

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the measure?

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 132) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of March 28, 2019, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### RECOGNIZING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DENTAL COLLEGE OF GEORGIA AT AUGUSTA UNIVERSITY

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 138, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 138) recognizing the 50th anniversary of The Dental College of Georgia at Augusta University.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the measure?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 138) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### AUTHORIZING THE PRODUCTION OF RECORDS BY THE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 139, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 139) to authorize the production of records by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the measure?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 139) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

#### ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 12:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 3; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, morning business be closed, and the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the Kessler nomination, with the time until 2 p.m. equally divided between the two leaders or their designees; finally, that notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, the cloture motions filed during Monday's session of the Senate ripen at 2 p.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of our Democratic colleagues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

#### THE ECONOMY

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, last week the dedicated journalists at the Cincinnati Enquirer published the first in a series of reports on the Ohioans left behind by the economic recovery. This is a big project that seven reporters, three editors, photographers, and videographers are all working on. They are doing what reporters do best—going behind the headlines about stock market performance and actually talking to people from all walks of life in southwest Ohio, in their circulation area.

When you look beyond the numbers, you see a pretty different story from what this President and his Wall Street

Cabinet like to brag about. These reporters traveled the 80-mile road that stretches from Middletown to Cincinnati and beyond. They talked to teachers and factory workers. They talked to pastors and truckdrivers, people of all ages, and people of all races. Over and over they found the same things. These Ohioans have simply not recovered from the Wall Street recession of a decade ago. They haven't recovered from decades of trade and tax policies that funneled wealth to the richest CEOs and the biggest multinational corporations.

These reporters wrote:

[These workers] may find jobs, but they don't earn the salaries and benefits they once did. They may pay their bills on time, but they're one illness or broken-down car from financial crisis.

Their savings accounts are stretched. Their health and retirement benefits inadequate. They need more than they have.

In other words, their hard work isn't paying off. Listen to some of the stories these reporters tell. They talked to a subcontractor for AK Steel. His employer is renegotiating its contract with the factory.

The authors wrote:

If the contract vanishes, someone will still do the work he does, but that's about the only thing he knows for sure. A new company might fire everyone and hire new drivers or decide to cut his pay.

More and more companies use subcontractors and independent contractors as a way to—as they always put it—"cut labor costs." What they really mean is to pay people less.

Listen to the story of a Mexican immigrant in West Chester Township in Butler County. He is here legally. He has a work permit. He works 60 hours a week to support his family. Do you know what he told reporters?

It's real tight with four kids. . . . I'm not here to take anybody else's jobs or money or benefits. . . . I'm here to work.

Another woman, a cancer survivor, talked to reporters about her crippling medical debt. She had to leave her job because of her condition, and she owes thousands of dollars because of her cancer treatment.

They wrote that "the debt took her car first, then her home of 12 years."

Think about that. The debt took her car first because she got sick and because we don't protect people with pre-existing conditions because of the President's comments and antics and all. They took her car first, and then they took her home of 12 years.

Listen to a story of a man in Middletown. He is trying to get a job, but he can't yet afford a computer or a car. He is applying for a job in an auto parts plant. He has to fill out forms online, and he has to have a drug test. That means trying to figure out how to get to a job counseling center to use a computer. It means trying to get a friend to drive him another 7 miles to the drug testing center.

The competition for a decent-paying job like that is so stiff that he is afraid

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 than 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