

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This board now is maybe a year out of date, so I need some updating on it, but it functionally shows the shortfall in Social Security.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 dozenth 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

light manufacturing sort of jobs. They sometimes make minimum wage, they sometimes make less than minimum wage.

If you have not toured one of these facilities, you have really missed out on one of the joys of life.

Here we find people working hard, earning their own paycheck, proud to go to work each day with friends and a social network, sometimes working in the same place for 20 or 25 years, who feel very good about themselves, and, quite frankly, should make the rest of us ashamed if we are ever unhappy in our own life, seeing people so happy with the jobs they have.

However, friends of people with different abilities, be they family members, be they guardians, be they just next-door neighbors, have to wake up, because there are small, powerful forces who want to shut down these work centers.

Why do they want to do so and how are they going to do it?

They are going to do it two ways. Tomorrow, or soon, in this place, we are going to take up what will be publicly discussed as the increase the minimum wage bill.

However, the increase the minimum wage bill is going to do something more than just that. It is going to get rid of 14(c) waivers for minimum wage, which allows people to work for less than minimum wage.

This is not an oversight. We tried, in something called the Rules Committee, to amend the minimum wage bill.

There are people out there who feel it is below people's dignity to ever work for less than minimum wage.

People familiar with the sheltered workshops and the abilities of the people there know that already there are people who are not going to be able to find employment at \$7.50 an hour. There is no way these folks are going to find employment, or many of these folks are going to find employment, at \$15 an hour.

What is going to happen when you lose the ability to grant waivers and have somebody make \$3 or \$4 or \$5 an hour? What happens when that disappears?

People are no longer going to be able to work in the community, they are no longer going to be able to work at the community rehabilitation centers.

These folks are going to wind up sitting at home. They might wind up in day services, but in day services, you don't get the pride of going to work. You aren't going to work every day like your parents did or like your siblings do or like your friends do. You will no longer have the social network that comes with every job, in which you will be able to have the same friends, which are so vital, because family members, parents eventually pass away. It is so important to have this other social network.

It is so important to have the self-satisfaction that comes with getting your own paycheck, the self-satisfac-

tion that comes with buying your own clothes, maybe buying gifts for relatives, that people are going to lose if there are no jobs at all.

The people who don't like community work centers are also on the attack in the Department of Education. And there, they want to remove the ability for folks in this situation to have competitive integrated employment. They feel we are isolating people in these facilities.

First of all, I implore all of my colleagues and anybody who cares about people born with different abilities, to tour facilities like this. Folks in these facilities are not segregated away in some dark corner.

Like I said, if you meet them, they are so happy and proud to show visitors the work they are doing. They are more happy than even the average citizen in our society to get their own paycheck and deposit it in a bank and know that they are buying their own clothes or buying things for other people.

Everybody should see what we have an opportunity to lose and everybody should ponder what will happen when these facilities are gone, because we are in a situation in which employers are not going to be able to afford to spend \$15 an hour for a lot of these folks, just as right now employers are not able to spend \$7.50 for these folks.

What they will also find is many folks like working in the work centers and prefer working in the work centers to other places in society.

Just as people with different abilities perhaps prefer participating in Special Olympics or prefer going to special church services with people in similar situations, folks like this frequently prefer working with their friends in the sheltered workshop. They feel very good about the situation.

When these radicals succeed in closing the local work center, it is very difficult for folks like this. Even if you were able to find another job in the community with a work coach, you are no longer working with your friends, you no longer have the continuity of perhaps working with the same people, both in management and on the floor, for 20 or 25 years.

If you get a job at a fast food restaurant, even if you are able to work a few hours a week there, there is much more turnover. And frequently people do not like the stress that comes with not working with other people in their own situation.

It is time for the parents, the employees, just friends of people with disabilities to stand up and tell Congress, "Do not be swayed by a loud minority."

It bothers me when bossy people in Washington think they know what is best for people around the country. It bothers me when they feel that way about anybody, but it especially bothers me when they feel that way about the most vulnerable members of society, because I am convinced there is a

loud majority of people, both the people with disabilities and relatives of people with disabilities, who just think that the work centers are going to be there forever.

The time has come to fight for the work centers, because there is a radical group who philosophically, apparently, thinks that when the minimum wage is \$15 an hour, that jobs are going to spring up for these folks, and that they can shut down the work centers, and that employers are going to say, Sure. We can afford—whatever that is—\$600 a week to have someone like this work for us.

Guess what? You are going to find almost no jobs. You may find a few employers, kind of as a charity type of thing, will take people in for 3 or 4 hours a week, but that is not like having a job for 30 or 40 hours a week like everybody else in society has.

These folks do not want to feel different. They do not want to be different than everybody else. They want to be like their siblings and their friends and their parents and go to work 30 or 35 hours in a week.

Just like the rest of us, they like to socialize and have friends who have worked in the same offices or the same factories for years.

They do not want to be working 2 or 3 hours a week or not at all. They do not want to be in a situation in which they are stuck with a job coach.

Now, I happened to bring along some testimonials that have floated onto my desk as examples, from either people who work in the work centers or parents of people who work in the work centers, and this is typical of what you will find, whether you talk to the parents or the employees.

Here is a story, Yael Kerzan's story. And I will just read bits of them.

"Yael does not feel segregated at Northwoods"—which is the local community rehabilitation work center—"because it is a community to her. She values socializing with her longtime friends. The work she does at her CRP helps her be more productive and appropriate" at a job outside of the work center. "In addition, Yael's CRP provides a place for her to work when she is not at her" independent job.

"She does not want to stay home, watch TV and do nothing. If she was not working, she would be miserable. In fact, Yael happily gets up every morning at 4:30a so she has plenty of time to be ready by 6:50a for her ride to work."

Which, by the way, is typical. I think folks like this have much more pride with their job than a lot of people who at least appear to be born with more.

"Yael wants to work and feel valued. She takes great pride in earning her paychecks and contributing to the household expenses. Yael does not care if she earns minimum wage or not. She feels she is compensated fairly by the special wage she is paid. She understands that she does not work as fast as" some other folks, "and therefore is paid according to her productivity."

"Yael would rather be paid the special wage than participate in day serv-ices", which amounts to babysitting, whatever else they call it.

Next, another woman from Wisconsin.

I want to voice my opinion of passing the bill affecting 14(c).

"I do not want to see sheltered work-shops close. Workshops are a mean-ingful way of life for many people born with disabilities.

"I am not against rehabilitation for individuals that rehabilitation may work for. But believe me, not all indi-viduals born with disabilities are able to work outside of sheltered employ-ment.

"My sister is one. She has been through DVR, has been employed sev-eral times, at several different jobs, only to fail. All was well when the job coach was present; not so when they weren't.

"She was abused emotionally and physically by employers. She got the jobs no one else wanted or would do. I could go on and on."

This woman, again, says her sister would be incredibly damaged if they got rid of the local sheltered workshop.

Another person, talking about his daughter. "Save for 200 sight-words, she remains illiterate, unable to read or write at a level commensurate with the rest of the adult world, unable to discern character differences in others (which has led to others taking unfair advantage of her time and again), un-able to grasp complex subject matter or multipart instruction, unable to un-derstand numbers, let alone grasp the concept of arithmetic," it makes it very difficult for her to do normal independent employment.

"Thankfully, the only positive light in her" life "has been the Black Hills Works here in Rapid City, South Dakota . . .", here again, a community support provider.

Another example of a person with dif-ferent abilities, whose joy in life comes from working at the work center. And we have people who want to shut down these work centers because they feel the people are segregated there.

□ 2115

And we have people who want to shut down the work centers because they feel, for some bizarre reason, that there is no dignity in working for less than \$7.50 an hour, or soon to say there is no dignity in working for less than \$15 an hour.

I realize this isn't primarily what the minimum wage bill is about. But, again, I will emphasize, it is not acci-dental that they are getting rid of the right to work for less than minimum wage. These people know exactly what they are doing.

There were opportunities to amend this bill in committee and opportuni-ties to amend this bill in the Rules Committee, and we will not have a chance to make exceptions for these people with different abilities on the

floor. There are radicals who believe it should be against the law for them to work for less than \$15 an hour, which means, as a practical matter, it will be against the law for them to work.

And what it will do is it means they will have to go back either to sitting at home watching TV or going to work centers, which is, like I said, tanta-mount to babysitting. Maybe nice babysitting. But they will know very well they are no longer working like normal productive people. They will know very well that now they are just being taken care of and babysat.

These adult people should have the right to work. It is not up to these peo-ple in Congress, or people in the De-partment of Education, or the Depart-ment of Labor to tell them it is against the law to work for \$5 an hour, particu-larly given their situation.

Another testimonial:

"My husband and I are parents of identical twin sons, 35 years of age, who have autism, schizophrenia, sei-zure disorder, and they stutter.

"They have received services from Black Hills Works, a community sup-port provider, in Rapid City, South Da-kota, since the end of the fiscal year when they reached their 21st birthday.

"Because of this sheltered work envi-ronment, they were able to learn basic job skills, which have now enabled them to obtain employment in the competitive work realm.

"Because of their autism and mental health issues, it takes a long time and a lot of patience to develop routines that help them adjust to the rigors of a workplace . . ."

They were only able to do this be-cause of the 14(c) waivers, which allow them to work for less than minimum wage.

"My son Jonathan is a delightful, nonverbal, autistic 20-year-old man. Powerfully built, he has a supercharged energy and a deep well of affection for loved ones and his iTunes library.

"But Jonny is also profoundly intel-lectually impaired. Accomplishing even simple tasks requires vigorous prompting and continuous oversight, and chances are that along the way he might bite, stand on, or even throw his chair. As muscular and lovable though he may be, his chances of landing a competitive job are exactly zero."

But I am sure Jonathan, right now, is proud of the job he has. I am sure, like all the people I see when I tour my workshops, they are so proud to show me what they have accomplished, they are so proud to talk about their pay-check, and they are so proud to talk about the new Packers jersey they bought or whatever. You are taking that right away from people by having people in Washington, who think they know better, say: No, Jonathan, just go out in the community. Find your \$15-an-hour job.

Guess what? Jonathan ain't going to find a \$15-an-hour job, and Jonathan is going to lose the joy he has and the satisfaction he has in the job he cur-rently has.

I am Leslie and I am disabled. Eventually I will be able to go in the community and make minimum wage, maybe, although some people may not be able to work out in the community.

I think it would be sad if they do not have the option to make less than minimum wage. These folks look out for each other.

I started my first support employment pro-gram in 1985 and strongly believe in the right to access employment and to receive nec-essary accommodations.

The use of 14(c) is a necessity. Many people with significant disabilities can-not successfully perform a job to indus-try standards. 14(c) opens the door to those who fit in this picture. It allows the person to actually set his or her own standard and to increase pay as their performance improves. We need a full range of services and to recognize the reality of challenges many people have and then to support their strengths through 14(c) and other ac-commodations.

I will also point out that people who are asked to work in the community may be able to work in the community but don't like it because of the stress it puts on them to do a job that is very difficult for them to do. A lot of times what happens is some of these folks find a job for maybe 4 or 5 hours a week in the community and 30 hours a week in the work center. Frequently, they prefer their job in the work center be-cause it is at a pace which they are more comfortable handling. And they are working with people who are the same people they have worked with over a period of years.

Another testimonial:

I like working here and I make less than minimum wage. People should have the op-tion to work at a company that pays less than minimum wage or work in the com-munity and make minimum wage. I don't want to work in the community. I like coming here and making friends also with my co-workers and making money.

What these people are doing is they are taking away the freedom from peo-ple. I think it is so arrogant for people who purport to be looking out for the disabled people in our society to say, I am taking away an option from you be-cause I know best. Again and again you meet people who are very happy in the work centers and it is horrible to take away that option.

I had a job about 10 years ago, but I got very sick and I lost it. I am here making boxes and palletizing and going to class and stuff. I like to come to work and continue making money every day.

I know I don't make minimum wage. It is okay I don't make minimum wage. I am not as fast as I used to be. I like my friends. I love my job. I don't like to stay at home. It is boring.

I hope we don't take away this guy's option.

I work in the community at Publix, but I don't get very many hours.

14(c) helps me supplement my hours so I have something to do when I am not at the grocery store and can still make some money.

If the workshop went away, I would have to find someplace else. I like coming here and it gives me something to do and helps my friend.

Here, I am going to make a point. A lot of these folks do find something in the community for 4 or 5 hours a week. Now, I am going to let people wonder when somebody works only 4 or 5 hours a week, particularly in this employment, why that is. Some of these lack-of-common-sense advocates feel that if somebody is able to find a job for 4 hours a week at the local grocery store, they should be able to find a job for 36 hours a week at the local grocery store.

I will tell you, if you talk to the owners of these places, which are very nice people, frequently they are giving out jobs kind of as a community service, which is why these folks are only working 4 to 6 hours a week at one of these places. They are not going to be able to get jobs for 35 or 36 hours a week.

And when the sheltered workshop closes, it is not going to be replaced with a job in the community. It is going to be hour after hour sitting at home watching TV, or it is going to be at day services, which amounts to babysitting.

They are going to lose the satisfaction and pride that comes with work, and they are going to lose the independence of getting their own paycheck and not being as dependent on government support.

I like getting a paycheck. I used to have a job in the community, but I fell and couldn't keep up. I love working in the workshop until I can get another job in the community. If there was no workshop, I would just color all day. I like having work to do.

Bingo. And there are people who would be happy to just have day services and have somebody color all day and not have the satisfaction of having a job.

I am a person with a disability who knows that not everyone can work in a job in the community. It takes hard work in being able to follow directions. Sometimes bosses are hard on you and want you to do more than you can. It is not easy to have a job and follow all the rules. I have friends who got fired or quit because it is hard.

Why can't people with disabilities have choices?

Some people might say they want to work, but when they do leave a sheltered workshop, they come back because it is hard out there in the work world. Maybe there are some agencies holding people back who really can work, bagging groceries or doing janitorial work. But there are very good agencies out there who are giving people with significant disabilities an opportunity to earn money because they can't work in the community. Please, please, please consider people with IDD and low IQ and not make this work go away.

I have many regular jobs, but I like my program because it is not as stressful and more understanding. Staff are easy to talk to and you don't have to worry if the place will be staffed. Someone is there.

Regular jobs are a lot harder. Applications are online, and that is not easy. Some people are not understanding in a competitive job. Communication is hard. They don't understand disabilities.

I don't get minimum wage, but it is not worth it. The more work I do, my pay goes up. I am not forced to do anything I can't do. Breaks and hours are better than at another job. I feel like I work more on a team than I ever have. Other jobs don't give you enough time. I think my program is cool and gets people ready for regular jobs, if they want to.

Don't take away 14(c). It would hurt me. I get to be with my friends and make money, too.

Again, this person is pointing out that frequently people in these work centers are working with people with similar abilities, they enjoy being with people with similar abilities, and it is more stressful not being with people with these abilities. So even if other jobs are available, you are sometimes hurting these people, and you should not be telling them what they should be doing.

I work at a 14(c) program. Programs like mine perform a valuable service by offering much-needed alternatives to workplace environments that people with intellectual disabilities may not be totally comfortable with. The staff are much more tolerant and understanding of the difficulties that people with disabilities have versus staff at a CI environment.

Ever since I was a little kid, people such as teachers and relatives have all tried to push

me to be as normal as possible, but with programs like this I can be myself.

I guess I will wrap it up. There are other testimonials that I can read. I will wrap it up by saying that the silent majority has to speak up.

And I would strongly encourage my colleagues to tour the local work centers. It will make them feel better to see how these people are working. It will make them feel better to see the pride that these folks take in a job.

If they talk to them, they will tell them how much they enjoy working in the work center. And then they can ask themselves, if this minimum wage bill passes as is, if the new rules that are proposed in the Department of Education go forward, they will ask themselves, What will become of these folks?

They should feel very guilty when they charge ahead, not paying attention to what the most vulnerable members of society will have happen to them, because people in this institution, or bureaucrats a few buildings away, have decided that they know best what is for people other than themselves and have decided against all common sense that everybody in our society is capable of making \$15 an hour.

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

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. HUDSON (at the request of Mr. MCCARTHY) for today on account of an official visit to Fort Bragg with Vice President MIKE PENCE.

#### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 375. An act to improve efforts to identify and reduce Governmentwide improper payments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

### NOTICE

***Incomplete record of House Proceedings. Except for concluding business which follows.  
House Report 116–125 will be continued in Book II and Book III.***

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, July 18, 2019, at 9 a.m.

#### BUDGETARY EFFECTS OF PAYGO LEGISLATION

Pursuant to the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO), Mr. YARMUTH hereby submits, prior to the vote on passage, for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that H.R. 736, the Access to Congressionally Mandated Reports Act, as amended, would have no significant effect on direct spending or revenues, and therefore, the budgetary effects of such bill are estimated as zero.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1646. A letter from the Chief Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Suspension of Community Eligibility [Docket ID: FEMA-2019-0003] [Internal Agency Docket No.: FEMA-8583] received July 15, 2019, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public