

# CRS Report for Congress

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## **U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Roll Call Votes Since 1982**

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Lisa Mages  
Information Research Specialist  
Knowledge Services Group

# U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Roll Call Votes Since 1982

## Summary

This report lists relevant congressional roll call votes for several major instances in which U.S. Armed Forces have been sent abroad in potentially hostile situations. These votes are representative of those that have a direct correlation to issues affecting policy and funding of troops abroad, often in the context of the War Powers Resolution, continued presence or withdrawal, or “use of force.” The cases of Lebanon (1982-1983), Grenada (1983), Panama (1989), the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991), Somalia (1992-1995), Haiti (1993-1996), Bosnia (1992-1998), Kosovo (1999), the terrorist attack against America (2001) (including the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Afghanistan), and the use of U.S. Armed Forces against Iraq (2002-present) are examined. Those roll call votes that are available online (since 1990 in the House and 1989 in the Senate) are linked. This report will be updated as events or legislation warrant.

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# U.S. Armed Forces Abroad: Selected Congressional Roll Call Votes Since 1982

## Introduction

The President and Congress have historically played divided roles when sending U.S. troops into hostile situations. Although the President has the power under Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution to send the armed forces to repel attacks, Congress under Article I, Section 8 has the power to declare war and raise and support the armed forces. The War Powers Resolution (P.L. 93-148, November 7, 1973) was enacted to ensure that the President and Congress share in decisions where U.S. troops may become involved in hostilities. This sharing of power has often resulted in controversy, particularly when troops are sent into situations where there has not been a formal declaration of war. In most instances, Congress has used its legislative prerogatives through funding mechanisms or declarations of policy either to affirm or to place limits on presidential action.

There have been three instances in which Congress has authorized the use of military force in advance of hostilities: the Persian Gulf War (1991), the terrorist attack against America (2001), and the “use of force against Iraq” resolution (2002). In each case, however, the President has maintained that while he may have sought congressional consultation and support, the President has the constitutional authority as Commander-in-Chief to use force, including the armed forces of the United States, to protect U.S. national security interests.

This report considers selected roll call votes since 1982. These votes are representative of those that have a direct correlation to issues affecting policy and funding of troops abroad, often in the context of the War Powers Resolution, continued presence or withdrawal, or “use of force.” This report may be useful for those who want to get a feel for the tenor of debate between the executive and legislative branches that often surrounds the issue of the U.S. military abroad. We provide links to the actual roll call votes in the House since 1990 (101<sup>st</sup> Congress, second session), as compiled by the Clerk of the House. Senate roll call votes are provided since 1989 (101<sup>st</sup> Congress, first session), as compiled by Secretary of the Senate. These links include each Member’s yea or nay vote.

In some cases, House or Senate votes are voice votes, and, thus, no roll call vote exists. Moreover, the ultimate disposition of amendments listed in the report (i.e., whether such amendments were incorporated into any final law) may not be self-evident. In other instances, only one chamber of Congress may have voted on a particular measure; for example, a House or Senate simple resolution is a nonlegislative measure that expresses nonbinding opinions on policies or issues and

is effective only in the chamber in which it is proposed. It does not require concurrence by the other chamber or approval by the President.

For more detailed contextual and legislative history information, see CRS Report RL32267, *The War Powers Resolution: After Thirty Years*, by Richard F. Grimmett.

The laws, bills, and resolutions below are listed in the chronological order of the roll call votes that were held.

Until a new date intervenes, actions should be understood to have taken place on the last date mentioned.

## **Lebanon (1982-1983)**

On September 29, 1982, President Reagan deployed 1,200 marines to serve as part of a multinational observer force to restore the sovereignty of the Lebanese government. By March 30, 1984, the mission had ended.

### **P.L. 98-43/S. 639**

Lebanon Emergency Assistance Act of 1983. Required the President to seek statutory authority for any substantial expansion of U.S. participation in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon. May 20, 1983: Measure passed Senate (voice vote). June 2, 1983: Measure passed House, 276-76 (roll call vote #153).

### **H.J.Res. 364**

To provide statutory authority under the War Powers Resolution for continued U.S. participation in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon for up to 18 months after enactment. September 28, 1983: Measure passed House, 270-161 (roll call vote #356).

The Long substitute amendment requires the President to invoke the War Powers Resolution by the end of November, or at the end of any month thereafter, unless President certifies to Congress that a cease-fire was in effect and being observed by all parties, and that significant progress was being made in negotiations to broaden the base of Lebanese government. Rejected in House, 158-272 (roll call vote #360).

### **P.L. 98-119/S.J.Res. 159**

Authorizes the President to maintain U.S. Armed Forces in Lebanon as part of a multinational peacekeeping force for 18 months; determines that the requirements of Section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution became operational on August 29, 1983. September 29, 1983: Measure passed House 253-156 (roll call vote #370). September 29, 1983: Measure passed Senate, 54-46 (roll call vote #274).

Baker motion to kill the Byrd amendment stating that U.S. Marines in Lebanon became engaged in hostilities on August 29, 1983, requiring the President to submit

report to Congress under Section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution concerning hostilities, and extending for 60 days from enactment of the resolution the President's authority to keep U.S. forces in Lebanon. Agreed to in Senate, 55-45 (roll call vote #269).

Baker motion to kill the Pell amendment to authorize the U.S. Marines to remain in Lebanon for an additional six months instead of 18. Agreed to in Senate, 62-38 (roll call vote #270).

Baker motion to kill the Tsongas amendment stating that a purpose of the deployment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon was to help the Lebanese government "maintain a secure area from which to restore full control over its own territory." Agreed to in Senate, 56-42 (roll call vote #271).

Baker motion to kill the Levin amendment stating that "actual or imminent hostilities involving U.S. armed forces" began on August 29, 1983. Agreed to in Senate, 54-45 (roll call vote #272).

Baker motion to kill Eagleton amendment to allow the U.S. to take such "defensive measures as may be appropriate" to protect the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon rather than "protective" measures; would require the President to report to Congress periodically on the results of efforts to secure removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. Agreed to in Senate, 66-34 (roll call vote #273).

#### **H.R. 4185**

Department of Defense Appropriations for FY1984. November 2, 1983: Measure passed House, 328-97 (roll call vote #443).

The Long amendment prohibits funds for deployment of U.S. Armed Forces participating in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon after March 1, 1984. Rejected in House, 153-274 (roll call vote #441).

## **Grenada (1983)**

On October 25, 1983, President Reagan sent U.S. Marines and Army troops to Grenada in order to protect American lives and restore law and order at the request of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. All U.S. troops were removed from Grenada by December 15, 1983.

#### **H.J.Res. 308**

Joint resolution increasing the statutory limit on the public debt. November 16, 1983: Measure passed Senate: 58-40 (roll call vote #370). October 28, 1983: Hart amendment to invoke the War Powers Resolution with respect to American military involvement in Grenada. Agreed to in Senate, 64-20 (roll call vote #321).

**H.J.Res. 402**

Declared that the requirements of Section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution became operative on October 25, 1983, when U.S. armed forces were introduced into Grenada. November 1, 1983: Measure passed House, 403-23 (roll call vote #437).

**Panama (1989)**

On December 20, 1989, President George H.W. Bush deployed 14,000 U.S. military forces to Panama in order to protect American lives, restore Panamanian democracy, and apprehend General Manuel Noriega. Congress did not immediately react to the situation, as the 101<sup>st</sup> Congress, first session had ended on November 22, 1989; the second session of the 101st Congress did not begin until January 23, 1990. The 14,000 U.S. troops were removed from Panama by February 13, 1990.

**H.Con.Res. 262**

Expresses sadness over the loss of U.S. soldiers' lives as a result of Operation Just Cause and commends the President for his efforts to provide for the early return of the remaining U.S. troops from Panama. February 7, 1990: Measure passed House, 389-26 (roll call vote #12).

**Persian Gulf War (1990-1991)**

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait, seized its oil fields, ousted the Kuwaiti leadership, installed a new government in Kuwait City, and massed troops on the Saudi Arabian border. On August 9, President Bush reported that he had deployed U.S. troops to the region. Legislation in late 1990 (101st Congress, second session) focused on imposing sanctions against Iraq, in seeking the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the area, and in supporting the President in carrying out the provisions of the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. On January 12, 1991 (102<sup>nd</sup> Congress, first session), the Congress authorized the "use of force" against Iraq in advance of the outbreak of hostilities with Iraq on January 16.

**H.R. 5431**

A bill to impose sanctions on Iraq. August 2, 1990: Measure passed House, 416-0 (roll call vote #303).

**S.Res. 318**

Resolution to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. August 2, 1990: Measure passed Senate, 97-0 (roll call vote #211).

**H.J.Res. 658**

Joint resolution to support actions the President has taken with respect to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and to demonstrate U.S. resolve. October 1, 1990: Measure passed House, 380-29 (roll call vote #394).

**S.Con.Res. 147**

Concurrent resolution supporting the actions taken by the President with respect to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. October 2, 1990: Measure passed Senate, 96-3 (roll call vote #258).

**P.L. 102-1/H.J.Res. 77**

Joint resolution to authorize the use of United States armed forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678. January 12, 1991: Measure passed House, 250-183 (roll call vote #9).

**H.Con.Res. 32**

Concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress that Congress must approve any offensive military action against Iraq. January 12, 1991: Measure passed House, 302-131 (roll call vote #7).

**H.Con.Res. 33**

Concurrent resolution expressing sense of Congress that the President should continue to rely on international sanctions and that the President must obtain congressional approval before undertaking any offensive action against Iraq. January 12, 1991: Measure rejected in House, 183-250 (roll call vote #8).

**S.J.Res. 1**

Joint resolution expressing sense of Congress that the President should continue to rely on international sanctions and that the President must obtain congressional approval before undertaking any offensive action against Iraq. January 12, 1991: Measure rejected by Senate, 46-53 (roll call vote #1).

**S.J.Res. 2**

Joint resolution to authorize the use of U.S. Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678. January 12, 1991: Measure passed Senate, 52-47 (roll call vote #2).

## **Somalia (1992-1995)**

On December 10, 1992, President Bush reported that he had deployed U.S. troops into Somalia on December 8, in response to United Nations Security Council Resolution 794, which authorized the Secretary General to “use all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia” and to provide military forces for accomplishing this. U.S. troops were deployed to assist United Nations Forces in Somalia (UNOSOM) throughout 1993 and 1994, ending on March 3, 1995.

**S.J.Res. 45**

Joint resolution authorizing the use of United States Armed Forces in Somalia pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 794 providing for a secure environment to deliver relief supplies into Somalia. February 4, 1993: Measure passed Senate (voice vote). May 25, 1993: Measure passed House, 243-179 (roll call vote #183). The House reported version authorized U.S. troops under the War Powers Resolution, but terminated such authorization at the earlier of (1) end of one year from



date of enactment of the act unless extended by Congress; or (2) expiration of the United Nations-led force in Somalia.

Gilman substitute amendment to reduce from one year to six months authorization for U.S. participation and to delete the section of the bill complying with the War Powers Resolution. Rejected in House, 179-248 (roll call vote #179).

Roth amendment to end the U.S. troop authorization and financial aid in Somalia on June 30, 1993. Rejected in House, 127-299 (roll call vote #180).

Solomon amendment to commend U.S. Armed Forces for establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief in Somalia. Agreed to in House, 425-0 (roll call vote #181).

Separate vote at request of Walker on amendment adopted by Solomon in Committee of the Whole to commend U.S. forces for establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief in Somalia. Agreed to in House, 419-0 (roll call vote #182).

#### **H.Con.Res. 170**

Concurrent resolution directing the President pursuant to Section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from Somalia by January 31, 1994. September 9, 1993: Measure passed House (voice vote).

Gilman amendment to change deadline for removal of U.S. troops in Somalia from March 31, 1994, to January 31, 1994. Agreed to in House, 224-203 (roll call vote #555).

Hamilton substitute amendment to change deadline for removal of U.S. troops back to March 31, 1994, from January 31, 1994, substituted by Gilman. Agreed to in House, 226-201 (roll call vote #556).

#### **P.L. 103-160/H.R. 2401**

National Defense Authorization Act for FY1994). September 29, 1993: Measure passed House, 268-162 (roll call vote #474). Measure passed Senate (inserted text of S. 1298 — voice vote).

Gephardt amendment requiring the President to report to Congress by October 15, 1993, on goals, objectives, and duration of U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia and expressing sense of Congress that the President should seek congressional authorization by November 15, 1993, for continued deployment in Somalia. Agreed to in the House Committee of the Whole, 406-26 (roll call vote #463).

Separate vote at request of Walker on Gephardt amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole (described above). Agreed to in House, 405-23 (roll call vote #472).

Spence motion to recommit bill to House Armed Services with instructions to report back with amendment requiring the President to certify that it is vital and necessary to protect U.S. national interests before placing U.S. troops under control

of a foreign national on behalf of the United Nations. Rejected in House, 192-238 (roll call vote #473).

Byrd amendment to the Byrd amendment expressing sense of Senate that the President should outline goals, objectives, and duration of deployment of U.S. troops in Somalia and report to Congress by October 15, 1993; President should ask for and receive congressional authorization for continued deployment in Somalia by November 15, 1993; U.S. participation would terminate if Congress failed to authorize such continued involvement. Agreed to in Senate, 90-7 (roll call vote #252).

**P.L. 103-139/H.R. 3116**

Department of Defense Appropriations for FY1994. October 21, 1993: Measure passed Senate (voice vote).

October 15, 1993: Thurmond motion to kill McCain amendment to prohibit funding of U.S. military operations in Somalia except for withdrawal of all U.S. troops. Agreed to in Senate, 61-38 (roll call vote #313).

Byrd amendment to prohibit funding of U.S. military operations in Somalia after March 31, 1994, except for limited purposes if the President requests and Congress authorizes an extension; requires U.S. forces to be under command of U.S. commanders. Agreed to in Senate, 76-23 (roll call vote #314).

**H.R. 3759**

Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY1994. February 3, 1994: Measure passed House, 337-74 (roll call vote #13). February 10, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 85-10 (roll call vote #45).

February 3, 1994: Frank amendment to delete \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance in Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq, and Haiti. Rejected in House, 158-260 (roll call vote #8).

February 10, 1994: Feingold (Senate) amendment to eliminate \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq, and Haiti. Rejected in Senate, 19-76 (roll call vote #40).

**P.L. 103-335/H.R. 4650**

Department of Defense Appropriations for FY1995. August 11, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 86-14 (roll call vote #282).

August 10, 1994: Kempthorne amendment prohibiting funds from supporting the continued presence of U.S. troops in Somalia after September 30, 1994. Agreed to in Senate, 54-44 (roll call vote #278).

## **Haiti (1993-1996)**

On October 20, 1993, President Clinton reported that U.S. ships had begun enforcing a United Nations embargo against Haiti. On September 19, 1994, President Clinton had deployed 1,500 troops to Haiti to restore democracy; that level was

ultimately increased to over 20,000. By March 21, 1995, U.S. troops were reduced to under 5,300 and incorporated into the United Nations Multinational Force in Haiti. By September 21, 1995, they were reduced to under 2,500 personnel. U.S. troops ended their deployment to Haiti by April 17, 1996.

**P.L. 103-139/H.R. 3116**

Department of Defense Appropriations for FY1994. October 21, 1993: Measure passed Senate (voice vote).

Helms amendment to prohibit funding any U.S. military operations in Haiti unless Congress explicitly authorizes such action or the President certifies to Congress that U.S. citizens are in danger. Rejected in Senate, 19-81 (roll call vote #321).

Mitchell amendment expressing sense of Congress that Congress should authorize all U.S. military operations in Haiti unless U.S. citizens are in imminent need of protection and evacuation or that deployment is vital to national security interests. Agreed to in Senate, 98-2 (roll call vote #322).

**H.R. 3759**

Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY1994. February 3, 1994: Measure passed House, 337-74 (roll call vote #13). February 10, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 85-10 (roll call vote #45).

February 3, 1994: Frank amendment deleting \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance in Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia, and Iraq. Rejected in House, 158-260 (roll call vote #8).

February 10, 1994: Feingold amendment eliminating \$1.2 billion for peacekeeping operations in Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia, and Iraq. Rejected in Senate, 19-76 (roll call vote #40).

**H.R. 4301**

National Defense Authorization Act for FY1995. June 9, 1994: Measure passed House, 260-158 (roll call vote #226).

May 24, 1994: Goss amendment expressing sense of Congress that the United States with the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations should establish a safe haven for Haitian refugees on Ile de la Gonava; establish legitimate Haitian administration to govern; the President should not undertake any military action against Haiti unless it presents a clear and present danger to the United States. Agreed to in House, 223-201 (roll call vote #197).

June 9, 1994: Separate vote at request of Dellums on the amendment offered by Goss, previously voted on at roll call vote #197 above. Rejected in House, 195-226 (roll call vote #224).

**P.L. 103-306/H.R. 4426**

Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations for FY1995. July 15, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 84-9 (roll call vote #203).

June 29, 1994: Gregg amendment to prohibit military action in Haiti unless the operations are authorized in advance by Congress or necessary to protect U.S. citizens for national security interests. Rejected in Senate 34-65 (roll call vote #172).

Mitchell amendment expressing sense of Congress that Congress should authorize all U.S. military operations in Haiti unless U.S. citizens are in immediate need of protection or deployment is vital to U.S. national security. Agreed to in Senate, 93-4 (roll call vote #173).

**H.R. 4624**

Department of Veterans Affairs Appropriations for FY1995. August 4, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 86-9 (roll call vote #262).

August 3, 1994: Dole amendment expressing sense of Senate that United Nations Security Council Resolution 940 did not constitute authorization for deployment of U.S. forces in Haiti under the Constitution or the War Powers Resolution. Agreed to in Senate, 100-0 (roll call vote #254).

**H.R. 4606**

Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations for FY1995. August 5, 1994: McCain motion to kill Specter amendment barring the President from deploying U.S. troops to restore legitimately elected Haitian government unless authorized by Congress, unless vital to national security interests, or to protect lives of U.S. citizens. Agreed to in Senate, 63-31 (roll call vote #263).

**H.Con.Res. 290**

Concurrent resolution commending the President and the special delegation to Haiti; supporting U.S. Armed Forces in Haiti; supporting an orderly withdrawal of U.S. forces as soon as possible. September 19, 1994: Measure passed House, 353-45 (roll call vote #424).

**S.Res. 259**

Resolution expressing sense of the Senate supporting U.S. forces in Haiti; commending the special delegation led by former President Carter; supporting lifting of economic sanctions on Haiti; supporting prompt and orderly withdrawal of all U.S. forces. September 21, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 94-5 (roll call vote #301).

**H.J.Res. 416**

Joint resolution expressing sense of Congress that all U.S. troops should be promptly and orderly withdrawn from Haiti as soon as possible; President should have sought congressional approval before deployment of troops; requires the President to submit statement of national security objectives of Operation Uphold Democracy within seven days of enactment. October 7, 1994: Measure passed House, 236-182 (roll call vote #500).

October 6, 1994: Gilman amendment expressing sense of Congress that President should not have ordered U.S. troops to occupy Haiti and should immediately begin the "safe and orderly withdrawal" of all U.S. forces; provides for consideration of joint resolution to be introduced January 3, 1995, which if enacted, would prohibit

continued use of U.S. troops in Haiti within 30 days. Rejected in House, 205-225 (roll call vote #497).

Dellums amendment expressing sense of Congress that all U.S. troops should be promptly and orderly withdrawn from Haiti; President should have sought congressional approval before deploying troops; requires President to submit to Congress within seven days of enactment a statement on national security objectives of Operation Uphold Democracy and other reports on situation there. Agreed to in House, 258-167 (roll call vote #498).

October 7, 1994: Toricelli amendment authorizing the presence of U.S. troops in Haiti until March 1, 1995, unless President determines and certifies to Congress that continued presence is essential to protect U.S. citizens or vital to national security interests. Rejected in House, 27-398 (roll call vote #499).

**P.L. 103-423/S.J.Res. 229**

Joint resolution expressing sense of Congress for a prompt and orderly withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Haiti as soon as possible; requires President to submit reports to Congress on the scope and duration of U.S. mission in Haiti. October 6, 1994: Measure passed Senate, 91-8 (roll call vote #323). October 7, 1994: Measure passed House (voice vote).

## **Bosnia (1992-1998)**

The civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina resulted in U.S. military participation in various efforts over several years to halt the fighting. The United States participated in both United Nations and NATO actions without explicit congressional authorization. Beginning in 1992, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 770, which called on all nations to take “all measures necessary” to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo. On August 11, 1992, the Senate passed S.Res. 330, which urged the President to work for such a resolution and pledged funds for participation, but also said that no U.S. military personnel should be introduced into hostilities without clearly defined objectives.

On the same day, the House passed H.Res. 554, which urged the Security Council to authorize measures, including the use of force, to ensure humanitarian relief. As the conflict in Bosnia continued and escalated over the next several years, U.S. troops were sent to participate in NATO and United Nations peacekeeping missions. Consequently, leaders in Congress began calling for greater congressional involvement in decisions.

In 1994, for example, the Senate passed S. 2042, which called for the United States to end unilaterally its arms embargo with Bosnia; the Senate also passed an amendment to S. 2042 which stated that no ground combat troops should be deployed to Bosnia unless previously authorized by Congress. The House did not act on the measure. With the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement for Bosnia on December 14, 1995, NATO took over the ground operation from UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force). Consequently, in late 1995, over 20,000 U.S. combat troops were

sent to Bosnia as part of the NATO-led peacekeeping force. In December 1995, Congress considered and voted on a number of bills and resolutions, but the House and Senate could not come to consensus on any single measure. In 1996, President Clinton agreed to provide up to 8,500 ground troops to participate in the NATO-led follow-on force in Bosnia termed the Stabilization Force (SFOR).

Subsequent efforts by both the House and Senate to require the President to either limit funding for the Bosnia operations or to bring the troops home did not succeed. On March 18, 1998, for example, the House defeated by a vote of 193-225 H.Con.Res. 227, which would have directed the President to remove U.S. Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina, pursuant to Section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution.

On July 22, 2002, President Bush reported to Congress that U.S. Armed Forces contributions to SFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina were approximately 2,400 personnel.

## **102<sup>nd</sup> Congress (1991-1992)**

### **Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **S.Res. 330**

An original resolution relating to authorization of multinational action in Bosnia-Herzegovina under Article 42 of the United Nations Charter. It expresses the sense of the Senate that the President should call upon the United Nations to authorize all means, including multinational military action, to ensure the flow of humanitarian relief in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to gain access for the U.N. and International Red Cross personnel to refugee and war camps. August 11, 1992: Measure passed Senate, 74-22 (roll call vote #186).

August 10, 1992: Warner amendment to express the Senate's support for the six measures that President Bush said on August 6 that the Administration was taking to help resolve the Balkan Crisis. Agreed to in Senate, 90-5 (roll call vote #184).

August 11, 1992: Stevens amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the United States will provide necessary funds for U.S. participation in humanitarian and multilateral military action in Bosnia-Herzegovina as mandated by the United Nations. Agree to in Senate, 82-13 (roll call vote #185).

## **103<sup>rd</sup> Congress (1993-1994)**

### **House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **H.R. 3116**

Making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994. September 30, 1993: Measure passed House, 325-102 (roll call vote #480). November 10, 1993: Senate agreed to conference report, 88-9 (roll call vote #368).

October 20, 1993: Mitchell amendment to express the sense of Congress that none of the funds in the bill should be used to deploy U.S. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina unless authorized by Congress, except for humanitarian missions started before October 20, 1993. Agree to in Senate, 99-1 (roll call vote #320).

### **Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **S. 2042**

A bill to remove the United States arms embargo of the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. May 12, 1994: Measure passed Senate (voice vote).

Mitchell amendment to direct the President to seek the immediate agreement of NATO allies to terminate the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina, direct the President to seek a U.N. Security Council resolution to terminate the arms embargo and ... authorize U.S. air power to implement NATO exclusion zones and to protect U.N. forces, but prohibit the deployment of U.S. ground combat forces without congressional authorization. Agreed to in Senate, 50-49 (roll call vote #110).

Dole amendment to require the President to terminate the U.S. arms embargo of Bosnia-Herzegovina upon receipt of a request from that government for assistance in its right of self-defense and to prohibit interference with the transfer of conventional arms by the executive branch. The amendment also states that nothing in the amendment shall be interpreted as an authorization for the deployment of U.S. forces. Agreed to in Senate, 50-49 (roll call vote #111).

## **104<sup>th</sup> Congress (1995-1996)**

### **House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **H.Res. 247**

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives to the deployment of the United States armed forces on the ground in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to enforce a peace agreement. October 30, 1995: Gilman motion to suspend the rules and adopt the resolution ... that a successful outcome for the Bosnia peace talks should not assume the deployment of U.S. troops, and that any deployment should be authorized by Congress. Measure passed House, 315-103 (roll call vote #745).

#### **H.R. 2606**

To prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of U.S. Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operations, or as part of any implementation force, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law. November 17, 1995: Measure passed House, 243-171 (roll call vote #814). December 13, 1995: Measure rejected in Senate, 22-77 (roll call vote #601).

#### **H.R. 2770**

To prohibit federal funds from being used for the deployment on the ground of U.S. Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of any

peacekeeping operations, or as part of any implementation force. December 13, 1995: Measure rejected in House, 210-218 (roll call vote #856).

#### **H.Res. 302**

Relating to the deployment of the U.S. Armed Forces in and around the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to enforce the peace agreement between the parties to the conflict. Declares that the House has serious concerns and opposes the President's policy to deploy U.S. ground troops to Bosnia ... and that the U.S. government should be impartial and evenhanded with all parties in the Bosnian conflict as necessary to ensure the safety of U.S. troops. December 13, 1995: Measure passed House, 287-141 (roll call vote #857).

#### **H.Res. 306**

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that while some Members of Congress have questions and concerns about the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia, the House unequivocally supports the men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces who are serving there. December 14, 1995: Rejected in House, 190-237 (roll call vote #858).

#### **H.R. 2076**

Making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes. July 26, 1995: Measure passed House, 272-151 (roll call vote #585). September 29, 1995: Measure passed Senate (voice vote). December 6, 1995: House agreed to conference report, 256-166 (roll call vote #841). December 7, 1995: Senate agreed to conference report, 50-48 (roll call vote #591). December 19, 1995: Vetoed by President. January 3, 1996, House failed to override veto, 240-159 (roll call vote #4).

September 29, 1995: Gregg amendment to express the sense of the Senate that U.S. troops should not be deployed to Bosnia-Herzegovina unless Congress approves the deployment or the temporary deployment as necessary to evacuate U.N. peacekeeping forces from imminent danger, to undertake air rescue operations, or to provide humanitarian supplies. Agreed to in Senate, 94-2 (roll call vote #479).

### **Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **S.Con.Res. 35**

A concurrent resolution expressing the opposition of the Congress to President Clinton's planned deployment of United States ground forces to Bosnia while also expressing congressional support for the U.S. troops ordered by the President to help implement the Bosnia peace agreement. December 13, 1995: Measure rejected in Senate, 47-52 (roll call vote #602).

#### **S.J.Res. 44**

A joint resolution expressing support for U.S. troops in Bosnia, but expressing reservations about the deployment of such troops. The measure would also limit the deployment to "approximately" one year and require the President to limit the use of U.S. troops in Bosnia to the enforcement of the military provisions of the peace agreement and provide an exit strategy from Bosnia that would include an



international effort to achieve a military balance in Bosnia by arming the federation of Bosnia. December 14, 1995: Measure agreed to in Senate, 69-30 (roll call vote #603).

## **105<sup>th</sup> Congress (1997-1998)**

### **House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **H.R. 2226**

Making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes. The bill/conference report would cut off funding for U.S. troops in Bosnia after June 30, 1998, but would permit the President to request further funding. July 29, 1997: Measure passed House, 322-105 (roll call vote #338). Measure passed Senate (unanimous consent). September 25, 1997: House agreed to conference report, 356-65 (roll call vote #442). Senate agreed to conference report, 93-5 (roll call vote #258). October 8, 1997: Became Public Law 105-56. October 21, 1997: Line item veto by the President.

#### **P.L. 105-85/H.R. 1119**

An Act to authorize appropriations for FY1998 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. June 25, 1997: Measure passed House, 304-120 (roll call vote #236). July 11, 1997: Measure passed Senate (unanimous consent). October 28, 1997: House agreed to conference report, 286-123 (roll call vote #534). November 6, 1997: Senate agreed to conference report, 90-10 (roll call vote #296).

June 24, 1997: Hilleary substitute amendment to the Buyer amendment to prohibit the obligation of funds for ground deployment of U.S. troops in Bosnia after December 31, 1997, unless the President submits a report to Congress requesting an extension of funding. The Hilleary amendment would require the extension to be approved by a joint resolution of Congress and would permit deployment for an additional 180 days or until June 30, 1998. Rejected in House, 196-231 (roll call vote #233).

Buyer amendment to prohibit funding for U.S. ground troops in Bosnia after June 30, 1998. Agreed to in House, 278-148 (roll call vote #234).

#### **H.Con.Res. 227**

Directed the President, pursuant to Section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove U.S. Armed Forces from the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina. March 18, 1998: Measure rejected in House, 193-225 (roll call vote #58).

#### **H.R. 3616**

To authorize appropriations for FY1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. May 21, 1998: Frank motion to recommit the bill to the National Security Committee with instructions to report it back with an amendment that no funds appropriated for the Department of Defense for FY1999 may be used for the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina after December 31, 1998, unless a law has been enacted that explicitly

authorizes the deployment of such armed forces. Rejected in House, 167-251 (roll call vote #182).

### **Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.**

#### **S. 936**

An original bill to authorize appropriations for FY1998 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. Expresses the sense of Congress that U.S. troops should pull out of Bosnia by June 30, 1998. July 11, 1997: Measure passed Senate, 94-4 (roll call vote #173).

#### **Senate Treaty Document 105-36**

Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on Accession of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. April 30, 1998: Resolution of advice and consent to ratification agreed to in Senate, 80-19 (roll call vote #117).

Craig amendment to add language to the resolution of ratification that would require Congress and the President to enact legislation specifically authorizing the continued deployment of U.S. troops in Bosnia before the United States ratifies the NATO expansion treaty. Rejected in Senate, 20-80 (roll call vote #110).

B. Smith amendment to add language to the resolution of ratification that would require both houses of Congress to vote on legislation, prior to ratification of NATO expansion, that would authorize continued U.S. troop deployments to Bosnia. Rejected in Senate, 16-83 (roll call vote #116).

#### **S. 2057**

An original bill to authorize appropriations for FY1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. June 25, 1998: Measure passed Senate, 88-4 (roll call vote #181).

June 24, 1998: Thurmond amendment to express the sense of Congress that U.S. ground forces should not remain in Bosnia indefinitely, and that the President should work with NATO to withdraw U.S. forces "within a reasonable period of time." Agreed to in Senate, 90-5 (roll call vote #170).

McCain motion to table (kill) the Smith amendment that would prohibit funding for U.S. ground troop deployment in Bosnia if both houses of Congress do not vote by March 31, 1999, on legislation that would authorize continued deployment in Bosnia. Agreed to in Senate, 65-31 (roll call vote #171).

#### **S. 2132**

An original bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999 ... and for other purposes. July 30, 1998: Indefinitely postponed in the Senate by unanimous consent.

McCain motion to table (kill) the Hutchison amendment that would require the President to reduce U.S. combat forces in Bosnia to 6,500 by February 2, 1999, and by 5,000 by October 1, 1999. Agreed to in Senate, 68-31 (roll call vote #249).

## Kosovo (1999)

On March 24, 1999, President Clinton ordered U.S. military forces to begin air strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in cooperation with the NATO-led operation. The strike was ordered in response to Yugoslavia's campaign of violence against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo. On June 3, 1999, Yugoslavia agreed to a peace plan calling for withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo to include an international peacekeeping force. On June 10, 1999, NATO air strikes were halted, and Yugoslav forces withdrew their military forces from Kosovo by June 20, 1999.

Congress, while not authorizing directly, and in advance, this military action, introduced and voted on several legislative measures related to deployment of U.S. military forces for combat or peacekeeping in the Balkan region. The House adopted H.Con.Res. 42 on March 11, 1999, which authorized the President to send troops as peacekeepers; the Senate passed a non-binding resolution (S.Con.Res. 21) on March 23, 1999, that expressed the sense of Congress that the President was authorized to conduct military air operations in cooperation with NATO allies against Yugoslavia. However, the House later defeated the Senate resolution, on April 28, 1999. Other House or Senate votes sent conflicting signals in addressing funding related to troop deployments in the region, declaration of war issues, and executive and congressional roles in sending U.S. military forces abroad.

For more detailed contextual and legislative history, see CRS Issue Brief IB81050, *War Powers Resolution: Presidential Compliance*, by Richard F. Grimmett; CRS Report RL31053, *Kosovo and U.S. Policy*, by Steven Woehrel and Julie Kim; CRS Issue Brief IB10027, *Kosovo and Macedonia: U.S. and Allied Military Operations*, by Steven R. Bowman (archived, available from author); and CRS Report RL30729, *Kosovo and the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress*, by Julie Kim. The following legislation is representative of what was introduced and voted on in the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress.

### House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments

#### **H.Res. 103**

Provides for consideration of the concurrent resolution, H.Con.Res. 42, regarding the use of U.S. Armed Forces as part of a NATO peacekeeping operation implementing a Kosovo peace agreement. March 11, 1999: Motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of amendment) on adoption of H.Res. 103. Motion agreed to in House, 219-203 (roll call vote #45). Resolution agreed to in House, 218-201 (roll call vote #46).

#### **H.Con.Res. 42**

A concurrent resolution authorizing the President to deploy U.S. Armed Forces personnel to Kosovo as part of a NATO peacekeeping operation implementing a Kosovo peace agreement, subject to certain limitations. March 11, 1999: Measure passed House, 219-191 (roll call vote #49).

Fowler amendment to limit the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Kosovo and to not authorize the President to deploy ground forces as part of a NATO peacekeeping operation. Rejected in House, 178-237 (roll call vote #48).

**H.Res. 130**

Expresses the support of the House of Representatives for the members of the U.S. Armed Forces who are engaged in military operations against Yugoslavia. March 24, 1999: Resolution agreed to in House, 424-1 (roll call vote #71).

**H.Res. 151**

Provides for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1569) to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment of ground elements of the U.S. Armed Forces in Yugoslavia unless that deployment is specifically authorized by law; for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 82) directing the President, pursuant to Section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove U.S. Armed Forces from their positions in connection with the present operations against Yugoslavia; for consideration of the joint resolution (H.J.Res. 44) declaring a state of war between the United States and the Government of Yugoslavia; and for consideration of the concurrent resolution (S.Con.Res. 21) authorizing the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes against Yugoslavia. April 28, 1999: Resolution agreed to in House, 213-210 (roll call vote #99).

**H.R. 1569**

A bill to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment of ground elements of the U.S. Armed Forces in Yugoslavia unless that deployment is specifically authorized by law. April 28, 1999: Measure passed House, 249-180 (roll call vote #100).

**H.Con.Res. 82**

A concurrent resolution directing the President, pursuant to Section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution, to remove U.S. Armed Forces from their positions in connection with the present operations against Yugoslavia. April 28, 1999: Measure rejected in House, 139-290 (roll call vote #101).

**H.J.Res. 44**

A joint resolution declaring a state of war between the United States and the government of Yugoslavia. April 28, 1999: Measure rejected in House, 2-427 (roll call vote #102).

**H.Res. 159**

Provides for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1664) making emergency supplemental appropriations for military operations, refugee relief, and humanitarian assistance relating to the conflict in Kosovo ... for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes. May 6, 1999: Resolution agreed to in House, 253-171 (roll call vote #116).

**H.R. 1664**

A bill (as introduced) making emergency supplemental appropriations for military operations, refugee relief, and humanitarian assistance relating to the conflict

in Kosovo ... for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes — provided \$13.1 billion relating to Kosovo operations and other purposes (Kosovo-related supplemental funding was ultimately removed from this legislation and included in H.R. 1141). May 6, 1999: Measure passed House as amended, 311-105 (roll call vote #120).

Obey amendment to provide the President's funding request for military operations in Kosovo, etc. Rejected in House, 164-260 (roll call vote #118).

Istook amendment to prohibit funding for the implementation of any plan to invade Yugoslavia with ground forces, except in time of war. Rejected in House, 117-301 (roll call vote #119).

#### **P.L. 106-31/H.R. 1141**

A bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes — provides \$15 billion for Central American humanitarian relief, aid to Jordan, U.S. farmer assistance, and U.S. military and humanitarian operations in the Balkans. March 24, 1999: Measure passed House, 220-211 (roll call vote #70). March 25, 1999: Measure passed Senate, as amended, in lieu of S. 544 (voice vote). May 18, 1999: House agreed to conference report, 269-158 (roll call vote #133). May 20, 1999: Senate agreed to conference report, 64-36 (roll call vote #136).

#### **H.R. 1401**

A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2000 and 2001 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. June 10, 1999: Measure passed House, 365-58 (roll call vote #191).

June 6, 1999: Souder amendment to prohibit any FY2000 funding for military operations in Yugoslavia. Rejected in House, 97-328 (roll call vote #187).

Skelton amendment to delete language which prohibits any funding for combat or peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia after September 30, 1999; retains language which requires the President to request supplemental appropriations in order to conduct combat or peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia. Agreed to in House, 270-155 (roll call vote #189).

## **Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments**

#### **S. 544**

An original bill making emergency supplemental appropriations and rescissions for recovery from natural disasters, and foreign assistance, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes. March 23, 1999: Cloture motion (thus limiting debate) on the Lott amendment (S.Amdt. 124) to the Hutchison amendment (S.Amdt. 81) to prohibit the use of funds for military operations in Yugoslavia unless Congress enacts specific authorizations in law for the conduct of those operations. Cloture motion rejected in Senate, 55-44, because three-fifths did not vote for it (roll call vote #55). Measure passed Senate (voice vote).

**S.Con.Res. 21**

A concurrent resolution authorizing the President of the United States to conduct military air operations and missile strikes against Yugoslavia. March 23, 1999: Measure passed Senate, 58-41 (roll call vote #57). April 28, 1999: Measure rejected in House, 213-213 (roll call vote #103).

**S.J.Res. 20**

A joint resolution authorizing the President to use all necessary force and other means, in concert with the U.S. allies, to accomplish U.S. and NATO objectives in Yugoslavia. May 4, 1999: Motion to table agreed to in Senate, 78-22 (roll call vote #98).

**P.L. 106-65/S. 1059**

An original bill to authorize appropriations for FY2000 for military activities of the Department of Defense ... and for other purposes. May 27, 1999: Measure passed Senate as amended, 92-3 (roll call vote #154). June 14, 1999: Measure passed House, in lieu of H.R. 1401 (voice vote). September 15, 1999: House agreed to conference report, 375-45 (roll call vote #424). September 22, 1999: Senate agreed to conference report (voice vote).

May 25, 1999: Specter amendment to direct the President, pursuant to the U.S. Constitution and the War Powers Resolution, to seek approval from Congress prior to the introduction of ground troops from the U.S. Armed Forces in connection with the present operations against Yugoslavia or funding for that operation will not be authorized. Motion to table agreed to in Senate, 52-48 (roll call vote #145).

May 26, 1999: B. Smith amendment to prohibit, effective October 1, 1999, the use of funds for military operations in Yugoslavia unless Congress enacts specific authorization in law for the conduct of those operations. Motion to table agreed to in Senate, 77-21 (roll call vote #151).

## **Terrorist Attack Against America (2001)**

On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the United States with a coordinated series of aircraft hijackings and suicide crashes into populated buildings. Two airplanes crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing their complete destruction. Another airplane crashed into the Pentagon, and a fourth airplane crashed in southwestern Pennsylvania (near Shanksville) after passengers attempted to take control of the aircraft in order to prevent it from crashing into an important symbol of democracy and freedom, perhaps in the Washington, D.C. area. Over 3,000 people lost their lives in these terrorist attacks.

Consequently, on September 14, 2001, Congress passed a joint resolution, which “authorizes the President to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations, or persons.” It further states that the act is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the

meaning of the War Powers Resolution. President George W. Bush signed the joint resolution into law on September 18, 2001. On October 9, 2001, President Bush reported in a letter to Congress that U.S. Armed Forces had begun combat action in Afghanistan against the Al Qaeda terrorists and their Taliban supporters starting at 12:30 p.m. (EDT) on October 7, 2001.

**P.L. 107-40/S.J.Res. 23;H.J.Res. 64**

Joint resolutions to authorize the use of United States armed forces against those responsible for the recent (September 11, 2001) attacks launched against the United States. September 14, 2001: Measure passed Senate, 98-0 (roll call vote #281). Measure passed House, 420-1 (roll call vote #342). For a legislative history of P.L. 107-40, see CRS Report RS22357, *Authorization For Use Of Military Force in Response to the 9/11 Attacks (P.L. 107-40): Legislative History*, by Richard F. Grimmett.

## **Use of Force Against Iraq (2002-2003)**

On October 10, 2002, after several days of debate, the House passed H.J.Res. 114, which authorized the use of military force against Iraq. The Senate had considered its own measure, S.J.Res. 45, beginning on October 3, but indefinitely postponed it, and passed H.J.Res. 114 instead on October 11, 2002. As enacted into law, the joint resolution provides authorization for the use of military force against Iraq and expresses support for the President's efforts to

- 1) strictly enforce through the United Nations Security Council all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq; and
- 2) obtain prompt and decisive action by the Security Council to ensure that Iraq abandons its strategy of delay, evasion, and noncompliance and promptly and strictly complies with all relevant Security Council resolutions.

In addition, it authorizes the President to use the U.S. Armed Forces to (1) defend U.S. national security against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq. It directs the President, prior to or as soon as possible (but no later than 48 hours) after exercising such authority, to make available to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination that:

- 1) reliance on further diplomatic or peaceful means alone will not achieve the above purposes; and
- 2) acting pursuant to this joint resolution is consistent with the United States and other countries continuing to take necessary actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

It declares that this section is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization for use of the armed forces, consistent with the requirements of the War Powers

Resolution. Finally, it requires the President to report to Congress at least every 60 days on matters relevant to this resolution.

The war with Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom) began on March 19, 2003, with an aerial attack against a location where Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was suspected to be meeting with top Iraqi officials. U.S. and British troops entered Iraq on March 20, 2003, and while the invasion encountered resistance, particularly in its early stages, U.S. forces had largely gained control of Baghdad by April 9, 2003. The northern cities of Kirkuk and Mosul fell shortly afterward, and on April 14, 2003, U.S. troops entered Tikrit, Saddam's birthplace and the last major population center outside coalition control. On April 15, 2003, President Bush declared that "the regime of Saddam Hussein is no more." For more information on Operation Iraqi Freedom, see CRS Report RL31715, *Iraq War: Background and Issues Overview*, by Raymond W. Copson, coordinator.

**P.L. 107-243/H.J.Res. 114**

Joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq. October 10, 2002: Measure passed House, 296-133 (roll call vote #455). October 11, 2002: Measure passed Senate, 77-23 (roll call vote #237).

The following material is taken from *CQ Weekly*, October 5 and 12, 2002.

October 10, 2002: B. Lee amendment that would urge the President to work through the United Nations to ensure that Iraq is not developing weapons of mass destruction, and urge the use of peaceful means to resolve the issue, including the resumption of weapons inspections. Rejected in House, 72-355 (roll call vote #452).

Spratt amendment to authorize the U.S. military to support any new U.N. Security Council resolution that orders the elimination, by force if required, of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, and the means of producing such weapons. The President would be required to seek congressional authority before using military force against Iraq without such a U.N. resolution. Rejected in House, 155-270 (roll call vote #453).

Kucinich motion to recommit the bill to the House International Relations Committee with instructions that it be reported back with language that would require the President, prior to the use of force, to report to Congress on the effect of war with Iraq, including estimates of its impact on the U.S. economy, Iraqi citizens, and international stability. Rejected in House, 101-325 (roll call vote #454).

**S.J.Res. 45**

Joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

October 9, 2002: McCain motion to table the Graham amendment to the Lieberman substitute amendment. The Graham amendment would authorize the use of force against Iraq and five terrorist organizations. It would require the Administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted no later than 48 hours after action has begun. The President would be required to report to Congress at least every 60 days. Agreed to in Senate, 88-10 (roll call vote #231).



October 10, 2002: Byrd amendment to the Lieberman substitute amendment. The Byrd amendment would provide for the termination of congressional authorization of the use of force 12 months after the resolution's enactment, unless the President certifies that an extension is necessary and Congress does not pass a joint resolution disapproving of the extension. Rejected in Senate, 31-66 (roll call vote #232).

Motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the Lieberman substitute amendment that would authorize the use of force against Iraq and require the Administration to report to Congress that diplomatic options have been exhausted no later than 48 hours after military action has begun. The President also would be required to submit a progress report to Congress at least every 60 days. Agreed to in Senate, 75-25 (roll call vote #233).

Byrd amendment to the Lieberman substitute amendment. The Byrd amendment would clarify that any authorization of the use of force against Iraq would not alter the constitutional authority of Congress to declare war. It also would clarify that no additional authority not directly related to a clear threat of imminent, sudden, and direct attack on the United States be granted to the President unless Congress authorizes it. Rejected in Senate, 14-86 (roll call vote #234).

Levin amendment to the Lieberman substitute amendment. The Levin amendment would authorize the use of force against Iraq if it failed to comply with a new U.N. resolution that demanded unrestricted access for U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq and authorized the use of military force by U.N. members to enforce the resolution. Congress could return to session at any time to promptly consider proposals related to Iraq if the U.N. failed to adopt such a resolution. Rejected in Senate, 24-75 (roll call vote #235).

Durbin amendment to the Lieberman substitute amendment. The Durbin amendment would authorize the use of military force to cover an "imminent threat" by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, rather than a "continuing threat" by Iraq. Rejected in Senate, 30-70 (roll call vote #236).

#### **S.Res. 95**

A resolution commending the President and the armed forces of the United States of America in the conflict against Iraq. March 20, 2003: Measure passed Senate, 99-0. (roll call vote #61).

#### **H.Con.Res. 104**

A concurrent resolution expressing the support and appreciation of the nation for the President and the members of the armed forces who are participating in Operation Iraqi Freedom. March 21, 2003: Measure passed House, 392-11 (roll call vote #83).

## War on Iraq (2003-present)

### 108<sup>th</sup> Congress (2003-2004)

On March 25, 2003, President Bush requested \$74.8 billion in the FY2003 Emergency Supplemental for the ongoing military operations in Iraq, postwar occupation, reconstruction and relief in Iraq, and international assistance to countries contributing to the war in Iraq or the global war on terrorism. The cost of the continued U.S. presence in Afghanistan and additional funds for homeland security were also included. H.R. 1559, enacted into law as P.L. 108-11 on April 16, 2003, provided \$78.49 billion in funding for these purposes. The Senate passed H.R. 1559 in lieu of its version, S. 762, by unanimous consent.

On September 17, 2003, President Bush formally requested an additional \$87 billion for the ongoing military operations and for reconstruction assistance in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. H.R. 3289 (FY2004 supplemental appropriations for Iraq, Afghanistan, and the global war on terrorism) was enacted into law as P.L. 108-106 on November 6, 2003, providing \$87.5 billion in funding. The House approved the conference agreement by a roll call vote on October 31, 2003, and the Senate approved the conference agreement by voice vote on November 3, 2003. Earlier, on October 17, 2003, the Senate had approved its own version of the measure, S. 1689, but vitiated its passage and returned the bill to the Senate Calendar.

#### House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.

##### **P.L. 108-11/H.R. 1559**

A bill making emergency wartime supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2003, and for other purposes. April 3, 2003: Measure passed House, 414-12 (roll call vote #108). April 7, 2003: Measure passed Senate in lieu of S. 762 by unanimous consent. April 12, 2003: House agreed to conference report (voice vote). April 12, 2003: Senate agreed to conference report by unanimous consent.

##### **P.L. 108-106/H.R. 3289**

A bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for defense and for the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes. October 17, 2003: Measure passed House, 303-125 (roll call vote #562). October 17, 2003: Measure passed Senate with an amendment by unanimous consent. October 31, 2003: House agreed to conference report, 298-11 (roll call vote #601). November 3, 2003: Senate agreed to conference report by voice vote.

October 16, 2003: Hastings motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and possibility of amendment) on adoption of the rule (H.Res. 396) to provide for House floor consideration of H.R. 3289. Motion agreed to in House, 221-202, 1 Present (roll call vote #544).

Obey amendment to require that half of all reconstruction aid to Iraq be in the form of loans. Rejected in House, 200-226 (roll call vote #546).

Obey amendment to transfer \$3.6 billion in Iraq reconstruction funds for quality of life enhancements for U.S. service members. Rejected in House, 209-216 (roll call vote #547).

Waxman amendment to reduce Iraqi reconstruction funds in the bill by \$250 million. Rejected in House, 197-224 (roll call vote #548).

Kirk amendment to strike the provision of the bill that would allow noncompetitive contracts to be reported to Congress seven days after the contract has been awarded in certain circumstances; executive agencies would be required to inform Congress of “no-bid” contracts before they are offered. Adopted in House, 405-20 (roll call vote #549).

Holt amendment to strike \$900 million from the bill for importing petroleum products into Iraq. Rejected in House, 169-256 (roll call vote #551).

Loretta Sanchez amendment to bar the Secretary of Defense from carrying out military construction projects in excess of \$1.5 million outside Iraq without prior notification to Congress. Rejected in House, 128-295 (roll call vote #552).

October 17, 2003: Kind amendment to reduce reconstruction funds for Iraq in the bill by 50%. Rejected in House, 156-267, 1 Present (roll call vote #553).

Stupak amendment to increase military pay in the bill by \$265 million to cover \$1,500 bonuses for each service member in Iraq and Afghanistan in FY2004. Rejected in House, 213-213 (roll call vote # 554).

Sherman amendment to require normal competitive bidding procedures for all government contracts relating to Iraq’s oil infrastructure. Agreed to in House, 248-179 (roll call vote #557).

Hastings motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of amendment) on adoption of the rule (H.Res. 401) to provide for further House floor consideration of H.R. 3289. Agreed to in House, 221-199, 1 Present (roll call vote #559).

Adoption of the rule (H.Res. 401) to provide for further consideration of H.R. 3289. Agreed to in House, 221-201 (roll call vote #560).

October 21, 2003: Obey motion to instruct House conferees to insist on provisions in the Senate bill that would structure \$10 billion of the \$20.3 billion in reconstruction aid to Iraq in the form of loans subject to certain conditions (and for other purposes). Motion agreed to in House, 277-139 (roll call vote #567).

October 30, 2003: Adoption of the rule (H.Res. 421) to waive the two-thirds vote requirement for same day consideration of the rule (H.Res. 424) providing or House floor consideration of the conference report on H.R. 3289. Agreed to in House, 217-197 (roll call vote #597).

Obey motion to recommit the conference report to the conference committee with instructions that it be reported back to the House with provisions that would put half the reconstruction aid to Iraq in the form of loans (and for other purposes). Motion rejected in the House, 198-221, (roll call vote #600).

**H.Res. 557**

Commends the members of the U.S. Armed Forces and Coalition forces for liberating Iraq and expresses its gratitude for their valiant service. March 17, 2004: Agreed to in House, 327-93, 7 Present (roll call vote #64).

**H.Res. 627**

Expresses deep appreciation to the members of the Armed Forces who have selflessly served, or are so serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom. May 6, 2004: Agreed to in House, 365-50 (roll call vote #150).

**H.Res. 691**

Expresses gratitude to the U.S. armed forces for their ongoing valiant service to their country; offers continued support to the U.S. armed forces; and reaffirms that the U.S. armed forces operating in Iraq after June 30, 2004, will remain under the full authority and control of their American commanders. June 25, 2004: Agreed to in House, 352-57 (roll call vote #319).

**H.R. 4613/P.L. 108-287**

Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2005. Appropriates additional funds, to be designated for overseas contingency operations, to DOD for military personnel, operation and maintenance, and procurement (including National Guard and reserve equipment). July 22, 2004: Agreed to in House, 410-12 (roll call vote #418); July 22, 2004: Agreed to in Senate, 96-0 (roll call vote #163).

June 24, 2004: Byrd amendment (**S.Amdt. 3502**) to H.R. 4613. Expresses the sense of the Senate that any request for funds for a fiscal year for an ongoing military operation overseas, including operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, should be included in the annual budget of the President; and that any funds provided for such a military operation should be provided in appropriations Acts for such fiscal year through appropriations to specific accounts set forth in such Acts. Agreed to in Senate, 89-9 (roll call vote #147).

**H.R. 4200/P.L. 108-375**

Ronald W. Reagan national Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005. Authorizes the Secretary of Defense, during FY2005 through 2009, to increase, by up to 30,000 for the Army and 9,000 for the Marine Corps, the end strength authorized to support operational missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Authorizes, during FY2005, the use of up to \$300 million from DOD O&M funds to provide funds for the Commanders' Emergency Response Program for enabling military commanders in Iraq to respond to urgent humanitarian relief and reconstruction requirements, and for a similar program to assist the people of Afghanistan. October 10, 2004: Agreed to in House, 359-14 (roll call vote #528).

**Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.****S. 762**

An original bill making supplemental appropriations to support Department of Defense operations in Iraq, Department of Homeland Security, and related efforts for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2003, and for other purposes. April 3, 2003: Measure passed Senate, 93-0 (roll call vote #125).

The following vote descriptions are taken from the Congressional Quarterly website at [<http://www.cq.com>].

Cochran motion to table the Hollings amendment that would express the sense of the Senate that the President should submit a report to the Senate Finance Committee on a plan to raise revenues to offset the funds in the bill spent on the war with Iraq. Motion agreed to in Senate, 79-18 (roll call vote #121).

Kohl amendment to appropriate \$600 million for food assistance to the people of Iraq. Agreed to in Senate, 67-26 (roll call vote #124).

**S. 1689**

An original bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for Iraq and Afghanistan security and reconstruction for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes. October 17, 2003: Measure passed Senate, 87-12 (roll call vote #400).

October 1, 2003: Byrd amendment to eliminate \$15.2 billion of the \$20.3 billion allocated for Iraqi reconstruction efforts. The remaining \$5.1 billion would be used for security, including public safety requirement, national security, and justice purposes. Rejected in Senate, 38-59 (roll call vote #371).

October 2, 2003: McConnell amendment that expresses the sense of the Senate thanking U.S. troops serving in Iraq and Afghanistan and extending condolences to the families of those who have been killed or injured. Agreed to in Senate, 98-1 (roll call vote #372).

Stevens motion to table the Biden amendment that would offset Iraqi reconstruction costs by eliminating income tax cuts enacted in 2001 for the top 1 percent of earners. Motion agreed to in Senate, 57-42 (roll call vote #373).

Stevens motion to table the Leahy amendment that would remove the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq from Defense Department control and place it under the jurisdiction of the State Department within 60 days after the bill's enactment. Motion agreed to in Senate, 56-42 (roll call vote #374).

Stevens motion to table the Dodd amendment that would add \$322 million to the bill's spending on battlefield clearance and safety equipment for U.S. troops in Iraq. The money would be offset by a reduction in Iraqi reconstruction funds. Motion agreed to in Senate, 49-37 (roll call vote #376).

October 14, 2003: Division I of the Bingaman amendment that would authorize the Defense Department to award the Iraqi Liberation Medal to any person who served in any capacity in the armed forces in Southwest Asia in connection with “Operation Iraqi Freedom.” Rejected in Senate, 47-48 (roll call vote #378).

Stevens motion to table the Stabenow amendment that would reduce the amount provided for Iraqi reconstruction by \$5.03 billion, and redirect that funding for domestic programs. Also would express the sense of the Senate that Congress should consider an additional \$5.03 billion in funding for Iraqi reconstruction during the fiscal 2005 budget and appropriations process. Motion agreed to in Senate, 59-35 (roll call vote #379).

Stevens motion to table the Dorgan amendment that would strike \$20.3 billion in appropriations for Iraqi reconstruction funds and require the President to direct the head of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq to establish an Iraq Reconstruction Finance Authority. Motion agreed to in Senate, 57-39 (roll call vote #380).

October 15, 2003: Stevens motion to table the Reed amendment that would authorize an additional 10,000 in Army personnel. Additional personnel would be required to be trained, incorporated into an appropriate force structure, and used for constabulary duty such as military police and light infantry. It would also require that \$409 million be made available from the Iraqi Freedom Fund to fund the additional personnel. Motion rejected in Senate, 45-52 (roll call vote #382).

Byrd amendment to require the Coalition Provisional Authority to report to Congress quarterly on the costs related to reconstruction activities and the revenue provided by foreign nations and international organizations. It would also require the Comptroller General to conduct an ongoing audit of the Coalition Provisional Authority to evaluate the reconstruction and security activities in Iraq. Agreed to in Senate, 97-0 (roll call vote #383).

Graham amendment to express the sense of Congress that the removal of the government of Iraq under Saddam Hussein has enhanced the security of Israel and other U.S. allies. Agreed to in Senate, 95-2 (roll call vote #384).

October 16, 2003: Stevens motion to table the Byrd amendment that would appropriate \$5.1 billion in security funding immediately and up to \$5 billion for Iraqi reconstruction funding before April 1. The remaining \$10.2 billion in reconstruction funding could be released after April 1 as part of a separate appropriations bill — but only if the United Nations had adopted a new resolution authorizing a multinational military force under U.S. leadership in Iraq, with U.N. leadership in political and economic reconstruction. The President would also be required to provide a detailed reconstruction plan that includes an estimated schedule for the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi people and the withdrawal of troops. Motion agreed to in Senate, 57-42 (roll call vote #385).

Stevens motion to table the Lautenberg amendment that would prohibit the use of Iraqi reconstruction funds for any contact or financial agreement with an entity that pays deferred compensation to the President, Vice President, or a Cabinet-level official, or any entity in which the President, Vice President, or Cabinet-level official

holds options to purchase more than 1,000 shares of stock. Motion agreed to in Senate, 65-34 (roll call vote #386).

McConnell amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of Defense should issue necessary regulations to implement and begin awarding the Global War on Terrorism Medal to members of the armed forces serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Operation Noble Eagle. Agreed to in Senate, 97-1 (roll call vote #387).

Nickles amendment to express the sense of the Senate that all countries that hold debt from loans for the former Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein should be urged to forgive their debt. Agreed to in Senate, 98-0 (roll call vote #388).

Bayh amendment to provide a total of \$10.3 billion as a grant to rebuild Iraq, including \$5.1 billion for security and \$5.2 billion for reconstruction costs. The remaining \$10 billion would be structured as a loan to be converted to a grant if 90% of all bilateral debt incurred by the former Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein has been forgiven by other countries (and for other related purposes). Agreed to in Senate, 51-47 (roll call vote #389).

October 17, 2003: Durbin amendment to require that a federal employee who takes leave without pay in order to perform certain service as a member of the uniformed service or the National Guard, be reimbursed for the difference between their salary and the pay and allowances they receive while on duty. Agreed to in Senate, 96-3 (roll call vote #390).

Stevens motion to table the Daschle amendment that would require the President to certify that future appropriations which exceed the amount in the bill are equal to or exceeded by contributions by the international community. The requirement could be waived if the President provides a report to Congress that determines the funding is in the national security interests of the United States. Motion agreed to in Senate, 55-44 (roll call vote #391).

Stevens motion to table the Landrieu amendment that would require the President to direct the head of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq to establish an Iraq Reconstruction Finance Authority. The Authority would be required to obtain financing for the reconstruction of Iraq's infrastructure through the issuance of securities and loans and by collateralizing future revenue from its oil reserves. Motion agreed to in Senate, 52-47 (roll call vote #392).

Boxer amendment to reimburse service members who paid for meals while hospitalized as a result of injuries or illness while in combat or training since September 11, 2001. Agreed to in Senate, 99-0 (roll call vote #393).

Stevens motion to table the Corzine amendment that would establish a 12-member independent, bipartisan commission to examine and report on the role of policy makers in the development and use of intelligence related to Iraq and Operation Iraqi Freedom. The amendment would authorize \$5 million for the commission. Motion agreed to in Senate, 67-32 (roll call vote #395).

Stevens motion to table the Byrd amendment that would limit the use of reconstruction funds for certain programs and projects, reduce reconstruction funding by \$1.65 billion, and reallocate the funds to other purposes such as destroying conventional weapons in Iraq and accelerating reconstruction in Afghanistan. Motion agreed to in Senate, 51-47 (roll call vote #396).

Stevens motion to table the Byrd amendment that would prohibit the use of funds in the bill for the involuntary deployment overseas for Operation Iraqi Freedom of members of the National Guard and Reserves who have been involuntarily deployed for six months or more during the past six years. Motion agreed to in Senate, 82-15 (roll call vote #397).

Stevens motion to table the Byrd amendment that would strike a provision in the bill that allows the President to reallocate funds for the reconstruction of Iraq and insert a provision that would require the President to seek additional funding in subsequent appropriations bills. Motion agreed to in Senate, 49-46 (roll call vote #398).

Stevens motion to table the Brownback amendment that would decrease the amount in the bill for Iraqi reconstruction by \$600 million and increase the amount available to the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps by \$50 million (and for other purposes). Motion agreed to in Senate, 55-43 (roll call vote #399).

#### **S. 2400/P.L. 108-375**

Ronald W. Reagan National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005. Authorizes the Secretary, during FY2005 through 2009, to increase as necessary by up to 30,000 the end strength authorized for the Army to support the Army's operational mission in Iraq and Afghanistan and to achieve Army transformational reorganization objectives. Requires a fiscal year's budget to be amended to reflect any such increase. Authorizes supplemental appropriations of \$25 billion for DOD for FY2005, to be available only for activities in support of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Allocates such funds among specified military department and defense-wide accounts. Allows such authorization only to the extent that a budget request is transmitted from the President to Congress that includes a designation of the requested amount as an emergency and essential to support activities in such countries. Provides certain transfer authority limits. Directs the Secretary to report monthly to the defense and appropriations committees on the use of such authorized funds. June 23, 2004: Agreed to in Senate, 97-0 (roll call vote #146).

June 2, 2004: Warner amendment (**S.Amdt. 3260**) to S. 2400. Authorized to be appropriated for the Department of Defense for FY2005, \$25,000,000,000, to be available only for activities in support of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Agreed to in Senate, 95-0 (roll call vote #106).

June 17, 2004: Biden amendment (**S.Amdt. 3379**) to S. 2400. To provide funds for the security and stabilization of Iraq by suspending a portion of the reduction in the highest income tax rate for individual taxpayers. Rejected by Senate, 44-53 (roll call vote #130).



**109<sup>th</sup> Congress (2005-2006)****House Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.****H.R. 1268/P.L. 109-13**

FY2005 Supplemental Appropriations for Iraq and Afghanistan, Tsunami Relief, and Other Activities. Provides funds for ongoing military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Expresses the sense of the Senate that (1) any request for funds for a fiscal year after 2006 for an ongoing military operation overseas, including those in Afghanistan and Iraq, should be included in the annual budget of the President submitted to Congress; (2) the President should submit to Congress an amendment to the 2006 budget setting forth detailed cost estimates for such operations; and (3) any funds for such purposes should be provided in appropriations Acts through appropriations to specific accounts. Requires additional information concerning such operations, including Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, to be included in reports required under both the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004, and the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2005. May 5, 2005: Conference report agreed to in House, 368-58, 1 Present (roll call vote #161); May 10, 2005: Conference report agreed to in Senate, 100-0 (roll call vote #117).

April 18, 2005: Byrd amendment (**S.Amdt. 464**) to H.R. 1268 (Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005). States that it is the sense of the Senate that any request for funds for a fiscal year after FY2006 for an ongoing military operation overseas, including operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, should be included in the President's annual budget. Agreed to in the Senate, 61-31 (roll call vote #96).

**H.R. 1815**

National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006. H.Amdt. 214 (Woolsey). Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should develop a plan for the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq and submit this plan to the congressional defense committees. May 25, 2005: Rejected in House, 128-300 (roll call vote #220).

**H.Res. 383**

Commends U.S. and coalition forces for liberating the Iraqi people from the repressive regime of Saddam Hussein and for their ongoing efforts in support of Iraq's freedom and stability. July 27, 2005: Agreed to in House, 426-0 (roll call vote #438).

**H.Res. 571**

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that the deployment of U.S. forces in Iraq be terminated immediately. November 18, 2005: Rejected in House, 3-403 (roll call vote #608).

**H.Res. 612**

Expresses the commitment of the House of Representatives to achieving victory in Iraq. December 16, 2005: Agreed to in House, 279-109, 34 Present (roll call vote #648).

**H.R. 2863**

Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2006. Additional War-Related Appropriations: Appropriates additional funds, to be designated for contingency operations related to the global war on terrorism. Authorizes amounts for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan to be used for the purchase of heavy and light armored vehicles. Allows O&M funds appropriated in this title to be used to provide supplies, services, transportation, and other logistical support to coalition forces supporting military and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. December 19, 2005: Agreed to in House, 308-106, 2 Present (roll call vote #669 ); December 21, 2005: Agreed to in Senate, 93-0 (roll call vote #366).

**Senate Resolutions, Bills, and Amendments.****S. 1042**

National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006. Authorizes emergency supplemental appropriations to DOD for FY2006 for operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the global war on terrorism. November 15, 2005: Passed in Senate, 98-0 (roll call vote #326).

November 15, 2005: Warner amendment (**S.Amdt. 2518**) to S. 1042. To clarify and recommend changes to the policy of the United States on Iraq. States that calendar year 2006 should be a period of significant transition to full Iraqi sovereignty, with Iraqi security forces taking the lead for the security of a free and sovereign Iraq, thereby creating the conditions for the phased redeployment of United States forces from Iraq, and that United States military forces should not stay in Iraq any longer than required. Agreed to in Senate, 79-19 (roll call vote #323).

Levin amendment (**S.Amdt. 2519**) to S. 1042. To clarify and recommend changes to the policy of the United States on Iraq. States that calendar year 2006 should be a period of significant transition to full Iraqi sovereignty, with Iraqi security forces taking the lead for the security of a free and sovereign Iraq, thereby creating the conditions for the phased redeployment of United States forces from Iraq, and that United States military forces should not stay in Iraq indefinitely. Rejected in Senate, 40-58 (roll call vote #322).

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