

110TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 787

To state United States policy for Iraq, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 31, 2007

Mr. THOMPSON of California (for himself and Mr. PATRICK J. MURPHY of Pennsylvania) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Rules, 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 state United States policy for 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,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Iraq War De-Esca-  
5 lation Act of 2007”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.**

7 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-  
8 ings:

1           (1) Congress and the Nation honor the courage,  
2           sacrifices, and efforts of the members of the Armed  
3           Forces of the United States and their families.

4           (2) In his speech to the Nation on January 10,  
5           2007, President George W. Bush said that “I’ve  
6           made it clear to the Prime Minister and Iraq’s other  
7           leaders that America’s commitment is not open-  
8           ended. If the Iraqi government does not follow  
9           through on its promises, it will lose the support of  
10          the American people. . . . The Prime Minister under-  
11          stands this”.

12          (3) In that speech, President George W. Bush  
13          also told the Nation that “America will hold the  
14          Iraqi government to the benchmarks it has an-  
15          nounced. . . . [T]o take responsibility for security in  
16          all of Iraq’s provinces by November. To give every  
17          Iraqi citizen a stake in the country’s economy, Iraq  
18          will pass legislation to share oil revenues among all  
19          Iraqis. To show that it is committed to delivering a  
20          better life, the Iraqi government will spend  
21          \$10,000,000,000 of its own money on reconstruction  
22          and infrastructure projects that will create new jobs.  
23          To empower local leaders, Iraqis plan to hold provin-  
24          cial elections later this year. And to allow more  
25          Iraqis to re-enter their nation’s political life, the gov-

1       ernment will reform de-Baathification laws, and es-  
2       tablish a fair process for considering amendments to  
3       Iraq's constitution".

4           (4) In that speech, President George W. Bush  
5       also told the Nation that "only Iraqis can end the  
6       sectarian violence and secure their people".

7           (5) On December 18, 2006, former Secretary of  
8       State Colin Powell stated: "[s]o we have tried this  
9       surge of troops over the summer. I am not per-  
10      suaded that another surge of troops in Baghdad for  
11      the purpose of suppressing this communitarian vio-  
12      lence, this civil war, will work".

13          (6) On November 15, 2006, General John  
14      Abizaid, Commander of the United States Central  
15      Command, stated before the Committee on Armed  
16      Services of the Senate that "I met with every divi-  
17      sional commander, General Casey, the corps com-  
18      mander, General Dempsey. We all talked together.  
19      And I said, in your professional opinion, if we were  
20      to bring in more American troops now, does it add  
21      considerably to our ability to achieve success in  
22      Iraq? And they all said no. And the reason is, be-  
23      cause we want the Iraqis to do more. It's easy for  
24      the Iraqis to rely upon us to do this work. I believe  
25      that more American forces prevent the Iraqis from

1       doing more, from taking more responsibility for their  
2       own future”.

3           (7) In testimony before the Committee on For-  
4       eign Relations of the Senate on January 11, 2007,  
5       Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated that un-  
6       less the Government of Iraq has met certain bench-  
7       marks and reestablishes the confidence of the Iraqi  
8       people over the next several months, “this plan is  
9       not going to work”.

10          (8) In a statement on January 11, 2007, Sec-  
11       retary of Defense Robert Gates stated “[a]nd we will  
12       probably have a better view a couple of months from  
13       now in terms of whether we are making headway in  
14       terms of getting better control of Baghdad, with the  
15       Iraqis in the lead and with the Iraqis beginning to  
16       make better progress on the reconciliation process”.

17          (9) The bipartisan Iraq Study Group headed by  
18       former Secretary of State James Baker and former  
19       Representative Lee Hamilton reached a bipartisan  
20       consensus on 79 separate recommendations for a  
21       new approach in Iraq. Among those recommenda-  
22       tions were calling for a new diplomatic offensive in  
23       the region and conditioning American economic as-  
24       sistance to Iraq on specific benchmarks, with the ex-  
25       pectation that “by the first quarter of 2008, subject

1 to unexpected developments in the security situation  
2 on the ground, all combat brigades not necessary for  
3 force protection could be out of Iraq”.

4 (10) In reaction to the speech of President  
5 George W. Bush of January 10, 2007, former Sec-  
6 retary of State Baker and former Representative  
7 Hamilton wrote that “[t]he President did not sug-  
8 gest the possibility of a transition that could enable  
9 U.S. combat forces to begin to leave Iraq. The Presi-  
10 dent did not state that political, military, or eco-  
11 nomic support for Iraq would be conditional on the  
12 Iraq government’s ability to meet benchmarks. With-  
13 in the region, the President did not announce an  
14 international support group for Iraq including all of  
15 Iraq’s neighbors. . .”.

16 (b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are as fol-  
17 lows:

18 (1) To formulate and provide for the implemen-  
19 tation of an effective United States policy towards  
20 Iraq and the Middle East region that employs mili-  
21 tary, political, diplomatic, and economic assets to  
22 promote and protect the national security interests  
23 of the United States.

24 (2) To provide for the implementation of a re-  
25 sponsible, phased redeployment of the Armed Forces

1 of the United States from Iraq in a substantial and  
2 gradual manner that places the highest priority on  
3 protecting the lives of members of the Armed Forces  
4 and civilian personnel of the United States and on  
5 promoting the national security interests of the  
6 United States in the Middle East region.

7 (3) To urge the political parties and leaders of  
8 Iraq to reach the political solution necessary to pro-  
9 mote stability in Iraq and enhance the safety of in-  
10 nocent Iraqi civilians.

11 (4) To condition future economic assistance to  
12 the Government of Iraq on significant progress to-  
13 ward the achievement of political and economic  
14 measures to be taken by the Government of Iraq.

15 (5) To provide for the initiation of a wider and  
16 sustained diplomatic strategy aimed at promoting a  
17 political settlement in Iraq, thereby ending the civil  
18 war in Iraq, preventing a humanitarian catastrophe  
19 in Iraq, and preventing a wider regional conflict.

20 (6) To provide, through sections 4 through 7,  
21 for the implementation of key recommendations of  
22 the Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan panel of experts  
23 co-chaired by former Secretary of State James  
24 Baker and former Representative Lee Hamilton.

1 **SEC. 3. APPROPRIATE FORCE LEVELS FOR UNITED STATES**  
2 **MILITARY FORCES IN IRAQ.**

3 Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the levels  
4 of the Armed Forces of the United States in Iraq after  
5 the date of the enactment of this Act shall not exceed the  
6 levels of such forces in Iraq as of January 10, 2007, with-  
7 out specific authority in statute enacted by Congress after  
8 the date of the enactment of this Act.

9 **SEC. 4. REDEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES MILITARY**  
10 **FORCES FROM IRAQ.**

11 (a) REDEPLOYMENT.—

12 (1) DEADLINE FOR COMMENCEMENT OF REDE-  
13 PLOYMENT.—Except as otherwise provided in this  
14 section, the phased redeployment of the Armed  
15 Forces of the United States from Iraq shall com-  
16 mence not later than May 1, 2007.

17 (2) SCOPE AND MANNER OF REDEPLOYMENT.—

18 The redeployment of the Armed Forces under this  
19 section shall be substantial, shall occur in a gradual  
20 manner, and shall be executed at a pace to achieve  
21 the goal of the complete redeployment of all United  
22 States combat brigades from Iraq by March 31,  
23 2008, consistent with the expectation of the Iraq  
24 Study Group, if all the matters set forth in sub-  
25 section (b)(1)(B) are not met by such date, subject  
26 to the exceptions for retention of forces for force

1 protection, counter-terrorism operations, training of  
2 Iraqi forces, and other purposes as contemplated by  
3 subsection (g).

4 (3) FORMULATION OF PLAN WITH MILITARY  
5 COMMANDERS.—The redeployment of the Armed  
6 Forces under this section should be conducted pur-  
7 suant to a plan formulated by United States military  
8 commanders that is developed, if practicable, in con-  
9 sultation with the Government of Iraq.

10 (4) PROTECTION OF UNITED STATES FORCES  
11 AND CIVILIAN PERSONNEL.—In carrying out the re-  
12 deployment of the Armed Forces under this section,  
13 the highest priority shall be afforded to the safety of  
14 members of the Armed Forces and civilian personnel  
15 of the United States in Iraq.

16 (b) SUSPENSION OF REDEPLOYMENT.—

17 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may suspend,  
18 on a temporary basis as provided in paragraph (2),  
19 the redeployment of the Armed Forces under this  
20 section if the President certifies to the President pro  
21 tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House  
22 of Representatives that—

23 (A) doing so is in the national security in-  
24 terests of the United States; and

25 (B) the Government of Iraq—



1           (i) has lifted all restrictions con-  
2           cerning non-interference in operations of  
3           the Armed Forces of the United States in  
4           Iraq and does so on a continuing basis;

5           (ii) is making significant progress in  
6           reducing sectarian violence in Iraq and in  
7           reducing the size and operational effective-  
8           ness of sectarian militias in Iraq;

9           (iii) is making significant progress to-  
10          wards removing militia elements from the  
11          Iraqi Army, National Police, Facilities  
12          Protection Services, and other security  
13          forces of the Government of Iraq;

14          (iv) has enacted legislation or estab-  
15          lished other binding mechanisms to ensure  
16          the sharing of all Iraqi oil revenues among  
17          all segments of Iraqi society in an equi-  
18          table manner;

19          (v) is making significant progress to-  
20          wards making available not less than  
21          \$10,000,000,000 for reconstruction, job  
22          creation, and economic development in  
23          Iraq, with safeguards to prevent corrup-  
24          tion, by January 10, 2008;

1           (vi) has deployed at least 18 Iraqi  
2           Army and National Police brigades to  
3           Baghdad and is effectively ensuring that  
4           such units are performing their security  
5           and police functions in all Baghdad neigh-  
6           borhoods, regardless of their sectarian  
7           composition;

8           (vii) has enacted legislation or estab-  
9           lished other binding mechanisms to revise  
10          its de-Baathification laws to encourage the  
11          employment in the Government of Iraq of  
12          qualified Iraqi professionals, irrespective of  
13          ethnic or political affiliation, including ex-  
14          Baathists who were not leading figures of  
15          the Saddam Hussein regime;

16          (viii) has established a fair process for  
17          considering amendments to the constitu-  
18          tion of Iraq that promote lasting national  
19          reconciliation in Iraq;

20          (ix) is making significant progress to-  
21          wards assuming full responsibility for secu-  
22          rity in all the provinces of Iraq by Novem-  
23          ber 30, 2007;

24          (x) is making significant progress to-  
25          wards holding free and fair provincial elec-

1           tions in Iraq at the earliest date prac-  
2           ticable, but not later than December 31,  
3           2007;

4           (xi) is making substantial progress to-  
5           wards increasing the size and effectiveness  
6           of Ministry of Defense forces as described  
7           on page 11 of “Highlights of the Iraq  
8           Strategy Review” published by the Na-  
9           tional Security Council in January 2007;

10          (xii) is making significant progress in  
11          reforming and strengthening the civilian  
12          ministries and other government institu-  
13          tions that support the Iraqi Army and Na-  
14          tional Police; and

15          (xiii) is making significant progress  
16          towards reforming its civilian ministries to  
17          ensure that they are not administered on a  
18          sectarian basis and that government serv-  
19          ices are delivered in an even-handed and  
20          non-sectarian manner.

21          (2) PERIOD OF SUSPENSION.—A suspension of  
22          the redeployment of the Armed Forces under this  
23          subsection, including any renewal of the suspension  
24          under paragraph (3), shall be for a period not to ex-  
25          ceed 90 days.

1           (3) RENEWAL.—A suspension of the redeploy-  
2           ment of the Armed Forces under this subsection  
3           may be renewed. Any such renewal shall include a  
4           certification to the officers referred to in paragraph  
5           (1) on the matters set forth in clauses (i) through  
6           (xiii) of subparagraph (B) of that paragraph.

7           (c) DISAPPROVAL OF SUSPENSION.—

8           (1) DISAPPROVAL.—If Congress enacts a joint  
9           resolution disapproving the suspension of the rede-  
10          ployment of the Armed Forces under subsection (b),  
11          or any renewal of the suspension, the suspension  
12          shall be discontinued, and the redeployment of the  
13          Armed Forces from Iraq under this section shall re-  
14          sume.

15          (2) PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDERATION OF  
16          JOINT RESOLUTIONS.—

17                (A) JOINT RESOLUTION DEFINED.—For  
18                purposes of this subsection, the term “joint res-  
19                olution” means only a joint resolution intro-  
20                duced not later than 10 days after the date on  
21                which a certification of the President under  
22                subsection (b) is received by Congress, the mat-  
23                ter after the resolving clause of which is as fol-  
24                lows: “That Congress disapproves the certifi-  
25                cation of the President submitted to Congress

1 under section 4(b) of the Iraq War De-Esca-  
2 lation Act of 2007, on \_\_\_\_\_.”, the  
3 blank space being filled in with the appropriate  
4 date.

5 (B) PROCEDURES.—A joint resolution de-  
6 scribed in paragraph (1) shall be considered in  
7 a House of Congress in accordance with the  
8 procedures applicable to joint resolutions under  
9 paragraphs (3) through (8) of section 8066(c)  
10 of the Department of Defense Appropriations  
11 Act, 1985 (as enacted by section 101(h) of  
12 Public Law 98–473; 98 Stat. 1936).

13 (d) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after  
15 the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 90  
16 days thereafter, the President shall submit to the  
17 President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speak-  
18 er of the House of Representatives a report describ-  
19 ing and assessing—

20 (A) the progress made by the Government  
21 of Iraq on each of the matters set forth in sub-  
22 section (b)(1)(B); and

23 (B) the progress of the redeployment re-  
24 quired by subsection (a).

1           (2) FORM.—Each report under this subsection  
2       shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may in-  
3       clude a classified annex.

4       (e) SENSE OF CONGRESS ON LOCATION OF REDE-  
5       PLOYMENT.—It is the sense of Congress that, in rede-  
6       ploying the Armed Forces from Iraq under this section,  
7       appropriate units of the Armed Forces should be rede-  
8       ployed—

9           (1) to the United States;

10          (2) to Afghanistan, in order to enhance United  
11       States military operations in that country;

12          (3) elsewhere in the region, to serve as an over-  
13       the-horizon force to prevent the conflict in Iraq from  
14       becoming a wider war, to reassure allies of the  
15       United States of the commitment of the United  
16       States to remain engaged in the region, and to posi-  
17       tion troops to strike directly at al-Qaeda; and

18          (4) elsewhere, to meet urgent United States se-  
19       curity needs.

20       (f) POLITICAL SOLUTION IN IRAQ.—The United  
21       States should use the redeployment of the Armed Forces  
22       under this section, and the possible suspension of such re-  
23       deployment if the benchmarks set forth in subsection (b)  
24       are met, as a tool to press the Iraqi leaders to promote

1 national reconciliation among ethnic and religious groups  
2 in Iraq in order to establish stability in Iraq.

3 (g) RETENTION OF CERTAIN FORCES IN IRAQ.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding the re-  
5 quirement for the redeployment of the Armed Forces  
6 under subsection (a) and subject to the provisions of  
7 this subsection, personnel of the Armed Forces of  
8 the United States may be in Iraq after the comple-  
9 tion of the redeployment of the Armed Forces under  
10 this section for the following purposes:

11 (A) To protect United States personnel  
12 and facilities in Iraq.

13 (B) To conduct targeted counter-terrorism  
14 operations.

15 (C) To provide training for Iraqi security  
16 forces.

17 (D) To conduct the routine functions of  
18 the Office of Defense Attache.

19 (2) CERTIFICATION.—Personnel of the Armed  
20 Forces may not be retained in Iraq under this sub-  
21 section unless the President certifies to the Presi-  
22 dent pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of  
23 the House of Representatives that—

1 (A) the retention of the Armed Forces in  
2 Iraq is necessary for one or more of the pur-  
3 poses set forth in paragraph (1); and

4 (B) the utilization of Armed Forces posi-  
5 tioned outside Iraq could not result in the effec-  
6 tive achievement of such purpose or purposes.

7 (3) DISAPPROVAL OF RETENTION.—If Congress  
8 enacts a joint resolution disapproving the retention  
9 of personnel of the Armed Forces in Iraq under this  
10 subsection, or any renewal of the retention, the re-  
11 tention of such personnel in Iraq shall be discon-  
12 tinued, and such personnel shall be redeployed from  
13 Iraq.

14 (4) PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDERATION OF  
15 JOINT RESOLUTIONS.—

16 (A) JOINT RESOLUTION DEFINED.—For  
17 purposes of paragraph (3), the term “joint res-  
18 olution” means only a joint resolution intro-  
19 duced not later than 10 days after the date on  
20 which a certification of the President under  
21 paragraph (2) is received by Congress, the mat-  
22 ter after the resolving clause of which is as fol-  
23 lows: “That Congress disapproves the certifi-  
24 cation of the President submitted to Congress  
25 under section 4(g)(2) of the Iraq War De-Esca-



1           lation Act of 2007, on \_\_\_\_\_.”, the  
2           blank space being filled in with the appropriate  
3           date.

4                   (B) PROCEDURES.—A joint resolution de-  
5           scribed in subparagraph (A) shall be considered  
6           in a House of Congress in accordance with the  
7           procedures applicable to joint resolutions under  
8           paragraphs (3) through (8) of section 8066(c)  
9           of the Department of Defense Appropriations  
10          Act, 1985 (as enacted by section 101(h) of  
11          Public Law 98–473; 98 Stat. 1936).

12          (h) NO PERMANENT BASES.—Congress hereby reaf-  
13       firms section 1519 of the John Warner National Defense  
14       Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007 (Public Law 109–  
15       364; 120 Stat. 2444), and related provisions of law, that  
16       prohibit the establishment of military installations or  
17       bases for the purpose of providing for the permanent sta-  
18       tioning of United States Armed Forces in Iraq.

19       **SEC. 5. INTENSIFICATION OF TRAINING OF IRAQI SECU-**  
20                   **RITY FORCES.**

21           It shall be the policy of the United States to imme-  
22       diately formulate and implement a plan that—

23                   (1) with the Government of Iraq—

1 (A) removes militia elements from the  
2 Iraqi Army, National Police, and other security  
3 forces of the Government of Iraq; and

4 (B) puts such forces in charge of maintain-  
5 ing security in Iraq;

6 (2) focuses and intensifies United States efforts  
7 on training such forces; and

8 (3) presses the Government of Iraq to reform  
9 the civilian ministries and other government institu-  
10 tions that support the Iraqi Army, National Police,  
11 local police, and judicial system.

12 **SEC. 6. AVAILABILITY OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR**  
13 **IRAQ.**

14 (a) LIMITATION.—Except as provided in subsection  
15 (b), after May 1, 2007, economic assistance may be fur-  
16 nished to the Government of Iraq only if the President  
17 submits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and  
18 the Speaker of the House of Representatives a certifi-  
19 cation that the Government of Iraq—

20 (1) is making measurable progress toward pro-  
21 viding not less than \$10,000,000,000 of Iraqi funds  
22 for reconstruction, job creation, and economic devel-  
23 opment in Iraq, with safeguards to prevent corrup-  
24 tion, by January 10, 2008;

1           (2) is making progress toward meeting the con-  
2       ditions set forth in the International Compact for  
3       Iraq and in the stand-by agreement with the Inter-  
4       national Monetary Fund; and

5           (3) is making progress toward reducing sec-  
6       tarian violence and promoting national reconcili-  
7       ation.

8       (b) EXCEPTIONS.—The limitation in subsection (a)  
9       shall not apply to assistance for Iraq as follows:

10           (1) Humanitarian assistance.

11           (2) Assistance to address urgent security and  
12       employment needs.

13       (c) ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS.—Not later than 90  
14       days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every  
15       90 days thereafter, the Special Inspector General for Iraq  
16       Reconstruction shall submit to Congress a report describ-  
17       ing the progress of the Government of Iraq on each matter  
18       set forth in subsection (a).

19       **SEC. 7. REGIONAL DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES ON IRAQ.**

20       (a) POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.—It shall be the  
21       policy of the United States to undertake comprehensive  
22       regional and international initiatives, involving key na-  
23       tions, that will assist the Government of Iraq in achieving  
24       the purposes of this Act, including promoting a political  
25       settlement among the Iraqi people, ending the civil war

1 in Iraq, preventing a humanitarian catastrophe in Iraq,  
2 and preventing a regional conflict.

3 (b) SPECIAL ENVOY.—The President should, not  
4 later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this  
5 Act, appoint a special envoy for Iraq to carry out the pol-  
6 icy set forth in subsection (a).

7 (c) STRATEGY ON PREVENTING WIDER REGIONAL  
8 WAR.—

9 (1) STRATEGY.—Not later than 90 days after  
10 the date of the enactment of this Act, the President  
11 shall submit to the President pro tempore of the  
12 Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representa-  
13 tives a report setting forth a strategy for preventing  
14 the conflict in Iraq from becoming a wider regional  
15 war.

16 (2) FORM.—The report under paragraph (1)  
17 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may in-  
18 clude a classified annex.

○