

Pennsylvania Special Olympics athletes and their Unified Sports partners.

STATE OF FLORIDA'S BIRTHDAY

(Mr. SPANO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to celebrate the great State of Florida.

On this day in 1845, Florida became the 27th State to join our Union and has had a strong impact on our Nation ever since.

From producing 70 percent of our Nation's citrus, to ranking number 2 in vegetables harvested, Florida, as an agricultural powerhouse, has long been critical in feeding hungry Americans. Our State's importance to our national security also can't be understated.

Florida is home to 3 of 11 unified combatant commands—Central Command, Southern Command, and Special Operations Command. I am so honored to represent a district home to 57,000 veterans, part of the 1.5 million who call the Sunshine State home.

Florida is also a major tourism destination as millions from around the world flock to our shores to enjoy our beaches, food, culture, and theme parks.

I am grateful to have been born and raised in Florida and to represent the 15th District. I look forward to working with the Florida delegation to continue bettering the lives of all our State residents for generations to come.

THE BACHARACH GIANTS OF ATLANTIC CITY

(Mr. VAN DREW asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VAN DREW. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4104, the Negro Leagues Baseball Centennial Commemorative Coin Act.

In New Jersey's Second District we were home to the Bacharach Giants in Atlantic City. The team was a top contender in the league and won two pennants in 1926 and 1927.

The Giants were lucky enough to host players such as John Henry "Pop" Lloyd, a player whom Babe Ruth himself once called the greatest ballplayer of all time, anywhere, ever.

Pop Lloyd would end up retiring and coaching youth baseball in Atlantic City until the day he died, and he was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1977.

Players like Pop Lloyd would lay the foundation for future stars such as Jackie Robinson and Hank Aaron, who would change the game forever. Yet, players like Lloyd, and the leagues they played in, are slowly becoming forgotten to the annals of history.

We cannot let that happen. I thank the gentleman from Missouri for intro-

ducing this important legislation to commemorate and honor those players and the role they played in shaping America's very favorite pastime.

May God bless him.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address the Chamber about one of the most important issues that the Nation faces, and that issue has only been underscored by the issue of the coronavirus, and also by the issue of inequality that exists today in this great country of ours, the wealthiest nation in the history of the world.

I am pleased to announce the number of people who have risen and come to support Social Security 2100. It is called Social Security 2100 because we address the needs of Social Security into the next century so that Social Security will be solvent beyond 75 years and address the vital concerns of each and every American.

In 2019, 64 million Americans received Social Security benefits totaling over \$1 trillion. For nearly one-third of our elderly beneficiaries, Social Security benefits are 90 percent of their total income. Two-thirds rely on Social Security for the majority of their income. The average benefit in 2019 per American was \$17,600 for retired workers, and that works out to be about \$18,000 for men and \$14,000 for women—not enough for most to live on.

Mr. Speaker, 178 million Americans are covered by Social Security today; 10,000, baby boomers a day become eligible for Social Security.

Social Security helps lower and middle-income Americans the most. More than 90 percent of benefits go to beneficiaries earning less than \$50,000. Let me repeat that again: more than 90 percent of all the benefits of Social Security go to people earning less than \$50,000 a year.

That is why the following individuals have supported the Social Security 2100 Act, including: Social Security Works, the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, the AFL-CIO, the Alliance for Retired Americans, Paralyzed Veterans of America, VoteVets, the American Federation of Government Employees, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Latinos for a Secure Retirement, the National Organization for Women, SAGE, the National Education Association, The Arc of the United States, International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers representing the Administrative Law Judges, Consortium for Citizens With Disabilities Social Security Task Force, Justice in Aging, the Association of University Centers on

Disabilities, Senior Citizens League, the National Organization of Social Security Claimants' Representatives, the EPI Policy Center, the National Retiree Legislative Network, Public Citizen, CREDO Action, Progress America, Other 98, the Daily Kos, People's Action, the Diverse Elders Coalition, the National Employment Law Project, Freedom to Prosper, MoveOn, Union Veterans Council of the AFL-CIO, just to name a few, Madam Speaker.

I want to start today by talking about having Secretary Mnuchin before the Ways and Means Committee this morning.

I reminded Secretary Mnuchin and complimented the President for saying in his last two State of the Union messages how he was committed to protecting Social Security. While he is committed to protecting Social Security, his budgets have not reflected that, which was a point of concern we raised with Secretary Mnuchin especially since—to give President Trump credit here—that during the campaign of 2016 when faced with 16 other Republicans who tried to force him to say that Social Security is an entitlement, President Trump, to his credit, said: No, Social Security is an earned benefit.

I asked Secretary Mnuchin if he believed that Social Security was an earned benefit, and he said: Yes, it was.

I also asked then, if that is the case, and it is an earned benefit, it debunks a longstanding concern raised by the other side that Social Security is somehow an entitlement program when, in fact, every American citizen knows, because of FICA, exactly what Social Security is.

FICA stands for the Federal Insurance Contribution Act, but anyone can go to their pay stub and look at it. Federal Insurance Contribution—whose contribution?

Your contribution; every American citizen's contribution. It is not a tax. The tax that is paid by an employer to your benefit is fully deductible. The employer gets to deduct it. The benefit for your contribution goes directly to the employee, and they get that in the way of pension guarantee, disability protection, spousal and dependent coverage, and a death benefit.

□ 1430

The wisdom of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is also prescient because they realized back in 1929, after the Great Depression, in this great capitalistic and entrepreneurial society that we live in, that sometimes, through no fault of your own, when something as disastrous as a stock market crash or an unanticipated virus takes place, that disaster can prevail, and all of a sudden, you would find yourself in a situation where you had not the means.

Thus, Congress, because of President Roosevelt, adopted the Social Security Act and paid for it through the Federal insurance contribution. So this contribution, every citizen knows that it is their contribution that they make.

I commended President Trump for having said that, debating his other Republican opponents. But to date, the administration has not produced a plan that will protect Social Security, that will, in fact, expand Social Security the way it needs to be.

In fact, the last time Social Security was expanded, there was a Republican President, a Republican Senate, and a Democratic House. The Democratic Speaker was Tip O'Neill. He led that effort. The leader of the Social Security movement was Robert Dole. The Senate majority leader was Howard Baker. And the President was Ronald Reagan.

They understood, bipartisanly, that this is the American people's number one insurance program, the number one antipoverty program.

You know what? We don't even have to go back to 1929 to understand the impact and the need for Social Security. History and historians are replete with the stories of the great crash. We have to go back only as far as 2008 because, in 2008, this country experienced the Great Recession.

Since that recession, many Americans saw their 401(k)'s become 101(k)'s, and 90 percent of the American people have not recovered their wealth and assets that they lost in the recession of 2008. Let me repeat that, Madam Speaker: 90 percent of Americans have not recovered their wealth and assets from 2008.

During that time, when many lost everything, and companies turned away from defined benefit contributions and were getting out of the pension business, during that same time period, Social Security never missed a payment. Social Security never missed a pension payment, never missed a disability payment, never missed a spousal or dependent coverage payment, because it is the full faith and credit of the United States Government and the Nation's number one insurance plan and the Nation's number one antipoverty plan.

Most recently, our dear colleague JOHN LEWIS reminded us—and in June 2019 he rolled out, along with DANNY DAVIS, LINDA SÁNCHEZ, TERRI SEWELL, GWEN MOORE, JIMMY GOMEZ, and other members of the Committee on Ways and Means—the fact that Social Security is a civil rights issue as well, a civil rights issue that has long gone unaddressed.

It has been more than 37 years since Social Security was last fixed, and that was under Tip O'Neill, Ronald Reagan, and Howard Baker. It has been more than 50 years since Social Security was enhanced. Do you think things have changed for people in 37 years and in 50 years?

Every American listening to this understands that that is the case. They have faithfully paid into this earned benefit and have gotten, in return, a benefit, but one that needs to be changed and modified in a way that is sustainably solvent into the next century and enhanced in the following

ways that people like DANNY DAVIS have advocated.

Here are the four ways that we enhance Social Security.

Number one, we make sure that no one can retire into poverty. In the wealthiest nation in the world today, fellow American citizens who have paid all their quarters into Social Security, who have worked all their lives, receive a Social Security check that is below the poverty level. Most of them happen to be women, and most of them happen to be women of color.

It is the shame of this country that in the midst of the great prosperity and wealth and, frankly, in the midst of handing out a \$2 trillion tax cut of which 83 percent went to the Nation's wealthiest 1 percent, that we could not find the will and the way to help out those who have worked all their lives and paid into the program.

This is no handout. This is someone who, by the sweat of their brow and their work, earned a benefit that hasn't actuarially kept pace, because, in 1983, they didn't index it the way they should have. No one who has paid in their quarters should suffer for a mistake made by Congress.

Congress needs to correct that so now the new floor for Social Security will become 125 percent of what the poverty level is so that no one who works their whole life and pays in their quarters can retire into poverty.

The second thing we do is make sure that there is a 2 percent across-the-board increase. Nobody gets wealthy on Social Security. On average, a male earns approximately \$18,000 in Social Security payments and a female \$14,000. Nobody is getting wealthy on Social Security. It is the subsistence amount of money necessitated to make ends meet. So, a modest 2 percent increase will be spent right back into the very communities that they live in.

On average, every congressional district has 145,000 people who receive Social Security. In each one of our 435 districts, 145,000 people will be spending money back in those communities.

Recognize that this is an economic stimulus bill. In fact, most recently, Jason Furman, coming before the Committee on Ways and Means, talked about this as an economic stimulus, as has Larry Summers and other economists who have taken a look at the ways we need to stimulate our economy by making sure that those amongst us who need the money most and who spend that money directly back in the community on the necessities of life—like heating and cooling their homes, providing the fuel that allows them to operate their automobiles, making sure that they have food and nutrition and physical therapy, and paying for doctor visits and also prescriptions—this is what we are doing to expand this bill with a 2 percent increase and then also making sure that there is a COLA that reflects the actual costs that people incur.

How so? A COLA, which the AARP calls CPI-E, with "E" standing for el-

derly, but I would also say standing for the essential benefits that the elderly need. Again, heating and cooling your home, prescription drugs, doctor visits, physical therapy, the very food that you put on your table, these are essential for life. That is what should go into figuring out what your COLA is, and that is what this bill reflects.

The bill also reflects the idea that a lot of people continue to work beyond retirement age. But most people don't realize that if you are single and making more than \$24,000, your Social Security is taxed. If you are a married couple and making more than \$32,000, your Social Security is taxed. Again, back in 1983, they didn't index this. We changed that. We indexed Social Security. Now, 12 million Americans will get a tax break because of that.

Making sure that no one can retire into poverty, having a modest 2 percent across-the-board increase, having a COLA that reflects your actual expenses, and providing a tax break is at the core of this bill.

In the new and added improvements of the bill, including those led by DANNY DAVIS to make sure that grandmothers and grandparents, to make sure that students, to make sure that widows are getting extra money to raise the children that they are responsible for was also included in this legislation, as well as introducing an earned income tax credit so that nobody earning \$50,000 and below will have to pay an increase in taxes and in contributions, to make sure that the money is going where it is needed the most, to help people at the lower end of the pay scale to get the kind of benefits that the Social Security 2100 Act provides.

□ 1445

And with that, Madam Speaker, I am going to yield to the gentleman from the great State of Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), as I like to refer to him—as I have heard no better voice in Congress—the voice of God.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Well, thank you, sir. I want to thank you indeed. As a matter of fact, as I was listening, I was saying to myself, after a good sermon, all that you really say is "Amen." And I want to say "Amen" to you.

And I say that in all seriousness, because the number one advocate for an expanded Social Security in this House of Representatives is none other than Representative JOHN LARSON. I thank you for your diligence, for the consistency.

When you walk in my office, there is a photograph of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and that photograph has been there ever since I have been here. I had that photograph before I came here, because the work and the leadership, the vision that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had, has been transformed and passed on to people like yourself and to you. I am so proud to be able to say that I serve with you in this House of Representatives, on the Ways and Means

Committee, and that you chair the Social Security Subcommittee and the Social Security effort.

The only other thing that I really would need to say and would want to say, I have always been told that you can measure the effectiveness of a society, that you make an assessment by how well it treats its young, how well it treats its old, and how well it treats those who have difficulty caring for themselves.

I couldn't help but think of my father, as I listened to you, who was 92 years old when he died. But he had a good life. As a matter of fact, he spent the last 5 years living with me on the weekends whenever I came home.

He always wanted to pay for things. You know, we would stop for dinner, and he would say to my wife: Vera, I am going to treat you for dinner.

His Social Security check was \$500—something a month, which obviously would not have been enough if he had to live alone and care for himself and all of that. But I would go ahead and let him pay. I would say: Okay. Well, if you want to pay for dinner, go right ahead—and he would pay.

When I stopped to get gasoline, as the tank was being filled, he would say: Here, let me pay for it.

He would reach and get his money. We were getting gas. At the time, gasoline was very high. It went up to \$40, \$50, \$60, \$70. He would say: I guess you better go ahead and pay for it. You don't have to worry.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. He is a smart man.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. But, again, we have got to expand it. We have got to keep it. We have got to make sure that it provides for the individuals it is designed to provide for.

It is not a gift. It is not a giveaway. It is an entitlement that people work for. And so I am proud to join with you in saying that we have got to make Social Security everything that it ought to be.

Where you lead, I will follow, and we will help make it happen. So, thank you very much. I am going to conclude, and this just about ends my day.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Well, first of all, thank you very much. I deeply appreciate your efforts, Mr. DAVIS.

And I love the story about your father, because that just demonstrates the dignity and the worth of a lifetime of work. But, still, he wanted to pay, he wanted to continue to contribute, because he knew how important it was.

And it wasn't any handout. He worked for it all of his life. He contributed into it.

Now we are faced with a decision in Congress on our watch, not sometime down in the future, but now.

For you up there listening in the audience, as we speak, this year, Social Security will start paying out more money than it is taking in. It hasn't been adjusted in 37 years.

There is nothing that you can leave untouched that requires actuarial at-

tention—and, specifically, the attention of Congress—that, left untouched, will continue to flourish. And yet Social Security has never missed a payment, not for disability, not for spousal or dependent coverage, and not for a pension. It is America's insurance plan. It is our number one antipoverty program as well.

That is why I am so grateful that Danny and others have pointed this out as a civil rights issue, as well, because of the way, for so long, people of color, especially Black males, have been discriminated against.

Also, when you look at women and you understand that, for women of color, they are receiving 56 cents for every dollar their White male counterparts were—80 cents for White women, 53 cents for Hispanic women—that is simply unfair.

In this day and age, we can correct that, and we can do it simply by doing what Roosevelt asked us to do: Make a contribution.

What does that contribution go towards? It goes towards a pension, a disability payment, dependent coverage, and a spousal benefit.

That is a pretty good deal. You can't buy that anywhere in the private sector.

I come from one of the insurance capitals of the world, where, when you went to insurance school, they taught you about the three legs on the stool; and the most important leg on that stool was Social Security, because that was the floor, that was the safety net which nothing could fall through.

We don't ever want to see another crash like 1929. But, again, understand, since 2008, 90 percent of Americans are struggling because they haven't recovered their wealth and assets. Sixty-eight percent of all millennials, who will need Social Security more than baby boomers, have only Social Security to rely on. They have no pension or 401(k).

While we should do everything to make that more possible, the plausible reality and what government can do is at hand: First and foremost, make Social Security solvent; and then, secondly, make sure it is solvent for more than 75 years and addresses baby boomers and millennials and future generations, and does so with modest benefits that end the inequality that exists but also provides basic economic sustenance so that our economies can thrive.

Both Jason Furman and Larry Summers, and, I think, Secretary Mnuchin would even agree with this today. They were talking about, in the face of the coronavirus—which, by the way, is age-related and will impact the elderly and people in the age groups of 60 to 70 and 70 to 80 far more than it will impact any other generation, and it will do so in a way that they better have the wherewithal—they were talking about means to stimulate the economy.

The number one way to stimulate the economy is to give those modest bene-

fits to the very people—145,000, on average, in every congressional district—so those modest benefits are spent directly right back into the communities that they live in for the necessities of life that are needed to sustain their existence.

Would you agree, Dan?

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. I agree wholeheartedly.

As a matter of fact, if you really want to touch and move the economy, it is to make sure that those individuals at the very bottom are able to contribute.

You see, I always say that money to a community is like blood to the body. No matter how sophisticated we are in terms of medicine and health, if all the blood leaves your body, in all likelihood, you are going to die.

In communities that are considered low income, senior citizen villages, places where people live in senior housing, unless those individuals have resources to plow back into the environment, then those will always be low income, no money, no resources, no business, no opportunities, no hope.

So, if we really want to make America be the America that we dream about, talk about, hope about, but has never been, then Social Security is the way to do it. Every person who works, who reaches a certain age, you know, retirement can be a good thing.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Exactly.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. You have got enough resources to retire without wondering if you are going to have to cut your pills in half or not pay the light bill or pay the rent or have enough money to purchase the food that you want, where you are not scraping and looking for coupons and looking for special sales and special opportunities.

That is what happens to many of our senior citizens. They have to look and see if there is an item on sale so that they will be able to acquire it. So, if we make sure that there are sufficient resources for people to live on, then, at my church, they would say that you are doing the work of the Master.

So there is no better way to do it, no more effective, no more efficient way. I am just pleased that we have this opportunity to do this, and do it now.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. We do, and it is on our watch.

I can't emphasize this enough. For every Member of Congress and every person out there in America who is listening to C-SPAN right now or to this program: It is on our watch. It is our responsibility. We cannot continue to kick the can down the road.

Doing nothing means a 20 percent cut to people's benefits.

Let me repeat that again. Doing nothing means a 20 percent cut to people's benefits.

Now, there are some who are fine with that, but most, on both sides of the aisle, are not in favor of that.

Here is what the polling data shows. It shows that Social Security is bipartisan. Seventy-seven percent of Americans—84 percent of Democrats, 69 percent of Republicans, 76 percent of Independents—said that they would be willing to pay a little more to make sure that their benefits are not cut and that they are protected and expanded.

Also, 91 percent of workers and 94 percent of retirees would feel betrayed—that is 91 percent of workers, 94 percent of retirees would feel betrayed—if the money they paid into Social Security was not available to them.

A Gallup poll found, this most recent one, that Social Security ranked fourth amongst the things that keep people up at night and worried with respect to their security, fourth in importance after education, healthcare, and their financial security—and they often lump financial security and Social Security together.

□ 1500

I would just like to close.

I mentioned Jason Furman, who was the former Obama National Economic Council Adviser, and Larry Summers, the former Clinton Treasury Secretary—both were serving up at Harvard—who have written extensively about the importance of making sure, as an economic stimulus and out of necessity, that we make the improvements that should have been made 37 years ago but desperately need to be taken up today, not only for current generations and baby boomers retiring, but for millennials and future generations.

Alicia Munnell, the current Director for the Center for Retirement Research, former member of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, former Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy, and former senior vice president at the Federal Reserve in Boston, said we have to protect Social Security: Policymakers should fix Social Security by raising, incrementally, over time, the money necessitated to do it. It doesn't come from heaven.

We need to maintain benefits. People don't have anything else other than their 401(k)s, and a specific portion of the population doesn't even have those. Social Security is the forced savings plan that people have paid into and have counted on, and, as I have said before, it has never missed a payment.

Monique Morrissey, economist from the Economic Policy Institute: "Expanding Social Security . . . ensures steady contributions; it keeps costs low and prevents leakage; and it pools longevity risk. Moreover, Social Security's pay-as-you-go financing . . . provides an internal rate of return tied to economic growth . . . but without the gyrations."

Dean Baker, senior economist for the Center for Economic and Policy Research, if Social Security 2100 becomes law, "it would both improve the pro-

gram's benefit structure and its financial picture. . . . After adjusting for prices, wages have risen 1.5 percent annually over the last 5 years." Social Security 2100 would only be a small impact on the pay increase of a new FICA tax.

This was in Economy for All on November 12, 2019. The Congressional Budget Office also reports this.

This will be the only bill that we will be able to vote on this year that both reduces the national debt by \$525 billion and expands and improves Social Security.

Let me repeat that again.

CBO has said that Social Security 2100 is both PAYGO compliant and, because the program is fully paid for, reduces the national debt by \$525 billion over time and enhances the existence of Social Security, making it solvent for future generations beyond 75 years.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), if he has a final word.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Madam Speaker, the final word is only to make sure that Social Security is in your plans, and be ready to accept it when we get it.

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

CRISIS AT THE BORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. UNDERWOOD). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GROTHMAN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Madam Speaker, first of all, I will let you know, so we break the suspense, I will probably be more like 5 minutes, so it is easier for everybody.

Madam Speaker, I rise today to talk one more time about the crisis at the border.

One more week has gone by, and for 1 more week, Donald Trump is out there alone fighting to preserve the integrity of our border and who the future citizens of the United States of America are.

Donald Trump is a fan of immigration, that is why, on his watch, we are now up to around 750,000 people being sworn in legally in this country every year, and there has been no effort made to really substantially reduce that number.

Nevertheless, we do want to pick our immigrants. We want our immigrants to be people who have come here legally and are appropriately vetted, and Donald Trump is doing what he can—without any help from Congress, I might add—to make sure that that happens.

The first thing that Congress has to do is to make permanent the Public Charge rule. Donald Trump has correctly said, even for legal immigrants, we are not going to take people in this country if we expect they would be per-

manently, or close to permanently, taking advantage of the programs our government has to offer.

Right now, 63 percent of the noncitizens, compared to 35 percent of the native-born, are on some sort of government program. We have a hard enough time at this time of trillion-dollar deficits taking care of our own citizens who have fallen on hard times without taking the people who are on hard times from all around the world.

Donald Trump is putting his finger in the spigot, but we know the day will come when we have a different President. When we have a different President, I am scared to death the new President will go back to the old method of anybody can come here, and, if they come to our country for free Pell grants, if they come to our country for free food, if they come to our country for free medical care, if they come to our country for free housing, we will let them back in.

Madam Speaker, I wish President Trump would always be able to prevent that, and I am sure he is going to continue to prevent that as long as he is President; but, if you look at the other people running for the job, I wouldn't bet that even by this time next year, and certainly within 5 years, we won't be back to the days of being the welfare magnet for the Western Hemisphere or the entire world.

Madam Speaker, I call on Congress to step up and pass legislation that a future President cannot undue, stating that we are not going to have more people here as a public charge.

Secondly, a couple weeks ago, I went down to the border one more time and had a chance to talk to local law enforcement, some of the citizens on the border, as well as the Border Patrol. They are appreciative of the things that the current administration is doing.

I saw 12 miles of wall being built at the Arizona border. I saw that, while it might be possible to get around the wall, it would be very difficult. I don't think most people could climb a 30-foot wall, much less get over the concertina wire on top, much less get down the other side.

But, again, those are actions from President Trump. I wish, in the future appropriations bill, Congress would fully fund that wall like the Border Patrol, who sees what is going on every day, wishes they had.

President Trump has reached an agreement with the Mexican Government so that people coming here seeking asylum pending their hearing can be held in Mexico rather than coming across, living in this country, having children with birthright citizenship, and taking advantage of laws that law-abiding people from other countries don't have.

Again, President Trump has reached an agreement with Mexico, and that is why we have gone from 80,000 or 90,000 people, at least, coming in the border in May of last year to under 2,000, we