

last year alone, 20,000 children. These are little kids.

I know the statistics start to run together, but these numbers must be recited. As of March this year, CBP has seen over a 50 percent spike in gang members apprehended at the southern border.

Did you look to see what happened in Los Angeles just this week, the arrests and the horrific crimes? Is this what we want in our communities, people hatcheting and macheteing each other to death, cutting each other apart?

We have a great country. There is no reason to do this.

In the last 2 years, ICE has arrested 266,000 aliens with criminal records. Those aliens had convictions, including 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 homicides.

If you believe the cartels are going to stop making millions a year if we decriminalize the border and abolish ICE, you are not living in reality.

Every day, children are being recycled across the border, serving as human shields. They send them across with somebody; they send them back; and then, they come back with somebody else. That is trafficking. There is no consequence to it.

It is time to stop just talking about protecting the children being exploited. It is long past time to start protecting them and our communities by closing the loopholes that are used to hurt them.

A famous quote we have all heard goes like this: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men and women do nothing." That is happening, Mr. Speaker, in this House.

The country is still waiting on the leadership of this House of Representatives to do something.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOHO) for inviting me and keeping this issue front and center.

Mr. YOHO. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Pennsylvania's passion and leadership on the things he has done.

He talked about it. Mr. ROY talked about it. Mr. GOHMERT talked about it. It is edifying.

The ICE agents and the Customs and Border Patrol agents are doing a job that this body created with laws and policies, and then hired them. We have people on the other side of the aisle who are criminalizing the very people we hired to do this job that they have to do. And it is a thankless job.

I know our side, the Republican Party, and, I am sure, some Democrats are truly thankful that our ICE agents and Customs and Border Patrol are there. They are taking time away from their families, and they are taking the time that they could be doing other things, but they are keeping our Nation safe.

As Members of Congress, we here are thankful for them, and I know our Nation is thankful for them.

I implore, again, President Trump to reconvene Congress, if it leaves without solving this problem, in the August recess and every time. He can be the first President since President Truman in 1948 to do this.

I implore anybody who is watching to call your Members and tell them you want this problem solved. There is no reason that this does not get solved. This is something we can do.

Throw politics out of it. Let's get good policies. Good policies for America are good policies for the migrant, good policy for our citizens, and good policy for our country.

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

KEEPING THE PROMISE OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT) for 30 minutes.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, tonight is a continuation of a series I have been doing on the floor every other week, depending on the chaos of the floor schedule. I take about a half an hour and walk through things I see in the numbers and, in many ways, express my intense frustration at both the Democrats and many of my brothers and sisters on the Republican side for not taking a step backward from the daily chaos that has become the House of Representatives to realize that the single biggest threat to the cohesion of our society is demographics. I am going to walk through what that means.

The reason I always put up this particular board is that we have developed, in our office, a five-prong attack on what society does financially to be able to keep the promises of Social Security and Medicare.

The demographics I was speaking of are those of us who are baby boomers. There are 74 million of us born, functionally, in an 18-year period, with 10,300 of us retiring or turning 65 every single day.

The math is devastatingly ugly. My instinct is maybe that is why it is avoided in conversation around here, because the math is difficult. It is uncomfortable. It is also real.

Something I don't often do, but I want to read a simple paragraph from a June 11, 2019, analysis from the Manhattan Institute that was analyzing the numbers from the Congressional Budget Office. They are talking, right now, about just Social Security and Medicare. "Over the next decade, 91 percent of the projected increase in budget deficits, which are set to approach \$2 trillion, comes from the increased cost" of Social Security, Medicare, and the associated interest.

Think of that. In the next decade, when we talk about the growth of the debt and deficit, 91 percent of that is just, functionally, the demographic

growth for Social Security and Medicare.

Another way to think about that is, every 5 years, just the growth in Social Security and Medicare equals the entire Defense Department.

If we are going to keep our promises as a society—these are earned benefits. We made a promise as a society, avoiding the reality of the math.

Think about this part of this paragraph. "Over the next 30 years, Social Security and Medicare are projected to run a \$100 trillion cash shortfall, including resulting interest costs, while the rest of the budget is projected to run a \$16 trillion surplus." Think about that one more time—over the next 30 years.

I have a 3½-year-old little girl. Doesn't she deserve to live in an America that continues to be prosperous?

With these sorts of numbers, it is impossible. Functionally, our debt deficits, the attempt to try to keep some of our promises, is going to consume everything around us.

In previous times on the floor, and I know I am going to be doing it again, we brought in a series of what the left often says: "Well, we will tax the rich more. We will do this and this." They only cover tiny portions. The scale of this doesn't work in our modern rhetoric.

Think about that last sentence again. If you remove Social Security and Medicare, over the next 30 years, the budget has a \$16 trillion surplus. One of our boards has a higher number because the board is a bit out-of-date. But the budget is what we call a cash surplus. The associated revenues exceed the associated expenses.

If you add in Social Security and Medicare, it is a \$100 trillion deficit, with its associated interest costs.

What are we going to do? We believe we have a fighting chance. There was a time, a decade ago, if you did certain senior options and those things in Medicare, gave some pricing power and options, you could see where you could flatten out some of that debt-to-GDP curve and make the baby boomers survivable, economically.

We have waited too long. We have missed that window. Now our argument is that we have to do everything. We have to do things that grow the economy, a Tax Code that maximizes economic expansion, trade that maximizes economic expansion, regulations, smart regulations, using technology that maximizes economic expansion.

Labor force participation, what do you do to encourage workforce entry? We are doing remarkably well right now. We still have a problem with millennial men. We still need to find ways to create some spiffs within the Tax Code, within the retirement parts of the code, to encourage seniors who are healthy, wish to do it, and are prepared to do it, to stay in the labor force.

We have to do things to encourage family formation and to move to an immigration system that is talent-

based, so it maximizes economic vitality.

We are going to have to look at the earned entitlement and things we can do to put spiffs and incentives within there to change the cost of healthcare, to encourage staying in the labor force, smart decisionmaking.

One of these is really important to me. I have spent a lot of time on the floor—aggressive adoption of disruptive technology, particularly in healthcare.

In this body, we have a running debate. The Republicans say our healthcare reform is who should get subsidized, who shouldn't, and we will add some market forces. The Democrat side is: Well, we won't add market forces. We will do a collectivization, but we will see who pays and who gets subsidized.

We are having an argument about the money, on who gets to pay, not what to pay.

There is technology, and we have done this over and over on the floor, that is about to crash the price of healthcare. If this body is prepared to have that Blockbuster moment—and when I say, “Blockbuster moment,” I mean Blockbuster video moment, where technology changes things. We no longer go down to the neighborhood shopping center and get a little silver disk to shove into our player at home. Instead, we go home and hit a button.

It turns out, in healthcare, you have two sides. You have technology, everything from something you can blow into that tells you if you have the flu, to the thing you wear on your body that helps diagnose you, to the autonomous healthcare clinics that are going up around Phoenix, to the other side, the single-shot cure for hemophilia, things that actually cure disease.

If we can get our heads straight and say we need to crash the price of healthcare—it will be hard. That type of economic technology disruption is going to scare a lot of our friends, whether those in certain medical practices or those who offer certain services. But we don't have a choice.

I want to walk through some. First, some of the good news and the reality on the math because this place is substantially a math-free zone.

Last week, I had floor time scheduled, but the floor ran long because, well, the chaos on the floor. I ran into one of my friends, a Democrat from the Midwest, and we were talking about the speech I was about to give.

His immediate reaction was: Well, David, you had that tax reform a couple of years ago, and that is the real reason.

You look and say, no. If you think about what has happened in labor, in tax revenues, in the dramatically fewer people who actually need social services, it has been incredibly positive for the economy.

□ 2045

So I put this board up for him. Take a look. If you actually take a look at

these years, the middle bar chart, that is 2018. The blue is 2017. The gray is 2019 fiscal year.

This is the first 9 months of what we call receipts. For those of us on the Ways and Means Committee, this is substantially our responsibility is these receipts. Highest revenue first 9 months in U.S. history. Adjusted for constant dollars, the second highest in U.S. history. The doom and gloom and the crazy things that were said about tax reform aren't true, and the math says so.

We don't have a choice. If we do not substantially grow this economy, dramatically grow this economy over the next couple decades—not the next couple years, but next couple decades—you can't mathematically cover the promises we have made on Social Security and Medicare.

And I don't know why it is so terrifying for elected Members to actually be honest about the math. The chart is there. If you don't believe me, go onto the Treasury's website, look at the receipts that have come in—highest in history; adjusted for inflation, constant dollar, second highest in history.

It is working. It is working.

There are other things that are also really optimistic. We are getting one of those—do you remember our five points? Getting the economy to grow long term with stability, you all saw the June labor force report, jobs report—incredibly good numbers, far beyond our expectation.

But what was also really optimistic for those of us who are trying to build these models is the number of the population who were coming back into the labor force.

And I know this is geeking out, but when you actually see more job postings than you have available workers, amazing. If I told you that a couple years ago, you would have laughed at me, but it has happened.

But the other thing we also start to look for is, even if you see little ticks up in the unemployment, the number going up, if it is not because of the falling available jobs but because those re-entering are choosing to enter the labor force, that is really powerful because that labor force participation number has a sense of the productivity of our society.

We have already seen some pretty impressive productivity step-ups. We have actually seen a constant wage gain, particularly for our brothers and sisters who were at, the technical term, the lower quartiles, which I always thought would bring joy across the body.

But it almost now seems this body is incapable of embracing good, optimistic, joyous numbers of how many of our brothers and sisters out there who had a pretty crappy previous decade are actually doing well now. There should be optimism about this. There should be joy about this, but would that be giving one party kudos against the other?

How about for a moment you just drop the party labels and understand the math? There are pretty impressive numbers coming out of this economy right now. What do we do as policy-makers to keep it going as long as possible?

So let's go back to that other leg. How many of our brothers and sisters are actually in the labor force? I can show you some papers from just a few years ago that, as the baby boomers are starting to move into retirement, labor force participation numbers were supposed to collapse, and you actually see a little bit of that. If you look at the 10-year labor force participation and then overlay our demographics as we are getting older as a society, you see those numbers fall.

But take a look at this chart, and this is just the last couple years. We are back up kissing up against a 63 percent labor force participation. I know this is geeky, but I can show you papers from a few years ago. It said we were never getting back close to this number again, at least not for decades and decades and decades. Well, we are there.

This is really important to the economic vitality of the society. And it is not just tax revenues. When you have a population that is working, you have more of your Americans who are receiving employer-based healthcare. They are not receiving certain social welfare benefits. They may not be prospering as you might turn on television and look at the dreams of people who win lotteries, but there are things working.

You can drive through some of the neighborhoods in parts of my district and you just look around at the number of people who are remodeling their homes or putting a new roof on. There are good things happening out there in society, and you see it in the data.

So why do I come to the microphone almost every week with this sort of chagrined look, terrified we are not having the difficult conversation of what do we do to deal with the reality of the promises we as a society have made to our seniors, that retirement security, to keep those promises?

Well, let's actually walk through some of the really difficult math, because this is what drives that \$100 trillion, and that is inflation-adjusted dollars, \$100 trillion shortfall that comes from Social Security and Medicare in the next 30 years. This board right here is the number one driver.

If you need to understand something, just understand this board. This is basically someone who moves into retirement today, they will have paid about \$161,000 in Medicare taxes. That is a lot of money. But that senior who has paid in \$161,000 in Medicare taxes, they will be taking out, and this is the average, \$498,000.

So take that differential, multiply it times 74 million baby boomers, and that is the math. That is substantially the driver of a completely

unsustainable math that blows up everything in our lives. Yet we are terrified to talk about this. We all know it. We all walk around with these reports here, though I wonder how many people ever open them up and read them. But that is the math.

We can manage this, but we have to do it with a level of creativity and understanding that it is not one solution; it is dozens of policies coming together to make it work. So let's see what that shortfall actually does.

This board now is maybe a year out of date, so I need some updating on it, but it functionally shows the shortfall in Social Security. Total Social Security shortfall over the 30 years is about \$31 trillion.

What you see in the blue is interest. What you see in the purple is just what we call the cash balance shortfall. But the real difficulty, the honest difficulty is Medicare.

Medicare produces about a \$72 trillion cash shortfall over the next 30 years, where, if you look at the last bar, it is actually green. It is in the positive. The rest of the budget is positive.

This isn't Republican or Democrat math. It is just demographics. It is what we are as a society. But yet we will weaponize this.

So if the Democrats do certain things, we are going to attack them on it. If we do certain things, they are going to attack us. Yet this is the fragility of our society, and it is almost impossible around here to talk about because there is folklore around here.

I can't tell you how many public events I have done over the years where you will get someone to come up to you and say, "Hey, if you just take care of waste and fraud," "if you just take care of this," "if you take care of that"; anyone who says that today, particularly if they are an elected Member of Congress and they come behind a microphone and say, "If I take care of waste and fraud, that deals with the debt and deficits that are coming," they are not telling you the truth. That is not what the calculator says. It is a rounding error. But that is not part of our political folklore in this culture.

So back to analyzing these numbers. Projected 2049 deficit, solely Social Security and Medicare. If you actually see the dedicated revenues, this one is purely on GDP, the percentage of the GDP in 30 years that is going to have to be dedicated just to covering Social Security and Medicare. We will be taking in about 5.8 percent of taxes equal to GDP, that is dedicated to Social Security and Medicare, but we are going to be spending 17.9.

Remember, if we are going to tell the truth, for many of us, it is now a battle to keep the ratio of our Nation's debt to the size of our economy from blowing through that 100 percent. Can we find a way to stabilize it in that 90, 95 percent area?

It is my goal, it is my dream to come behind this microphone and say we

have balanced the budget, we are paying off the debt. But demographically, that math is almost impossible.

So our job is to balance it, so, as we are getting older as a society, we don't blow through that debt-to-GDP ratio which all the sudden blows up our interest costs, which consumes every next incremental dollar.

And you start to see, when you look at charts like this, it helps you understand the growth and the amount of our entire society's economic productivity that is just going to go to cover these promises. They are earned benefits, but it is going to consume a huge portion of our entire economy's vitality just to cover those benefits.

So my friends on the left will often come and say, well, raise tax rates. Except you have a classic problem. We actually have decades and decades and decades and decades of data.

So you see the black line here? It is when we have had very high marginal tax rates. It is when we have had low marginal tax rates. It is when we have taxed capital gains aggressively, when we haven't taxed capital gains aggressively. The reality of it is, or somehow it may be a law of nature or maybe a law of economics or a law of taxation, taxes always fall back into a certain range of the amount of GDP, the size of the economy. And this has been under liberal Congresses, conservative Congresses, liberal Presidents, conservative Presidents.

If you look at that black line, it has always fallen back into, sort of, a certain range of a percentage of the size of our economy comes in as Federal taxes: payroll taxes, the FICA we are talking about, and income taxes over here. It is just history. And there has been all types of tax schemes attempted.

So from a public policy standpoint, adopt those policies that grow, that grow the size of the economy, because if you are always going to come back and get a certain percentage of the size of the economy, how do you get more revenue? You grow the size of the economy.

Mr. Speaker, may I request the amount of time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arizona has 7 minutes remaining.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. I have come up this year, this may be the two doventh time, walking through both the math, the reality. Some of the times I am behind the mike I am much more optimistic because there is a technology disruption, there is economic growth, there are things happening around us that give us a fighting chance.

But some nights I will sit down and I sit here and highlight the different reports, and I am terrified for my little girl and what her future will be like because, right now, the math says her marginal tax rates have to be more than double what I pay today just to maintain, just to keep the wheels on. The economic growth crashes in our society. The opportunity is taken away.

And then we have crazy around here where we are getting proposals from the majority that offer another \$40 trillion-plus of spending in the next 30 years.

Help us find our calculators. Help us find some compassion, some soul that we can make this society work. But you can't do it by living in a fantasy world. The math is the math, and pretending it isn't dooms our future.

□ 2100

I truly believe we are at a moment of inflection where if we do the right things, we actually could have a couple of great decades ahead of us, my three-and-a-half-year-old can have an amazing future, every other child can have an amazing future, every retiree will know they are secure.

But if we don't take care of these things, how do we deal with the other wave that is coming at us: the multi-employer pension crisis, the municipal pension crisis, the State pension crisis, the amount of our brothers and sisters heading towards retirement that actually have almost no capital set aside for their retirement other than that Social Security and those medical benefits that are Medicare?

If you love and care about people, learn the math, tell the truth about it, and work with those of us who are passionate on working to a solution, instead of chasing the shiny object of the daily chaos that is the House of Representatives right now, on what gets you the most clicks on your social media, what might get you a television hit tonight.

This is not particularly sexy, this is not exciting, this is not what a lot of our constituents want to hear, because it is painful.

It is also the single most important thing any elected Member of this Congress can do, is fixing the greatest threat to our society, and that is \$100 trillion of promises over the next 30 years to our seniors that there is no mathematical way to cover.

Let's go do the right thing.

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

THE THREAT COMING OUT OF WASHINGTON TO WORK CENTERS OR COMMUNITY REHABILITATION PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GROTHMAN) for 30 minutes.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the current threat coming out of Washington to work centers or community rehabilitation programs.

So people understand, these are what used to be referred to as sheltered workshops.

People born with disabilities that cause people to have different abilities than most of the rest of us have, frequently now they work in work centers, frequently packaging or other