

unrestrained, and outdated 2002 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) against Iraq, which was passed and signed into law on October 16, 2002, nearly twenty years ago.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The 2002 AUMF is an outdated piece of legislation and repealing it will not affect any current military operations.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
 Cartwright Horn, Kendra S.
 Case Horsford
 Casten (IL) Houlihan
 Castor (FL) Hoyer
 Castro (TX) Huffman
 Chu, Judy Jackson Lee
 Cicilline Jayapal
 Cisneros Jeffries
 Clark (MA) Johnson (GA)
 Clarke (NY) Johnson (TX)
 Clay Kaptur
 Cleaver Keating
 Clyburn Kelly (IL)
 Cohen Kennedy
 Connolly Khanna
 Cooper Kildee
 Correa Kilmer
 Costa Kim
 Courtney Kind
 Cox (CA) Krishnamoorthi
 Craig Kuster (NH)
 Crist Langevin
 Crow Larsen (WA)
 Cuellar Larson (CT)
 Cunningham Lawrence
 Davids (KS) Lawson (FL)
 Davidson (OH) Lee (CA)
 Davis (CA) Lee (NV)
 Davis, Danny K. Levin (CA)
 Dean Levin (MI)
 DeFazio Lewis
 DeGette Lieu, Ted
 DeLauro Lipinski
 DelBene Loeb sack
 Delgado Lofgren
 Demings Lowenthal
 DeSaulnier Lowey
 Deutch Luján
 Dingell Lynch
 Doggett Malinowski
 Doyle, Michael F. Caroly n B.
 Engel Maloney, Sean
 Escobar Massie
 Eshoo Matsui
 Espaillat McBath
 Evans McCollum
 Finkenauer McEachin
 Fletcher McGovern
 Foster Mc Nerney
 Frankel Meeks
 Fudge Meng
 Gabbard Moore
 Gaetz Morelle
 Gallego Moulton
 Garamendi Mucarsel-Powell
 Garcia (IL) Moulton
 Garcia (TX) Nadler
 Golden Napolitano
 Gomez Neal
 Gonzalez (TX) Neguse
 Gottheimer Norcross
 Green, Al (TX) O'Halleran
 Grijalva Ocasio-Cortez
 Haaland Omar
 Harder (CA) Pallone
 Hastings Panetta
 Hayes Pappas
 Higgins (NY) Pascrell
 Himes Payne

NAYS—175

Abraham Carter (GA)
 Aderholt Carter (TX)
 Allen Chabot
 Amodei Cheney
 Armstrong Cline
 Arrington Cloud
 Babin Cole
 Bacon Collins (GA)
 Baird Comer
 Balderson Conaway
 Banks Cook
 Barr Crawford
 Biggs Crenshaw
 Bilirakis Curtis
 Bishop (NC) Davis, Rodney
 Bishop (UT) DesJarlais
 Bost Diaz-Balart
 Brady Duncan
 Brooks (AL) Dunn
 Brooks (IN) Emmer
 Buchanan Estes
 Buchson Ferguson
 Budd Fitzpatrick
 Burchett Fleischmann
 Burgess Flores
 Calvert Fortenberry

Hurd (TX) Mooney (WV)
 Johnson (LA) Newhouse
 Johnson (OH) Norman
 Johnson (SD) Nunes
 Jordan Palazzo
 Joyce (OH) Palmer
 Joyce (PA) Pence
 Katko Perry
 Keller Posey
 Kelly (PA) Ratcliffe
 King (NY) Reed
 Kustoff (TN) Reschenthaler
 LaHood Rice (SC)
 LaMalfa Riggelman
 Lamb Roby
 Lamborn Rodgers (WA)
 Latta Rogers (KY)
 Lesko Rose, John W.
 Long Rouzer
 Lucas Roy
 Luetkemeyer Rutherford
 Kuster (NH) Scalise
 Marshall Schrader
 Mast Schweikert
 McAdams Scott, Austin
 McCarthy Sensenbrenner
 McCaul Shimkus
 McClintock Simpson
 McHenry Smith (MO)
 McKinley Smith (NE)
 Meadows Smith (NJ)
 Meuser Smucker
 Miller Spano

NOT VOTING—26

Bergman Kelly (MS)
 Boyle, Brendan King (IA)
 F. Kinzinger
 Buck Kirkpatrick
 Byrne Loudermilk
 Granger Luria
 Heck Mitchell
 Higgins (LA) Moolenaar
 Hui zenga Mullin

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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.

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(b) 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. 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
 Agullar Bera
 Allred Beyer
 Amash Biggs
 Axne Bishop (GA)
 Barragan Blumenauer
 Bass Blunt Rochester

Staubert Cardenas
 Stefanik Carson (IN)
 Steil Cartwright
 Steube Case
 Stewart Hoyer
 Taylor Hoffman
 Thompson (PA) Jackson Lee
 Thornberry Jayapal
 Timmons Jeffries
 Tipton Johnson (GA)
 Turner Johnson (TX)
 Upton Clark (MA)
 Van Drew Clarke (NY)
 Wagner Clay
 Walden Cleaver
 Walorski Cloud
 Walt Clyburn
 Watkins Cohen
 Weber (TX) Connolly
 Webster (FL) Correa
 Wenstrup Kind
 Westerman Courtney
 Williams Cox (CA)
 Wilson (SC) Langevin
 Wittman Larsen (WA)
 Womack Woodall
 Wright Crow
 Yoho Cuellar
 Young Cunnigham
 Zeldin Davids (KS)
 Davis (OH) Lee (CA)
 Davis (CA) Lee (NV)
 Davis, Danny K. Levin (CA)
 Dean Levin (MI)
 Lewis Lewis
 DeFazio Lieu, Ted
 DeGette Lipinski
 DeLauro Loeb sack
 DelBene Lofgren
 Delgado Lowenthal
 Demings Lowey
 DeSaulnier Luján
 Deutch Lynch
 Dingell Malinowski
 Doggett Maloney,
 Doyle, Michael F. Caroly n B.
 Engel Maloney, Sean
 Escobar Massie
 Eshoo Matsui
 Espaillat McBath
 Evans McCollum
 Finkenauer McEachin
 Fletcher McGovern
 Foster Mc Nerney
 Frankel Meeks
 Fudge Meng
 Gabbard Moore
 Gaetz Morelle
 Gallagher Moulton
 Gallego Mucarsel-Powell
 Garamendi Moulton
 Garcia (IL) Nadler
 Garcia (TX) Murphy (FL)
 Golden Nadler
 Gomez Napolitano
 Gonzalez (TX) Neal
 Gottheimer Neguse
 Green, Al (TX) Norcross
 Grijalva O'Halleran
 Haaland Ocasio-Cortez
 Harder (CA) Omar
 Hastings Pallone
 Hayes Panetta
 Herrera Beutler Pappas
 Higgins (NY) Pascrell
 Himes Payne

NAYS—166

Abraham Calvert
 Aderholt Carter (TX)
 Allen Chabot
 Amodei Cheney
 Armstrong Cline
 Arrington Cloud
 Babin Cole
 Bacon Collins (GA)
 Baird Comer
 Balderson Conaway
 Banks Cook
 Barr Crawford
 Biggs Crenshaw
 Bilirakis Curtis
 Bishop (NC) Davis, Rodney
 Bishop (UT) DesJarlais
 Bost Diaz-Balart
 Brady Duncan
 Brooks (AL) Dunn
 Brooks (IN) Emmer
 Buchanan Estes
 Buchson Ferguson
 Budd Fitzpatrick
 Burchett Fleischmann
 Burgess Flores

Flores Fortenberry
 Fortenberry Foxx (NC)
 Fulcher Fulcher
 Gianforte Gianforte
 Gibbs Gibbs
 Gohmert Gohmert
 Gonzalez (OH) Gonzalez (OH)
 Gooden Gooden
 Gosar Gosar
 Graves (GA) Graves (GA)
 Graves (LA) Graves (LA)
 Graves (MO) Graves (MO)
 Green (TN) Green (TN)
 Griffith Griffith
 Grothman Grothman
 Guest Guest
 Guthrie Guthrie
 Hagedorn Hagedorn
 Harris Harris
 Hartzler Hartzler
 Hern, Kevin Hern, Kevin
 Hice (GA) Hice (GA)
 Hill (AR) Hill (AR)