

Mr. Speaker, as we discuss the range of accomplishments that we have had that I am very proud of in this Congress and the accomplishments still to come, I think that we have to also recognize that nothing is more important than the security of the Nation. This bill goes to the heart of that, to making sure that the CBP can do its job. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of both the rule and H.R. 2213.

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

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 374 OFFERED BY  
MR. HASTINGS

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

SEC. 2. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 356) to establish the National Commission on Foreign Interference in the 2016 Election. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 356.

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.

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. 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.

□ 1300

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION  
OF H.R. 10, FINANCIAL CHOICE  
ACT OF 2017

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 375 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 375

*Resolved*, That at any time after adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant

to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 10) to create hope and opportunity for investors, consumers, and entrepreneurs by ending bailouts and Too Big to Fail, holding Washington and Wall Street accountable, eliminating red tape to increase access to capital and credit, and repealing the provisions of the Dodd-Frank Act that make America less prosperous, less stable, and less free, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed 90 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Financial Services. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. In lieu of the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Financial Services now printed in the bill, it shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution. That amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be considered as read. All points of order against that amendment in the nature of a substitute are waived. No amendment to that amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be in order except those printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules. Each such amendment may be offered only in the order printed in the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. All points of order against such amendments are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the amendment in the nature of a substitute made in order as original text. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SCHWEIKERT). The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the rule and the underlying legislation. This rule provides a

structured process for debate and makes in order six amendments to the bill.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today to return hope and opportunity to Main Street America through the Financial CHOICE Act. This legislation touches at the very heart of our economy, ensuring that our financial system facilitates job creation, economic growth, and fairness.

Nearly 10 years ago, the American economy cratered. The Great Recession of the late 2000s revealed that our financial system was fragile, and many Americans got the short end of the stick.

In 2010, Democrats passed H.R. 4173, the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. They promised the bill would lift the American economy. They promised an end to Wall Street bailouts. They promised to protect consumers. Seven years later, we know that these promises never came true.

Due to Dodd-Frank's excessive regulatory burden, big banks are getting bigger while small banks and credit unions are disappearing. There have only been six new bank charters since Dodd-Frank—a drastic decline from the 170 on average per year before the bill. In fact, 43 percent of banks with assets under \$100 million have disappeared.

Large banks survive because they can afford armies of lawyers to understand Dodd-Frank regulations. In 2010, Goldman Sachs CEO Lloyd Blankfein even suggested his bank would be among the biggest beneficiaries of Dodd-Frank. But for community banks with community budgets, the effects of the law have been devastating.

Dodd-Frank also failed to address the too-big-to-fail problem. Under the Dodd-Frank law, big banks are growing larger, and taxpayers are still responsible for bailing them out. Furthermore, Dodd-Frank has made access to banking and credit more difficult for average Americans. Since the passage of the bill, bank fees have increased and millions more Americans are now considered unbanked or underbanked.

Declining liquidity has limited access to credit for small businesses and the regulatory restrictions on mortgages have pushed homeownership out of reach for the middle class. Seventy-two percent of community banks say that the Dodd-Frank regulations restrict their ability to offer mortgage loans.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the price we must pay to be a hopeful and prosperous nation. That is why I am here supporting the Financial CHOICE Act. It repeals Dodd-Frank, replacing the harmful law with reasonable regulations that ensure consumer protection, job growth, economic growth, and strong community banks.

The Financial CHOICE Act ends the coddling of big banks. It implements historically tough penalties on financial fraud and insider trading. It ends taxpayer-funded bailouts and creates

new bankruptcy laws designed for failing banks. It is time that Congress put Main Street ahead of Wall Street.

The Financial CHOICE Act also reins in the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, a government agency that has incredible power to regulate the financial industry but that has nearly no accountability. The judicial branch has actually declared its structure unconstitutional.

The CFPB is causing problems for consumers. They have a database for complaints from consumers, but it publishes consumer complaints before even checking if they are true. The CFPB also weighs in on financial regulations where Congress should instead be making these decisions, and the CFPB wasted over \$200 million on lavish renovations of their office space in downtown Washington, D.C.

This legislation we are considering today will restructure the CFPB, restoring congressional oversight duties and moving the agency back under the regular legislative appropriations process. We will also be refocusing the CFPB on enforcing consumer protection laws, rather than making up their own laws that only hurt the average American consumer.

Perhaps most important to Coloradans, the Financial CHOICE Act creates economic growth and jobs by making credit easier to access for Main Street America. Thanks to the TAILOR Act, introduced by my friend and colleague from Colorado (Mr. TIPTON), regulators will be able to craft custom regulations to reflect the specific business model of local banks.

This bill also creates jobs and economic growth by requiring more transparent policymaking at the Federal Reserve. We rein in stifling regulations on small, community banks, allowing them to compete against their larger counterparts. We increase consumer choice by ensuring Americans can access a bank and a credit card.

Mr. Speaker, we have the opportunity today to transform our Nation's financial system. We have the opportunity to level the playing field between big and small banks. We have the opportunity to turn up the heat on financial fraud. We have the opportunity to return regulatory power from the hands of unelected bureaucrats to the people. We have the opportunity to roll back hurtful regulations.

We are here to restore hope and opportunity through the Financial CHOICE Act.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I thank my colleague for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, 7 years ago, I brought the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act to the floor of the House as chairwoman of the House Rules Committee. This law was a statement from Congress on behalf of the American people that un-

checked corporate greed will never again bring the United States of America to financial collapse.

My colleague began his speech this morning by saying that this law had not worked, but I am not aware of major bank failures or bank failures of any kind since we passed it, and I would say, indeed, this law has worked.

Since it has been enacted, our economy has had over 80 consecutive months of private sector job growth. That is pretty good. In fact, it is a record-setting streak. More than 16 million jobs have been created, and business lending has been increased by 75 percent. I am not getting all the complaints that I used to get that they could not borrow money from banks, particularly the small businesses.

Along the way, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau established under this law has helped 29 million people in all of our 50 States to receive nearly \$12 billion in relief from companies that engaged in irresponsible or predatory practices.

One group that sent us a letter begging us not to do away with Dodd-Frank was the Veterans of Foreign Wars who said that far too often their veterans were the victims of predatory lenders—shysters, people not telling them the truth—and that is exactly what the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau was established to do.

You can't argue about whether or not it has been a success if 29 million people in 50 States have gotten back \$12 billion in relief of bad practices. But this legislation completely will do away with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, the only thing we have left to protect Main Street and the small investors.

These gains weren't a coincidence, Mr. Speaker. They were the result of the Dodd-Frank law. Gutting Wall Street reform will be a historic giveaway to special interests.

□ 1315

The Wall Street firms who plunged our country to the brink, in 2008, would be free once again to take advantage of consumers and force middle class families to go it alone, without the protections this bill has provided them.

The CHOICE Act is the wrong choice for consumers and families. Instead of standing with financial lobbyists, I urge the majority to uphold the trust of the people we all represent.

Five years ago, Democrats and Republicans came together to almost unanimously pass my bill to end insider trading in Congress. The STOCK Act passed this Chamber by a vote of 417-2, one of the most bipartisan bills of that entire session of Congress.

It wasn't easy. I led a 6-year fight to get it signed into law after learning that Members of Congress and their staffs were abusing their positions by making money from the information that they gleaned and that was not available to everybody else in America. They gleaned this information while

working on behalf of the people whose information they were stealing. It took a "60 Minutes" investigation on television and a groundswell of public support, but the bill became a reality.

For me, upholding the people's trust is the most sacred responsibility I have as a Member of Congress. That is why I am waging a new battle to strengthen the STOCK Act, after learning that some in this Congress have used legal loopholes to get around this law.

Once again, we see the importance of investigative journalism and a free press, which has shined a light on the fact that some Members of Congress have purchased private, discounted stock deals and taken a part in initial public offerings outside of the United States. These special deals are not available to the general public.

All this would have remained in the dark, had the STOCK Act not put into place a new requirement to timely disclose sales and purchases of stock. This is precisely the kind of outrageous conduct we intended to outlaw under the STOCK Act. It plays directly into the public's most cynical view of Congress.

This, Mr. Speaker, comes at a time when just 20 percent of the public approves of how Congress is doing its job under the majority's leadership. That is according to the latest figures from Gallup.

This Chamber put aside partisanship and took a strong, bipartisan stand against this abhorrent behavior just a few years ago. It has become increasingly clear that we need to act again today to hold ourselves accountable to both the letter and the spirit of the STOCK Act law.

We are not doing that today. Once again, we are taking away the regulations because some people find them so terribly abhorrent, but they protect the small investor and the people in the banks. We surely will never, I hope, see the day where we will ask the taxpayers of the United States to bail out the enormously rich, big banks. One of the worst things of that whole era was not a single fraudulent banker went to jail.

Just 535 of us in a country of more than 300 million people have been chosen to serve on the American people's behalf in Congress. It is a sacred responsibility, one we should not be squandering, doing the bidding of the financial lobbyists or Wall Street firms, who are the ones behind the CHOICE Act.

The majority should stop fulfilling the wish list of Wall Street and act on behalf of millions of Americans outraged by insider trading and other chicanery that still permeates the halls of Congress today. This Chamber must take action so that Americans recognize we came here to represent them, not enrich ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS), the vice chair of the

Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this rule because it is time to, once and for all, end the harmful regulations caused by this disastrous law.

Mr. Speaker, let me take just a few moments to talk to you about the harmful effects Dodd-Frank has had on my home State of Texas. As of just a few months ago, in Texas alone, 358 State or federally chartered banks, credit unions, or thrifts have either closed or merged since 2010, when Dodd-Frank became law.

According to our Texas State Banking Commission, the last bank or credit union chartered in Texas was in 2009, in a State with one of the healthiest economies in the country. Mass consolidations and closures have left many Texans few options, something the previous administration promised.

While Dodd-Frank aimed at fixing our recovering financial system, one-size-fits-all regulations have only hurt one person: the consumer. Increased bank fees, less access to consumer credit products, 1,000-page rules, and billions of dollars in regulatory costs all have become the hallmark of our financial system over the last 7 years.

To my friends on the other side of the aisle, I will leave you with this: If you support crushing regulations that have hurt our community banks and our credit unions, if you support taxpayer bailouts, if you support an agency that is accountable to none, and if you support less accountability for both Washington and Wall Street, would you please vote against this rule and the underlying bill?

But if you support financial opportunity for all, taxpayer bailout for none, less regulations on small community financial institutions, and more accountability and transparency, then support this bill, support consumers, and support Main Street America.

In God we trust.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, those wondering why Republican lips are sealed so very tight when it comes to President Trump jeopardizing our national security, threatening our democracy, and engaging in one crazy action after another need look no further than this bill.

You see, this is a bill to handcuff the cop on Wall Street. So many of our Republican colleagues are so eager to shield Wall Street from action and eventually to bestow one tax break after another on Wall Street, that they are willing to pay almost any price in silence concerning Mr. Trump's outrages.

As a person who voted against all of the big bank bailouts, I am most concerned that this bill will produce only more. When the banks were bailed out, American families paid the price, as taxpayers. They paid the price for the

recklessness that led to that unnecessary financial crisis.

A more immediate concern is what happens to the cop on the beat, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, a new law enforcement agency that the AARP described as one designed to hold scam artists accountable. That is exactly what the CFPB has done. Whether it is payday lenders or deceitful language in the fine print of financial agreements, reverse mortgages, contracts denying consumers their legal remedies to address wrongdoing, or many other issues, this agency has been there to protect the consumers.

Among those most threatened that have benefited from this law enforcement agency are our military families, who face unique financial challenges, from illegal foreclosures, to cheating them on student loans, to payday lenders who overcharge their families. This law enforcement agency has been there to protect them. Today, it would be substantially weakened by this legislation.

One of the leading examples of the success of this law enforcement agency is Wells Fargo: fined \$100 million, \$85 million in restitution, \$75 million in claw-backs from executives, a CEO resigned. None of that happened to the other banks, but Wells Fargo was caught. It was caught because there was a law enforcement agency on the beat doing something about it.

There are those who fought this legislation from the start, and they won't give up on trying to undermine it.

You need only look at what happened this year in enforcement actions to see what this agency is doing: a company failed to provide redress for illegal collection tactics, deceived consumers about credit scores, misstated the charges associated with pawn loans, denied consumers access to their own money, and kept borrowers in the dark about options to avoid foreclosure. One bit of wrongdoing after another. Why not have a cop on the beat working for us? Some people want to have the unlimited right to exploit consumers. This agency is the one thing standing in the way to protect them.

I say: stop this Republican interference with law enforcement and send a message at the same time to President Donald J. Trump that our laws apply to him too, and ought to be enforced against him when he is engaged in wrongdoing.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE).

Mr. PEARCE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most deceptive things that Congress does is regulate one part of an industry for the problems created by another part.

The community banks had nothing to do with the collapse in 2008. It was Wall Street, the people in New York, the big banks. Yet the Dodd-Frank regulation kind of let them scoot by and

gave them permits to continue operating, while many of the Main Street businesses and many of the Main Street banks have closed down.

My friend just mentioned Wells Fargo. CFPB stood on the sidelines silently and mute while they were conducting their affairs. It was a county prosecutor who actually uncovered it.

So this idea that we here in Congress are going to do things that are going to get it in check simply is not true. What is true is that the agency created by Dodd-Frank, the CFPB, or the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, was so annoying that it put New Mexico's most sparsely populated county, with about 8 people per square mile, to be regulated the same as New York City. That is how much CFPB understood.

In the process of their regulating, they shut down the loans for manufactured housing. That means nothing to the people in New York, but in New Mexico, that is 50 percent of the homes in my district. The CFPB didn't much care.

They also limited the ability of regular banks to make loans on mortgages, establishing something called qualified mortgages. They simply said all balloon notes are prejudicial. Those things were hurting and penalizing the rural parts of this country. The people who suffered most were the people at the lowest end of the economic spectrum.

Our credit agencies, our credit system in the U.S., has done much in order to make credit available, no matter where you are in the political and income spectrum.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. PEARCE. The people at the low end of the spectrum had access to many different ways of borrowing. CFPB simply routinely eliminated almost every single one of them.

As a representative of one of the poorest districts in the country, I have found CFPB's efforts to be meaningless to the big guys and punitive to us who are just trying to make a living out in the rural parts of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for this rule and support for the underlying bill.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY) the distinguished ranking member of the Financial Services Subcommittee on Capital Markets, Securities, and Investments.

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. I thank the gentlewoman for her leadership and for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 10, the "Wrong" CHOICE Act.

This bill will take us back to the regulatory stone age and would be a disaster for the entire financial system.

Let us remember why we passed Dodd-Frank: we confronted the worst

financial crisis, caused by mismanagement from the financial industry, that cost this country \$18 trillion in household wealth, millions lost their homes, millions lost their jobs, and the suffering was deep and strong.

First, this bill, the "Wrong" CHOICE Act, would repeal the orderly liquidation authority, which is the only tool that would allow large financial institutions like Lehman Brothers or AIG to be wound down safely, without requiring a taxpayer bailout or causing a financial panic, like Lehman.

We had two choices in the crisis: either bail them out—a bad choice—or let them fail—another bad choice.

The liquidation authority is helpful, yet the majority claims that the liquidation authority codifies taxpayer bailouts. Nothing could be further from the truth. Under the liquidation authority, the FDIC wipes out the firm's shareholders, imposes losses on the firm's creditors, fires the firm's management, and completely liquidates the entire firm. The only people who are guaranteed not to suffer losses are the taxpayers.

So if we wipe out this protection to the taxpayers, we are putting the taxpayers in harm's way yet again.

□ 1330

This bill would also devastate investors by rolling back decades of investor protections and trampling on the property rights of shareholders by making it virtually impossible for them to influence the management of the companies that they own.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PALMER). The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman an additional 1 minute.

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Finally, the bill would completely gut the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which has been an incredible, effective watchdog for consumers and has protected the consumers who were often not thought about first of all or second of all—or not thought about at all. This agency protects them. If we would have had it, we would not have had the financial crisis we suffered. This would just make it easier for banks like Wells Fargo to rip off consumers and would protect them from being punished if they are caught.

So I want to point out that the Republican "Wrong" CHOICE Act puts Wall Street ahead of Main Street, leads to taxpayer bailouts for big banks, guts consumer protections for seniors and their families, and brings back risky practices that caused the 2008 financial crisis. It is the wrong direction, it is a wrong vote, and I caution my friends on the other side of the aisle the voters are going to remember this vote. Don't turn us back to the Stone Age of regulation.

I urge a very strong "no" vote on this wrongly directed "Bad" CHOICE Act.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HUIZENGA), the chair of the Subcommittee on Capital Markets, Securities, and Investments.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Mr. Speaker, the economic downturn in 2008 caused Michiganders and citizens around the country to lose their jobs, families to lose their savings, and way too many to lose their homes. Since that time, our friends on the other side of the aisle have attempted to convince the American people that Dodd-Frank was "the answer" to the financial crisis, despite the law failing to actually address the root cause of the downturn. In reality, Dodd-Frank has made it more difficult for hardworking taxpayers to secure a future for themselves and their children by denying them the economic recovery that they deserve.

Let's be honest: Dodd-Frank was an agenda waiting for a crisis. So many issues not related to economic stability were crammed into this flawed law that, now, big banks have gotten even bigger and small banks have disappeared at an alarming rate. Even worse, Dodd-Frank enshrined "too big to fail" and, frankly, put in place "too small to save."

Enough is enough. In order to increase economic opportunity, we must enact commonsense regulatory reform and restore accountability to Wall Street and to Washington. The House Financial Services Committee achieves this goal through a carefully crafted Financial CHOICE Act, which we are debating here today.

The Financial CHOICE Act eliminates Dodd-Frank's one-size-fits-all regulatory structure that has strangled community financial institutions with overly burdensome regulations that were meant for the largest banks in America. By enacting the CHOICE Act, community banks and credit unions can utilize their resources to help individual customers and small businesses achieve financial independence.

If we want small businesses to continue to be the engine of economic growth, we must remove the regulatory red tape that is preventing these community lenders from supporting small business job creators.

Additionally, the Financial CHOICE Act holds Wall Street accountable by imposing the toughest penalties in history. To protect consumers from financial fraud is a key goal for all of us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUIZENGA. Mr. Speaker, this important legislation also holds Washington bureaucrats accountable by creating constitutional checks and balances for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau so that it can more effectively do its job. No government agency should be unaccountable to the American people.

Lastly, this commonsense legislation protects taxpayers by eliminating too big to fail, something that my colleague had just talked about, and requires failing institutions to liquidate through a streamlined bankruptcy process, not taxpayer-funded bailouts. The process that she was talking about, this orderly liquidation authority, the government runs the bank for 5 years, and that is unacceptable.

So I hope you will join me in supporting this rule and supporting the underlying bill.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. JAYAPAL).

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the “Wrong” CHOICE Act. This bill will have a devastating impact on the ability of regulators to protect everyday Americans from future wrongdoing on Wall Street.

If you support consumers, you must oppose the “Wrong” CHOICE Act. If you want to make sure that consumers have a fighting chance against those big banks and against illegal practices, then you must oppose the “Wrong” CHOICE Act, because this act guts the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

In nearly 6 years, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has returned nearly \$12 billion to 29 million Americans hurt by illegal financial practices, reduced \$7.7 billion in consumer debts while winning \$3.7 billion in compensation for consumers, and it has benefited nearly 50 million households in the form of new protections shielding consumers from surprise costs in terms on their mortgages and their credit cards.

Now, at a time when we have a student loan crisis in this country, \$1.4 trillion in student debt, we have to make sure that we are protecting families, students, and young people around these predatory debt collection practices and all working families around predatory lending.

My home State of Washington was proud to work with the CFPB on those new regulations that would actually protect working people, make sure that they have off-ramps if they get into predatory loans and make sure that we regulate that industry.

The benefits of Dodd-Frank are not limited just to consumers, by the way. Big and small banks have benefited: lending is at record highs, and 2016 data from the FDIC shows that those banks are doing pretty well.

The financial crisis, which destroyed trillions of dollars in wealth and wreaked havoc on the financial lives of millions of families, was not a random event.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional minute to the gentlewoman.

Ms. JAYAPAL. The Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission itself said that

widespread failures in financial regulation and rampant predatory lending practices were key drivers of the crisis. This bill ignores those lessons and takes us so far backwards, Mr. Speaker.

Real people are struggling to recover from that 2008 crisis, still, and instead of rolling back protections for consumers, we should be investing in jobs for everyday Americans. We should be making sure that the guy on Main Street or the woman on Main Street has a chance against those big banks and against all those predatory practices.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support consumers and working Americans and to oppose the “Wrong” CHOICE Act.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I note for the record that the best way for a student to repay student loans is to have a strong economy and not the anemic recovery that we had from the last recession.

I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. WAGNER), the chair of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand before you today to speak on the rule and in support of H.R. 10, the Financial CHOICE Act, which represents years of hard work by our chairman, JEB HENSARLING, and the entire Financial Services Committee.

For nearly 8 years, Dodd-Frank has targeted Main Street pocketbooks and stripped families of real opportunities for financial success and independence. For instance, the CFPB has spent years removing choices and making access to financial products more difficult to obtain. Under these regulations, it is now harder for families to qualify for a mortgage, to obtain an auto loan, and to access other forms of credit that they have depended on every day of their lives. Meanwhile, the CFPB fails to monitor and prevent actual and real instances of consumer fraud like we saw with the opening of millions of unauthorized customers' accounts at Wells Fargo.

Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege of chairing the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee on Financial Services, and today—today—we released a report titled, “Was the Cop on the Beat?” This is regarding the CFPB's wholly inadequate role in investigating the Wells Fargo fraudulent account scandal.

We have received numerous records from both Wells Fargo and the OCC and others that indicate that the CFPB was asleep at the wheel when it came to investigating Wells Fargo. Unfortunately, the CFPB has produced no such documents, even under subpoena, that contradict this assertion and support the testimony of Director Cordray in front of this committee earlier in the year. This report highlights the need for reforms to the CFPB that are contained in the CHOICE Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Speaker, we need to bring accountability and transparency to a Bureau that has been thwarting congressional oversight and due process.

Additionally, the CHOICE Act will increase lending in our communities, open up our economy, end taxpayer-funded bailouts, and hold Wall Street and Washington accountable. Americans today deserve the “Right” CHOICE Act.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of my colleague if he has further speakers?

Mr. BUCK. I do.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR), the chair of the Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade.

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, when former President Obama signed the Dodd-Frank financial control law into law about 7 years ago, supporters promised that it would repair the economy; they promised that it would end too big to fail; they promised it would enhance financial stability and protect consumers. But none of those promises have been kept.

Nearly 9 years after the financial crisis, Americans are still stuck in the slowest, weakest economic recovery in 70 years. The percentage of Americans who are actually in the workforce is at its lowest level since the late 1970s, and we still have not fully reached the potential of our economic recovery. This is precisely because of the Dodd-Frank law. The Dodd-Frank law has clogged the plumbing of our economy with an avalanche of red tape.

Far from ending too big to fail, Dodd-Frank has guaranteed that too-big-to-fail banks will get a taxpayer bailout whenever they go into distress.

As big banks have gotten bigger as a result of Dodd-Frank, the small banks, the community banks, the credit unions—the credit providers for the entrepreneurs, the small businesses, the job creators in this country—are fewer. That is a huge problem for the dynamism of the economy, and that is one of the reasons why we haven't seen economic recovery the way that we should.

Dodd-Frank has made it more difficult for small businesses and startups to obtain capital to grow, invest, and hire. Before Dodd-Frank, small business lending was more than 150 percent of large bank lending. Today, due to Dodd-Frank, small bank lending is about 80 percent below that of large bank lending. This is why new business formation is at a generational low, because small businesses and startups and entrepreneurs have much more success obtaining capital from community banks than Wall Street banks.

Financial services and products have been impaired. Since Dodd-Frank, the number of banks offering free checking has shrunk from 75 percent to 37 percent, the ranks of the unbanked have gone up, and one in five community banks in my home State of Kentucky have disappeared as a result of Dodd-Frank.

Consumer protection? Hardly. Taking away financial services and products, eliminating competition and choice from the marketplace, eliminating free checking, taking away access to credit, that is not protecting consumers. That is hurting consumers. Dodd-Frank is the worst bill for consumers that we could possibly have.

We need the Financial CHOICE Act, which will preserve access to financial services and products and give consumers access to mortgages and access to financial products like credit cards and overdraft protection and home equity loans. All of these services and products are going away because of Dodd-Frank and the busybodies in Washington.

We need to protect consumers. There is nothing wrong with effective regulation, but this is regulation gone awry. It is unaccountable, it is not transparent, it is hurting the American consumers, and it is certainly not adding to financial stability when big banks and Wall Street are getting bigger and our community banks are going away.

□ 1345

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. MCHENRY), the chief deputy whip of the Republican Conference.

Mr. MCHENRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, small businesses and families are the backbone of small rural communities like the ones I represent in western North Carolina. The fact is that Dodd-Frank has had a crushing impact both on the ability of families and small businesses to access loans and the financial products that they need and deserve.

Half of what community banks did prior to Dodd-Frank was lending to small businesses. Now it is down to 20 percent of what they do. That is as a result of massive regulations that have come about as a result of Dodd-Frank.

For families, the availability of services that they used to commonly think is acceptable, like free checking and mortgage lending, are significantly diminished or altogether gone for them. Since Dodd-Frank became law, nearly three-quarters of community banks have either left or greatly reduced their mortgage businesses. This is problematic for families. The impact of these changes has hit rural communities like the ones I represent in western North Carolina the hardest.

But it doesn't end there. The law's mandates have driven up the cost of borrowing, making it harder and more

expensive for families to access credit or save for important life events like saving for your child's college education.

Mr. Speaker, the Financial CHOICE Act changes much of this. It begins to undo the damage caused by Dodd-Frank by removing onerous Washington mandates, very expensive regulations, by cutting off access to financial products that the American people need and desire.

Additionally, the Financial CHOICE Act actually addresses the plight of small businesses by cleaning up these messy regulations that are unclear, that have made the marketplace less safe and secure for lending and small businesses, and encouraging the use of innovative new forms of capital formation that help businesses grow and prosper.

That means jobs. This bill is directed at growing the American economy, getting us back on our feet, and helping expand prosperity not just to urban or rural areas, but to both, to all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote for this important bill and get on with the business of legislating.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROTHFUS), the vice chair of the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit.

Mr. ROTHFUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this rule and the underlying legislation, the Financial CHOICE Act. The acronym CHOICE stands for Creating Hope and Opportunity for Investors, Consumers, and Entrepreneurs. This legislation could be very well entitled the "Make America Grow Again Act."

I cannot, Mr. Speaker, understate the importance of economic growth and what that means to this country: jobs, better jobs; wages, higher wages; and revenues, more revenues coming into the Federal Treasury as a result of healthy economic growth that will allow us to pay for the critical programs that people in this country depend on, whether seniors, veterans, infrastructure.

You pay for your government with a healthy growing economy. That is not what we have today. We must grow again, especially as we think of these individuals.

Opponents of this legislation are defending a stagnant status quo. They are defending a status quo that has given us the slowest economy since the Great Depression, a status quo responsible for the loss of 1,400 community banks, a status quo that has a community bank or credit union closing every single day, a status quo that has resulted in the noncreation of 650,000 small businesses—that would mean 6.5 million jobs. Six and a half million people who would be paying taxes, paying Social Security taxes, paying Medi-

care taxes, allowing us to meet the commitments that we have—a status quo that has eliminated free checking, a status quo that is closing branch office banks in small towns in my district, a status quo that allows unaccountable agencies in this town to continue to have too much power and taking away choices from individuals.

This legislation will end too big to fail and will end too small to succeed. Regardless of who you are or where you come from, you should have access to affordable reliable financial services.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers at this time. The points have been made. I am prepared to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

With each passing day, we learn more about the tangled web of conflicts of interest and links to Russia and the Trump administration. Just last week we learned that President Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, attempted to establish a back channel of communications with Russia and the Trump transition team before they were even inaugurated.

Tomorrow, former FBI Director James Comey will likely testify that President Trump attempted to influence the FBI's investigation into possible collusion between his campaign and the Russian Government.

Who knows what further ties to Russia we will uncover from his testimony.

Without President Trump's tax returns, we simply have no way of knowing if he himself has financial ties to Russia, as news reports have suggested. The American people deserve to know whether or not our President has any business dealings with Russia or other foreign governments. It is imperative that we prevent the White House from becoming another arm of the Trump organization.

Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will offer an amendment to the rule to bring up Representative ESHOO's bill, H.R. 305, which would require Presidents and major party nominees for the Presidency to release their tax returns.

If the President has nothing to hide, including financial interests or business dealings with Russia, then he should freely release his tax returns to reassure the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the text of my amendment, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, let me remind the majority why we enacted the Wall Street reform in the first place.



Our country was plunged into the worst recession since the Great Depression after big Wall Street firms played Russian roulette with our future for years. During the 2008 financial crash, more than 8 million Americans lost their jobs, \$13 trillion in wealth vanished overnight, and 11 million homes were lost.

After years of excesses and dodging regulation, the financial firms were finally brought under control by the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. The perverse notion of too big to fail was finally ended, and the financial playing field was tilted back toward consumers.

We have all seen the results of the law in the form of record-setting private sector job growth, millions of new jobs, and historic rates of business lending. It is beyond me why anyone in the world would want to repeal this law and threaten this progress. Instead of doing the bidding of the financial lobbyists who don't really care for the law, we should be acting to uphold the trust of the people who sent us here.

This begins with passing the End Congressional Stock Market Abuse Act to bring an end to the egregious use of exclusive stock deals and foreign initial public offerings by Members of Congress.

The American people must be able to trust what we are doing here and trust that it is right for them without concern that we are using our position to enrich ourselves.

My bill would enhance the STOCK Act, which passed the Chamber virtually unanimously—two “no” votes—in 2012, with provisions that I think we could all agree on: no exclusive stock deals for Members of Congress, no initial public offerings, regardless of where they are offered.

Mr. Speaker, that is what we should be focusing on today, not dismantling a law that has brought financial security to millions of Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose the rule, to oppose the underlying legislation, the “Wrong” CHOICE Act, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, the legislation before us today is not for the big banks. It is not for the bureaucrats and their swanky downtown office at CFPB. This legislation was crafted for the American people, the men and women who work hard every day to earn a living. These individuals want choice in the financial products they can buy. They want healthy community banks. They want lower taxes instead of Wall Street bailouts.

The Financial CHOICE Act was written over the past several years with these people in mind. We will restore hope and opportunity for them.

I thank Chairman HENSARLING and the Financial Services Committee for their hard work on this bill. I thank Chairman SESSIONS for bringing this bill to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to vote “yes” on the resolution, and then to vote “yes” on the underlying bill.

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the Rule and the underlying bill, and I urge my colleagues to defeat the Previous Question so that the House can vote on my bipartisan legislation, the Presidential Tax Transparency Act.

I first introduced the Presidential Tax Transparency Act exactly one year ago today, along with my Senate counterpart RON WYDEN. This bill would codify the longstanding tradition of presidents disclosing their tax returns. The bill is simple, it is bipartisan, and it has the support of the American people. A recent poll found that 80 percent of Americans believe the President should disclose his tax returns. Earlier today, a petition was delivered to Congress with over 4 million signatures calling on the House to take up this bill.

Since I introduced the Presidential Tax Transparency Act a year ago, candidate Trump and now President Trump has amassed serious ethical lapses, troubling connections to Russian officials, and countless potential conflicts of interest, all while hiding his full financial information from the public.

Mr. Trump is the first president in decades to refuse to disclose his tax returns as a candidate and as President. We know from his candidate financial disclosure filed last year that the President has 564 financial positions in companies around the world, and owes at least \$300 million in debts to various banks. But there's no way for us to verify these claims without his tax return information.

Disclosure of the President's tax returns would provide answers to many of the troubling questions surrounding this Administration's connections to Russia. In recent weeks, the President pressured the FBI Director to stop investigating Michael Flynn's Russia connections and then fired him. There are near-daily revelations of undisclosed meetings with Russian officials, disclosures of classified information, and more evidence that the Russians sought to directly interfere in our election.

Only with full disclosure of his tax returns will we know the true sources of the President's income, the holders of his debt, and the extent of any business ties to Russia and other foreign countries.

I urge my colleagues to listen to the will of the American people and join our bipartisan effort to exercise Congress's constitutional duty to serve as a check on the Executive Branch. By defeating the Previous Question and voting to approve the Presidential Tax Transparency Act today, this body can start the process of obtaining the truth that the American people want and are entitled to.

The material previously referred to by Ms. SLAUGHTER is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 375 OFFERED BY  
MS. SLAUGHTER

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

SEC. 2. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 305) to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to require the disclosure of certain tax returns by Presidents and certain candidates for the office of the President, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided among and controlled by the respective chairs and ranking minority members of the Committees on Ways and Means and Oversight and Government Reform. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill.

SEC. 3. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 305.

#### THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This 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 on the resolution.

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.

#### 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 374;

Adopting House Resolution 374, if ordered;

Ordering the previous question on House Resolution 375; and

Adopting House Resolution 375, if ordered.

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

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2213, ANTI-BORDER CORRUPTION REAUTHORIZATION ACT OF 2017

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on order-

ing the previous question on the resolution (H. Res. 374) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2213) to amend the Anti-Border Corruption Act of 2010 to authorize certain polygraph waiver authority, and for other purposes, 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 228, nays 189, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 288]

YEAS—228

Abraham	Garrett	Murphy (PA)
Allen	Gibbs	Newhouse
Amash	Goodlatte	Noem
Amodei	Gosar	Nunes
Arrington	Gowdy	Olson
Bacon	Granger	Palazzo
Banks (IN)	Graves (GA)	Palmer
Barletta	Graves (LA)	Paulsen
Barr	Graves (MO)	Pearce
Barton	Griffith	Perry
Bergman	Pittenger	Pittenger
Biggs	Guthrie	Poe (TX)
Bilirakis	Harper	Poliquin
Bishop (MI)	Harris	Posey
Bishop (UT)	Hartzler	Ratcliffe
Black	Hensarling	Reed
Blackburn	Herrera Beutler	Renacci
Blum	Hice, Jody B.	Rice (SC)
Bost	Higgins (LA)	Roby
Brady (TX)	Hill	Roe (TN)
Brat	Holding	Rogers (AL)
Bridenstine	Hollingsworth	Rogers (KY)
Brooks (AL)	Hudson	Rohrabacher
Brooks (IN)	Huizenga	Rooney, Francis
Buchanan	Hultgren	Rooney, Thomas
Buck	Hunter	J.
Bucshon	Hurd	Ros-Lehtinen
Budd	Issa	Roskam
Burgess	Jenkins (KS)	Ross
Byrne	Jenkins (WV)	Rothfus
Calvert	Johnson (LA)	Rouzer
Carter (GA)	Johnson (OH)	Royce (CA)
Carter (TX)	Jordan	Russell
Chabot	Joyce (OH)	Rutherford
Chaffetz	Katko	Sanford
Cheney	Kelly (MS)	Scalise
Coffman	Kelly (PA)	Schweikert
Cole	King (IA)	Scott, Austin
Collins (GA)	King (NY)	Sensenbrenner
Collins (NY)	Kinzinger	Sessions
Comer	Knight	Shimkus
Comstock	Kustoff (TN)	Shuster
Conaway	Labrador	Simpson
Cook	LaHood	Smith (MO)
Costello (PA)	LaMalfa	Smith (NE)
Cramer	Lamborn	Smith (NJ)
Crawford	Lance	Smucker
Culberson	Latta	Stefanik
Curbelo (FL)	Lewis (MN)	Stewart
Davidson	LoBiondo	Stivers
Davis, Rodney	Long	Taylor
Denham	Loudermilk	Tenney
Dent	Love	Thompson (PA)
DeSantis	Lucas	Thornberry
DesJarlais	Luetkemeyer	Tiberi
Diaz-Balart	MacArthur	Tipton
Donovan	Marchant	Trott
Duffy	Marshall	Turner
Duncan (SC)	Massie	Upton
Duncan (TN)	Mast	Valadao
Dunn	McCarthy	Wagner
Emmer	McCaul	Walberg
Estes (KS)	McClintock	Walden
Farenthold	McHenry	Walker
Faso	McKinley	Walorski
Ferguson	McMorris	Walters, Mimi
Fitzpatrick	Rodgers	Weber (TX)
Fleischmann	McSally	Webster (FL)
Flores	Meadows	Wenstrup
Fortenberry	Meehan	Westerman
Fox	Messer	Williams
Franks (AZ)	Mitchell	Wilson (SC)
Frelinghuysen	Moolenaar	Wittman
Gaetz	Mooney (WV)	Womack
Gallagher	Mullin	

Woodall	Yoho	Young (IA)
Yoder	Young (AK)	Zeldin
NAYS—189		
Adams	Gonzalez (TX)	O'Halleran
Aguilar	Gottheimer	O'Rourke
Barragan	Green, Al	Pallone
Bass	Green, Gene	Panetta
Beatty	Grijalva	Pascarell
Bera	Gutierrez	Payne
Beyer	Hanabusa	Pelosi
Bishop (GA)	Hastings	Perlmutter
Blumenauer	Heck	Peters
Blunt Rochester	Higgins (NY)	Peterson
Bonamici	Himes	Pingree
Boyle, Brendan	Hoyer	Pocan
F.	Huffman	Polis
Brady (PA)	Jackson Lee	Price (NC)
Brown (MD)	Jayapal	Quigley
Brownley (CA)	Jeffries	Raskin
Bustos	Johnson (GA)	Rice (NY)
Butterfield	Johnson, E. B.	Richmond
Capuano	Jones	Rosen
Carbajal	Kaptur	Roybal-Allard
Cárdenas	Keating	Ruiz
Carson (IN)	Kelly (IL)	Ruppersberger
Cartwright	Kennedy	Rush
Castor (FL)	Khanna	Ryan (OH)
Castro (TX)	Kihuen	Sanchez
Chu, Judy	Kildee	Sarbanes
Ciциlline	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Clark (MA)	Kind	Schiff
Clarke (NY)	Krishnamoorthi	Schneider
Clay	Kuster (NH)	Schrader
Cleaver	Langevin	Scott (VA)
Cohen	Larsen (WA)	Scott, David
Connolly	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Conyers	Lawrence	Sewell (AL)
Cooper	Lawson (FL)	Shea-Porter
Correa	Lee	Sherman
Costa	Levin	Sinema
Courtney	Lewis (GA)	Sires
Crist	Lieu, Ted	Slattery
Crowley	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Cuellar	Loebach	Soto
Davis (CA)	Lofgren	Speier
Davis, Danny	Lowenthal	Suzuki
DeFazio	Lowe	Swalwell (CA)
DeGette	Lujan Grisham,	Takano
DeLauro	M.	Thompson (CA)
DelBene	Lujan, Ben Ray	Thompson (MS)
Demings	Lynch	Titus
DeSaulnier	Maloney,	Tonko
Deutch	Carolyn B.	Torres
Dingell	Maloney, Sean	Tsongas
Doggett	Matsui	Vargas
Doyle, Michael	McCollum	Veasey
F.	McEachin	Vela
Ellison	McGovern	Velázquez
Eshoo	McNerney	Visclosky
Españillat	Meeks	Walz
Esty (CT)	Meng	Wasserman
Evans	Moore	Schultz
Foster	Moulton	Waters, Maxine
Frankel (FL)	Murphy (FL)	Watson Coleman
Fudge	Nadler	Welch
Gabbard	Neal	Wilson (FL)
Gallego	Nolan	Yarmuth
Garamendi	Norcross	

NOT VOTING—13

□ 1419

Messrs. KILDEE, PANETTA, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, Mr. LEVIN, and Ms. WILSON of Florida changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WOMACK). The question is on the resolution.

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.