THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

December 13, 2017

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the Democratic minority to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI, 308-311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition' in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

The Republican majority may say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy im-plications 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.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. 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.

Mr. HASTINGS. 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.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess for a period of less than 15 minutes.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

\Box 1320

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. HOLDING) at 1 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

Ordering the previous question on House Resolution 658; and

Adopting House Resolution 658, if ordered.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. The second electronic vote will be conducted as a 5-minute vote.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1638, IRANIAN LEADER-ASSET TRANSPARENCY SHIP ACT, AND PROVIDING FOR CON-SIDERATION OF H.R. 4324. STRENGTHENING OVERSIGHT OF IRAN'S ACCESS TO FINANCE ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on ordering the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 658) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1638) to require the Secretary of the Treasury to submit a report to the appropriate congressional committees on the estimated total assets under direct or indirect control by certain senior Iranian leaders and other figures, and for other purposes, and providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4324) to require the Secretary of the Treasury to make certifications with respect to United States and foreign financial institutions' aircraft-related transactions involving Iran, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered. The Clerk read the title of the resolu-

tion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The vote was taken by electronic device. and there were-yeas 229, nays 189, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 676]

Abraham

Aderholt

Allen

Amash

Amodei

Babin

Bacon

Barr

Barton

Biggs

Blum

Bost.

Brat

Buck

Budd

Bergman

Bilirakis

Bishop (MI)

Bishop (UT)

Brooks (AL)

Brooks (IN)

Buchanan

Bucshon

Burgess

Calvert

Chabot

Chenev

Cole

Comer

Cook

Comstock

Conaway

Cramer

Curtis

Davidson

Denham

DeSantis

Donovan

Dunn

Faso

Flores

Foxx

Gaetz

Gallagher

Gianforte

Gohmert

Adams

Aguilar

Bass

Bera

Beyer

Beatty

Barragán

Bishop (GA)

Blumenauer

Bonamici

Blunt Rochester

Boyle, Brendan F.

Garrett

Gibbs

Emmer

Estes (KS)

Farenthold

Ferguson

Fitzpatrick

Fortenberry

Frelinghuysen

Fleischmann

DesJarlais

Diaz-Balart

Duffy Duncan (SC)

Duncan (TN)

Dent

Crawford

Culberson

Curbelo (FL)

Davis, Rodney

Coffman

Carter (GA)

Carter (TX)

Collins (GA)

Collins (NY)

Costello (PA)

Bvrne

Blackburn

Arrington

Banks (IN)

Barletta

YEAS-229

Goodlatte Gosar Gowdy Granger Graves (GA) Graves (LA) Graves (MO) Griffith Grothman Guthrie Handel Harper Hartzler Hensarling Herrera Beutler Hice, Jody B. Higgins (LA) Hill Holding Hollingsworth Hudson Huizenga Hultgren Hunter Hurd Issa. Jenkins (KS) Jenkins (WV) Johnson (LA) Johnson, Sam Jones Jordan Joyce (OH) Katko Kelly (MS) Kelly (PA) King (IA) King (NY) Kinzinger Knight Kustoff (TN) Labrador LaHood LaMalfa Lamborn Lance Latta Lewis (MN) LoBiondo Long Loudermilk Love Lucas Luetkemeyer MacArthur Marchant Marino Marshall Massie Mast McCarthy McCaul McClintock McHenry McKinley McMorris Rodgers McSally Meadows Meehan Messer Mitchell Moolenaar Moonev (WV) Mullin Newhouse Norman **NAYS-189**

Nunes Olson Palazzo Palmer Paulsen Pearce Perry Pittenger Poe (TX) Poliquin Posey Ratcliffe Reed Reichert Renacci Rice (SC) Roby Roe (TN) Rogers (AL) Rogers (KY) Rohrabacher Rokita Rooney, Francis Rooney, Thomas J. Ros-Lehtinen Roskam Ross Rothfus Rouzer Royce (CA) Russell Rutherford Sanford Scalise Schweikert Scott, Austin Sessions Shimkus Shuster Simpson Smith (MO) Smith (NE) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smucker Stewart Stivers Taylor Tenney Thompson (PA) Thornberry Tiberi Tipton Trott Turner Upton Valadao Wagner Walberg Walden Walker Walorski Walters, Mimi Weber (TX) Webster (FL) Wenstrup Westerman Williams Wilson (SC) Wittman Womack Woodall Yoder Yoho Young (IA) Zeldin

Brady (PA) Cicilline Brown (MD) Clark (MA) Brownley (CA) Clarke (NY) Bustos Clay Butterfield Cleaver Capuano Clyburn Carbajal Cohen Cárdenas Connolly Carson (IN) Cooper Cartwright Correa Castor (FL) Costa Castro (TX) Courtney Crist Chu, Judy