117TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 5410

To provide for clarification and limitations with respect to the exercise of national security powers, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 29, 2021

Mr. McGovern (for himself, Mr. Meijer, Mr. Defazio, Ms. Mace, Ms. Lee of California, Mr. Castro of Texas, and Mr. Lieu) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, and 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

A BILL

To provide for clarification and limitations with respect to the exercise of national security powers, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "National Security Reforms and Accountability Act".
- 6 (b) Table of Contents.—The table of contents for
- 7 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I— WAR POWERS REFORM

- Sec. 101. Short title.
- Sec. 102. Purpose and policy.
- Sec. 103. Consultation and notification.
- Sec. 104. Specific statutory authorization required.
- Sec. 105. Congressional priority procedures for joint resolution.
- Sec. 106. Interpretation of joint resolution.
- Sec. 107. Judicial review.
- Sec. 108. Termination of funding; termination of use of military force.
- Sec. 109. Law of Armed Conflict, international humanitarian law, and the treatv obligations of the United States.
- Sec. 110. Definitions.

TITLE II—ARMS EXPORT REFORM

- Sec. 201. Short title.
- Sec. 202. Congressional review and approval of certain sales, exports, leases, and loans of defense articles and services.
- Sec. 203. Prohibition on transfer of defense articles and defense services to countries that commit genocide or violations of international humanitarian law.

TITLE III—NATIONAL EMERGENCIES REFORM ACT

- Sec. 301. Short title.
- Sec. 302. Congressional review of national emergencies.
- Sec. 303. Reporting requirements.
- Sec. 304. Disclosures to Congress of presidential documents relating to emergency actions.
- Sec. 305. Conforming amendments.
- Sec. 306. Effective date; applicability.

1 TITLE I— WAR POWERS REFORM

- 2 SEC. 101. SHORT TITLE.
- This title may be cited as the "War Powers Resolu-
- 4 tion Modernization and Accountability Act".
- 5 SEC. 102. PURPOSE AND POLICY.
- 6 Section 2 of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C.
- 7 1541) is amended—
- 8 (1) in subsection (a), by striking "imminent in-
- 9 volvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the

1	circumstances" and inserting "there is a serious risk
2	of hostilities";
3	(2) in subsection (b), by inserting "declare war,
4	exercise enumerated war powers, and" after "Con-
5	gress shall have the power to"; and
6	(3) in subsection (c)—
7	(A) in the matter preceding paragraph
8	(1)—
9	(i) by striking "powers" and inserting
10	"authority"; and
11	(ii) by striking "imminent involvement
12	in hostilities is clearly indicated by the cir-
13	cumstances" and inserting "there is a seri-
14	ous risk of hostilities"; and
15	(B) by amending paragraph (3) to read as
16	follows: "(3) when necessary to repel a sudden
17	attack, or respond to a concrete, specific, and
18	immediate threat of such a sudden attack upon
19	the United States, its territories or possessions,
20	United States forces, or United States citi-
21	zens.''.
22	SEC. 103. CONSULTATION AND NOTIFICATION.
23	Section 3 of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C.
24	1542) is amended—

1	(1) in the section heading, by inserting "AND
2	NOTIFICATION" after "CONSULTATION";
3	(2) by striking "The President" and inserting
4	"(a) The President";
5	(3) by inserting ", including with the appro-
6	priate congressional committees and leadership,"
7	after "consult with Congress";
8	(4) by striking "imminent involvement in hos-
9	tilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances" and
10	inserting "there is a serious risk of hostilities";
11	(5) by striking "until United States Armed
12	Forces" and inserting ", including submitting to the
13	appropriate congressional committees and leadership
14	any and all information and materials relied on to
15	justify the decision to introduce and continue the de-
16	ployment of United States forces, until such forces";
17	and
18	(6) by adding at the end the following:
19	"(b) The President shall notify the Congress, includ-
20	ing the appropriate congressional committees and leader-
21	ship—
22	"(1) before United States forces are introduced
23	into the territory, airspace, or waters of a foreign
24	country while equipped for combat, except with re-

- spect to deployments that relate solely to supply, re-
- 2 placement, repair, or training of such forces; and
- 3 "(2) before United States forces are introduced
- 4 into the territory, airspace, or waters of a foreign
- 5 country in which there are already United States
- 6 forces equipped for combat if the introduction of
- 7 such forces would substantially enlarge the overall
- 8 number of United States forces equipped for combat
- 9 located in that country or otherwise substantially in-
- 10 crease the military capabilities of United States
- 11 forces.
- 12 "(c) In the event that circumstances prohibit the no-
- 13 tification required by subsection (b) prior to the introduc-
- 14 tion of United States forces, the President shall provide
- 15 such notification not later than 48 hours after such intro-
- 16 duction, including an explanation of why it could not be
- 17 offered prior to such introduction.
- 18 "(d) The notification required by subsection (b) or
- 19 (c) shall include, at a minimum, the circumstances necessi-
- 20 tating the introduction of United States forces, the statu-
- 21 tory or constitutional authority for such introduction, and
- 22 the expected scope and duration of the use of such
- 23 forces.".

1	SEC. 104	4. SPECIFIC	STATUTORY	AUTHORIZATION	RE-
2		QUIRED	•		
3	The	e War Powers	s Resolution (5	60 U.S.C. 1541 et s	seq.)
4	is amend	led—			
5		(1) by strik	ing sections 4,	5, 6, and 7;	
6		(2) by rede	esignating sec	tions 8, 9, and 10	0 as
7	sect	tions 6, 11, a	and 12, respect	ively; and	
8		(3) by inser	cting after sect	ion 3 the following	r:
9	"SPE	CIFIC STATU	TORY AUTHOR	IZATION REQUIREI)
10	"SE	EC. 4. (a) In	the absence o	f a declaration of	war,
11	and exce	ept as provid	ded in subsect	ion (b), United St	tates
12	forces m	ay be introdu	aced into hosti	lities or into situat	tions
13	where th	nere is a seri	ious risk of ho	estilities only if, be	efore
14	introduc	ing such forc	es—		
15		"(1) the P	resident subm	its to the appropr	riate
16	con	gressional co	ommittees and	l leadership an ir	nitial
17	repo	ort in accord	dance with the	e requirements of	sub-
18	sect		or the use of su	ich forces; and	
19		"(2) the C	Congress enact	s a specific statu	ıtory
20	autl	horization for	r the use of su	ch forces.	
21	"(b)	(1) In the a	bsence of a dec	claration of war, in	any
22	case in w	which United	States forces a	are introduced into	hos-
23	tilities o	r into situat	ions where the	ere is a serious ris	sk of
24	hostilitie	es			
25		"(A) when	necessary to	repel a sudden att	tack,
26	or	respond to	a concrete, sp	pecific, and immed	diate

1	threat of such a sudden attack, upon the territory,
2	airspace, or waters of the United States, United
3	States forces, or United States citizens; and
4	"(B) the time required to obtain prior specific
5	statutory authorization for the use of such forces as
6	required under subsection (a) would prevent an ef-
7	fective defense against the attack or threat of at-
8	tack,
9	the President shall, not later than 48 hours after ordering
10	the use of such forces, inform the appropriate congres-
11	sional committees and leadership of the President's deci-
12	sion and describe the use of such forces, the justification
13	for the use of such forces without prior specific statutory
14	authorization, and certify whether hostilities have con-
15	cluded or are continuing.
16	"(2)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), not
17	later than seven calendar days after ordering the use of
18	United States forces as described in paragraph (1), the
19	President shall submit to the appropriate congressional
20	committees and leadership—
21	"(i) a request for specific statutory authoriza-
22	tion for the use of such forces; and
23	"(ii) a report that meets the requirements of

subsection (d)(1)(B).

- 1 "(B) The requirement to submit a request for specific
- 2 statutory authorization for the use of United States forces
- 3 under subparagraph (A) shall not apply in any case in
- 4 which the President—
- 5 "(i) has withdrawn, removed, or otherwise
- 6 ceased the use of such forces; and
- 7 "(ii) has certified to the appropriate congres-
- 8 sional committees and leadership that the President
- 9 does not anticipate introducing United States forces
- into hostilities or into situations where there is a se-
- 11 rious risk of hostilities for a substantially similar
- purpose.
- "(c)(1) If the Congress does not enact a specific stat-
- 14 utory authorization for the use of United States forces
- 15 under subsection (b) within 20 days of the introduction
- 16 of such forces into hostilities or a situation where there
- 17 is a serious risk hostilities, the President shall withdraw,
- 18 remove, or otherwise cease the use of such forces.
- 19 "(2) The 20-day period described in paragraph (1)
- 20 shall be extended for not more than an additional 10 days
- 21 if the President determines and certifies to the Congress
- 22 in writing that unavoidable military necessity respecting
- 23 the safety of such forces requires the continued use of
- 24 such forces for the sole purpose of bringing about the safe
- 25 removal of such forces.

1 "(d)(1)(A) If the Congress does enact a specific stat-2 utory authorization for the use of United States forces under subsection (a) or (b), the President shall submit to 3 4 the appropriate congressional committees and leadership 5 a report in writing on the use of such forces— 6 "(i) not less frequently than every 30 days; 7 and "(ii) as new information becomes available 8 9 or whenever there is a material change in the 10 information previously reported under this 11 paragraph. "(B) The report required by subparagraph (A) shall, 12 with respect to each use of United States forces, include 13 14 the following: "(i) The circumstances necessitating the use of 15 16 such forces. 17 "(ii) An identification of enemy and opposing 18 forces. 19 "(iii) The specific United States constitutional 20 and statutory authorities and international law au-21 thorities for the use of such forces with respect to 22 each enemy and opposing force identified pursuant 23 to clause (ii), including an explanation of whether 24 the use of such forces is consistent with existing 25 United States international legal obligations.

1	"(iv) The total cost of the use of such forces
2	since the introduction of such forces into hostilities
3	or into situations where there is a serious risk of
4	hostilities.
5	"(v) The estimated scope and duration of the
6	use of such forces, including the personnel and
7	weapons to be deployed.
8	"(vi) The country or countries in which such
9	forces are deployed.
10	"(vii) A description of—
11	"(I) the mission of such forces;
12	"(II) the outcomes or benchmarks that
13	would indicate the mission is complete; and
14	"(III) the length of time it is expected to
15	take to meet the objectives of the mission.
16	"(viii) An identification of United States allied
17	or partner forces or multilateral organizations that
18	are or may be involved in the deployment.
19	"(ix) The risk to United States persons or
20	property involved in the deployment.
21	"(x) Any other information as may be required
22	to fully inform Congress.
23	"(C) The report required by subparagraph (A)—

1	"(i) shall be submitted in unclassified form
2	without any designation relating to dissemination
3	control; and
4	"(ii) may include a classified annex only to the
5	extent required to protect the national security of
6	the United States.
7	"(2) If the Congress does enact a specific statutory
8	authorization for the use of United States forces under
9	subsection (a) or (b), the Director of the Congressional
10	Budget Office shall submit to the appropriate congres-
11	sional committees and leadership—
12	"(A) a report in writing that contains an anal-
13	ysis and estimate of the costs of such use of forces
14	not less frequently than every 180 days until termi-
15	nation of the specific statutory authorization; and
16	"(B) a report in writing that contains a final
17	analysis of the costs of such use of forces not later
18	than 30 days after the date of termination of the
19	specific statutory authorization.
20	"(e) In the event hostilities in which United States
21	forces are engaged extend to a country, organization, or
22	enemy or opposing force that is not identified in a specific
23	statutory authorization pursuant to which United States
24	forces are operating—

- "(1) such extension shall be deemed to constitute a separate introduction of United States forces into hostilities within the meaning of section and this section, including with respect to the limitations and consultation, notification, and reporting requirements described in such sections; and
- "(2) such forces may continue to engage in 8 such hostilities only if a new specific statutory au-9 thorization is enacted into law in accordance with 10 subsection (a) or (b), as applicable, with respect to 11 such country, organization, or enemy or opposing 12 force.
- 13 "(f)(1) Notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b), at any time during which United States forces are engaged 14 15 in hostilities without a declaration of war or pursuant to a specific statutory authorization under subsection (a) or 16 17 (b) before the expiration of the time period specified in paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (c), as applicable, such 18 19 forces shall be removed by the President if the Congress 20 enacts a joint resolution directing the President to so re-21 move such forces.
- "(2) The expedited procedures described in section 5 23 shall apply with respect to a joint resolution described in 24 this subsection.".

1	SEC. 105. CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES FOR
2	JOINT RESOLUTION.
3	The War Powers Resolution, as amended by this Act,
4	is further amended by inserting after section 4 the fol-
5	lowing:
6	"CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES FOR JOINT
7	RESOLUTION
8	"Sec. 5. (a) Any joint resolution introduced to pro-
9	vide specific statutory authorization under section $4(a)$ or
10	under section 4(b) before the expiration of the time period
11	specified in paragraph (1) or (2) of section 4(c) shall be
12	referred to the committee of jurisdiction of the House of
13	Representatives or of the Senate, as applicable, and such
14	committee shall report one such joint resolution, together
15	with its recommendations. If a committee of the House
16	to which such joint resolution has been referred has not
17	reported it, within 10 legislative days in the House of Rep-
18	resentatives or 10 session days in the Senate after the date
19	of referral, that committee shall be discharged from fur-
20	ther consideration.
21	"(b) In the House of Representatives:
22	"(1) Between the third legislative day and the
23	13th legislative day after the committee of jurisdic-
24	tion reports the joint resolution to the House or has
25	been discharged from further consideration thereof,
26	it shall be in order for the chair of the committee

- of jurisdiction (or a designee) or the sponsor of such joint resolution (or a designee) to announce his or her intent to offer a motion to proceed and to move to proceed to consider the joint resolution, except that the chair of the committee (or a designee) shall have priority in recognition to offer the motion followed by the sponsor.
 - "(2) All points of order against such motion are waived, except that such a motion shall not be in order after the House has disposed of the same joint resolution. A motion to proceed to consider any other joint resolution introduced to provide specific statutory authorization under section 4(a) or under section 4(b) authorizing the use of United States forces for the same purpose as the joint resolution described in preceding sentence shall not be in order after a motion to proceed on the joint resolution described in the preceding sentence has been offered.
 - "(3) Such motion to proceed shall be scheduled within two legislative days after the date of such announcement.
 - "(4) The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the motion to its adoption without intervening motion except 20 minutes of debate equally divided and controlled by a proponent and an op-

- ponent. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is disposed of shall not be in order. The motion to proceed shall be subject to a motion to table.
 - "(5) Upon adoption of the motion to proceed, such joint resolution shall be considered as read. All points of order against such joint resolution, and against its consideration, are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on such joint resolution to final passage without intervening motion, except that two hours of debate shall be equally divided and controlled by—
 - "(A) the chair of the committee of jurisdiction (or a designee) and the ranking member of that committee (or a designee); or
 - "(B) if the sponsor of the such joint resolution made the motion to proceed, the sponsor (or a designee) and an opponent.
 - "(6) A motion to reconsider the vote on passage of such joint resolution shall not be in order.

20 "(c) In the Senate—

"(1) Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, it is in order at any time after the Committee on Foreign Relations reports such joint resolution to the Senate or has been discharged from its consideration (even though a pre-

vious motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of such joint resolution, and all points of order against such joint resolution or against its consideration, are waived. The motion to proceed is not debatable. The motion is not subject to a motion to postpone. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to shall not be in order. If a motion to proceed to the consideration of such joint resolution is agreed to, the joint resolution shall remain the unfinished business until disposed of.

"(2) Debate on such joint resolution, and on all debatable motions and appeals in connection therewith, shall be limited to not more than 10 hours, which shall be divided equally between the majority and minority leaders or their designees. A motion to further limit debate is in order and not debatable. An amendment to, or a motion to postpone, or a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business, or a motion to recommit the joint resolution is not in order.

"(3) The vote on passage shall occur immediately following the conclusion of the debate on such joint resolution and a single quorum call at the

1	conclusion of the debate, if requested in accordance
2	with the rules of the Senate.
3	"(4) Appeals from the decisions of the Chair re-
4	lating to the application of the rules of the Senate,
5	as the case may be, to the procedure relating to such
6	joint resolution shall be decided without debate.
7	"(5) Debate in the Senate of any veto message
8	with respect to such resolution, including all debat-
9	able motions and appeals in connection with such
10	resolution, shall be limited to 10 hours, to be equally
11	divided between, and controlled by, the majority
12	leader and the minority leader or their designees.
13	"(d)(1) If, before passage by one House of a joint
14	resolution of that House, that House receives a joint reso-
15	lution to provide specific statutory authorization from the
16	other House, then the following procedures shall apply:
17	"(A) The joint resolution of the other House
18	shall not be referred to a committee.
19	"(B) With respect to the joint resolution of the
20	House receiving the legislation—
21	"(i) the procedure in that House shall be
22	the same as if no joint resolution had been re-
23	ceived from the other House; but
24	"(ii) the vote on passage shall be on the
25	joint resolution of the other House.

- 1 "(2) If one House fails to introduce a joint resolution
- 2 to provide specific statutory authorization under section
- 3 4(a) or under section 4(b), the joint resolution of the other
- 4 House shall be entitled to expedited floor procedures under
- 5 this section.
- 6 "(3) If, following passage of the joint resolution in
- 7 the Senate, the Senate then receives a joint resolution to
- 8 provide specific statutory authorization from the House of
- 9 Representatives, the joint resolution shall not be debat-
- 10 able.
- 11 "(4) The provisions of this subsection shall not apply
- 12 in the House of Representatives to a joint resolution which
- 13 is a revenue measure.
- 14 "(e) This section is enacted by Congress—
- 15 "(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of
- the Senate and the House of Representatives, re-
- spectively, and as such are deemed a part of the
- 18 rules of each House, respectively, but applicable only
- with respect to the procedure to be followed in that
- House in the case of legislation described in those
- sections, and supersede other rules only to the ex-
- tent that they are inconsistent with such rules; and
- 23 "(2) with full recognition of the constitutional
- right of either House to change the rules (so far as
- relating to the procedure of that House) at any time,

- 1 in the same manner, and to the same extent as in
- 2 the case of any other rule of that House.".

3 SEC. 106. INTERPRETATION OF JOINT RESOLUTION.

- 4 Section 6 of the War Powers Resolution, as redesig-
- 5 nated by section 104(2), is amended to read as follows:
- 6 "INTERPRETATION OF JOINT RESOLUTION
- 7 "Sec. 6. (a) Specific statutory authorization for the
- 8 use of United States forces shall not be inferred—
- 9 "(1) from any provision of law, including any
- provision contained in any appropriations Act, unless
- such provision expressly authorizes the use of such
- forces and states that it is intended to constitute
- specific statutory authorization within the meaning
- of this joint resolution; or
- 15 "(2) from any source of international legal obli-
- gation binding on the United States, including any
- 17 resolution of the United Nations Security Council or
- any treaty unless such treaty is implemented by leg-
- islation specifically authorizing the use of such
- 20 forces and stating that it is intended to constitute
- 21 specific statutory authorization within the meaning
- of this joint resolution.
- 23 "(b) Nothing in this joint resolution may be con-
- 24 strued to affect the authority granted by the Constitution
- 25 to the Congress or of the President, or the provisions of
- 26 any treaty or other international agreement that is in

- 1 force with respect to the United States before, on, or after
- 2 the date of the enactment of this section.".
- 3 SEC. 107. JUDICIAL REVIEW.
- 4 The War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.),
- 5 as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting
- 6 after section 6 the following:
- 7 "JUDICIAL REVIEW
- 8 "Sec. 7. (a)(1) If an officer or employee of the execu-
- 9 tive branch, including the President and an officer or em-
- 10 ployee of the Executive Officer of the President, fails to
- 11 comply with a provision of this joint resolution, upon the
- 12 adoption of a resolution described in subsection (b), the
- 13 House of Representatives or the Senate may bring an ac-
- 14 tion in the name of the House of Representatives or the
- 15 Senate (as the case may be) for such relief as may be ap-
- 16 propriate, including declaratory judgment and any form
- 17 of ancillary relief, including injunctive relief.
- 18 "(2) An action brought under this section shall be
- 19 brought—
- 20 "(A) in the case of an action brought by the
- House of Representatives, by the Office of the Gen-
- 22 eral Counsel of the House of Representatives or such
- 23 successor office to such Office as the House may
- 24 designate; or
- 25 "(B) in the case of an action brought by the
- Senate, by the Office of the Senate Legal Counsel or

1 such successor office to such Office as the Senate 2 may designate. "(b)(1) A resolution described in this subsection is 3 a resolution described as follows: 5 "(A) The resolution does not have a preamble. 6 "(B) The title is as follows: 'Authorizing an ac-7 tion under section 7 of the War Powers Resolution.'. 8 "(C) The matter after the resolving clause is as follows: 'That the _____ is authorized 9 and directed to bring an action under section 7 of 10 11 the War Powers Resolution to obtain relief from the 12 failure to ofcomply with 13 of the War Powers Resolution.', 14 with the first blank space filled in with the identi-15 fication of the office responsible for bringing an ac-16 tion under this section for the House of Congress in-17 volved, the second blank space filled in with the 18 name and position of the officer or employee of the 19 executive branch who has failed to comply with a 20 provision of this Act, and the third blank space filled 21 in with the provision of this joint resolution with 22 which such officer or employee failed to comply. 23 "(2) The expedited procedures described in section 5 shall apply with respect to a resolution described in this subsection. 25

- 1 "(c) For purposes of this section, the failure of an
- 2 officer or employee of the executive branch, including the
- 3 President and an officer or employee of the Executive Offi-
- 4 cer of the President, to provide any information to Con-
- 5 gress as required by this joint resolution shall be treated
- 6 as the failure of such officer or employee to comply with
- 7 this joint resolution.
- 8 "(d) The following rules shall apply with respect to
- 9 any action brought by the House of Representatives or
- 10 Senate pursuant to the authority of this section:
- 11 "(1) The action shall be filed in the United
- 12 States District Court for the District of Columbia,
- and shall be heard not later than 30 days after the
- action is filed by a 3-judge court convened pursuant
- to section 2284 of title 28, United States Code.
- 16 "(2) A copy of the complaint shall be delivered
- promptly to the Clerk of the House of Representa-
- tives (in the case of an action brought by the House)
- and the Secretary of the Senate (in the case of an
- action brought by the Senate).
- 21 "(3) A final decision in the action shall be re-
- viewable only by appeal directly to the Supreme
- Court of the United States. Such appeal shall be
- taken by the filing of a notice of appeal within 10

- days, and the filing of a jurisdictional statement
- within 30 days, of the entry of the final decision.
- 3 "(4) It shall be the duty of the United States
- 4 District Court for the District of Columbia and the
- 5 Supreme Court of the United States to advance on
- 6 the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible
- 7 extent the disposition of the action and appeal.
- 8 "(e) Nothing in this section may be construed to af-
- 9 fect the treatment of the failure of an officer or employee
- 10 of the executive branch, including the President and an
- 11 officer or employee of the Executive Officer of the Presi-
- 12 dent, to comply with a provision of this joint resolution
- 13 as a legal wrong because of agency action for purposes
- 14 of obtaining judicial review under section 702 of title 5,
- 15 United States Code.".
- 16 SEC. 108. TERMINATION OF FUNDING; TERMINATION OF
- 17 USE OF MILITARY FORCE.
- 18 The War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.),
- 19 as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting
- 20 after section 7 the following:
- 21 "TERMINATION OF FUNDING
- "Sec. 8. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of
- 23 law, no funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise
- 24 made available under any provision of law may be obli-
- 25 gated or expended for any activity by United States forces
- 26 for which—

- 1 "(1) prior congressional authorization is re-2 quired under section 4(a) but has not been obtained; 3 or 4 "(2) congressional authorization is required
- under section 4(b) but has not been obtained before the expiration of the time period specified in paragraph (1) or (2) of section 4(c), as the case may be.
- 8 "(b) For such time as may be necessary, not to ex-
- 9 ceed six months after the expiration of a specific statutory
- 10 authorization for the use of United States forces, military
- 11 force may be used for defensive purposes only as necessary
- 12 to end the deployment or engagement of United States
- 13 forces pursuant to this joint resolution.".
- 14 SEC. 109. LAW OF ARMED CONFLICT, INTERNATIONAL HU-
- 15 MANITARIAN LAW, AND THE TREATY OBLIGA-
- 16 TIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.
- 17 The War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.),
- 18 as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting
- 19 after section 8 the following:
- 20 "LAW OF ARMED CONFLICT, INTERNATIONAL HUMANI-
- 21 TARIAN LAW, AND THE TREATY OBLIGATIONS OF
- THE UNITED STATES
- "Sec. 9. United States forces may not be introduced
- 24 into hostilities or into situations where there is a serious
- 25 risk of hostilities in a manner inconsistent with the Law

1	of Armed Conflict, international humanitarian law, or the
2	treaty obligations of the United States.".
3	SEC. 110. DEFINITIONS.
4	(a) In General.—The War Powers Resolution (50
5	U.S.C. 1541 et seq.), as amended by this Act, is further
6	amended by inserting after section 9 the following:
7	"DEFINITIONS
8	"Sec. 10. In this joint resolution:
9	"(1) The term 'appropriate congressional com-
10	mittees and leadership' means—
11	"(A) in the House of Representatives—
12	"(i) the Committee on Foreign Af-
13	fairs, the Committee on Armed Services,
14	the Permanent Select Committee on Intel-
15	ligence, and the Committee on Appropria-
16	tions; and
17	"(ii) the Speaker, the majority leader,
18	and the minority leader; and
19	"(B) in the Senate—
20	"(i) the Committee on Foreign Rela-
21	tions, the Committee on Armed Services,
22	the Select Committee on Intelligence, and
23	the Committee on Appropriations; and
24	"(ii) the majority leader and the mi-
25	nority leader.

"(2) The term 'hostilities' means any situation involving any continuous or intermittent use of lethal or potentially lethal force by or against United States forces (or, for purposes of paragraph (3)(B), foreign regular or irregular forces) carried out through land, sea, air, space, or cyber operations, or through any other domain, including whether or not such force is deployed remotely.

"(3) The term 'introduce' means—

"(A) with respect to hostilities or a situation in which there is a serious risk of hostilities, any commitment, engagement, or other involvement of United States forces (or, for purposes of paragraph (3)(B), of foreign regular or irregular forces), whether or not constituting self-defense measures by United States forces, in response to an attack or imminent threat of attack outside the United States, and whether or not United States forces are present or operating remotely launched, piloted, or directed attacks; or

"(B) the use, including assigning or temporary detailing, of members of United States forces to—

1 "(i) command, advise, assist, accom2 pany, coordinate, or train any foreign reg3 ular or irregular forces engaged in hos4 tilities or in a situation in which there is
5 a serious risk that those foreign forces be6 come engaged in hostilities; or

"(ii) provide any other type of support that would render the United States a party to a conflict in which it is not already engaged or be more likely than not to do so.

"(4) The term 'serious risk of hostilities' means any situation in which there exists a substantial possibility that United States forces (or, for purposes of paragraph (3)(B), foreign regular or irregular forces) will become engaged in hostilities, irrespective of any belief that the presence of such forces will deter the onset of hostilities.

"(5) The term 'specific statutory authorization' means any joint resolution introduced after the date of the enactment of the War Powers Resolution Modernization and Accountability Act and enacted into law to authorize the introduction of United States forces into hostilities or into situations where

- there is a serious risk of hostilities that sets forth,
 at a minimum, the following:
 "(A) A clearly defined mission and oper-
 - "(A) A clearly defined mission and operational objectives, the identity of all specific entity or entities against which force is authorized, and the foreign country or countries in which the hostilities by such forces are authorized.
 - "(B) A requirement the President seek from the Congress a subsequent specific statutory authorization, in accordance with the requirements of section 4, for any expansion of the mission to include new operational objectives, additional enemy forces, or new countries in which such forces are operating, in each case to the extent not specifically identified in the previous authorization.
 - "(C) A termination of the authorization for the use of such forces within two years absent the enactment of a subsequent specific statutory authorization for such use of the United States forces.
 - "(6) The term 'substantially enlarge' means, for any 30-day period, an increase in the overall number

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1	of United States forces, including temporary duty or
2	rotational forces, that is the lesser of—
3	"(A) an increase of 25 percent or more of
4	the number of such forces; or
5	"(B) an increase of 1,000 or more of the
6	number of such forces.
7	"(7) The term 'train' or 'training' has the
8	meaning given the term 'military education and
9	training' in section 644 of the Foreign Assistance
10	Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2403).
11	"(8) The term 'United States forces' means any
12	individuals who are employed by, or under contract
13	to, or under the direction of, any department or
14	agency of the United States Government who are or
15	may be—
16	"(A) deployed and equipped for combat; or
17	"(B) engaged in the use of lethal or poten-
18	tially lethal force carried out through land, sea,
19	air, space, or cyber operations, or through any
20	other domain".
21	(b) Use of Term "Forces".—The War Powers
22	Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.), as amended by this
23	Act, is further amended—
24	(1) by striking "Armed Forces" each place it
25	appears and inserting "forces": and

1	(2) by striking "armed forces" each place it ap-
2	pears and inserting "forces".
3	TITLE II—ARMS EXPORT
4	REFORM
5	SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.
6	This title may be cited as the "Arms Export Control
7	Reform Act".
8	SEC. 202. CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW AND APPROVAL OF
9	CERTAIN SALES, EXPORTS, LEASES, AND
10	LOANS OF DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERV-
11	ICES.
12	(a) In General.—Section 36 of the Arms Export
13	Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776) is amended—
14	(1) by redesignating subsections (e), (f), (g),
15	(h), and (i) as subsections (f), (g), (h), (i), and (j),
16	respectively; and
17	(2) by inserting after subsection (d) the fol-
18	lowing:
19	"(e) Congressional Review and Approval of
20	CERTAIN SALES, EXPORTS, LEASES, AND LOANS OF DE-
21	FENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES.—
22	"(1) In general.—Except as provided in para-
23	graph (3) and subject to paragraph (4)—
24	"(A) no letter of offer to sell any defense
25	articles or services described in paragraph (2)

1	may be issued under this Act with respect to a
2	proposed sale to a foreign country or inter-
3	national organization unless—
4	"(i) the President transmits to Con-
5	gress a numbered certification with respect
6	to the letter of offer containing the infor-
7	mation described in paragraphs (1) and
8	(4) of subsection (b); and
9	"(ii) there is enacted into law a joint
10	resolution of approval under paragraph (5)
11	with respect to the letter of offer;
12	"(B) no license may be issued under this
13	Act (other than with regard to a sale under sec-
14	tion 21 or 22 of this Act), including under sec-
15	tion 38 of this Act, for the export of any de-
16	fense articles or services described in paragraph
17	(2) with respect to a proposed export to a for-
18	eign country or international organization un-
19	less—
20	"(i) the President transmits to Con-
21	gress an unclassified numbered certifi-
22	cation with respect to the license con-
23	taining the information described in sub-
24	section $(c)(1)$; and

1	"(ii) there is enacted into law a joint
2	resolution of approval under paragraph (5)
3	with respect to the license; and
4	"(C) no agreement to lease defense articles
5	described in paragraph (2) may be entered into
6	under chapter 6 of this Act with respect to a
7	proposed lease to a foreign country, or to loan
8	defense articles under chapter 2 of part II of
9	the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.
10	2311 et seq.) with respect to a proposed loan
11	to a foreign country, unless—
12	"(i) the President transmits to Con-
13	gress a written certification with respect to
14	the agreement containing the information
15	described in section 62(a); and
16	"(ii) there is enacted into law a joint
17	resolution of approval under paragraph (5)
18	with respect to the agreement.
19	"(2) Defense articles and services de-
20	SCRIBED.—Defense articles and services described in
21	this paragraph are the following:
22	"(A) Firearms and ammunition of
23	\$1,000,000 or more.
24	"(B) Air to ground munitions of
25	\$14,000,000 or more.

- 1 "(C) Tanks, armored vehicles, and related 2 munitions of \$14,000,000 or more.
- 3 "(D) Fixed and rotary, manned or un-4 manned aircraft of \$14,000,000 or more.
- 5 "(E) Services or training of \$14,000,000 or more.
 - "(3) Exception.—The requirements of subparagraphs (A)(ii), (B)(ii), and (C)(ii) of paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to a proposed sale, export, lease, or loan of defense articles or services to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), any member country of NATO, Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Israel, New Zealand, or Taiwan if a joint resolution of approval under paragraph (5) with respect to the sale, export, lease, or loan is not introduced in either House of Congress during the 15-day period beginning on the date on which Congress receives a numbered certification under subparagraph (A)(i) with respect to the sale, an unclassified numbered certification under subparagraph (B)(i) with respect to the export, or a written certification under subparagraph (C)(i) with respect to the lease or loan.
- 24 "(4) Emergency procedures.—

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"(A) IN GENERAL.—The requirement that 1 2 a joint resolution of approval be enacted into law for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), 3 4 (B)(ii), or (C)(ii) of paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to a proposed sale, export, 6 lease, or loan of defense articles or services if 7 the President— "(i) subject to subparagraph (B) and 8 9 except as provided in subparagraph (C), determines that an emergency exists that 10 11 requires the sale, export, lease, or loan to 12 be in the national security interest of the 13 United States: and 14 "(ii) submits to the Committee on 15 Foreign Affairs of the House of Represent-16 atives and the Committee on Foreign Rela-17 tions of the Senate such determination and 18 justification for the determination, and 19 which also includes a specific and detailed 20 description of how the waiver of the con-21 gressional review requirements directly re-

sponds to or addresses the circumstances

of the emergency cited in the determina-

tion.

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1	"(B) The President may make a deter-
2	mination under subparagraph (A)(i) only if the
3	President certifies to the Committee on Foreign
4	Affairs of the House of Representatives and the
5	Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate
6	that the defense articles or services to be sold,
7	exported, leased, or loaned will be delivered not
8	later than 60 days after the date of such certifi-
9	cation.
10	"(C) The President may not make a deter-
11	mination under subparagraph (A)(i) in the case
12	of a proposed sale, export, lease, or loan of de-
13	fense articles or services that include manufac-
14	turing or co-production of the articles or serv-
15	ices outside the United States.
16	"(5) Review by congress.—
17	"(A) Joint resolution of approval
18	DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term 'joint
19	resolution of approval' means a joint resolution
20	that contains only the following provisions after
21	its resolving clause:
22	"(i) In the case of a letter of offer de-

scribed in paragraph (1)(A), a provision

approving the issuance of the letter of

offer.

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1	"(ii) In the case of a license described
2	in paragraph (1)(B), a provision approving
3	the issuance of the license.
4	"(iii) In the case of a lease or loan
5	agreement described in paragraph (1)(C),
6	a provision approving the agreement.
7	"(B) Procedures for consideration
8	OF JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF APPROVAL.—
9	"(i) Introduction.—After the Presi-
10	dent transmits to Congress a numbered
11	certification with respect to a letter of
12	offer described in paragraph (1)(A)(i), an
13	unclassified numbered certification with re-
14	spect to a license described in paragraph
15	(1)(B)(i), or a written certification with re-
16	spect to the agreement described in para-
17	graph (1)(C)(i), a joint resolution of ap-
18	proval may be introduced in either House
19	of Congress by any member of that House.
20	"(ii) Committee referral.—A joint
21	resolution of approval shall be referred in
22	each House of Congress to the Committee
23	on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the
24	Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
25	House of Representatives.

1	"(iii) Consideration in Senate.—
2	In the Senate, the following shall apply:
3	"(I) Reporting and dis-
4	CHARGE.—If the committee to which
5	a joint resolution of approval has been
6	referred has not reported it at the end
7	of 10 session days after its introduc-
8	tion, that committee shall be auto-
9	matically discharged from further con-
10	sideration of the resolution and it
11	shall be placed on the calendar.
12	"(II) Proceeding to consider-
13	ATION.—Notwithstanding Rule XXII
14	of the Standing Rules of the Senate,
15	when the committee to which a joint
16	resolution of approval is referred has
17	reported the resolution, or when that
18	committee is discharged under sub-
19	clause (I) from further consideration
20	of the resolution, it is at any time
21	thereafter in order (even though a
22	previous motion to the same effect has
23	been disagreed to) for a motion to
24	proceed to the consideration of the
25	joint resolution, and all points of

1	order against the joint resolution (and
2	against consideration of the joint reso-
3	lution) are waived. The motion to pro-
4	ceed is subject to 4 hours of debate
5	divided equally between those favoring
6	and those opposing the joint resolu-
7	tion of approval. The motion is not
8	subject to amendment, or to a motion
9	to postpone, or to a motion to proceed
10	to the consideration of other business.
11	"(III) Floor consideration.—
12	A joint resolution of approval shall be
13	subject to 10 hours of consideration,
14	to be divided evenly between the pro-
15	ponents and opponents of the resolu-
16	tion.
17	"(IV) Amendments.—No
18	amendments shall be in order with re-
19	spect to a joint resolution of approval.
20	"(V) Motion to reconsider
21	FINAL VOTE.—A motion to reconsider
22	a vote on passage of a joint resolution
23	of approval shall not be in order.
24	"(VI) Appeals.—Points of
25	order, including questions of rel-

1	evancy, and appeals from the decision
2	of the Presiding Officer, shall be de-
3	cided without debate.
4	"(VII) RECEIPT OF RESOLUTION
5	FROM HOUSE.—If, before passing a
6	joint resolution of approval, the Sen-
7	ate receives from the House a joint
8	resolution of approval from the
9	House, then—
10	"(aa) the joint resolution of
11	the House shall not be referred
12	to a committee and shall be
13	deemed to have been discharged
14	from committee on the day it is
15	received; and
16	"(bb) the procedures set
17	forth in this clause shall apply in
18	the Senate to the joint resolution
19	received from the House to the
20	same extent as such procedures
21	apply to a joint resolution of the
22	Senate.
23	"(C) Rules of the house and sen-
24	ATE.—This paragraph is enacted by Con-
25	gress—

1	"(i) as an exercise of the rulemaking
2	power of the Senate and the House of Rep-
3	resentatives, respectively, and as such is
4	deemed a part of the rules of each House,
5	respectively, but applicable only with re-
6	spect to the procedure to be followed in the
7	House in the case of joint resolutions de-
8	scribed in this section, and supersedes
9	other rules only to the extent that it is in-
10	consistent with such other rules; and
11	"(ii) with full recognition of the con-
12	stitutional right of either House to change
13	the rules (so far as relating to the proce-
14	dure of that House) at any time, in the
15	same manner, and to the same extent as in
16	the case of any other rule of that House.".
17	(b) Conforming Amendments.—
18	(1) Government-to-government sales.—
19	(A) In General.—Section 36(b) of the
20	Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(b))
21	is amended—
22	(i) in paragraph (1)—
23	(I) in the matter preceding sub-
24	paragraph (A), in the first sentence,
25	by striking "Subject to paragraph

1	(6)" and inserting "Subject to para-
2	graph (4) and subsection (e)"; and
3	(II) in the flush text following
4	subparagraph (P), by striking the last
5	two sentences;
6	(ii) by striking paragraphs (2) and
7	(3);
8	(iii) by redesignating paragraphs (4),
9	(5), and (6) as paragraphs (2), (3), and
10	(4), respectively;
11	(iv) in subparagraph (C) of paragraph
12	(3) (as redesignated), in the first sentence,
13	by striking "Subject to paragraph (4) and
14	subsection (e)"; and
15	(v) in paragraph (4) (as redesig-
16	nated), in the matter preceding subpara-
17	graph (A), by striking "in paragraph
18	(5)(C)" and inserting "in paragraph
19	(3)(C)".
20	(B) Conforming amendment.—Section
21	38(f)(5)(B)(ii) of such Act (22 U.S.C.
22	2778(f)(5)(B)(ii)) is amended by striking "sec-
23	tion $36(b)(5)(A)$ " and inserting "section
24	36(b)(3)(A)".

1	(2) Commercially licensed sales.—Section
2	36(c) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(c)) is amended—
3	(A) in paragraph (1), in the first sentence,
4	by striking "Subject to paragraph (5)" and in-
5	serting "Subject to subsection (e)";
6	(B) by striking paragraphs (2) through
7	(5); and
8	(C) by redesignating paragraph (6) as
9	paragraph (2).
10	(3) Publication.—Subsection (g) of section
11	36 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2776) (as redesignated)
12	is amended—
13	(A) in paragraph (2), by striking "and" at
14	the end;
15	(B) in paragraph (3), by striking the pe-
16	riod at the end and inserting "; and"; and
17	(C) by adding at the end the following:
18	"(4) each numbered certification transmitted
19	under subsection (e)(1)(A)(i), each unclassified num-
20	ber notification transmitted under subsection
21	(e)(1)(B)(i) and each written certification trans-
22	mitted under subsection (e)(1)(C)(i).".
23	(4) Legislative review of leases and
24	LOANS.—

1	(A) Repeal.—Section 63 of such Act (22
2	U.S.C. 2796b) is repealed.
3	(B) Conforming Amendment.—Section
4	62(b) of such Act (22 U.S. 2976a(b)) is amend-
5	ed, in the first sentence, by striking "(and in
6	the case" and all that follows through "of that
7	section)".
8	SEC. 203. PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF DEFENSE ARTI-
9	CLES AND DEFENSE SERVICES TO COUN-
10	TRIES THAT COMMIT GENOCIDE OR VIOLA-
11	TIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN
12	LAW.
13	(a) In General.—No defense articles or defense
14	services may be sold, exported, or transferred to any coun-
15	try, and no letter of offer to sell defense articles or defense
16	services to any country and no application for a license
17	to export or transfer defense articles or defense services
18	controlled for export to any country shall be subject to
19	congressional review and approval requirements, regard-
20	less of monetary value or emergency, of section 36 of the
21	Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776), if the Sec-
22	retary of State has credible information that the govern-
23	ment, military, security forces, or police of such country
24	has committed or is committing genocide, crimes against

- 1 humanity, or violations of international humanitarian law
- 2 after the date of enactment of this Act.
- 3 (b) Assessment of Risk.—Any letter of offer to
- 4 sell, or any application for a license to export or transfer,
- 5 defense articles or defense services controlled for export
- 6 subject to the congressional review and approval require-
- 7 ments, regardless of monetary value, of section 36 of the
- 8 Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776) shall include
- 9 an assessment of the risk of the items being used contrary
- 10 to principles of international humanitarian law, to violate
- 11 internationally recognized human rights, or to commit acts
- 12 that may constitute crimes against humanity or genocide,
- 13 prepared by the Secretary of State through the Assistant
- 14 Secretary for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights,
- 15 and Labor, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense
- 16 and the Director of Central Intelligence.

17 TITLE III—NATIONAL

18 EMERGENCIES REFORM ACT

- 19 SEC. 301. SHORT TITLE.
- This title may be cited as the "National Emergencies
- 21 Reform Act".

SEC. 302. CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF NATIONAL EMER
GENCIES.
Title II of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C
1621 et seq.) is amended by striking sections 201 and 202
and inserting the following:
"SEC. 201. DECLARATIONS OF NATIONAL EMERGENCIES.
"(a) Authority To Declare National Emer-
GENCIES.—With respect to Acts of Congress authorizing
the exercise, during the period of a national emergency
of any special or extraordinary power, the President is au-
thorized to declare such a national emergency by procla-
mation. Such proclamation shall immediately be trans-
mitted to Congress and published in the Federal Register
"(b) Specification of Provisions of Law To Be
Exercised.—No powers or authorities made available by
statute for use during the period of a national emergency
shall be exercised unless and until the President specifies
the provisions of law under which the President proposes
that the President or other officers will act in—
"(1) a proclamation declaring a national emer-
gency under subsection (a); or
"(2) one or more Executive orders relating to
the emergency transmitted to Congress and pub-
lished in the Federal Register.
"(c) Prohibition on Subsequent Actions is

26 Emergencies Not Approved.—

"(1) Subsequent declarations.—If a joint 1 2 resolution of approval is not enacted under section 3 203 with respect to a national emergency before the 4 expiration of the period described in section 202(a), 5 or with respect to a national emergency proposed to 6 be renewed under section 202(b), the President may 7 not, during the remainder of the term of office of 8 that President, declare a subsequent national emer-9 gency under subsection (a) with respect to substan-10 tially the same facts and circumstances.

- "(2) EXERCISE OF AUTHORITIES.—If a joint resolution of approval is not enacted under section 203 with respect to a power or authority specified by the President in a proclamation under subsection (a) or an Executive order under subsection (b)(2) with respect to a national emergency, the President may not, during the remainder of the term of office of that President, exercise that power or authority with respect to that emergency.
- "(d) EFFECT OF FUTURE LAWS.—No law enacted after the date of the enactment of this Act may supersede the provisions of this title unless it does so in specific terms, referring to this title, and declaring that such law supersedes the provisions of this title.
- 25 "(e) Limitations.—

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- "(1) IN GENERAL.—Any emergency powers invoked by the President pursuant to a national emergency declared under this section shall relate to the nature of, and may be used only to address, that emergency.
- 6 "(2)AUTHORIZATION ORFUNDING HELD.—No authority available to the President dur-7 8 ing a national emergency declared under this section 9 may be used to provide authorization or funding for 10 any program, project, or activity for which Congress, 11 on or after the date of the events giving rise to the 12 emergency declaration, has withheld authorization or 13 funding.
- 14 "SEC. 202. EFFECTIVE PERIODS OF NATIONAL EMER-15 GENCIES.
- 16 "(a) Temporary Effective Periods.—
- "(1) IN GENERAL.—A declaration of a national emergency under subsection (a) shall be effective for 30 days beginning on the day after the date of the issuance of the proclamation and shall terminate when that 30-day period expires unless there is enacted into law a joint resolution of approval under section 203 with respect to the proclamation.
- 24 "(2) Exercise of Powers and Authori-25 ties.—

1	"(A) Exercise pursuant to proclama-
2	TION.—Subject to section 201(e), any emer-
3	gency power or authority made available under
4	a provision of law specified pursuant to section
5	201(b)(1) may be exercised pursuant to a dec-
6	laration of a national emergency upon the
7	issuance of the proclamation. That power or au-
8	thority may not be exercised on or after the 30-
9	day period described in paragraph (1) unless
10	there is enacted into law a joint resolution of
11	approval under section 203 approving—
12	"(i) the proclamation of the national
13	emergency; and
14	"(ii) the exercise of the power or au-
15	thority specified by the President in such
16	proclamation.
17	"(B) Exercise pursuant to executive
18	ORDER.—Subject to section 201(e), any emer-
19	gency power or authority made available under
20	an Executive order pursuant to section
21	201(b)(2) may be exercised pursuant to a dec-
22	laration of a national emergency upon the
23	issuance of the Executive order specifying the

power or authority. That power or authority

1	may not be exercised on or after the earlier
2	of—
3	"(i) the date of the termination of the
4	proclamation declaring the emergency to
5	which the Executive order relates; or
6	"(ii) the date that is 30 days after the
7	date of the issuance of such Executive
8	order, unless there is enacted into law a
9	joint resolution of approval under section
10	203 approving the exercise of the power or
11	authority specified by the President in
12	such Executive order.
13	"(b) Renewal of National Emergencies.—A na-
14	tional emergency declared by the President under section
15	201(a) or previously renewed under this subsection that
16	is not otherwise terminated pursuant to subsection (a) or
17	(c) or section 204 shall terminate on the date that is one
18	year after the date on which the President transmitted to
19	Congress the proclamation declaring the emergency or the
20	date on which Congress enacted into law a previous re-
21	newal pursuant to this subsection, unless—
22	"(1) the President publishes in the Federal
23	Register and transmits to Congress an Executive
24	order renewing the emergency; and

1	"(2) there is enacted into law a joint resolution
2	of approval renewing the emergency pursuant to sec-
3	tion 203 before the termination of the emergency or
4	previous renewal of the emergency.
5	"(c) Termination of National Emergencies.—
6	"(1) In General.—Any national emergency
7	declared by the President under section 201(a) shall
8	terminate on the earliest of—
9	"(A) the date provided for in subsection
10	(a);
11	"(B) the date provided for in subsection
12	(b);
13	"(C) the date specified in a joint resolution
14	of termination under section 203;
15	"(D) the date specified in a proclamation
16	of the President terminating the emergency; or
17	"(E) the date specified in section 204.
18	"(2) Effect of Termination.—Effective on
19	the date of the termination of a national emergency
20	under paragraph (1)—
21	"(A) any powers or authorities exercised
22	by reason of the emergency shall cease to be ex-
23	ercised;
24	"(B) any amounts reprogrammed or trans-
25	ferred under any provision of law with respect

1	to the emergency that remain unobligated on
2	that date shall be returned and made available
3	for the purpose for which such amounts were
4	appropriated; and
5	"(C) any contracts entered into under any
6	provision of law relating to the emergency shall
7	be terminated.
8	"SEC. 203. REVIEW BY CONGRESS OF NATIONAL EMER-
9	GENCIES.
10	"(a) Joint Resolution of Approval Defined.—
11	In this section, the term 'joint resolution of approval'
12	means a joint resolution that contains only the following
13	provisions after its resolving clause:
14	"(1) A provision approving—
15	"(A) a proclamation of a national emer-
16	gency made under section 201(a);
17	"(B) an Executive order issued under sec-
18	tion $201(b)(2)$; or
19	"(C) an Executive order issued under sec-
20	tion 202(b).
21	"(2) A provision approving a list of all or a por-
22	tion of the provisions of law specified by the Presi-
23	dent under section 201(b) in the proclamation or
24	Executive order that is the subject of the joint reso-
25	lution.

1	"(b) Joint Resolution of Termination De-
2	FINED.—In this section, the term 'joint resolution of ter-
3	mination' means a resolution introduced in the House or
4	Senate to terminate—
5	"(1) a national emergency declared under this
6	Act; or
7	"(2) the exercise of any authorities pursuant to
8	that emergency.
9	"(c) Procedures for Consideration of Joint
10	RESOLUTIONS OF APPROVAL.—
11	"(1) Introduction.—After the President
12	transmits to Congress a proclamation declaring a
13	national emergency under section 201(a), or an Ex-
14	ecutive order specifying emergency powers or au-
15	thorities under section 201(b)(2) or renewing a na-
16	tional emergency under section 202(b), a joint reso-
17	lution of approval may be introduced in either House
18	of Congress by any member of that House.
19	"(2) Committee referral in the senate.—
20	In the Senate, a joint resolution of approval shall be
21	referred to the appropriate committee.
22	"(3) Consideration in Senate.—In the Sen-
23	ate, the following shall apply:
24	"(A) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the
25	committee to which a joint resolution of ap-

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proval has been referred has not reported it at the end of 10 calendar days after its introduction, that committee shall be discharged from further consideration of the resolution and it shall be placed on the Calendar of Business.

"(B) Proceeding to consideration.— Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, when the committee to which a joint resolution of approval is referred has reported the resolution, or when that committee is discharged under subparagraph (A) from further consideration of the resolution, it is at any time thereafter in order to move to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution, and all points of order against the joint resolution (and against the motion to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution) are waived. The motion to proceed shall be debatable for 4 hours evenly divided between a proponent and an opponent of the joint resolution of approval. The motion is not subject to amendment, or to a motion to postpone, or to a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed

to shall not be in order. If a motion to proceed to the consideration of a joint resolution of approval is agreed to, the joint resolution shall remain the unfinished business of the Senate until disposed of.

- "(C) FLOOR CONSIDERATION.—There shall be 10 hours of consideration on a joint resolution of approval, to be divided evenly between the proponents and opponents of the joint resolution. There shall be a total of 2 hours of debate on any debatable motions in connection with the joint resolution, to be divided evenly between the proponents and opponents of the joint resolution.
- "(D) AMENDMENTS.—No amendments shall be in order with respect to a joint resolution of approval in the Senate.
- "(E) MOTION TO RECONSIDER VOTE ON PASSAGE.—A motion to reconsider a vote on passage of a joint resolution of approval shall not be in order.
- "(F) APPEALS.—Points of order and appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer, shall be decided without debate.

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"(4) Consideration in house of representatives, resentatives.—In the House of Representatives, the following shall apply:

"(A) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If any committee to which a joint resolution of approval has been referred has not reported it to the House within seven legislative days after the date of referral, such committee shall be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution.

"(B)(i) PROCEEDING TO CONSIDER-ATION.—Beginning on the third legislative day after each committee to which a joint resolution of approval has been referred reports it to the House or has been discharged from further consideration, it shall be in order to move to proceed to consider the joint resolution of approval in the House. All points of order against the motion are waived, except as provided in clause (ii) and clause (iii). The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the motion to its adoption without intervening motion. The motion shall not be debatable. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is disposed of shall not be in order.

1 "(ii) A motion to proceed to consider
2 a joint resolution of approval shall not be
3 in order after the House has disposed of
4 another motion to proceed on that joint
5 resolution of approval.

"(iii) A motion to proceed to the consideration of a joint resolution of approval of an Executive order described in subsection (a)(1) or a list described in subsection (a)(2) shall not be in order prior to the enactment of a joint resolution of approval of the proclamation described in subsection (a)(1) that is the subject of such Executive order or list.

"(C) Consideration.—Upon adoption of the motion to proceed in accordance with sub-paragraph (B)(i), the joint resolution of approval shall be considered as read. All points of order against the joint resolution of approval and against its consideration are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution of approval to final passage without intervening motion except two hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the sponsor of the joint resolution of ap-

1	proval (or a designee) and an opponent. A mo-
2	tion to reconsider the vote on passage of the
3	joint resolution of approval shall not be in
4	order.
5	"(5) Coordination with action by other
6	HOUSE.—
7	"(A) IN GENERAL.—If, before the passage
8	by one House of a joint resolution of approval
9	of that House, that House receives from the
10	other House a joint resolution of approval with
11	regard to the same proclamation or Executive
12	order, then the following procedures shall apply:
13	"(i) The joint resolution of approval
14	of the other House shall not be referred to
15	a committee.
16	"(ii) With respect to a joint resolution
17	of approval of the House receiving the
18	joint resolution—
19	"(I) the procedure in that House
20	shall be the same as if no joint resolu-
21	tion of approval had been received
22	from the other House; but
23	"(II) the vote on passage shall be
24	on the joint resolution of approval of
25	the other House.

1	"(iii) Upon the failure of passage of
2	the joint resolution of approval of the other
3	House, the question shall immediately
4	occur on passage of the joint resolution of
5	approval of the receiving House.
6	"(B) Treatment of Legislation of
7	OTHER HOUSE.—If one House fails to introduce
8	a joint resolution of approval under this section,
9	the joint resolution of approval of the other
10	House shall be entitled to expedited floor proce-
11	dures under this section.
12	"(C) APPLICATION TO REVENUE MEAS-
13	URES.—The provisions of this paragraph shall
14	not apply in the House of Representatives to a
15	joint resolution of approval which is a revenue
16	measure.
17	"(6) Treatment of veto message.—Debate
18	on a veto message in the Senate under this section
19	shall be 1 hour evenly divided between the majority
20	and minority leaders or their designees.
21	"(d) Procedures for Consideration of Joint
22	RESOLUTIONS TO TERMINATE.—
23	"(1) Introduction.—After the President
24	transmits to Congress a proclamation declaring a
25	national emergency under section 201(a), or an Ex-

ecutive order specifying emergency powers or authorities under section 201(b)(2) or renewing a national emergency under section 202(b), a joint resolution to terminate may be introduced in either House of Congress by any member of that House.

- "(2) COMMITTEE REFERRAL IN THE SENATE.— In the Senate, a joint resolution to terminate shall be referred to the appropriate committee.
- "(3) Consideration in Senate.—In the Senate, the following shall apply:
 - "(A) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the committee to which a joint resolution to terminate has been referred has not reported it at the end of 10 calendar days after its introduction, that committee shall be discharged from further consideration of the resolution and it shall be placed on the Calendar of Business.
 - "(B) PROCEEDING TO CONSIDERATION.—
 Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, when the committee to which a joint resolution to terminate is referred has reported the resolution, or when that committee is discharged under subparagraph (A) from further consideration of the resolution, it is at any time thereafter in order to move to

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proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution, and all points of order against the joint resolution (and against the motion to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution) are waived. The motion to proceed shall be debatable for 4 hours evenly divided between a proponent and an opponent of the joint resolution of approval. The motion is not subject to amendment, or to a motion to postpone, or to a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to shall not be in order. If a motion to proceed to the consideration of a joint resolution of approval is agreed to, the joint resolution shall remain the unfinished business of the Senate until disposed of.

"(C) FLOOR CONSIDERATION.—There shall be 10 hours of consideration on a joint resolution to terminate, to be divided evenly between the proponents and opponents of the joint resolution. There shall be a total of 2 hours of debate on any debatable motions in connection with the joint resolution, to be divided evenly

1	between the proponents and opponents of the
2	joint resolution.
3	"(D) Amendments.—No amendments
4	shall be in order with respect to a joint resolu-
5	tion to terminate in the Senate.
6	"(E) MOTION TO RECONSIDER VOTE ON
7	PASSAGE.—A motion to reconsider a vote on
8	passage of a joint resolution to terminate shall
9	not be in order.
10	"(F) Appeals.—Points of order and ap-
11	peals from the decision of the Presiding Officer,
12	shall be decided without debate.
13	"(4) Consideration in house of rep-
14	RESENTATIVES.—In the House of Representatives,
15	the following shall apply:
16	"(A) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If any
17	committee to which a joint resolution to termi-
18	nate has been referred has not reported it to
19	the House within seven legislative days after
20	the date of referral such committee shall be dis-
21	charged from further consideration of the joint
22	resolution.
23	"(B) Proceeding to consideration.—
24	Beginning on the third legislative day after
25	each committee to which a joint resolution to

House or has been discharged from further consideration thereof, it shall be in order to move to proceed to consider the joint resolution to terminate in the House. All points of order against the motion are waived, except that such a motion shall not be in order after the House has disposed of a motion to proceed on the joint resolution to terminate. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the motion to its adoption without intervening motion. The motion shall not be debatable. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is disposed of shall not be in order.

"(C) Consideration.—The joint resolution to terminate shall be considered as read. All points of order against the joint resolution to terminate and against its consideration are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution to terminate to final passage without intervening motion except one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the sponsor of the joint resolution to terminate (or a designee) and an opponent. A motion to reconsider the vote on pas-

1	sage of the joint resolution to terminate shall
2	not be in order.
3	"(5) Coordination with action by other
4	HOUSE.—
5	"(A) IN GENERAL.—If, before the passage
6	by one House of a joint resolution to terminate
7	of that House, that House receives from the
8	other House a joint resolution to terminate with
9	regard to the same proclamation or Executive
10	order, then the following procedures shall apply:
11	"(i) The joint resolution to terminate
12	of the other House shall not be referred to
13	a committee.
14	"(ii) With respect to a joint resolution
15	to terminate of the House receiving the
16	joint resolution—
17	"(I) the procedure in that House
18	shall be the same as if no joint resolu-
19	tion to terminate had been received
20	from the other House; but
21	"(II) the vote on passage shall be
22	on the joint resolution to terminate of
23	the other House.
24	"(iii) Upon the failure of passage of
25	the joint resolution to terminate of the

1 other House, the question shall imme-2 diately occur on passage of the joint resolution to terminate of the receiving House. 3 "(B) Treatment of Legislation of OTHER HOUSE.—If one House fails to introduce 6 a joint resolution to terminate under this sec-7 tion, the joint resolution to terminate of the 8 other House shall be entitled to expedited floor 9 procedures under this section. "(C) APPLICATION TO REVENUE MEAS-10 11 URES.—The provisions of this paragraph shall 12 not apply in the House of Representatives to a 13 joint resolution of approval which is a revenue 14 measure. "(6) Treatment of veto message.—Debate 15 16 on a veto message in the Senate under this section 17 shall be 1 hour evenly divided between the majority 18 and minority leaders or their designees. 19 "(e) Rule of Construction.—The enactment of a joint resolution of approval or a joint resolution of termination under this section may not be interpreted to serve 21 as a grant or modification by Congress of statutory au-23 thority for the emergency powers of the President. 24 "(f) Rules of the House and Senate.—This sec-

tion is enacted by Congress—

- 1 "(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of
 2 the Senate and the House of Representatives, re3 spectively, and as such is deemed a part of the rules
 4 of each House, respectively, but applicable only with
 5 respect to the procedure to be followed in the House
 6 in the case of joint resolutions described in this sec7 tion, and supersedes other rules only to the extent
 8 that it is inconsistent with such other rules; and
- "(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.

14 "SEC. 204. BAR ON PERMANENT EMERGENCIES.

- 15 "(a) IN GENERAL.—Any national emergency declared
- 16 by the President under section 201(a), and not otherwise
- 17 terminated, shall automatically terminate on the date that
- 18 is 5 years after the date of its declaration.
- 19 "(b) Emergencies Already in Effect.—Any na-
- 20 tional emergency declaration that remains in force as of
- 21 the date of the enactment of this section and—
- "(1) has been in effect for 3 years or fewer as
- of such date, shall automatically terminate on the
- 24 date that is 5 years after the date of the enactment
- of this section; or

- 1 "(2) has been in effect for more than 3 years
- 2 as of such date, shall automatically terminate on the
- date that is 2 years after the date of the enactment
- 4 of this section.
- 5 "(c) Effect of Termination.—If a national emer-
- 6 gency declaration terminates pursuant to this section, no
- 7 emergency may subsequently be declared based on sub-
- 8 stantially the same facts and circumstances.".
- 9 SEC. 303. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.
- 10 Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50
- 11 U.S.C. 1641) is amended—
- 12 (1) by amending subsection (c) to read as fol-
- lows:
- 14 "(c) Report Upon Declaration or Renewal of
- 15 National Emergency.—The President shall transmit to
- 16 Congress, concurrently with any proclamation declaring a
- 17 national emergency under section 201(a), any Executive
- 18 order specifying emergency powers or authorities under
- 19 section 201(b)(2), or any Executive order renewing a na-
- 20 tional emergency under section 202(b), a written report
- 21 that includes each of the following:
- 22 "(1) A description of the circumstances necessi-
- tating the declaration of a national emergency, the
- renewal of such an emergency, or the use of a new

- emergency authority specified in the Executive order, as the case may be.
- "(2) The estimated duration of the national emergency, or a statement that the duration of the national emergency cannot reasonably be estimated at the time of transmission of the report.
 - "(3) A summary of the actions the President or other officers intend to take, including any reprogramming or transfer of funds, and the statutory authorities the President and such officers expect to rely on in addressing the national emergency.
 - "(4) In the case of a renewal of a national emergency, a summary of the actions the President or other officers have taken in the preceding one-year period, including any reprogramming or transfer of funds, to address the emergency."; and
- 17 (2) by adding at the end the following:
- 18 "(d) Report on Expenditures and Activities
- 19 During National Emergency or War.—Not later
- 20 than 90 days after the end of each 180-day period fol-
- 21 lowing a proclamation declaring a national emergency
- 22 under section 201(a) or a declaration of war by the Con-
- 23 gress, the President shall transmit to Congress a report
- 24 on—

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1	"(1) the total expenditures of the United States
2	Government during such 180-day period which are
3	directly attributable to the exercise of powers and
4	authorities conferred by such declaration; and
5	"(2) with respect to a declaration of a national
6	emergency—
7	"(A) the status of the emergency; and
8	"(B) the actions the President or other of-
9	ficers have taken pursuant to such emergency
10	and authorities the President and such officers
11	have relied on in addressing the emergency.
12	"(e) Final Report on Expenditures or Activi-
13	TIES DURING NATIONAL EMERGENCY OR WAR.—Not
14	later than 90 days after the termination of a national
15	emergency under section 201(a) or a declaration of war
16	by the Congress, the President shall transmit to Congress
17	a final report on each matter described in paragraphs (1)
18	and (2) of subsection (d) with respect to such emergency
19	or war.
20	"(f) Provision of Information to Congress.—
21	The President shall provide to Congress such other infor-
22	mation as Congress may request in connection with any
23	national emergency in effect under title II.
24	"(g) Public Disclosure.—The reports described in
25	subsections (c), (d), and (e) shall be in unclassified form

- 1 and shall be made public at the same time as their trans-
- 2 mission to Congress, although a classified annex may be
- 3 provided to Congress as necessary.".
- 4 SEC. 304. DISCLOSURES TO CONGRESS OF PRESIDENTIAL
- 5 DOCUMENTS RELATING TO EMERGENCY AC-
- 6 TIONS.
- 7 (a) IN GENERAL.—
- 8 (1) Not later than 30 days after the conclusion 9 of the process for approval, adoption, or revision of 10 any presidential emergency action document, the
- 11 President shall submit that document to the appro-
- priate congressional committees.
- 13 (2) Not later than 180 days after the conclu-
- sion of the process for approval, adoption, or revi-
- sion of any presidential emergency action document,
- the head of each relevant Federal department and
- agency shall complete a declassification review of the
- document and shall make public any declassified
- portions of the document. If significant portions of
- the document remain classified, the respective head
- 21 shall release an unclassified summary of the docu-
- 22 ment.
- 23 (b) Documents in Existence Before Date of
- 24 Enactment.—

- (1) Not later than 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees all presidential emergency action documents in existence before such date of enactment.
 - (2) Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the head of each relevant Federal department and agency shall complete a declassification review of all presidential emergency action documents in existence before such date of enactment, and shall make public any declassified portions of the documents. If significant portions of the document remain classified, the respective head shall release an unclassified summary of the document.

(c) Definitions.—In this section:

- (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term "appropriate congressional committees", with respect to a presidential emergency action document, means—
 - (A) the Committee on Oversight and Reform, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives;
- 24 (B) the Committee on Homeland Security 25 and Governmental Affairs, the Committee on

1	the Judiciary, and the Select Committee on In-
2	telligence of the Senate; and
3	(C) any other committee of the Senate or
4	the House of Representatives with jurisdiction
5	over the subject matter addressed in the presi-
6	dential emergency action document.
7	(2) Presidential emergency action docu-
8	MENT.—The term "presidential emergency action
9	document" means—
10	(A) each of the approximately 56 docu-
11	ments described as "presidential emergency ac-
12	tion documents" in the budget justification ma-
13	terials for the Office of Legal Counsel of the
14	Department of Justice submitted to Congress in
15	support of the budget of the President for fiscal
16	year 2018; and
17	(B) any other pre-coordinated legal docu-
18	ment, without regard to whether such document
19	was promulgated before, on, or after the date of
20	the enactment of this Act, that—
21	(i) is designated as a "presidential
22	emergency action document"; or
23	(ii) is designed to implement a presi-
24	dential decision or transmit a presidential

1	request when an emergency disrupts nor-
2	mal governmental or legislative processes.
3	SEC. 305. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.
4	(a) NATIONAL EMERGENCIES ACT.—Title III of the
5	National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631) is repealed.
6	(b) International Emergency Economic Pow-
7	ERS ACT.—Section 207 of the International Emergency
8	Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1706) is amended—
9	(1) in subsection (b), by striking "concurrent
10	resolution" and inserting "joint resolution"; and
11	(2) by adding at the end the following:
12	"(e) In this section, the term 'National Emergencies
13	Act' means the National Emergencies Act, as in effect on
14	the day before the date of the enactment of the National
15	Emergencies Reforms Act.".
16	SEC. 306. EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICABILITY.
17	(a) In General.—Except as provided in subsection
18	(c), this title and the amendments made by this title
19	shall—
20	(1) take effect on the date of the enactment of
21	this Act; and
22	(2) apply with respect to national emergencies
23	declared under section 201 of the National Emer-
24	gencies Act, as amended by section 302 of this title,
25	on or after that date.

- 1 (b) Applicability to Recently Declared Emer-
- 2 GENCY.—A national emergency declared under section
- 3 201 of the National Emergencies Act not later than 90
- 4 days before the date of the enactment of this Act shall
- 5 be treated for purposes of subsection (a)(2) as being de-
- 6 clared on such date of enactment.
- 7 (c) Applicability to Renewals of Existing
- 8 Emergencies Previously Declared.—The amend-
- 9 ments made by this title, other than the amendments
- 10 made with respect to the renewal of a national emergency
- 11 under section 202(b) of the National Emergencies Act,
- 12 shall not apply with respect to any national emergency de-
- 13 clared under section 201 of the National Emergencies Act
- 14 before the date of the enactment of this Act. Each such
- 15 emergency shall terminate on the date that is one year
- 16 after the date of enactment of this Act, unless the emer-
- 17 gency is renewed in accordance with such section 202(b)
- 18 as so amended.

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