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“THERE IS NO MILITARY SOLUTION  
TO A PROBLEM LIKE THAT IN IRAQ.”

**GENERAL DAVID PETRAEUS**  
COMMANDING GENERAL, MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE IRAQ  
MARCH 2007

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# A RESPONSIBLE PLAN TO END THE WAR IN IRAQ

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“There is no military solution to a problem like that in Iraq.”

**General David Petraeus**  
Commanding General, Multi-National Force Iraq  
March 2007

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“The fact is, this president never listened to the soldiers on the ground. The problem is not just a military problem. It is a political problem and a diplomatic problem.”

**General Wesley Clark (ret.)**  
Former Supreme Allied Commander, Europe  
May 2007

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“[America is] not making the progress we need to be making [in Iraq].”

**General John Abizaid (ret.)**  
Former Commander, United States Central Command  
October 2007

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“Iraq is in a helluva mess.”

**James A. Baker III**  
Former U.S. Secretary of State  
October 2006

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# Table of Contents

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Executive Summary .....	5
Current State.....	8
■ <b>Key United States interests are at risk</b> .....	8
A damaged U.S. Military	
Damaged U.S. national security	
Economic costs	
Damage to core U.S. government and civil institutions	
■ <b>Stabilizing Iraq</b> .....	9
No political reconciliation accomplished or on the horizon	
Economic crisis in Iraq	
Intervention in Iraq by outside actors	
The Desired End State .....	11
Proposals for Operations in Iraq.....	12
■ <b>End the military action in Iraq and transition control of and responsibility for Iraq to the Iraqis</b> .....	12
Troop drawdown	
Combat terrorism and extremists	
■ <b>Create the capacity for nation-building and the use of diplomatic power by both the United States and the international community</b> .....	13
Revitalize and reorganize the State Department for the 21st century	
Create capacity in the State Department for nation-building and reconstruction	
Develop capacity for economic reconstruction	
Expand the capacity and role of the international community in Iraq’s nation-building process	
■ <b>Commit to human rights</b> .....	15
Address the refugee crisis in Iraq	
Hold perpetrators of war crimes responsible	
Protect the rights of women and minorities	

Preventing Future Iraqs..... 17

- **Repair damage to constitutional processes and restore transparency and accountability**..... 17
  - Incorporate ongoing war funding into the normal Congressional budgeting process
  - Restore Transparency and Accountability
    - Eliminate signing statements**
    - Restore the guarantee of habeas corpus**
    - End warrantless spying on U.S. citizens**
  - Restore American Moral Standing in the World
    - End detainee torture and rendition**
  - Restore our military
  - Reduce U.S. government reliance on unregulated private militias
  - Fund veterans care
  - Make service to the United States a path up in life; new GI bill
  - Remove Fraud and Abuse from U.S. Contracting Process
  - Restore Public Trust in Media
  - Create a Clean Energy Economy

Conclusion ..... 21

Appendix A: Bills ..... 22

Endnotes ..... 32

## Executive Summary

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The United States invaded Iraq in March 2003. Since then, nearly 4,000 American troops have lost their lives<sup>1</sup> and nearly thirty thousand more have suffered serious injuries<sup>2</sup>, while as many as a million Iraqis may be dead<sup>3</sup>. The financial costs of the war to the U.S. economy will ultimately exceed \$3 trillion<sup>4</sup>.

More than a year ago, the American public demanded a new direction in Iraq by electing a new Congress, and the bipartisan Iraq Study Group (the Baker-Hamilton Commission) presented a set of recommendations for just such a new direction<sup>5</sup>. President Bush rejected the majority of those recommendations and proceeded—largely unchecked by Congress—on a course explicitly contrary to them.

Since that time, the current administration and its congressional allies have continued to use shifting rationales for extending our military involvement in Iraq with no end in sight. The American public has been presented with a set of false choices: a semi-permanent military occupation of Iraq versus a precipitous and destabilizing withdrawal. There is a deepening public desire for a new path forward and a cohesive military, diplomatic, and economic strategy that will end the war in Iraq while protecting American interests.

There are two strategic questions raised by our current dilemma:

**1. How do we bring American military engagement in Iraq to a responsible end?**

There is no military solution to the problems faced in Iraq: the real progress that can be made requires diplomatic, political, and economic means. We must stop counter-productive military operations by U.S. occupation forces and end our military presence in Iraq.

**2. How do we prevent a repeat of the mistakes we've made?**

The breakdown of checks and balances in our government led to bad decision-making which damaged America's national security. Ending this war and preventing future situations like it requires that we restore these Constitutional checks and balances and fix the ways in which our governmental, military, and civil institutions have failed us.

Discussions of Iraq in the media have focused almost entirely on military operations and issues, but any real solution will require us to look at a broader set of problems. Beyond redeploying our troops, we must place equal importance on applying the full arsenal of non-military tools at our disposal. The American public must also re-engage in the discussions and decision-making about how to proceed.

What follows is a series of objectives that, taken together, refocus our current military involvement in the region while repairing damage to the U.S. to prevent a repeat of our mistakes. We have included some sample legislation currently in Congress to show that these objectives have been identified and can be addressed given sufficient political will. We have also included recommendations that the Baker-Hamilton Commission published in the Iraq Study Group Report. In some cases, no existing legislation or clear recommendations exist and new authorizing legislation plus careful planning would be required.

Supporters of this document have committed to these objectives. The American people do not need to wait for a new Congress and new administration to pursue this agenda: public pressure on our current elected officials to act can help us move in the right direction even before January 2009, when we hope a new presidential administration and a new Congress will avail themselves of the opportunity to address

the great challenges we face as a nation. We are aware that facts on the ground will change moving forward, and the legislation is included just to show that a responsible end to the war is possible given the political will.

As circumstances on the ground change, what is required of our response may change as well; consequently, we will be updating information on this and other legislation at [www.responsibleplan.com](http://www.responsibleplan.com).

#### **End U.S. military action in Iraq:**

There is no military solution in Iraq. Our current course unacceptably holds U.S. strategic fortunes hostage to events in Iraq that are beyond our control; we must change course. Using diplomatic, political, and economic power, we can responsibly end the war and removing all of our troops from Iraq.

#### **Using U.S. diplomatic power:**

Much of the remaining work to be completed in Iraq requires the effective use of diplomatic power. Many of Iraq's neighbors are currently contributing to instability and need to be persuaded to assist instead in stabilization.

#### **Addressing humanitarian concerns:**

The humanitarian crisis caused by Iraq's situation is destabilizing to the region and damaging to America's moral credibility. We must both take responsibility for the Iraqis who are now endangered because of their assistance to the U.S. and begin to address the regional problems of displaced Iraqis.

#### **Restoring our Constitution:**

Many mistakes were made in the course of this war, and our systems of checks and balances have failed us at critical moments. To prevent repeating those mistakes, we must repair the underlying Constitutional framework of our republic and provide checks to executive authority. Balance must be restored between the executive and the judicial branch (for instance through the restoration of habeas corpus), between the executive and the legislative branch (for instance through clarifying that the President does not have the Constitutional authority to unilaterally alter legislation through signing statements), and between the executive and the people of the United States (for instance by clarifying that the Fourth Amendment requires probable cause and a warrant for the government to spy on Americans).

#### **Restoring our military:**

Repairing the damage done to our military will require reforms in contracting procedures, restoring benefits for members of the military and veterans, and investment in repairing or replacing damaged military equipment.

The need for contracting reform is substantial. Private militias have direct incentives to prolong the conflict rather than resolve it; their use needs to be phased out. Contractors must be legally accountable for their actions. War profiteering must be stopped, and those who have engaged in it need to answer for their actions.

The safety of our men and women in uniform requires that we adhere to international standards with respect to treatment of prisoners. We must also make it clear that the United States does not torture, and that we do not send people to other places to be tortured, either.

The military is having substantial difficulty with recruiting and retention; we could begin to help by delivering on more of the promises the original Montgomery G.I. Bill made and by delivering on our promises regarding healthcare for veterans.

**Restoring independence to the media:**

The consolidation of our news media into the control of a relatively few corporate entities stifled a full and fair discussion and debate around Iraq. A more robust debate could be encouraged by expanding access to media.

**Creating a new, U.S.-centered energy policy:**

Finally, we are clearly tied to Iraq through our dependence on oil, which makes us vulnerable. Moving away from that dependence is necessary for strategic, economic, and environmental reasons.



## Current state

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The five year war and occupation of Iraq has cost the United States a tremendous amount, weakening the U.S. military and draining resources away from essential priorities like combating Al Qaeda. We cannot stay the course and remain bogged down in Iraq while we continue to get weaker and the threats to our country grow stronger.

### ■ Key United States interests are at risk

#### A damaged U.S. Military

Throughout our history, the strength and professionalism of the U.S. Military have been instrumental in preserving our country's liberty and democracy. Superb training and personnel plus the best equipment in the world made quick and decisive response possible. Our capacity to respond with overwhelming force has been a powerful deterrent.

Our military capabilities and readiness, however, have been deeply damaged by this war. Both our troops and our military equipment have been seriously depleted. Our forces are stretched so thin that we are unprepared to defend our country.<sup>6</sup> Many of our best and brightest officers are choosing to leave military service.<sup>7</sup> Under the grinding strain of constant wartime use, a dangerously high percentage of our military equipment is damaged, gone, or unavailable to units who might need it.<sup>8</sup> Our dependence on private military contractors<sup>9</sup> and the politicization of some of the upper echelons of the military compromise the professionalism which had been a hallmark of our forces<sup>10</sup>. And the nationalization of the state National Guards presents a further threat by hampering our ability to respond to emergencies at home.<sup>11</sup>

#### Damaged U.S. national security

As the standing of the United States in the world community has plummeted,<sup>12</sup> it has become substantially more difficult for us to engage with the rest of the world to address real threats. These underaddressed threats include nuclear proliferation, pandemics, terrorism, climate change, and energy supply bottlenecks.

The further destabilization of the Middle East is also a growing threat to U.S. national security.<sup>13</sup> Al Qaeda's strength is growing in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and Iran's power is growing.<sup>14</sup>

#### Economic costs

The Iraq War has cost U.S. taxpayers a staggering \$526 billion so far<sup>15</sup> in direct costs, and roughly \$1.3 trillion to the economy so far.<sup>16</sup> That's \$16,500 for each U.S. family of four, or roughly \$3 billion for each Congressional district in the country. The full economic cost of the war is estimated to be \$3 trillion.<sup>17</sup> As the U.S. economy spirals into recession, the economic impact of the war is both a clear contributor and a factor crippling our ability to respond.

#### Damage to core U.S. government and civil institutions

The war has been tightly bound with undermining the Constitutional system of checks and balances. Safeguards between the branches of government and safeguards between government and the people have been eroded, with the executive branch claiming unprecedented power unchecked by either the

courts or the Congress. Ending the war requires that we repair the institutions which are designed to prevent mistakes of this magnitude.

The one clear war power of Congress—the power of the purse—has been neutered by the habit of paying for the war “off the books” in emergency supplemental bills. This prevents a transparent discussion of where the funding for this war has been taken from and how these costs will be covered in the future, and it encourages fraud and irresponsible decision-making. Transparency and accountability will only be possible when war funding is incorporated into the normal congressional budgeting process, forcing decision-makers to consider real trade-offs.

Finally, the fourth estate—an independent media—presents only narrow and somewhat propagandized versions of news coverage such that meaningful participation in policy discussions by the public becomes difficult. Increasing the credibility of the news media is necessary so that the American public is fully informed and involved in decisions of this magnitude.

## ■ **Stabilizing Iraq**

### **No political reconciliation accomplished or on the horizon**

The discussions of the surge in troops that took place in mid-2007 often fail to discuss what the proposed purpose of the increase was: to stabilize the country sufficiently for a political reconciliation to take place. While the level of violence has declined from its peak, that political reconciliation has not taken place.

The political environment in Iraq is still very unstable. There are open struggles for power among Sunni, Shiites, and Kurds. At stake are control over central and local governments as well as the oil revenue from Iraq's oil fields, currently estimated to be at least ten percent of all known worldwide oil reserves.<sup>18</sup>

These power struggles spill between the Iraqi Parliament and the streets where each group has its private militias. Iraq's political leaders admit that no political reconciliation among the various Iraqi factions has taken place, and have voiced doubts that any such reconciliation is possible.<sup>19</sup>

### **Humanitarian crisis in Iraq**

The Iraqi people are in a humanitarian crisis which prevents the stabilization of Iraq. As many as a million Iraqis are dead.<sup>20</sup> Nearly four million Iraqi refugees have been displaced or have fled.<sup>21</sup> Reports show that one out of every two households in Baghdad has lost a family member.<sup>22</sup> There is no reliable power, no reliable schooling for children, no system of reliable hospitals, and no functioning civil infrastructure.<sup>23</sup> While the temporary increase of U.S. troops in Baghdad and certain other areas of Iraq has reduced the number of attacks, violence remains high, and Iraqi forces are still not ready to assume the duties of the U.S. military.

### **Economic crisis in Iraq**

The state of the Iraqi economy gives Iraqis little incentive to work to preserve it. Unemployment is estimated at 60 percent,<sup>24</sup> and most educated Iraqis, or those with money, have already fled.<sup>25</sup> Foreign direct investment is under 1 percent.<sup>26</sup> Most Iraqis have electricity for less than 3 hours per day.<sup>27</sup> This economic paralysis is a direct impetus for the ongoing violence. Young, unemployed men end up joining militias that vie for control of neighborhood turf, rather than putting their energies toward rebuilding a shattered nation.

## **Intervention in Iraq by outside actors**

Iraq's neighbors are actively intervening directly in Iraq's affairs, exacerbating domestic political and ethnic fault lines and increasing internal instability.<sup>28</sup> Iran, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia are all active inside of Iraq, and we need to provide incentives for them to become stabilizing rather than destabilizing forces.

Whether we like it or not, Iraq's neighbors will continue to intervene because they have serious national interests at stake: they have to deal with the refugees, violence, crime, economic shocks and all the other consequences of Iraq's instability. All of the neighbors have an interest in maintaining stability but they also fear other neighbors gaining advantage. To achieve this goal they have looked for proxies who will carry out their agenda – which makes the situation worse by strengthening various warring parties and creating greater potential for broader regional conflict.

## The Desired End State

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The objectives we are aiming to accomplish include:

- **An end to US military obligations** and costs in Iraq.
- **An end to wide-scale civilian deaths in Iraq**, and broader protection for human rights there.
- **Reducing the threat posed to the rest of the world** by an unstable Iraq, including the threat posed by the use of Iraq as a terrorist training ground.
- **A U.S. energy policy that frees us from our dependence on oil.**
- **Repairing U.S. institutions to avoid making the same mistake again.**

In addition to the goals we have laid out to accomplish, there is a set of things that are explicitly NOT our desired ends.

- **No use of Iraq as a military leverage point** for the U.S. in the Middle East.

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 22:** The President should state that the United States does not seek permanent military bases in Iraq. If the Iraqi government were to request a temporary base or bases, then the U.S. government could consider that request as it would in the case of any other government.

- **No U.S. domination over Iraqi oil.**

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 23:** The President should restate that the United States does not seek to control Iraq's oil.

- **No protection of profits for war profiteers.** Contractors who have abused U.S. taxpayers and Iraqi citizens by failing to deliver on their contractual obligations, by delivering substandard goods or services, or by working counter to the interests of the U.S. and the Iraqis should be held to account. At a minimum, profits made by such contractors at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer and the Iraqi people should be refunded.

## Proposals for Operations in Iraq

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### ■ End the military action in Iraq and transition control of and responsibility for Iraq to the Iraqis

Responsibly ending the U.S. military action in Iraq and returning control of the country to the Iraqis is a critical step in enhancing U.S. security. This solution requires that no residual U.S. troops remain in Iraq. The continued presence in Iraq of so-called “residual” forces beyond the minimum needed for standard embassy-protection would be a serious mistake. Any such troops would become a magnet for insurgent attacks and unless they did nothing at all would inevitably become players in Iraq’s domestic political disputes, thus forcing the United States to continue to play referee to Iraq’s civil conflicts. Soldiers tasked with training missions would, to be effective, have to be embedded in Iraqi combat formations necessarily involving them directly in combat, thus continuing to hold American strategic fortunes hostage to events in Iraq that are beyond our control.

If the Iraqi people unambiguously request peacekeeping forces, the U.S. should work with legitimate international organizations to assist in that regard.

### Troop drawdown

The U.S. does not have enough troops to remain in Iraq at the current levels indefinitely. The limitations on troop availability will demand some drawdown in the short term.<sup>29</sup> While the current administration and its allies may seek to portray a return pre-surge troop levels as the beginning of a military withdrawal, it is not enough to reduce troop levels to pre-surge levels. We must end the presence in Iraq of U.S. troops.

This should be accomplished based on planning provided by our military leadership; the safety of our remaining troops during the drawdown period is of utmost importance. Moreover, the drawdown of troops must be coordinated with increased civil and economic assistance, and executed in such a way as to contain the threat of terrorism and prevent an abrupt destabilization of the region.

Per Recommendations 40-42 of the Iraq Study Group Report, therefore:

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 40:** The United States should not make an open-ended commitment to keep large numbers of American troops deployed in Iraq.

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 41:** The United States must make it clear to the Iraqi government that the United States could carry out its plans, including planned redeployments, even if Iraq does not implement its planned changes. America’s other security needs and the future of our military cannot be made hostage to the actions or inactions of the Iraqi government.

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 42:** We should seek to complete the training and equipping mission by the first quarter of 2008, as stated by General George Casey on October 24, 2006.

The timelines laid out in the Iraq Study Group should be updated, but in accordance with those recommendations, troop draw-downs should begin immediately and continue until no more troops remain in Iraq. The timeline should not be dependent on the Iraqis.

## Combat terrorism and extremists

We must turn our attention and resources to combating the most urgent terrorist threats to the United States. While we must prevent Iraq from becoming a safe-harbor for terrorists, the threat from other areas of the world is being disproportionately ignored due to the resources devoted to Iraq. A smarter allocation of resources, based on the best-available information from our intelligence agencies, is required.

### ■ Create the capacity for nation-building and the use of diplomatic power by both the United States and the international community

Many military leaders have spoken out about the need to do far more with diplomatic and economic power to improve the situation in Iraq.<sup>30</sup> Our post-invasion strategies in Iraq have been pursued primarily on military terms, and the diplomatic efforts have not resulted in any substantial progress. Billions of dollars have been wasted on failed reconstruction projects which have been left incomplete or unusable due to incompetence or corruption on the part of the chosen contractors. There has been no serious attempt to revive the Iraqi economy by providing employment and carefully directed economic stimulus.

Stabilization of Iraq will require deployment of fiscal and diplomatic resources into a major effort to rebuild the economy and infrastructure of Iraq.

## Revitalize and reorganize the State Department for the 21st century

Our current State Department is not organized to do the diplomatic work required in Iraq, and needs to be retooled. This should be followed by diplomatic efforts towards a coordinated series of simultaneous engagements with the three primary ethnic/religious Iraqi entities and their neighboring counterparts, as well as a major new diplomatic offensive centered on creating a collaborative working group of all nations with direct interest in long-term Iraqi stability. If the State Department cannot create such a process, initiating such an effort under the United Nations or NATO should be attempted. This was described by the Baker-Hamilton Commission:

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 1:** The United States, working with the Iraqi government, should launch the comprehensive New Diplomatic Offensive to deal with the problems of Iraq and of the region.

**Iraq Study Group Recommendation 2:** The goals of the diplomatic offensive as it relates to regional players should be to:

- i. Support the unity and territorial integrity of Iraq.
- ii. Stop destabilizing interventions and actions by Iraq's neighbors.
- iii. Secure Iraq's borders, including the use of joint patrols with neighboring countries.
- iv. Prevent the expansion of instability and conflict beyond Iraq's borders.
- v. Promote economic assistance, commerce, trade, political support, and, if possible, military assistance for the Iraqi government from non-neighboring Muslim nations.
- vi. Energize countries to support national political reconciliation in Iraq.
- vii. Validate Iraq's legitimacy by resuming diplomatic relations, where appropriate, and reestablishing embassies in Baghdad.
- viii. Assist Iraq in establishing active working embassies in key capitals in the region (for example, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia).
- ix. Help Iraq reach a mutually acceptable agreement on Kirkuk.
- x. Assist the Iraqi government in achieving certain security, political, and economic milestones, including better performance on issues such as national reconciliation, equitable distribution of oil revenues, and the dismantling of militias.

These recommendations can be aided by the passage of H.R. 3797:

**H.R. 3797: New Diplomatic Offensive for Iraq Act.**

This legislation would require the President to seek to institute a regional diplomatic plan for the Middle East.

## **Create capacity in the State Department for nation-building and reconstruction**

President Bush ran for election in 2000 saying, “I don’t think our troops ought to be used for what’s called nation building.”<sup>31</sup> But by late 2005, the Pentagon had issued a directive declaring nation-building to be a “core U.S. military mission.”<sup>32</sup> And although the Pentagon had asked the State Department to provide expertise and people, the State Department has indicated they don’t have the capacity or the staffing to do so.<sup>33</sup>

*“I’d rather have more members of the State Department on the field than soldiers on the field.”*

*General John Abizaid (ret.)  
Former Commander, United States Central Command  
October 2007*

The Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) currently operating in Iraq are a good start, but are too small in scope and structure to create the transformation that is required. We propose the expanded use of non-military personnel working at the grassroots level to strengthen the capacity of towns and villages to resist the insurgency on their own, as well as an internationalization of the effort.

The end goal should be the creation of a network of local PRTs reaching the entirety of the Iraqi population, thus addressing the medical, agricultural, educational, and commercial needs of the population served. These PRTs would then work closely with other non-military initiatives designed to revive Iraq’s civil society and economy.

The Departments of State, Agriculture, Commerce, Transportation, Justice, and Treasury must be directly engaged in creating this solution, rather than assigning everything to our military. The active engagement of the international community, as well, would expand their capacity and facilitate the security of the teams.

A step in the right direction was taken when the Administration created the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) in 2004, in order to enhance our capacity to respond to crises involving failing, failed, and post-conflict states and complex emergencies. Unfortunately, this organization has not been provided with adequate funding and staffing to fulfill its mission. The Administration and Congress should ensure that S/CRS has the necessary resources to build this capacity during peacetime. We cannot wait until the next crisis breaks out to begin building such a capability from the ground up.

## **Develop capacity for economic reconstruction**

The United States must make a more intensive and collaborative effort to engage allies and international institutions in rebuilding the Iraqi economy. That economy is in tatters due to the lack of a functioning infrastructure, a massive deficit of employment opportunities, and atrophied civil and market institutions. The weak economy spurs internal instability and violence, as large numbers of the chronically unemployed, particularly young men, gravitate to religious and ethnicity-based organizations and militias.

As Major General Paul Eaton (ret.), who served in Iraq in 2003 and 2004, told us, “So long as angry young men loiter on the streets, nothing good will come. Give them a job, however, and a realistic chance at

a better life, and the situation will improve.” We propose to address this problem by making a major investment in rebuilding the Iraqi economy using Iraqi labor for needed public works projects.

*Every Soldier who has served in Iraq knows  
the ‘Man on the Moon’ dilemma.  
“You Americans can put a man on the moon,  
but you can’t give me electricity I had under Saddam.”  
And then the conspiracy theorists kick in.*

*General Paul Eaton (ret.)  
Former Security Transition Commanding General, Iraq  
December 2007*

Such programs should be implemented so that unemployed young Iraqi men would receive decent wages while working on projects across Iraq, with Sunnis, Shi’a and Kurds working together. To ensure that Iraqi reconstruction funds are not simply ways to enrich U.S. corporations, and to avoid complicating the ethnic rivalries in Iraq, the program should be administered through an NGO or the United Nations.

Implemented correctly and sustained over several years, this sort of public works and economic revitalization effort in Iraq would reduce violence, encourage the return of refugees, and help diversify the Iraqi economy in the long-term.

### **Expand the capacity and role of the international community in Iraq’s nation-building process**

In part due to what Mike Huckabee has called the “arrogant bunker mentality”<sup>34</sup> of the current administration, the international community has been loathe to make a significant commitment in Iraq. Converting the U.S. military effort in Iraq to a civil, economic and humanitarian one, in which our allies would be given a say, would likely reduce that reluctance. We should strive to enlist the international community as full partners in a civil and economic reconstruction program in Iraq.

One course of action would be to convene an international conference under UN auspices to inform neighboring countries that we will be redeploying our troops and facilitate cooperation for stability. No adjacent power has an interest in Iraq’s imploding and having the conflict spill over its borders, not to mention creating more refugees.

We must create a regional dialogue that forces all the neighbors to come together. The United States needs to lay out a comprehensive diplomatic strategy for Iraq’s neighbors that involves a number of regional working groups to tackle different issues, with one high level American envoy authorized to deal with all of the relevant players.

### **■ Commit to Human Rights**

Making a serious commitment to advance human rights in Iraq will help repair America’s reputation, which was particularly damaged by Abu Ghraib. In addition, such an effort is likely to garner strong international support, assisting in internationalizing our relief efforts there.

### **Address the refugee crisis in Iraq**

One of the most troubling effects of the war is the displacement, internal and external, of millions of Iraqis. The United States has a strong moral obligation to assist these people; it also makes sense to do so from a security perspective.



Roughly five million Iraqis are refugees who have fled Iraq or been displaced internally; many lack adequate food, shelter, and other basic services.<sup>35</sup> Since March 2003 the United States has admitted fewer than two thousand Iraqi refugees, leaving relatively resource-poor countries like Jordan to accept upwards of 750,000, and Syria to admit 1,500,000.<sup>36</sup> Other neighboring countries, including Saudi Arabia and Iran, have taken hundreds of thousands more refugees. The Syrian and Jordanian governments need immediate assistance to aid in the care of these displaced people. A humanitarian crisis of this magnitude threatens to destabilize the entire region.

Efforts should begin with H.R. 3674: Iraqi Refugee and Internally Displaced Persons Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Security Act of 2007.

**H.R. 3674: Iraqi Refugee and Internally Displaced Persons Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Security Act of 2007**

This legislation would address the impending humanitarian crisis and security breakdown as a result of the mass influx of Iraqi refugees into neighboring countries, and the growing internally displaced population in Iraq, by increasing directed accountable assistance to these populations and their host countries, increasing border security, and facilitating the resettlement of Iraqis at risk.

In addition, our unwillingness to help Iraqis who are at risk because they have assisted us makes it far more difficult to get the local aid we need. As Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice remarked in June 2007, "the people that I'm most worried about in the near term are the people who've worked for and with us who might be subject to recrimination and reprisal." This could be addressed by H.R. 2265: Responsibility to Iraqi Refugees Act of 2007.

**H.R. 2265: Responsibility to Iraqi Refugees Act of 2007**

This legislation would provide special immigrant status for certain Iraqis and assist Iraqi refugees.

## Hold perpetrators of war crimes responsible

We should work with the international community to hold perpetrators of potential war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide accountable for their crimes. One way this could be done is by working with the United Nations to establish an independent war crimes commission or a special investigator to gather testimonies and investigate war crimes.

## Protect the rights of women and minorities

Iraq, prior to the invasion, was one of the more egalitarian societies in the Middle East with respect to women. Over the last five years, however, their status has become increasingly threatened. In order to renew Iraqi civil society, the lives of Iraqi women must be improved and their basic rights protected in Iraqi society.

This is not a simple problem to solve: it requires winning the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people. However, with investments in economic development and education focused on women, and through the other diplomatic and economic tools at our disposal, we may be able to make progress on it. If we don't prioritize it, the situation for Iraqi women is likely to get worse rather than better, to their detriment and the detriment of the Iraqi people as a whole.

## Preventing Future Iraqs

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Even with the United States locked into an ongoing major military effort in Iraq, some in the administration have continued to agitate for military action against other nations, most recently Iran. The American people believe that the use of U.S. military force should be a last resort. Preventing this administration (and future ones) from violating this precept, which has guided U.S. foreign policy thinking for decades, is of tremendous importance.

Avoiding this scenario requires that the three branches of government perform their functions, as laid out in the Constitution. Thus, we propose to:

### ■ **Repair Damage to Constitutional Processes and Restore Transparency and Accountability**

#### **Incorporate ongoing war funding into the normal Congressional budgeting process**

The budgeting process for future Iraq reconstruction needs to be overhauled. As described earlier, bypassing normal budgeting procedures for Iraq appropriations strips the Congress of much of its oversight ability, which is critical to its role to balance the executive. As the Iraq Study Group noted,

“(M)ost of the costs of the war show up not in the normal budget request but in requests for emergency supplemental appropriations. This means that funding requests are drawn up outside the normal budget process, are not offset by budgetary reductions elsewhere, and move quickly to the White House with minimal scrutiny. Bypassing the normal review erodes budget discipline and accountability.”<sup>37</sup>

For congressional oversight to be effective, appropriations should go through the normal budgetary process, including hearings before authorizing committees.

#### **Restore Transparency and Accountability**

An important goal of the 110th Congress must be the rollback of the excessive executive authority that the current administration has taken. These additional powers were taken at the expense of Congress, hampering its ability to fulfill its oversight role. Transparency and accountability—to both the Congress and the American people—were lost in the run-up to the war. Subsequent activities have further undermined the checks between the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial branch, as well as between the government and the people of this country.

#### **Eliminate signing statements**

The U.S. Constitution is very clear about the process by which legislation is passed: the House and the Senate must each pass the legislation and it must then be signed by the President. The President has no power to make law unilaterally. Our current president, however, has made unprecedented use of “signing statements”<sup>38</sup> in which he attempts to substantially alter the meaning of laws and their interpretation by the courts. These signing statements are a dangerous device that undermines Congress’ constitutional powers and ability to act as a check on the executive.

As a first step in correcting this executive overreach, H.R. 3045 would prohibit the courts from using signing statements in their deliberations about the meanings of laws.

**H.R. 3045: Presidential Signing Statements Act of 2007**

This legislation would prohibit any state or federal court from relying on or deferring to a presidential signing statement as a source of authority when determining the meaning of any Act of Congress, and provide mechanisms for Congress to clarify their intent with respect to legislation being interpreted by the courts.

**Restore the guarantee of habeas corpus**

One of the most critical checks on the government's coercive power is the right of the individual to appeal for relief from arbitrary detention to a court of law. No one can speak out freely against an executive who has an unchecked right to detain political prisoners without oversight.

However, in the name of expediency, the Bush Administration and the Congress passed the Military Commissions Act of 2006 which bars habeas corpus appeals from anyone the Administration declares to be an "enemy combatant."

H.R. 1416 would restore the Constitutional right of habeas corpus and the rights guaranteed under the Geneva Conventions to any prisoners of war taken by the U.S.

**H.R. 1416: Habeas Corpus Restoration Act of 2007**

This legislation would repeal the portions of the Military Commissions Act which suspended habeas corpus and the Geneva Conventions.

**End warrantless spying on U.S. citizens**

Democracy depends on dialogue between citizens unhampered by fear of those in power. The Constitution protects such dialogue by prohibiting government surveillance without probable cause and judicially-issued warrants. The Bush Administration, however, began intercepting electronic communications from Americans with no warrants and has continued to do so flagrantly.

Restoring this basic check of the people on government should begin with S.139: The Foreign Surveillance Expedited Review Act.

**S. 139 Foreign Surveillance Expedited Review Act**

This legislation would provide standing for civil actions for declaratory and injunctive relief to persons who refrain from electronic communications through fear of being subject to warrantless electronic surveillance for foreign intelligence purposes.

**Restore American Moral Standing in the World**

**End detainee torture and rendition**

The administration recently admitted that it has waterboarded terrorist suspects in its custody. Other detainees have been secretly flown to countries that practice torture for interrogations. As a nation, our standing in the world suffered enormous and lasting damage when the treatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib was exposed. Torture has proved itself to be ineffective, and our use of it puts our own forces at risk of similar treatment if captured.

This would be addressed by H.R. 1416 (mentioned above), which restores Geneva Convention rights to prisoners, and H.R. 1352: Torture Outsourcing Prevention Act.

**H.R. 1352: Torture Outsourcing Prevention Act**

This legislation would “prohibit the return or other transfer of persons by the United States, for the purpose of detention, interrogation, trial, or otherwise, to countries where torture or other inhuman treatment of persons occurs, and for other purposes.”<sup>39</sup>

**Restore our military**

**Reduce U.S. government reliance on unregulated private militias**

Reliance on unregulated private militias including Blackwater has compromised the ability of the U.S. military to accomplish its mission.<sup>40</sup> These problems would be eliminated with the passage of H.R. 4102: Stop Outsourcing Security Act and H.R. 2740: MEJA Expansion and Enforcement Act of 2007.

**H.R. 4102: Stop Outsourcing Security Act**

This legislation would phase out the use of private military contractors.

**H.R. 2740: MEJA Expansion and Enforcement Act of 2007**

To require accountability for contractors and contract personnel under Federal contracts, and for other purposes.

**Fund veterans care**

Treating those who risked their lives for our nation’s defense with the honor and respect they deserve is critical to maintaining the integrity of our armed forces. First-rate medical care should be available to all veterans once their tours of duty are over.

Such care would be improved by H.R. 2874: Veterans’ Health Care Improvement Act of 2007.

**H.R. 2874: Veterans’ Health Care Improvement Act of 2007**

To amend title 38, United States Code, to make certain improvements in the provision of health care to veterans, and for other purposes.

**Make service to the United States a path up in life; new GI bill**

Military service as a path up in life is a powerful recruitment tool, but changes over the past several years have eliminated or greatly reduced availability of the educational benefits once associated with serving. Passage of H.R. 2247: Montgomery GI Bill for Life Act of 2007 and H.R. 2702: Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2007 would greatly improve educational access for veterans.

**H.R. 2247: Montgomery GI Bill for Life Act of 2007**

This legislation extends eligibility for educational benefits so that they don’t expire in the middle of a term, and so that Reservists and National Guard members who are disabled can continue to use them.

**H.R. 2702: Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2007**

To amend title 38, United States Code, to establish a program of educational assistance for members of the Armed Forces who serve in the Armed Forces after September 11, 2001, and for other purposes.

**Remove fraud and abuse from U.S. contracting process**

U.S. taxpayers have paid contractors billions of dollars for goods and services in Iraq which were not fully delivered. Holding contractors accountable for delivery of contracted goods and services and restoring

greater Congressional oversight would remedy many of the problems. H.R. 400: War Profiteering Prevention Act of 2007 would eliminate the worst abuse and fraud.

**H.R. 400: War Profiteering Prevention Act of 2007**

This legislation would amend the federal criminal code to prohibit profiteering and fraud involving a contract or the provision of goods or services in connection with a mission of the U.S. Government overseas.

## Restore Public Trust in Media

In looking back at the *Washington Post's* pre-war coverage, *Post* Executive Editor Leonard Downie Jr., put it this way:

“We were so focused on trying to figure out what the administration was doing that we were not giving the same play to people who said it wouldn't be a good idea to go to war and were questioning the administration's rationale,” Mr. Downie said in a front-page article that assessed the newspaper's prewar coverage. “Not enough of those stories were put on the front page. That was a mistake on my part.”<sup>41</sup>

The lack of impartiality and skepticism on the part of the news media allowed administration claims to go unchallenged, and denied the American public a full examination of the arguments for and against going to war.

The consolidation of ownership of news organizations means that it doesn't take long for a beltway-centric “conventional wisdom” to take shape. Due to the limited number of media outlet owners, this conventional wisdom is repeated over and over, through a variety of outlets.

An informed electorate was seen by our founding fathers as a critical ingredient for a functioning democracy. Accurate, timely and impartial information can only be guaranteed through an independent media. When publishers, editors, broadcasters and their bosses lose their independence, the electorate can no longer be confident about the information it receives.

A first step towards restoring our independent media would be the adoption of new media ownership rules through S.2332: Media Ownership Act of 2007.

**S. 2332: Media Ownership Act of 2007**

This legislation would require the FCC to include greater public participation when changing regulations related to broadcast ownership, to do studies on the impact of such rule changes, and to establish an independent panel on increasing the representation of women and minorities in broadcast media ownership.

## Create a Clean Energy Economy

Our nation's dependence on greater quantities of oil than any other nation on earth makes us uniquely vulnerable. Our economy cannot function without oil, so we depend on the oil-rich states. Iraq, as the source of a significant percentage of the world's known oil reserves, has been accordingly central to the interests of the United States.

Leaving aside right now the environmental implications of continued dependence on oil, the fact is that oil resources are getting depleted, and surging demand in China and India means that the remaining oil will be more costly and leave us even more vulnerable. A serious and sustained commitment to ending our dependence on oil entirely must therefore be a key part of our ongoing effort to promote our economic and national security.

The effort to harvest new sources of energy is a perfect challenge for America – it requires ingenuity, knowledge and expertise. If we make the investments, alternative energy will create new industries and new technology that will provide jobs and economic growth for the foreseeable future.

Legislation to take aggressive first steps to relieve our nation of its crippling dependence on oil has been introduced in the form of the H.R. 2809: New Apollo Energy Act of 2007, which would provide an aggressive start to fixing the problem.

**H.R. 2809: New Apollo Energy Act of 2007**

To ensure that the United States leads the world baseline in developing and manufacturing next generation energy technologies, to grow the economy of the United States, to create new highly trained, highly skilled American jobs, to eliminate American overdependence on foreign oil, and to address the threat of global warming.

## Conclusion

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The current administration has said it expects to see U.S. combat forces remain in Iraq for another decade or longer.<sup>42</sup> Senator John McCain, the presumed Republican presidential nomination, has said that he would be fine with keeping U.S. troops in Iraq for 100 years.<sup>43</sup>

We could not disagree more. After five years of occupation, the time has come to end our combat involvement in Iraq. The American people want our troops home, as do most Iraqis. They are right.

The real challenges in Iraq are not military. It is not an appropriate role for our combat troops to referee the continuing sectarian conflict in Iraq, nor is it reasonable to ask them to fabricate a military solution to a problem for which the best solutions are non-military. We do face great challenges in Iraq, but they are political, diplomatic, economic, and humanitarian in nature. They can be solved, but not by the military.

Withdrawing our troops, therefore, is not synonymous with ending our involvement in Iraq. By removing our troops we free up the resources needed to help the Iraqis begin the process of rebuilding their country.

We argue for a major new civil society initiative, public works projects that also provide employment, and localized assistance efforts; we propose that this redeployment of resources coincide with the withdrawal of our military forces. And we propose a series of domestic reforms to restore checks and balances in our government and prevent another unchecked rush to war in the future.

Much of the necessary legislation is already written. Other aspects of this proposal will likely have to await our election to Congress later this year. But everything we propose can be done, and done quickly, at significantly lower cost than that of our current military efforts in Iraq.

In so doing, we believe we can not only end a destructive war, but offer a new beginning to the people of Iraq.

## Appendix A: Bills

### ■ DIPLOMACY/STATE DEPARTMENT REFORM

#### H.R. 3797 New Diplomatic Offensive for Iraq Act

Sponsor: Rep. David Price [D-NC]

Cosponsors (54):

Rep. Neil Abercrombie [D-HI]	Rep. Giffords, Gabrielle [AZ-8]	Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton [DC]
Rep. Jason Altmire [PA-4]	Rep. Wayne Gilchrest [R-MD]	Rep. James L. Oberstar [MN-8]
Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]	Rep. Ruben Hinojosa [TX-15]	Rep. John Olver [D-MA]
Rep. Robert Brady [D-PA]	Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]	Rep. Linda T. Sanchez [CA-39]
Rep. George Butterfield [D-NC]	Rep. Paul Hodes [D-NH]	Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]
Rep. Kathy Castor [D-FL]	Rep. Rush Holt [D-NJ]	Rep. Allyson Schwartz [D-PA]
Rep. Ben Chandler [D-KY]	Rep. Michael Honda [D-CA]	Rep. Joe Sestak [PA-7]
Rep. William Clay [D-MO]	Rep. Darlene Hooley [D-OR]	Rep. Christopher Shays [CT-4]
Rep. Jim Costa [D-CA]	Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee [D-TX]	Rep. Adam Smith [WA-9]
Rep. William Delahunt [D-MA]	Rep. John B. Larson, [CT-1]	Rep. Fortney Pete Stark [CA-13]
Rep. Charles Dent [R-PA]	Rep. Daniel Lipinski [D-IL]	Rep. Michael Thompson [D-CA]
Rep. John Dingell [D-MI]	Rep. Zoe Lofgren [CA-16]	Rep. Mark Udall [D-CO]
Rep. Philip English [R-PA]	Rep. Doris Matsui [D-CA]	Rep. Chris Van Hollen [MD-8]
Rep. Anna Eshoo [D-CA]	Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]	Rep. James Walsh [R-NY]
Rep. Bob Etheridge [D-NC]	Rep. Bradley Miller [D-NC]	Rep. Diane Watson [D-CA]
Rep. Sam Farr [D-CA]	Rep. Dennis Moore [D-KS]	Rep. Peter Welch [D-VT]
Rep. Bob Filner [D-CA]	Rep. Gwen Moore [WI-4]	Rep. Donald Young [R-AK]
Rep. Jim Gerlach [R-PA]	Rep. John Murtha [D-PA]	Rep. David Wu [OR-1]

Abstract: New Diplomatic Offensive for Iraq Act - Directs the President to implement a regional diplomatic plan in conjunction with the U.N. Security Council to: (1) curtail the ongoing civil war in Iraq; (2) prevent the spread of violence from Iraq into neighboring countries; (3) prevent the establishment of safe havens for al-Qa'ida and other terrorist organizations; (4) prevent regional conflict; (5) prevent genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity; and (6) promote a national process of reconciliation within Iraq.

States that it is U.S. policy to: (1) undertake a sustained diplomatic effort to engage the governments of regional nations on issues that impact the situation in Iraq; (2) continue and expand U.S. direct bilateral talks with nations neighboring Iraq on issues of mutual interest; (3) support the goals specified in the International Compact for Iraq; and (4) encourage the increased engagement of international organizations in working to achieve stability and security in Iraq.

Directs the President to appoint a Presidential Special Envoy for Iraq Regional Security whose duties shall include: (1) discussions with the government of Iraq and governments of neighboring countries to support Iraq's efforts to achieve peace and stability and to take necessary actions to prevent regional instability, including organizing a related Iraq Support Group; and (2) working with Iraqi officials and other domestic stakeholders to organize a forum for negotiations on national reconciliation.

Directs the Secretary of State to organize an international donors conference to solicit additional international commitments of funding and support for reconstruction and economic development in Iraq.

Directs the President direct the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations to seek a Security Council resolution that: (1) supports regional and international cooperation in promoting stability and development in Iraq; (2) encourages increased support for efforts to rebuild and expand Iraq's economy and critical infrastructure; and (3) authorizes renewed U.N. assistance to promote security and political reconciliation in Iraq, including a commitment to an increased U.N. role following the beginning of a U.S. Armed Forces' redeployment from Iraq.

## ■ HUMAN RIGHTS/IRAQI REFUGEES

### H.R. 2265 Responsibility to Iraqi Refugees Act of 2007

Sponsor: Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]

Cosponsors (76):

Rep. Thomas Allen [D-ME]	Rep. Alcee Hastings [D-FL]	Rep. Donald Payne [D-NJ]
Rep. Brian Baird [D-WA]	Rep. Maurice Hinchey [D-NY]	Rep. Earl Pomeroy [D-ND]
Rep. Tammy Baldwin [D-WI]	Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]	Rep. David Price [D-NC]
Rep. Shelley Berkley [D-NV]	Rep. Rush Holt [D-NJ]	Rep. Charles Rangel [D-NY]
Rep. Howard Berman [D-CA]	Rep. Michael Honda [D-CA]	Rep. Dave Reichert [R-WA]
Rep. Lois Capps [D-CA]	Rep. Darlene Hooley [D-OR]	Rep. Steven Rothman [D-NJ]
Rep. Michael Capuano [D-MA]	Rep. Steve Israel [D-NY]	Rep. Linda Sánchez [D-CA]
Rep. Julia Carson [D-IN]	Rep. Jesse Jackson [D-IL]	Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]
Rep. Yvette Clarke [D-NY]	Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee [D-TX]	Rep. Joe Sestak [D-PA]
Rep. Joseph Crowley [D-NY]	Rep. Walter Jones [R-NC]	Rep. Christopher Shays [R-CT]
Rep. Danny Davis [D-IL]	Rep. James Langevin [D-RI]	Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter [NY-2]
Rep. Susan Davis [D-CA]	Rep. Tom Lantos [D-CA]	Rep. Adam Smith [D-WA]
Rep. Thomas Davis [R-VA]	Rep. Rick Larsen [D-WA]	Rep. Victor Snyder [D-AR]
Rep. Peter DeFazio [D-OR]	Rep. John Larson [D-CT]	Rep. Fortney Stark [D-CA]
Rep. William Delahunt [D-MA]	Rep. Steven LaTourette [R-OH]	Rep. Edolphus Towns [D-NY]
Rep. Rosa DeLauro [D-CT]	Rep. Edward Markey [D-MA]	Rep. Nydia Velázquez [D-NY]
Rep. John Dingell [D-MI]	Rep. Betty McCollum [D-MN]	Rep. Mark Udall [D-CO]
Rep. Keith Ellison [D-MN]	Rep. James McDermott [D-WA]	Rep. Chris Van Hollen [MD-8]
Rep. Philip English [R-PA]	Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]	Rep. Maxine Waters [D-CA]
Rep. Anna Eshoo [D-CA]	Rep. Gregory Meeks [D-NY]	Rep. Diane Watson [D-CA]
Rep. Sam Farr [D-CA]	Rep. Bradley Miller [D-NC]	Rep. Henry Waxman [D-CA]
Rep. Chaka Fattah [D-PA]	Rep. James Moran [D-VA]	Rep. Peter Welch [D-VT]
Rep. Bob Filner [D-CA]	Rep. Jerry Moran [R-KS]	Rep. Robert Wexler [D-FL]
Rep. Barney Frank [D-MA]	Rep. Jerrold Nadler [D-NY]	Rep. Lynn Woolsey [D-CA]
Rep. Wayne Gilchrest [R-MD]	Del. Eleanor Norton [D-DC]	
Rep. Phil Hare [D-IL]	Rep. John Olver [D-MA]	

Abstract: Responsibility to Iraqi Refugees Act of 2007 - Authorizes the Secretary of Homeland Security to provide special immigrant status to an Iraqi national (and spouse or child of such alien) who: (1) worked directly with the U.S. government, the United Nations, certified government or U.N. contractor or subcontractor, or U.S.-based nongovernmental organization for at least one year; and (2) has a not manifestly unfounded fear of persecution, violence, or harm to the alien or the alien's family because of such work.

Sets forth annual entry limits through FY2011 for such aliens.

Directs the Secretary of State to: (1) provide such aliens who are in imminent danger with protection, including temporary housing on U.S. military bases or at provincial reconstruction team offices or immediate removal from Iraq; and (2) establish at least five alien processing facilities in Iraq.

Establishes in the Department of State a Special Coordinator for Iraqi Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, to be based at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, Iraq. States that the Special Coordinator shall be responsible for the development and implementation of policies and programs for Iraqi refugees and internally displaced persons, and shall establish a related inter-agency task force.

Directs the Secretary of State to seek to negotiate a bilateral refugee resettlement agreement with each country containing a significant population of displaced Iraqis, including Jordan, Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon.

Increases FY2007-FY2008 refugee admissions for persons who are not not firmly settled in a foreign country and who are of humanitarian concern to the United States in order to admit Iraqi refugees. Sets forth priority groups.

Revises the authority of the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Homeland Security to determine that security and related grounds for inadmissibility shall not apply to an individual or a group.

Waives the FY2008-FY2009 funding cap for the United States Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund.

Authorizes appropriations to specified entities and agencies for Iraqi refugee-related assistance.



## **H.R. 3674 Iraqi Refugee and Internally Displaced Persons Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Security Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep. Alcee Hastings [D-FL]

Cosponsors (14):

Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]  
Rep. Robert Brady [D-PA]  
Rep. Joseph Crowley [D-NY]  
Rep. Joe Courtney [CT-2]  
Rep. John Dingell [D-MI]

Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]  
Rep. Steve Israel [D-NY]  
Rep. Betty McCollum [D-MN]  
Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]  
Rep. Gwen Moore [D-WI]

Rep. John W. Olver [MA-1]  
Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]  
Rep. Christopher Shays [CT-4]  
Rep. Diane Watson [D-CA]

Abstract: To address the impending humanitarian crisis and security breakdown as a result of the mass influx of Iraqi refugees into neighboring countries, and the growing internally displaced population in Iraq, by increasing directed accountable assistance to these populations and their host countries, increasing border security, and facilitating the resettlement of Iraqis at risk.

## **RESTORING THE CONSTITUTION**

### **H.R. 3045 Presidential Signing Statements Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep. Carol Shea-Porter [D-NH]

Cosponsors (58):

Rep. Neil Abercrombie [D-HI]  
Rep. Tammy Baldwin [D-WI]  
Rep. Shelley Berkley [D-NV]  
Rep. Timothy Bishop [D-NY]  
Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]  
Rep. Michael Capuano [D-MA]  
Rep. Julia Carson [D-IN]  
Rep. Kathy Castor [D-FL]  
Rep. Yvette Clarke [D-NY]  
Rep. Joe Courtney [D-CT]  
Rep. Danny Davis [D-IL]  
Rep. Peter DeFazio [D-OR]  
Rep. Diana DeGette [D-CO]  
Rep. Rosa DeLauro [D-CT]  
Rep. Keith Ellison [D-MN]  
Rep. Sam Farr [D-CA]  
Rep. Barney Frank [D-MA]  
Rep. Raul Grijalva [D-AZ]  
Rep. John Hall [D-NY]  
Rep. Phil Hare [D-IL]

Rep. Alcee Hastings [D-FL]  
Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]  
Rep. Michael Honda [D-CA]  
Rep. Darlene Hooley [D-OR]  
Rep. Jay Inslee [D-WA]  
Rep. Steve Israel [D-NY]  
Rep. Steve Kagen [D-WI]  
Rep. Patrick Kennedy [D-RI]  
Rep. Dale Kildee [D-MI]  
Rep. Dennis Kucinich [D-OH]  
Rep. James R. Langevin, [RI-2]  
Rep. David Loebsack [D-IA]  
Rep. Stephen Lynch [D-MA]  
Rep. Carolyn Maloney [D-NY]  
Rep. Doris Matsui [D-CA]  
Rep. Betty McCollum [D-MN]  
Rep. James McDermott [D-WA]  
Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]  
Del. Eleanor Norton [D-DC]

Rep. John Olver [D-MA]  
Rep. Frank Pallone [D-NJ]  
Rep. Ed Perlmutter [D-CO]  
Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]  
Rep. José Serrano [D-NY]  
Rep. Albio Sires [D-NJ]  
Rep. Louise Slaughter [D-NY]  
Rep. Betty Sutton [D-OH]  
Rep. John Tierney [D-MA]  
Rep. Edolphus Towns [D-NY]  
Rep. Mark Udall [D-CO]  
Rep. Christopher Van Hollen [D-MD]  
Rep. Diane Watson [D-CA]  
Rep. Anthony Weiner [D-NY]  
Rep. Peter Welch [D-VT]  
Rep. Robert Wexler [D-FL]  
Rep. Lynn Woolsey [D-CA]  
Rep. Albert Wynn [D-MD]  
Rep. John Yarmuth [D-KY]

Abstract: Prohibits any state or federal court from relying on or deferring to a presidential signing statement as a source of authority when determining the meaning of any Act of Congress.

Requires any federal or state court, in any action, suit, or proceeding regarding the construction or constitutionality, or both, of any Act of Congress in which a presidential signing statement was issued, to permit the Senate, through the Office of Senate Legal Counsel, or the House, through the Office of General Counsel for the House, or both, to participate as an amicus curiae, and to present an oral argument on the question of the Act's construction or constitutionality, or both.

Authorizes the full Congress, in any such suit, to pass a concurrent resolution declaring its view of the proper interpretation of the Act of Congress at issue, clarifying Congress's intent or its findings of fact, or both.

Requires the federal or state court in question to permit Congress, through the Office of Senate Legal Counsel, to submit any such passed resolution into the record of the case as a matter of right.

Makes it the duty of each federal or state court, including the U.S. Supreme Court, to advance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible extent the disposition of any matter brought under this Act.

## H.R. 1416 Habeas Corpus Restoration Act of 2007

Sponsor: Rep. Jerrold Nadler [D-NY]

Cosponsors (86):

Rep. Thomas Allen [D-ME]  
Rep. Michael Arcuri [D-NY]  
Rep. Brian Baird [D-WA]  
Rep. Tammy Baldwin [D-WI]  
Rep. Howard Berman [D-CA]  
Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]  
Rep. Leonard Boswell [D-IA]  
Rep. Robert Brady [D-PA]  
Rep. Lois Capps [D-CA]  
Rep. Michael Capuano [D-MA]  
Rep. Julia Carson [D-IN]  
Rep. Yvette Clarke [D-NY]  
Rep. William Clay [D-MO]  
Rep. Steve Cohen [D-TN]  
Rep. Jerry Costello [D-IL]  
Rep. Elijah Cummings [D-MD]  
Rep. Danny Davis [D-IL]  
Rep. Peter DeFazio [D-OR]  
Rep. Diana DeGette [D-CO]  
Rep. William Delahunt [D-MA]  
Rep. Rosa DeLauro [D-CT]  
Rep. Lloyd Doggett [D-TX]  
Rep. Michael Doyle [D-PA]  
Rep. Keith Ellison [D-MN]  
Rep. Anna Eshoo [D-CA]  
Rep. Sam Farr [D-CA]  
Rep. Chaka Fattah [D-PA]  
Rep. Bob Filner [D-CA]  
Rep. Barney Frank [D-MA]

Rep. Kirsten Gillibrand [D-NY]  
Rep. Raul Grijalva [D-AZ]  
Rep. Luis Gutiérrez [D-IL]  
Rep. John Hall [D-NY]  
Rep. Jane Harman [D-CA]  
Rep. Maurice Hinchey [D-NY]  
Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]  
Rep. Paul Hodes [D-NH]  
Rep. Rush Holt [D-NJ]  
Rep. Michael Honda [D-CA]  
Rep. Jesse Jackson [D-IL]  
Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee [D-TX]  
Rep. Henry Johnson [D-GA]  
Rep. Steve Kagen [D-WI]  
Rep. Patrick Kennedy [D-RI]  
Rep. Dennis Kucinich [D-OH]  
Rep. Barbara Lee [D-CA]  
Rep. Sander Levin [D-MI]  
Rep. John Lewis [D-GA]  
Rep. Zoe Lofgren [D-CA]  
Rep. Carolyn Maloney [D-NY]  
Rep. Edward Markey [D-MA]  
Rep. Doris Matsui [D-CA]  
Rep. Betty McCollum [D-MN]  
Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]  
Rep. Mike McIntyre [D-NC]  
Rep. Michael McNulty [D-NY]  
Rep. Martin Meehan [D-MA]  
Rep. Gregory Meeks [D-NY]

Rep. Michael Michaud [D-ME]  
Rep. George Miller [D-CA]  
Rep. James Moran [D-VA]  
Del. Eleanor Norton [D-DC]  
Rep. James Oberstar [D-MN]  
Rep. John Olver [D-MA]  
Rep. Edward Pastor [D-AZ]  
Rep. Ed Perlmutter [D-CO]  
Rep. David Price [D-NC]  
Rep. Charles Rangel [D-NY]  
Rep. Steven Rothman [D-NJ]  
Rep. John Salazar [D-CO]  
Rep. Linda Sánchez [D-CA]  
Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]  
Rep. Robert Scott [D-VA]  
Rep. José Serrano [D-NY]  
Rep. Louise Slaughter [D-NY]  
Rep. Fortney Stark [D-CA]  
Rep. Michael Thompson [D-CA]  
Rep. John Tierney [D-MA]  
Rep. Mark Udall [D-CO]  
Rep. Tom Udall [D-NM]  
Rep. Christopher Van Hollen [D-MD]  
Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz [D-FL]  
Rep. Melvin Watt [D-NC]  
Rep. Henry Waxman [D-CA]  
Rep. Peter Welch [D-VT]  
Rep. Lynn Woolsey [D-CA]

Abstract: Repeals provisions of the Military Commissions Act of 2006 that eliminated the jurisdiction of any court to hear or consider applications for a writ of habeas corpus filed by aliens who have been determined by the United States to have been properly detained as enemy combatants (or who are awaiting such determination) and actions against the United States relating to the detention of such aliens and to military commissions (thus restoring habeas corpus rights existing prior to the enactment of such Act).

Allows courts to hear or consider legal challenges to military commissions only as provided by the Code of Military Justice or by a habeas corpus proceeding.

Repeals the prohibition in the Military Commissions Act of 2006 against invoking the Geneva Convention as a source of rights in any habeas corpus or other civil actions in which the United States or a member of the Armed Forces is a party.

■ **RESTORING THE CONSTITUTION** *continued*

**S. 139 Foreign Surveillance Expedited Review Act**

Sponsor: Sen. Charles Schumer [D-NY]

Cosponsors None

Abstract: Provides standing for civil actions for declaratory and injunctive relief to persons who refrain from electronic communications through fear of being subject to warrantless electronic surveillance for foreign intelligence purposes.

■ **MILITARY INTEGRITY**

**H.R. 4102 Stop Outsourcing Security Act**

Sponsor: Rep Schakowsky, Janice D. [IL-9]

Cosponsors (24):

Rep. Thomas Allen [D-ME]	Rep. Raul Grijalva [D-AZ]	Rep. George Miller [CA-7]
Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]	Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey [NY-22]	Rep. James L. Oberstar [MN-8]
Rep. Robert A. Brady [PA-1]	Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]	Rep. Ed Pastor [AZ-4]
Rep. Steve Cohen [D-TN]	Rep. Rush D. Holt [NJ-12]	Rep. Nick Rahall [D-WV]
Rep. Keith Ellison [D-MN]	Rep. Dennis Kucinich [D-OH]	Rep. Charles B. Rangel [NY-15]
Rep. Bob Filner [D-CA]	Rep. Zoe Lofgren [CA-16]	Rep. Fortney Stark [D-CA]
Rep. Barney Frank [MA-4]	Rep. Jim McDermott [WA-7]	Rep. Lynn Woolsey [D-CA]
Rep. Charles Gonzalez [D-TX]	Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]	Rep. David Wu [OR-1]

Abstract: Stop Outsourcing Security Act - Directs the Secretary of State to ensure that only government personnel provide security services at U.S. diplomatic or consular missions in Iraq.

Requires the President to report to Congress on the status of planning for the use of Government and military personnel instead of private contractors for mission critical or emergency essential functions by January 1, 2009, in all conflict zones where Congress has authorized the use of force.

Authorizes Congress access to contracts and task orders in excess of \$5 million entered into by the Department of Defense (DOD), the Department of State, the Department of the Interior, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) during the period beginning October 1, 2001, and ending on the last day of the month during which this Act is enacted for work to be performed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Requires certain reports to Congress regarding such contracts.

**H.R. 400 War Profiteering Prevention Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep. Neil Abercrombie [D-HI]

Cosponsors (12):

Rep. Corrine Brown [D-FL]	Rep. Jane Harman [CA-36],	Rep. James P. McGovern [MA-3]
Rep. Peter DeFazio [D-OR]	Rep. Mazie K. Hirono [HI-2]	Rep. George Miller [CA-7]
Rep. Bob Etheridge [D-NC]	Rep. Henry C. "Hank," Jr. Johnson, [GA-4]	Rep. Janice D. Schakowsky [IL-9]
Rep. Chaka Fattah [D-PA]	Rep. Dale E. Kildee [MI-5]	Rep. Nydia M. Velazquez [NY-12]

Abstract: Amends the federal criminal code to prohibit profiteering and fraud involving a contract or the provision of goods or services in connection with a mission of the U.S. Government overseas. Imposes: (1) a fine of not more than \$1 million and/or a prison term of up to 20 years for knowingly defrauding the United States or a provisional authority in connection with such a mission or for materially overvaluing any goods or services with the intent to defraud; (2) a fine of not more than \$1 million and/or a prison term of up to 10 years for falsification or concealment, false statements, or false documents in connection with such contracts or goods or services.

Grants extraterritorial federal jurisdiction over war profiteering and fraud offenses. Permits venue for the prosecu-

*continued*

**H.R. 400** *War Profiteering Prevention Act of 2007 continued*

tion of such offenses in any district where any act in furtherance of an offense took place or where any party to a contract or provider of goods or services is located.

Allows criminal forfeiture of property obtained from a war profiteering or fraud offense. Makes war profiteering and fraud a predicate offense for money laundering and racketeering offenses.

**H.R. 1352** **Torture Outsourcing Prevention Act**

Sponsor: Rep. Edward Markey [D-MA]

Cosponsors (60):

Rep. Thomas Allen [D-ME]	Rep. Dennis Kucinich [D-OH]	Rep. Donald Payne [D-NJ]
Rep. Tammy Baldwin [D-WI]	Rep. Tom Lantos [D-CA]	Rep. David Price [D-NC]
Rep. Earl Blumenauer [D-OR]	Rep. Barbara Lee [D-CA]	Rep. Steven Rothman [D-NJ]
Rep. Lois Capps [D-CA]	Rep. Sander Levin [D-MI]	Rep. Bobby Rush [D-IL]
Rep. Michael Capuano [D-MA]	Rep. John Lewis [D-GA]	Rep. Janice Schakowsky [D-IL]
Rep. John Conyers [D-MI]	Rep. Zoe Lofgren [D-CA]	Rep. José Serrano [D-NY]
Rep. Elijah Cummings [D-MD]	Rep. Carolyn Maloney [D-NY]	Rep. Christopher Shays [R-CT]
Rep. Danny Davis [D-IL]	Rep. Doris Matsui [D-CA]	Rep. Albio Sires [D-NJ]
Rep. Susan Davis [D-CA]	Rep. Betty McCollum [D-MN]	Rep. Fortney Stark [D-CA]
Rep. Diana DeGette [D-CO]	Rep. James McDermott [D-WA]	Rep. Michael Thompson [D-CA]
Rep. Rosa DeLauro [D-CT]	Rep. James McGovern [D-MA]	Rep. John Tierney [D-MA]
Rep. Anna Eshoo [D-CA]	Rep. Michael McNulty [D-NY]	Rep. Edolphus Towns [D-NY]
Rep. Sam Farr [D-CA]	Rep. Martin Meehan [D-MA]	Rep. Tom Udall [D-NM]
Rep. Barney Frank [MA-4]	Rep. Michael Michaud [D-ME]	Rep. Christopher Van Hollen [D-MD]
Rep. Raul Grijalva [D-AZ]	Rep. Bradley Miller [D-NC]	Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz [D-FL]
Rep. Maurice Hinchey [D-NY]	Rep. George Miller [D-CA]	Rep. Diane Watson [D-CA]
Rep. Mazie Hirono [D-HI]	Rep. James Moran [D-VA]	Rep. Melvin Watt [D-NC]
Rep. Rush Holt [D-NJ]	Rep. Jerrold Nadler [D-NY]	Rep. Henry Waxman [D-CA]
Rep. Michael Honda [D-CA]	Rep. John Olver [D-MA]	Rep. Robert Wexler [D-FL]
Rep. Sheila Jackson-Lee [D-TX]	Rep. Edward Pastor [D-AZ]	Rep. Lynn Woolsey [D-CA]

Abstract: Directs the Secretary of State to submit to the appropriate congressional committees an annual list of countries where there are substantial grounds for believing that torture, cruel, or degrading treatment is commonly used in the detention or interrogation of individuals.

Prohibits the direct or indirect transfer or return of persons by the United States for the purpose of detention, interrogation, trial, or otherwise to a listed country. Sets forth conditions under which: (1) the Secretary may waive such transfer prohibition; and (2) a treaty-based transfer may occur.

Prohibits the transfer from the United States of any person to a non-listed country without an opportunity to challenge such transfer on the grounds of being subjected to torture or cruel or degrading treatment.

Amends the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 to direct the appropriate government agencies to prescribe regulations to implement U.S. obligations under the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

**H.R. 2740** **Transparency and Accountability in Security Contracting Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep. David Price [D-NC]

Cosponsors (15):

Rep Bishop, Timothy H. [NY-1]	Rep Ellison, Keith [MN-5]	Rep McGovern, James P. [MA-3]
Rep Blumenauer, Earl [OR-3]	Rep Filner, Bob [CA-51]	Rep Schakowsky, Janice D. [IL-9]
Rep Brady, Robert A. [PA-1]	Rep Grijalva, Raul M. [AZ-7]	Rep Spratt, John M., Jr.
Rep Davis, Danny K. [IL-7]	Rep Hall, John J. [NY-19]	Rep Stark, Fortney Pete [CA-13]
Rep DeFazio, Peter A. [OR-4]	Rep Hirono, Mazie K. [HI-2]	Rep Woolsey, Lynn C. [CA-6]

*continued*

**H.R. 2740** *Transparency and Accountability in Security Contracting Act of 2007 continued*

Abstract: Provides that persons who, while employed under a federal agency contract in, or in close proximity to, an area where the Armed Forces are conducting a contingency operation, engage in conduct that would constitute an offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year if engaged within U.S. jurisdiction, shall be punished as provided for that offense.

Requires the Inspector General of the Department of Justice (DOJ) to report to Congress on: (1) the status of DOJ's investigations of alleged violations committed by contract personnel; (2) findings and recommendations about the number of criminal cases prosecuted by DOJ involving such violations; and (3) with respect to covered contracts where the work is carried out in Iraq or Afghanistan, a list of each charge brought against contractors or contract personnel and a description of any legal actions taken by the United States as a result of such a criminal charge or a complaint.

Requires the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to ensure that there are adequate personnel, through the creation of Theater Investigative Units, to investigate allegations of such criminal violations by contract personnel. Requires such a Unit to refer a case, if appropriate, to the Attorney General for further action. Requires the Director to request security assistance from the Secretary of Defense in any case in which a Unit does not have the resources or is otherwise unable to provide adequate security to ensure its safety. Authorizes the Attorney General to request assistance from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Homeland Security, or the head of any other agency, including the assignment of additional personnel and resources to a Unit.

Requires the Director to report annually to Congress on the number of reports received by Units relating to suspected criminal misconduct by contractors or to fatalities resulting from the use of force by contractors, the number of cases referred by the Units to the Attorney General for further investigation or action, and any recommended changes to federal law that the Director considers necessary to perform the duties of the Director under this Act.

**VETERANS**

**H.R. 2247** *Montgomery GI Bill for Life Act of 2007*

Sponsor: Rep Larsen, Rick [WA-2]

Cosponsors (12):

Rep Cohen, Steve [TN-9]

Rep Courtney, Joe [CT-2]

Rep Cramer, Robert E. (Bud), Jr. [AL-5]

Rep Davis, Jo Ann [VA-1]

Rep DeFazio, Peter A. [OR-4]

Rep Ellsworth, Brad [IN-8]

Rep Gordon, Bart [TN-6]

Rep Latham, Tom [IA-4]

Rep Lofgren, Zoe [CA-16]

Rep Pastor, Ed [AZ-4]

Rep Paul, Ron [TX-14]

Rep Stupak, Bart [MI-1]

Abstract: Provides that, if an individual eligible for educational assistance under the Montgomery GI Bill is enrolled in an educational institution and the period of such individual's entitlement (ten years after discharge or release from active duty) would expire during a term, quarter, or semester of enrollment, that period shall be extended to the end of that term, quarter, or semester. Allows such an extension until the later of the end of the course or 12 weeks, in the case of an educational institution not regularly operated on a quarter or semester basis.

Repeals the: (1) 14-year (after first becoming entitled) limit on the use of educational assistance by members of the Selected Reserve; and (2) ten-year limit on the use educational assistance by members of the Ready Reserve who are separated due to disability after supporting contingency and certain other operations.

## **H.R. 2874 Veterans' Health Care Improvement Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep Michaud, Michael H. [ME-2]

Cosponsors (23):

Rep Allen, Thomas H. [ME-1]  
Rep Altmire, Jason [PA-4]  
Rep Arcuri, Michael A. [NY-24]  
Rep Berkley, Shelley [NV-1]  
Rep Boswell, Leonard L. [IA-3]  
Rep Boyda, Nancy E. [KS-2]  
Rep Brown, Corrine [FL-3]  
Rep Donnelly, Joe [IN-2]

Rep Filner, Bob [CA-51]  
Rep Hall, John J. [NY-19]  
Rep Hare, Phil [IL-17]  
Rep Herseth Sandlin, Stephanie [SD]  
Rep Loebsack, David [IA-2]  
Rep Mahoney, Tim [FL-16]  
Rep McNerney, Jerry [CA-11]

Rep Mitchell, Harry E. [AZ-5]  
Rep Murphy, Patrick J. [PA-8]  
Rep Rodriguez, Ciro D. [TX-23]  
Rep Salazar, John T. [CO-3]  
Rep Space, Zachary T. [OH-18]  
Rep Walz, Timothy J. [MN-1]  
Rep Welch, Peter [VT]  
Rep Young, Don [AK]

Abstract: Veterans' Health Care Improvement Act of 2007 - (Sec. 2) Authorizes the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to make grants to private, nonprofit entities to conduct workshop programs to assist in the therapeutic readjustment and rehabilitation of veterans who served on active duty in a theater of combat operations after the Persian Gulf War, or in combat during a period of hostilities after November 11, 1998, and are discharged or released from active duty on or after September 11, 2001 (covered veterans). Limits grant amounts to \$100,000. Requires annual reports from the Secretary to the congressional veterans committees on the use of such grants and their benefits to covered veterans. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 3) Directs the Secretary to establish a grant program to provide innovative transportation options to veterans in remote rural areas. Limits grant amounts to \$50,000. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 4) Makes permanent (currently ends on December 31, 2007) the VA authority to treat participants in the Department of Defense (DOD) chemical biological testing conducted by Deseret Test Center.

(Sec. 5) Extends through FY2009 VA authority to collect health care copayments and certain medical care cost recovery amounts from veterans receiving such care.

(Sec. 6) Directs the Secretary to carry out a program to provide, through contracts with community mental health centers, peer outreach services, peer support services, and readjustment and mental health services to covered veterans. Requires training for covered veterans and clinicians providing services under the program.

(Sec. 7) Revises provisions concerning a joint VA-Department of Labor demonstration program of referral and counseling for veterans transitioning from certain institutions (including penal institutions) and who are at-risk for homelessness to: (1) remove the "demonstration" designation; (2) require the program to be carried out in at least 12 (under current law, six) locations; and (3) extend the program through FY2011.

(Sec. 8) Removes the FY2003-FY2004 limit on the authorization of appropriations for a VA program to provide domiciliary care programs for homeless veterans. Requires the Secretary to ensure that such programs are adequate, with respect to capacity and safety, to meet the needs of women veterans.

(Sec. 9) Directs the Secretary to provide financial assistance to private nonprofit organizations or consumer cooperatives to provide and coordinate supportive services for very low-income (less than 50% of the median income for the area) veteran families residing in permanent housing. Provides a preference for families who are transitioning from homelessness to permanent housing. Requires: (1) the provision of such assistance to be equitably distributed across geographic regions, including rural communities and tribal lands; and (2) the Secretary to provide appropriate training and technical assistance to entities providing such services. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 10) Makes homeless veterans eligible for dental care through the VA after receiving certain other types of care (such as domiciliary or community residential care) through the VA for 30 (under current law, 60) consecutive days.

■ **VETERANS** *continued*

**H.R. 2702 Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2007**

Sponsor: Rep Scott, Robert C. [VA-3]

Cosponsors (111):

Rep Allen, Thomas H. [ME-1]	Rep Grijalva, Raul M. [AZ-7]	Rep Moran, James P. [VA-8]
Rep Andrews, Robert E. [NJ-1]	Rep Hall, John J. [NY-19]	Rep Murphy, Christopher S. [CT-5]
Rep Baca, Joe [CA-43]	Rep Hare, Phil [IL-17]	Rep Murphy, Patrick J. [PA-8]
Rep Bartlett, Roscoe G. [MD-6]	Rep Hayes, Robin [NC-8]	Rep Myrick, Sue Wilkins [NC-9]
Rep Berkley, Shelley [NV-1]	Rep Higgins, Brian [NY-27]	Rep Napolitano, Grace F. [CA-38]
Rep Bishop, Sanford D., Jr. [GA-2]	Rep Hinchey, Maurice D. [NY-22]	Rep Oberstar, James L. [MN-8]
Rep Bishop, Timothy H. [NY-1]	Rep Hirono, Mazie K. [HI-2]	Rep Pallone, Frank, Jr. [NJ-6]
Rep Blumenauer, Earl [OR-3]	Rep Holt, Rush D. [NJ-12]	Rep Payne, Donald M. [NJ-10]
Rep Bordallo, Madeleine Z. [GU]	Rep Honda, Michael M. [CA-15]	Rep Peterson, Collin C. [MN-7]
Rep Boucher, Rick [VA-9]	Rep Hooley, Darlene [OR-5]	Rep Rahall, Nick J., II [WV-3]
Rep Brown, Corrine [FL-3]	Rep Israel, Steve [NY-2]	Rep Rothman, Steven R. [NJ-9]
Rep Brown-Waite, Ginny [FL-5]	Rep Jackson-Lee, Sheila [TX-18]	Rep Salazar, John T. [CO-3]
Rep Buchanan, Vern [FL-13]	Rep Jefferson, William J. [LA-2]	Rep Saxton, Jim [NJ-3]
Rep Butterfield, G. K. [NC-1]	Rep Johnson, Henry C. "Hank," Jr. [GA-4]	Rep Schakowsky, Janice D. [IL-9]
Rep Capito, Shelley Moore [WV-2]	Rep Jones, Walter B., Jr. [NC-3]	Rep Schiff, Adam B. [CA-29]
Rep Capps, Lois [CA-23]	Rep Kennedy, Patrick J. [RI-1]	Rep Sestak, Joe [PA-7]
Rep Carnahan, Russ [MO-3]	Rep Kilpatrick, Carolyn C. [MI-13]	Rep Shays, Christopher [CT-4]
Rep Carney, Christopher P. [PA-10]	Rep King, Peter T. [NY-3]	Rep Shea-Porter, Carol [NH-1]
Rep Carson, Julia [IN-7]	Rep Lampson, Nick [TX-22]	Rep Shuler, Heath [NC-11]
Rep Christensen, Donna M. [VI]	Rep Lantos, Tom [CA-12]	Rep Sires, Albio [NJ-13]
Rep Cleaver, Emanuel [MO-5]	Rep Larson, John B. [CT-1]	Rep Smith, Christopher H. [NJ-4]
Rep Cohen, Steve [TN-9]	Rep LoBiondo, Frank A. [NJ-2]	Rep Space, Zachary T. [OH-18]
Rep Conyers, John, Jr. [MI-14]	Rep Loebsack, David [IA-2]	Rep Stark, Fortney Pete [CA-13]
Rep Courtney, Joe [CT-2]	Rep Lofgren, Zoe [CA-16]	Rep Sutton, Betty [OH-13]
Rep Davis, Danny K. [IL-7]	Rep Lowey, Nita M. [NY-18]	Rep Tauscher, Ellen O. [CA-10]
Rep DeFazio, Peter A. [OR-4]	Rep Mahoney, Tim [FL-16]	Rep Tierney, John F. [MA-6]
Rep Delahunt, William D. [MA-10]	Rep Maloney, Carolyn B. [NY-14]	Rep Towns, Edolphus [NY-10]
Rep DeLauro, Rosa L. [CT-3]	Rep Matsui, Doris O. [CA-5]	Rep Tsongas, Niki [MA-5]
Rep Dingell, John D. [MI-15]	Rep McCarthy, Carolyn [NY-4]	Rep Udall, Mark [CO-2]
Rep Donnelly, Joe [IN-2]	Rep McCollum, Betty [MN-4]	Rep Walz, Timothy J. [MN-1]
Rep Ellison, Keith [MN-5]	Rep McGovern, James P. [MA-3]	Rep Watt, Melvin L. [NC-12]
Rep Eshoo, Anna G. [CA-14]	Rep McNerney, Jerry [CA-11]	Rep Welch, Peter [VT]
Rep Etheridge, Bob [NC-2]	Rep Michaud, Michael H. [ME-2]	Rep Wexler, Robert [FL-19]
Rep Ferguson, Mike [NJ-7]	Rep Mitchell, Harry E. [AZ-5]	Rep Woolsey, Lynn C. [CA-6]
Rep Filner, Bob [CA-51]	Rep Mollohan, Alan B. [WV-1]	Rep Wu, David [OR-1]
Rep Frank, Barney [MA-4]	Rep Moore, Gwen [WI-4]	Rep Wynn, Albert Russell [MD-4]
Rep Giffords, Gabrielle [AZ-8]		Rep Young, Don [AK]
Rep Gordon, Bart [TN-6]		

Abstract: Post-9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance Act of 2007 - Amends federal veterans' benefits provisions to entitle to educational assistance under the Montgomery GI Bill certain individuals who serve on active duty in the Armed Forces (including the reserves) on or after September 11, 2001. Requires such individuals to complete the requirements of a secondary school diploma (or its equivalent) before applying for such assistance. Establishes the duration of such assistance (in most cases 36 months) and assistance amounts. Requires programs of education pursued with such assistance to be approved by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs. Allows for the pursuit of an approved program of education while on active duty. Allows, under such assistance, for the pursuit of: (1) programs on less than a half-time basis; (2) apprenticeship or other on-job training; (3) correspondence courses; (4) flight training; (5) tutorial assistance; and (6) licensure and certification tests.

Requires such educational assistance to be used within 15 years of the individual's discharge or release from active duty (with exceptions). Allows individuals currently under the Montgomery GI Bill educational assistance program to elect to participate in the post-9/11 educational assistance program with respect to any unused entitlement.

## ■ MEDIA

### S. 2332 Media Ownership Act of 2007

Sponsor: Sen Dorgan, Byron L. [ND]

Cosponsors (24):

Sen Biden, Joseph R., Jr. [DE]	Sen Craig, Larry E. [ID]	Sen Menendez, Robert [NJ]
Sen Bingaman, Jeff [NM]	Sen Dodd, Christopher J. [CT]	Sen Murray, Patty [WA]
Sen Boxer, Barbara [CA]	Sen Durbin, Richard [IL]	Sen Nelson, Bill [FL]
Sen Cantwell, Maria [WA]	Sen Feingold, Russell D. [WI]	Sen Obama, Barack [IL]
Sen Casey, Robert P., Jr. [PA]	Sen Feinstein, Dianne [CA]	Sen Sanders, Bernard [VT]
Sen Clinton, Hillary Rodham [NY]	Sen Kerry, John F. [MA]	Sen Snowe, Olympia J. [ME]
Sen Collins, Susan M. [ME]	Sen Lott, Trent [MS]	Sen Tester, Jon [MT]
Sen Corker, Bob [TN]	Sen McCaskill, Claire [MO]	Sen Wyden, Ron [OR]

**Abstract:** Amends the Telecommunications Act of 1996 to require the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), in changing any of its regulations related to broadcast ownership, to publish notice in the Federal Register for least 90 days, followed by at least 60 days for public comment, followed by at least 30 days to reply to comments. Applies those requirements to any changes related to broadcast and newspaper ownership made after October 1, 2007.

Requires the FCC, before voting on any change in broadcast and newspaper ownership rules, to complete a separate rulemaking to promote the broadcast of local programming and content by broadcasters, including radio and television broadcast stations, and newspapers. Requires the FCC, before issuing a final rule, to: (1) conduct a study on the overall impact of television station duopolies and newspaper-broadcast cross-ownership on the quantity and quality of local news, public affairs, local news media jobs, and local cultural programming at the market level; and (2) publish a proposed final rule at least 90 days before a vote, followed by at least 60 days for public comment, followed by at least 30 days to reply to comments.

Requires the FCC to establish an independent panel on increasing the representation of women and minorities in broadcast media ownership and to act on the panel's recommendations before voting on any changes to its broadcast and newspaper ownership rules.

## ■ ENERGY

### H.R. 2809 New Apollo Energy Act of 2007

Sponsor(s): Rep Inslee, Jay [WA-1]

Cosponsors (25):

Rep Baldwin, Tammy [WI-2]	Rep Honda, Michael M. [CA-15]	Rep McNerney, Jerry [CA-11]
Rep Carnahan, Russ [MO-3]	Rep Israel, Steve [NY-2]	Rep Schakowsky, Janice D. [IL-9]
Rep Davis, Danny K. [IL-7]	Rep Jefferson, William J. [LA-2]	Rep Schiff, Adam B. [CA-29]
Rep Delahunt, William D. [MA-10]	Rep Kind, Ron [WI-3]	Rep Schwartz, Allyson Y. [PA-13]
Rep Ellison, Keith [MN-5]	Rep Langevin, James R. [RI-2]	Rep Shays, Christopher [CT-4]
Rep Emanuel, Rahm [IL-5]	Rep Lee, Barbara [CA-9]	Rep Smith, Adam [WA-9]
Rep Fattah, Chaka [PA-2]	Rep Matsui, Doris O. [CA-5]	Rep Van Hollen, Chris [MD-8]
Rep Grijalva, Raul M. [AZ-7]	Rep McDermott, Jim [WA-7]	Rep Weiner, Anthony D. [NY-9]
Rep Hinchey, Maurice D. [NY-22]		

**Abstract:** To ensure that the United States leads the world baseline in developing and manufacturing next generation energy technologies, to grow the economy of the United States, to create new highly trained, highly skilled American jobs, to eliminate American overdependence on foreign oil, and to address the threat of global warming.



## End Notes

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- <sup>4</sup> Bilmes, Linda J. and Joseph Stiglitz. The Iraq War Will Cost Us \$3 Trillion, and Much More. *Washington Post*. 9 March 2008. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/03/07/AR2008030702846\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/03/07/AR2008030702846_pf.html) (Retrieved March 11, 2008.)
- <sup>5</sup> United States. Iraq Study Group. *Iraq Study Group Report*. Washington: 2006.
- <sup>6</sup> United States. Iraq Study Group. *Iraq Study Group Report*. Washington: 2006. p. 12.
- <sup>7</sup> Kaplan, Fred. Challenging the Generals. *New York Times*. 26 August 2007. [http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE1D9143CF935A1575BC0A9619C8B63&sec=&spn=&page\\_wanted=2](http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE1D9143CF935A1575BC0A9619C8B63&sec=&spn=&page_wanted=2) (Retrieved March 11, 2008.)
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- <sup>9</sup> Scahill, Jeremy. Bush's Shadow Army. *The Nation*. 15 March 2007. <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20070402/scahill> (Retrieved March 11, 2008.)
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- <sup>11</sup> United States. The Commission on the National Guard and Reserves. *Ninety-Day Report*. Washington: 2006. pp 19-25.
- <sup>12</sup> Pew Global Attitudes Project. *Global Unease with Major World Powers*. Pew Charitable Trusts: 2007.
- <sup>13</sup> Levy, Daniel. Change Iran's behavior, not its regime. *Jerusalem Post*. 26 December 2007. Jerusalem, Israel. <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1198517212331&pagename=JPost%2FJParticle%2FShowFull> (Retrieved January 20, 2008.)
- <sup>14</sup> Rand's testimony to Congress: [http://jec.senate.gov/Hearings/02.28.08%20Costs%20of%20Iraq%20War/Testimony\\_Rand Beers.pdf](http://jec.senate.gov/Hearings/02.28.08%20Costs%20of%20Iraq%20War/Testimony_Rand%20Beers.pdf)
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“I believe that Secretary Rumsfeld and others in the Administration

**did not tell the American people the truth**

for fear of losing support for the war in Iraq.

“Secretary Rumsfeld failed to address the full range of requirements for this effort, and the result is one percent of the population shouldering the burdens, continued hemorrhaging of our national treasure in terms of blood and dollars, an Army and Marine Corps that will require tens of billions of dollars to reset after we withdraw from Iraq, the majority of our National Guard brigades no longer combat-ready, a Veterans Administration which is underfunded by over \$3 billion, and

**America arguably less safe now than it was on September 11, 2001.**

“If we had seriously laid out and considered the full range of requirements for the war in Iraq,

**we would likely have taken a different course of action**

that would have maintained a clear focus on our main effort in Afghanistan,

**not fueled Islamic fundamentalism across the globe,  
and not created more enemies than there were insurgents.”**

**General John Batiste (ret.)**

Commander, First Infantry Division, US Army

Testifying to Congress, September 2006

## **A Responsible Plan to End the War in Iraq**

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