

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Lesson Plan: Congress, the President, and the War Powers (Fundamental Principles of Government)

**Summary:** This lesson will explore the implementation of the war-making power from the first declared war under the Constitution—the War of 1812—to the Iraq War. Using primary source documents, students will investigate how the constitutional powers to initiate war have been exercised by the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government at several key moments in American history. They will also evaluate why and how the balance of authority in initiating war has changed over time. Students will assess and evaluate the current balance of power.

**Rationale:** As future voters, students need the tools to participate as citizens in the nation’s future decisions on war. This lesson requires students to evaluate previous war making decisions, and apply that historical understanding to consider how such decisions should be made in the future.

**Guiding Question:** What is the ideal balance of power between the President and Congress with respect to war?

### Materials:

- 6 document facsimiles
- 10 document transcripts
- 3 handouts and 1 worksheet
- All lesson materials

**Recommended Grade Levels:** Grades 10 – 12

**Courses:** U.S. History; U.S. Government; Civics

**Topics Included in this Lesson:** Declarations of war, separation of powers, Constitution, Article I, Article II, War of 1812, Mexican War, Civil War, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, Iraq War, informational texts, primary sources

**Time Required:** 120 minutes

### Learning Activities:

#### 1. Introduction and group discussion

Introduce the students to the Guiding Question. Read the clauses on the war powers that the Constitution grants to Congress in [Article I, Section 8](#), and to the President in [Article II, Section 2](#). After reading these clauses, ask the students what sense they get about the Founders thoughts on the use of war powers. *Note to the teacher:* Students’ answers may include the idea the war-making power should not be in the hands of one

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person. They might also suggest that Congress is responsible for deciding war or peace, for enabling the nation to fight a war, and for providing funding, while the President is responsible for field command of the military. Also discuss what balance of power between Congress and the President they think the Founders intended to create. Why did they do it that way?

### 2. War of 1812: The first war under the Constitution

The War of 1812 was the first time constitutional war powers were applied. Share the quotes on Handout 1 with your students, and ask them to describe the authors' views of the war making responsibilities of Congress and the President. How do these views compare with the clauses of the Constitution the students read in the first activity? Assess how closely Congress and the President observed the Founders' vision this first time the United States fought a war under the Constitution.

*Note to the teacher:* You may want to share with the students some of the views of James Madison, the primary author of the Constitution, and the President at the time that Congress first declared war. Madison observed in his formal communications with Congress what he saw as the proper constitutional roles of the executive and legislature. When making a decision to go to war, Madison believed the President had the prerogative to make suggestions to Congress, and Congress had the prerogative to accept or seek suggestions from the President to arrive at its own decision on the question.

### 3. Balance of Powers

Project or distribute a copy of Handout 2, the Balance of Powers continuum, which illustrates a balance with Congress and the President at opposite ends. Ask students to consider where to plot a point on the chart to mark their assessment of which branch, the executive or legislative, wielded more influence over the use of war powers in 1812, and by how much.

### 4. Group document analysis of primary source documents

Divide students into four groups. Assign each group the documents from one of the time periods listed on Handout 3. Some documents have facsimiles and all have transcripts. Distribute Worksheet 1 to help them conduct document analysis. The groups will evaluate each document to assess the viewpoint of the author regarding the use of war powers by the executive or legislative branches.

### 5. Report from groups

Taking each set of documents in chronological order, direct a spokesperson from each group to share the results of the group discussion. The spokesperson should give the title of each document, summarize its content, and then share the group's assessment of the viewpoint on war powers of the executive and/or legislative branches as expressed by the author. The spokesperson will mark the Balance of Powers continuum to denote the group's understanding of each branch's influence on questions of war at that point in time.

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### 6. Iraq War

Distribute the two Iraq War documents to all students, and conduct a document analysis with the full class in the same manner as they did in small groups. Form a class consensus on where to plot the Iraq War on the Balance of Powers continuum.

### 7. Reflection

Ask your students to reflect on the changes over time in the exercise of war powers by the two branches of government. Is there a pattern to the change? Why might it have changed? Have the changes been positive or negative? Why? Revisit the Guiding Question: What is the ideal balance of power between the President and Congress with respect to war?

Point out to the students that, as future voters, they may have to decide whether or not to support U.S. military action and will need to understand who exercises which war powers. Possible discussion questions include:

A. What are the pros and cons of having Congress or the President in charge of making war? Each option reflects different values:

- consensus-building vs. speed
- democratic process vs. secrecy
- debate vs. unity

These conflicting concepts can be fleshed out into statements reflecting alternate values. Share these with your students and ask them to select which ones they agree with, and explain why.

- i. The legislature takes too long deliberating when immediate action may be needed.
  - ii. The executive may move too fast before the citizenry are fully supportive of the military effort.
  - iii. Open deliberation of war plans by the legislature provides a strategic advantage to the enemy.
  - iv. Secret war plans made by the executive undermine the very idea of democracy that the nation is fighting to preserve.
  - v. Debate of different plans in the legislature may ultimately create a strong public consensus.
  - vi. Unitary control of war by the executive unites the nation behind one plan.
- B. What are the roles of the legislature and executive when hostilities exist without a declaration of war? (e.g., Cold War, war on terror)
- C. Is the Founders' belief in congressional control of war powers still workable in the 21st century? Should the Constitution be amended? If yes, compose the text of the proposed amendment. If no, explain why not.
- D. Return to essential question: What is the ideal balance of power between the President and Congress with respect to war? If it is off balance now, how does one fix it?

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### 8. Extension Activity—Taking a Stand

Read one of the statements below, and direct students to physically move to different areas of the room that are marked Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. After groups form for each opinion, ask the groups to discuss why each person moved to that group and for a spokesperson to explain their point of view to the class.

- a. “The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and as such should ultimately decide when and where to deploy the United States military.”
- b. “Congress has the constitutional power to declare war and as such should ultimately decide when and where to deploy the United States military.”



Whereas the President of the United States, in his message of May 11<sup>th</sup> 1846, has declared that "The Mexican Government not only refused to receive him" (the envoy of the U. S.) "or listen to his propositions, but, after a long continued series of menaces, have at last invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our fellow citizens on our own soil"

And again, in his message of December 8. 1846 that "We had ample cause of war against Mexico, long before the breaking out of hostilities. But even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands, until Mexico herself became the aggressor by invading our soil in hostile array, and shedding the blood of our citizens"

And yet again, in his message of December 7- 1847 that "The Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he" (our minister of peace) "was authorized to propose; and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretext, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our citizens on our own soil"

And whereas this House desires to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot, <sup>of soil</sup> on which the blood of our citizens was so shed, was, or was not, our own soil, at that time; therefore



Resolved by the House of Representatives, that the President of the United States, he respectfully requested to inform this House—  
First: Whether the spot of soil on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his messages declared, was, or was not, within the territories of Spain, at least from the treaty of 1819 until the Mexican revolution.

Second: Whether that spot is, or is not, within the territory which was wrested from Spain, by the Mexican revolution—

Third: Whether that spot is, or is not, within a settlement of people, which settlement had existed ever since long before the Texas revolution, until its inhabitants, fled from the approach of the U. S. Army—

Fourth: Whether that settlement is, or is not, isolated from any and all other settlements, by the Gulf of Mexico, and the Rio Grande, on the South and West, and by wide uninhabited regions on the North and East—

Fifth: Whether the People of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, had ever, previous to the bloodshed, mentioned in his messages, submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas, or of the United States, by consent, or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying taxes, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way—

Sixth: Whether the People of that settlement, did, or did not, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, flee from the approach of the United States Army, before



the blood was shed, as in his messages stated; and whether the first blood so shed, was, or was not shed, within the inclosure of the People, or some of them, who had thus fled from it—

Seventh: Whether our Citizens, whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were, or were not, at that time, armed officers, and soldiers, sent into that settlement, by the military order of the President through the Secretary of War— and

Eighth: Whether the military force of the United States, including those Citizens, was, or was not, so sent into that settlement, after Genl. Taylor had, more than once, intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas—

MacMurray 5

If the President orders a refusal of war to any of these ports to demand prompt redress for outrages committed, the offending parties are well aware that in case of refusal the Commander can do no more than remonstrate. He can resort to no hostile act. The question must then be referred to Diplomacy, and in many cases adequate redress can never be obtained. Thus American citizens are deprived of the same protection, under the flag of their country, which the subjects of other nations enjoy. The remedy for this state of things can only be supplied by Congress, since the Constitution has confided to that Body alone the power to make war. Without the authority of Congress the Executive cannot lawfully direct any force however near it may be to the

the scene of difficulty, to enter the territory of Mexico, Nicaragua or New Grenada for the purpose of defending the persons and property of American Citizens, even though they may be violently assailed whilst passing in peaceful transit over the Tehuantepec, Nicaragua or Panama routes. He cannot, without transcending his Constitutional power, direct a gun to be fired into a port, or land a seaman or marine to protect the lives of our countrymen on shore, or to obtain redress for a recent outrage on their property.

The banditti which infect our neighboring Republic of Mexico, always claiming to belong to one or other of the hostile parties might make a sudden descent on Vera Cruz, or on the Tehuantepec route, and he would have no power to employ the



Having thus recommended to Congress a measure which I deem necessary and expedient for the interest and honor of the Country, I leave the whole subject to their wisdom and discretion.

James Buchanan

Washington February 18, 1859.

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been <sup>reported</sup> torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.



Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very <sup>life and</sup> safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will be remembered the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people ~~will~~ in their righteous <sup>will</sup> might win through to absolute victory.

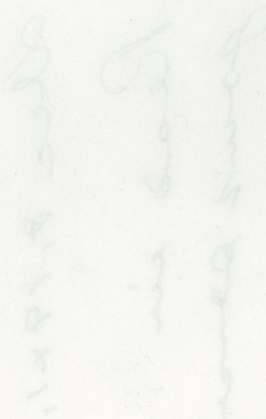
I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.



With confidence in our armed forces -- with the unbounding determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.



*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 8, 1941.



IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Korea 2443  
JUNE 27, 1950

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

# 1  
In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

# 2  
Accordingly I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

# 3  
I have also directed that United States Forces in the Philippines be strengthened and that military assistance to the Philippine Government be accelerated.

# 4  
I have similarly directed acceleration in the furnishing of military assistance to the forces of France and the Associated States in Indo China and the dispatch of a military mission to provide close working relations with those forces.

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

I have instructed Ambassador Austin, as the representative of the United States to the Security Council, to report these steps to the Council.

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88th CONGRESS  
2nd SESSION

RUSH  
9 a.m. 7 AM  
S. J. RES. 189

(Note.—Fill in all blank lines except those provided for the date and number of resolution.)

Set Endorsement

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

for himself and Mr. AUG 5 - 1964

and Mr.

500 X upis  
Tiebout, Buchanan, Russell, Seltonstaf

Mr. introduced the following joint resolution; which was

read twice and referred to the Committee on FOREIGN RELATIONS

AND ARMED SERVICES JOINTLY.

500  
to be picked up at 8:00 AM by Mr. Kasper  
JOINT RESOLUTION

To promote the maintenance of international peace

(Insert title of joint resolution here)

and security in Southeast Asia.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United  
2 States of America in Congress assembled, That

WHEREAS naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam,

- ☐ ☐ inviolation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

WHEREAS these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic

- ☐ ☐ campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

WHEREAS the United States is assisting the peoples of

- ☐ ☐ Southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military, or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way;

Now therefore, BE IT

7 a.m.  
RUSH  
9 a.m. 7 AM

7 a.m.

428  
RESOLVED, by the Senate and House  
of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That

The Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression. 189/2

SEC. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace, and security in Southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter

of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

SEC. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
PRESIDENT  
GEORGE W. BUSH



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## DENIAL AND DECEPTION

For Immediate Release  
Office of the Press Secretary  
October 16, 2002

### Statement by the President

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 114, a resolution "To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq." By passing H.J. Res. 114, the Congress has demonstrated that the United States speaks with one voice on the threat to international peace and security posed by Iraq. It has also clearly communicated to the international community, to the United Nations Security Council, and, above all, to Iraq's tyrannical regime a powerful and important message: the days of Iraq flouting the will of the world, brutalizing its own people, and terrorizing its neighbors must -- and will -- end. Iraq will either comply with all U.N. resolutions, rid itself of weapons of mass destruction, and in its support for terrorists, or it will be compelled to do so. I hope that Iraq will choose compliance and peace, and I believe passage of this resolution makes that choice more likely.

The debate over this resolution in the Congress was in the finest traditions of American democracy. There is no social or political force greater than a free people united in a common and compelling objective. It is for that reason that I sought an additional resolution of support from the Congress to use force against Iraq, should force become necessary. While I appreciate receiving that support, my request for it did not, and my signing this resolution does not, constitute any change in the long-standing positions of the executive branch on either the President's constitutional authority to use force to deter, prevent, or respond to aggression or other threats to U.S. interests or on the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution. On the important question of the threat posed by Iraq, however, the views and goals of the Congress, as expressed in H.J. Res. 114 and previous congressional resolutions and enactments, and those of the President are the same.

Throughout the past months, I have had extensive consultations with the Congress, and I look forward to continuing close consultation in the months ahead. In addition, in accordance with section 4 of H.J. Res. 114, I intend to submit written reports to the Congress on matters relevant to this resolution every 60 days. To the extent possible, I intend to consolidate information in these reports with the information concerning Iraq submitted to the Congress pursuant to previous, related resolutions.

The United States is committed to a world in which the people of all nations can live in freedom, peace, and security. Enactment of H.J. Res. 114 is an important step on the road toward such a world.

GEORGE W. BUSH  
THE WHITE HOUSE,  
October 16, 2002.

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## Henry Clay's Speech in Lexington

November 13, 1847 (excerpts)

*The Papers of Henry Clay*, vol. 10, eds. Melba Porter Hay and Carol Reardon, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 361-377.

"The day is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condition of our country, in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence of our Union.

[The War of 1812] was a war of National defence, required for the vindication of the National rights and honor, and demanded by the indignant voice of the People....How totally variant is the present war! This is no war of defence, but one unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her fire-sides, her castles and her altars, not we...This is the important subject upon which I desire to consult and to commune with you. Who, in this free government is, to decide upon the objects of a War, at its commencement, or at any time during its existence? Does the power belong to the Nation, to the collective wisdom of the Nation in Congress assembled, or is it vested solely in a single functionary of the government?

A declaration of war is the highest and most awful exercise of sovereignty. The Convention, which framed our federal constitution, had learned from the pages of history that it had been often and greatly abused...The Convention, therefore, resolved to guard the war-making power against those great abuses, of which in the hands of a monarch it was so susceptible. And the security, against those abuses which its wisdom devised, was to vest the war-making power in the Congress of the United States, being the immediate representatives of the people and the states...Congress, then, in our system of government, is the sole depository of that tremendous power.—The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to declare war...

...Either Congress, or the President, must have the right of determining upon the objects for which a war shall be prosecuted. There is no other alternative. If the president possesses it and may prosecute it for objects against the will of Congress, where is the difference between our free government and that of any other nation which may be governed by an absolute Czar, Emperor, or King?

...in expounding the constitution, we ought to keep constantly in view the nature and structure of our free government, and especially the great object of the Convention in taking the war-making power out of the hands of a single man and placing it in the safer custody of the representatives of the whole nation. The desirable reconciliation between the two powers is effected by attributing to Congress the right to declare what shall be the objects of war, and to the President the duty of endeavoring to obtain those objects by the direction of the national force and by diplomacy.

I conclude, therefore, Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens, with entire confidence, that Congress has the right either at the beginning or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued. And, I think, it is the duty of Congress, by some deliberate and authentic act, to declare for what objects the present war shall no longer be prosecuted.

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## Representative Abraham Lincoln's "Spot" Resolutions December 22, 1847

Records of the U.S. House of Representatives,  
National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Whereas the President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that "the Mexican Government not only refused to receive him, [the envoy of the United States,] or listen to his propositions, but, after a long-continued series of menaces, have at last invaded *our territory*, and shed the blood of our fellow *citizens* on *our own soil*."

And again, in his message of December 8, 1846, that "we had ample cause of war against Mexico, long before the breaking out of hostilities. But even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands, until Mexico herself became the aggressor by invading *our soil* in hostile array and shedding the blood of our *citizens*."

"And yet again, in his message of December 7, 1847, that the Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he [our minister of peace] was authorized to propose; and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our *citizens* on *our own soil*."

And whereas this House is desirous to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot of soil on which the blood of our *citizens* was so shed, was, or was not, *our own soil*, at that time; therefore,

*Resolved by the House of Representatives*, that the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House—

1st. Whether the spot of soil on which the blood of our *citizens* was shed, as in his messages declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least from the treaty of 1819 until the Mexican revolution.

2d. Whether that spot is, or is not, within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the Mexican revolution.

3d. Whether that spot is, or is not, within a settlement of people, which settlement had existed ever since long before the Texas revolution, until its inhabitants fled from the approach of the U.S. army.

4th. Whether that settlement is, or is not, isolated from any and all other settlements, by the Gulf of Mexico, and the Rio Grande, on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions on the North and East.

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5th. Whether the *People* of that settlement, or a *majority* of them, or *any* of them, had ever, previous to the bloodshed, mentioned in his messages, submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas, or of the United States, by *consent* or by *compulsion*, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying taxes, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in *any other way*.

6th. Whether the people of that settlement, did, or did not, flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in his messages stated; and whether the first blood so shed, was, or was not shed, within the inclosure of the people, or some of them, who had thus fled from it.

7th. Whether our *citizens*, whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were, or were not, at that time, *armed* officers, and *soldiers*, sent into that settlement, by the military order of the President through the Secretary of War, and

8th. Whether the military force of the United States, including those *citizens*, was, or was not, so sent into that settlement, after Gen. Taylor had, more than once, intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas.



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### **President James Buchanan's message to Congress requesting legislation to protect Americans in the Isthmus of Panama (excerpts) February 18, 1859**

Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

\* \* \*

If the President orders a vessel of war to any of these ports to demand prompt redress for outrages committed, the offending parties are well aware that in case of refusal the commander can do no more than remonstrate. He can resort to no hostile act. The question must then be referred to diplomacy, and in many cases adequate redress can never be obtained. Thus American citizens are deprived of the same protection under the flag of their country which the subjects of other nations enjoy. The remedy for this state of things can only be supplied by Congress, since the Constitution had confided to that body alone the power to make war. Without the authority of Congress the Executive can not lawfully direct any force, however near it may be to the scene of difficulty, to enter the territory of Mexico, Nicaragua, or New Granada for the purpose of defending the persons and property of American citizens, even though they may be violently assailed whilst passing in peaceful transit over the Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, or Panama routes. He can not, without transcending his constitutional power, direct a gun to be fired into a port or land a seaman or marine to protect the lives of our countrymen on shore or to obtain redress for a recent outrage on their property. The banditti which infest our neighboring Republic of Mexico, always claiming to belong to one or other of the hostile parties, might make a sudden descent on Vera Cruz or on the Tehuantepec route, and he would have no power to employ the force on shipboard in the vicinity for their relief, either to prevent the plunder of our merchants or the destruction of the transit.

\* \* \*

Having thus recommended to Congress a measure which I deem necessary and expedient for the interest and honor of the country, I leave the whole subject to their wisdom and discretion.

James Buchanan

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## President Abraham Lincoln's Message to Congress in Special Session

July 4, 1861, (Excerpts)

*A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 7, ed.  
James D. Richardson, (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897)

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Office Department....an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring the States, respectively, to be separated from the National Union....By the affair at Fort Sumter...no choice was left but to call out the war power of the Government; and so to resist force, employed for its destruction, by force, for its preservation.

... a call was made for seventy-five thousand militia; and rapidly following this, a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of Blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering. Other calls were made for volunteers, to serve three years, unless sooner discharged; and also for large additions to the regular Army and Navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand, and a public necessity; trusting, then as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the Commanding General, in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus; or, in other words, to arrest, and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it, are questioned...Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself, is silent as to which, or who, is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument intended, that in every case, the danger should run its course, until Congress could be called together; the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion...Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

...It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war-power, in defence of the government, forced upon him. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the government....In full view of his great responsibility, he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views, and your action, may so accord with his, as to assure all faithful citizens, who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain, and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution, and the laws.

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Neutrality Act of 1935 (excerpts)

S.J. Res. 173, August 31, 1935. 74<sup>th</sup> Congress,  
Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

### An Act

Providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war.

### **Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,**

That upon the outbreak or during the progress of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States, or possessions of the United States, to any port of such belligerent states, or to any neutral port for transshipment to, or for the use of, a belligerent country.

The President, by proclamation, shall definitely enumerate the arms, ammunition, or implements of war, the export of which is prohibited by this Act.

The President may, from time to time, by proclamation, extend such embargo upon the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to other states as and when they may become involved in such war.

SEC. 3. ...When the President finds the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation, and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply.

SEC. 6. Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that the maintenance of peace between the United States and foreign nations, or the protection of the lives of citizens of the United States, or the protection of the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or the security of the United States requires that the American citizens should refrain from traveling as passengers on the vessels of any belligerent nation, he shall so proclaim, and thereafter no citizen of the United States shall travel on any vessel of any belligerent nation except at his own risk...

## **Congress, the President, and the War Powers**

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### **"Day of Infamy Speech" message to Congress from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt concerning the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor December 8, 1941**

Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

## Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

But always will be remembered the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House,  
December 8, 1941

## Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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### **Statement by President Harry S. Truman announcing his order to send U.S. air and naval forces to help defend South Korea and explaining the rationale for his decision**

**June 27, 1950**

Papers of George M. Elsey, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Independence, Missouri.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 27, 1950

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

I have also directed that United States Forces in the Philippines be strengthened and that military assistance to the Philippine Government be accelerated.

I have similarly directed acceleration in the furnishing of military assistance to the forces of French and the Associated States in Indo China and the dispatch of a military mission to provide close working relations with those forces.

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latent aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

I have instructed Ambassador Austin, as the representative of the United States to the Security Council, to report these steps to the Council.

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

(as introduced)

August 5, 1964; Records of the U.S. Senate;  
National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

### **To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.**

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in the area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

### **Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,**

That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## President Richard Nixon's Veto of the War Powers Resolution (excerpts)

October 24, 1973

Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

To the House of Representatives:

I hereby return without my approval House Joint Resolution 542—the War Powers Resolution. While I am in accord with the desire of the Congress to assert its proper role in the conduct of our foreign affairs, the restrictions which this resolution would impose upon the authority of the President are both unconstitutional and dangerous to the best interests of our Nation.

The proper roles of the Congress and the Executive in the conduct of foreign affairs have been debated since the founding of our country. Only recently, however, has there been a serious challenge to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers in choosing not to draw a precise and detailed line of demarcation between the foreign policy powers of the two branches.

The Founding Fathers understood the impossibility of foreseeing every contingency that might arise in this complex area. They acknowledged the need for flexibility in responding to changing circumstances. They recognized that foreign policy decisions must be made through close cooperation between the two branches and not through rigidly codified procedures.

These principles remain as valid today as they were when our Constitution was written. Yet House Joint Resolution 542 would violate those principles by defining the President's powers in ways which would strictly limit his constitutional authority.

### CLEARLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL

House Joint Resolution 542 would attempt to take away, by a mere legislative act, authorities which the President has properly exercised under the Constitution for almost 200 years. One of its provisions would automatically cut off certain authorities after sixty days unless the Congress extended them. Another would allow the Congress to eliminate certain authorities merely by the passage of a concurrent resolution—an action which does not normally have the force of law, since it denies the President his constitutional role in approving legislation.

I believe that both these provisions are unconstitutional. The only way in which the constitutional powers of a branch of the Government can be altered is by amending the Constitution—and any attempt to make such alterations by legislation alone is clearly without force.

\* \* \*

This Administration is dedicated to strengthening cooperation between the Congress and the President in the conduct of foreign affairs and to preserving the constitutional prerogatives of both branches of our Government. I know that the Congress shares that goal. A commission on the constitutional roles of the Congress and the President would provide a useful opportunity for both branches to work together toward that common objective.

RICHARD NIXON  
The White House

*NOTE: On November 7, 1973, Congress voted to override the President's veto. H. J. Res. 542 is Public Law 93-148 (87 Stat. 555), which became law without the President's signature.*



## **Congress, the President, and the War Powers**

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### **President George Bush's Statement on Signing the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 October 16, 2002**

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 114, a resolution "To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq." By passing H.J. Res. 114, the Congress has demonstrated that the United States speaks with one voice on the threat to international peace and security posed by Iraq. It has also clearly communicated to the international community, to the United Nations Security Council, and, above all, to Iraq's tyrannical regime a powerful and important message: the days of Iraq flouting the will of the world, brutalizing its own people, and terrorizing its neighbors must—and will—end. Iraq will either comply with all U.N. resolutions, rid itself of weapons of mass destruction, and in its support for terrorists, or it will be compelled to do so. I hope that Iraq will choose compliance and peace, and I believe passage of this resolution makes that choice more likely.

The debate over this resolution in the Congress was in the finest traditions of American democracy. There is no social or political force greater than a free people united in a common and compelling objective. It is for that reason that I sought an additional resolution of support from the Congress to use force against Iraq, should force become necessary. While I appreciate receiving that support, my request for it did not, and my signing this resolution does not, constitute any change in the long-standing positions of the executive branch on either the President's constitutional authority to use force to deter, prevent, or respond to aggression or other threats to U.S. interests or on the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution. On the important question of the threat posed by Iraq, however, the views and goals of the Congress, as expressed in H.J. Res. 114 and previous congressional resolutions and enactments, and those of the President are the same.

Throughout the past months, I have had extensive consultations with the Congress, and I look forward to continuing close consultation in the months ahead. In addition, in accordance with section 4 of H.J. Res. 114, I intend to submit written reports to the Congress on matters relevant to this resolution every 60 days. To the extent possible, I intend to consolidate information in these reports with the information concerning Iraq submitted to the Congress pursuant to previous, related resolutions.

The United States is committed to a world in which the people of all nations can live in freedom, peace, and security. Enactment of H.J. Res. 114 is an important step on the road toward such a world.

GEORGE W. BUSH  
The White House  
October 16, 2002

Center for Legislative Archives  
National Archives and Records Administration  
[www.archives.gov/legislative](http://www.archives.gov/legislative)

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Handout 1: Quotes from the War of 1812

*President James Madison's Message to Congress, November 5, 1811; Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives:*

With this evidence of the hostile inflexibility [of Great Britain], in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armor and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

I recommend, accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops...

*Representative Peter Porter's minutes of the House Committee on Foreign Relations Meetings February 11, 1812; Records of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society:*

That the President deemed it a departure from the correct course of his official duties to hold formal & written communications with a committee of the House on the subject of the resolution [soliciting the President's opinion on the needed size of the military force], and therefore declined giving the written opinion requested by the Committee.

The President has however remarked, by way of answer to the request contained in the resolution, that the committee were already in possession of the opinions of the Executive in respect to the number and species of troops proper to be provided, through the channel of informal communication hitherto pursued by the committee & the Executive.

*Speaker of the House Henry Clay to Secretary of State James Monroe, March 15, 1812; Papers of James Monroe, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress:*

Altho' the power of declaring War belongs to Congress, I do not see that it falls less within the scope of the President's constitutional duty to recommend such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient than any other which, being suggested by him, they alone can adopt.

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Handout 2: Balance of Power



# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Handout 3: Document List

### Group 1: Mexican War

- ❖ Henry Clay's Speech in Lexington, November 13, 1847 (excerpts), in *The Papers of Henry Clay*, vol. 10, eds. Melba Porter Hay and Carol Reardon, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 361-377. [Full text](#).
- ❖ Representative Abraham Lincoln's "Spot" Resolutions, December 22, 1847 (facsimile, 3 pages). Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. NAID [306605](#). [Transcript](#).

### Group 2: Mid-19th Century

- ❖ President James Buchanan's message to Congress requesting legislation to protect Americans in the Isthmus of Panama, February 18, 1859 (facsimile, 3 pages). Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. NAID [7788754](#).
- ❖ President Abraham Lincoln's Special Session Message to Congress, July 4, 1861 (excerpts), in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 7, ed. James D. Richardson, (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1897). [Full text](#).

### Group 3: World War II

- ❖ Neutrality Act of 1935, S.J. Res. 173, August 31, 1935 (excerpts). 74<sup>th</sup> Congress, Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
- ❖ "Day of Infamy" message to Congress from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt concerning the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor, December 8, 1941 (facsimile, 3 pages). Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. NAID [595426](#).

### Group 4: Post War

- ❖ President Harry Truman's statement on Korea, June 27, 1950 (facsimile). Papers of George M. Elsey, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Independence, Missouri. [Transcript](#).
- ❖ Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, as introduced, August 5, 1964 (facsimile, 2 pages). Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. NAID [2127364](#).

### Modern Era

- ❖ President Richard Nixon's Veto of the War Powers Resolution, October 24, 1973 (excerpts). Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [Transcript](#).
- ❖ President George Bush's [Statement](#) on Signing the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002, October 16, 2002 (facsimile). George W. Bush Presidential Library.

Online documents are available from [Online Public Access](#) by searching for the National Archives Identifier (NAID).

# Congress, the President, and the War Powers

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## Worksheet 1: Decoding the Documents

Document title: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What kind of document is it? (newspaper, official record, photo, drawing, advertisement, personal letter, public statement, petition, etc.)
2. Who is the author of the document? Why was it created?
3. What ideas are asserted about the proper role of the legislative branch in relation to war powers?
4. What ideas are asserted about the proper role of the executive branch in relation to war powers?
5. What is the historical context of this document? How does the context affect your interpretation of the war powers issue?
6. At this point in time, do you think the exercise of the war powers by the executive and legislative branches were in balance? Was one branch more dominant than the other? By how much? What would the Founders think?