

facilities would be under surveillance and snap inspections as well, which it was. Iran's ability to enrich uranium over a certain amount was stopped.

President Trump criticized that deal and ripped it up, and at that moment, Iran raced to enrich uranium that put them closer and closer to breakout, and that was the pretext that Donald Trump said he invaded. It was one of the many pretexts of what he said is the reason why he started this war.

Well, he caused that problem, ripped up a deal, and now he is racing to negotiate some way to get back to many of the same aspects of that very deal. This is what the President has done. He created the crisis, declared war to stop the crisis he created, and still has not solved that crisis. This is the great dealmaker. This is the person that said they would keep us out of wars like this that has gotten us into those wars. And now we have no off-ramp, while Americans are suffering with higher prices, higher costs, and billions of dollars of taxpayer money that could be used to reduce the deficit, reduce prescription drug costs, reduce the cost of health insurance or other things that are high priorities for Americans.

So today, instead of ignoring this problem, we are going to force a vote. My colleague ADAM SCHIFF will bring forward a War Powers Resolution.

This is a sad moment for this body. Sixty days is about to pass, and we are doing nothing to demand any kind of oversight, any kind of accountability, or even following the War Powers Act by the letter of the law. We are allowing the President to flaunt our Constitution, to flaunt our laws. The only thing necessary for the Constitution to be so trashed and broken is for the good people of this body to do nothing.

We are about to celebrate 250 years of our Nation's history. When the Constitution was created, this body was created, as Federalist Papers No. 47 says, to be a check on our President, to ensure that they don't overstep their powers, to assure that they don't abuse their office. That is the constitutional calling for this body.

There are soldiers in harm's way right now defending the Constitution with their lives. The least we could be doing here in this body is upholding the Constitution with the moral fiber of our being.

I thank the Presiding Officer for the recognition, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

#### WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Mr. KIM. Mr. President, I rise today because the cost of this war is unbearable, and it is time we finally bring this to an end. I know we have talked a lot about that cost. It is something that the American people are feeling every single day. But I wanted to take a few minutes to really zoom in on what this war is costing us and why this War Powers Resolution by my colleague Senator SCHIFF is so important.

I want you to remember three numbers when we think about what this war has cost us in the first 60 days: \$25 billion, 47 months, and \$450. I want to go through these three numbers.

Let's start with \$25 billion. That is how much this war has cost the American people so far, according to the Acting Comptroller of the Department of Defense, and that very well may be an understatement. Now, \$11.3 billion of that was spent in the first 6 days of this war.

For \$25 billion, we could pay for a yearlong extension of the Affordable Care Act subsidies that the Republicans cut last year. In New Jersey, that would mean that the nearly 70,000 people so far who have dropped their health insurance plans could afford them yet again. It could easily restore full funding to the National Institutes of Health, which was cut by nearly 20 percent in this recent Trump budget. That is billions of dollars on medical research for cures for cancer, Alzheimer's, and other diseases that are hitting our families and our communities hard.

If we let this war go on for another 60 days, we are telling the American people that this choice of war without purpose or end matters more than their health and their families.

Now let's go to the second number: 47 months. That is the time it takes for a Tomahawk cruise missile to be contracted, manufactured, and deployed. Over the course of this war, we have used more than 1,000 Tomahawks. We have used more than 1,000 Patriot missiles, one of the most critical systems that we use to protect our forces as well as civilian populations. We have used hundreds of other precision munitions that are critical in our larger global defense, including in deterring Chinese aggression across the Indo-Pacific. The cost of this war isn't just the incredible cost it would take to replenish these munitions—now more than \$2.5 million per Tomahawk; more than \$15 million for THAAD batteries, which are critical against ballistic missiles. What we are also seeing is that it is a cost of time in losing momentum, in making sure that we maintain deterrence and project security and stability around the world.

Finally, this last number: \$450. Last week, that is how much more the Center for American Progress projected the average American family will have to pay to fill their tank over the next year because of the rise of gas prices.

One of the more shocking and eye-opening statements and statistics that are out there is that right now, nearly 40 percent of Americans say they can't afford a \$400 emergency. That is the world we live in right now.

This is an emergency. And if you think \$450 is a lot, this figure was calculated last week when the average gas price in the United States was \$4.02. Today, it is \$4.30. Prices are going up, and we have seen negotiations go absolutely nowhere. This administration

has failed to take them seriously, and it is the American people—our families and our small businesses—who are paying the price.

We can't continue to put the cost of this war on the American people. We can do something about it right here, right now, here in the Senate. We can pass this War Powers Resolution. We can bring this illegal war to an end, and we can give the American people the relief they desperately deserve. That is what I call on this Chamber and my colleagues to do.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

#### WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I rise today in strong support of Senator SCHIFF's War Powers Resolution to end President Trump's illegal war against Iran.

Let's begin with a simple fact. We are now over 60 days into this illegal war. The war was started on February 28. A few days later, on March 2, President Trump and his administration submitted the notice to Congress. So even if you take the date of submission, tomorrow will be the 60 days. Of course, we don't want to create incentives for any administration to delay the submission of the notice. So the clock has run. But let's just be clear. Accepting their view of the world, tomorrow will be the 60th day—60 days since President Trump, together with Prime Minister Netanyahu, started this war against Iran—a war started without congressional authorization, without articulating any clear American interest, and without telling the American people the truth about what this war would cost.

This war is making Americans less safe, and we are worse off because of it. The American people know that, which is why they overwhelmingly oppose this war and they want to see us bring it to an end now. Yet here we are over 60 days later. Fourteen American soldiers have been killed, hundreds of American troops wounded, thousands of civilians in the region killed, and at least \$25 billion of taxpayer money already burned. We face even more regional instability in an already volatile part of the world. And we have an administration that cannot explain what it is they are trying to achieve. They can't explain it today. They couldn't explain it the day they started the war.

In fact, over the last few weeks, President Trump has repeatedly pledged that the war would be resolved "quickly"—a promise he has made and then broken many times.

In fact, you may recall, colleagues, it was over a month ago that President Trump declared that we had won. He said: "We won."

Well, if we won, what the hell are we doing there? And the reality is we haven't won anything. Negotiations to

end it are off again. Then they are on. Then they are off.

Of course, a big part of these negotiations is about reopening the Strait of Hormuz, which was open the day before this war started. And now, reportedly, the President is preparing for an extended blockade of Iran, prolonging a conflict that has already driven up prices daily in the United States.

We just saw that average gasoline prices have reached a 4-year high in the United States. He has also kept American servicemembers deployed overseas for recordbreaking periods and expended a huge amount of munitions, creating shortages in our supplies elsewhere.

So what is the plan? What is the plan? Just to pursue an open-ended blockade, costing taxpayers billions of dollars—in fact, \$1 billion a day—and further jeopardizing the global economy, offering no clear path to ending the war?

Sometimes, President Trump says that this war was to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. Well, this is the President who tore up the Iran nuclear deal, or JCPOA, that was negotiated by President Obama, which kept Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon and had probably the most intrusive inspection regime in arms control history.

And last year, before President Trump started this war, his own DNI said that Iran was not pursuing a nuclear weapon. And, of course, after the military operations, in June of last year, against Iran's nuclear program, President Trump told the country that Iran's nuclear program was "obliterated."

I also think it is worth reminding people what Citizen Trump said back in 2011 because it is revealing as to the President's mindset. We know that this President often engages in projection. Here is what he said, back in 2011, about then-President Obama. He said:

Our President will start a war with Iran because he has absolutely no ability to negotiate. He's weak and he's ineffective. So the only way he figures that he's going to get re-elected—and as sure as you're sitting there—is to start a war with Iran.

Citizen Trump back in 2011 about President Obama.

Well, President Obama negotiated an agreement to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. President Trump, in his first term, tore it up.

But here is Donald Trump, essentially telling us what he thinks. Obviously, Donald Trump couldn't negotiate a deal with Iran, and so he started a war with Iran, exactly what he was claiming that President Obama would do, because he claimed President Obama didn't have the skills to negotiate an agreement to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon.

So here we are. Just to recap, the President started a war to stop what he had called an "obliterated" nuclear program and to reopen an international waterway that was open be-

fore he started the war. And since he started this war, along with Prime Minister Netanyahu, the justifications have been inconsistent and ever-changing, zigzagging here and there.

But the results are clear, which is that President Trump has led this country into a complete strategic mess, with no end in sight, and ever-rising costs that Americans have to bear, both in tax dollars expended and in higher prices at the pump and elsewhere.

And the reason for so many weeks that this administration refused to have one of their decisionmakers testify in front of Congress was because what he heard behind closed doors revealed that there was no plan and no endgame.

Now, in the last 2 days, we are hearing, finally, from Secretary Hegseth, and the American people can see in plain view that they have no plan. And yet this is the Secretary of the administration that is now asking this Congress to provide a \$1.5 trillion defense budget.

They just want to blow the roof off of the budget. And, of course, this is a Pentagon and Defense Department that have been unable to meet an audit.

So what are we going to do at this point? We have got \$25 billion gone. In fact, many people think that is a lowball estimate. But the reality is that we could put that money to much better use.

We could use it to help our fellow Americans. But, no, Donald Trump said: We can't do that. We don't have the resources for that because we need the resources for this war—a war he said he would never start. In fact, what he said is—and I am quoting:

It's not possible for us to take care of day care, [and] Medicaid, [and] Medicare, all these individual things [because] we're fighting wars.

The wars he said he would never start.

Well, maybe higher gas prices don't matter much to President Trump and his billionaire buddies and the biggest billionaire Cabinet in American history by far. Maybe they don't care about higher gas prices. But, I can tell you, Americans who are going to fuel their cars at the pump, they care. They are the ones bearing the burden here in America of this illegal Trump war.

And we also know that we are burning through our munitions at a very rapid rate, munitions that should have been reserved for real national emergencies that we might face elsewhere in the world.

We also heard something very disturbing again from Secretary Hegseth, when he testified in the House yesterday, which is his utter contempt—his utter contempt—for the guardrails we put in place to prevent civilian harm in war. That is why I led nearly the entire Democratic caucus, a few weeks ago, in demanding answers and accountability on the U.S. airstrike that hit an elementary school in Iran, killing over 175 people, most of them children.

But Secretary Hegseth, he is dismissive of all of these concerns. In fact, he said that the rules of engagement were "stupid"—rules designed to prevent innocent people from getting killed in war.

He should never have been nominated. He should never have been confirmed, and he should be relieved of duty today.

And how can we trust an administration with additional funds when they so brazenly say they don't want to comply with rules designed to prevent civilian harm which, in the long run, are also designed to help protect the lives of our troops?

And yet they are asking for more money and more resources, and all without any congressional authorization to go into this war.

Now, I want to just say something about the War Powers Resolution here because, as I cited at the top of my remarks, we are now 60 days into this war, yesterday, or if we accept the administration's interpretation, tomorrow—60 days.

Now, under the War Powers Resolution, the President doesn't have the authority to start a war and fight a war for 2 days, 3 days, 4 days—let alone 60 days. But that is what President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu did. They started the war.

The idea behind the War Powers Resolution is, if the United States faces an imminent threat that requires the President to engage in hostilities overseas, that we will have a clock to make sure that Congress, as representatives of the American people and given the power in the Constitution to declare war, has time to consider and debate. And it says you have 60 days, even if you are fighting a war that somebody else started.

So we are hearing that the Trump administration—the President—may exercise the ability under the War Powers Resolution for another 30 days, on top of the 60 days. So that gives you 90 days.

But here is the thing. The War Powers Resolution is very clear. That additional 30 days is not to ramp up a war. It is to ramp down a war. It is to bring American troops who are in hostility safely home. And yet here we are, around the 60th day, and President Trump, reportedly, is contemplating upping the tempo of the war, increasing strikes against Iran.

That is a gross violation even of my Republican Senate colleagues' interpretation of the War Powers Act. Are they going to sit here and say nothing and do nothing while the President blatantly violates the War Powers Resolution? So far, they have been silent as he violated the constitutional requirement that only the Congress can declare war.

But even if you adopt the world view that some of my Senate colleagues have expressed, the plain reading of the War Powers Resolution says: The next 30 days have to be used to wind down hostilities.

Now, I understand that Secretary Hegseth, today, in the Armed Services Committee here in the Senate, said: Well, we are now in a cease-fire. So the clock was paused. It is not ticking.

What a pile of nonsense. Here we have a full-on blockade, which we know is an active war, and the Secretary of Defense, who clearly just makes things up as he goes, is arguing that that somehow paused the statute.

I hope my Republican Senate colleagues have the self-respect not to buy into that ridiculous interpretation of the law. But that is apparently the lie that the Secretary of Defense is trying to perpetrate as we speak.

So let's be honest with the American people. We have a situation where the President, along with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, started a war against Iran. There was no imminent threat. They started it, and they did it without any congressional authorization.

In fact, our colleagues here won't put forward a resolution to authorize the use of force. It would be great to see people take that kind of accountability. If you support the President's action, put forward an authorization for the use of military force—not a peep about that.

But now, we have an actual statute that has already passed, the War Powers Resolution, which even the interpretation of Senate Republicans requires the President of the United States to spend the next 30 days winding down this war, not stepping up this war.

So really, colleagues, you should level with the American people. We have a President who promised to keep us out of wars. We have a President who said he was going to bring down prices.

He has done the exact opposite. He started wars. Prices are going up. Americans have been killed. Americans have been wounded. Thousands of civilians have been killed, thousands more wounded. And we are less safe and worse off.

When you are digging a hole, stop digging.

Vote for this War Powers Resolution, and let's put an end to this illegal war. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I want to thank Senator SCHIFF for bringing another War Powers Resolution before this body. I have lost count on how many votes we have had, but we are doing this for one reason and one reason only: The Republican majority refuses to do its constitutional and statutory responsibility.

The Constitution says we declare war. The President doesn't get to make war without the consent of Congress, and our Founders were very intentional, investing that power in us. They did not want an unchecked, runaway Executive being able to make war overseas without the consent of the people.

And I hear in Senator VAN HOLLEN'S voice his anger. I think we all are angry that our colleagues are not allowing this body to do its job, but we are also angry that the cost of this war is not being borne by Members of the U.S. Senate, is not being borne by Donald Trump's billionaire and corporate friends; the cost of this war is being borne by American consumers, by American small businesses, by American farmers.

And so I just want to spend my few minutes updating you on what the state of the American economy and what the state of the global economy—inextricably linked to the American economy—is today, 60 days after this illegal war began.

The scoreboard is gas prices. Americans today are paying, on average, about \$4.30 a gallon. Gas prices are up 20 to 30 percent from the beginning of the war. The price of Brent crude is now over \$120 a barrel compared to \$70 before the war.

The only reason the gas prices have gone up by 20 to 30 percent is the war. That is the only reason that Americans are paying those extraordinary amounts at the pump.

And let's put this in real terms. If you are a commuter in this country who has a longer than average commute, you are probably buying somewhere short of a thousand gallons a year in auto fuel. And so when the price jumps by \$1—and it may soon jump by \$2—that is \$1,000 to \$2,000 out of your pocket.

Forty percent of American families are living paycheck to paycheck. Forty percent of American families have less than \$400 in the bank in liquid assets ready to spend on an emergency like a car repair or an emergency medical bill. And so when you are spending a thousand dollars more every year just to fill up your tank, you go from being on the brink of financial crisis into financial crisis.

And, again, this isn't bad luck. This isn't a natural disaster. Donald Trump chose to increase gas prices in this country to \$4.30 a gallon. Diesel prices are up even more. Diesel prices are up 50 percent. This is the fuel that America's farmers and America's trucking industry uses. And our farmers were already dealing with the consequences of tariffs. Seventy percent of farmers right now in this country say that they will not have enough money in order to plant the next crop because the tariffs and the diesel prices are putting many of them out of business. Bankruptcies of farms are up almost 50 percent from before when Trump was President.

Inflation was 2.8 percent before the war, well above the Federal Reserve's target. It is now 3.5 percent. That is an extraordinary increase, largely driven by fuel costs, but the cost of everything else—cost increases for everything else are coming very soon as well.

Airfare prices, up by 25 percent. So if you are online right now looking to

book a ticket for your family's vacation, if you are planning far ahead and booking tickets for Thanksgiving or Christmas, you are paying 25 percent more than you would have paid before the war. Reason for higher airline prices? The war.

But this crisis is spiraling around the world because oil, \$120 a barrel, is what fuels our fabrics and clothing industry globally. So the cost of polyester and nylon is going up and up and up. And so in the sewing hubs of Bangladesh and other countries that send products to Walmart, where a lot of Americans buy their clothes, we are starting to see production interruptions because of the high price—increasingly high price—of the components of fabrics.

In Singapore and Taiwan, it is becoming more expensive for companies to produce medical devices like syringes and catheters because of the high, increasing price of plastic. Aluminum prices have been rising ever since the war in the Middle East started because of attacks on aluminum smelters in Iran and other Gulf countries. Helium, a product that is produced in the Middle East, the price is going through the roof, and so the semiconductor manufacturing industry globally is facing shortages because helium is an important product for semiconductors.

So it is not just gas prices. You are about to see a spike in the cost of technological products, automobiles, fabrics, clothing, medical devices. Everything is getting more expensive because of one person's insane decision. No President, Republican or Democrat, prior to Donald Trump made the decision to invade Iran, to launch a full-scale war against Iran, because they were told the consequence of doing that is the closure of the Strait of Hormuz, and there is no military response by the United States that will reopen the strait.

And so every President prior to Donald Trump, whether they were Republican or Democrat, decided not to wage a full-scale war on Iran because they knew one of the consequences would be the meltdown of the American economy and the meltdown of the global economy. And it would not be billionaires and big corporations that would pay the price. It would be regular Americans, regular minimum-wage Americans, middle-class Americans who would pay that price.

And so as we head into the summer and the price of everything for American consumers gets higher and higher—their summer travel, their plane tickets, their clothing, their groceries—there is only one person to blame: Donald Trump. And there is only one party to blame: the Republican Party, which could choose to join us and vote for one of these resolutions to end the war, to allow us to get back to a point where prices are coming down instead of spiraling upward. This is a choice that our Senate Republican colleagues make every week, to vote

for continuing this war and for continuing this disastrous price escalation on ordinary Americans.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I rise today on behalf of the American people who are against Donald Trump's illegal war with Iran. This war has taken the lives of 13 servicemembers—hundreds more are injured, many severely. This war has cost American taxpayers upward of \$25 billion and is jacking up the cost of energy, fuel, and fertilizer for Wisconsin families and farmers.

I have been clear since this conflict began 2 months ago: President Trump did not have the authority to start this war with Iran. We were not under attack from Iran. We were not under imminent threat of an attack from Iran. Therefore, President Trump was required to ask Congress, the people's branch, for authorization.

The Trump administration should have made the case to us and to the American people for why an all-out war with Iran was worth it. But the Trump administration did not follow the law. Donald Trump dragged the United States into a war of choice without a clear explanation.

It happened without open hearings or public debates or a timeline. He started a war with Iran without a clear reason or plan to get us out. That is why we are still at war 2 months later.

The Trump administration keeps saying that this will not be another endless war, but this administration still hasn't committed to a timeline for getting us out.

I have watched my Republican colleagues bend over backward to explain why they have abdicated their duty to be a check on President Trump, but even if this war of choice was allowed under law, Congress still has to play a role.

I wholeheartedly disagree with my Republican colleagues who said Trump could wage this war for 60 days without getting Congress' approval. But regardless, that clock that they just set up has run out. We are coming up on 60 days since the President notified Congress of military action in Iran. And as Republicans keep telling me, that deadline matters. On the 60-day mark, President Trump must cease military action or receive congressional authorization. My Republican colleagues know this. They have said as much, calling this deadline a "big deal" and a "trigger" that requires Congress to act.

So here is Republicans' chance to act. You said the President had 60 days to wage a war and that he needed Congress to sign off? Well, it has been 60 days. It is time to do your constitutional duty to rein in this President and stop this illegal war that is jacking up Americans' costs while accomplishing next to nothing.

Iran still has nuclear materials. They still have ballistic missiles and drones

to attack us, a blockade on the Strait of Hormuz, and the same oppressive regime in place. It is time to show the American people where you stand on this war. Join us in forcing the Trump administration to come to Congress, to explain to the American people why we are at war, and make their case for why this war should continue.

If they can't, then we shouldn't be at war, period.

I yield the floor.

(Mrs. MOODY assumed the chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGERTY). The Senator from California.

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DIRECTING THE REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM HOSTILITIES WITHIN OR AGAINST THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN THAT HAVE NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS—Motion to Discharge

Mr. SCHIFF. Pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1546(a) and section 601(b) of the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act, I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Relations from further consideration of S.J. Res. 184.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to discharge from the Committee on Foreign Relations, S.J. Res. 184, a joint resolution to direct the removal of United States Armed Forces from hostilities within or against the Islamic Republic of Iran that have not been authorized by Congress.

Mr. SCHIFF. For the last 8 weeks, I have taken to the Senate floor to oppose the Iran war. I have pointed out the lack of an imminent threat from Iran and the shifting justifications for the war.

I have enumerated the many costs of the war in blood and in treasure, in higher gas prices and costs of groceries. And I have lamented the loss of 13 servicemembers including a Californian and the injury of scores of others.

Today, I rise to sound the alarm about another risk of this war and that is that the administration is poised to violate the War Powers Act and that if we permit such a flagrant violation of the law, we, the Senate, and the Congress, will have surrendered the war power completely to the Executive.

This would be enormously dangerous and wrongheaded. I believe it is also in direct contravention of the Constitution and our duty to uphold it.

At midnight tonight, it will be the 60th day since Donald Trump notified Congress under the War Powers Act that we were at war with Iran—60 days. It is also a moment that some of my Republican colleagues have pointed to as a turning point in their consideration of the legal and constitutional bases for the Iran war.

That is because under the War Powers Act of 1973, a President is legally mandated to remove military forces from a conflict if Congress has not

voted to authorize it within those 60 days.

As we have all acknowledged, the President can order military action in response to an armed attack or the imminent threat of an attack if those dangers require immediate action, but that power and responsibility is not unlimited.

After 60 days, he must seek an authorization from Congress to continue the war or, failing to receive it, he must order the withdrawal of our forces.

Now, some of my colleagues across the aisle have argued that the President properly began this war because they believe that we faced some form of an immediate threat to our forces or our allies. But they have also affirmed that the President's authority to use military force expires after the 60 days set out in the War Powers Act.

Now, I strongly disagree with the argument that we faced an attack—or an imminent threat of attack—from Iran, justifying this war. But I respect the fact that some of my Republican colleagues have acknowledged that authority, if it exists, lapses tomorrow night.

This military operation has been carried out by the Commander in Chief for the past 60 days. We have multiple carrier strike groups, tens of thousands of servicemembers, pilots and sailors and soldiers and marines, all serving halfway around the world and now for 60 days.

In addition to the 13 servicemembers who have lost their lives, more than 200 others have been seriously—or have been injured, and some seriously. The letter of the law is clear. This is what the act says "Within sixty calendar days after a report"—and that is a report on the beginning of hostilities like the one we received from the President on March 2—"Within sixty calendar days . . . the President shall terminate any use of the United States Armed Forces with respect to which such report was submitted . . ."

"Shall terminate."

That is "Unless the Congress has declared war or has enacted a specific authorization for such use of [the] United States Armed Forces."

Now this is important. The law does not turn on the introduction of an authorization to use force or committee consideration of such an authorization or even a Senate floor vote on an authorization. No, the law requires the enactment of a war authorization. Failing that, the law requires the President to remove U.S. forces.

This is the case unless the Congress changes the War Powers Act itself, which we have not done, or cannot meet as a result of an attack, which is demonstrably not the case because, well, we are all here.

Those are the only two carve-outs. There are no other exceptions. If the President is still using the military for the same purpose as he was 60 days earlier and there has been no authorization of military force enacted—or war