
17          peded general economic development in Iraq, limited  
18          economic opportunities for the Iraqi people, and in-  
19          creasingly apparent ethnic, religious, and sectarian  
20          economic divisions within Iraq abets and strengthens  
21          the extremist elements of each party and destabilizes  
22          the security situation countrywide and—

23                   (A) contributes to incidences of violence  
24          against United States Armed Forces, Coalition  
25          Forces, and Iraqi Security Forces;

1           (B) creates a significant political barrier to  
2           the establishment and maintenance of peace  
3           and reconciliation in Iraq, that is necessary for  
4           the establishment and maintenance of a stable  
5           and united Iraq; and

6           (C) impedes the completion of Operation  
7           Iraqi Freedom.

8           (48) Congress recognizes the influence pos-  
9           sessed by the governments of Iraq's neighboring  
10          states, regional states, states among the inter-  
11          national community, and regional and international  
12          multilateral organizations, toward facilitating the es-  
13          tablishment and maintenance of stable, peaceful,  
14          productive, and conciliatory relations between Iraq  
15          and its neighboring states, regional states, and the  
16          international community as a whole.

17          (49) Congress recognizes the importance of en-  
18          gaging the governments of Iraq's neighboring states  
19          (where appropriate), regional states, states among  
20          the international community, and regional and inter-  
21          national multilateral organizations, toward facili-  
22          tating the establishment and maintenance of stable,  
23          peaceful, productive, and conciliatory relations be-  
24          tween Iraq and its neighboring states, regional  
25          states, and the international community as a whole.

1           (50) Congress recognizes the importance of the  
2           formation of an international compact reached be-  
3           tween the United States, Coalition countries and the  
4           governments of Iraq's neighboring states (where ap-  
5           propriate), regional states, states among the inter-  
6           national community, and regional and international  
7           multilateral organizations, to help establish and  
8           maintain stable, peaceful, productive, and concilia-  
9           tory relations between Iraq and its neighboring  
10          states, regional states, and the international commu-  
11          nity as a whole, and to help establish peace, rec-  
12          onciliation in, and to assure the stability of and  
13          unity of, Iraq.

14          (51) Congress notes the recent formation of the  
15          International Compact for Iraq between the Govern-  
16          ment of Iraq and the United Nations, with the sup-  
17          port of the World Bank, and in which the United  
18          States and Coalition countries participate, as evi-  
19          dence of the need and importance of regionalizing  
20          and internationalizing solutions for Iraq's continued  
21          political, security, infrastructure, and economic de-  
22          velopment of and governance capacity building at  
23          and between the various levels of government in  
24          Iraq.

1           (52) Congress notes that the vital measures and  
2           other benchmarks identified by the President as nec-  
3           essary and possible to achieve in order to complete  
4           Operation Iraqi Freedom pursuant to the reporting  
5           requirements of section 4 of this Act would establish  
6           a strong foundation for a multilateral agreement  
7           with Coalition countries, the Republic of Iraq, ap-  
8           propriate states in the Middle East region, and ap-  
9           propriate multilateral organizations to help establish  
10          and maintain stable, peaceful, productive, and con-  
11          ciliatory relations between Iraq and its neighboring  
12          states, regional states, and the international commu-  
13          nity as a whole and to help establish peace, reconcili-  
14          ation in, and to assure the stability of and unity of,  
15          Iraq.

16          (53) Congress finds that a prolonged absence of  
17          a multilateral agreement with Coalition countries,  
18          the Republic of Iraq, appropriate states in the Mid-  
19          dle East region, and appropriate multilateral organi-  
20          zations based on the vital measures and other bench-  
21          marks identified by the President as necessary and  
22          possible to achieve in order to complete Operation  
23          Iraqi Freedom and pursuant to the findings of the  
24          report required by section 4 of this Act and subject  
25          to adjustment or other amendment, as provided for

1 by subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 4(b)(2) of  
2 this Act—

3 (A) contributes to incidences of violence  
4 against United States Armed Forces, Coalition  
5 Forces, and Iraqi Security Forces;

6 (B) creates a significant political barrier to  
7 the establishment and maintenance of peace  
8 and reconciliation in Iraq, that is necessary for  
9 the establishment and maintenance of a stable  
10 and united Iraq; and

11 (C) impedes the completion of Operation  
12 Iraqi Freedom.

13 (54) Congress is concerned that the United  
14 States and Coalition countries will not be able to  
15 achieve their goals of the establishment of a demo-  
16 cratic, pluralistic, federal, and united Government of  
17 Iraq that can provide security, good governance, and  
18 improved economic opportunity for the people of  
19 Iraq and maintain peaceful, productive, and concilia-  
20 tory relations with neighboring states, regional  
21 states, states among the international community,  
22 and regional and international multilateral organiza-  
23 tions without the United States and other countries  
24 simultaneously working toward solving certain long-

1 standing and ongoing conflicts elsewhere in the Mid-  
2 dle East region.

3 (55) Congress declares that the National Strat-  
4 egy for Victory in Iraq as transmitted by the Presi-  
5 dent to Congress on November 30, 2005, is not spe-  
6 cific regarding the vital measures and other bench-  
7 marks in Iraq’s political, security, infrastructure,  
8 and economic development and governance capacity  
9 development at and between the various levels of  
10 government in Iraq that need to be met to signal to  
11 Congress and the American people that victory in  
12 Iraq has been achieved and the majority of United  
13 States Armed Forces currently deployed in Oper-  
14 ation Iraqi Freedom can be redeployed to their  
15 peacetime duty stations.

16 (56) Congress declares that the plan entitled  
17 “The New Way Forward in Iraq”, as presented to  
18 the American people by the President on January  
19 10, 2007, is not specific regarding the vital meas-  
20 ures and other benchmarks in Iraq’s political, secu-  
21 rity, infrastructure, and economic development and  
22 governance capacity development at and between the  
23 various levels of government in Iraq that need to be  
24 met to signal to Congress and the American people  
25 that victory in Iraq has been achieved and the ma-

1 jority of the United States Armed Forces currently  
2 deployed in Operation Iraqi Freedom can be rede-  
3 ployed to their peacetime duty stations.

4 (57) Congress notes the findings of the reports  
5 submitted to Congress pursuant to the section enti-  
6 tled “Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq” of  
7 the Joint Explanatory Statement of the Committee  
8 of Conference accompanying Conference Report  
9 109–72 of the bill, H.R. 1268 (the Emergency Sup-  
10 plemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Glob-  
11 al War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005; Public  
12 Law 109–13), that identify security, economic, and  
13 Iraqi Security Force training performance standards  
14 and goals, accompanied by a notional timetable for  
15 achieving these goals.

16 (58) Congress notes the findings of the report  
17 submitted to Congress pursuant to the United  
18 States Policy in Iraq Act (section 1227 of the Na-  
19 tional Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year  
20 2006; Public Law 109–163), that identify the cur-  
21 rent military mission and the diplomatic, political,  
22 economic, and military measures that are being or  
23 have been undertaken to successfully complete or  
24 support that mission.

1           (59) Congress notes the findings of the report  
2       submitted to Congress pursuant to section 9010 of  
3       the Department of Defense Appropriations Act,  
4       2007 (division A of Public Law 109-289), that in-  
5       clude specific performance indicators and measures  
6       of progress toward political, economic, and security  
7       stability in Iraq, but also notes that the report is not  
8       a comprehensive, single-source of content, informa-  
9       tion, data, and analysis about the combined efforts  
10      or the future strategy of the United States, Coalition  
11      countries, or the Government of Iraq that Congress  
12      requires to fulfill its constitutional oversight respon-  
13      sibilities.

14           (60) Congress is concerned that the findings of  
15      the reports described in paragraphs (57), (58), and  
16      (59) do not provide sufficient content, information,  
17      data, and analysis for Congress to comprehensively  
18      evaluate the mission in Iraq.

19           (61) Congress notes the advantages of consoli-  
20      dating the reports described in paragraphs (57),  
21      (58), and (59) into a single report to be transmitted  
22      to Congress pursuant to section 4 of this Act.

23           (62) Congress urges that the reports trans-  
24      mitted pursuant to section 4 of this Act be orga-  
25      nized and written to provide content, information,



1 data, and analysis on the mission in Iraq as it per-  
2 tains to the political, security, infrastructure, and  
3 economic development of and governance capacity  
4 building at and between the various levels of govern-  
5 ment in Iraq.

6 (63) Congress further urges that the reports  
7 transmitted pursuant to section 4 of this Act be or-  
8 ganized and written to provide content, information,  
9 data, and analysis on United States and Coalition  
10 countries efforts to establish maintain, stabilize, and  
11 conciliate relations between Iraq, neighboring states,  
12 regional states, and the international community.

13 (64) Congress moreover urges that, if the Presi-  
14 dent decides not to adopt and implement some or all  
15 of the recommendations offered by the Iraq Study  
16 Group in the Group's report, the reports transmitted  
17 pursuant to section 4 of this Act should include con-  
18 tent, information, data, and analysis to explain and  
19 justify the rationale as to why such recommenda-  
20 tions were not adopted and implemented.

21 (65) It is the duty of Congress under Article I,  
22 Section 8 of the United States Constitution to "raise  
23 and support Armies," and that by requiring the  
24 President to report to Congress on Operation Iraqi

1 Freedom, Congress is better able to carry out this  
2 constitutional duty.

3 (66) Congress declares that satisfactory compli-  
4 ance with the letter and spirit of the reports re-  
5 quired to be transmitted pursuant to section 4 of  
6 this Act, and compliance with the intended quality  
7 of such reports, will provide Congress and the Amer-  
8 ican people a firm basis for which to consider and  
9 evaluate the utility of continuing current, or pro-  
10 viding for future, economic, reconstruction, and  
11 other assistance to, or for the benefit of, the Govern-  
12 ment of Iraq.

13 **SEC. 4. REPORT.**

14 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date  
15 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall, in ac-  
16 cordance with, in support of, and to more clearly define  
17 the National Strategy for Victory in Iraq and the plan  
18 entitled “The New Way Forward in Iraq”, transmit to  
19 Congress a report that—

20 (1) consolidates the findings of the reports re-  
21 quired by—

22 (A) the section entitled “Measuring Sta-  
23 bility and Security in Iraq” of the Joint Ex-  
24 planatory Statement of the Committee of Con-  
25 ference accompanying Conference Report 109–

1           72 of the bill, H.R. 1268 (the Emergency Sup-  
2           plemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the  
3           Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief,  
4           2005; Public Law 109–13);

5           (B) the United States Policy in Iraq Act  
6           (section 1227 of the National Defense Author-  
7           ization Act for Fiscal Year 2006; Public Law  
8           109–163); and

9           (C) section 9010 of the Department of De-  
10          fense Appropriations Act, 2007 (division A of  
11          Public Law 109–289);

12          (2) identifies the specific or vital measures or  
13          other benchmarks that define the terms of the of  
14          completion of and conditions for victory for Oper-  
15          ation Iraqi Freedom and their correlation with the  
16          strategic objectives and lines of action outlined in  
17          the appendix of the National Strategy for Victory in  
18          Iraq and the information provided in the plan enti-  
19          tled “The New Way Forward in Iraq”;

20          (3) describes the nature and substance of the  
21          programs implemented to achieve such strategic ob-  
22          jectives and lines of action; and

23          (4) analyzes using metrics the effectiveness of  
24          such programs toward achieving the specific vital

1 measures or other benchmarks required to be identi-  
2 fied by paragraph (2).

3 (b) UPDATE.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall transmit  
5 to Congress an update of the report required by sub-  
6 section (a) not less than once every 90 days after  
7 the date on which the President transmits the report  
8 required by such subsection until such time as Oper-  
9 ation Iraqi Freedom has been completed.

10 (2) CONTENTS.—Each update of the report—

11 (A) may reflect adjustments to the specific  
12 or vital measures or other benchmarks identi-  
13 fied pursuant to subsection (a)(2), or to the na-  
14 ture or substance of the programs described in  
15 subsection (a)(3), as realities, circumstances,  
16 and events in Iraq change or evolve;

17 (B) shall include detailed justifications as  
18 to why adjustments to such specific or vital  
19 measures or other benchmarks, or to the nature  
20 or substance of such programs, were made; and

21 (C) shall include detailed information re-  
22 garding the progress toward implementing the  
23 multilateral agreement required by section 5 of  
24 this Act.

1       (c) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—The report re-  
2       quired by subsection (a) and updates of the report re-  
3       quired by subsection (b)—

4               (1) shall be organized and written to provide  
5       content, information, data, and analysis on the com-  
6       plex interdependent nature of the challenges associ-  
7       ated with the political, security, infrastructure, and  
8       economic development of and governance capacity  
9       building at and between the various levels of govern-  
10      ment in Iraq, and to include efforts on the part of  
11      the United States and Coalition countries to estab-  
12      lish, maintain, stabilize, and conciliate relations be-  
13      tween Iraq, neighboring states, regional states, and  
14      the international community;

15              (2) shall be accompanied by a comprehensive  
16      all-source intelligence analysis of Iraq that includes  
17      information by and from the various levels of gov-  
18      ernment in Iraq, and to include efforts on the part  
19      of the United States and Coalition countries to es-  
20      tablish, maintain, stabilize, and conciliate relations  
21      between Iraq, neighboring states, regional states,  
22      and the international community;

23              (3) shall be accompanied by an analysis of the  
24      extent to which the process called for by the provi-  
25      sions of Article 140 of the Constitution of the Re-

1 public of Iraq can be implemented by the Govern-  
2 ment of Iraq in an unbiased, uniform, and equitable  
3 manner during calendar year 2007, to include a de-  
4 scription of, and justification for, actions needed to  
5 be taken by the United States, Coalition countries,  
6 the Government of Iraq, the Kurdish Regional Gov-  
7 ernment in Iraq, and the provincial government of  
8 Kirkuk, neighboring and regional governments, and  
9 the international community to ensure that such  
10 process proceeds in a unbiased, uniform, and equi-  
11 table manner during calendar year 2007 or during  
12 future years; and

13 (4) shall, if the President decides not to adopt  
14 and implement some or all of the recommendations  
15 offered by the Iraq Study Group in the Group's re-  
16 port, include content, data, information, and anal-  
17 ysis to explain and justify the rationale as to why  
18 such recommendations were not adopted and imple-  
19 mented.

20 (d) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)  
21 and updates of the report required by subsection (b) shall  
22 be transmitted in unclassified form but may contain a  
23 classified annex.

1 **SEC. 5. MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT TO HELP PROVIDE**  
2 **FOR THE COMPLETION OF OPERATION IRAQI**  
3 **FREEDOM.**

4 (a) MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT.—Not later than 45  
5 days after the date on which the report required by section  
6 4(a) of this Act is transmitted to Congress pursuant to  
7 such section, the President shall seek to enter into a multi-  
8 lateral agreement with Coalition countries, the Republic  
9 of Iraq, appropriate states in the Middle East region, and  
10 appropriate multilateral organizations to help provide for  
11 the completion of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

12 (b) TERMS.—It is the sense of Congress that, to the  
13 maximum extent practicable, the terms of the multilateral  
14 agreement referred to in subsection (a) should—

15 (1) be based upon the findings of the report re-  
16 quired by section 4 of this Act; and

17 (2) be subject to adjustment or other amend-  
18 ment, as provided for by subparagraphs (A) and (B)  
19 of section 4(b)(2) of this Act, if appropriate and  
20 agreed to by the signatory parties.

21 **SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.**

22 In this Act:

23 (1) COALITION COUNTRIES.—The term “Coali-  
24 tion countries” means those countries identified by  
25 the Department of State and Department of Defense  
26 as contributing military forces, materiel, diplomatic

1 support, and economic, technical, and training as-  
2 sistance to the Government of Iraq in support of Op-  
3 eration Iraqi Freedom.

4 (2) COALITION FORCES.—The term “Coalition  
5 Forces” means the military forces of Coalition coun-  
6 tries operating in support of Operation Iraqi Free-  
7 dom.

8 (3) UNBIASED, UNIFORM, AND EQUITABLE  
9 MANNER.—The term “unbiased, uniform, and equi-  
10 table manner” means without regard to religion,  
11 race, ethnic identity, gender, age, or geographic loca-  
12 tion.

13 (4) VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN  
14 IRAQ.—The term “various levels of government in  
15 Iraq” means the national, capital city, regional, pro-  
16 vincial, provincial capital city, and strategic munic-  
17 ipal levels of government in Iraq.

18 (5) VIOLENT TRANSNATIONAL ENTITY.—The  
19 term “violent transnational entity” means a global,  
20 regional, or local entity that threatens the national  
21 security of the United States by acts or threats of  
22 violence, terrorism, illicit trafficking of arms (to in-  
23 clude nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and  
24 technology), piracy, or international organized crime  
25 (to include financial transactions, the smuggling of



- 1 narcotics or persons, uncontrolled refugee migration,
- 2 and environmental damage conducted across inter-
- 3 national borders).

