

117TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 2391

To provide for clarification and limitations with respect to the exercise of national security powers, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

July 20, 2021

Mr. Murphy (for himself, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Sanders) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

- To provide for clarification and limitations with respect to the exercise of national security powers, and for other purposes.
 - 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
 - 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
 - 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
 - 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
 - 5 "National Security Powers Act of 2021".
 - 6 (b) Table of Contents.—The table of contents for
 - 7 this Act is as follows:
 - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—WAR POWERS REFORM

Sec. 101. Definitions.

- Sec. 102. Policy.
- Sec. 103. Sunset of existing authorizations for the use of military force.
- Sec. 104. Repeal of the War Powers Resolution.
- Sec. 105. Notification.
- Sec. 106. Requirement for authorization.
- Sec. 107. Expedited procedures for congressional action.
- Sec. 108. Termination of funding.
- Sec. 109. Interpretation of statutory authority requirement.
- Sec. 110. Separability clause.

TITLE II—ARMS EXPORT CONTROL

- Sec. 201. Short title.
- Sec. 202. Purpose.
- Sec. 203. Congressional authorization of arms sales.
- Sec. 204. Procedures for consideration of joint resolution authorizing or prohibiting arms sales.
- Sec. 205. Emergency procedures under Arms Export Control Act.
- Sec. 206. Conforming amendments.
- Sec. 207. Applicability.

TITLE III—NATIONAL EMERGENCIES ACT REFORM

- Sec. 301. Requirements relating to declaration and renewal of national emergencies.
- Sec. 302. Termination of national emergencies.
- Sec. 303. Review by Congress of national emergencies.
- Sec. 304. Reporting requirements.
- Sec. 305. Conforming amendments.
- Sec. 306. Applicability.

1 TITLE I—WAR POWERS REFORM

- 2 SEC. 101. DEFINITIONS.
- 3 In this title:
- 4 (1) COUNTRY.—The term "country", when
- 5 used in a geographic sense, includes territories
- 6 (whether or not disputed) and possessions, territorial
- 7 waters, and airspace.
- 8 (2) Hostilities.—The term "hostilities"
- 9 means any situation involving any use of lethal or
- 10 potentially lethal force by or against United States
- forces (or, for purposes of paragraph 4(B), by or
- against foreign regular or irregular forces), irrespec-

- tive of the domain, whether such force is deployed remotely, or the intermittency thereof. The term does not include activities undertaken pursuant to section 503 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 5093) if such action is intended to have exclusively non-lethal effects.
 - (3) Hostilities report.—The term "hostilities report" means a written report that sets forth the following information:
 - (A) The circumstances necessitating the introduction of United States forces into hostilities or a situation where there is a serious risk thereof, or retaining them in a location where hostilities or the serious risk thereof has developed.
 - (B) The estimated cost of such operations.
 - (C) The specific legislative and constitutional authority for such action.
 - (D) Any international law implications related to such action if applicable.
 - (E) The estimated scope and duration of the United States forces' participation in hostilities, including an accounting of the personnel and weapons to be deployed.

1	(F) The country or countries in which the
2	operations or deployment of United States
3	forces are to occur or are ongoing.
4	(G) A description of their mission and the
5	mission objectives that would indicate the mis-
6	sion is complete.
7	(H) Any foreign partner forces or multilat-
8	eral organizations that may be involved in the
9	operations.
10	(I) The name of the specific country (or
11	countries) or organized armed group (or
12	groups) against which the use of force is au-
13	thorized.
14	(J) The risk to United States forces or
15	other United States persons or property in-
16	volved in the operations.
17	(K) Any other information as may be re-
18	quired to fully inform Congress.
19	(4) Introduce.—The term "introduce"
20	means—
21	(A) with respect to hostilities or a situation
22	where there is a serious risk of hostilities, any
23	commitment, engagement, or other involvement
24	of United States forces, whether or not consti-
25	tuting self-defense measures by United States

forces in response to an attack or serious risk
thereof in any foreign country (including its airspace, cyberspace, or territorial waters) or otherwise outside the United States and whether
or not United States forces are present or operating remotely launched, piloted, or directed attacks; or

- (B) the assigning or detailing of members of United States forces to command, advise, assist, accompany, coordinate, or provide logistical or material support or training for any foreign regular or irregular military forces if—
 - (i) those foreign forces are involved in hostilities; and
 - (ii) such activities by United States forces make the United States a party to a conflict or are more likely than not to do so.
- (5) SERIOUS RISK OF HOSTILITIES.—The term "serious risk of hostilities" means any situation where it is more likely than not that the United States forces will become engaged in hostilities, irrespective of whether the primary purpose of the mission is training or assistance.

- 1 (6) SPECIFIC STATUTORY AUTHORIZATION.—
 2 The term "specific statutory authorization" means
 3 any joint resolution or bill introduced after the date
 4 of the enactment of this Act and enacted into law
 5 to authorize the use of military force that includes,
 6 at a minimum, the following elements:
 7 (A) A clearly defined mission and oper-
 - (A) A clearly defined mission and operational objectives and the identities of all individual countries or organized armed groups against which hostilities by the United States forces are authorized.
 - (B) A requirement the President seek from the Congress a subsequent specific statutory authorization for any expansion of the mission to include new operational objectives, additional countries, or organized armed groups.
 - (C) A termination of the authorization for such use of United States forces within two years absent the enactment of a subsequent specific statutory authorization for such use of United States forces.
 - (D) In cases where the use of military force in a particular situation is being reauthorized, an estimate and analysis prepared by the Congressional Budget Office of costs to United

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States taxpayers to date of operations conducted pursuant to the prior authorization or authorizations for that situation, and of prospective costs to United States taxpayers for operations to be conducted pursuant to the proposed authorization.

- "substantially enlarge" means, for any two-year period, an increase in the number of United States forces that causes the total number of forces in a foreign country to exceed the lowest number of forces in that country during that period by 25 percent or more, or any increase of 1,000 or more forces. Temporary duty and rotational forces shall be included in the number of United States forces for the purposes of this title.
- (8) Training.—When used with respect to any foreign regular or irregular forces, the term "training" has the meaning given the term "military education and training" in section 644 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2403), but does not include training that is focused entirely on observance of and respect for the law of armed conflict, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, and civilian control of the military.

1	(9) United states forces.—The term
2	"United States forces" means any individuals em-
3	ployed by, or under contract to, or under the direc-
4	tion of, any department or agency of the United
5	States Government who are—
6	(A) deployed military or paramilitary per-
7	sonnel; or
8	(B) military or paramilitary personnel who
9	use lethal or potentially lethal force in the
10	cyberspace domain.
11	SEC. 102. POLICY.
12	The constitutional authority of the President as Com-
13	mander-in-Chief to introduce United States Armed Forces
14	into hostilities or into situations where there is a serious
15	risk of hostilities shall be exercised only pursuant to—
16	(1) a declaration of war;
17	(2) specific statutory authorization; or
18	(3) when necessary to repel a sudden attack, or
19	the concrete, specific, and immediate threat of such
20	a sudden attack upon the United States, its terri-
2021	a sudden attack upon the United States, its terri- tories, or possessions, its armed forces, or other

1	SEC. 103. SUNSET OF EXISTING AUTHORIZATIONS FOR THE
2	USE OF MILITARY FORCE.
3	Effective 180 days after the date of the enactment
4	of this Act, the following laws are hereby repealed:
5	(1) The Authorization for Use of Military Force
6	Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107–
7	243; 116 Stat. 1498; 50 U.S.C. 1541 note).
8	(2) The Authorization for Use of Military Force
9	(Public Law 107–40; 50 U.S.C. 1541 note).
10	(3) The Authorization for Use of Military Force
11	Against Iraq (Public Law 102–1; 105 Stat. 3; 50
12	U.S.C. 1541 note).
13	(4) The 1957 Authorization for Use of Military
14	Force in the Middle East (Public Law 87–5).
15	SEC. 104. REPEAL OF THE WAR POWERS RESOLUTION.
16	The War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93–148; 50
17	U.S.C. 1541 et seq.) is hereby repealed.
18	SEC. 105. NOTIFICATION.
19	The President shall notify Congress, in writing, with-
20	in 48 hours after United States forces enter the territory,
21	airspace, or waters of a foreign country—
22	(1) while equipped for combat, except for de-
23	ployments which relate solely to transportation, sup-
24	ply, replacement, or training of such United States
25	forces: or

- 1 (2) in numbers that substantially enlarge the
- 2 number of United States forces already located in a
- 3 foreign nation.

4 SEC. 106. REQUIREMENT FOR AUTHORIZATION.

- 5 (a) Prior Authorization for Certain Activi-
- 6 TIES RELATING TO HOSTILITIES.—Except as provided in
- 7 subsection (b), before introducing United States forces
- 8 into hostilities or a situation where there is a serious risk
- 9 of hostilities, the President shall provide a hostilities re-
- 10 port to Congress and obtain a specific statutory authoriza-
- 11 tion for such introduction. The President shall provide
- 12 continuing hostilities reports to Congress 30 days after the
- 13 initial report and every 30 days thereafter, in accordance
- 14 with subsection (d).
- 15 (b) AUTHORIZATION FOR CERTAIN ACTIVITIES RE-
- 16 LATING TO HOSTILITIES.—In cases where the President
- 17 introduces United States forces into hostilities or a situa-
- 18 tion where there is a serious risk of hostilities either be-
- 19 cause of the need to repel a sudden attack upon the United
- 20 States, its territories or possessions, its armed forces, or
- 21 other United States citizens overseas or because the con-
- 22 crete, specific, and immediate threat of such a sudden at-
- 23 tack, and the time required to provide Congress with a
- 24 briefing necessary to inform a vote to obtain prior author-
- 25 ization from Congress within 72 hours would prevent an

1	effective defense against the attack or threat of immediate
2	attack, the President shall—
3	(1) within 48 hours of ordering the introduction
4	of United States forces into hostilities or a situation
5	where there is a serious risk of hostilities, inform
6	Congress of the President's decision, describe the ac-
7	tion taken, the justification for proceeding without
8	prior authorization, and certifying either that hos-
9	tilities have concluded or that they are continuing;
10	and
11	(2) not later than 7 calendar days after order-
12	ing the introduction of United States forces into
13	hostilities or a situation where there is a serious risk
14	of hostilities, submit to Congress a hostilities report
15	and request for specific statutory authorization ex-
16	cept in cases where a certification is submitted to
17	Congress that the President—
18	(A) has withdrawn, removed, and otherwise
19	ceased the use of United States forces from the
20	situation that triggered this requirement; and
21	(B) does not intend to reintroduce them.

(c) Termination of Activities Related to Hos-23 Tilities.—If Congress does not enact a specific statutory 24 authorization for United States forces to engage in hos-25 tilities in response to a request in accordance with sub-

- 1 section (b) within 20 days after the introduction of United
- 2 States forces into hostilities or a situation where there is
- 3 a serious risk of hostilities, the President shall withdraw,
- 4 remove, and otherwise cease the use of United States
- 5 forces. This 20-day period shall be extended for not more
- 6 than an additional 10 days if the President determines,
- 7 certifies, and justifies to Congress in writing that unavoid-
- 8 able military necessity involving the safety of the forces
- 9 requires the continued use of the forces for the sole pur-
- 10 pose of bringing about their safe removal from hostilities.
- 11 (d) Continuing Hostilities Reports.—If the
- 12 President obtains specific statutory authorization, the
- 13 President shall continue to provide hostilities reports to
- 14 Congress on the United States' forces' engagement or pos-
- 15 sible engagement in hostilities whenever there is a material
- 16 change in the information previously reported under this
- 17 section and in no event less frequently than every 30 days
- 18 from the delivery of the first hostilities report.
- 19 (e) FORM.—Any report submitted pursuant to sub-
- 20 section (a), (b), or (d) shall be submitted to Congress in
- 21 unclassified form without any designation relating to dis-
- 22 semination control and may include a classified annex only
- 23 to the extent required to protect the national security of
- 24 the United States.

1	(f) Transmittal.—Each report submitted pursuant
2	to subsection (a), (b), or (d) shall be transmitted to each
3	house of Congress on the same calendar day. The report
4	shall be—
5	(1) referred to—
6	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,
7	the Committee on Armed Services, and the Se-
8	lect Committee on Intelligence of the Senate;
9	and
10	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the
11	Committee on Armed Services, and the Perma-
12	nent Select Committee on Intelligence of the
13	House of Representatives; and
14	(2) made available to any member of Congress
15	upon request.
16	SEC. 107. EXPEDITED PROCEDURES FOR CONGRESSIONAL
17	ACTION.
18	(a) Consideration by Congress.—Any resolution
19	of disapproval described in subsection (b) may be consid-
20	ered by Congress using the expedited procedures set forth
21	in this section.
22	(b) RESOLUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—For purposes of
23	this section, the term "resolution" means only a joint reso-
24	lution of the two Houses of Congress—

1 (1) the title of which is as follows: "A joint res-2 olution disapproving of the use of the United States 3 Armed Forces in the prosecution of certain con-4 flict."; (2) which does not have a preamble; and 6 (3) the sole matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: "That Congress does not ap-7 8 prove the use of military force in the prosecution of 9 ", with the blank space being filled 10 with a description of the conflict concerned. 11 (c) Referral.—A resolution described in subsection 12 (b) introduced in the Senate shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. A resolution described in subsection (b) that is introduced in the House 14 15 of Representatives shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. 16 17 (d) DISCHARGE.—If the committee to which a resolution described in subsection (b) is referred has not re-18 ported such resolution (or an identical resolution) by the 19 20 end of 10 calendar days beginning on the date of introduc-21 tion, such committee shall be, at the end of such period, 22 discharged from further consideration of such resolution, 23 and such resolution shall be placed on the appropriate calendar of the House involved.

(e) Consideration.—

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(1) IN GENERAL.—On or after the third calendar day after the date on which the committee to which such a resolution is referred has reported, or has been discharged (under subsection (d)) from further consideration of, such a resolution, it is in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) for any Member of the respective House to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. All points of order against the resolution (and against consideration of the resolution) are waived. The motion is highly privileged in the House of Representatives and is privileged in the Senate and is not debatable. The motion is not subject to amendment, or to a motion to postpone, or to a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to shall not be in order. If a motion to proceed to the consideration of the resolution is agreed to, the respective House shall immediately proceed to consideration of the joint resolution without intervening motion, order, or other business, and the resolution shall remain the unfinished business of the respective House until disposed of.

- (2) Debate.—Debate on the resolution, and on all debatable motions and appeals in connection therewith, shall be limited to not more than 10 hours, which shall be divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. An amendment to the resolution is not in order. A motion further to limit debate is in order and not debatable. A motion to postpone, or a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business, or a motion to recommit the resolution is not in order. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution is agreed to or disagreed to is not in order.
 - (3) Vote on final passage.—Immediately following the conclusion of the debate on the resolution and a single quorum call at the conclusion of the debate if requested in accordance with the rules of the appropriate House, the vote on final passage of the resolution shall occur.
 - (4) APPEALS FROM DECISIONS OF CHAIR.—Appeals from the decisions of the Chair relating to the application of the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, to the procedure relating to a resolution shall be decided without debate.
- (f) Consideration by Other House.—

1	(1) In General.—If, before the passage by one
2	House of a resolution of that House described in
3	subsection (b), that House receives from the other
4	House a resolution described in subsection (b), then
5	the following procedures shall apply:
6	(A) The resolution of the other House shall
7	not be referred to a committee.
8	(B)(i) The consideration as described in
9	subsection (e) in that House shall be the same
10	as if no resolution had been received from the
11	other House; but
12	(ii) The vote on final passage shall be on
13	the resolution of the other House.
14	(2) Following disposition.—Upon disposi-
15	tion of the resolution received from the other House,
16	it shall no longer be in order to consider the resolu-
17	tion that originated in the receiving House.
18	(g) Vetoes.—If the President vetoes a resolution,
19	debate in the Senate of any veto message with respect to
20	the resolution, including all debatable motions and appeals
21	in connection with the resolution, shall be limited to 10
22	hours, which shall be divided equally between those favor-
23	ing and those opposing the resolution.
24	(h) Rules of the Senate and House of Rep-
25	RESENTATIVES.—This section is enacted by Congress—

- 1 (1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of 2 the Senate and the House of Representatives, re-3 spectively, and as such it is deemed a part of the 4 rules of each House, respectively, but applicable only 5 with respect to the procedure to be followed in that 6 House in the case of a resolution described in sub-7 section (b), and it supersedes other rules only to the 8 extent that it is inconsistent with such rules; and
 - (2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.

14 SEC. 108. TERMINATION OF FUNDING.

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15 Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds appropriated or otherwise made available under any law 16 17 may be obligated or expended for any activity by United 18 States forces for which prior congressional authorization 19 is required under this title but has not been obtained, or 20 for which authorization is required under this title but has 21 not been obtained by the deadline specified in section 22 106(c) or for which a resolution of disapproval in accordance with section 107(b) has been enacted into law.

SEC. 109. INTERPRETATION OF STATUTORY AUTHORITY

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7	
/.	REQUIREMENT.

- 3 Statutory authority to introduce United States forces
- 4 into hostilities or into situations where there is a serious
- 5 risk of hostilities, or to retain them in a situation where
- 6 hostilities or the serious risk thereof has developed, shall
- 7 not be inferred—
- 8 (1) from any provision of law, including any
- 9 provision contained in any appropriation Act, unless
- such provision expressly authorizes such introduction
- or retention and states that it is intended to con-
- stitute specific statutory authorization within the
- meaning of this title; or
- 14 (2) from any source of international legal obli-
- gation binding on the United States, including any
- resolution of the United Nations Security Council
- and any treaty ratified before, on, or after the date
- of the enactment of this Act, unless such treaty is
- implemented by legislation specifically authorizing
- such introduction or retention and stating that it is
- 21 intended to constitute specific statutory authoriza-
- 22 tion within the meaning of this title.

23 SEC. 110. SEPARABILITY CLAUSE.

- If any provision of this title or the application thereof
- 25 to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remain-
- 26 der of the resolution and the application of such provision

1	to any other person or circumstance shall not be affected
2	thereby.
3	TITLE II—ARMS EXPORT
4	CONTROL
5	SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.
6	This title may be cited as the "Arms Export Reform
7	Act of 2021".
8	SEC. 202. PURPOSE.
9	It is the purpose of this title to ensure the proper
10	role of Congress in national security decisions pertaining
11	to sales, exports, leases, and loans of defense articles, es-
12	pecially with respect to armed conflict and human rights.
13	SEC. 203. CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATION OF ARMS
1)	
14	SALES.
14	SALES.
14 15	SALES. (a) CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.—
14 15 16	sales. (a) Certification Required.— (1) In general.—Notwithstanding any other
14 15 16 17	sales. (a) Certification Required.— (1) In General.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of
14 15 16 17	sales. (a) Certification Required.— (1) In general.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of offer, a covered application for a license, or a cov-
114 115 116 117 118	sales. (a) Certification Required.— (1) In general.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of offer, a covered application for a license, or a covered agreement, before such a letter of offer or li-
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	sales. (a) Certification Required.— (1) In general.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of offer, a covered application for a license, or a covered agreement, before such a letter of offer or license is issued or before such an agreement is en-
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	(a) Certification Required.— (1) In General.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of offer, a covered application for a license, or a covered agreement, before such a letter of offer or license is issued or before such an agreement is entered into or renewed, the President shall submit to
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	(a) Certification Required.— (1) In General.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a covered letter of offer, a covered application for a license, or a covered agreement, before such a letter of offer or license is issued or before such an agreement is entered into or renewed, the President shall submit to Congress a certification described in paragraph (3).

1	(A) A covered letter of offer is any letter
2	of offer to sell under the Arms Export Control
3	Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) any item de-
4	scribed in subsection (c).
5	(B) A covered application for a license is
6	any application by a person (other than with re-
7	gard to a sale under section 21 or 22 of the
8	Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2761,
9	2762)) for a license for the export of any item
10	described in subsection (c).
11	(C) A covered agreement is any agreement
12	involving the lease under chapter 6 of the Arms
13	Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2796 et seq.), or
14	the loan under chapter 2 of part II of the For-
15	eign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2311 et
16	seq.), of any item described in subsection (c) to
17	any foreign country or international organiza-
18	tion for a period of one year or longer.
19	(3) Certification described.—A certifi-
20	cation described in this paragraph is a numbered
21	certification containing the following:
22	(A) In the case of a letter of offer to sell,
23	the information described in section 36(b)(1) of
24	the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.

2776(b)(1)) and section 36(b)(2) of such Act,

- as redesignated by section 206(a) of this Act, without regard to the dollar amount of such sale, except as specified in subsection (c).
 - (B) In the case of a license for export (other than with regard to a sale under section 21 or 22 of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2761, 2762)), the information described in section 36(c) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(c)), as amended by section 206(b) of this Act, without regard to the dollar amount of such export, except as specified in subsection (c).
 - (C) In the case of a lease or loan agreement, the information described in section 62(a) of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2796a(a)), unless section 62(b) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2796a(b)) applies, without regard to the dollar amount of such lease or loan, except as specified in subsection (c).
 - (b) Congressional Authorization Required.—
 - (1) Prior congressional authorization.—
 No letter of offer may be issued under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) with respect to a proposed sale of any item described in subsection (c) to any country or international orga-

nization (other than a country or international organization described in paragraph (2)), no license may be issued under such Act with respect to a proposed export of any such item to any such country or organization, and no lease may be made under chapter 6 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2796 et seq.) and no loan may be made under chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2311 et seq.) of any such item to any such country or organization, unless there is enacted a joint resolution or other provision of law authorizing such sale, export, lease, or loan, as the case may be.

(2) NATO AND CERTAIN COUNTRIES.—No letter of offer or license described in paragraph (1) may be issued and no lease or loan described in such paragraph may be made with respect to a proposed sale, export, lease, or loan, as the case may be, of any item described in subsection (c) to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), any member country of such organization, Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Israel, New Zealand, or Taiwan, if, not later than 20 calendar days after receiving the appropriate certification, a joint resolution is enacted prohibiting the proposed sale, export, lease, or loan, as the case may be.

1	(c) ITEMS DESCRIBED.—The items described in this
2	subsection are those items of types and classes as follows
3	(including parts, components, and technical data):
4	(1) Firearms and ammunition of \$1,000,000 or
5	more.
6	(2) Air to ground munitions of \$14,000,000 or
7	more.
8	(3) Tanks, armored vehicles, and related muni-
9	tions of \$14,000,000 or more.
10	(4) Fixed and rotary, manned or unmanned
11	armed aircraft of \$14,000,000 or more.
12	(5) Services or training to security services of
13	\$14,000,000 or more.
14	SEC. 204. PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDERATION OF JOINT
15	RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING OR PROHIBITING
16	ARMS SALES.
17	(a) Consideration by Congress.—Any joint reso-
18	lution under section 203(b) shall be considered by Con-
19	gress using the expedited procedures set forth in section
20	107(e)-(h).
21	(b) Form of Joint Resolutions.—
22	(1) Prior congressional authorization.—
2	m_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l} i_{l}
23	The joint resolution required by section $203(b)(1)$ is
23 24	a joint resolution required by section 203(b)(1) is a joint resolution the text of which consists only of

1	"The proposed to described in the
2	certification submitted pursuant to section 203(a) of
3	the Arms Export Reform Act of 2021, which was re-
4	ceived by Congress on (Transmittal number)
5	is authorized.", with the appropriate activity, wheth-
6	er sale, export, lease, or loan, and the appropriate
7	country or international organization, date, and
8	transmittal number inserted.
9	(2) NATO AND CERTAIN COUNTRIES.—The
10	joint resolution required by section $203(b)(2)$ is a
11	joint resolution the text of which consists of only one
12	section, which reads as follows: "That the proposed
13	to described in the certification sub-
14	mitted pursuant to section 203(a) of the Arms Ex-
15	port Reform Act of 2021, which was received by
16	Congress on (Transmittal number) is not
17	authorized.", with the appropriate activity, whether
18	sale, export, lease, or loan, and the appropriate
19	country or international organization, date, and the
20	transmittal number inserted.
21	SEC. 205. EMERGENCY PROCEDURES UNDER ARMS EXPORT
22	CONTROL ACT.
23	Section 36 of the Arms Export Control Act is amend-
24	ed by adding at the end the following:

1	"(j) Restriction on Emergency Authority Re-
2	LATING TO ARMS SALES UNDER THIS ACT.—A deter-
3	mination of the President that an emergency exists requir-
4	ing a proposed transfer of defense articles or defense serv-
5	ices in the national security interests of the United States,
6	thus waiving the congressional review requirements pursu-
7	ant to section 3 —
8	"(1) shall apply only if—
9	"(A) the President submits a determina-
10	tion and justification for each individual ap-
11	proval, letter of offer, or license for the defense
12	articles or defense services that includes a spe-
13	cific and detailed description of how such waiv-
14	er of the congressional review requirements di-
15	rectly responds to or addresses the cir-
16	cumstances of the emergency cited in the deter-
17	mination; and
18	"(B) the delivery of the defense articles or
19	defense services will take place not later than
20	60 days after the date on which such deter-
21	mination is made, unless otherwise authorized
22	by Congress; and
23	"(2) shall not apply in the case of defense arti-
24	cles or defense services that include manufacturing

1	or co-production of the articles or services outside
2	the United States.".
3	SEC. 206. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.
4	(a) Government-to-Government Sales.—
5	(1) In general.—Section 36(b) of the Arms
6	Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(b)) is amend-
7	ed—
8	(A) in paragraph (1)—
9	(i) in the matter preceding subpara-
10	graph (A), in the first sentence, by striking
11	"Subject to paragraph (6)" and inserting
12	"Subject to paragraph (4)"; and
13	(ii) in the flush text following sub-
14	paragraph (P), by striking the last 2 sen-
15	tences;
16	(B) by striking paragraphs (2) and (3);
17	(C) by redesignating paragraphs (4), (5),
18	and (6) as paragraphs (2), (3), and (4), respec-
19	tively;
20	(D) in subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3),
21	as so redesignated, in the first sentence, by
22	striking "Subject to paragraph (6)" and insert-
23	ing "Subject to paragraph (4)"; and
24	(E) in paragraph (4), as redesignated by
25	subparagraph (C) of this paragraph, in the

1 matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking 2 "in paragraph (5)(C)" and inserting "in para-3 graph (3)(C)". 4 (2)Conforming AMENDMENT.—Section 5 38(f)(5)(B)(ii)of (22)U.S.C. such Act 6 2778(f)(5)(B)(ii)) is amended by striking "section 7 36(b)(5)(A)" and inserting "section 36(b)(3)(A)". 8 COMMERCIALLY LICENSED Sales.—Section 9 36(c) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2776(c)) is amended— 10 (1) in paragraph (1), in the first sentence, by 11 striking "Subject to paragraph (5), in" and insert-12 ing "In"; 13 (2) by striking paragraphs (2) through (5); and 14 (3) by redesignating paragraph (6) as para-15 graph (2). 16 (c) Legislative Review of Leases and Loans.— 17 (1) Repeal.—Section 63 of such Act (22) 18 U.S.C. 2796b) is repealed. 19 (2) Conforming amendment.—Section 62(b) 20 of such Act (22 U.S. 2976a(b)) is amended, in the 21 first sentence, by striking "(and in the case" and all that follows through "of that section". 22 23 SEC. 207. APPLICABILITY. 24 This title and the amendments made by this title

shall apply with respect to any letter of offer or license

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1	for export issued, or any lease or loan made, after the date
2	of the enactment of this Act.
3	TITLE III—NATIONAL
4	EMERGENCIES ACT REFORM
5	SEC. 301. REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO DECLARATION
6	AND RENEWAL OF NATIONAL EMERGENCIES.
7	Section 201 of the National Emergencies Act (50
8	U.S.C. 1621) is amended to read as follows:
9	"SEC. 201. DECLARATIONS AND RENEWALS OF NATIONAL
10	EMERGENCIES.
11	"(a) Authority To Declare National Emer-
12	GENCIES.—With respect to Acts of Congress authorizing
13	the exercise, during the period of a national emergency,
14	of any special or extraordinary power, the President is au-
15	thorized to declare such a national emergency by procla-
16	mation. Such proclamation shall immediately be trans-
17	mitted to Congress and published in the Federal Register.
18	"(b) Specification of Provisions of Law To Be
19	Exercised.—
20	"(1) In general.—No powers or authorities
21	made available by statute for use during the period
22	of a national emergency shall be exercised unless
23	and until the President specifies the provisions of
24	law under which the President proposes that the
25	President or other officers will act in—

1	"(A) a proclamation declaring a national
2	emergency under subsection (a); or
3	"(B) one or more Executive orders relating
4	to the emergency published in the Federal Reg-
5	ister and transmitted to Congress.
6	"(2) Limitations.—The President may—
7	"(A) specify under paragraph (1) only pro-
8	visions of law that make available powers and
9	authorities that relate to the nature of the na-
10	tional emergency; and
11	"(B) exercise such powers and authorities
12	only to address the national emergency.
13	"(c) Temporary Effective Periods.—
14	"(1) In general.—A declaration of a national
15	emergency under subsection (a) may last for 30 days
16	from the issuance of the proclamation (not counting
17	the day on which the proclamation was issued) and
18	shall terminate when that 30-day period expires un-
19	less there is enacted into law a joint resolution of
20	approval under section 203 with respect to the proc-
21	lamation.
22	"(2) Exercise of powers and authori-
23	TIES.—Any power or authority made available under
24	a provision of law described in subsection (a) and
25	specified pursuant to subsection (b) may be exer-

1	cised for 30 days from the issuance of the proclama-
2	tion or Executive order (not counting the day on
3	which such proclamation or Executive order was
4	issued). That power or authority cannot be exercised
5	once that 30-day period expires, unless there is en-
6	acted into law a joint resolution of approval under
7	section 203 approving—
8	"(A) the proclamation of the national
9	emergency or the Executive order; and
10	"(B) the exercise of the power or authority
11	specified by the President in such proclamation
12	or Executive order.
13	"(3) Exception if congress is unable to
14	CONVENE.—If Congress is physically unable to con-
15	vene as a result of an armed attack upon the United
16	States or another national emergency, the 30-day
17	periods described in paragraphs (1) and (2) shall
18	begin on the first day Congress convenes for the
19	first time after the attack or other emergency.
20	"(d) Prohibition on Subsequent Actions if
21	EMERGENCIES NOT APPROVED.—
22	"(1) Subsequent declarations.—If a joint
23	resolution of approval is not enacted under section
24	203 with respect to a national emergency before the
25	expiration of the 30-day period described in sub-

proposed to be renewed under subsection (e), the President may not, during the remainder of the term

section (c), or with respect to a national emergency

- of office of that President, declare a subsequent national emergency under subsection (a) with respect
- 6 to the same circumstances.

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- 7 "(2) Exercise of authorities.—If a joint 8 resolution of approval is not enacted under section 9 203 with respect to a power or authority specified by 10 the President in a proclamation under subsection (a) 11 or an Executive order under subsection (b)(1)(B) 12 with respect to a national emergency, the President 13 may not, during the remainder of the term of office 14 of that President, exercise that power or authority 15 with respect to that emergency.
- "(e) Renewal of National Emergencies.—A national emergency declared by the President under subsection (a) or previously renewed under this subsection, and not already terminated pursuant to subsection (c) or section 202(a), shall terminate on a date that is not later than one year after the President transmitted to Congress the proclamation declaring the emergency under sub-

section (a) or Congress approved a previous renewal pur-

24 suant to this subsection, unless—

1	"(1) the President publishes in the Federal			
2	Register and transmits to Congress an Executiv			
3	order renewing the emergency; and			
4	"(2) there is enacted into law a joint resolution			
5	of approval renewing the emergency pursuant to sec-			
6	tion 203 before the termination of the emergency or			
7	previous renewal of the emergency.			
8	"(f) Effect of Future Laws.—No law enacted			
9	after the date of the enactment of this Act shall supersede			
10	this title unless it does so in specific terms, referring to			
11	this title, and declaring that the new law supersedes the			
12	provisions of this title.".			
13	SEC. 302. TERMINATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCIES.			
14	Section 202 of the National Emergencies Act (50			
15	U.S.C. 1622) is amended to read as follows:			
16	"SEC. 202. TERMINATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCIES.			
17	"(a) In General.—Any national emergency declared			
18	by the President under section 201(a) shall terminate on			
19	the earliest of—			
20	"(1) the date provided for in section 201(c);			
21	"(2) the date on which Congress, by statute,			
22	terminates the emergency;			
23	"(3) the date on which the President issues a			
24	proclamation terminating the emergency; or			
25	"(4) the date provided for in section 201(e).			

1	"(b) 5-Year Limitation.—Under no circumstances
2	may a national emergency declared by the President under
3	section 201(a) continue on or after the date that is 5 years
4	after the date on which the national emergency was first
5	declared.
6	"(c) Effect of Termination.—
7	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Effective on the date of the
8	termination of a national emergency under sub-
9	section (a) or (b)—
10	"(A) except as provided by paragraph (2),
11	any powers or authorities exercised by reason of
12	the emergency shall cease to be exercised;
13	"(B) any amounts reprogrammed or trans-
14	ferred under any provision of law with respect
15	to the emergency that remain unobligated on
16	that date shall be returned and made available
17	for the purpose for which such amounts were
18	appropriated; and
19	"(C) any contracts entered into under any
20	provision of law relating to the emergency shall
21	be terminated.
22	"(2) Savings provision.—The termination of
23	a national emergency shall not moot—
24	"(A) any legal action taken or pending
25	legal proceeding not finally concluded or deter-

1	mined on the date of the termination under
2	subsection (a) or (b); or
3	"(B) any legal action or legal proceeding
4	based on any act committed prior to that
5	date.".
6	SEC. 303. REVIEW BY CONGRESS OF NATIONAL EMER-
7	GENCIES.
8	Title II of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C.
9	1621 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
10	lowing:
11	"SEC. 203. REVIEW BY CONGRESS OF NATIONAL EMER-
12	GENCIES.
13	"(a) Joint Resolutions of Approval and of
14	TERMINATION.—
15	"(1) Definitions.—In this section:
16	"(A) Joint resolution of approval.—
17	The term 'joint resolution of approval' means a
18	joint resolution that contains only the following
19	provisions after its resolving clause:
20	"(i) A provision approving—
21	"(I) a proclamation of a national
22	emergency made under section 201(a);
23	"(II) an Executive order issued
24	under section $201(b)(1)(B)$; or

1	"(III) an Executive order issued
2	under section 201(e).
3	"(ii) A provision approving a list of all
4	or a portion of the provisions of law speci-
5	fied by the President under section 201(b)
6	in the proclamation or Executive order
7	that is the subject of the joint resolution.
8	"(B) Joint resolution of termi-
9	NATION.—The term 'joint resolution of termi-
10	nation' means a joint resolution terminating—
11	"(i) a national emergency declared
12	under section 201(a); or
13	"(ii) the exercise of any powers or au-
14	thorities pursuant to that emergency.
15	"(2) Procedures for consideration of
16	JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF APPROVAL.—
17	"(A) Introduction.—After the President
18	transmits to Congress a proclamation declaring
19	a national emergency under section 201(a), or
20	an Executive order renewing an emergency
21	under section 201(e) or specifying emergency
22	powers or authorities under section
23	201(b)(1)(B), a joint resolution of approval or
24	a joint resolution of termination may be intro-

duced in either House of Congress by any member of that House.

> "(B) Requests to convene congress DURING RECESSES.—If, when the President transmits to Congress a proclamation declaring a national emergency under section 201(a), or an Executive order renewing an emergency under section 201(e) or specifying emergency powers or authorities under section 201(b)(1)(B), Congress has adjourned sine die or has adjourned for any period in excess of 3 calendar days, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate, if they deem it advisable (or if petitioned by at least one-third of the membership of their respective Houses) shall jointly request the President to convene Congress in order that it may consider the proclamation or Executive order and take appropriate action pursuant to this section.

> "(C) COMMITTEE REFERRAL.—A joint resolution of approval or a joint resolution of termination shall be referred in each House of Congress to the committee or committees having jurisdiction over the emergency authorities

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2	that is the	he subject	of t	he jo	int resolu	tion.

- "(D) Consideration in Senate.—In the Senate, the following rules shall apply:
 - "(i) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the committee to which a joint resolution of approval or a joint resolution of termination has been referred has not reported it at the end of 10 calendar days after its introduction, that committee shall be automatically discharged from further consideration of the resolution and it shall be placed on the calendar.
 - "(ii) Proceeding to considerAtion.—Notwithstanding Rule XXII of
 the Standing Rules of the Senate, when
 the committee to which a joint resolution
 of approval or a joint resolution of termination is referred has reported the resolution, or when that committee is discharged
 under clause (i) from further consideration
 of the resolution, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed
 to) for a motion to proceed to the consider-

ation of the joint resolution to be made, and all points of order against the joint resolution (and against consideration of the joint resolution) are waived. The motion to proceed is subject to 4 hours of debate divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the joint resolution of approval or the joint resolution of termination. The motion is not subject to amendment, or to a motion to postpone, or to a motion to proceed to the consideration of other business.

"(iii) Floor consideration.—A joint resolution of approval or a joint resolution of termination shall be subject to 10 hours of debate, to be divided evenly between the proponents and opponents of the resolution.

"(iv) Amendments.—

"(I) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subclause (II), no amendments shall be in order with respect to a joint resolution of approval or a joint resolution of termination.

1	"(II) Amendments to strike
2	OR ADD SPECIFIED PROVISIONS OF
3	LAW.—Subclause (I) shall not apply
4	with respect to any amendment to a
5	joint resolution of approval to strike
6	from or add to the list required by
7	paragraph (1)(A)(ii) a provision or
8	provisions of law specified by the
9	President under section 201(b) in the
10	proclamation or Executive order.
11	"(v) MOTION TO RECONSIDER FINAL
12	VOTE.—A motion to reconsider a vote on
13	final passage of a joint resolution of ap-
14	proval or of a joint resolution of termi-
15	nation shall not be in order.
16	"(vi) Appeals.—Points of order, in-
17	cluding questions of relevancy, and appeals
18	from the decision of the Presiding Officer,
19	shall be decided without debate.
20	"(E) Consideration in house of rep-
21	RESENTATIVES.—In the House of Representa-
22	tives, if any committee to which a joint resolu-
23	tion of approval or a joint resolution of termi-
24	nation has been referred has not reported it to
25	the House at the end of 10 calendar days after

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its introduction, such committee shall be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution, and it shall be placed on the appropriate calendar. On Thursdays it shall be in order at any time for the Speaker to recognize a Member who favors passage of a joint resolution that has appeared on the calendar for at least 3 calendar days to call up that joint resolution for immediate consideration in the House without intervention of any point of order. When so called up a joint resolution shall be considered as read and shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered to its passage without intervening motion. It shall not be in order to reconsider the vote on passage. If a vote on final passage of the joint resolution has not been taken on or before the close of the tenth calendar day after the resolution is reported by the committee or committees to which it was referred, or after such committee or committees have been discharged from further consideration of the resolution, such vote shall be taken on that day.

1	"(F) Receipt of resolution from
2	OTHER HOUSE.—If, before passing a joint reso-
3	lution of approval or a joint resolution of termi-
4	nation, one House receives from the other
5	House a joint resolution of approval or a joint
6	resolution of termination—
7	"(i) the joint resolution of the other
8	House shall not be referred to a committee
9	and shall be deemed to have been dis-
10	charged from committee on the day it is
11	received; and
12	"(ii) the procedures set forth in sub-
13	paragraph (D) or (E), as applicable, shall
14	apply in the receiving House to the joint
15	resolution received from the other House
16	to the same extent as such procedures
17	apply to a joint resolution of the receiving
18	House.
19	"(G) Rule of construction.—The en-
20	actment of a joint resolution of approval or of
21	a joint resolution of termination under this sub-
22	section shall not be interpreted to serve as a
23	grant or modification by Congress of statutory
24	authority for the emergency powers of the

President.

1 "(b) Rules of the House and the Senate.— 2 Subsection (a) is enacted by Congress— 3 "(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, re-5 spectively, and as such is deemed a part of the rules 6 of each House, respectively, but applicable only with 7 respect to the procedure to be followed in the House 8 in the case of joint resolutions of approval, and su-9 persede other rules only to the extent that it is in-10 consistent with such other rules; and 11 "(2) with full recognition of the constitutional 12 right of either House to change the rules (so far as 13 relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, 14 in the same manner, and to the same extent as in 15 the case of any other rule of that House.". SEC. 304. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS. 16 17 Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641) is amended by adding at the end the fol-18 19 lowing: 20 "(d) Report on Emergencies.—The President 21 shall transmit to Congress, with any proclamation declaring a national emergency under section 201(a), or Execu-

tive order renewing an emergency under section 201(e) or

specifying emergency powers or authorities under section

- 1 201(b)(1)(B), a report, in writing, that includes the fol-
- 2 lowing:
- 3 "(1) A description of the circumstances necessi-
- 4 tating the declaration of a national emergency, the
- 5 renewal of such an emergency, or the use of a new
- 6 emergency authority specified in the Executive
- 7 order, as the case may be.
- 8 "(2) The estimated duration of the national
- 9 emergency.
- 10 "(3) A summary of the actions the President or
- other officers intend to take, including any re-
- programming or transfer of funds, and the statutory
- authorities the President and such officers expect to
- rely on in addressing the national emergency.
- 15 "(4) In the case of a renewal of a national
- emergency, a summary of the actions the President
- or other officers have taken in the preceding one-
- year period, including any reprogramming or trans-
- 19 fer of funds, to address the emergency.
- 20 "(e) Provision of Information to Congress.—
- 21 The President shall provide to Congress such other infor-
- 22 mation as Congress may request in connection with any
- 23 national emergency in effect under title II.
- 24 "(f) Periodic Reports on Status of Emer-
- 25 GENCIES.—If the President declares a national emergency

- 1 under section 201(a), the President shall, not less fre-
- 2 quently than every 180 days for the duration of the emer-
- 3 gency, report to Congress on the status of the emergency
- 4 and the actions the President or other officers have taken
- 5 and authorities the President and such officers have relied
- 6 on in addressing the emergency.
- 7 "(g) Final Report on Activities During Na-
- 8 TIONAL EMERGENCY.—Not later than 90 days after the
- 9 termination under section 202 of a national emergency de-
- 10 clared under section 201(a), the President shall transmit
- 11 to Congress a final report describing—
- "(1) the actions that the President or other of-
- ficers took to address the emergency; and
- 14 "(2) the powers and authorities the President
- and such officers relied on to take such actions.
- 16 "(h) Public Disclosure.—Each report required by
- 17 this section shall be transmitted in unclassified form and
- 18 be made public at the same time the report is transmitted
- 19 to Congress, although a classified annex may be provided
- 20 to Congress, if necessary.".
- 21 SEC. 305. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.
- 22 (a) National Emergencies Act.—Title III of the
- 23 National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631) is repealed.

1 (b) International Emergency Economic Pow-ERS ACT.—Section 207 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1706) is amended— 3 4 (1) in subsection (b), by striking "if the na-5 tional emergency" and all that follows through "under this section." and inserting the following: 6 7 "if— "(1) the national emergency is terminated pur-8 9 suant to section 202(a)(2) of the National Emer-10 gencies Act; or 11 "(2) a joint resolution of approval is not en-12 acted as required by section 203 of that Act to ap-13 prove-14 "(A) the national emergency; or "(B) the exercise of such authorities."; and 15 16 (2) in subsection (c)(1), by striking "para-17 graphs (A), (B), and (C) of section 202(a)" and in-18 serting "section 202(c)(2)". 19 SEC. 306. APPLICABILITY. 20 (a) In General.—Except as provided in subsection 21 (b), this title and the amendments made by this title shall 22 take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act. 23 (b) Application to National Emergencies Pre-VIOUSLY DECLARED.—A national emergency declared under section 201 of the National Emergencies Act before

- 1 the date of the enactment of this Act shall be unaffected
- 2 by the amendments made by this Act, except that such
- 3 an emergency shall terminate on the date that is not later
- 4 than one year after such date of enactment unless the
- 5 emergency is renewed under subsection (e) of such section
- 6 201, as amended by section 301 of this Act.

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