

Rose
Rouzer
Rulli
Rutherford
Salazar
Scalise
Schmidt
Schweikert
Scott, Austin
Self
Sessions
Shreve
Simpson
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)

NOES—209

Adams
Aguilar
Amo
Ansari
Balint
Barragán
Beatty
Bera
Beyer
Bishop
Bonamici
Boyle (PA)
Brown
Brownley
Budzinski
Bynum
Carbajal
Carson
Carter (LA)
Case
Casten
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Cherfilus-
McCormick
Chu
Cisneros
Clark (MA)
Clarke (NY)
Cleaver
Clyburn
Cohen
Conaway
Correa
Costa
Courtney
Craig
Crockett
Crow
Cuellar
Davids (KS)
Davis (IL)
Davis (NC)
Dean (PA)
DeGette
DeLauro
DelBene
Deluzio
DeSaulnier
Dexter
Dingell
Doggett
Donalds
Elfreth
Escobar
Espallat
Evans (PA)
Fields
Figures
Fletcher
Foster
Foushee
Frankel, Lois
Friedman
Frost
Garcia (CA)
Garcia (IL)
Garcia (TX)
Gillen
Golden (ME)
Goldman (NY)

NOT VOTING—13

Auchincloss
Babin
Bell
Carter (GA)
Casar

Cloud
Garamendi
Greene (GA)
Haridopolos
Nadler

Valadao
Van Drew
Van Dyne
Van Orden
Wagner
Walberg
Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)
Westerman
Wied
Williams (TX)
Wittman
Womack
Yakym
Zinke

Pallone
Panetta
Pappas
Pelosi
Perez
Perry
Peters
Pettersen
Pingree
Pocan
Pou
Pressley
Quigley
Ramirez
Randall
Raskin
Riley (NY)
Rivas
Ross
Roy
Ruiz
Ryan
Salinas
Sánchez
Scanlon
Schakowsky
Schneider
Scholten
Schrier
Scott (VA)
Scott, David
Sewell
Sherman
Simon
Smith (WA)
Sorensen
Soto
Stansbury
Stanton
Stevens
Strickland
Subramanyam
Suozi
Sykes
Takano
Thanedar
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Titus
Tlaib
Tokuda
Tonko
Torres (CA)
Torres (NY)
Trahan
Tran
Underwood
Vargas
Vasquez
Veasey
Velázquez
Vindman
Walkinshaw
Wasserman
Schultz
Waters
Watson Coleman
Whitesides
Williams (GA)

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I was necessarily absent from votes today. Had I been present, I would have voted NAY on Roll Call No. 308 and NO on Roll Call No. 309.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I was otherwise detained off the floor. Had I been present, I would have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 308 and AYE on Roll Call No. 309.

SMALL BUSINESS REGULATORY REDUCTION ACT OF 2025

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 916, I call up the bill (H.R. 2965) to require the Administrator of the Small Business Administration to ensure that the small business regulatory budget for a small business concern in a fiscal year is not greater than zero, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LOUDERMILK). Pursuant to House Resolution 916, the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Small Business, printed in the bill, is adopted and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 2965

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025”.

SEC. 2. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION RULE-MAKING COSTS TO SMALL BUSINESS CONCERNS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ADMINISTRATOR.—The term “Administrator” means the Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

(2) RULE; RULEMAKING.—The terms “rule” and “rulemaking” have the meanings given those terms in section 551 of title 5, United States Code.

(3) SMALL BUSINESS.—The term “small business” has the same meaning as the term “small business concern” under section 3 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 632), unless an agency, after consultation with the Office of Advocacy of the Small Business Administration and after opportunity for public comment, establishes one or more definitions of such term which are appropriate to the activities of the agency and publishes any such definitions in the Federal Register.

(4) SMALL BUSINESS REGULATORY BUDGET.—The term “small business regulatory budget” means the cost to a small business of a rule-making conducted by a Federal agency, including the cost resulting from the issuance of any new rule and the cost resulting from the modification or repeal of an existing rule.

(b) REQUIREMENT.—In fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter, the Administrator shall ensure that the small business regulatory budget for the Small Business Administration for the applicable fiscal year is not greater than zero.

(c) ADVOCACY REPORT.—Not later than 60 days after the end of fiscal year 2025, and annually thereafter, the Chief Counsel for the Office of Advocacy of the Small Business Administration shall submit to Congress a report regarding rules issued by Federal agencies other than the Administration during the preceding fiscal year that have an impact on small businesses, which shall—

(1) include the total small business regulatory budgets for the preceding fiscal year for each Federal agency;

(2) include each such rule issued during the preceding fiscal year; and

(3) be disaggregated by the Federal agency that issued each such rule.

SEC. 3. NO ADDITIONAL FUNDS.

No additional funds are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill, as amended, shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Small Business or their respective designees.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. WILLIAMS).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2965, the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025, introduced by my friend, BETH VAN DYNE, from the great State of Texas.

Throughout countless Democratic administrations, we have seen over-regulation suffocate small businesses. The Biden-Harris administration alone imposed regulatory costs totaling \$1.8 trillion on businesses in just 4 years.

The Committee on Small Business has heard testimony from hundreds of small business owners from across the country who repeatedly tell us that excessive regulation is stifling their operations and undermining their bottom line. To revitalize the American Dream, Big Government, one-size-fits-all mandates must stop.

The Trump administration fully recognizes this challenge and is taking aggressive acts to give small businesses the relief they deserve. In just the first 6 months of President Trump's second term, Republicans have worked to put an end to burdensome regulations through CRAs and carry out a deregulatory agenda.

We are responsible for \$86 billion in reduced regulatory costs and over 50 million hours of reduced paperwork burdens. That is why I am proud to support this bill which would advance

President Trump's executive order, *Unleashing Prosperity Through De-regulation*.

This straightforward bill would require the SBA to operate under a regulatory budget of zero, meaning that for each new regulation imposed, a costly or outdated regulation must be repealed.

This bill would also require the SBA to provide annual reports on the true cost to small businesses imposed by government regulations. This seemingly simple requirement would have a major impact by bringing transparency to Federal regulatory actions each year and the true burden of those actions.

The transparency measures in this bill are critical to expose the harmful actions taken by bureaucrats behind closed doors and to highlight the harm done to hardworking small and family-owned businesses across the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on H.R. 2965, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2965, the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act.

Let me begin by stating that I wish we were here to talk about bills to help small businesses grow or policies that address challenges they are facing today, like tariffs and the cost of groceries and healthcare. Instead, we are talking about an unworkable regulatory budget.

To be clear, small businesses are not talking about regulations. It ranks near the bottom of their list. Inflation, tariffs, and finding good employees are some of the top challenges facing small businesses.

Take a walk down a Main Street, Mr. Speaker, and you will hear the same concern from small business owners up and down the block: The uncertainty and rising costs tied to the President Trump tariffs are crushing their small businesses, plain and simple.

We should be working together on issues that matter: lowering costs for small businesses. Instead, we are considering two regulatory bills that will not help them one iota, while real problems go unaddressed.

H.R. 2965 may sound good on the surface, but it will have the practical effect of limiting the SBA from issuing any rules, even if the benefits outweigh the costs.

□ 1510

The SBA needs to issue regulations to update programs, issue disaster regulations, and even reduce record-keeping requirements. That is good government practice.

The majority fails to realize that agencies may be able to estimate the cost of a regulation, but they do not have the hard data on the costs that are imposed.

This bill will require the SBA to make assumptions that could turn out to be incorrect. There is nothing in the bill that clarifies how the agency is to implement a regulatory budget, and it is therefore impractical.

Finally, the bill does not include an exception for national emergencies, meaning that if this bill had been enacted before the pandemic, small businesses across the country might not have received PPP assistance in a timely manner, if they received it at all.

For these reasons, I oppose the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act, and I urge my colleagues to oppose it.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. VAN DUYNE).

Ms. VAN DUYNE. Mr. Speaker, every day, small business owners serve as their own accountants, legal counsel, and managers while still handling the day-to-day operations of their enterprises. That means they work extra hours or they hire extra assistance just to keep up with and bear the costly burden of complying with local, State, and federal regulations.

To say that we are not going to save money and we are not going to help small businesses save money by cutting resolutions is an absolute lie.

Working hard has always been the standard for small business owners, but when the Biden-Harris administration created \$1.8 trillion in additional regulatory costs for businesses across the country in just 4 years, small business owners felt the brunt of that pain.

H.R. 2965, the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025, supports the Trump administration's deregulatory agenda by giving small businesses the relief they need to grow and succeed, no matter what industry they are in.

Put simply, this bill aims to ensure that any new rulemaking by the Small Business Administration is at no cost to small businesses—not \$1.8 trillion, but no cost. The very agency that helps small businesses start, grow, and build cannot also be the one that increases their financial and regulatory burden.

In addition, H.R. 2965 requires the SBA Office of Advocacy to report to Congress on the total cost of all Federal regulations impacting small businesses. Unlike what we just heard from the other side of the aisle, to be clear, this bill does not prevent agencies from issuing new regulations, but rather, it requires them to eliminate those that are duplicative, outdated, or don't reflect the intent of the law.

The PPP was a program that was established by Congress. It was not a regulation established by the SBA. That is totally irrelevant.

In doing so, it creates a systemic culture of regulatory discipline where agencies will have to consistently review regulations with scrutiny.

Small businesses make up 99.9 percent of businesses in America, and they remain the key source of economic prosperity across all of our districts.

H.R. 2965 moves the needle toward empowering small businesses by reducing red tape. To say that that doesn't save money to small business, then obviously she has never been a small business owner.

If we want America to succeed, it starts on Main Street. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. ALFORD).

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank our chair for his leadership and the ranking member for her leadership, as well.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2965, the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025.

For 4 long years under the previous administration, America's small businesses, the backbone of our economy and the heart of Missouri's Fourth Congressional District, have been smothered by an onslaught of overreaching Federal regulations that have made goods less affordable in the United States of America.

Under the Biden-Harris administration, small businesses were hit with an unprecedented \$1.8 trillion—not billion—\$1.8 trillion in new regulatory costs while inflation soared over 20 percent.

Where do you think that cost goes, Mr. Speaker? It goes to the consumer. Main Street cannot thrive under that kind of bureaucratic chokehold. Americans are demanding affordability, and this is a good step in that direction.

This bill, championed by my colleague Congresswoman BETH VAN DUYNE, finally puts a stop to it. H.R. 2965 requires the Small Business Administration to report on the regulatory costs imposed by other Federal agencies on small businesses.

It is transparency. It is all about transparency. It is going to show the American people exactly where the Democrat blue tape is strangling growth in America.

This legislation supports President Trump's regulatory rightsizing agenda and gives our job creators the relief they desperately need to start, to grow, and to succeed once again.

Mr. Speaker, do you want to make things more affordable in America? Do you want to cut down on overregulation? This is the bill to do it. Let's all stand with America and our small businesses and our entrepreneurs, our family-owned businesses, and support H.R. 2965.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. SCHMIDT).

Mr. SCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and the ranking member for this debate on the floor today.

I rise in strong support of H.R. 2965, the Small Business Regulatory Reduction Act of 2025.

I certainly join those remarks of my colleagues on this side who have advocated for the bill. I would like to back up a bit and talk more generally about regulatory burden and how this bill is an important step in dealing with a much larger problem.

The chart on my right shows the number of pages in the Federal Register. The year I was born, 1968, there were about 50,000 pages. Today there are almost 200,000 pages. In my lifetime, the number of rules and regulations written by unelected Federal bureaucrats, the people in the real world that we all represent—in my case in eastern Kansas—must comply with, has quadrupled.

I will guarantee you, Mr. Speaker, that is a silent tax increase on every American and every small business in all of our States.

The estimated regulatory compliance cost for businesses in the United States is about \$3 trillion per year. As has been mentioned, about \$1.8 trillion of that was added in just the 4 years of the prior administration. To put that in context, the entire Federal budget is about \$7 trillion per year.

Do you know what the difference is between a tax and a regulatory command, Mr. Speaker? With a tax, the Federal Government says to, in this case, a small business owner: Give me your money, and we will spend it on priorities that we decide. With a regulation, the Federal Government says to that same small business owner: You take your money and spend it on the priorities that we decide. Not on hiring more people, not on growing and expanding, not on giving charitable support in our communities, not on doing all of the things that small businesses do, but as people in this town have decided. That is what is at stake here. That is why we have to take this action.

Mr. Speaker, I urge passage of this measure because it is one step toward peaking that mountain of regulation, making small businesses freer to do what they do, making life more affordable to all the people I represent who buy and sell on Main Street each and every day.

□ 1520

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

Mr. Speaker, I will close with this: Trump's tariffs, not regulations, are crushing small businesses. I know that it is painful for the other side of the aisle to discuss or even debate the issue of tariffs and how it is negatively impacting small businesses. The President of the United States said that on day one he will lower the costs. Yet, here we are.

Witnesses have testified before our committee that the costs of tariffs are

harming their small businesses. The uncertainty resulting from the on-again, off-again pronouncements by Trump has halted investment and expansion of small businesses, and it has hindered basic business decisions, like when to put in an order or how to plan for the holiday season.

I know they don't want to talk about tariffs and, instead, we are debating these two bills.

The American Action Forum estimates that Trump's tariffs are costing small businesses \$85 billion a year, and that is not including the cost of navigating the uncertain environment or complying with the tariffs themselves.

The tariffs disproportionately harm small firms, which operate on thinner margins and have virtually no buying power. Yet, we are focused today on a regulatory budget that is unworkable.

The bill has no exceptions for national emergencies. Let's look back to 2020. SBA issued scores of rules to provide relief to help small businesses during the pandemic, so the author of the bill is incorrect when she claimed that SBA didn't issue regulations to make sure that people accessing the money from PPP will not commit crime, abuse, or fraud.

The Paycheck Protection Program imposed significant compliance burdens on small businesses, but I believe we can all attest to the fact that the PPP helped millions of small businesses stay afloat that otherwise would have gone out of business. Clearly, the benefits of those regulations at the time outweighed the costs.

Had a regulatory budget been in place in 2020, it would have been extremely challenging for SBA to cut existing regulatory programs to offset the cost of the Paycheck Protection Program. Moreover, many of the lending rules ensure accountability and fair access. Cutting them to free up funds for PPP would have compromised the integrity of the program.

Moreover, these funds needed to be disbursed quickly. Imposing a no-new-spending-without-cuts approach would have delayed or reduced aid to small businesses.

The bottom line is that this bill is slogan over substance and would harm small businesses rather than help them, particularly in a crisis.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2965 will make sure that the cost of new SBA rulemakings is at zero to ensure that only necessary regulations are in place. We must support Main Street, starting with our work here in D.C.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 916, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on passage of the bill.

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

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. 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.

DESTROYING UNNECESSARY, MIS-ALIGNED, AND PROHIBITIVE RED TAPE ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 916, I call up the bill (H.R. 4305) to direct the Chief Counsel for Advocacy of the Small Business Administration to establish a Red Tape Hotline to receive notifications of burdensome agency rules, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 916, the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Small Business, printed in the bill, is adopted and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 4305

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Destroying Unnecessary, Misaligned, and Prohibitive Red Tape Act" or the "DUMP Red Tape Act".

SEC. 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF RED TAPE HOTLINE.

Section 203 of Public Law 94-305 (15 U.S.C. 634c) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(c) RED TAPE HOTLINE.—

"(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Chief Counsel for Advocacy shall—

"(A) establish, operate, and maintain a hotline, to be known as the 'Red Tape Hotline' to receive a notification from a small entity relating to the burden of complying with a rule, guidance, policy statement, or other activity of an agency that is applicable to such concern;

"(B) establish an email address, submission form, phone number, or such other method as determined appropriate by the Chief Counsel for small entities to submit such notifications to such hotline; and

"(C) establish a website providing such email address, submission form, phone number, or other method in a manner that is easily accessible.

"(2) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this subsection, and annually thereafter, the Chief Counsel for Advocacy shall submit to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and Congress a report on the Red Tape Hotline that includes—

"(A) the rules, guidance, policy statements, and other activities for which notifications are