

112TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 974

To direct the President to submit to Congress a report on the long-term costs of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and Operation Enduring Freedom in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 9, 2011

Mr. BRALEY of Iowa (for himself and Mr. JONES) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and in addition to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Veterans' 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

A BILL

To direct the President to submit to Congress a report on the long-term costs of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and Operation Enduring Freedom in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “True Cost of War Act
5 of 2011”.

1 **SEC. 2. REPORT ON LONG-TERM COSTS OF OPERATION**
2 **IRAQI FREEDOM AND OPERATION ENDURING**
3 **FREEDOM.**

4 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-
5 ings:

6 (1) The United States has been engaged in
7 military operations in Afghanistan since October
8 2001 as Operation Enduring Freedom and in mili-
9 tary operations in Iraq since March 2003 as Oper-
10 ation Iraqi Freedom and its successor contingency
11 operation, Operation New Dawn.

12 (2) According to the Congressional Research
13 Service, through fiscal year 2010, Congress has ap-
14 propriated \$1,087,000,000,000 for the Department
15 of Defense, for the State Department, and for med-
16 ical costs paid by the Department of Veterans Af-
17 fairs. This amount includes \$751,000,000,000 re-
18 lated to operations in Iraq and \$336,000,000,000
19 related to operations in Afghanistan.

20 (3) Over 90 percent of the funds appropriated
21 for the Department of Defense for operations in
22 Iraq and Afghanistan have been provided as supple-
23 mental or additional appropriations and designated
24 as an emergency funding requirement.

25 (4) The Congressional Budget Office and the
26 Congressional Research Service have stated that fu-

1 ture costs for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan
2 are difficult to estimate because the Department of
3 Defense provides little information on costs incurred
4 to date and does not report outlays or actual ex-
5 penditure for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan
6 (because war and baseline funds are mixed in the
7 same accounts) and because of a lack of information
8 from the Department of Defense on many of the key
9 factors that determine costs, including personnel lev-
10 els and the pace of operations.

11 (5) Over 2,000,000 members of the United
12 States Armed Forces have served in Afghanistan
13 and Iraq since the beginning of the conflicts.

14 (6) Over 4,400 members of the Armed Forces
15 and Department of Defense civilian personnel have
16 been killed in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and over
17 1,400 members of the Armed Forces and Depart-
18 ment of Defense civilian personnel have been killed
19 in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

20 (7) Over 1,620 members of the Armed Forces
21 have suffered amputations as a result of wounds or
22 other injuries incurred in Afghanistan or Iraq.

23 (8) More than 243,685 veterans of military
24 service in Iraq and Afghanistan have been treated
25 for mental health conditions, more than 66,900 of

1 these veterans have been diagnosed with post-trau-
2 matic stress disorder, and approximately 178,876 of
3 these veterans have a confirmed traumatic brain in-
4 jury diagnosis.

5 (9) Approximately 46 percent of veterans of
6 military service in Iraq and Afghanistan have sought
7 treatment at a Department of Veterans Affairs hos-
8 pital or medical clinic.

9 (10) The Independent Review Group on Reha-
10 bilitative Care and Administrative Processes at Wal-
11 ter Reed Army Medical Center and National Naval
12 Medical Center identified traumatic brain injury,
13 post-traumatic stress disorder, increased survival of
14 severe burns, and traumatic amputations as the four
15 signature wounds of the current conflicts, and the
16 Independent Review Group report states that the re-
17 covery process “can take months or years and must
18 accommodate recurring or delayed manifestations of
19 symptoms, extended rehabilitation and all the life
20 complications that emerge over time from such trau-
21 ma”.

22 (b) REPORT REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 90 days
23 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President,
24 with contributions from the Secretary of Defense, the Sec-
25 retary of State, and the Secretary of Veterans Affairs,

1 shall submit to Congress a report containing an estimate
2 of the long-term costs of Operation New Dawn (the suc-
3 cessor contingency operation to Operation Iraqi Freedom)
4 and Operation Enduring Freedom for each the following
5 scenarios:

6 (1) The scenario in which the number of mem-
7 bers of the Armed Forces deployed in support of Op-
8 eration New Dawn and Operation Enduring Free-
9 dom is reduced from roughly 190,000 in 2011 to
10 150,000 in 2012, 65,000 in 2013, and 30,000 by
11 the beginning of 2014, and remains at 30,000
12 through 2020.

13 (2) The scenario in which the number of mem-
14 bers of the Armed Forces deployed in support of Op-
15 eration New Dawn and Operation Enduring Free-
16 dom rises to approximately 235,000 in 2011, is re-
17 duced to 230,000 in 2012, 195,000 in 2013,
18 135,000 in 2014, 80,000 in 2015, 60,000 in 2016,
19 and remains at 60,000 through 2020.

20 (3) An alternative scenario, determined by the
21 President and based on current contingency oper-
22 ation and withdrawal plans, which takes into ac-
23 count expected force levels and the expected length
24 of time that members of the Armed Forces will be

1 deployed in support of Operation New Dawn and
2 Operation Enduring Freedom.

3 (c) ESTIMATES TO BE USED IN PREPARATION OF
4 REPORT.—In preparing the report required by subsection
5 (b), the President shall make estimates and projections
6 through at least fiscal year 2020, adjust any dollar
7 amounts appropriately for inflation, and take into account
8 and specify each of the following:

9 (1) The total number of members of the Armed
10 Forces expected to be deployed in support of Oper-
11 ation New Dawn and Operation Enduring Freedom,
12 including—

13 (A) the number of members of the Armed
14 Forces actually deployed in Southwest Asia in
15 support of Operation New Dawn and Operation
16 Enduring Freedom;

17 (B) the number of members of reserve
18 components of the Armed Forces called or or-
19 dered to active duty in the United States for
20 the purpose of training for eventual deployment
21 in Southwest Asia, backfilling for deployed
22 troops, or supporting other Department of De-
23 fense missions directly or indirectly related to
24 Operation New Dawn or Operation Enduring
25 Freedom; and

1 (C) the break-down of deployments of
2 members of the regular and reserve components
3 and activation of members of the reserve com-
4 ponents.

5 (2) The number of members of the Armed
6 Forces, including members of the reserve compo-
7 nents, who have previously served in support of Op-
8 eration Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, or Op-
9 eration Enduring Freedom and who are expected to
10 serve multiple deployments.

11 (3) The number of contractors and private mili-
12 tary security firms that have been used and are ex-
13 pected to be used during the course of Operation
14 Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and Oper-
15 ation Enduring Freedom.

16 (4) The number of veterans currently suffering
17 and expected to suffer from post-traumatic stress
18 disorder, traumatic brain injury, or other mental in-
19 juries.

20 (5) The number of veterans currently in need of
21 and expected to be in need of prosthetic care and
22 treatment because of amputations incurred during
23 service in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Op-
24 eration New Dawn, or Operation Enduring Free-
25 dom.

1 (6) The current number of pending Department
2 of Veterans Affairs claims from veterans of military
3 service in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the total num-
4 ber of such veterans expected to seek disability com-
5 pensation from the Department of Veterans Affairs.

6 (7) The total number of members of the Armed
7 Forces who have been killed or wounded in Iraq or
8 Afghanistan, including noncombat casualties, the
9 total number of members expected to suffer injuries
10 in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the total number of
11 members expected to be killed in Iraq and Afghani-
12 stan, including noncombat casualties.

13 (8) The amount of funds previously appro-
14 priated for the Department of Defense, the Depart-
15 ment of State, and the Department of Veterans Af-
16 fairs for costs related to Operation Iraqi Freedom,
17 Operation New Dawn, and Operation Enduring
18 Freedom, including an account of the amount of
19 funding from regular Department of Defense, De-
20 partment of State, and Department of Veterans Af-
21 fairs budgets that has gone and will go to costs asso-
22 ciated with such operations.

23 (9) Current and future operational expenditures
24 associated with Operation New Dawn and Operation
25 Enduring Freedom, including—

1 (A) funding for combat operations;

2 (B) deploying, transporting, feeding, and
3 housing members of the Armed Forces (includ-
4 ing fuel costs);

5 (C) activation and deployment of members
6 of the reserve components of the Armed Forces;

7 (D) equipping and training of Iraqi and
8 Afghani forces;

9 (E) purchasing, upgrading, and repairing
10 weapons, munitions, and other equipment con-
11 sumed or used in Operation Iraqi Freedom, Op-
12 eration New Dawn, or Operation Enduring
13 Freedom; and

14 (F) payments to other countries for
15 logistical assistance in support of such oper-
16 ations.

17 (10) Past, current, and future costs of entering
18 into contracts with private military security firms
19 and other contractors for the provision of goods and
20 services associated with Operation Iraqi Freedom,
21 Operation New Dawn, and Operation Enduring
22 Freedom.

23 (11) Average annual cost for each member of
24 the Armed Forces deployed in support of Operation
25 Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, or Operation

1 Enduring Freedom, including room and board,
2 equipment and body armor, transportation of troops
3 and equipment (including fuel costs), and oper-
4 ational costs.

5 (12) Current and future cost of combat-related
6 special pays and benefits, including reenlistment bo-
7 nuses.

8 (13) Current and future cost of calling or or-
9 dering members of the reserve components to active
10 duty in support of Operation New Dawn or Oper-
11 ation Enduring Freedom.

12 (14) Current and future cost for reconstruction,
13 embassy operations and construction, and foreign
14 aid programs for Iraq and Afghanistan.

15 (15) Current and future cost of bases and other
16 infrastructure to support members of the Armed
17 Forces serving in Iraq and Afghanistan.

18 (16) Current and future cost of providing
19 health care for veterans who served in support of
20 Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, or
21 Operation Enduring Freedom, including—

22 (A) the cost of mental health treatment for
23 veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress
24 disorder and traumatic brain injury, and other
25 mental problems as a result of such service; and

1 (B) the cost of lifetime prosthetics care
2 and treatment for veterans suffering from am-
3 putations as a result of such service.

4 (17) Current and future cost of providing De-
5 partment of Veterans Affairs disability benefits for
6 the lifetime of veterans who incur disabilities while
7 serving in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom, Op-
8 eration New Dawn, or Operation Enduring Free-
9 dom.

10 (18) Current and future cost of providing sur-
11 vivors' benefits to survivors of members of the
12 Armed Forces killed while serving in support of Op-
13 eration Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, or Op-
14 eration Enduring Freedom.

15 (19) Cost of bringing members of the Armed
16 Forces and equipment back to the United States
17 upon the conclusion of Operation New Dawn and
18 Operation Enduring Freedom, including the cost of
19 demobilization, transportation costs (including fuel
20 costs), providing transition services for members of
21 the Armed Forces transitioning from active duty to
22 veteran status, transporting equipment, weapons,
23 and munitions (including fuel costs), and an esti-
24 mate of the value of equipment that will be left be-
25 hind.

1 (20) Cost to restore the military and military
2 equipment, including the equipment of the reserve
3 components, to full strength after the conclusion of
4 Operation New Dawn or Operation Enduring Free-
5 dom.

6 (21) Amount of money borrowed to pay for Op-
7 eration Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and
8 Operation Enduring Freedom, and the sources of
9 that money.

10 (22) Interest on money borrowed, including in-
11 terest for money already borrowed and anticipated
12 interest payments on future borrowing, for Oper-
13 ation Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and Op-
14 eration Enduring Freedom.

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