Our economy is booming, growth is strong, even stronger than many expected it would be at this point.

The Volcker rule, passed under Dodd-Frank, is a solution in search of a problem. Our community banks should not have to bear the weight of this overarching regulation. Our small town and rural lenders are active members of our communities. They participate in improving our lives in many ways, even beyond lending. They sponsor little league teams. They are boosters for the local high school. They counsel small businessmen and women. They contribute to our churches and charitable organizations. They offer help to needy neighbors.

We should actively seek policies that free them to do their jobs. That is what the underlying bill does. It exempts them from a regulation that has frozen in place their ability to invest in local startups and farming operations. We should exempt them from this burdensome regulation.

I hope this House will follow in the steps of the Financial Services Committee and approve this bill in an overwhelming bipartisan fashion. I urge support of the rule and the underlying legislation.

The material previously referred to by Mr. McGovern is as follows:

An Amendment to H. Res. 811 Offered by Mr. McGovern

In section 2(a), insert "as amended by the amendment specified in section 3 of this resolution" after "United States".

At the end of the resolution, add the following new section:

"Sec. 3. The amendment referred to in section 2(a) of this resolution is as follows:

'After section 7, insert the following section (and redesignate the subsequent section accordingly):

SECTION 8. EXEMPTION OF SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, AND MEDICAID FROM FEDERAL BALANCED BUDGET REQUIREMENT

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the following programs and any outlays resulting therefrom shall be exempt from any Federal balanced budget requirement:

- (1) All Social Security benefits payable under title II of the Social Security Act.
- (2) Payments under the Medicare program under title XVIII of the Social Security Act. (3) Payments to States under the Medicaid
- (3) Payments to States under the Medical program under title XIX of such Act.'".

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

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 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.

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. McGOVERN. 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 subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1340

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. LAMBORN) at 1 o'clock and 40 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 811;

Adoption of House Resolution 811, if ordered; and

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

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

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PRO-VIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4790, VOLCKER RULE REGU-LATORY HARMONIZATION ACT, AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDER-ATION OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on ordering the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 811) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4790) to amend the Volcker rule to give the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System sole rulemaking authority, to exclude community banks from the requirements of the Volcker rule, and for other purposes, and providing for consideration of motions to suspend the rules, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

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

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 231, nays 186, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 133] YEAS—231

Abraham Brat Conaway Aderholt Bridenstine Cook Costello (PA) Allen Brooks (AL) Amash Brooks (IN) Cramer Buchanan Crawford Amodei Arrington Buck Culberson Babin Bucshon Curbelo (FL) Bacon Budd Curtis Banks (IN) Burgess Davidson Barletta Byrne Davis, Rodney Barr Calvert Denham Barton Carter (GA) Dent Bergman Carter (TX) DeSantis Biggs Chabot ${\bf Des Jarlais}$ Bilirakis Cheney Diaz-Balart Bishop (MI) Coffman Donovan Bishop (UT) Cole Duffy Collins (GA) Duncan (SC) Blackburn Collins (NY) Blum Duncan (TN) Bost. Comer Dunn Brady (TX) Comstock Emmer