

CRS Report for Congress

FY2008 Supplemental Appropriations for Global War on Terror Military Operations, International Affairs, and Other Purposes

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**Prepared for Members and
Committees of Congress**

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Summary

The Administration has requested a total of \$196.5 billion in emergency supplemental appropriations for FY2008, of which \$189.3 billion is for military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, \$6.9 billion is for international affairs, and \$325 million is for other programs. To date, Congress has appropriated \$16.8 billion requested for Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles, but much of the remainder has been caught up in debate over Iraq policy.

On December 17, the House approved an omnibus FY2008 appropriations bill, H.R. 2764, that provides \$485 billion in regular and emergency appropriations for non-defense programs, including international affairs, plus \$31 billion in emergency supplemental defense appropriations for Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). On December 18, the Senate took up the bill and, by a vote of 70-25, adopted an amendment by Senator McConnell to provide \$70 billion in emergency supplemental defense appropriations without limits on where the money can be used. The House is expected to consider to amended bill on December 19.

If the House approves and the President signs a bill with \$70 billion for defense operations, the Defense Department would be able to sustain current operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere without additional funding until about the end of July 2008. It would leave unresolved, however, the status of \$100 billion in funding requested for defense programs, mainly for repair, replacement, and upgrades of equipment. The omnibus appropriations bill also includes about \$2.7 billion in emergency supplemental appropriations for international affairs.

This CRS report tracks congressional action on legislation to provide FY2008 supplemental appropriations for military operations, international affairs, and related purposes. It also reviews briefly the availability of funds to carry on Army and Marine Corps operations in advance of supplemental appropriations. This report will be updated as congressional action proceeds.

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FY2008 Supplemental Appropriations for Global War on Terror Military Operations, International Affairs, and Other Purposes

Most Recent Developments

On December 17, the House approved an omnibus FY2008 appropriations bill, H.R. 2764, that provides \$485 billion in regular and emergency appropriations for non-defense programs, including international affairs, and that includes an additional \$31 billion in emergency defense appropriations for Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). On December 18, the Senate took up the bill and, by a vote of 70-25, adopted an amendment by Senator McConnell to provide \$70 billion in emergency supplemental defense appropriations without limits on where the money can be used. The House is expected to consider the amended bill on December 19. If Congress approves, and the President signs, an omnibus appropriations bill with \$70 billion for defense, the Defense Department may be able to sustain operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere without additional funding until about the end of July 2008.

The omnibus appropriations bill does not include provisions attached to earlier legislation requiring the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. On November 14, the House approved a bill, H.R. 4156, that would appropriate \$50 billion for U.S. military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere in FY2008, with enough money to in Army and Marine Corps operating accounts to sustain military operations in Iraq and elsewhere through April 2008. It also required the President to commence the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq within 30 days of enactment of the legislation and to provide within 60 days a plan for withdrawing most troops from Iraq by December 15, 2008; limited the mission of remaining U.S. forces in Iraq to force protection, training, and pursuit of international terrorists; prohibited deployment of units that are not fully trained and equipped; and extended prohibitions on torture to all U.S. government agencies.

On November 16, by a vote of 53-45, with 60 votes required, the Senate refused to close debate on a motion to proceed to consideration of H.R. 4156 as passed by the House. The Senate also rejected, by a vote of 45-53, a motion to proceed to consideration of H.R. 2340, a substitute offered by Senator McConnell, to provide \$70 billion for the Defense Department without requiring withdrawal from Iraq.

Meanwhile, in a November 15 press Pentagon press conference, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates warned that the Army and Marine Corps will have to begin implementing steps to limit operations unless Congress approves additional funding

soon.¹ Without additional money, he said, the Army, will have to cease operations at all Army bases by mid-February 2008, which would require furloughs of about 100,000 government employees and a like number of contractor personnel. Plans would have to begin to be implemented in mid-December, he said. On November 20, the Defense Department announced that it was transferring \$4.5 billion of funds to the Army and to the Joint IED Defeat Organization to extend their operations. The Army, DOD said, will still only be able to operate with available funds, including the transfer, February 23.

Earlier, on November 8, the House and Senate approved a conference agreement on the FY2008 defense appropriations bill, H.R. 3222.² The President signed the bill into law, P.L. 110-116, on November 13. The bill provides \$460 billion for baseline Defense Department activities in FY2008 and an additional \$11.6 billion for Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles. Except for the MRAP money, however, the bill does not include funding to cover additional costs associated with ongoing military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. Congress also provided \$5.2 billion for MRAPs in the first FY2008 continuing resolution (H.J.Res. 52, P.L. 110-92), that the President signed on September 29. The FY2008 Defense Appropriations Act also provides \$27.4 billion for Army Operation and Maintenance, which may be used to finance both peacetime activities and military operations abroad.

On October 22, the White House sent Congress an amendment to the FY2008 budget requesting an additional \$45.9 billion for military operations, economic and reconstruction assistance, embassy security, and other activities mainly related to ongoing conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. The request included \$42.3 billion for the Department of Defense for military operations and \$3.6 billion for international affairs programs.³ These requests were in addition to amounts that the Administration requested for similar purposes in its original FY2008 budget, submitted in February 2007. In all, the Administration has requested \$196.5 billion in supplemental appropriations for FY2008, including \$189.3 billion for the Defense Department for overseas military operations and related activities, \$6.9 for international affairs programs, and \$325 million for counter-terrorism activities of some other agencies.

¹ Department of Defense, "DoD News Briefing with Secretary of Defense Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. Mullen from the Pentagon Briefing Room, Arlington, Va.," November 15, 2007 at [<http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=4089>].

² See CRS Report RL33999, *Defense: FY2008 Authorization and Appropriations*, by Pat Towell, Stephen Daggett, and Amy Belasco.

³ For the overall request see White House Office of Management and Budget, "FY 2008 Emergency Budget Amendments: Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Selected Other International Activities," October 22, 2007, on line at [http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/amendments/amendment_10_22_07.pdf]. For an overview of the defense request, see Department of Defense, *FY2008 Global War on Terror Amendment*, October 2007, on line at [http://www.defenselink.mil/comptroller/defbudget/fy2008/Supplemental/FY2008_October_Global_War_On_Terror_Request.pdf].

How Long Omnibus Appropriations Would Extend Army and Marine Corps Operations⁴

The House-passed omnibus appropriations bill would provide \$31 billion for Operation Enduring Freedom. While the money in the bill is not available directly for Iraq (except for \$1.6 billion for force protection equipment) or for day-to-day peacetime military activities, it is, to some extent, "fungible," and it would indirectly extend the amount of time for which available funds would finance operations in Iraq. The money appropriated for OEF would substitute for funds that would otherwise have to come from amounts in the regular FY2008 Defense Appropriations Act (P.L. 110-116) or from transfers of funds from other accounts. To the extent the additional OEF money in the omnibus frees up other money, the other amounts can be used to finance day-to-day peacetime operations and also operations in Iraq. CRS estimates that funding in the regular FY2008 Defense Appropriations Act, plus planned transfers of funds to the Army, would finance day-to-day peacetime military activities and operations in Iraq until about the end of March or the beginning of April if OEF operations are financed from funds in the omnibus appropriations act.⁵

The \$70 billion substitute that the Senate approved on December 18 would sustain military operations longer. The amendment includes \$35.2 billion for Army operation and maintenance and \$4.0 billion for Marine Corps operation and maintenance. If this version is approved by the House and signed into law, it would increase FY2008 Army O&M funding from \$27.4 billion in the regular FY2008 Defense Appropriations Act to \$62.5 billion. At a monthly obligation rate of slightly under \$6.5 billion, which is what the Army now assumes, this would provide funding for 9.7 months of FY2008, or until the end of July, 2008

⁴ For a full discussion of how long available funds will sustain operations in FY2008, and of alternatives for extending operations, see CRS Report RL34275, *How Long Can the Defense Department Finance FY2008 Operations in Advance of Supplemental Appropriations?*, by Amy Belasco, Stephen Daggett, and Pat Towell.

⁵ The Army projects that O&M money will last for 21 weeks of the fiscal year, or until February 23, 2008 at a weekly obligation rate of \$1.5 billion. The House-passed omnibus appropriations bill would provide \$17.8 billion for Army operation and maintenance to cover the full year costs of Army operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere, or about \$342 million per week ($\$17.8 \text{ billion} \div 52 \text{ weeks} = \$342 \text{ million per week}$). That would, in turn, reduce requirements for funding from other sources to \$1.158 billion per week to finance peacetime activities and Iraq operations ($\$1.5 \text{ billion} - \$342 \text{ million} = \$1.158 \text{ billion per week}$). The FY2008 Defense Appropriations Act provides \$27.4 billion for Army operation and maintenance (O&M). In addition, the Defense Department plans, subject to approval by the four congressional defense committees, to transfer \$4.1 billion of other FY2008 appropriated funds to the Army, for a total of \$31.5 billion in Army O&M. But at a weekly rate of \$1.158 billion, the available funds would sustain operations for more than 27 weeks or until about April 8, 2008. This is a rough calculation, however. One possible problem with it is that the Army may not be able to obligate funds for Afghanistan fast enough to lower the average obligation rate for other operations to \$1.158 billion a month. If so, the amount of time the OEF money would extend Army operations elsewhere would be somewhat less than six weeks. An alternative method of estimating the impact of the \$31 billion supplemental reaches a similar conclusion based on the rate at which funds were obligated last year. See CRS Report RL34275 for a discussion.

Supplemental Funding for International Affairs in the Omnibus Appropriations Bill

The FY2008 state department, foreign operations appropriations bill is one of 11 regular FY2008 appropriations bills that are incorporated into the omnibus appropriations bill, H.R. 2764. The bill provides not only regular FY2008 appropriations for international affairs, but also emergency supplemental funds, including part of the \$6.9 billion that the Administration has requested.

In all, emergency supplemental funding for international affairs in the House-passed omnibus bill totals \$2.385 billion, of which \$1.262 billion is for State Department operations and \$1.123 billion is for foreign operation. The Senate did not amend the House-passed amounts. (For a discussion of FY2008 supplemental appropriations for international affairs, see CRS Report RL34276, *FY2008 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for International Affairs*, by Susan Epstein, Rhoda Margesson, Curt Tarnoff, and Connie Veillette.)

Supplemental funds for State Department accounts include

- \$781.6 million for Diplomatic and Consular Programs — \$575.0 million for operations and \$206.6 million for worldwide security protection;
- \$468.0 million for Contributions to International Peacekeeping;
- \$12.0 million for international broadcasting.

Supplemental funds for foreign operations accounts include

- \$115 million for Global Health & Child Survival;
- \$110 million for International Disaster Assistance;
- \$20.8 million for USAID Operating Expenses;
- \$542.6 million for Economic Support Fund;
- \$200 million for Migration and Refugee Assistance;
- \$100 million for Foreign Military Financing; and
- \$35 million for Peacekeeping Operations.

For a summary table that compares funding in the House bill to the request, see **Appendix A**. For a discussion of funding for specific programs compared to the request, see “International Affairs Emergency Supplemental” section, below.

FY2008 Defense Supplemental/ Bridge Fund Alternatives

Table 1 provides a summary of the main FY2008 defense supplemental appropriations or “bridge fund” proposals, including the Administration request, the November 14, House-passed bridge fund, H.R. 4156; the December 17 House-passed Operation Enduring Freedom supplemental in the FY2008 omnibus appropriations

bill, H.R. 2763; and the Senate-passed McConnell \$70 billion bridge fund as approved in the Senate on December 18.

Table 1. FY2008 Supplemental Defense Appropriations Proposals
(amounts in millions of dollars)

	Amended Request	House-Passed Bridge Fund H.R. 4156		House-Passed Operation Enduring Freedom Emergency Appropriations H.R. 2764 Division L		Senate-Passed McConnell Substitute H.R. 2764 Division L	
	Amount	Amount	Percent of Request	Amount	Percent of Request	Amount	Percent of Request
Military Personnel	17,839.5	1,003.4	5.6%	330.5	1.9%	1,072.2	6.0%
Army	12,317.6	713.7	5.8%	311.5	2.5%	782.5	6.4%
Navy	791.7	95.6	12.1%	--	--	95.6	12.1%
Marine Corps	1,790.0	56.1	3.1%	19.1	1.1%	56.1	3.1%
Air Force	1,415.9	138.0	9.7%	--	--	138.0	9.7%
Army Reserve	299.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Navy Reserve	70.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Marine Corps Reserve	15.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Air Force Reserve	3.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Army National Guard	1,136.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
Operation and Maintenance	84,310.4	37,399.2	44.4%	21,441.7	25.4%	50,233.3	59.6%
Army	54,933.4	27,429.5	49.9%	17,798.0	32.4%	35,152.4	64.0%
Navy	6,252.7	2,071.6	33.1%	350.0	5.6%	3,664.0	58.6%
Marine Corps	4,674.7	2,429.3	52.0%	2,010.7	43.0%	3,965.6	84.8%
Air Force	10,809.7	3,582.6	33.1%	800.0	7.4%	4,778.0	44.2%
Defense-Wide	6,402.8	1,330.5	20.8%	483.0	7.5%	2,117.0	33.1%
Inspector General	4.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Army Reserve	196.7	61.2	31.1%	--	--	77.7	39.5%
Navy Reserve	83.4	47.5	56.9%	--	--	41.7	49.9%
Marine Corps Reserve	68.2	26.2	38.4%	--	--	46.2	67.7%
Air Force Reserve	24.3	8.1	33.3%	--	--	12.1	50.0%
Army National Guard	757.0	378.4	50.0%	--	--	327.0	43.2%
Air National Guard	103.3	34.4	33.3%	--	--	51.6	50.0%
Drug Interdiction & Counter-Drug Activities	257.6		--	--	--	192.6	74.8%
Afghanistan Security Forces Fund	2,700.0	500.0	18.5%	2,530.0	93.7%	1,350.0	50.0%
Iraq Security Forces Fund	3,000.0	500.0	16.7%	--	--	1,500.0	50.0%
Iraq Freedom Fund	207.5	3,168.0	1526.7%	--	--	3,747.3	1805.9%
Joint IED Defeat Fund	4,269.0	1,638.5	38.4%	4,269.0	100.0%	4,269.0	100.0%
Procurement	67,321.4	5,141.8	7.6%	2,345.0	3.5%	6,059.9	9.0%
Army							
Aircraft	2,125.5	302.2	14.2%	--	--	943.6	44.4%
Missile	641.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Weapons & Tracked Combat Vehicles	7,289.7	1,574.2	21.6%	1,176.0	16.1%	1,429.4	19.6%
Ammunition	513.6	154.0	30.0%	--	--	154.0	30.0%
Other Procurement Army	34,931.6	1,976.1	5.7%	524.8	1.5%	2,027.8	5.8%
Navy							

Aircraft	3,908.5	25.3	0.6%	--	--	48.5	1.2%
Missile	318.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ammunition Navy & Marine Corps	609.9	--	--	--	--	304.9	50.0%
Other Procurement Navy	1,870.6	88.3	4.7%	--	--	91.5	4.9%
Marine Corps	5,519.7	729.2	13.2%	644.2	11.7%	703.3	12.7%
Air Force							
Aircraft	3,946.2	147.8	3.7%	--	--	51.4	1.3%
Missile	1.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ammunition	104.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other Procurement Air Force	4,621.7	42.1	0.9%	--	--	30.7	0.7%
Defense-Wide	768.2	102.6	13.4%	--	--	274.7	35.8%
Rapid Acquisition Fund	150.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Defense Health Program	1,137.4	649.0	57.1%	114.6	10.1%	575.7	50.6%
Research, Development, Test, & Evaluation	3,872.2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Military Construction	2,426.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Family Housing	11.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
Revolving & Management Funds	1,962.8	--	--	--	--	1,000.0	50.9%
Grand Total in Bill	189,316.4	50,000.0	26.4%	31,030.7	16.4%	70,000.0	37.0%

Sources: Request from Department of Defense, Fiscal Year (FY) 2008 Amendment Global War on Terror Request: Exhibits for FY2008, October 2007. Bridge fund amounts by CRS from text of H.R. 4156 as passed by the House; H.R. 2764 from House Rules Committee; McConnell substitute from Senate Amendment 3874 of December 18, 2007.

On Iraq and related policy matters, H.R. 4156 contained the following provisions:

- States the sense of Congress that the war in Iraq should end as quickly and safely as possible and troops brought home;
- Extends prohibitions on the use of torture by Defense Department personnel to other government agencies;
- Prohibits the use of funds in the bill to deploy any unit abroad unless the President certifies 15 days in advance that the unit is “fully mission capable;”
- Requires the President within 30 days to begin an immediate and orderly redeployment of U.S. forces from Iraq;
- States that the withdrawal from Iraq should be accompanied by a comprehensive strategy to work with neighbors and the international community to bring stability to Iraq;
- Sets December 15, 2008, as a goal for completing the transition of U.S. armed forces to a limited presence, though the date is not a firm deadline;

- Restricts missions after the transition to protecting U.S. facilities, armed forces, and civilians; providing limited training and related assistance to Iraqi security forces; and engaging in targeted counter-terrorism operations against al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations in Iraq;
- Requires quarterly reports beginning February 1, 2008, on plans to achieve the transition of the U.S. mission in Iraq;
- Says that congressional consideration of additional funding shall not begin until the first quarterly report on the transition of U.S. forces is submitted;
- Requires by February 15, 2008, a comprehensive regional stability plan for the Middle East;
- Requires additional quarterly reports, beginning on January 15, 2008 and continuing through the remainder of the fiscal year, that would establish performance measures for military and political stability in Iraq and specify a timetable for achieving the goals.

If Congress approves the \$70 billion McConnell substitute, debate over Iraq policy will not appear to be tied to any essential funding bill until the middle of 2008. The House and Senate would normally begin action on FY2009 defense authorization and appropriations bills by May of 2008 – well before funding for Army and Marine Corps operations provided in the omnibus appropriations bill would run out.

Overview of FY2008 Supplemental Defense, International Affairs, and Other Funding Requests

Taken together, the Administration has requested a total of \$196.5 billion in “additional” or “supplemental” appropriations for military operations, international affairs, and other activities in FY2008. Most of the money was requested in the Administration’s original budget for FY2008, submitted in February 2007. The request included \$141.7 billion for military operations abroad, \$3.3 billion in emergency funds for international affairs programs, and \$325 million in emergency funding for other agencies, including the Department of Energy for counter-proliferation programs, the Coast Guard, and the Department of Justice.

Subsequently, on July 31, the White House sent Congress a budget amendment requesting \$5.3 billion for Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicle procurement and deployment. And on October 22, the White House sent Congress a budget amendment requesting an additional \$45.9 billion in FY2008 for military operations abroad and for a variety of international affairs programs. In all, the Administration has now asked for a total of \$189.3 billion in FY2008 for military operations, \$6.9 billion in supplemental funding for a variety of international affairs programs, and \$325 million for other agencies. **Table 2** provides a summary of supplemental requests in February, July, and October.

**Table 2. Initial and Amended FY2008 Supplemental Defense,
International Affairs and Other Funding Requests***

(amounts in millions of dollars)

	Initial February Request	July MRAP Amendment	October Amendment	Total Request
Department of Defense (Including Other Agency Intelligence Amounts)				
Military Personnel	17,070.3	--	700.5	17,770.8
Operation and Maintenance	71,415.3	748.0	8,729.5	80,892.8
Procurement	32,880.3	4,562.0	26,598.5	64,040.8
Research and Development	1,957.3	30.0	603.3	2,590.6
Military Construction	907.9	--	955.6	1,863.5
Iraq Freedom Fund/Joint IED Defeat	4,108.0	--	369.0	4,477.0
Defense Health Program	1,023.8	--	--	1,023.8
Iraq and Afghan Security Forces	4,700.0	--	1,000.0	5,700.0
Working Capital Fund	1,681.4	--	--	1,681.4
Subtotal Department of Defense	135,744.3	5,340.0	38,956.4	180,040.7
Non-DoD Classified & Additional Funds	5,920.6	--	3,355.0	9,275.6
Total Defense-Related	141,664.9	5,340.0	42,311.4	189,316.3
International Affairs				
Department of Agriculture				
P.L. 480 Food Aid	--	--	350.0	350.0
Department of State and International Affairs				
Diplomatic and Consular Programs	1,881.6	--	401.4	2,283.0
Embassy Security, Construction, & Maintenance	--	--	160.0	160.0
Contributions to International Organizations	53.0	--	--	53.0
Contributions for International Peacekeeping	--	--	723.6	723.6
Migration and Refugee Assistance	35.0	--	195.0	230.0
International Narcotics Control & Law Enforcement [details in brackets are non-additive]	159.0		575.0	734.0
[Iraq Criminal Justice Programs]	[159.0]	--	--	[159.0]
[Mexico Counternarcotics and Law Enforcement]	--	--	[500.0]	[500.0]
[Central America Counternarcotics and Law Enforcement]	--	--	[50.0]	[50.0]
[Palestinian Authority Security Capabilities]	--	--	[25.0]	[25.0]
Economic Support Fund [details in brackets are non-additive]	1,111.0		1,106.0	2,217.0
[Iraq Reconstruction]	[772.0]	--	--	[772.0]
[Afghanistan Reconstruction]	[339.0]	--	[495.0]	[834.0]
[Iraq Private Sector Assistance]	--	--	[25.0]	[25.0]
[Pakistan Tribal Areas Plan]	--	--	[60.0]	[60.0]
[North Korea Assistance]	--	--	[106.0]	[106.0]
[Palestinian Authority]	--	--	[350.0]	[350.0]
[Sudan Elections]	--	--	[70.0]	[70.0]
Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs	--	--	5.0	5.0
International Disaster and Famine Assistance	--	--	80.0	80.0
AID Operating Expenses, Security	61.8	--	--	61.8
Total, International Affairs	3,301.4	--	3,596.0	6,897.4
Other Agencies				
Department of Energy				

Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation	63.0	--	--	63.0
Department of Homeland Security				
Coast Guard Operating Expenses	120.0	--	--	120.0
Department of Justice				
Iraq and Afghanistan Training and Investigations	4.1	--	--	4.1
Afghanistan Marshall Training and Assistance	14.9	--	--	14.9
FBI Counterterrorism Intelligence & Training	101.1	--	--	101.1
DEA Operation Breakthrough & Other	8.5	--	--	8.5
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives Iraq Operations	4.0	--	--	4.0
Federal Prison System Counterterrorism	9.1	--	--	9.1
Total, Other Agencies	324.7	--	--	324.7
Grand Total, All Requests	145,291.0	5,340.0	45,907.4	196,538.4

Sources: February request from Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the U.S. Government: Appendix*, February 2007, pp. 1141-1178. Amendments from Office of Management and Budget, “FY2007 and FY2008 Supplementals, Amendments, and Releases,” at [<http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/amendments.htm>].

***Note:** Amounts shown in brackets “[...]” are non-additive details of total amounts shown for each account.

Emergency Spending Designation. The Administration has requested all of these funds, including the amounts in the February budget and in the subsequent July and October budget amendments, with legislative language that would designate the amounts as “emergency” spending.⁶ The intention is to exempt the funds from caps on spending in the FY2008 congressional budget resolution. Section 204 of the resolution, S.Con.Res. 21, provides that amounts designated as necessary to meet emergency requirements “shall not be counted” against caps on discretionary spending act in the House and shall not be subject to points of order for exceeding spending limits in the Senate.

Technically, however, the terms “emergency” or “emergency appropriations” may not apply to all of the money Congress may ultimately provide, particularly for ongoing war-related expenses. While S.Con.Res. 21 exempts emergency amounts from caps on spending, it also includes a restrictive definition of emergency spending that might permit a point of order to be raised in the Senate against a measure that designates funds for ongoing activities, including the war, as an emergency.⁷ Instead, the budget resolution permits limits on overall funding to be adjusted by up to \$124.2 billion for “overseas deployments and related activities.” That designation, rather than “emergency” appropriations, may be invoked to permit some of the requested

⁶ The “emergency” language is requested as a general provision in OMB’s February budget appendix, and the President’s cover letter conveying the October 22 request designates all of the requested funds as emergency appropriations.

⁷ Section 206(a)(6)(A) requires that emergency funding must be
“(i) necessary, essential, or vital (not merely useful or beneficial);
“(ii) sudden, quickly coming into being, and not building up over time;
“(iii) an urgent, pressing, and compelling need requiring immediate action;
“(iv) ... unforeseen, unpredictable, and unanticipated; and
“(v) not permanent, temporary in nature.”

spending to be considered without raising a point of order for exceeding budget limits in the Senate.⁸

Possible Additional Supplemental Appropriations. Supplemental appropriations bills frequently provide substantially more money than the White House requests, and bills sometimes become vehicles for significant legislative initiatives as well. The FY2007 supplemental, for example, H.R. 2206, P.L. 110-28, included substantial amounts for disaster relief, farm programs, low-income energy assistance, and the SCHIP children's health insurance program. It also included a measure to increase the minimum wage.

It was widely expected that the appropriations committee would include additional "emergency" funds for Hurricane Katrina recovery and for other purposes in any FY2008 supplemental appropriations bill for the war. With the prospect that the war supplemental would be delayed until January or later, however, appropriators decided not to wait to address hurricane recovery and other issues, and instead provided funding for several non-defense programs in the second FY2008 continuing resolution (CR).

Congressional Action on Supplemental Appropriations to Date. The second CR, which funds activities of the government from November 17 through December 14, 2007, was attached to the FY2008 defense appropriations bill, H.R. 3222, P.L. 110-116, which the President signed into law on November 13. The continuing resolution includes \$2.9 billion in additional funds for veterans health programs, \$3 billion in community development funds for Louisiana to help residents return to their homes, \$2.9 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency Disaster Relief Fund, and \$500 million for wildfire management.

As noted above, Congress has also already provided \$16.8 billion for MRAPs. The FY2008 continuing resolution, H.J.Res. 52, P.L. 110-92, that was signed into law on September 29, provides \$5.2 billion for production and deployment of Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles for the Army and Marine Corps. This is almost all of the amount that was requested in the Administration's July 31 budget amendment. The FY2008 defense appropriations bill, H.R. 3222, P.L. 110-116, that was signed into law on includes \$11.6 billion for MRAPs, all designated as emergency appropriations.

Highlights of the FY2008 Defense Supplemental Request

The \$189.3 billion requested for military operations in FY2008 continues a trend of perennially larger and larger amounts of money being provided to the Defense Department through supplemental appropriations that are over and above

⁸ Moreover, an "emergency" designation by the President is no longer required. The President was, in the past, required to agree with Congress to designate funds as "emergency" appropriations in order to avoid triggering an automatic cut in spending if outlays exceeded statutory limits. But legislative caps on spending expired after FY2002.

also-increasing “base” budgets for defense. In all, supplemental appropriations for DOD, together with war-related “bridge” funds provided as separate titles of regular annual defense appropriations bills since FY2005, have grown from \$62.6 billion in FY2003, the year of the Iraq invasion, to \$101.9 billion in FY2005, to \$124.0 billion in FY2006, to \$171.3 billion in FY2007, and now still higher (see **Table 3**).

Table 3. Regular and Supplemental/Bridge Appropriations for the Department of Defense, FY2000 to FY2008

(budget authority in millions of dollars)

	Total DOD Appropriations	Regular Appropriations	Supplemental/Bridge Appropriations
FY2000	290,339	281,785	8,554
FY2001	318,678	299,320	19,358
FY2002	344,904	328,668	16,236
FY2003	437,714	375,133	62,581
FY2004	447,933	378,406	69,527
FY2005	506,864	404,945	101,919
FY2006	593,780	469,753	124,027
FY2007	608,252	430,600	171,289
FY2008 (request)	672,289	482,973	189,316

Source: CRS from Office of Management and Budget and House and Senate Appropriations Committee data.

Why War-Related Supplemental Requests Have Grown⁹

The increases in funding for the war cannot be attributed to the pace of military operations. Though the number of troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan has fluctuated over time, and there has been a “surge” of troops into Iraq in recent months, overall troop levels have remained relatively stable. Instead, the increases are due in large part to the growth of investments to repair or replace equipment lost or worn out in military operations and also to upgrade equipment across the entire force.

As **Table 4** shows, the largest increases in funding have been for weapons procurement, which has grown from about \$19 billion in FY2005 to a requested \$64 billion in the amended FY2008 request. Operation and maintenance funding has grown also, much of that to repair equipment. And there have been increases, as well, in funding to train and equip Afghan and Iraqi military forces. Supplementals have also been used to finance costs of reorganizing the Army into a modular,

⁹ For a much more extensive discussion of trends in supplemental appropriations, see CRS Report RL33110, *The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11*, by Amy Belasco, particularly the section entitled “Trends in War Funding.” Also see CRS Report RL33999, *Defense: FY2008 Authorization and Appropriations*, by Pat Towell, Stephen Daggett, and Amy Belasco, particularly the section entitled “Issues in the FY2008 Global War on Terror Request.”

brigade-centered force and to pay for initial costs of increasing the Army and Marine Corps by 92,000 troops by 2011.

**Table 4. War-Related Supplemental Appropriations/
Bridge Funds by Account, FY2005-FY2008**
(amounts in millions of dollars)

	Enacted FY2005	Enacted FY2006	Enacted FY2007	Amended Request FY2008
Military Personnel	18,696.7	16,423.3	17,746.1	17,770.7
Operation and Maintenance	46,520.9	59,230.0	72,257.7	80,892.8
Procurement	18,762.6	20,373.8	42,025.5	64,040.8
Research and Development	587.3	125.2	635.8	2,590.6
Military Construction	1,128.1	214.8	1,670.2	1,863.5
IFF/JIEDDO	3,800.0	3,318.1	4,759.1	4,477.0
Defense Health Program	893.6	1,153.6	2,091.2	1,023.8
Iraq and Afghan Security Forces	6,985.0	4,915.1	12,948.7	5,700.0
Working Capital Fund	3,021.7	3,033.1	1,120.5	1,681.4
Subtotal	100,395.8	108,787.0	155,254.8	180,040.6
Non-DoD Classified/Other Emergency	492.4	5,740.3	14,244.8	9,275.6
Total	100,888.3	114,527.3	169,499.6	189,316.3

Sources: FY2007 and FY2008 from Department of Defense, *FY2008 Global War on Terror Amendment*, October 2007; FY2006 from Department of Defense, *FY2007 Emergency Supplemental Request for the Global War on Terror*, February 2007; FY2005 CRS from House and Senate Appropriations Committee data.

Table 5 shows the trend in funding according to functional categories that the Defense Department has used. DOD's functional breakdown shows large increases in funding for force protection and smaller increases in support to foreign security forces. The largest increases, however, have been for what the Defense Department refers to as "reconstitution."

**Table 5. War-Related Supplemental Appropriations/
Bridge Funds by Functional Category, FY2006-FY2008**
(amounts in millions of dollars)

	Enacted FY2006	Enacted FY2007	Amended Request FY2008
Continuing the Fight			
Operations (Includes Plus-Up)	67,158.0	76,148.4	76,868.7
Force Protection	5,358.5	13,349.8	30,461.0
IED Defeat	3,318.1	4,400.0	4,269.0
Military Intelligence Program	1,499.7	3,443.7	3,706.0
Iraq Security Forces	3,007.0	5,542.9	3,000.0
Afghan Security Forces	1,908.0	7,406.4	2,700.0
Coalition Support	1,200.0	1,422.2	1,700.0
CERP	923.0	956.4	1,219.4
Military Construction	214.8	940.0	1,694.5
Factory Restart	--	50.0	100.0
Provincial Reconstruction Teams	5,000.0	100.0	--
Reconstituting the Force			
Reconstitution	19,199.8	36,349.1	46,366.8
Enhancing Ground Forces			
BCTs / RCT	--	3,647.1	1,557.2
Grow the Force	--	1,498.8	--
Restore the Force	--	--	5,403.9
Strengthening the Army Guard and Reserve	--	--	994.2
Non-DOD Classified & Additional Requests	5,740.3	14,244.8	9,275.6
Total	114,527.2	169,499.6	189,316.3

Sources: FY2007 and FY2008 from Department of Defense, *FY2008 Global War on Terror Amendment*, October 2007; FY2006 from Department of Defense, *FY2007 Emergency Supplemental Request for the Global War on Terror*, February 2007.

Traditionally, the term “reconstitution” has been used to refer to repairing and replacing equipment lost or worn out in combat in order to restore the force to approximately its pre-war condition. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, however, preferred to use the term “reset” to describe what was needed. To reset the force meant to return the force, not to its prewar condition, but to the condition that it would have been in had planned changes in the force been carried on in the absence of a conflict. The intent was not to add to funding requirements, but to refine and perhaps reduce them. Secretary Rumsfeld argued, for example, that there was not necessarily a need to restore stocks of Army prepositioned equipment to prewar levels because plans to reduce overseas deployments might reduce prepositioning requirements. Early in the war, the Defense Department did not support Army requests for funding to reconstitute the force in because of debates over what was needed, and Congress insisted on adding funds for new equipment.

Now, however, the Defense Department has resumed using the term “reconstitution,” but the concept appears to encompass much more than just restoring the force. Instead, it appears to include substantial upgrades to the force, especially for the Army and Marine Corps. The upgrades include measures to fix preexisting

shortfalls in some kinds of equipment, to add substantially to transportation and communications equipment in combat units to reflect lessons about the way units have operated in the war, to more fully equip later deploying units with the same equipment used in the theater in order to improve training, and to more fully equip Guard and reserve units that, in the past, were outfitted with older equipment retired from the active duty force, but that have now become part of the rotation base for overseas operations and, so are seen to need newer weapons and support systems. Taken together, these steps to upgrade the force explain much of the increase in spending.

Congress has generally supported steps to upgrade ground forces, in particular, though legislators have questioned some of the requested increases in equipment funding. In action on the FY2007 war supplemental, for example, several legislators raised questions about the rationale for an Air Force request for two F-35 Joint Strike Fighters, on which production is just beginning, to replace F-15 and F-16 aircraft lost in combat operations, and a Navy request for one V-22 tilt rotor aircraft to replace lost helicopters. In the end, the Administration withdrew those requests in a budget amendment that realigned funding to reflect costs of the troop surge.¹⁰

Selected Elements of the Amended Defense Request

Funding for MRAPs is the largest single item in the amended defense request, and Congress has already responded by providing virtually all of the money requested. A few other elements of the amended request stand out.

- **Costs of the troop surge:** The October 22 budget amendment includes \$6.3 billion to cover costs of maintaining five additional Army brigade combat teams (BCTs) and one Marine regimental combat team (RCT) in Iraq through December 2007 and then returning to pre-surge levels. The budget assumes that the additional units will be withdrawn beginning in January and that the force will be reduced to the pre-surge level of 15 brigades by July.
- **Other Iraq- and Afghanistan-related increases:** The October 22 budget amendment includes \$1 billion in additional money for Iraqi security forces and \$100 million to expand a program to reopen factories in Iraq. It also includes \$242 million for the Commanders Emergency Response Program¹¹ for Afghanistan. And it includes \$956 million, in addition to \$739 million requested in February, to construct facilities and roads in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- **Additional funds for reconstitution:** Aside from MRAPs, the largest element of the October budget amendment is an addition of

¹⁰ See Office of Management and Budget, "FY2007 Supplemental Revisions: Department of Defense (Global War on Terror)," March 9, 2007. The amendment is available on line at [http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/amendments/amendment_3_9_07.pdf].

¹¹ CERP allows field commanders to provide money for relatively small, local development projects.

\$8.8 billion to the \$37.6 billion requested in February to repair, replace, and replenish equipment and supplies. The budget amendment includes \$1 billion to improve Navy P-3 aircraft radar detection equipment and smaller amounts for a wide range of other programs.

- Restock inventories of equipment in non-deploying units: Under the title “Restore the Force,” in addition to funds for reconstitution, the October budget amendment includes \$5.4 billion to restock equipment inventories of combat support and combat service support (CS/CSS) units that have had equipment taken away in order to equip deployed and next-to-deploy combat and support units. Defense Department officials have said that is only part of the amount needed to make up shortfalls of inventories due to cross-leveling of equipment as units have prepared to deploy.¹²
- Other requests: The budget amendment includes \$2.5 billion for a variety of other initiatives. These include \$762 million for fuel price increases; \$416 million to accelerate the date for completing construction of facilities to replace the Walter Reed Army hospital from May 2011 to October 2010; \$504 million for to improve other Army medical facilities and services; and about \$800 million for soldier and family support programs, including programs to support soldiers returning from combat tours.

International Affairs Emergency Supplemental

On February 6, 2007, the Administration sent to Congress its regular FY2008 budget that included \$35.1 billion for international affairs. At the same time, the President sent Congress an FY2008 emergency supplemental request of \$3.301 billion for international affairs. On October 22, 2007, the Administration amended its supplemental request with \$3.596 billion in additional spending. The total FY2008 emergency supplemental request for international affairs spending amounts to \$6.897 billion. While the largest portion of the total request is for State Department operations and foreign assistance in Iraq and Afghanistan, it also includes sizeable requests for programs in Mexico, the West Bank and Gaza, North Korea, Sudan, and Pakistan. (The international affairs supplemental request is part of a larger package totaling \$196.5 billion that also includes funding for military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.)

The State Department estimates emergency supplemental funding needs of \$3.220 billion for Diplomatic and Consular Programs (DCP) in Iraq and Afghanistan, Worldwide Security Upgrades in Afghanistan, staff housing in Afghanistan, Contributions to International Organizations, and Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) for Darfur. Two-thirds (\$2.1 billion) of the State

¹² Source: Oral communication from Department of Defense Comptroller official, October 23, 2007.

Department request is for Diplomatic and Consular Program funding for Iraq Operations. Foreign Operations comprise \$3.678 billion, including \$350 million for P.L. 480 food assistance. Nearly half of the total foreign operations package is allocated for assistance in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Bush Administration has increasingly requested emergency supplemental funds for international affairs budgets. Some budget experts and opposition party members have criticized the Administration for relying too heavily on supplementals, and that some items, particularly relating to Iraq and Afghanistan, have become routine and should be incorporated into the regular appropriations cycle. The Administration counters that given the nature of rapidly changing overseas events and unforeseen emergencies, it is necessary to make emergency supplemental requests for what it claims are unexpected and non-recurring expenses.

State Department Operations¹³

In February 2007, the original FY2008 State Department portion of the emergency supplemental request consisted of \$1.882 billion for Diplomatic and Consular Programs, all for operations in Iraq, and \$53 million for Contributions to International Organizations (CIO). The Administration amended this supplemental, adding nearly \$1.3 billion: \$401.4 million for Diplomatic and Consular Programs (DCP), \$160 million for Embassy Security, Construction, and Maintenance (ESCM), and \$723.6 million for Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA). Total emergency funds requested for FY2008 for the State Department's Administration of Foreign Affairs equal \$3.220 billion in addition to the regular budget request of \$7.317 billion for the Administration of Foreign Affairs. (See **Table 6.**)

Currently, the Mission in Iraq consists of more than 1,000 direct-hire Americans representing 12 U.S. government agencies.¹⁴ For the Diplomatic and Consular Programs account, the Department is requesting a total of \$2,283 million, of which \$2,120.6 million is for emergency needs in Iraq. In addition, \$402.6 million of carryover funds are available, for a total of \$2,523.2 million for Iraq operations. Of this sum, \$978.7 million would pay for security needs, such as local guards (\$151.6 million), compound guards (\$164.0 million), regional security (\$167.3 million), personal security details (\$301.4 million), armored vehicles (\$41.2 million), physical and technical security, such as vehicle barriers and bomb detective dogs (\$8.7 million), equipment, such as bullet proof vests, ammunition, and masks (\$6.4 million), other support, such as special agents traveling to Iraq and counterterrorism training (\$28.1 million), and overhead cover protection to bolster rooftops (\$110.0 million). Another \$907.1 million would go toward Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), paying salaries (\$187.6 million), operations (\$63.8 million), living accommodations and medical support (\$72.1 million), information technology (\$60.3 million), vehicles (\$3.3 million), security (\$516.8 million) and leases of space in Baghdad (\$3.2 million).

¹³ Prepared by Susan B. Epstein, Specialist in Foreign Policy.

¹⁴ For more information, see CRS Report RS21867, *U.S. Embassy in Iraq*.

The Administration is also seeking \$162.4 million for worldwide security upgrades in Afghanistan. Of this amount, \$80 million would pay for securing facilities, including overhead (roof) protection; \$38 million would be for high threat protection teams and support for the election process; \$36.5 million would fund unbudgeted security costs for other agencies; and \$7.9 million would buy fully-armored vehicles for the embassy and PRTs. Other expenses covered by the FY2008 emergency supplemental request for the Department of State include \$160 million for U.S. staff housing in Afghanistan under the Embassy Security, Construction, and Maintenance account, \$53 million for U.S. assessments for U.N. activities related to combat terrorism, and \$723.6 million for U.S. Contributions for International Peacekeeping activities in Darfur.

Table 6. FY2008 Emergency Supplemental State Department Request
(millions of U.S. dollars)

Activity	Regular Request FY2008	Original FY2008 Supp. Request	Amended FY2008 Supp. Request	Total FY2008 Supp. Request
Total for Administration of Foreign Affairs	7,317.1^a	1,934.6	1,285.0	3,219.6
Diplomatic & Consular Programs	4,942.7	1,881.6	401.4	2,283.0
Iraq Operations	—	(1,881.6)	(239.0)	(2,120.6)
Worldwide Security Upgrades	(964.8)	—	(162.4)	(162.4)
Embassy Security, Construction & Maintenance	1,599.4 ^b	—	160.0	160.0
Contributions to International Organizations	1,354.4	53.0	—	53.0
Contributions to International Peacekeeping	1,107.0	—	723.6	723.6
Total	9,003.5	1,934.6	1,285.0	3,219.6

a. Includes other funds not listed in this table.

b. Includes worldwide security upgrade funds for embassies.

Foreign Operations¹⁵

The Foreign Operations portion, totaling \$3.678 billion, of the supplemental request was sent to Congress in two tranches. A \$1.367 billion request accompanied the President's budget on February 6, 2007. An amended request for \$2.311 billion, including P.L. 480 food aid, was sent to Congress on October 22nd. Approximately one-third of the request is made up of \$2.217 billion in Economic Support Funds (ESF) for Iraq (\$797 million), Afghanistan (\$834 million), West Bank and Gaza (\$350 million), North Korea (\$106 million), Sudan (\$70 million) and Pakistan (\$60 million). (See **Table 7** for full request.)

Anti-narcotics emergency supplemental funding for FY2008 totals \$734 million, the largest portion allocated for Mexico and Central America (\$550 million). Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) totals \$230 million, mainly for Iraqi and Palestinian refugees. International Disaster and Famine Assistance (IDFA), totaling \$80 million, would fund programs in Iraq to assist internally displaced persons (IDPs). The request also includes \$5 million for the Afghanistan Presidential Protection Service from the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) account. A \$350 million request for P.L. 480 food aid would support programs in the Horn of Africa, Kenya, Sudan, and a \$30 million contingency fund to anticipate future needs elsewhere.

¹⁵ Prepared by Connie Veillette, Specialist in Foreign Assistance.

Table 7. FY2008 Foreign Operations Emergency Supplemental Request
(millions of U.S. dollars)

Country/Account	FY2008 Regular Request	FY2008 Original Request	FY2008 Amended Request	Total Supp. Request
Afghanistan	1,067.1^a			855.0
ESF	693.0	339.0	495.0	834.0
NADR	21.7	0.0	5.0	5.0
USAID Operating Expenses	—	16.0	0.0	16.0
Iraq	391.8^a			1,276.8
ESF	298.0	772.0	25.0	797.0
INCLE	75.8	159.0	0.0	159.0
IDFA	—	0.0	80.0	80.0
MRA	—	35.0	160.0	195.0
USAID Operating Expenses	—	45.8	0.0	45.8
Mexico — Central America Initiative	220.4^a			550.0
INCLE	31.7	0.0	550.0	550.0
West Bank/Gaza	77.0^a			410.0
INCLE	3.5	0.0	25.0	25.0
MRA	—	0.0	35.0	35.0
ESF	63.5	0.0	350.0	350.0
Pakistan	785.0^a			60.0
ESF	382.9	0.0	60.0	60.0
North Korea	2.0			106.0
ESF	2.0	0.0	106.0	106.0
Sudan	679.2^a			145.0
ESF	245.9	0.0	70.0	70.0
PL480	245.0	0.0	75.0	75.0
Horn of Africa/Kenya	—			110.0
PL480	7.0	0.0	110.0	110.0
Southern Africa	—			135.0
PL480	—	0.0	135.0	135.0
PL480 — Unallocated	1,219.4	0.0	30.0	30.0
Total	4,439.9	1,366.8	2,311.0	3,677.8

Notes: Figures do not include State Department Operations. **Acronyms:** ESF-Economic Support Fund; INCLE-International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement; IDFA-International Disaster and Famine Assistance; MRA-Migration and Refugee Assistance; NADR-Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs; and PL480-Food for Peace; USAID-U.S. Agency for International Development.

a. Country totals include other accounts for which supplemental funds were not requested.

Iraq Reconstruction Assistance¹⁶

To date, nearly \$42 billion in U.S. funds have been appropriated to support all facets of Iraq reconstruction. Almost all this funding has been appropriated in annual supplemental legislation. For FY2008, the Administration made no request for security assistance in its regular Defense budget proposal, but asked for roughly \$392 million under State/Foreign Operations appropriations. In both the House and Senate versions of H.R. 2764, the FY2008 State/Foreign Operations appropriations, Congress rejected the Administration request for Iraq. Therefore, funding for Iraq reconstruction in FY2008 is expected to come entirely from an emergency supplemental measure.

The Administration's FY2008 emergency supplemental appropriations request, revised on October 22nd, includes \$4.9 billion in funding for Iraq reconstruction. Reconstruction aid has two main components — security aid funded with Department of Defense (DOD) appropriations and political/economic/social sector assistance funded with State/Foreign Operations appropriations.

The request for DOD reconstruction appropriations totals about \$3.7 billion. It would chiefly fund the training and equipping of Iraqi troops under the Iraq Security Forces Fund (ISFF) and reconstruction grants provided under the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP). The CERP allows military civil affairs officers to support a wide variety of economic activities at the local level, from renovating health clinics to digging wells to painting schools, provided in the form of small grants. CERP also funds some infrastructure efforts no longer supported with other U.S. assistance, such as repair or provision of electric generators and construction of sewer systems. Commanders are able to identify needs and dispense aid with few bureaucratic encumbrances.

The recent budget revision added a \$100 million request to the Iraq Freedom Fund account for the Task Force to Improve Business and Stability Operations in Iraq. The Task Force, funded at \$50 million under the previous supplemental appropriations legislation, seeks to stimulate the economy and create employment for Iraqi citizens by rehabilitating some of the roughly 200 state-owned enterprises that comprised a large portion of the Iraqi economy prior to the U.S. occupation. News reports have suggested some difficulty with the program, resulting from the lack of electricity, the insecure environment, and a lack of enthusiasm from U.S. companies that had been expected to invest in the facilities, among other reasons.¹⁷

Under the State/Foreign Operations appropriations budget, the FY2008 emergency supplemental request directs \$1.2 billion toward Iraq — \$797 million in the Economic Support Fund (ESF), \$159 million in the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INCLE), and \$195 million in the Migration and Refugee

¹⁶ Prepared by Curt Tarnoff, Specialist in Foreign Affairs. For more detailed discussion of the U.S. program of assistance to Iraq, see CRS Report RL31833, *Iraq: Reconstruction Assistance*.

¹⁷ "U.S. Falts in Bid to Boost Iraqi Business," *Washington Post*, August 24, 2007; "In Iraq, One Man's Mission Impossible," *CNN Money.com*, September 4, 2007.

Assistance (MRA), and \$80 million in the International Disaster and Famine Assistance (IDFA) accounts. ESF is the primary source of funding for the assistance provided by the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), which have grown under the surge to more than 25, including 15 newly established ePRTs embedded with U.S. combat battalions and concentrated mostly in Baghdad and Anbar province. The ePRTs are intended to help stabilize areas secured by U.S. and Iraqi forces. PRTs are expected to help stabilize an area by supporting local small-scale, employment-generating, economic projects, using ESF-funded community development grants, job training and micro-loan programs, among other activities. PRTs also utilize ESF to increase the capacities of local government officials to spend Iraqi-owned capital funds allocated by the Iraqi government for infrastructure programs. At the national level, ESF supports Ministerial capacity development, agriculture and private sector reform, and the strengthening of democratization efforts.

The recent budget revision added another \$25 million to the ESF supplemental request and proposes authorization language to allow the Administration to establish a new Iraq enterprise fund based on the model created for east Europe and the former Soviet Union. Enterprise funds are U.S. government-funded private sector-run bodies that primarily provide loans or equity investments to small and medium business. In the former communist countries, enterprise funds also encouraged growth of the private sector, including support for mortgage lending markets and establishment of private equity funds. The most successful example, the Polish Fund, made many profitable investments, helping companies grow that otherwise were unable to obtain financial support in the period just after the fall of communism. Some of the funds, however, have been much less successful, either by taking on poor investment risks, or unable to locate promising businesses because of the poor business climate or competition from other private sector funding sources. Some observers question the usefulness of the funds because their ostensible development purpose seems often to conflict with pressures for economic profit.

The INCLE account largely would support rule of law and corrections programs. The Administration request is expected to fund prison construction, something that Congress has sometimes cut from previous requests. The request is also intended to extend judicial reform and anticorruption efforts to the provinces. The MRA request would address the continuing refugee crisis in the region; an estimated 2.0 million Iraqis have fled the country and another 2.2 million have been displaced due to sectarian violence and instability. The IDFA program would provide medical care, food, shelter and other relief to refugees and displaced people.

FY2008 emergency funds are also requested for operational costs (not included in the reconstruction aid total or in **Table 8**) for staffing and administering reconstruction programs: \$679 million for PRT and \$45.8 million for USAID operations.

Table 8. FY2008 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Iraq Reconstruction
(millions of U.S. dollars)

International Affairs (Budget Function 150 Accounts)	
	Administration Request
Economic Support Fund (ESF)	797.0
International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE)	159
Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA)	195
International Disaster and Famine Assistance (IDFA)	80.0
TOTAL 150 Account	1,231.0
Department of Defense (Budget Function 050 Accounts)	
Iraq Security Forces Fund (ISFF)	3,000
Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP)	609.7 ^a
Iraq Freedom Fund (for Task Force to Improve Business)	100.0
TOTAL 050 Account	3,709.7
GRAND TOTAL 150 & 050	4,940^b

Sources: Department of State and Department of Defense FY2008 Congressional Budget Justifications.

- a. The total CERP request of \$1,219.4 million is for both Iraq and Afghanistan. The amount included here assumes that half will be used in Iraq.
- b. Not included are \$45.8 million in USAID operational expenses (OE) for Iraq programs and \$679 million for PRT OE.

Afghanistan¹⁸

Background. Afghanistan's political transition was completed with the convening of a parliament in December 2005, but in 2006 insurgent threats to Afghanistan's government escalated to the point that some experts began questioning the success of U.S. stabilization efforts. In the political process, a new constitution was adopted in January 2004, successful presidential elections were held on October 9, 2004, and parliamentary elections took place on September 18, 2005. The parliament has become an arena for factions that have fought each other for nearly three decades to debate and peacefully resolve differences. Afghan citizens have started to enjoy new personal freedoms, particularly in the northern and western

¹⁸ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Specialist in International Humanitarian Policy, and Kenneth Katzman, Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs.

regions of the country, that were forbidden under the Taliban. Women are participating in economic and political life, including as ministers, provincial governors, and senior levels of the new parliament. The next elections are planned for 2009.

The insurgency led by remnants of the former Taliban regime escalated in 2006, after several years in which it appeared the Taliban was mostly defeated. U.S. and NATO military commanders have had recent successes in counter-insurgency operations, but the Taliban continues to present a considerable threat to peace and security in parts of Afghanistan. Slow reconstruction, corruption, and the failure to extend Afghan government authority into rural areas and provinces, particularly in the south and east, have contributed to the Taliban resurgence. In recent months, political leadership in the more stable northern part of the country have registered concerns about distribution of reconstruction funding. In addition, narcotics trafficking is resisting counter-measures, and independent militias remain throughout the country, although many have been disarmed. Also, the Afghan government and U.S. officials have said that some Taliban commanders are operating from Pakistan, putting them outside the reach of U.S./NATO forces in Afghanistan. In 2007, the Administration unveiled a new initiative, Reconstruction Opportunity Zones (ROZ) in Afghanistan and the border regions with Pakistan to stimulate economic activity in underdeveloped, isolated regions.

The United States and partner stabilization measures focus on strengthening the central government and its security forces and on promoting reconstruction while combating the renewed insurgent challenge. As part of this effort, the international community has been running PRTs to secure reconstruction. Despite these efforts, weak provincial governance is seen as a key obstacle to a democratic Afghanistan and continues to pose a threat to reconstruction and stabilization efforts.

The FY2008 Original and Amended Emergency Supplemental Request. The Administration requested a total of \$355 million in the FY2008 emergency supplemental funds for Afghanistan in February 2007. These included ESF (\$339 million) and security requirements for USAID (\$16 million). The Administration amended the FY2008 supplemental request, increasing it by \$483.4 million (for a total request of \$838.4 million), which includes several provisions intended to continue U.S. efforts to stabilize Afghanistan and continue economic reconstruction efforts, but most of the increase is for embassy operations and security.¹⁹ (See **Table 9**.)

Key elements of the FY2008 emergency supplemental request include \$495 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) for democratic governance and reconstruction efforts to continue security and development strategy (an increase of \$156 million over the original FY2008 emergency supplemental request of \$339 million), which would be allocated as follows:

¹⁹ Funding figures obtained from the FY2008 Revised Emergency Proposal dated October 22, 2007; the proposed Budget for Fiscal Year 2008 (“Additional 2007 and 2008 Proposals”) submitted in February 2007; and the Supplemental Appropriations Justification Fiscal Year 2008 prepared by the Department of State and USAID.

- \$275 million would be used to strengthen provincial governance and responsiveness to the Afghan people. Funding would support a wide range of programs, preparation activities for the 2009 election and ongoing programs, such as the National Solidarity Program (\$40 million), the Afghanistan Reconstruction Fund (\$25 million), and the Provincial Governance Fund (\$50 million);
- \$50 million would be used as part of an effort to invest in basic social services, such as health and education, particularly in rural areas; and
- \$170 million would be made available for economic growth and infrastructure, including the development of power sector projects (\$115 million); road projects (\$50 million) focused on those segments that are of strategic military importance and provide key connections between the central and provincial government capitals; and funding to support Reconstruction Opportunity Zones (\$5 million) in designated economically isolated areas and create employment alternatives.

In addition to the ESF funding, the request includes:

- \$162.4 million to support Diplomatic and Consular Programs (DCP) in Afghanistan as part of a worldwide security upgrade in the Global War on Terror. Allocations of this request would go for security operations (\$38 million); secure facilities (\$80 million); other agencies' unbudgeted security costs (\$36.5 million); and fully armored vehicles (\$7.9 million);
- \$160 million to support embassy security, construction and maintenance, mainly housing for U.S. mission staff in Afghanistan;
- \$5 million in Non-proliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Programs (NADR) to support the Afghan leadership through the Presidential Protection Service;
- \$53 million for Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) to pay U.S. assessments toward the U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and the U.N. Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), both of which are paid for out of the U.N. regular budget (and the United States' obligation is 22 percent); and
- \$16 million for FY2008 security requirements for USAID operations in Afghanistan. This item was part of the FY2008 emergency supplemental request.

Table 9. Afghanistan Aid, FY2008
(millions of U.S. dollars)

Activity (appropriation account) ^a	Regular FY2008 budget Request	Original FY2008 Supp Request	Amended FY2008 Supp Request	Total FY2008 Supp Request
Infrastructure aid (ESF)	693.0	339.0	495.0	495.0
U.S. mission security (DCP)	—	—	162.4	162.4
U.S. Embassy Security, Construction, Maintenance	—	—	160.0	160.0
USAID mission security (OE)	—	16.0	—	16.0
Nonproliferation (NADR)	21.7	—	5.0	5.0
Narcotics/ Law Enforce. (INCLE)	274.8	—	—	—
Health (CSH)	65.9	—	—	—
Military Education (IMET)	1.7	—	—	—
Total	989.5	355.0	822.4	838.4

Source: FY2007 and FY2008 budget materials.

Notes: Data in this table reflect ongoing and FY2008 proposed funding for programs the same as or similar to those requested in the FY2007 supplemental. The **total** line does not represent total aid or mission operations for Afghanistan. Excluded from this table is proposed funding requested for FBI operations in Afghanistan. P.L. 480 - Title II emergency food aid funds are included in a total appropriation of \$200 million available for missions in Afghanistan and parts of Africa.

Acronyms: ESF - Economic Support Fund, MRA-Migration and Refugee Assistance, DCP-Diplomatic and Consular Programs, OE-Operating Expenses, NADR-Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs, and INCLE-International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement, IDFA-International Disaster and Famine Assistance, CSH - Child Survival and Health, and IMET - International Military Education and Training.

Pakistan²⁰

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are considered strategically important to combating terrorism while continued terrorist and militant activities in the frontier region remain a threat to U.S interests in Afghanistan. The Government of Pakistan has developed a FATA Sustainable Development Plan to be implemented over 10 years. In support of this plan, the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development have put forward a five-year \$750 million development assistance strategy for the frontier region (a pledge of \$150 million per year) that

²⁰ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Specialist in International Humanitarian Policy.

complements the Government of Pakistan's plan.²¹ The Frontier Strategy objectives are to improve economic and social conditions in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in order to address the region's use by terrorists and militants. Programs would include governance, health and education services, and economic development, such as agricultural productivity, infrastructure rehabilitation, credit, and vocational training.

On November 4, 2007, President Musharraf imposed emergency rule and suspended Pakistan's constitution. In light of these events, the Administration announced a review of U.S. assistance.

The FY2008 Original and Amended Supplemental Request. The Administration did not request funding for Pakistan in its original FY2008 emergency supplemental request in February 2007. The FY2008 regular budget request asked for \$90 million for the frontier region development plan, which left a gap of \$60 million in the overall U.S. pledge of \$150 million. The FY2008 additional supplemental request for \$60 million in Economic Support Fund would address this funding gap and meet the full pledge as follows: Investment in governance and planning (\$13 million); health and education programs (\$15 million); and local economic development (\$32 million). The \$60 million emergency supplemental request is in addition to the \$785 million requested in the regular FY2008 budget from various accounts.

Sudan²²

The Administration seeks a total of \$868.6 million in emergency supplemental funds for Sudan, most of which would be for humanitarian and peacekeeping support in the Darfur region. No funding was requested for Sudan in the original FY2008 emergency supplemental, but the country is scheduled to receive \$321 million for assistance in the regular FY2008 budget.

FY2008 Additional Emergency Supplemental Request. Major elements of the FY2008 additional emergency supplemental include:

- A \$70 million request in ESF funds for Sudan to support upcoming national elections that are to take place before July 2009, according to the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between north and south Sudan. Part of the effort will focus on strengthening political parties, drafting the electoral law, supporting an electoral commission, promoting civic education, and supporting election-related institutions and processes. The United Nations estimates that the elections could cost nearly \$400 million because of the logistical hurdles in conducting elections in a post-conflict environment;
- \$75 million for additional food assistance (P.L. 480, Title II) in the Darfur region of Sudan and for those displaced in Eastern Chad; and

²¹ For more detail on Pakistan, see CRS Report RL33498, Pakistan-U.S. Relations.

²² Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Specialist in International Humanitarian Policy.

- \$723.6 million in support of the U.N. Assistance Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). The U.N. assessment for the Darfur peacekeeping force is estimated to be \$3.4 billion in 2008. (The U.S. share will be approximately \$884 million.) The President has already requested \$391.1 million for the existing U.N. mission in Sudan (UNMIS), but based on the 2007-2008 U.N. peacekeeping budget, the U.S. share will be \$280 million in FY2008. This leaves approximately \$160 million for UNAMID, which represents a shortfall of \$724 million.

Table 10. Sudan Emergency Supplemental, FY2008
(millions of U.S. dollars)

Activity (appropriation account) ^a	FY2008 Regular Request	FY2008 Original Supp Request	FY2008 Amended Supp Request	FY2008 Supp Request Total
PL480, Title II food aid	—	—	75.0	75.0
AMIS (PKO)	41.4	—	—	—
U.N. peacekeeping mission/Darfur (CIPA)	—	—	723.6	723.6
Economic Support Fund (ESF)	245.9	—	70.0	70.0
Foreign Military Financing (FMF)	0.1	—	—	—
Military Education/Training (IMET)	0.3	—	—	—
Narcotics Control/Law Enforce. (INCLE)	24.0	—	—	—
Nonprolif./Anti-terrorism/Demining	4.0	—	—	—
Total	\$315.7	\$0.0	\$868.6	\$868.6

Source: FY2007 and FY2008 budget materials. In addition, as part of the FY2007 supplemental request, the Administration requested transfer authority from CIPA to PKO.

Notes: Data in this table reflect ongoing funding for programs similar to those requested in the FY2006 and FY2007 supplementals. The **Total** line does not represent total aid or mission operations for Sudan. FY2007 ERMA funds include a total appropriation of \$30 million available for places such as Somalia, Chad, West Bank/Gaza, Iraq and Sri Lanka. The funds could also support planning for Darfur refugee flows to Chad. PKO funds include an additional appropriation of \$128 million to support anticipated peacekeeping in Africa, including Darfur.

Acronyms: IDFA-International Disaster and Famine Assistance, MRA-Migration and Refugee Assistance, AMIS-African Union Mission, PKO-Peacekeeping Operations, CIPA-Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities, DCP-Diplomatic and Consular Programs, ESF-Economic Support Fund.

Mexico and Central America²³

The emergency supplemental request includes \$550 million to meet the first installment of a reportedly \$1 billion-plus anti-narcotics package for the Mexico and Central America Security Initiative. Composed entirely of funds from the International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement Account (INCLE), the initiative is to address criminal gang and drug trafficking activities and to support improved justice systems and rule of law programs. Mexico would see \$500 million of the initial package for border security technology and transport for law enforcement and to improve judicial and prison systems. Countries in Central America would receive \$50 million to improve border security, deter the smuggling of drugs, arms, and persons, and improve the justice sector and gang prevention programs. Regular funding for Mexico totaled \$65.4 million in FY2007 and a requested \$45.1 million in FY2008. The countries of Central America received \$134.8 million in FY2007 and are proposed to receive \$146.5 million in FY2008.

West Bank and Gaza²⁴

The FY2008 emergency supplemental request includes \$375 million to support the Palestinian Authority (PA) government. The focus is on rule of law, economic growth, and governance issues. The supplemental request is in addition to \$77 million requested in the regular FY2008 budget and comes after a new PA government was formed without Hamas control. Consisting largely of ESF funds, \$40 million is to address governance issues, \$20 million would improve health care services, \$130 million is to support job creation, infrastructure, trade and investment, and agriculture programs, and \$150 million would consist of budget support in the form of a cash transfer. An additional \$25 million in INCLE funds would be used to train and equip the Presidential Guards and National Security Force, and \$35 million in MRA funds would be for Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Gaza and in refugee camps in Lebanon.

North Korea²⁵

The Administration proposes \$106 million in ESF funds for North Korea as a result of commitments made as part of the Six Party Talks. In February 2007, North Korea agreed to shut down and eventually abandon the Yongbyon nuclear facility, to allow International Atomic Energy Agency monitors back in the country and to disable all existing nuclear facilities. In return, the United States and other Six Party Talks members (South Korea, China, Russia and Japan) agreed to provide 1 million metric tons of heavy fuel oil, or the equivalent in other assistance, as North Korea

²³ Prepared by Connie Veillette, Specialist in Foreign Assistance. For more information, see CRS Report RL34215, *Mexico's Drug Cartels*, and CRS Report RL32724 *Mexico-U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress*.

²⁴ For more information, see CRS Report RL34074 *The Palestinian Territories: Background and U.S. Relations*, and CRS Report RS22370 *U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Palestinians*.

²⁵ For more information, see CRS Report RL33590 *North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Development and Diplomacy*.

meets its commitments. The U.S. share is one-quarter of the 1 million metric tons, or equivalent assistance. The total cost for the U.S. commitment is \$131 million. The President authorized \$25 million in FY2007 supplemental funds, leaving \$106 million that would be provided with the FY2008 supplemental funding.

Other Humanitarian Assistance²⁶

Although proposed aid packages for specific countries anticipate and identify some humanitarian needs, the Administration also seeks funding for what its claims are unmet or unforeseen humanitarian needs. Total funding is provided by account with details on countries and activities:

- \$350 million in additional P.L. 480 - Title II assistance to meet emergency food needs in the Darfur region of Sudan (\$75 million) and elsewhere worldwide, including places such as southern Africa (\$135 million), and the Horn of Africa and Kenya (\$110 million);
- Contingency funding (\$30 million) is requested for possible needs elsewhere, including West Bank/Gaza and South Asia;
- \$80 million for International Disaster and Famine Assistance (IDFA) to support humanitarian assistance to internally displaced populations in Iraq and their host communities; and
- \$230 million for Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) for anticipated and unanticipated refugee and migration emergencies. \$195 million is requested for humanitarian assistance to Iraqi refugees. (This is an increase of \$160 million for Iraqi refugees; \$35 million was requested in the earlier version of the FY2008 emergency supplemental request.) In addition, \$35 million is requested for the emergency needs of Palestinian refugees in Gaza and West Bank, and for Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

²⁶ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Specialist in International Humanitarian Policy.

Appendix A. FY2008 Emergency Supplemental Request, State Department and Foreign Operations

(millions of U.S. dollars)

Account	FY2008 Base Request	FY2008 Original Supp. Request	FY2008 Second Supp. Request	FY2008 Total Supp Funds	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds House	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds Senate	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds Final
State Department							
Diplomatic & Consular Programs	4,942.7	1,881.6	401.4	2,283.0	781.6		
Embassy Security, Construction, Maintenance	792.5	—	160.0	160.0	—		
Contributions to International Organizations	1,354.4	53.0	—	53.0	—		
Contributions to International Peacekeeping	1,107.0	—	723.6	723.6	468.0		
Board for International Broadcasting	618.8	—	—	—	12.0		
Total, State Department	8,196.6	1,934.6	1,285.0	3,219.6	1,261.6		

Account	FY2008 Base Request	FY2008 Original Supp. Request	FY2008 Second Supp. Request	FY2008 Total Supp Funds	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds House	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds Senate	FY08 Omnibus Supp Funds Final
Foreign Operations							
Economic Support Fund	3,319.6	1,111.0	1,106.0	2,217.0	542.6		
International Narcotics Control/Law Enforcement	634.6	159.0	575.0	734.0	—		
Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining	464.0	—	5.0	5.0	—		
Migration and Refugee Assistance	773.5	35.0	195.0	230.0	200.0		
International Disaster Assistance*	297.3	—	80.0	80.0	110.0		
USAID Operating Expenses	609.0	61.8	—	61.8	20.8		
Global Health/Child Survival	—	—	—	—	115.0		
Foreign Military Financing	—	—	—	—	100.0		
Peacekeeping Operations	—	—	—	—	35.0		
Total, Foreign Operations	6,098.0	1,366.8	1,961.0	3,327.8	1,123.4		
Total, State and Foreign Operations	14,294.6	3,301.4	3,246.0	6,547.4	2,385.0		
P.L. 480 Food Aid	1,319.4	—	350.0	350.0	—		

Notes: Table does not include all accounts in the State Department, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs appropriations bills. Accounts listed above are those for which emergency supplemental funds are requested.

* The International Disaster Assistance account was previously called International Disaster and Famine Assistance