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House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker.

MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 7, 2020, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with time equally allocated between the parties and each Member other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip limited to 5 minutes, but in no event shall debate continue beyond 11:50 a.m.

CONGRESS NEEDS TO FIX THE WAR POWERS ACT

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) for 5 minutes.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Madam Speaker, undeniably the worst foreign policy mistake in the history of the United States of America was the invasion of Iraq based on phoned-up intelligence that was trumpeted by Dick Cheney, Scooter Libby, and other characters in the Bush administration.

But just this last week, President Trump took us to the verge of an even worse foreign policy mistake in the Middle East. He recklessly and impatiently took us to the brink of war that would have been even worse.

Now, yesterday, I went to the so-called intelligence briefing. They offered no intelligence regarding immediate imminent threats to the United States, our troops, or allies in the region.

They did certainly make a case that Soleimani was a rotten guy and he was responsible for many, many deaths of Americans and others in the region, but that is all recited past history that

didn't talk about any immediate threats or any intelligence that would lead to it.

They further went on to say that the legal justification was the Authorization for Use of Military Force in the invasion of Iraq, which, of course, was based on phony intelligence regarding weapons of mass destruction he didn't have. So that is even more extraordinary if you think about that.

Last week, also, the President tweeted what he said was his compliance with war powers. He then went on to tweet a threat of all-out war against Iran, and then he went further to tweet that he would order that war crimes be committed during an all-out war against Iran.

That was walked back a little bit by the Secretary of Defense who said they would follow the law. And then Trump later said: I like laws. I will follow the laws. So he walked back from saying he was going to destroy cultural threats a little bit.

Today, on the floor of the House, we will take up a rebuke of the President for those actions. Hopefully, we will go further and we will repeal the Authorization for Use of Military Force from 2002 based on fake intelligence.

We will further, hopefully, take up legislation that was adopted as an amendment to the defense authorization last summer, with bipartisan support, to say that the President couldn't initiate hostilities against Iran without first coming to Congress.

Congress has the authority, and only Congress has the authority, to declare war. Once we are at war, the President, as Commander in Chief, can utilize the Armed Forces as he sees fit.

But the President does not have the authority. This is extraconstitutional when it isn't an attack or an imminent attack on the United States, its troops, or its citizens.

So we need to do those things.

Further, we need to fix the War Powers Act. That was adopted after the il-

legal actions of another President, Richard Nixon, the bombing of Cambodia.

There were two versions. One followed the Constitution, and said, no, no, any offensive actions into hostilities you first have to come to Congress. The second version said, well, you can initiate them, but you have to report within 48 hours, and if Congress doesn't authorize it within 60 days, you have to withdraw. That was defective and weak and doesn't reflect at all the congressional duties of this body.

Now, I know a lot of Members love to dodge the issues of war and peace—it is the toughest vote you can make—and that is essentially what they did at the time, a wink and a nod: Well, we will let the President do these things. Hey, if it works out, we will take credit; if it doesn't work out, oh, well, then we can castigate him later.

So I have introduced, yet again, a bill that comprehensively reforms the War Powers Act to reflect the constitutional authorities and duties of the United States Congress. It would say that the President cannot initiate hostilities without first coming to Congress.

It would define what consultation means. It doesn't mean a tweet to the Congress. It doesn't mean sending up a letter. It means a meaningful consultation. It establishes an executive legislative consultative group.

It also includes, most importantly, a sunset clause for any authorization by Congress.

I mean, a thousand years from now, the United States, I guess, if we don't repeal the 2002 Authorization for Use of Military Force, can attack whatever Iraq is a thousand years from now. That is absolutely absurd.

Finally, it does give Congress the authority and standing to go to the courts should the President violate the Constitution and the War Powers Act in the future—any President.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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