

unrestrained, and outdated 2002 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) against Iraq, which was passed and signed into law on October 16, 2002, nearly twenty years ago.

Congress never intended for the 2002 AUMF to have such broad and extended reach.

Over the last 18 years, we have seen 3 Presidents use this legislation as a blank check to engage in serious military action.

The 2002 AUMF is an outdated piece of legislation and repealing it will not affect any current military operations.

The 2002 AUMF's only function is to provide the President with cover to claim Congress has already authorized him to attack Iranian officials, which is false.

Moreover, the 2002 AUMF is unnecessary because in the administration's own view, everything the 2002 AUMF covers is already fully covered under the 2001 9/11 AUMF, except for attacks against Iran.

Congress passed the 2002 AUMF to address the perceived threat posed by the regime of Saddam Hussein and the AUMF permitted the President to use the Armed Forces as "necessary and appropriate" to "defend U.S. national security against the continuing threat posed by Iraq" and to "enforce all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq."

U.S. military deployments and operations carried out pursuant to the 2002 AUMF—dubbed Operation Iraqi Freedom—officially concluded in 2011.

Almost 18 years after the resolution's passage, the United States recognizes the sovereignty of Iraq and considers Iraq a key ally.

Under the Constitution, Congress has the sole duty to declare war. Repealing obsolete Authorizations for Use of Military Force (AUMFs) is essential to Congress living up to its constitutional responsibilities.

Leaving the 2002 AUMF in place increases the likelihood that future Presidents will use it as a basis to start a new war, or expand a current one, without Congress's explicit authorization.

In July 2019, the House adopted a Lee amendment to NDAA virtually identical to H.R. 2456, To Repeal the AUMF Against Iraq Resolution of 2002, by a bipartisan vote of 242 to 180. Unfortunately, the Republican leadership stripped it out.

The overly broad 2002 AUMF represents a critical deterioration of congressional oversight.

As our brave servicemembers are deployed around the world in combat zones, Congress is missing in action.

Congress must repeal the 2002 AUMF immediately to fulfill its constitutional obligation to provide oversight and consent on matters of war and peace.

As provided under the War Powers Resolution of 1973, absent a congressional declaration of war or authorization for the use of military force, the President as Commander-in-Chief has constitutional power to engage the U.S. Armed Forces in hostilities only in the case of a national emergency created by an attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its Armed Forces.

Madam Speaker, since the objectives which led Congress to pass the 2002 Authorization to Use Military Force (AUMF) have been achieved, I believe the authorization to use that military force expired automatically.

Madam Speaker, where a congressional authorization to use military force has expired, the President must obtain a new authorization to continue the use of force.

Given the material changes in circumstances, introducing additional U.S. combat troops into the region would be both unwise and beyond the scope of authority conferred by the 2002 AUMF.

As a co-equal branch of government, it is Congress's right and responsibility to be fully consulted regarding any potential plans to expand military operations in the region, to assess whether such action is in the national security interest of the United States and our allies, and to withhold or grant authorization for the use of military force based on this assessment.

As we have learned from the painful and bitter experience of the past 18 years, at the initiation of hostilities, the costs in terms of blood and treasure of U.S. military interventions abroad are often underestimated and the benefits overstated.

More than 6,800 American servicemembers gave the last full measure of devotion to their country on battlefields in Afghanistan and Iraq, with hundreds of thousands more returning with physical, emotional, or psychological wounds that may never heal.

The direct economic cost of the war in the Persian Gulf exceeds \$1.07 trillion, including \$773 billion in Overseas Contingency Operations funds, an increase of \$243 billion to the Department of Defense base budget, and an increase of \$54.2 billion to the Veterans Administration budget to address the human costs of the military involvement in Iraq.

We should not repeat the mistakes of the past and my position on this issue is directly aligned with the will of the American people.

I commend my colleague, Representative BARBARA LEE, for her introduction and advocacy of this legislation that will repeal the outdated 2002 AUMF.

Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I am a proud cosponsor of both of these bills on the floor today—H.R. 2456 to repeal the 2002 AUMF and H.R. 5543, No War Against Iran to prevent any funds from being used for military force against Iran. Having previously voted in support of these bills as amendments to the Fiscal Year 2020 National Defense Authorization Act, I believe bringing these bills to the floor today is important in order to reassert Congress' constitutional authority. The 2002 AUMF is an outdated piece of legislation. U.S. military deployments and operations carried out pursuant to the 2002 AUMF—dubbed Operation Iraqi Freedom—officially concluded in 2011. Almost 18 years after the resolution's passage, the United States recognizes the sovereignty of Iraq and considers Iraq a key ally. Under the constitution, Congress has the sole authority to declare war. Repealing obsolete AUMFs is essential to Congress living up to its constitutional responsibilities. Leaving the 2002 AUMF in place increases the likelihood that future Presidents will use it as a basis to start a new war, or expand a current one, without Congress's explicit authorization. Following our January 9 vote on, H. Con. Res. 83, a War Powers Resolution to make clear the President could not constitutionally escalate the conflict with Iran without congressional approval, the Trump Administration has only continued to thumb its nose at the Constitution

and has ignored Congress' authority as a co-equal branch of government. I, again, urge the Trump Administration to refocus its efforts on creating a coherent and constructive strategy towards the Middle East.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 811, the previous question is ordered on this portion of the divided question.

The question is: Will the House concur in the Senate amendment with the House amendment specified in section 4(b) of House Resolution 811?

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. ENGEL. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed. Votes will be taken in the following order:

Concurring in the Senate amendment to H.R. 550 with the amendment specified in section 4(a) of House Resolution 811; and

Concurring in the Senate amendment to H.R. 550 with the amendment specified in section 4(b) of House Resolution 811.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the remaining electronic vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

MERCHANT MARINERS OF WORLD WAR II CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL ACT OF 2019

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question on concurring in the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 550) to award a Congressional Gold Medal, collectively, to the United States Merchant Mariners of World War II, in recognition of their dedicated and vital service during World War II, with the House amendment specified in section 4(a) of House Resolution 811, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on concurring in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 228, nays 175, not voting 26, as follows:

[Roll No. 33]

YEAS—228

Adams	Beatty	Brindisi
Aguilar	Bera	Brown (MD)
Allred	Beyer	Brownley (CA)
Amash	Bishop (GA)	Bustos
Axne	Blumenauer	Butterfield
Barragán	Blunt Rochester	Carbajal
Bass	Bonamici	Cárdenas

Carson (IN)	Hollingsworth	Perlmutter	Hurd (TX)	Mooney (WV)	Stauber	Cárdenas	Himes	Perlmutter
Cartwright	Horn, Kendra S.	Peters	Johnson (LA)	Newhouse	Stefanik	Carson (IN)	Horn, Kendra S.	Peters
Case	Horsford	Peterson	Johnson (OH)	Norman	Steil	Cartwright	Horsford	Peterson
Casten (IL)	Houlihan	Phillips	Johnson (SD)	Nunes	Steube	Case	Houlihan	Phillips
Castor (FL)	Hoyer	Pingree	Jordan	Palazzo	Stewart	Caster (FL)	Hoyer	Pingree
Castro (TX)	Huffman	Pocan	Joyce (OH)	Palmer	Taylor	Castro (TX)	Huffman	Pocan
Chu, Judy	Jackson Lee	Porter	Joyce (PA)	Pence	Thompson (PA)	Chu, Judy	Jackson Lee	Porter
Cicilline	Jayapal	Pressley	Katko	Perry	Thornberry	Cicilline	Jayapal	Pressley
Cisneros	Jeffries	Price (NC)	Keller	Posey	Timmons	Cisneros	Jeffries	Price (NC)
Clark (MA)	Johnson (GA)	Quigley	Kelly (PA)	Ratcliffe	Tipton	Clark (MA)	Johnson (GA)	Quigley
Clarke (NY)	Johnson (TX)	Raskin	King (NY)	Reed	Turner	Clarke (NY)	Johnson (TX)	Raskin
Clay	Kaptur	Rice (NY)	Kustoff (TN)	Reschenthaler	Upton	Clay	Kaptur	Rice (NY)
Cleaver	Keating	Richmond	LaHood	Rice (SC)	Van Drew	Cleaver	Keating	Richmond
Clyburn	Kelly (IL)	Rose (NY)	LaMalfa	Riggleman	Wagner	Clyburn	Kelly (IL)	Rose (NY)
Cohen	Kennedy	Rouda	Lamb	Roby	Walorski	Cohen	Kennedy	Rouda
Connolly	Khanna	Roybal-Allard	Lamborn	Rodgers (WA)	Walden	Clyburn	Khanna	Roy
Cooper	Kildee	Ruiz	Latta	Rogers (KY)	Walorski	Cohen	Kildee	Roybal-Allard
Correa	Kilmer	Ruppersberger	Lesko	Rose, John W.	Waltz	Connolly	Kilmer	Ruiz
Costa	Kim	Rush	Long	Rouzer	Watkins	Correa	Kim	Ruppersberger
Courtney	Kind	Ryan	Lucas	Roy	Weber (TX)	Costa	Kind	Rush
Cox (CA)	Krishnamoorthi	Sánchez	Luetkemeyer	Rutherford	Webster (FL)	Courtney	Krishnamoorthi	Ryan
Craig	Kuster (NH)	Sarbanes	Marchant	Scalise	Wenstrup	Cox (CA)	Kuster (NH)	Sánchez
Crist	Langevin	Scanlon	Marshall	Schrader	Westerman	Craig	Langevin	Sarbanes
Crow	Larsen (WA)	Schakowsky	Mast	Schweikert	Williams	Crist	Larsen (WA)	Scanlon
Cuellar	Larson (CT)	Schiff	McAdams	Scott, Austin	Wilson (SC)	Crow	Larson (CT)	Schakowsky
Cunningham	Lawrence	Schneider	McCarthy	Sensenbrenner	Wittman	Cuellar	Lawrence	Schiff
Davids (KS)	Lawson (FL)	Schrier	McCaul	Shimkus	Womack	Cunningham	Lawson (FL)	Schneider
Davidson (OH)	Lee (CA)	Scott (VA)	McClintock	Simpson	Woodall	Davids (KS)	Lee (CA)	Schrader
Davis (CA)	Lee (NV)	Serrano	McHenry	Smith (MO)	Wright	Davidson (OH)	Lee (NV)	Schrier
Davis, Danny K.	Levin (CA)	Sewell (AL)	McKinley	Smith (NE)	Yoho	Davis (CA)	Levin (CA)	Schweikert
Dean	Levin (MI)	Shalala	Meadows	Smith (NJ)	Young	Davis, Danny K.	Levin (MI)	Scott, David
DeFazio	Lewis	Sherman	Meuser	Smucker	Zeldin	Dean	Lewis	Serrano
DeGette	Lieu, Ted	Sherrill	Miller	Spano		DeFazio	Lieu, Ted	Sewell (AL)
DeLauro	Lipinski	Sires				DeGette	Lipinski	Shalala
DeBene	Loebach	Slotkin				DeLauro	Loebach	Sherman
Delgado	Lofgren	Smith (WA)				DelBene	Lofgren	Sherrill
Demings	Lowenthal	Soto				Demings	Lowenthal	Sires
DeSaulnier	Lujan	Spanberger				DeSaulnier	Lujan	Slotkin
Deutch	Lynch	Stanton				Deutch	Lynch	Smith (WA)
Dingell	Malinowski	Stevens				Dingell	Malinowski	Soto
Doggett	Maloney, Carolyn B.	Suozi				Doggett	Maloney, Carolyn B.	Spanberger
Doyle, Michael F.	Maloney, Sean	Takano				Doyle, Michael F.	Maloney, Sean	Stanton
Engel	Massie	Thompson (CA)				Engel	Massie	Stevens
Escobar	Matsui	Thompson (MS)				Escobar	Matsui	Suozi
Eshoo	McBath	Titus				Eshoo	McBath	Swalwell (CA)
Espallat	McCollum	Tlaib				Espallat	McCollum	Takano
Evans	McEachin	Tonko				Evans	McEachin	Thompson (CA)
Finkenauer	McGovern	Torres (CA)				Finkenauer	McGovern	Thompson (MS)
Fletcher	McNerney	Torres Small (NM)				Fletcher	McNerney	Titus
Foster	Meeks	Trane				Foster	Meeks	Tlaib
Frankel	Meng	Underwood				Frankel	Meng	Tonko
Fudge	Moore	Vargas				Fudge	Moore	Torres (CA)
Gabbard	Morelle	Veasey				Gabbard	Morelle	Torres Small (NM)
Gaetz	Moulton	Vela				Gaetz	Moulton	Trane
Gallego	Mucarsel-Powell	Velázquez				Gallego	Mucarsel-Powell	Underwood
Garamendi	Nadler	Visclosky				Garamendi	Nadler	Upton
Garcia (IL)	Napolitano	Wasserman				Garcia (IL)	Napolitano	Vargas
Garcia (TX)	Neal	Schultz				Garcia (TX)	Neal	Veasey
Golden	Neguse	Watson Coleman				Golden	Neguse	Vela
Gomez	Norcross	Welch				Gomez	Norcross	Velázquez
Gonzalez (TX)	O'Halleran	Wexton				Gonzalez (TX)	O'Halleran	Visclosky
Gottheimer	Ocasio-Cortez	Wild				Gottheimer	Ocasio-Cortez	Wasserman
Green, Al (TX)	Pallone	Wilson (FL)				Green, Al (TX)	Pallone	Schultz
Grijalva	Panetta	Yarmuth				Grijalva	Panetta	Waters
Haaland	Pappas					Haaland	Pappas	Watson Coleman
Harder (CA)	Pascrell					Harder (CA)	Pascrell	Welch
Hastings	Payne					Hastings	Payne	Wexton
Hayes						Hayes		Wild
Higgins (NY)						Herrera Beutler		Wilson (FL)
Himes						Higgins (NY)		Yarmuth

NAYS—175

Abraham	Carter (GA)	Foxx (NC)
Aderholt	Carter (TX)	Fulcher
Allen	Chabot	Gallagher
Amodei	Cheney	Gianforte
Armstrong	Cline	Gibbs
Arrington	Cloud	Gohmert
Babin	Cole	Gonzalez (OH)
Bacon	Collins (GA)	Gooden
Baird	Comer	Gosar
Balderson	Conaway	Graves (GA)
Banks	Cook	Graves (LA)
Barr	Crawford	Graves (MO)
Biggs	Crenshaw	Green (TN)
Bilirakis	Curtis	Griffith
Bishop (NC)	Davis, Rodney	Grothman
Bishop (UT)	DesJarlais	Guest
Bost	Diaz-Balart	Guthrie
Brady	Duncan	Hagedorn
Brooks (AL)	Dunn	Harris
Brooks (IN)	Emmer	Hartzler
Buchanan	Estes	Hern, Kevin
Buchon	Ferguson	Herrera Beutler
Budd	Fitzpatrick	Hice (GA)
Burchett	Fleischmann	Hill (AR)
Burgess	Flores	Holding
Calvert	Fortenberry	Hudson

NOT VOTING—26

Bergman	Kelly (MS)	Murphy (NC)
Boyle, Brendan F.	King (IA)	Olson
Buck	Kinzing	Roe, David P.
Byrne	Kirkpatrick	Rogers (AL)
Granger	Loudermilk	Rooney (FL)
Heck	Luria	Speier
Higgins (LA)	Mitchell	Stivers
Huizenga	Moolenaar	Walberg
	Mullin	Walker

□ 1243

Mr. RUIZ changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the first portion of the divided question was adopted.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on concurring in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 236, nays 166, not voting 27, as follows:

[Roll No. 34]

YEAS—236

Adams	Beatty	Bonamici
Agullar	Bera	Brindisi
Allred	Beyer	Brown (MD)
Amash	Biggs	Brownley (CA)
Axne	Bishop (GA)	Bustos
Barragan	Blumenauer	Butterfield
Bass	Blunt Rochester	Carbajal

NAYS—166

Abraham	Calvert	Flores
Aderholt	Carter (TX)	Fortenberry
Allen	Chabot	Foxx (NC)
Amodei	Cheney	Fulcher
Armstrong	Cline	Gianforte
Arrington	Cole	Gibbs
Babin	Collins (GA)	Gohmert
Bacon	Comer	Gonzalez (OH)
Baird	Conaway	Gooden
Balderson	Cook	Gosar
Banks	Cooper	Graves (GA)
Barr	Crawford	Graves (LA)
Bilirakis	Crenshaw	Graves (MO)
Bishop (NC)	Curtis	Green (TN)
Bishop (UT)	Davis, Rodney	Griffith
Bost	DesJarlais	Grothman
Brady	Diaz-Balart	Guest
Brooks (AL)	Duncan	Guthrie
Brooks (IN)	Dunn	Hagedorn
Buchanan	Emmer	Harris
Buchon	Estes	Hartzler
Budd	Ferguson	Hern, Kevin
Burchett	Fitzpatrick	Hice (GA)
Burgess	Fleischmann	Hill (AR)