H. R. __________

To end the violence in Iraq and withdraw all United States Armed Forces from Iraq in a just, peaceful and timely manner.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

July ____, 2007

Mr. ____________ introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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A BILL

To end the violence in Iraq, withdraw all United States Armed Forces from Iraq in a just, peaceful and timely manner and take the initial steps toward resolution of the U.S.-Iran and U.S.-Syria differences, global nuclear disarmament and a stable, peaceful Middle East.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

1. The invasion and occupation of Iraq has and is continuing to:
   a. Cause the unnecessary deaths and maiming of United States servicemen and Iraqis.
   b. Cause massive damage to the infrastructure, buildings, hospitals, homes, mosques, bridges, waterways, etc. of Iraq.
   c. Seriously harm the defense, security and reputation of the United States.
   d. Contribute to instability in the Middle East.
   e. Generate more terrorist than are being killed or detained.
   f. Contribute to increasing fuel and energy costs.
g. Decrease availability and security of world energy resources.

h. Contribute to budget deficits and increased government debt.

2. Absent a formal declaration of war, the U.S. Constitution prohibits:

a. Congress authorizing the President to use the United States Armed Forces, private security guards and the CIA against Iraq, to conduct clandestine operations in Iraq, to use any form of force in Iraq, to occupy Iraq, appropriate any funds to use the United States Armed Forces in Iraq, etc.

b. The President using the United States Armed Forces, private security guards and the CIA against Iraq, conducting clandestine operations in Iraq or using any form of force in Iraq, occupying Iraq, etc.

3. Senior U.S. officials wrongfully and unlawfully:

a. Lied about the reasons for invading and occupying Iraq.

b. Had Iraq invaded and occupied because they wanted to help U.S. and UK oil companies illegally control as much as possible of Iraq's oil industries and reserves and help U.S. and UK oil companies take as much as possible of the trillions of dollars of Iraqi oil profits. This war is not just about ensuring the U.S. has a supply of oil–Iraq would happily sell oil to the U.S. at market prices.

c. Have focused efforts on Iraq oil and the opening of Iraq to U.S. corporations, not on the immediate provision of basic security and basic services, e.g. water, electricity, hospitals, as required by the Hague Regulations

d. Rewrote the Constitution of Iraq and changed the laws of Iraq so that U.S. and other foreign oil companies would not have to pay taxes on these profits and could immediately transfer these profits out of Iraq and to their offices in countries other than the U.S. so that they would not pay Iraq or U.S. taxes. (As a matter of fact, U.S. oil companies would not even have to sell Iraqi oil to the United States and could increase the price of oil at will by withholding Iraq oil from the U.S.)

e. Keeping U.S. Armed Forces and defense contractors in Iraq to provide security for and help U.S. oil companies control Iraq's oil industries and reserves and reap massive profits from Iraq's oil sales because they are afraid that Iraq will nationalize all their oil reserves if U.S. forces leave.

f. Have violated various U.S. and Iraqi laws, the Geneva Convention, Hague Regulations, UN Security Council Resolution 1483 of May 22, 2003, and other international laws, etc.

4. Certain members of Congress have wrongfully and unlawfully appropriated taxpayers money to be used to:

a. Purchase munitions to kill, maim, abuse, detain and subjugate Iraqis
b. To pay private security contractors (including mercenaries) to provide security for the Iraq oil ministries, U.S. Oil companies and war profiteers but not the museums and mosques in Iraq.

c. Pay the salaries of the senior officials who planned and executed this illegal and immoral war and the theft of Iraqi oil.

d. Provide the dogs used to abuse detainees.

e. Rewrite the laws and the Constitution of Iraq in violation of the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions

f. Create and maintain illegal prisons in Iraq, Guantanamo and around the world.

g. Build a number of permanent military bases to occupy Iraq indefinitely

h. Fund illegal, non-competitive contracts that have wasted billions of dollars of taxpayers dollars.

5. On May 24, 2007, Congress enacted legislation to wrongfully and unlawfully:

a. Appropriate additional funds for the immoral, illegal acts.

b. Force the Iraqi parliament to pass the New Hydro-Carbon Law which would give control of up to 84 percent of Iraqi oil reserves and trillions of dollars of oil profits to foreign, primarily U.S. oil companies with minimal investments which the Iraqi’s do not need.

6. On April 25, 2007, President Bush signed this legislation into law.

7. Iraq can easily use management and technical service type contracts to hire individuals to do any needed work instead of having large oil companies do it.

8. Congress has not provided any meaningful oversight over the current administration or the Iraq war.

9. The people of the U.S. are paying for the war with their lives, maimed bodies and taxes and having to paying salaries and expenses of the legislators who vote for more war spending. The people of the U.S. also pay over twice as much for a gallon of gasoline as they did six years ago.

10. Oil companies, defense contractors and other war profiteers are reaping massive profits from the war. Executives and employees from these companies are donating more and more to many representatives and senators and other elected officials under the guise of campaign contributions.

11. Appropriating funds for the illegal and immoral war/occupation of Iraq is a war crime and a crime against humanity. Accepting campaign donations from war profiteers is crime of moral turpitude.

12. The insurgency in Iraq has been and is being fueled by:

a. The killing and maiming of scores of thousands of innocent Iraqis including women and children.
b. The wrongful and unlawful abuse, detention, torture and murder of Iraqis.

c. The massive damage to the infrastructure, buildings, hospitals, homes, mosques, bridges, waterways, etc. of Iraq.

d. The fact that Iraq was illegally invaded and is being occupied so that U.S. and U.K. oil companies can wrongfully take control of as much as possible of Iraq’s massive oil reserves and reap massive profits from the sale of Iraq oil.

e. The prolonged, wrongful and unlawful occupation of Iraq by the United States.

f. The prospect of a very long-term U.S. military presence in Iraq as indicated by the building of permanent United States military bases and refusal to have a timeline for withdrawal of U.S. Forces.

g. United States senior officials siding with and providing offensive weapons to Israel and supporting Israel’s prolonged and brutal occupation of Palestinian territories

h. The natural tendency of individuals to resist tyranny, colonization and aggression.

13. The people of Iraq and their supporters have a right to resist aggression and attempts to take their resources.

14. All of Iraq’s industries, oil reserves, other resources, etc. belong to the Iraqi people.

15. The United States has a considerable responsibility to the people of Iraq.

16. Most Iraqis want the U.S. to withdraw.

17. Any further military action by and even the presence of U.S. Troops in Iraq, will make matters worse.

18. The longer it takes to make a decision to withdraw from Iraq, the more lives will be lost.

19. A timely U.S. military withdrawal is in Iraq's and the United States' best interest.

20. The U.S. must make amends for its mistakes.

21. No country in the region will benefit, from chaos in Iraq.

22. This is not the first time the United States has made serious mistakes in other countries, but it must be the last.

23. Neo-cons and some multinational corporations are attempting to implement similar policies all over the world through so called “free trade” agreements, by taking over and/or bullying international organizations, bribing officials, lobbying with campaign contributions, etc.

24. We cannot allow the Iraq conflict, war profiteering, nuclear proliferation and the Israel-Palestine
situation to continue. We must continue work to understand the underlying causes of these problems and solve them.

25. Until the United States takes responsibility, makes considerable amends and completely withdraws from Iraq, the U.S. will have essentially no credibility in the world community.

26. A high percentage of the Iraqi much of the world has lost confidence in President Bush and his administration and the United States.

27. The path to a stable Iraq can ONLY result from political and economic, not military solutions, in which all the parties have a stake in the new Iraq.

28. If the U.S. does withdraw, are just and stop siding with Israel, the insurgents “will not follow the U.S. home” and Al Qaeda will leave or be forced out of Iraq.

29. United States Armed Forces should not be abruptly withdrawn from Iraq.

30. United States Armed Forces must have a plan for a rapid withdrawal.

31. Offensive and clandestine operations in Iraq or Iran by U.S. Forces and security contractors are illegal and should cease immediately.

32. Timely, fair, fully creditable regional and national elections so that true democratic self rule can be put into place must be held without the presence or influence of the U.S.

33. The United Nations:
   a. Is well equipped to assist with political processes, help build a political consensus and reach agreements among the Iraqi parties and factions and other countries in the Middle East.
   b. Has the ability and legitimacy to authorize and field an appropriate international peace-keeping mission, transition to international peace-keepers and help withdraw United States Armed Forces and civilian military contractors in a just, peaceful and timely manner.

34. The Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference are capable and willing to assist with these efforts.

35. The insurgency will be dampened, the stage set for negotiations, and the violence subside and end, if the United States:
   a. Sincerely apologizes to the Iraqis and promise to make amends, pay dearly for the Iraqi’s killed, maimed and illegally detained and the damage caused Iraq, treat Iraqi’s as equals, respect the fundamental rights of Iraqis, and return sovereignty, the control of all oil reserves and other resources to the people of Iraq, etc.
   b. In coordination with the Iraqi government announces and follows through with plans to:
      i. Execute an immediate unilateral cease fire and halt in all offensive and clandestine
operations by U.S. Armed forces, CIA agents, private security contractors and others.

ii. Immediately redeploy U.S. aircraft carriers and other combatant ships out of the Persian Gulf and out of sight of land.

iii. Immediately withdraw all United States CIA agents, mercenaries, etc. from Iraq.

iv. Encourage, support and participate in but not manage, comprehensive and broadly-inclusive negotiations on all issues.

v. Pay for an appropriate United Nations peace-keeping mission, with at least 50 percent of the mission to be from nations with large Muslim populations, to installed in Iraq as soon as possible.

vi. Withdraw all United States Armed Forces and civilian military contractors personnel from Iraq, except U.S. Marines serving in the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, and performing solely embassy security duties, and returning them to the United States as soon as possible and within a maximum four month period.

vii. Permanently close all U.S. military bases in Iraq.

viii. Release and compensate illegally detained Iraqi’s.

ix. Insure that there is security in Iraq and that Iraqi’s have sufficient food, water, shelter, health care, etc.

x. Return Iraq’s sovereignty, economy, political processes, etc. to the Iraqi people.

xi. Insure that Iraqi oil and all profits from the sale of Iraqi oil belong to the Iraqi people and that there is fairness in the distribution of oil resources to the Iraqi people.

xii. Reorganize reconstruction activities so that Iraqis are in charge.

xiii. Not attempt to sell Iraqi oil assets or to sign contract during the United States occupation.

xiv. Provide for and participate in a process of international truth and reconciliation between the people of the United States and the people of Iraq.

36. The current situation provides an outstanding opportunity for a much more peaceful, stable and just Middle East and world.

SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States that –

1. The United States should address the Iraqi people and the world community and:

a. Sincerely apologize to the Iraqis for the economic sanctions, invasion, war and occupation, the
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deaths, maiming, abuse and torture of Iraqis, the damage and destruction of Iraqi mosques, homes, facilities, treasures, occupation, etc., the attempted thief of Iraqi oil and oil profits, the attempted subjugation of Iraq and their economy and for the other mistakes the U.S. has made in Iraq and in the Middle East.

b. Promise to immediately return sovereignty, the control of all oil reserves and other resources to the people of Iraq, to make amends, make restitution, reparations, and condolence payments for all the physical and emotional damages to Iraqi’s and their country, to treat Iraqi’s as equals, to respect the fundamental rights of Iraqis, etc.

c. Announce and describe the other key elements of this legislation/policy/plan.

2. In coordination with other coalition forces and the Iraq government, the United States should:

a. Immediately restore Iraq sovereignty and complete control over Iraq's oil reserves, other resources/assets, economy, government agencies, political processes, media, institutions, laws, etc. to the Iraqi people so that they, not foreigners, are making the decisions about the future of their country and are in control of Iraq's reconstruction.

b. Order an immediate halt of all offensive and clandestine operations and an immediate unilateral cease fire by coalition forces, the CIA, U.S. paid mercenaries, any other U.S. armed individuals, etc. except for clearly defensive and protective measures. Call on all factions in Iraq to please do the same.

c. Order an immediate withdrawal of CIA operatives and U.S. paid mercenaries, etc.

d. Move aircraft carriers, other surface combatants and submarines, if any, out of the Persian Gulf and outside the sight of land.

e. Redeploy U.S. Armed Forces away from population centers where they are not needed or wanted.

f. Return U.S. nuclear weapons in the Middle East, if any, to the U.S.

g. Commence massive humanitarian aid effort to insure that all the people of Iraq have access to food, water, shelter, health care, etc. paid for by the U.S. with Iraqi’s and NGO’s doing the work, distributing food, etc.

h. Insure while U.S. Armed Forces, CIA agents, contractors, etc. are in Iraq, they treat Iraqis as equals and with respect, fully respect and comply with Iraqi laws, the Geneva Convention, Hague Regulations, UN Security Council Resolution 1483 of May 22, 2003, other international laws, etc.

i. Immediately release all "security detainees" who have not been charged with a crime and pay them restitution if their confinement has been wrongful and unlawful and/or if they have been abused or tortured. If they have been held in connection with the post-invasion conflict amnesty should be considered or as appropriate, turn them over to their own country or to the International Criminal Court or indict and try them in a regular U.S. court. In any case, persons should be detained only in places which practice restorative justice and in which they can enjoy the full protection of the law and have prompt access by the International Committee of the Red Cross.
j. Request that the United Nations:

(1) Prepare an appropriate international peace-keeping mission from neutral nations with at least 50 percent of the mission to be from nations with large Muslim populations. This mission will monitor the cease-fire, strengthen local police forces and the judicial system, help organize and monitor timely, fair, fully creditable regional and national elections so that true democratic self rule can be put into place. This mission is to be paid for by the United States and any U.S. equipment or facilities useful to the mission should be turned over to the mission.

ii. Prepare an international government assistance team, to be paid for by the U.S., with at least 50 percent of the team to be from nations with large Muslim populations, to be deployed to Iraq to replace United States officials and contractors that are imbedded in and assisting the Iraq government. This mission is to be paid for by the United States and any U.S. equipment or facilities useful to the team should be turned over to the team.

iii. Cease all efforts to privatize Iraq's oil, other resources, industries, etc. and do not request any new oil laws or contracts until peaceful, post-occupation conditions guarantee a full and democratic national debate about the future of Iraq's oil.

3. In coordination with the Iraq government, the United States should:

a. Along with the United Nations, Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, encourage, support and participate in, but not attempt to control, comprehensive and broadly-inclusive negotiations on all relevant issues. Means of negotiations should include phone calls, email exchanges, meetings, video and regular conferences, among representatives from the Iraqi insurgents, Iran, Syria, Afghanistan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, the Palestinian Authority, the political wings of Hezbollah and Hamas, the European Union, etc., with no preconditions for negotiation and with everything "on the table." Negotiations should include:

i. Security and stability of Iraq and the Middle East.

ii. Installation of an appropriate UN international peace-keeping mission in which at least 50 percent of the mission are from nations with large Muslim populations.

iii. Just, peaceful and timely withdrawal of U. S. Armed Forces

iv. Resolution of the Sunni, Shia and Kurd power sharing situation

v. Plans for timely, fair, fully creditable regional and national elections so that true democratic self-rule can be put into place.

vi. Responsibilities of occupying powers (U.S. in Iraq and Israel in the West Bank and the Golan Heights), including prohibitions against changing a country's laws and taking its resources, etc.

vii. Resolution of the Israel-Palestine-Syria-Lebanon situations including borders, settlements, right of return, two state solution, etc.

viii. Resolution of the Turkey-Kurdish situation
ix. Nuclear non proliferation and disarmament

x. International truth, reconciliation, amnesty, restitution, and restorative justice processes.

b. After political settlements are negotiated and as the violence subsides, deploy the United Nations peace-keeping mission and government assistance teams into Iraq into the more peaceful and stable areas.

c. As the UN peace-keeping mission government assistance teams are phased in:

i. Conduct a timely phased withdrawal of all United States Armed Forces personnel and civilian military contractors in Iraq, except U.S. Marines serving in the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and performing solely embassy security and guard duties, and return them to the United States.

ii. Require that all U.S. contractors and subcontractors turn over all contracting work to the Iraqi Government and leave Iraq.

d. Consider arranging for the United Nations to guarantee the borders of Iraq so that Iraq does not need a standing army and pay for part of the Iraqi Army to be reorganized and trained as a Civil Engineering Corps and the other part to be trained and become part of the national and local police forces.

e. Cause all the "Bremer Orders," “privatization laws” passed under the occupation to be canceled or repealed and all associated contracts, "production sharing agreements (PSA's), memorandum of understanding (MOU’s), other similar contracts, any of which provide a percentage of profits to any companies or individuals to be voided.

f. Provide the necessary assistance to the Iraq government to restore their 1970 Constitution and to remove/revise other laws enacted/changed by the U.S.

g. Have no involvement in regional and national elections except to pay for the assistance of the United Nations.

h. Cease the planning for and construction work on all U.S. military bases, facilities and installations and turn all this property over to the Iraqi people/government. and/or temporarily to the UN peace-keeping mission as appropriate.

i. Markedly reduce the size and staffing of the US Embassy and move it away from the Iraqi government to show that the U.S. is not running Iraq.

j. Fund the UN international peace-keeping mission until the Iraqi Government is capable of handling its own security.

k. Make restitution, reparations, and condolence payments:

i. For physical and emotional injuries to individuals abused or tortured and wrongfully and unlawfully detained

ii. To the families of Iraqi’s killed or disabled by U.S. Armed Forces, private security contractors, the CIA, etc.
iii. To rescue the tens of thousands of Iraqi orphans from lives of destitution.

iv. To emigres to return to Iraq

v. To the employees of the government who were forced out of their jobs by the Coalition Provisional Authority.

vi. To the members of the Iraq military and Iraq military retirees who suffered pay losses when the Coalition Provisional Authority disbanded the Army and refused to pay military pensions.

vii. For reconstruction/restoration of what the U.S. has damaged or destroyed, for clearing and dismantling land mines, unexploded ordnance, depleted uranium, blast walls, wire barriers, etc., with Iraqis managing the contracts and doing the work.

viii. For what Iraq should have received for Iraq’s oil and other resources since the invasion of Iraq.

ix. For any Iraqi funds that were paid to U.S. government contractors for reconstruction work that was not done or was incomplete, shoddy or otherwise wasted.

x. For other items as they develop:

i. Pay the United Nations to assist the Iraqi Government, in acts of political sovereignty:

   i. To immediately restart the failed reconstruction program in Iraq and rebuild roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, and other public facilities, houses, and factories with jobs and job training going to local Iraqis.

   ii. To set aside initiatives to privatize Iraqi oil interests or other national assets and abandon all efforts, whether at the behest of the United States or otherwise, to change Iraqi national law to facilitate privatization.

   iii. Set forth a plan to stabilize Iraq's cost for food and energy.

   iv. Strive for economic sovereignty for Iraq by working with the world community to restore Iraq's fiscal integrity without structural readjustment measures of the International Monetary Funds or the World Bank.

IRAN AND NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NPT)

4. Assist in maintaining the Middle East WMD/Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. Insure that there are no nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction on any U.S. Ships or in possession of any other U.S. forces deployed in the Middle East as required by article 14 of the U.S.-and drafted UN Security Council Resolution 687. This resolution calls for "establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery."

5. Do not threaten to attack, conduct any clandestine or offensive operations against or invoke economic sanctions against Iran or any other country unless Congress has specifically declared war on that country. This will encourage Iran and other countries to help with the grave problems in Iraq.
6. Take the lead on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and complete disarmament as required by Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which requires: *pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.*

7. Cease expending any funds on any nuclear weapon development programs or to improve or refine existing programs. This will strengthen the U.S. government's position when requesting that other states cease the development of nuclear weapons.

**ISRAEL AND PALESTINE**

8. Support UN security guarantees for Israel, the timely establishment of a Palestinian State, and resolution of the Palestinian refugee crisis and their right of return.

9. Demand that Israel, as an occupying power, comply with applicable UN Security Council Resolutions and honestly negotiate the various aspects.

10. Resume payment of aid to the Hamas government.

11. As required by the U.S. Arms Export Control Act (AECA) and to strengthen the U.S. government's position when demanding that other states cease supplying arms to Hezbollah, Hamas and warring factions in Iraq:

   a. Demand that Israel Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and other Israelis in positions of command and control cease the use of any weapons supplied by the U.S. for any offensive purposes.

   b. Order all U.S. government employees, military personnel, U.S. contractors, individuals and their agents involved in providing funds, selling, giving, supplying, delivering, transporting, supporting, maintaining, providing technical or logistical support for any offensive arms, weapons, weapons systems, munitions, and repair parts to or for Israel to cease and desist and to stop all shipments and work in progress.

12. Instead of providing arms and aid to Israel, use the funds to buy Israeli homes, buildings, facilities, roads, and infrastructure in selected settlements in the West Bank and turn them over to the Palestinian authority.

**Funding for the Above**

13. Use available funds to accomplish or assist in the accomplishment of all the above. Sources of these funds include, but are not limited to funds appropriated or made available under any provision of law including:

   a. Remainder of the $70 billion in bridge funds Congress appropriated on October 1, 2006 and the recent Iraq Supplemental signed into law on April 25, 2007.

   b. Savings from:
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1. Cancellation of offensive or clandestine operations in Iraq, Iran or in any country in the world in the absence of a formal declaration of war by the United States Congress.

2. Not deploying additional members or units of the United States Armed Forces or civilian military contractors to Iraq or the Middle East.

3. Cancellation of military support contracts in Iraq

4. Cancellation of the permanent U.S. bases in Iraq and other unneeded work.

5. Not deploying or operating U.S. aircraft carriers or other surface combat vessels in the Persian Gulf or within sight of land in the Middle East.

6. Not intervene, threaten or to overtly or covertly intervene in the internal affairs in Iraq, Iran or any other nation.

7. Cancellation of CIA rendition, detention, interrogation programs and clandestine operations.

8. Cancellation of any nuclear weapon development, improve, development or refinement programs in that these programs in violation of the spirit and intent of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPR).

9. On any anti-ballistic missile development, improve or refinement of existing anti-ballistic missile development programs in that ABMs do not work, are much too expensive and violate the spirit and intent of 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty which President Bush unlawfully “pulled out of”.

10. Cancellation of other unneeded offensive cold war weapons systems.

14. Have the status of all of these items continually maintained and available to the public on the White House and web site.

SEC. 3. DISENGAGEMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM IRAQ AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

(a) Withdrawal of Armed Forces and implementation of SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY above -

(1) Not later than:

1. The end of a one week period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, the items of paragraphs (1) and (2) of the above SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY shall be completed and all other items of SEC. 2. commenced.

2. Assuming that the violence has abated considerably, by the end of the 4-month period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, the United Nations peace-keeping mission should be installed in Iraq and United
States Armed Forces personnel and civilian military support contractors serving in Iraq, except U.S. Marines serving in the U. S. Embassy in Baghdad and performing solely typical embassy security and guard duties, shall have commenced withdrawing from Iraq and returning to the United States.

(b) Prohibition on the Use of Funds-

(1) PROHIBITION- Not later than the end of a one week period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, funds appropriated or otherwise made available at any time by any other Act of Congress or controlled by the United States or any of its officers, employees or agents under any provision of law (whether or not the use of such controlled funds has been authorized or appropriated by an Act of Congress) may not be used, obligated or expended:

1. To conduct or support other than purely defensive military operations (whether conducted by members or units of the United States Armed Forces or by military personnel or civilians of any nation) within or over the territory of Iraq or within the Persian Gulf.

2. To deploy other members or units of the United States Armed Forces within or over the territory of Iraq or the Persian Gulf except for necessary travel by the U.S. Marine Corps embassy security personnel.

3. For offensive or clandestine operations in Iraq, Iran or in any country in the world in the absence of a formal declaration of war by the United States Congress.

4. To deploy or operate U.S. aircraft carriers or other surface combatant vessels or submarines in the Persian Gulf or within sight of land in the Middle East.

5. To intervene or to plan or to threaten to overtly or covertly, intervene in the internal affairs of Iraq, Iran or any other nation.

6. To accomplish “regime change.”

7. On any nuclear weapon development programs or to improve or refine existing nuclear weapons programs.

8. On any anti-ballistic missile development programs or to improve or refine existing anti-ballistic missile development programs.

(2) EXCEPTIONS- Paragraph (1) does not apply to the use of funds--

(A) to provide for the safe and orderly withdrawal of the Armed Forces and civilian military contractors personnel from Iraq pursuant to subsection (a);

(B) To improve and ensure the security of Iraq by carrying out consultations with the Government of Iraq, other foreign governments, the United Nations, and other international organizations;

(C) To ensure the security of Iraq by funding the United Nations-led peacekeeping mission; or
(D) To accomplish or assist in the accomplishment of the items in SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY above.

(c) Armed Forces Defined- In this section, the term 'Armed Forces' has the meaning given the term in section 101(a)(4) of title 10, United States Code.