

hire a lawyer, and go to court to prove that their property or money is clean within the eyes of the government.

But whatever happened to due process? Under our Constitution, we are presumed to be innocent of crimes, and our property should be presumed to be innocent of crimes if there is no legal process at all to condemn our property or to cast a shadow of criminal suspicion over it.

If you look at the history of this, Attorney General Holder barred State and local police from using the Federal legal regime to seize cash and other property without criminal charges or without criminal warrants, which is the right way to do it. That is the constitutional way to think about it.

In a democratic society, the people are presumed to be innocent until they are proven guilty. It is not as if we are walking around with the stigma of being presumed guilty of doing something in the eyes of the State.

Since 2008, thousands of police agencies have made more than 55,000 seizures of cash and property worth \$3 billion under a Justice Department civil asset forfeiture program, which allowed the police to make seizures and then share the proceeds with Federal agencies. It allowed the Federal agencies to cooperate with State and local law enforcement.

Then the Department of Justice said they were disengaging from that because there was a series in The Washington Post about all of the extraordinary abuses taking place.

There was one gentleman, a small business man, a Chinese-American citizen of the United States who was traveling with a lot of money because he was going to purchase a building for his new Chinese restaurant that he was going to open up, and so he had, I think it was around \$25,000 or \$30,000 with him. He got stopped by the police and he was exceedingly nervous about the whole thing. They said he was acting nervous and they took his money from him, his life savings that he was hanging on to in order to go and purchase a building for a Chinese restaurant. Luckily, he found some lawyers, but it took several years for him to get the money back. He lost the deal.

He is in the minority because most people this happens to never go to court to try to get their money back, they are so terrified and demoralized by the experience of having their property taken by government agents without any due process at all.

I urge everyone to go and find that Washington Post series on the abuses that led up to the change in policy that was put into place by Attorney General Eric Holder.

Now, Attorney General Sessions does a U-turn. The administration, which President Trump started by saying he wanted to give power back to the States and back to the people of the United States, instead says the Federal Government is going to be incentivizing more violation of people's

due process rights by allowing seizure of people's property and money.

It goes back to what Congressman ELLISON was talking about: What is this going to do for police-civilian relations in the United States, when people are terrified that their property can be taken away by agents of the State without an arrest, without a criminal warrant, or without any charges at all? That is not right in our country. That is not right in a country that does not allow for a taking of private property without a public purpose. It is not right in a country that is based on due process of law, that is based on probable cause and search warrants for people being searched.

That is where this administration is taking us with the policy that was announced earlier today. It is going to make our communities only more suspicious and only more dangerous.

We have to step back from this Orwellian Leviathan vision of government, an all-powerful State that can seize your home or your small business because a big business man like Donald Trump wants your property to build his casino garage for his VIP guests; or because some fancy company decides it wants to redevelop your land; or because the police decide you don't look the right way and we are just going to take your money out of your pocket, we are going to seize what is in your wallet, we are going to take your car, we are going to take your boat, or we are going to take your condo or apartment without any criminal charges at all, and you go and deal with the problem.

Mr. Speaker, in the United States of America, we are a land of laws. The great Tom Paine said that, in the monarchies, the king is law, but in the democracies, the law is king.

We have to abide by the rule of law here. And I am not talking about Democrat, Republican, left, or right. We all have to be constitutional patriots in America, to stand up for our Constitution.

I would invite the President of the United States to come join us here to talk about the problem of eminent domain abuse and to talk about the problem of law enforcement taking people's property and their money without due process of law, because it is a serious threat to everything that we believe in and why we created our social contract. All of us have got to be constitutional patriots and stand up for the basic principles of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

AMERICA'S DEBT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend from Indiana (Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH).

COSTLY AND BURDENOME REGULATIONS

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Arizona for yielding to me. I promise to be brief.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about something that Hoosiers back home are talking to me about every single day, and that is to rise to express my support for those struggling against burdensome and costly regulations, those costly regulations that are hurting Hoosier businesses from being able to get their products to market, from ultimately being able to grow their enterprises, and from ultimately being able to hire more Hoosiers.

When Democrats passed the Dodd-Frank Act, they promised a success for Main Street. Instead, Dodd-Frank has become a nightmare for businesses on Main Street.

Specifically, while I was back home just a few weeks ago, I met with two businesses working hard to do right by their customers and employees but confounded by section 1502 of the Dodd-Frank Act.

Section 1502 requires businesses to disclose due diligence on the source and chain of custody of "conflict minerals," as well as hire a third party to honor their due diligence and subsequently submit a report to the SEC on those measures. According to its Democratic authors, this provision would only affect the biggest of companies, but those companies have to bring in all of their suppliers, all of their vendors in order to comply, which affects many small businesses across Indiana's Ninth District.

One of those firms is Best Home Furnishings in Paoli. They manufacture quality furniture across Indiana, and I was astounded to learn the lengths they must go through in order to comply with this regulation. They travel far abroad to verify the wood is conflict-free. And even after all that time-consuming and very costly travel, they are left wondering, despite all of their best efforts, if they are making any impact on those areas that are far from their plants, far from their customers, and far from their employees.

Another such example is Key Electronics, a manufacturer that is working on electronics in Indiana to get through opioid withdrawals for many Hoosiers who are afflicted by this scourge on our communities. It is a laudable goal, but they are hamstrung by the thousands and thousands of dollars they pay to ensure the customers that they work with ultimately get this third-party audit on them and all of their vendors. This challenging business with very thin margins is being limited in what they can invest in innovative, desperately needed therapy for those addicted to opioids.

For every dollar and every moment that a business owner has to spend complying with this outrageous and unnecessary regulation, those are minutes and dollars that are not directed towards job creation, not directed towards investing in America's future,

and not directed towards fulfilling their and, ultimately, their employees' dreams.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to working with my colleagues in this Congress to bring an end to the excessive job-killing regulations that stand between Hoosiers and their entrepreneurial dreams.

GIVE AMERICANS BACK THEIR HEALTHCARE SYSTEM

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about how regulations and restrictions in healthcare space are preventing new innovations from being able to deliver better care to Hoosiers back home.

I recently met with a local business just outside of my district, Mainstreet Health Investments, who is working hard to develop new rapid recovery centers that are truly better in matching patients' needs with services provided.

For example, when a patient has knee surgery, they only need a hospital for a very limited window during their period of acute care. They need that hospital for such immediate recovery, but, hours after that, they can be transferred to a different recovery center, one that better matches their needs as a patient, enabling them to recover much more quickly and enabling us all to save significant dollars by matching that care with the needs that they have.

Frankly, I have been amazed at the quality of these rapid recovery centers, where the patient is truly focused on, in a holistic manner, such that they can develop and have physical therapy right there in that location. It is innovations just like these rapid recovery centers that they are building that will help deliver better cures to more Americans.

This is how we make a healthcare system that is not only more affordable, not only more accessible, but also better for patients in the long run. I want it to be just as effective, in addition to affordable and accessible.

What stands in the way? What is standing in their way is certainly government bureaucracy, a government that is retarding a level of innovation, retarding their ability to grow and build more of these facilities across the country despite the demonstrated need and the demonstrated benefit to those patients.

So I wanted to talk about those regulations and how they stand in the way of Americans and Hoosiers who are trying to get ahead, trying to get their companies get ahead, trying to help their fellow employees get ahead, and, ultimately, that will, together, help America get ahead.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons for taking this time—and it was only about 3 weeks ago we actually took the leadership hour and we did a series of presentations on what was happening in debt and the excessive spending in the Federal Government, what was driving it and what

was happening with mandatory spending. Then the very next morning, CBO issued an update.

Have you ever had one of those moments in your life where you just spent almost an hour on the floor walking through the numbers, and you get a document and you start digging into it, and you find out a number of the things you presented just 14 hours earlier were wrong? But, sadly, they were wrong in the wrong direction, if there is such a way to phrase it.

Think of this: From January's Congressional Budget Office number until June's number, the U.S. debt deficit this year, the U.S. deficit this year, grew by \$134 billion as our projection for the end of the year. So, functionally, the deficit for 2017, the fiscal year we are in, we will come very close to \$700 billion this year.

□ 1900

It is going to be 693 is the projection. And if anyone saw—I think it was yesterday or the day before—Mick Mulvaney over at OMB, was projecting, from the White House's calculations, that the deficit this year was going to be about \$704 billion.

So we put together this slide next to me just to make it clear how much that is, to just sort of understand what is going on and trying to put this in perspective.

Okay. So we are going to use the CBO number because, you know, it is the Congressional Budget Office. So \$693 billion is going to be borrowed for 2017, the year we are in right now.

Well, think about that. That is \$1.89 billion every single day. That is \$79 million every hour; \$1.3 million every minute. And, what, \$1,900 every second? And that is what we are borrowing. So if I take up an hour here, you all get to make a decision if my hour here was worth \$79 million of borrowing.

Why is this sort of devastating in the numbers when you really start to dig into this CBO report?

Well, first let me give you one of the things that bothered me the most. This is a big deal when, from January to June, our excessive spending and borrowing number actually increases by 25 percent and it got almost zero press.

We are living in a society right now where, if there is a shiny object, a tweet, another story, the press, even a lot of the Members of this body, run talk about that. And I will make you the argument that the greatest systemic threat to this society are these numbers because the fact we are going to borrow \$134 billion more than we were already projecting, it is worse than that.

If you were to step back 1 year ago, 1 year ago we thought this year's deficit was going to be about \$450 billion. I mean, it is still outrageous. In a year's time that number now is kissing up to \$700 billion this year.

To understand the scale of that, we are going to actually do some of our slides. And the first one we are going

to put up is the slide from 3 weeks ago, and the punch line on it is the numbers are worse than this. I just wasn't going to use up a whole bunch of ink and print a new one. But this is important to understand.

So this is where we think we are going. This is what is in the CBO report. But do you see actually the blue areas? That is sort of spending that is on autopilot. When we say autopilot, it is by formula. You reach a certain age, you get certain benefits. You fall below a certain income, you get certain benefits. We borrow money, we pay back the interest. You have served honorably in the military, you qualify for certain benefits.

But this is 2026, so this is functionally 9 budget years from now. Understand where we will be. Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, other things that are formula driven, you fall below a certain income, you get interest on the debt.

And you start to realize only 22 percent of all spending in 9 years will be things that functionally get voted on here. Everything else will be by formula. Your government is very quickly becoming a health insurer with an army, an insurance company with an army.

What is fascinating is—think about this—this year we are going to kiss up close to \$700 billion in borrowing. That is more than all discretionary spending on nonmilitary discretionary spending. So think about that. If you came to me and said, "David, I want you to only spend exactly what you are taking in right now," you get to help me make a decision. If I am not allowed to touch mandatory spending, the entitlements, do you remove the entire military, or do you remove everything else you think of as government, the Park Service, the FDA, the FBI?

Everything else is government because all of that is living on borrowed money. And somehow we desperately must find a way for the American public to understand the scale and how quickly these numbers are moving away from us.

In 5 years, so those folks who are 60 years old today, they are at the peak of what we call the "Baby Boom." So in 5 years from now, we actually hit the peak of our brothers and sisters who will receive their retirement benefits, if they take them at 65. And you start to look at the numbers. And we are going to—let's switch to the next slide. And you will actually start to see that curve steepening.

We are going to show a slide in a couple of boards from here that starts to show you at what point we are running these trillion-dollar deficits.

The next point I also wanted to make that was here in the CBO report is, when we borrow an additional \$134 billion on top of what we already projected—so close to \$700 billion this year—that is now part of the rolling debt. That is part of—now we are going to be paying interest on that for generations because our inflection point to

pay down the debt is moving farther away from us every day because—you saw the previous slide—every day we are borrowing pretty close to \$1.9 billion every single day.

So why this slide is important is—just understand—in 9 budget years, if you said, “David, I want you to deal with the debt. I don’t want you to do it today because I don’t want to lose any benefits. I don’t want to talk about the complications of what happens if we had to deal with the reality of trying to make the combination of making the economy grow and having to deal with entitlement reform,” but in 9 years, only 11 percent of the budget would be nondefense, non-entitlement.

And the amazing thing is, that number will stay almost identical for the next 10 years. So almost all the growth, a trillion-plus dollars of growth in those 9 years is coming almost solely from Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, interest on the debt, veterans’ benefits, but mostly Medicare.

It is really difficult to talk about, but if you actually look in the CBO numbers, you understand, we have a couple of our key trust funds that start to run out of money within the 10-year window. So let’s actually switch slides and try to—and a couple of these are going to be repetitive for a point, so it starts to become more absorbable of what is actually really going on in these underlying numbers.

So we put this one together just to sort of have a sense of what has happened. What happened from when we were estimating in 2016, the Congressional Budget Office gave us a number, so this is a year ago. We were building our budgets. We were building our projections. We were building our cost analysis on how much interest financing, these things. This is a year ago. We thought we were going to borrow \$544 billion, still an outrageous amount of money.

Here we are a year later and we are going to come close to \$700 billion. Then in January, from a year ago—so this last January—it moved up to, hey, we are going to borrow \$559 billion. Not a lot of movement. And then 6 months later, it blows off the charts. And now all of a sudden, we know from the CBO number, it is \$693 billion of borrowing this year.

The OMB number, I know the chart over here I think is saying 702. I could swear I saw 704, but let’s just call it \$700 billion.

This is an intense frustration because, if you actually listen to many of us as we get behind these mikes, we will argue and fight and fuss often on things that, when you actually add them up, are pretty small, sometimes bordering on petty, that don’t really have a multiplier effect into the future.

Yet, how much discussion have you heard behind these microphones in the last 3 weeks, since the CBO report came out, the update came out that,

hey, from January to June, somehow the number just grew by 25 percent; we just added another \$134 billion of borrowing this year?

This isn’t way off into the future. It is this year. And guess what. We are going to be financing that for as long as anyone who is probably watching this or listening to this in this room is alive.

Can we go to the next slide. We are heading toward a time where the growth of this debt, the growth in mandatory spending is moving to crushing everything else we care about. So if you happen to be someone who is a Member of this body and you care passionately about education, you must understand that the mandatory spending is going to crush it.

If you care about the environment and other programs, the funding resources to pay for those things is gone.

If you care desperately about defense, defense is going to be competing for scarcer and scarcer dollars because those dollars are promised in our mandatory spending, our entitlements.

So the only reason I threw this one up was just getting a sense that just the movement from January to June—the chart may not look like a big deal, but we are dealing with hundreds of billions of dollars here.

You see that little separation between the red line and the blue line?

That separation is 6 months. This isn’t a game. It shouldn’t be partisan. The numbers are the numbers, and Congress cannot continue to exist in a math-free zone.

So—and I am sorry. This is actually—I have toned down my charts because I was getting made fun of by making too many of them, and, actually, I was. I think I killed one of the big printers here on Capitol Hill, but that is another discussion.

So let’s actually sort of look at this one. This is functionally 2017 to 2027. So the 10-year window, which we use constantly around here. Just understand what this constant growth of the debt does in the mix of our priorities that we are able to pay for.

Where is the money? Where does it ultimately come from? Where does it go?

So if we are here right now, the first bar is spending. The second bar is revenues or pay-fors or mechanics. You know, some of it is borrowing, some of it is payroll taxes, and other things. Then the same thing for 2027.

So let’s first take a look at where we are at right now, and this is by gross domestic product. So they tell me this is a much more elegant way to sort of understand how much of our society’s economy is going into finance government’s debt. And none of these numbers have State and local. This is just us at the Federal Government level.

So take a look. This year, hey, about 1.4 percent of our GDP, of the economic muscle of our society is going into financing our excessive spending, our

debt. In 10 years, it is 2.9 percent. So it is the entire economy, close to 3 percent of it is going to be grabbed just to pay for debt.

But when you also start to look at—you see that black portion on the top? In 2017, the excessive spending here, without revenue—so it is borrowing—is 3.6 percent of our entire GDP went to borrowing. In 10 years, it is 5.2, and it keeps growing, and it really starts to take off.

Remember we had the comment “in 5 years, we hit the peak of the Baby Boom moving into retirement.” And if you see the curve, it steepens and, over the next couple of decades, it blows off the charts.

So you actually start to look at the mix of: What are our resources? What do we have?

Well, let’s just go to the 2027. So that is this. So, functionally, 6 percent of our entire economy will be going to Social Security; 6.9 percent of our GDP will be going to healthcare programs. Another 2.5 percent of our society’s GDP will be going to other mandatory programs.

Only 5.4 will be going to everything we call discretionary, and part of that is also defense. So about half of that will be defense and half of that will be other discretionary programs.

□ 1915

This is where we are moving prioritywise. The growth of these programs consume everything in their path.

One of the things we actually talked about 3 weeks ago when we were behind this microphone—look, there are demographic changes, but when I was a kid, \$4 were spent for young people for every dollar that was spent for our, what we will call, seniors. Today, that is reversed. Today, we will spend \$4 for seniors for every dollar spent for young people, and that curve continues to move away from us. So just understand, that is the decision this body, this society, has made as our priorities.

Now, why this slide is so incredibly important to understand, if you see the blue there—and, look, I am blessed to be on the Social Security Committee in Ways and Means. We just had the actuary report, and Social Security has problems, but it is not a crisis. It is fixable. As a matter of fact, any well meaning people, a handful of them could get in a room and in a day fix the unfunded liabilities, which I think is 22, \$24 trillion over the 75-year window for Social Security.

What should terrify you are the numbers I am about to point out that are actually within Medicare. Let’s actually just sort of reach over here, and forgive me for leaning over. Let’s say you are 50 years old today. We are going to use 65 as the benchmark for retirement. You are going to be retiring in 2030. You see the gray here? Over your career, over your work life, the average person who will be retiring in 2030 will have put in \$179,000 into Medicare.

But do you see this side? They are going to receive \$621,000 in benefits. The person who is 60 years old today, in the average, and these are means, the person who is 60 today, retiring in 5 years, will have paid \$179,000 in part of their FICA tax going to Medicare. Over their years of retirement, because of longevity, because of healthcare costs, because of a series of different things, they are going to take out \$621,000.

Now, I need you to start to multiply those types of differentials where we put in this, we are taking this out, and multiply it times 76 million of our brothers and sisters who we define as baby boomers.

Do you see the math problem?

This slide isn't from some conservative group. I believe it is from the Urban Institute. This is just reality.

Let's say you happen to be my most liberal constituent, and you care desperately about the preservation of these entitlements and of Medicare. You should be the first one lining up with me and others around here from both sides of the aisle saying: We must do two key things. We must adopt policies that maximize economic growth, because whether it be tax reform, whether it be regulatory reform, whether it be immigration reform, all these things, but primarily tax reform, we must do those policies that drive economic growth, because a growing economy solves a lot of problems, but it doesn't come close to dealing with these types of shortfalls.

So the second thing that must be done, and it is going to take fair-minded people on both sides of the aisle, we are going to have to do entitlement reform. It is just the math.

When someone gets behind one of these microphones or is running for office and they say, "Well, if we just get rid of waste and fraud, or if we just get rid of foreign aid, or if we just get rid of this," I am sorry, they need to go out and invest in a calculator. That is not what the underlying numbers say.

And to try to double down on a couple of these points, to understand how fast these numbers are moving away from us, in 2022—it sounds like a long time from now, but, look, we are working on the 2018 budget right now. So, what, four budget years from now? Every year, we are going to be running a \$1 trillion deficit, and it grows and grows. That \$1 trillion of borrowing in 2022 has to be financed.

We are working on this chart. It is a little more complicated, so you are not going to see it for another month or so. As you are borrowing more money and interest rates go up, you do understand it is not just the money we are borrowing this year. When we move up the interest rates because we are out there in the markets sucking up the capital, pulling the capital in, when we raise interest rates, there are about \$2.5 trillion of our \$14-plus trillion of publicly held debt that is refinanced every year. So it is not just the interest we pay on new borrowing. Like, right now, almost

\$1.9 billion had to be borrowed today. It is not just the interest we are going to pay on that, but it is the effect on everything that is refinanced every year, every day, every month, every quarter, because as those interest rates move up, we have to change the financing.

Just understand, when you look at this chart just how fast—and this is just the borrowing number—how it explodes away from us. So in 2027, 10 years from now, annual deficit, \$1.463 trillion of just borrowing. That is 9 budget years from now.

You realize, if you add that up, I believe that is more than all military and all other discretionary spending we are spending today. Please understand how fast these numbers are moving away from us and start demanding that we, as Members of Congress, toughen up and do those things that are really difficult, really hard, and the willingness to tell the truth of what is driving these debts and deficits.

My primary reason for putting up this chart is that I am a huge fan that we have to do sort of this holistic approach, that it is now incumbent upon us as policymakers to do everything and do everything at once. You can't just have us say we need to do healthcare reform because almost no one in the country who is outside that world is paying attention to what it is doing to the debt and deficit, blowing them off the charts.

Then we have those of us who are focused right now on doing tax reform. We talk about our book of specialty, and people who care about immigration, care about this, care about that. The reality is we have to do it all. We have to do it all at the same time to maximize economic growth.

The GDP indicator today from the Atlanta Fed, we call it GDPNow—it is a wonderful website. It is a great app—I think has us at 2.5 percent GDP. Okay. That is better than we have been.

The new CBO baseline built into this next 10-year projection is saying 1.9 percent GDP growth. That is unacceptable because these numbers continue to remain incredibly ugly if we grow at that speed. But if we were to be at 3, 3.5, the numbers get much easier to deal with. But this chart is really important and a little tough to absorb, but it basically demonstrates, even with additional growth, we are still going to have to do entitlement reform, and it is going to have to be on a fairly large scale.

Growth makes it just a lot easier and makes it so we can do a much longer onramp for our brothers and sisters who are right now planning for retirement or other benefit programs that are out there.

So in this next slide, I wanted to show it because I wanted to actually use it to talk about—I know right now there is a lot of consternation of what is happening over in the Senate in regards to healthcare, and I think constantly there is a lot of misinformation

about the healthcare bill we did here in the House, what I have read of what has been worked on in the Senate.

So let's first get a couple things very clear. If you hear a commentator, if you are someone behind one of these mics, talk about, "Well, it is one-sixth of the economy and that is what is in this bill," they didn't read the bill.

The ACA replacement is almost exclusively about the small portion of our society that is in the individual market. They don't get their healthcare from an employer. They don't get their healthcare from Medicare. They don't get their healthcare from the VA. They don't get their healthcare from Indian Health Service or TRICARE or all these other ways. They are the plumber. They are my wife and I when we were running our own business.

In my congressional district, it is only 2 percent of my population. In my State, it is only 4 percent of my population. That was the population that was having great difficulties if they held a preexisting condition. Well, this society now, we have all come to terms, we are a guaranteed-issue society. That was in our bill when it passed. But that is still a tiny portion of the society that is in that individual market. In a State like mine, Arizona, you have a single choice, huge price hikes, and none of that was what was promised.

When you start to look at the math on the deductibles and then the price, so many of our brothers and sisters out there who should be in that individual market are basically saying: I would rather pay the fine; let them try to catch me. Because we have already talked about them. We did a whole presentation, I think, about 6 weeks ago, 2 months ago, that were in this ratcheting problem. Half of our population who should be in that individual market, let's just call them the healthy, 50 percent of that population who only use about 3 percent of the healthcare dollars, they basically said: It is too expensive; I am not buying.

But every time someone who is a part of that healthy portion of the curve says "Yeah, you have mandatory purchase, but I am still not going to buy" and doesn't purchase, you end up in this ratcheting effect. And the ratcheting effect, it gets more expensive, so more drop out; gets more expensive, more drop out. And that has been the crisis that is the ACA. Most people know it as ObamaCare, but to be respectful, let's call it the ACA.

It has an actuarial, structural death spiral. So our attempt was: Could you do a series of things that would lower the premiums enough for that 50 percent of the population who only uses 3 percent of the healthcare dollars to get them to actually buy? Mandatory. Hasn't worked. Maybe really well-priced coverage would work, because when they participate, the curve flattens out. Because right now, it looks like a hockey stick, and we know there

is functionally a tiny percent of our population, I think it is like 5 percent of the population, equals almost 50 percent of all the spending.

So the reason this chart is up here, we were trying to find an elegant way to try to say those of us who, like myself, I have fairly severe asthma, but folks with chronic conditions, diabetes, particularly if it is not managed, other things, that is actually 84 percent of all healthcare costs.

When we did the risk-sharing amendment for the ACA replacement bill, we were trying to fixate on that continuity of care. How do you finance that continuity of care for our brothers and sisters, particularly those who have those chronic conditions, to make sure that is continuity of care between themselves, their doctors, their healthcare institution, the insurer? I thought we did a fairly elegant job of drafting that and then putting real resources behind it.

But this is important to understand, the outlier of our brothers and sisters out there, those of us who have pre-existing conditions or who have chronic conditions, end up being the cost drivers in our healthcare.

So our ability to be creative, our ability to say: If you have one of those in your pocket, can this actually be part of your healthcare management? Are we going to accept the reality that someone with a chronic condition should be allowed to pick up their phone and use FaceTime to talk to their doctor?

□ 1930

Should a poor person be allowed to use their phone to consult their doctor? Should they be allowed to wear sensors and other things? There are some incredibly creative things rolling onto the market there to help our brothers and sisters with chronic illness. This body needs to be prepared to adopt them, because here is the punch line: whether it had been the ACA, whether it had been a replacement, had almost nothing actually to do with healthcare. It had to do with who pays. This was about the money: who pays, who gets the money.

Because remember, it was in 1986—31 years ago—a piece of legislation was passed basically saying you cannot deny someone medical services. You show up to the emergency room, you show up in the hospital, you are getting your medical services, and you can actually see this in the data. For the last 30 years, the number of procedures, particularly the stuff it costs, has been laid much the same.

So when you have people saying, “Oh, you are not going to be able to get healthcare,” we have been a society for 30-plus years that has sort of a guarantee of delivery of health services. The great battle is who pays.

Do you remember a few years ago when we had the great consternation of disprop share, uncompensated care. I worked on those issues. And now all of

these years later, we are basically trying to make an argument of who pays, how do we pay, how do we get more healthy—that is 20-, 30-, 40-year-olds who are healthy, how do we get more of them, particularly in the individual markets, to participate?

Then the second half is Medicaid. This is a strange city because it is one of those cities, when you actually look at the dollars, even though the dollars are going to continue to grow and grow and grow, so many people define that as a cut. But remember, we were looking at the exploding deficit debt numbers. We have to deal with the reality. We are in real trouble, and we are going to have to step up and start being honest with each other about what is happening in the underlying math here.

So I know this is a little diversion from what was in the CBO report, but once again, you saw on the charts that the healthcare and healthcare entitlement numbers were substantially driving the deficits. Now you actually sort of see what is in the underlying part of that population.

We will go back to the beginning again. Hopefully, I haven't spoken for a whole hour, for your sake and mine. But one more time: this year, according to CBO, 3 weeks ago—and you have heard lots of talk about it, right? That was me being sarcastic—\$193 billion of borrowing this year. We are going to borrow almost \$1.9 billion every day, \$79 million every hour. I have been here an hour. Has this been worth \$79 million to you?

But think about it—and I know I misspoke earlier, so that is one of the reasons I wanted to put this board up. It is \$21,900, \$21,900 every second of borrowing.

I have a 21-month-old. It is the greatest gift the good Lord has ever given my wife and me.

I pray for the birth mother every night, saying, “Thank you.”

But if you look at the charts, when she hits her peak earning years, her tax rates are going to be double, maybe even more, of what I would pay today.

The economic growth is probably crushed by the amount of debt; and a lot of the calculations, if we step out 30 years, the computers can't even model them anymore. Because, understand, there are some amazing numbers in here that functionally, in 9 budget years, we are at 91 percent debt to GDP on publicly held debt. That is not the money we borrowed from the trust funds.

So the question I ask—I love my little girl. How many of you love your kids? How many of you love your grandkids? How many of you love this country? How many of you want this country to have an amazing future, because it can. This is all fixable. Just every single day we wait, we make it so much more difficult.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BUDD). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GARRETT) for 30 minutes.

Mr. GARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I also want to thank my colleague, Congressman SCHWEIKERT from Arizona.

I hadn't intended to, but I will begin my remarks by addressing his remarks, and I will do something that I rarely do, and that is to quote a French historian, political scientist, and diplomat, Alexis de Tocqueville, who stated: “The American Republic will endure until the day that Congress discovers that it can bribe the public with the public's own money.”

The previous administration was led by an individual who, on the campaign trail, said that \$7 trillion in debt was unpatriotic. Now we sit at the precipice of \$20 trillion after two terms, and I would submit that perhaps that is unpatriotic multiplied by three, or nearly that, and echo the sentiments of Mr. SCHWEIKERT that it is absolutely, positively unsustainable.

Now, there are ways that we could certainly deal with runaway debt. One way would be to completely devalue the currency. If you really want to step away from the hyperbolic barbs that are thrown by my colleagues across the aisle as relate to the motives for the legislation that we carry and find out who would be really harming seniors and children, it would be those who would continue to spend until the only way to cover the tab was to deflate the value of the very moneys set aside to care for those least able to care for themselves.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman SCHWEIKERT not only for his wise remarks, but also for reminding me just how much I miss being a member of the statehouse in the Commonwealth of Virginia where there is actual back-and-forth debate on the merits of issues, wherein that small percentage of individuals who choose to inform themselves might shape their opinions based on a discourse rather than people standing at this microphone unchecked.

That leads me to my next point, which is also not on the subject that I originally intended to address, and that is the statement of my distinguished colleague from Maryland, Mr. RASKIN, who spoke on this floor about 45 minutes ago on a subject that is important not just to him and not just to me, but to America, and that is on the subject of asset forfeiture.

His comments were indicative of the tone that this body has devolved into. One of the many Democrats whom I admire, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whom Vanity Fair described as a fervent Democrat who saw the value in working with Republicans—where is he today?—he once said: You are entitled to your own opinions, but you are not entitled to your own facts.

Mr. RASKIN said that the Trump administration was burdening Americans