

if he doesn't get the application in very soon, the job will be gone.

Think about the many layers of these stories. The reporting makes clear, as they say, that these are not outliers. These are not unusual cases. "Household income is lower today than before the recession in almost half the counties in Greater Cincinnati."

Greater Cincinnati is partly in Kentucky, represented by Senator MCCONNELL and Senator PAUL, partly in Indiana, represented by Senator YOUNG and our new colleague from Indiana, and much in Ohio, represented by Senator PORTMAN and me.

Poverty is worse in one-third of those counties.

Wages for the poorest workers have barely budged since the recovery began.

And we know it isn't just southwest Ohio. It is the whole State. It is the whole country. It is the same story we see repeated over and over and over in this country. Wall Street recovers, corporations recover, and the wealthiest CEOs recover and then some. They all do better than ever.

Corporations spent more than \$800 billion with a "b"—800,000 million—in stock buybacks last year.

Remember the President's tax bill? I heard him say in his Cabinet Room, every American would get at least a \$4,000 raise. Some Americans would get a \$9,000 raise. He told a group of Senators face-to-face. There would be many more good-paying jobs created. He went to Youngstown, OH, only 1 year ago and said: Don't sell your homes. Stay here. The jobs are going to come back. We are going to build new factories. We are going to repopulate these factories.

Well, on his watch, three shifts of 1,500 people each at Lordstown—a GM plant—and Youngstown have been laid off, it appears, permanently.

The President's tax bill? That money didn't end up in the pockets of the company's workers. Stock buybacks go straight to the pockets of CEOs and other corporate managers who make the decisions about what to do with corporate stock buybacks.

So do you remember I said \$800 billion in stock buybacks last year? For the first time in a decade, corporations spent more on buying back their own stock, meaning taking the money and putting it in their pockets. They spent more money buying back their own stock then they did in long-term capital expenditures and investing in their workers' pay. They took more money for themselves—as if the President didn't know that of his tax cut, between 70 percent and 80 percent went to the richest 1-percent of the people in the country over time. He knew that. I think he knew that.

He also knew that in this tax bill there was a 50-percent-off coupon. If you produce in the United States, you pay a 21-percent corporate tax rate. If you move to Mexico you pay a 10.5-percent corporate tax rate. So what the President did and what the Senate did

is to give a 50-percent-off coupon as a reward for shutting down your production in Lordstown, OH, and moving to Mexico.

Corporations spent more on their stock than investing in long-term capital expenditures and workers, but ordinary Americans—what happened to the people in this story?

As for this story that the Cincinnati Enquirer wrote about and all of the people they interviewed—White, Black, Latino, Asian American, young and old, middle class and people falling out of the middle class, and low-income people who work hard and aspire to the middle class—what happened to them? They got left behind.

We need to change how we think about our economy. It is time for people in this Congress and in the White House to stop measuring the economy in quarterly earnings reports and stock prices.

Who thinks that way? People don't structure their lives thinking about quarterly financial reports. They don't structure their lives thinking of stock prices. People don't think in terms of 3-month earnings quarters. They think in terms of school years. They think in terms of 30-year mortgages. They think in terms of "the number of years left that I have to work before my retirement, and am I going to have enough?" That is the way that people think, but that is who we are here to serve, in South Dakota, Ohio, or anywhere else. We are here to serve workers and here to serve families. We are not here on the Senate Banking Committee to serve Wall Street. We are not here on the Senate Finance Committee or on the floor of the Senate to serve the biggest companies in the country that typically reward us by moving jobs overseas.

We need policies that restructure our economy to recognize that all work has dignity. When work has dignity, everyone can afford healthcare and everyone can afford housing. They have power over their schedules. They have the economic security to start a family, to pay for daycare or college or both, to take time off to care for themselves or their families when they are sick, and they save for their retirement.

The dignity of work fundamentally is about wages. It is about benefits. It is about having power over your own schedule. It is about daycare. It is about saving for retirement. It is about being able to take off to care for a loved one, whether you are raising children or taking care of an aging parent.

When work has dignity, our country has a strong middle class and a prosperous future.

#### PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, last month, the courts once again stepped in and allowed politicians to meddle in women's healthcare. Last month the courts once again stepped in. Unelected judges—unelected, conservative, most-

ly male judges—stepped in and allowed politicians to meddle in women's healthcare. These unelected judges ruled that Ohio can defund Planned Parenthood, limiting healthcare options for tens of thousands of Ohioans.

Planned Parenthood centers just in my State alone provide 70,000 free STD and HIV tests, cancer screenings, domestic violence education, and prenatal care. These clinics—and I have been to a number of them—are often the only places that many women and some men have to turn. Think again about the services they provide. They provide STD and HIV tests. They provide cancer screenings. They provide prenatal care. They provide domestic violence education.

What happens if they can't go to Planned Parenthood because of a political movement? Because of the politicizing of women's health, we see elected officials in Ohio taking away that care. They can't afford care somewhere else or they live too far away from other healthcare providers to have any real options. They turned to Planned Parenthood.

This decision by these judges is devastating for Ohioans. I get letters all the time from Ohioans who rely on Planned Parenthood.

One woman in Cincinnati wrote:

[Planned Parenthood] performed several of my yearly screenings, one of which detected an abnormality that was taken care of early and didn't develop into a major problem. Also, I was able to buy highly effective birth control at a reasonable price and avoid harder choices down the road.

Why would a legislature and a judge want to take that away?

A woman from West Liberty, a conservative community in our State, wrote:

If Planned Parenthood was not available to me as a young woman, I would've had nowhere to turn.

I was comfortable with seeking the help of the kind women and staff at Planned Parenthood. I was young and naive, but at least I knew there was somewhere safe to turn to.

A Columbus woman who wrote from the State's largest city:

At the age of 18, I became a young new mother. Throughout my years as a new mom, struggling to manage financial responsibilities on top of everything else, I used Planned Parenthood for most of my OB needs.

Planned Parenthood not only provided a well-rounded education in which I had received none previously—

That happens so often—but they also provided services that I would not have had access to otherwise.

Another woman from Cincinnati wrote:

I am 42 years old, but when I was a young woman in college I went to a Planned Parenthood clinic to receive my yearly checkups. It was cheap, near my college, and easy to access.

During one of my appointments they shared with me that they had found an irregular pap-smear and that I needed immediate medical attention.

[The doctor] suggested a surgery for an issue she found that may later cause issues

with having children. The doctor was amazing, supportive, and provided me the guidance as a young woman of what to do to ensure I was safe and getting the proper next steps.

Planned Parenthood saved my life.

The animosity coming out of the majority leader's office, the animosity toward Planned Parenthood coming from so many of my colleagues, and so much of the animosity coming out of the White House toward Planned Parenthood just amazes me because this woman said: "Planned Parenthood saved my life."

Think about that.

It is time for old White men in Washington and in courtrooms—and that is usually who they are. They are very affluent, they are generally older men judges, they are generally White, and they are making decisions in courtrooms and dictating decisions that should be made between a woman and her doctor.

That is what this is. This, along with heartbeat bills and all the other bills making their way through the State legislature in my State of Ohio and around the country—they spread lies. They spread disinformation. They are all about the same thing—intimidating women, intimidating doctors, and making it harder for women to get comprehensive healthcare. It is immoral, and it is despicable. I join so many of my colleagues in pledging never to stop fighting to protect women's freedom to make their own healthcare decisions.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I am here for my usual climate speech. The Presiding Officer has seen this increasingly battered poster many times before.

We have had an interesting period in the Senate recently with respect to climate change, and I would like to take a moment to comment on it. Before I do that, I think it is important to kind of frame the backdrop of what is going on and why this matters.

This is the measurement of carbon dioxide levels on Earth. This goes back 400,000 years—no agriculture, no wheel, a long, long time ago. We see, over time, this recurring pattern in which CO<sub>2</sub> levels stay between 180 and 300 ppm. You can go back and people can see that these are—there are temperature shifts that correlate with these CO<sub>2</sub> levels.

We know this—I saw Senator BROWN from Ohio here. We know this because people have gone out—including two scientists from Ohio State. They have gone out to glaciers in the farthest and highest reaches of the planet, and they have drilled out cores of ice that go back tens of hundreds of thousands of years, and they are able to figure out, from the characteristics of the ice of that period, what the CO<sub>2</sub> concentra-

tions were—that and a lot of other data as well. This is very well scientifically established.

It is a little bit hard to see because it gets lost in the 0 year line, but this is what has happened. This is the highest level ever right there—highest historic CO<sub>2</sub> level. We shot up to here. We are actually over 400 ppm, and the range was 180 to 300. Do the math. Between 300 and 180, that is 120 ppm range, and now we are almost, by that full range, out of that range. That is an extraordinary anomaly in the entire history of the species—in fact, before our species.

So the idea that this has all happened before, that the climate is always changing, that is factual and scientific nonsense. Anybody who says that is either uninformed or should be ashamed of themselves because it is not always changing up to 400-plus ppm. It just isn't. We have no experience of that ever.

We do know that as these CO<sub>2</sub> levels go up, the planet warms. We have known that since Abraham Lincoln was President. When Abraham Lincoln was riding around here in his top hat, scientists had begun to understand about greenhouse gases and what that did. So there is nothing new in this. The science is totally established, and this is unprecedented in human history and before.

Here is where it comes home to roost for me. This is a map of the northern part of my State. This is the lower tip of our capital city, Providence. Over here is Bristol and Warren. Here is Warwick. This is Narragansett Bay. This is the top of Prudence Island. Here is the Mount Hope Bay. If you can see, all the parts that you see here as blue, all of that is now land. All of that is now land.

It has people's homes on it. It has people's businesses on it. It has some of our public recreation facilities on it. It is all predicted to disappear by the end of this century if we don't get our hands around this climate change problem. We don't have until the end of the century to stop it because like a giant oil tanker, you can put all engines in reverse, you can shut off engines, it is still going to have a lot of carry because of the momentum that has built up. This, where we are right now, is going to create effects for a long time. We have way less until the end of the century to act. The newest studies say we have about 12 years, if we really want to get ahead of this.

There has been some interesting stuff said on the Senate floor recently. Tell it to the people whose homes are going to be gone. This isn't just a political debate. There are lives, there are people's homes, and there are people's businesses that are at stake.

We had a big appearance by 13 Republican Senators led by the majority leader, and they all came to the Senate floor to make fun of the Green New Deal or at least the Koch brothers' phony cartoon version of the Green New Deal. Out of the 13, 12 mentioned

a fanciful \$93 trillion cost that the Koch brothers have come up with. So basically the purpose was to come to the floor, make fun of the Green New Deal, and pretend it is going to cost \$93 trillion.

Very few could even use the word "climate change." Imagine that. There were 13 Republican Senators coming to the floor to talk about climate change, and all they want to do is make fun of the Green New Deal, mock it, pretend it is going to cost \$93 trillion, and then go away as if these people's homes didn't matter and as if this weren't serious to people who are looking at this.

The news report that I have just seen on the \$93 trillion says this:

When it comes to the \$93 trillion estimate for the Green New Deal, created by its critics, the answer is found in a network of interlinked groups: a think tank, its political arm and a super political action committee. Add a web of secret donors, and eager lawmakers—

The 13 of them—

and you have the blurry outlines of an echo chamber that propels an unverified claim into the orbit of Washington politics.

I am sure that is all good fun, but this is pretty serious, from my point of view. It actually got worse after that. A Senator from Utah came to the floor with a lot of jokes about rocket launchers, velociraptors, tauntauns, and 20-foot seahorses carrying Aquaman around.

By the way, if you are looking at having your constituents' homes disappear underwater, jokes about Aquaman are not funny, not funny at all. Train seahorses—give me a break—jokes about cows.

"Critics," he said, "will chastise me for not taking climate change seriously." Well, yes, I am here to do exactly that because it is darn serious to most everybody and particularly to my home State. So jokes about Sharknados just—I would say this: You might disagree with me about climate change, and you might not want to do anything about climate change, but, by God, I think if there is one thing we owe each other in this body, it is sincerity, and to come to the floor with an insincere bill that is designed to fail is demeaning to the whole body. To come to the floor and make jokes, when our own national scientific agencies are warning of these harms about all of this, it is just fundamentally wrong.

Let me talk about the Senator's home State a little bit because one of the things I have done is paid my colleagues the sincere compliment of going to many of their States to look into what is going on with climate change. Let me review what I have said about Utah because I went there.

What I have learned—I gave a speech before I went in based on research that I did. I gave another speech when I came out based on what I heard in Utah. Going in, I knew the average temperature had already increased 2 full degrees Fahrenheit in parts of Utah. The 2 degrees centigrade we are