### 117TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 29

To amend the War Powers Resolution, and for other purposes.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 8, 2021

Mr. Defazio (for himself, Mr. Rush, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Cicilline, Mr. Blumenauer, Mrs. Napolitano, Ms. Lee of California, Mr. Beyer, Ms. Schakowsky, Ms. Jackson Lee, and Mr. Grijalva) submitted the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

# **JOINT RESOLUTION**

To amend the War Powers Resolution, and for other purposes.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "War Powers Amend-
- 5 ments of 2021".
- 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.
- 7 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

- 1 (1) In response to unconstitutional executive 2 branch actions that introduced United States Forces 3 into hostilities without congressional authorization, 4 Congress passed the War Powers Resolution (50 5 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.) to clarify and strengthen its 6 constitutional war powers authorities.
  - (2) The War Powers Resolution remains a current and constitutionally valid law. The War Powers Resolution includes the authority of Congress to remove United States Armed Forces from unauthorized engagement in hostilities through adoption of a concurrent resolution or passage of a joint resolution.
  - (3) While Congress possesses robust war powers authorities under the Constitution and the War Powers Resolution, in many cases the executive branch has disregarded these authorities by introducing United States Forces into hostilities without congressional authorization.
- 20 (b) Purpose.—The purpose of this joint resolution 21 is to—
- 22 (1) reassert Congress' constitutional war pow-23 ers authorities, further strengthen the War Powers 24 Resolution, and end the current "forever wars" of 25 the United States; and

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1	(2) prevent the executive branch from intro-
2	ducing United States Forces into hostilities, with ex-
3	ceptions in the case of an armed attack upon or im-
4	minent threat to the United States, its Forces, or its
5	citizens overseas, without authorization from Con-
6	gress.
7	SEC. 3. REVISION OF WAR POWERS RESOLUTION.
8	The War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541–1548)
9	is amended by striking out all after the resolving clause
10	and inserting in lieu thereof the following:
11	"SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; PURPOSE; CONGRESSIONAL
12	LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.
13	"(a) Short Title.—This joint resolution may be
14	cited as the 'War Powers Resolution'.
14 15	cited as the 'War Powers Resolution'.  "(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this joint resolu-
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15 16 17	"(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this joint resolu- tion to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution
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15 16 17 18	"(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this joint resolution to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply
15 16 17 18 19	"(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this joint resolution to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to—
15 16 17 18 19 20	"(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this joint resolution to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and ensure that the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President will apply to—  "(1) the introduction of United States Forces

1	"(c) Congressional Legislative Authority.—
2	Among the powers granted to the Congress by the Con-
3	stitution are—
4	"(1) the power to declare war;
5	"(2) the power of the purse ('No Money shall
6	be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of
7	Appropriations made by Law'); and
8	"(3) the power to make all laws necessary and
9	proper for carrying into execution not only its own
10	powers but also all other powers vested by the Con-
11	stitution in the Government of the United States, or
12	in any department or officer thereof.
13	"SEC. 2. EMERGENCY USES OF UNITED STATES FORCES IN
10	
14	HOSTILITIES.
	HOSTILITIES.  "(a) IN GENERAL.—United States Forces may be in-
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14 15	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be in-
14 15 16	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:
14 15 16 17	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a
14 15 16 17 18	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.
14 15 16 17 18	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.  "(2) Specific statutory authorization.—
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.  "(2) Specific statutory authorization.—  "(A) In General.—In accordance with a
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.  "(2) Specific statutory authorization.—  "(A) In general.—In accordance with a specific statutory authorization described in
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	"(a) In General.—United States Forces may be introduced into hostilities only as follows:  "(1) Declaration of War.—Pursuant to a declaration of war by the Congress.  "(2) Specific statutory authorization.—  "(A) In General.—In accordance with a specific statutory authorization described in subparagraph (B).

1	into hostilities described in this subparagraph
2	shall—
3	"(i) provide for authorization of the
4	use of necessary and appropriate military
5	force with respect to such use of United
6	States Forces;
7	"(ii)(I) clearly define the threat that
8	necessitates use of such military force, the
9	mission and objectives that use of such
10	military force is authorized to achieve, and
11	identify each foreign country in which such
12	military force is authorized;
13	"(II) clearly define the parameters for
14	when use of such military force is no
15	longer necessary or appropriate; and
16	"(III) clearly and specifically identify
17	each foreign country and organized armed
18	group with respect to which such military
19	force will be used;
20	"(iii) require the President to seek
21	from the Congress a subsequent specific
22	statutory authorization for introduction of
23	United States Forces into hostilities—
24	"(I) if—

1	"(aa) the threat or mission
2	or objectives defined in clause
3	(ii)(I) or the list of foreign coun-
4	tries identified in such clause is
5	to be expanded;
6	"(bb) the parameters de-
7	fined in clause (ii)(II) are to be
8	expanded; or
9	"(cc) the list of foreign
10	countries or organized armed
11	groups identified in clause
12	(ii)(III) is to be expanded; and
13	"(II) which shall include updated
14	information to the information re-
15	quired by clause (ii); and
16	"(iv) provide for termination of the
17	authorization for such use of United States
18	Forces not later than the date that is 2
19	years after the date of the enactment of
20	such authorization unless the Congress en-
21	acts a joint resolution providing a subse-
22	quent specific authorization for such use of
23	United States Forces.
24	"(C) Rule of Construction.—Nothing
25	in subparagraph (B) may be construed to au-

1	thorize United States Forces to engage in hos-
2	tilities against any foreign country or organized
3	armed group that is not clearly and specifically
4	identified in clause (ii)(III) of such subpara-
5	graph.
6	"(3) Armed attack on united states.—To
7	the extent necessary and proportionate—
8	"(A) to repel an armed attack upon the
9	United States; or
10	"(B) to forestall the direct and imminent
11	threat of such an armed attack.
12	"(4) Armed attack on united states
13	FORCES.—To the extent necessary and propor-
14	tionate—
15	"(A) to repel an armed attack against
16	United States Forces located outside the United
17	States; or
18	"(B) to forestall the direct and imminent
19	threat of such an armed attack.
20	"(5) EVACUATION OF UNITED STATES CITI-
21	ZENS.—To the extent necessary to protect United
22	States citizens or nationals while evacuating them as
23	rapidly as possible from a situation, outside the
24	United States, that directly and imminently threat-
25	ens their lives or liberty and—

1	"(A) the threatened deprivation of life or
2	liberty is unlawful; and
3	"(B) in a case where the source of the
4	threat is within a foreign country, the threat is
5	supported by the government of that country or
6	the government of that country is unable or un-
7	willing to secure the release of the United
8	States citizens or nationals.
9	The President shall make every effort to terminate
10	any such threat through peaceful means without
11	using United States Forces. Before using United
12	States Forces to protect United States citizens or
13	nationals being evacuated from a foreign country in
14	accordance with this paragraph, the President shall,
15	where possible, obtain the consent of the government
16	of that country.
17	"(b) Conditions on Emergency Use of United
18	STATES FORCES.—Any use of United States Forces in ac-
19	cordance with paragraph (3), (4), or (5) of subsection
20	(a)—
21	"(1) is subject to the requirements of sections
22	3, 4, and 5; and
23	"(2) shall be limited, in terms of United States
24	Forces which are used and the manner in which they

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1	are used, to such use as is essential in order to
2	achieve the purpose described in that paragraph.
3	"(c) Funding Limitation.—Funds appropriated or
4	otherwise made available under any law may not be obli-
5	gated or expended for any introduction, other than an in-
6	troduction described in subsection (a), of United States
7	Forces into hostilities.
8	"SEC. 3. CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
9	CONGRESS.
10	"(a) Requirements for Consultation.—(1) The
11	President, in every possible instance, shall consult with the
12	Congress before United States Forces are introduced into
13	hostilities in accordance with paragraph (3), (4), or (5)
14	of section 2(a). After every such introduction, the Presi-
15	dent shall consult regularly with the Congress until United
16	States Forces are no longer in hostilities.
17	"(2) The President, in every possible instance, shall
18	consult with the Congress—
19	"(A) before United States Forces are intro-
20	duced into a foreign country while equipped for com-
21	bat, except for deployments which relate solely to
22	supply, replacement, repair, or training of such
23	forces; or

(B) before United States Forces are introduced into a foreign country in which there are al-

- 1 ready United States Forces equipped for combat if
- 2 such introduction would substantially enlarge the
- 3 number of United States Forces equipped for com-
- 4 bat located in that country or otherwise substantially
- 5 increase the military capabilities of such forces.
- 6 "(b) Executive-Legislative Consultative
- 7 Group.—The consultation required by subsection (a)
- 8 shall include participation by—
- 9 "(1) the President, the Secretary of State, the
- Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intel-
- ligence, the Director of National Intelligence, and
- those senior executive branch officials designated by
- the President;
- 14 "(2) the Speaker, the Minority leader and Ma-
- jority leader, the Majority whip and Minority whip,
- the chair and ranking member of the Committee on
- 17 Foreign Affairs, the chair and ranking member of
- the Committee on Armed Services, the chair and
- ranking member of the Permanent Select Committee
- on Intelligence of the House of Representatives, and
- any other Members of the House of Representatives
- designated by the Speaker or the Minority leader;
- 23 and
- "(3) the Majority and Minority leader, the Ma-
- jority whip and Minority whip, the chair and rank-

- 1 ing member of the Committee on Foreign Relations,
- 2 the chair and ranking member of the Committee on
- 3 Armed Services, the chair and ranking member of
- 4 the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate,
- 5 and any Senator designated by the Majority or Mi-
- 6 nority leader.
- 7 "(c) What Consultation Requires.—In order to
- 8 satisfy the consultation requirement of this section, the
- 9 President must ask Members of Congress for their advice
- 10 and opinions before the decision is made to introduce
- 11 United States Forces, and in no event later than 48 hours
- 12 prior to introduction of United States Forces. Such con-
- 13 sultation requires that all information relevant to the situ-
- 14 ation must be made available to the Members of Congress
- 15 being consulted. The consultation requirement of this sec-
- 16 tion is not met, however, if the Congress is merely in-
- 17 formed about the situation.
- 18 "SEC. 4. REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS.
- 19 "(a) Reporting Requirement.—The President
- 20 shall submit the report described in subsection (b) no later
- 21 than 48 hours after United States Forces are introduced
- 22 into hostilities in accordance with paragraph (3), (4), or
- 23 (5) of section 2(a).
- 24 "(b) Description of Report Required.—The re-
- 25 port required by subsection (a) is a written report sub-

- 1 mitted by the President to the Speaker and Minority
- 2 Leader of the House of Representatives, the President pro
- 3 tempore and Minority Leader of the Senate, and the Exec-
- 4 utive-Legislative consultative group described in section
- 5 3(b) on the same calendar day, setting forth—
- 6 "(1) the circumstances necessitating the intro-
- 7 duction of United States Forces;
- 8 "(2) the specific constitutional and legislative 9 authority under which such introduction took place;
- 10 "(3) the estimated scope and duration of the
- 11 hostilities or the involvement of United States
- Forces, as the case may be, and an identification of
- each foreign country and organized armed group
- against which United States Forces are engaged in
- hostilities, including the foreign countries and geo-
- 16 graphic locations of such hostilities; and
- 17 "(4) the estimated cost of the hostilities or the
- involvement of United States Forces, including the
- 19 cost of any other resources involved in supporting
- such Forces.
- 21 Any such report shall state expressly that it is being sub-
- 22 mitted pursuant to this section.
- 23 "(c) Additional Information.—The President
- 24 shall provide such other information as the Congress may
- 25 request in the fulfillment of its constitutional responsibil-

- 1 ities with respect to committing the Nation to war and
- 2 to the use of United States Forces abroad. The President
- 3 shall provide such information no later than 14 days after
- 4 the date on which the President receives such request from
- 5 the Congress.
- 6 "(d) Continuing Reports.—
- 7 "(1) In General.—Whenever United States 8 Forces are introduced into hostilities the President 9 shall, so long as United States Forces continue to be 10 involved in those hostilities, report to the Congress 11 periodically on the continued application of the mat-12 ters described in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) of 13 subsection (b), including the status of such hos-14 tilities, the scope and estimated duration of such 15 hostilities, and the estimated cost of such hostilities 16 or the involvement of United States Forces, but in 17 no event shall the President report to the Congress 18 less often than once every 30 days.
  - "(2) FORM.—The report required by this section, and particularly the matters described in subsection (b)(3) of the report, shall be submitted in unclassified form. The report may contain a classified annex.

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1	"SEC. 5. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WITH RESPECT TO HOS-
2	TILITIES.
3	"(a) Receipt of Section 4(a) Report.—Each re-
4	port submitted pursuant to section 4(a) shall be referred
5	to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-
6	resentatives and to the Committee on Foreign Relations
7	of the Senate for appropriate action. If, when the report
8	is transmitted, the Congress has adjourned sine die or has
9	adjourned for any period in excess of three calendar days,
10	the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the
11	President pro tempore of the Senate, if they deem it advis-
12	able (or if they are petitioned by at least 30 percent of
13	the membership of their respective Houses) shall jointly
14	request the President to convene the Congress in order
15	that it may consider the report and take appropriate ac-
16	tion pursuant to this section.
17	"(b) REQUIREMENT FOR SPECIFIC STATUTORY AU-
18	THORIZATION FOR CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT.—
19	"(1) In general.—Within 30 calendar days
20	after United States Forces are introduced into hos-
21	tilities in accordance with paragraph (3), (4), or (5)
22	of section 2(a), the President shall remove United
23	States Forces from those hostilities unless the Con-
24	gress—
25	"(A) has declared war;

1	"(B) has enacted a joint resolution pro-
2	viding specific authorization for such use of
3	United States Forces as described in paragraph
4	(2); or
5	"(C) is unable to meet as a result of an
6	armed attack upon the United States.
7	This 30-day period shall be extended for not more
8	than an additional 15 days if the President deter-
9	mines and certifies to the Congress in writing that
10	unavoidable military necessity respecting the safety
11	of United States Forces requires the continued use
12	of United States Forces in the course of bringing
13	about their prompt removal from hostilities.
14	"(2) Joint resolution described.—A joint
15	resolution providing specific authorization for such
16	use of United States Forces described in this para-
17	graph shall—
18	"(A) provide for authorization of the use of
19	necessary and appropriate military force with
20	respect to such use of United States Forces;
21	"(B)(i) clearly define the threat that neces-
22	sitates use of such military force, the mission
23	and objectives that use of such military force is
24	authorized to achieve, and identify each foreign

1	country in which such military force is author-
2	ized;
3	"(ii) clearly define the parameters for
4	when use of such military force is no longer
5	necessary or appropriate; and
6	"(iii) clearly and specifically identify each
7	foreign country and organized armed group
8	with respect to which such military force will be
9	used;
10	"(C) require the President to seek from
11	the Congress a subsequent specific statutory
12	authorization for introduction of United States
13	Forces into hostilities—
14	"(i) if—
15	"(I) the threat or mission or ob-
16	jectives defined in subparagraph
17	(B)(i) or the list of foreign countries
18	identified in such subparagraph is to
19	be expanded;
20	"(II) the parameters defined in
21	subparagraph (B)(ii) are to be ex-
22	panded; or
23	"(III) the list of foreign countries
24	or organized armed groups identified

1	in subparagraph (B)(iii) is to be ex-
2	panded; and
3	"(ii) which shall include updated in-
4	formation to the information required by
5	subparagraph (B); and
6	"(D) provide for termination of the author-
7	ization for such use of United States Forces not
8	later than the date that is 2 years after the
9	date of the enactment of such authorization un-
10	less the Congress enacts a joint resolution pro-
11	viding a subsequent specific authorization for
12	such use of United States Forces.
13	"(c) Funding Limitation.—Unless one of the num-
14	bered paragraphs of subsection (b) applies, after the expi-
15	ration of the period specified in that subsection (including
16	any extension of that period in accordance with that sub-
17	section), funds appropriated or otherwise made available
18	under any law may not be obligated or expended to con-
19	tinue the involvement of United States Forces in the hos-
20	tilities. This subsection does not, however, prohibit the use
21	of funds to remove United States Forces from hostilities.
22	"SEC. 6. CONGRESSIONAL EXPEDITED PROCEDURES.
23	"(a) Resolutions Subject to Procedures.—As
24	used in this section, the term 'privileged resolution' means
25	a joint resolution—

- 1 "(1) that provides specific authorization for the
- 2 use of United States Forces in hostilities, so long as
- 3 that resolution contains only provisions which are
- 4 relevant to those hostilities; and
- 5 "(2) that is introduced after the President has
- 6 submitted a written request to the Congress for en-
- 7 actment of such an authorization with respect to
- 8 those or related hostilities.
- 9 "(b) Procedure in House of Representa-
- 10 Tives.—(1) This subsection applies to the consideration
- 11 of a privileged resolution in the House of Representatives.
- 12 "(2) A privileged resolution introduced in the House
- 13 of Representatives shall be referred, upon introduction, to
- 14 the Committee on Foreign Affairs. A privileged resolution
- 15 shall not be sequentially referred.
- 16 "(3)(A) If, at the end of 10 calendar days after the
- 17 introduction of a privileged resolution, the Committee on
- 18 Foreign Affairs has not reported that resolution, that
- 19 committee shall be discharged from further consideration
- 20 of that resolution and that resolution shall be considered
- 21 a privileged resolution and placed on the appropriate cal-
- 22 endar of the House.
- 23 "(B) After a privileged resolution has been placed on
- 24 the appropriate calendar, no other resolution with respect
- 25 to the same or related hostilities may be reported by or

- 1 be discharged from any committee under this subsection
- 2 while the first resolution—
- 3 "(i) is before the House of Representatives (in-
- 4 cluding remaining on the calendar);
- 5 "(ii) is before the Senate (including remaining
- on the calendar) unless the Senate has had a vote
- 7 on final passage with respect to the resolution and
- 8 a majority of those voting did not vote in the affirm-
- 9 ative;
- "(iii) is before a committee of conference or
- otherwise awaiting disposition of amendments be-
- tween the Houses; or
- "(iv) is awaiting transmittal to the President or
- is before the President.
- 15 "(4)(A)(i) At any time after a privileged resolution
- 16 has been placed on the appropriate calendar, it is in order
- 17 for any Member of the House of Representatives to move
- 18 that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the
- 19 Whole House on the State of the Union for the consider-
- 20 ation of that resolution. The motion is highly privileged.
- 21 "(ii) The motion under clause (i) is in order even if
- 22 a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed
- 23 to.
- 24 "(B) All points of order against a privileged resolu-
- 25 tion and consideration of the resolution are waived. If the

- 1 motion under subparagraph (A) is agreed to, the privi-
- 2 leged resolution shall remain the unfinished business of
- 3 the House until disposed of, to the exclusion of all other
- 4 business, except as provided in paragraph (5)(A). A mo-
- 5 tion to reconsider the vote by which the motion described
- 6 in subparagraph (A) is disagreed to is not in order.
- 7 "(C) General debate on a privileged resolution shall
- 8 not exceed 4 hours, which shall be divided equally between
- 9 a Member favoring and a Member opposing the resolution.
- 10 "(D)(i) At the conclusion of general debate, a privi-
- 11 leged resolution shall be considered for amendment under
- 12 the 5-minute rule.
- 13 "(ii) Debate on all amendments shall not exceed 12
- 14 hours. After the expiration of that period, no further
- 15 amendments shall be in order.
- 16 "(iii) Except as provided in the next sentence, debate
- 17 on each amendment, and any amendments thereto, shall
- 18 not exceed one hour. If the Committee on Foreign Affairs
- 19 reports an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the
- 20 text of a privileged resolution, that amendment shall be
- 21 considered to be original text for purposes of amendment
- 22 and debate on each amendment to that amendment, and
- 23 any amendments thereto, shall not exceed one hour.
- 24 "(E) At the conclusion of consideration of amend-
- 25 ments to a privileged resolution, the Committee of the

1	Whole shall rise and report the resolution back to the
2	House, and the previous question shall be considered as
3	ordered on the resolution, with any amendments adopted
4	in the Committee of the Whole, to final passage without
5	intervening motion, except one motion to recommit with
6	or without instructions.
7	"(5)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), if,
8	before the passage by the House of Representatives of a
9	privileged resolution of the House, the House receives a
10	privileged resolution from the Senate with respect to the
11	same or related hostilities, then the following procedures
12	shall apply:
13	"(i) The resolution of the Senate shall not be
14	referred to a committee.
15	"(ii) With respect to the privileged resolution of
16	the House—
17	"(I) the procedure in the House shall be
18	the same as if no resolution had been received
19	from the Senate; but
20	"(II) the vote on final passage shall be on
21	the resolution of the Senate (if the resolutions
22	are identical), or on the resolution of the Senate
23	(if they are not identical) with the text of the
24	resolution of the House inserted in lieu of the
25	text of the resolution of the Senate; and the

- 1 vote on final passage shall occur without debate
- 2 or any intervening action.
- 3 "(iii) Upon disposition of a privileged resolution
- 4 received from the Senate, consideration of the privi-
- 5 leged resolution of the House shall no longer be priv-
- 6 ileged under this section.
- 7 "(B) If the House receives from the Senate a privi-
- 8 leged resolution before any privileged resolution is intro-
- 9 duced in the House with respect to the same or related
- 10 hostilities, then the resolution of the Senate shall be re-
- 11 ferred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the pro-
- 12 cedures in the House with respect to that resolution shall
- 13 be the same under this subsection as if the resolution re-
- 14 ceived had been introduced in the House.
- 15 "(C) If the House receives from the Senate a privi-
- 16 leged resolution after the House has disposed of an iden-
- 17 tical privileged resolution, it shall be in order to proceed
- 18 by a highly privileged, nondebatable motion to consider-
- 19 ation of the resolution of the Senate, and that resolution
- 20 shall be disposed of without debate and without amend-
- 21 ment.
- 22 "(6) A motion to disagree to amendments of the Sen-
- 23 ate to a privileged resolution of the House and request
- 24 or agree to a conference with the Senate, or a motion to
- 25 insist on the House amendments to a privileged resolution

- 1 of the Senate and request or agree to a conference of the
- 2 Senate, is highly privileged.
- 3 "(7)(A) If the conferees are unable to agree on resolv-
- 4 ing the differences between the two Houses with respect
- 5 to a privileged resolution within 72 hours after the second
- 6 House is notified that the first House has agreed to con-
- 7 ference, they shall report back to their respective House
- 8 in disagreement.
- 9 "(B) Notwithstanding any rule of the House of Rep-
- 10 resentatives concerning the printing of conference reports
- 11 in the Congressional Record or concerning any delay in
- 12 the consideration of such reports, a conference report with
- 13 respect to a privileged resolution, including a report filed
- 14 in disagreement, shall be acted on in the House of Rep-
- 15 resentatives not later than 2 session days after the first
- 16 House files the report or, in the case of the House acting
- 17 first, the report has been available for 2 hours. The con-
- 18 ference report (and any amendment reported in disagree-
- 19 ment) shall be deemed to have been read. Debate on such
- 20 a conference report shall be limited to 3 hours, equally
- 21 divided between, and controlled by the Majority Leader
- 22 and the Minority Leader (or their designees).
- 23 "(C) As used in subparagraph (B), the term 'session
- 24 day' means a day on which the House of Representatives
- 25 convenes.

"(8) This subsection is enacted by the House of Rep-1 resentatives— 2 3 "(A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House of Representatives, and as such it is 5 deemed a part of the Rules of the House, but appli-6 cable only with respect to the procedure to be fol-7 lowed in the House in the case of a privileged resolu-8 tion, and it supersedes other rules only to the extent 9 that it is inconsistent with such rules; and 10 "(B) with full recognition of the constitutional 11 right of the House to change its rules (so far as re-12 lating to the procedure of the House) at any time, 13 in the same manner, and to the same extent as in 14 the case of any other rule of the House. "(c) Procedures in the Senate.—(1) This sub-15 section applies to the consideration of a privileged resolu-16 17 tion in the Senate. 18 "(2) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'session days' means days on which the Senate is in session. 19 "(3) A privileged resolution introduced in the Senate 20 21 shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. 22 "(4)(A) If the Committee on Foreign Relations has 23 not reported a privileged resolution (or an identical resolution) at the end of 7 calendar days after the introduction

of that resolution, that committee shall be discharged from

- 1 further consideration of that resolution, and that resolu-
- 2 tion shall be placed on the appropriate calendar of the
- 3 Senate.
- 4 "(B) After a committee reports or is discharged from
- 5 a privileged resolution, no other resolution with respect to
- 6 the same or related hostilities may be reported by or be
- 7 discharged from such committee while the first resolu-
- 8 tion—
- 9 "(i) is before the Senate (including remaining
- on the calendar);
- "(ii) is before the House of Representatives (in-
- 12 cluding remaining on the calendar), unless the
- House has had a vote on final passage with respect
- to the resolution and a majority of those voting did
- 15 not vote in the affirmative;
- 16 "(iii) is before a committee of conference or
- otherwise awaiting disposition of amendments be-
- tween the Houses; or
- 19 "(iv) is awaiting transmittal to the President or
- is before the President.
- 21 "(5)(A)(i) When the committee to which a privileged
- 22 resolution is referred has reported, or has been discharged
- 23 under paragraph (4) from further consideration of that
- 24 resolution, it is at any time thereafter in order (even
- 25 though a previous motion to the same effect has been dis-

- 1 agreed to) for any Member of the Senate to move to pro-
- 2 ceed to the consideration of the resolution, notwith-
- 3 standing any rule or precedent of the Senate, including
- 4 Rule 22. Except as provided in clause (ii) of this subpara-
- 5 graph or subparagraph (B) of this paragraph (insofar as
- 6 it relates to germaneness and relevancy of amendments),
- 7 all points of order against a privileged resolution and con-
- 8 sideration of the resolution are waived. The motion is priv-
- 9 ileged and is not debatable. The motion is not subject to
- 10 a motion to postpone. A motion to reconsider the vote by
- 11 which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to shall be in
- 12 order, except that such motion may not be entered for fu-
- 13 ture disposition. If a motion to proceed to the consider-
- 14 ation of a privileged resolution is agreed to, the resolution
- 15 shall remain the unfinished business of the Senate, to the
- 16 exclusion of all other business, until disposed of, except
- 17 as otherwise provided in paragraph (6)(A).
- 18 "(ii) Whenever a point of order is raised in the Senate
- 19 against the privileged status of a resolution that has been
- 20 laid before the Senate and been initially identified as privi-
- 21 leged for consideration under this subsection upon its in-
- 22 troduction, such point of order shall be submitted directly
- 23 to the Senate. The point of order, 'The resolution is not
- 24 privileged under the War Powers Resolution', shall be de-
- 25 cided by the yeas and the nays after four hours of debate,

- 1 equally divided between, and controlled by, the Member
- 2 raising the point of order and the manager of the resolu-
- 3 tion, except that in the event the manager is in favor of
- 4 such point of order, the time in opposition thereto shall
- 5 be controlled by the Minority Leader or his designee. Such
- 6 point of order shall not be considered to establish prece-
- 7 dent for determination of future cases.
- 8 "(B)(i) Consideration in the Senate of a privileged
- 9 resolution, and all amendments and debatable motions in
- 10 connection therewith, shall be limited to not more than
- 11 12 hours, which, except as otherwise provided in this sub-
- 12 section, shall be equally divided between, and controlled
- 13 by, the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader, or by
- 14 their designees. The Majority Leader or the Minority
- 15 Leader or their designees may, from the time under their
- 16 control on the resolution, allot additional time to any Sen-
- 17 ator during the consideration of any amendment, debat-
- 18 able motion, or appeal.
- 19 "(ii) Only amendments which are germane and rel-
- 20 evant to a privileged resolution are in order.
- 21 "(iii) Debate on any amendment to a privileged reso-
- 22 lution shall be limited to two hours, except that this limita-
- 23 tion does not apply to an amendment in the nature of a
- 24 substitute to the text of the resolution that is reported

- 1 by the Committee on Foreign Relations. Debate on any
- 2 amendment to an amendment shall be limited to 1 hour.
- 3 "(iv) The time of debate for each amendment shall
- 4 be equally divided between, and controlled by, the mover
- 5 of the amendment and the manager of the resolution, ex-
- 6 cept that in the event the manager is in favor of any such
- 7 amendment, the time in opposition thereto shall be con-
- 8 trolled by the Minority Leader or his designee.
- 9 "(v) One amendment by the Minority Leader is in
- 10 order to be offered under a 1-hour time limitation imme-
- 11 diately following the expiration of the 12-hour time limita-
- 12 tion if the Minority Leader has had no opportunity prior
- 13 thereto to offer an amendment to the privileged resolution.
- 14 One amendment may be offered to the amendment of the
- 15 Minority Leader under the preceding sentence, and debate
- 16 shall be limited on such amendment to one-half hour which
- 17 shall be equally divided between, and controlled by, the
- 18 mover of the amendment and the manager of the resolu-
- 19 tion, except that in the event the manager is in favor of
- 20 any such amendment, the time in opposition thereto shall
- 21 be controlled by the Minority Leader or his designee.
- 22 "(vi) A motion to postpone or a motion to recommit
- 23 a privileged resolution is not in order. A motion to recon-
- 24 sider the vote by which a privileged resolution is agreed
- 25 to or disagreed to is in order, except that such motion

- 1 may not be entered for future disposition, and debate on
- 2 such motion shall be limited to 1 hour.
- 3 "(C) Whenever all the time for debate on a privileged
- 4 resolution has been used or yielded back, no further
- 5 amendments may be proposed, except as provided in sub-
- 6 paragraph (B)(iii), and the vote on the adoption of the
- 7 resolution shall occur without any intervening motion or
- 8 amendment, except that a single quorum call at the con-
- 9 clusion of the debate if requested in accordance with the
- 10 Rules of the Senate may occur immediately before such
- 11 vote.
- 12 "(D) Appeals from the decisions of the Chair relating
- 13 to the application of the Rules of the Senate to the proce-
- 14 dure relating to a privileged resolution shall be limited to
- 15 one-half hour of debate, equally divided between, and con-
- 16 trolled by, the Member making the appeal and the man-
- 17 ager of the resolution, except that in the event the man-
- 18 ager is in favor of any such appeal, the time in opposition
- 19 thereto shall be controlled by the Minority Leader or his
- 20 designee.
- 21 "(6)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), if,
- 22 before the passage by the Senate of a privileged resolution
- 23 of the Senate, the Senate receives a privileged resolution
- 24 from the House of Representatives with respect to the

1	same or related hostilities, then the following procedures
2	shall apply:
3	"(i) The privileged resolution of the House of
4	Representatives shall not be referred to a committee.
5	"(ii) With respect to the privileged resolution of
6	the Senate—
7	"(I) the procedure in the Senate shall be
8	the same as if no resolution had been received
9	from the House of Representatives; but
10	"(II) the resolution of the House of Rep-
11	resentatives shall be considered to have been
12	read for the third time; the vote on final pas-
13	sage shall be on the resolution of the House of
14	Representatives (if such resolutions are iden-
15	tical) or on the resolution of the House of Rep-
16	resentatives (if not identical), with the text of
17	the resolution of the Senate inserted in lieu of
18	the text of the resolution of the House of Rep-
19	resentatives; and such vote on final passage
20	shall occur without debate or any intervening
21	action.
22	"(iii) Upon disposition of a privileged resolution
23	received from the House of Representatives, it shall
24	no longer be in order to consider the resolution origi-
25	nated in the Senate.

- 1 "(B) If the Senate receives a privileged resolution
- 2 from the House of Representatives before any privileged
- 3 resolution is introduced in the Senate with respect to the
- 4 same or related hostilities, then the resolution received
- 5 shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations,
- 6 and the procedures in the Senate with respect to that reso-
- 7 lution shall be the same under this section as if the resolu-
- 8 tion received had been introduced in the Senate.
- 9 "(7) If the Senate receives a privileged resolution
- 10 from the House of Representatives after the Senate has
- 11 disposed of an identical privileged resolution, it shall be
- 12 in order to proceed by nondebatable motion to consider-
- 13 ation of the resolution received by the Senate, and that
- 14 resolution shall be disposed of without debate and without
- 15 amendment.
- "(8)(A)(i) The time for debate in the Senate on all
- 17 motions required for the disposition of amendments be-
- 18 tween the Houses shall not exceed 2 hours, equally divided
- 19 between, and controlled by, the mover of the motion and
- 20 the manager of the resolution at each stage of the pro-
- 21 ceedings between the two Houses, except that in the event
- 22 the manager is in favor of any such motion, the time in
- 23 opposition thereto shall be controlled by the Minority
- 24 Leader or his designee. In the case of any disagreement
- 25 between the two Houses of Congress with respect to a

- 1 privileged resolution which is not resolved, any Senator
- 2 may make any motion or motions referred to in this clause
- 3 within 2 session days after action by the second House
- 4 or before the appointment of conferees, whichever comes
- 5 first.
- 6 "(ii) In the event the conferees are unable to agree
- 7 within 72 hours after the second House is notified that
- 8 the first House has agreed to conference, they shall report
- 9 back to their respective House in disagreement.
- 10 "(iii) Notwithstanding any rule in the Senate con-
- 11 cerning the printing of conference reports in the Congres-
- 12 sional Record or concerning any delay in the consideration
- 13 of such reports, such report, including a report filed or
- 14 returned in disagreement, shall be acted on in the Senate
- 15 not later than 2 session days after the first House files
- 16 the report or, in the case of the Senate acting first, the
- 17 report is first made available on the desks of the Senators.
- 18 Debate in the Senate on a conference report or a report
- 19 filed or returned in disagreement on any such resolution
- 20 shall be limited to 3 hours, equally divided between, and
- 21 controlled by, the Majority Leader and the Minority Lead-
- 22 er, and their designees.
- 23 "(B) If a privileged resolution is vetoed by the Presi-
- 24 dent, the time for debate in consideration of the veto mes-
- 25 sage on such measure shall be limited to 20 hours in the

- 1 Senate, equally divided between, and controlled by, the
- 2 Majority Leader and the Minority Leader, and their des-
- 3 ignees.
- 4 "(9) This subsection is enacted by the Senate—
- 5 "(A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of
- 6 the Senate, as such it is deemed a part of the Rules
- 7 of the Senate but applicable only with respect to the
- 8 procedure to be followed in the Senate in the case
- 9 of a privileged resolution, and it supersedes other
- rules only to the extent that it is inconsistent with
- 11 such rules; and
- 12 "(B) with full recognition of the constitutional
- right of the Senate to change its rules (so far as re-
- lating to the procedure of the Senate) at any time,
- in the same manner, and to the same extent as in
- the case of any other rule of the Senate.

### 17 "SEC. 7. JUDICIAL REVIEW.

- 18 "(a) Standing of Members of Congress.—Any
- 19 Member of Congress may bring an action in the United
- 20 States District Court for the District of Columbia for de-
- 21 claratory judgment and injunctive relief on the ground
- 22 that the President or United States Forces have not com-
- 23 plied with any provision of this joint resolution.
- 24 "(b) Justiciability.—In any action described in
- 25 subsection (a), the court shall not decline to make a deter-

- 1 mination on the merits on the ground that the issue of
- 2 compliance is a political question or is otherwise nonjus-
- 3 ticiable.
- 4 "(c) Congressional Intent.—Notwithstanding the
- 5 number, position, or party affiliation of any plaintiffs in
- 6 an action described in subsection (a), it is the intent of
- 7 the Congress that the court—
- 8 "(1) infer congressional disapproval of the in-
- 9 volvement of United States Forces in hostilities; and
- 10 "(2) find that an impasse exists between the
- 11 Congress and the executive branch which requires
- judicial resolution.
- 13 "(d) Expedited Consideration.—Any court in
- 14 which an action described in subsection (a) is heard shall
- 15 accord such action the highest priority and shall announce
- 16 its judgment as speedily as the requirements of article III
- 17 of the Constitution permit.
- 18 "(e) Judicial Remedy.—(1) If the court in an ac-
- 19 tion described in subsection (a) finds that the President
- 20 has failed to submit a report required by section 4(a) of
- 21 this joint resolution, the court shall—
- 22 "(A) direct the President to submit that report;
- 23 and
- 24 "(B) specify the date on which United States
- Forces were introduced into hostilities.

- 1 "(2) If the court in an action described in subsection
- 2 (a) finds that section 2 or section 5(b) of this joint resolu-
- 3 tion has been violated, the court shall direct the President
- 4 to remove United States Forces from the hostilities.
- 5 United States Forces shall be removed pursuant to the
- 6 court's order—
- 7 "(A) immediately; or
- 8 "(B) if the President determines and certifies
- 9 to the Congress in writing that unavoidable military
- 10 necessity respecting the safety of United States
- 11 Forces requires the continued use of United States
- Forces in the course of bringing about their prompt
- removal from hostilities, within a period not to ex-
- ceed 30 days after the order is issued.
- 15 "(f) APPEALS.—Any judgment in an action described
- 16 in subsection (a) shall be directly appealable to the United
- 17 States Supreme Court.
- 18 "SEC. 8. RULES OF INTERPRETATION.
- 19 "(a) OTHER STATUTES AND TREATIES.—Authority
- 20 to introduce United States Forces into hostilities shall not
- 21 be inferred—
- 22 "(1) from any provision of law (including any
- provision in effect before the date of enactment of
- 24 this joint resolution), including any provision con-
- 25 tained in any appropriation Act, unless that provi-

- 1 sion specifically authorizes the introduction of
- 2 United States Forces into hostilities and states that
- 3 it is intended to constitute specific statutory author-
- 4 ization within the meaning of this joint resolution;
- 5 or
- 6 "(2) from any treaty heretofore or hereafter
- 7 ratified unless that treaty is implemented by legisla-
- 8 tion specifically authorizing the introduction of
- 9 United States Forces into hostilities and stating that
- it is intended to constitute specific statutory author-
- ization within the meaning of this joint resolution.
- 12 "(b) Congressional Action or Inaction.—The
- 13 failure of the Congress to adopt a measure—
- "(1) terminating, limiting, or prohibiting the in-
- 15 volvement of United States Forces in hostilities; or
- 16 "(2) finding that the President or United
- 17 States Forces are acting in violation of this joint
- 18 resolution,
- 19 may not be construed as indicating congressional author-
- 20 ization or approval of, or acquiescence in, the involvement
- 21 of United States Forces in any hostilities or as a finding
- 22 by the Congress that such involvement is consistent with
- 23 this joint resolution.

### 1 "SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.

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2 "For purposes of this joint resolution, the following 3 definitions apply:

"(1) Hostilities.—The term 'hostilities' includes any situation involving any use of direct or indirect, lethal or potentially lethal force by United States Forces against regular or irregular military forces or against any military or civilian target, irrespective of the domain, including armed conflict, intelligence sharing, mid-air refueling, cyber attacks, targeting assistance, acts that violate the sovereignty of a foreign country, and purposeful destruction of property considered to be an exercise of use of force, irrespective of whether such force is offensive or defensive, kinetic or non-kinetic, or deployed remotely, the intermittency, intensity, or severity of such force, the scope of the mission or objectives, or the extent to which the mission exposes United States Forces to risk of casualty or the risk of escalation.

- "(2) Imminent.—The term 'imminent', with respect to a threat of an attack, means the threat is instant, overwhelming, and leaves no choice of means and no moment for deliberation.
- 24 "(3) Introduce.—The term 'introduce' includes—

"(A) any commitment, engagement, deployment, or other involvement of United States Forces in hostilities, including the taking of self-defense measures by United States Forces in response to an attack, threatened attack, or imminent threat of attack in any foreign country, irrespective of whether United States Forces are present or operating launched, piloted, or other remotely directed weapons systems from a non-battlefield location; and

"(B) the assigning or detailing of members of United States Forces to command, coordinate, advise, assist, participate in the movement of, accompany, provide intelligence, or provide logistical or material support or training for any foreign regular or irregular military or police forces, including state actors or organized armed groups, if those forces are involved in hostilities (regardless of whether those hostilities involve insurgent forces of the military forces of a foreign country).

"(4) Training.—The term 'training' has the meaning given the term 'military education and training' in section 644 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2403), but does not include

1	training that is comprised entirely of observance of
2	and respect for the law of armed conflict, human
3	rights, and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law
4	or civilian control of the military.
5	"(5) United States; Country.—The terms
6	'United States' and 'foreign country', when used in
7	a geographic sense—
8	"(A) mean the territory, airspace, or
9	waters of the United States or the foreign coun-
10	try; and
11	"(B) includes territories and possessions.
12	"(6) United States forces.—The term
13	'United States Forces'—
14	"(A) means the armed forces (as such
15	term is defined in section 101(a)(4) of title 10
16	United States Code) and includes persons em-
17	ployed by, or under contract to, or under the di-
18	rection of any department or agency of the
19	United States Government; and
20	"(B) includes capabilities established, di-
21	rected, or otherwise used by such armed forces
22	or persons that produces or results in an effect
23	or condition designed to accomplish a military
24	objective.

## 1 "SEC. 10. SEPARABILITY CLAUSE.

- 2 "If any provision of this joint resolution or the appli-
- 3 cation thereof to any person or circumstance is held in-
- 4 valid, the remainder of the joint resolution and the appli-
- 5 cation of such provision to any other person or cir-
- 6 cumstance shall not be affected thereby.".

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