

vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule. . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

Ms. CHENEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MITCHELL). The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privileges of the House and offer the resolution that was previously noticed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS of Georgia). The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President shall immediately disclose his tax return information to the House of Representatives and the American people.

Whereas, according to the Tax History Project, every President since Gerald Ford has disclosed his tax return information to the public;

Whereas, the chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, Joint Committee on

Taxation, and the Committee on Finance have the authority to request the President's tax returns under section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986;

Whereas, pursuant to Article I, section 7, clause 1 of the Constitution, often referred to as the Origination Clause, the House of Representatives has the sole authority to initiate legislation that raises revenue for the national government, and the Committee on Ways and Means is considering a comprehensive reform of the Tax Code;

Whereas, President Donald J. Trump holds interests as the sole or principal owner in approximately 500 separate business entities, and the President's tax plan proposes to cut the corporate tax from 35 percent to 15 percent, applicable to many of these entities;

Whereas, against the advice of ethics attorneys and the nonpartisan Office of Government Ethics, the President has refused to divest his ownership stake in his businesses, has instead placed his assets in a trust which is run by his adult children, and the President can withdraw profits from his trust at any time of his choosing from any of the companies he owns;

Whereas, the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, Walter Shaub, resigned on July 6, 2017, stating that "There isn't much more I could accomplish at the Office of Government Ethics, given the current situation. O.G.E.'s recent experiences have made it clear that the ethics program needs to be strengthened";

Whereas, according to media reports analyzing President Trump's leaked 2005 tax return, had his own tax plan been in place, he would have paid an estimated 3.48 percent rate instead of a 24 percent rate, saving him \$31.3 million in that year alone;

Whereas, without access to the President's tax returns, the American people cannot determine how much he will personally benefit from proposed changes to the Tax Code or from policy decisions he makes, nor can the American people fully understand the financial interests and motivations of the President;

Whereas, in June 2017, President Trump filed an updated financial disclosure with the Office of Government Ethics which showed that the President reported \$37.2 million income from the Mar-a-Lago resort between January 2016 and April 2017 where he hosted the President of China and from where he ordered missile strikes against Syria;

Whereas, during the same time period, President Trump reported \$288 million in income from all his golf courses, including \$19.7 million from his course in Bedminster, New Jersey;

Whereas, over the weekend of July 14, President Trump sent out eight tweets promoting the U.S. Women's Open Golf Tournament which took place at his Bedminster club;

Whereas, Mar-a-Lago doubled its new member fees to \$200,000 immediately following the 2016 election, and President Trump personally benefits from such new member fees;

Whereas, disclosure of the President's tax returns would help those investigating Russian interference in the 2016 election and assist them in better understanding the President's financial ties to the Russian Federation, Russian businesses, and Russian individuals;

Whereas, in 2013, President Trump said, "Well, I've done a lot of business with the Russians. They're smart and they're tough," and President Trump's son, Donald Trump, Jr., told a news outlet in 2008 that "Russians make up a pretty disproportionate cross-section of a lot of our assets";

Whereas, President Trump fired Federal Bureau of Investigation Director James

Comey, who was overseeing an investigation into ties and any collusion between the Russian Government and President Trump's campaign;

Whereas, former Director Comey testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee that President Trump asked him to "let go" of an investigation into former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn's business ties to Russia;

Whereas, President Trump stated on May 11, 2017, that he had decided that he was going to fire Comey because of "this Russia thing";

Whereas, at the G-20 Hamburg summit on July 7, 2017, President Trump took a more than 2 hour closed-door meeting with President Vladimir Putin, after which he claimed that he "strongly pressed" President Putin on Russian interference in U.S. elections and that it is "time to move forward";

Whereas, on June 9, 2016, then-Candidate Trump's son, Donald Trump, Jr., then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort, and Trump son-in-law and current White House adviser Jared Kushner met with a person described as "a Russian government attorney," and a former Russian military intelligence officer who promised to offer incriminating information about Hillary Clinton which had been collected as part of a Russian Government effort to assist President Trump in his campaign for President;

Whereas, the Committee on Ways and Means has in the past used the authority under section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 in 2014 to make public the confidential tax information of 51 taxpayers;

Whereas, the Committee on Ways and Means has now voted three times along party lines to continue to conceal President Trump's tax returns;

Whereas, the House of Representatives has now refused ten times to act on President Trump's tax returns;

Whereas, the Committee on the Judiciary has failed to conduct even basic oversight on the connections between the Russian Government and the Trump campaign;

Whereas, the Committee on the Judiciary has now voted twice along party lines to decline to request documents detailing the Trump administration's ties with Russian officials;

Whereas, the House of Representatives undermines its dignity and the integrity of its proceedings by continuing the cover-up of President Trump's tax returns: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives shall—

1. Immediately request the tax return and return information of Donald J. Trump for tax years 2006 through 2015, as provided under section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as well as the tax return, and return information with respect to the President's businesses, of each business entity disclosed by Donald J. Trump on his Office of Government Ethics Form 278e, specifically each corporation and each partnership, within the meaning of subchapter K of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, where he is listed as an officer, director, or equivalent, or exercises working control; and

2. Postpone consideration of tax reform legislation until the elected Representatives of the American people in this House have obtained President Trump's tax returns and return information to ascertain how any changes to the Tax Code might financially benefit the President.

□ 1330

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Rhode Island wish to present argument on the parliamentary question of whether the resolution

presents a question of the privileges of the House?

Mr. CICILLINE. Yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is recognized on the question of order.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, this resolution raises the question of the privilege of the House pursuant to rule IX, clause 1, as it affects, “the rights of the House collectively, its dignity, and the integrity of its proceedings,” insofar as it raises the House’s failure to undertake its constitutional responsibility of oversight and the obligation of all elected officials to ensure decisions are made free of conflicts and with the public interest in mind.

In particular, matters related to the House’s constitutionally granted powers have been recognized as valid questions of the privileges of the House. The Origination Clause that requires that revenue bills originate in the House includes the issues related to revenues generated by our Tax Code.

Clearly, the issues raised by this resolution cover these matters contemplated by the Origination Clause. There is nothing more of a threat to the integrity of the House than ignoring our duty to provide a check and balance to the executive branch.

To restore the dignity of the House, we must use our authority to request President Trump’s tax returns and give the American people the transparency they deserve.

The stunning conflicts of interest are piling up as the President, his family, and his friends profit in their personal business endeavors while serving in public office. President Trump has not divested himself from his businesses as was recommended.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman’s remarks must be confined to the question of order.

Mr. CICILLINE. I understand, Mr. Speaker. My point is, in order to rule on this, it is important for the Chair to understand that the severity of the questions with respect to the integrity of our proceedings are undermined because of the potential conflicts of interest and the lack of information about the tax returns and related materials of the President.

So you can’t make an argument about the rights of the House collectively, its dignity, and the integrity of the proceedings without understanding the presence, the evidence of the conflicts of interest, of the potential foreign entanglements, of the self-dealing that tax returns would reveal and help illuminate.

You also can’t protect the integrity of our responsibilities as a check on the executive branch without understanding that we have a responsibility to examine these financial interactions, the influence of the Russians, and interfering with our elections, the firing of Director Comey, the secret meetings between the President’s campaign.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is again reminded to keep his

remarks confined to the question of order.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I understand the ruling of the Chair with respect to confining my remarks. These remarks, in fact, relate directly to whether or not this resolution, which seeks the production of the President’s tax returns, relate to “the rights of the House collectively, its dignity, and the integrity of the proceedings.”

What I am suggesting, Mr. Speaker, is that in order for the House to fulfill its responsibilities, its constitutional responsibilities of oversight, and check and balance on the executive branch and to faithfully honor our responsibilities under the Origination Clause that says the House is the place that revenue generation must begin—and we are contemplating a reform of the Tax Code—in order to do that, free from the potential conflicts of interest, the House and the American people have a right to know what are the real interests of President Trump, where are his investments, what are the tax policies, will they benefit him, or will they benefit the American people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair reminds the gentleman to confine his remarks to the question of order. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The gentleman from Rhode Island seeks to offer a resolution as a question of the privileges of the House under rule IX.

In evaluating the resolution under rule IX, the Chair must determine whether the resolution affects “the rights of the House collectively, its safety, dignity, and the integrity of its proceedings.”

The first resolving clause of the resolution offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island seeks tax returns and tax return information of the President and certain of his business entities.

Section 702 of the House Rules and Manual states that “rule IX is concerned not with the privileges of the Congress, as a legislative branch, but only with the privileges of the House, as a House.”

As the Chair most recently ruled on June 21, 2017, a resolution offered under rule IX seeking information from actors entirely extramural to the House—such as the President and certain business entities in which the President may be involved—is not uniquely concerned with the privileges of the House, as a House.

Accordingly, the resolution offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island does not constitute a question of privilege under rule IX.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I appeal the ruling of the Chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?

MOTION TO TABLE

Ms. CHENEY. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Cheney moves that the appeal be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to table.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on the motion to table will be followed by 5-minute votes on:

Ordering the previous question on House Resolution 454;

Adopting House Resolution 454, if ordered; and

Agreeing to the Speaker’s approval of the Journal, if ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 235, nays 190, answered “present” 1, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 392] YEAS—235		
Abraham	Farenthold	LoBiondo
Aderholt	Faso	Long
Allen	Ferguson	Loudermilk
Amash	Fitzpatrick	Love
Amodei	Fleischmann	Lucas
Arrington	Flores	Luetkemeyer
Babin	Fortenberry	MacArthur
Bacon	Foxx	Marchant
Banks (IN)	Franks (AZ)	Marino
Barletta	Frelinghuysen	Marshall
Barr	Gaetz	Massie
Barton	Gallagher	Mast
Bergman	Garrett	McCarthy
Biggs	Gianforte	McCaul
Bilirakis	Gibbs	McClintock
Bishop (MI)	Gohmert	McHenry
Bishop (UT)	Goodlatte	McKinley
Black	Gosar	McMorris
Blackburn	Gowdy	Rodgers
Blum	Granger	McSally
Bost	Graves (GA)	Meadows
Brady (TX)	Graves (LA)	Meehan
Brat	Graves (MO)	Messer
Bridenstine	Griffith	Mitchell
Brooks (AL)	Grothman	Moolenaar
Brooks (IN)	Guthrie	Mooney (WV)
Buchanan	Handel	Mullin
Buck	Harper	Murphy (PA)
Bucshon	Harris	Newhouse
Budd	Hartzler	Noem
Burgess	Hensarling	Norman
Byrne	Herrera Beutler	Nunes
Calvert	Hice, Jody B.	Olson
Carter (GA)	Higgins (LA)	Palazzo
Carter (TX)	Hill	Palmer
Chabot	Holding	Paulsen
Cheney	Hollingsworth	Pearce
Coffman	Hudson	Perry
Cole	Huizenga	Pittenger
Collins (GA)	Hultgren	Poe (TX)
Collins (NY)	Hunter	Poliquin
Comer	Hurd	Posey
Comstock	Issa	Ratcliffe
Conaway	Jenkins (KS)	Reed
Cook	Jenkins (WV)	Reichert
Costello (PA)	Johnson (LA)	Renacci
Cramer	Johnson (OH)	Rice (SC)
Crawford	Johnson, Sam	Roby
Culberson	Jordan	Roe (TN)
Curbelo (FL)	Joyce (OH)	Rogers (AL)
Davidson	Katko	Rogers (KY)
Davis, Rodney	Kelly (MS)	Rohrabacher
Denham	Kelly (PA)	Rokita
Dent	King (IA)	Rooney, Francis
DeSantis	King (NY)	Rooney, Thomas
DesJarlais	Kinzinger	J.
Diaz-Balart	Knight	Ros-Lehtinen
Donovan	Kustoff (TN)	Roskam
Duffy	LaHood	Ross
Duncan (SC)	LaMalfa	Rothfus
Duncan (TN)	Lamborn	Rouzer
Dunn	Lance	Royce (CA)
Emmer	Latta	Russell
Estes (KS)	Lewis (MN)	Rutherford

