

ability to prevail—to prevail—over Russian forces through the summer and the fall. We must continue to provide all of the artillery, the anti-tank, the anti-air weapons, and air defense systems and other capabilities that Ukraine can use to block Russian authoritarianism and support the Ukrainian people. However, regardless of how much support the United States, NATO, and other allies and partners provide, we must remember that nothing we do—nothing we do—is comparable to the awesome sacrifice for freedom and democracy that Ukrainians are now making every day when they give their lives—they give their lives in this war—and have their own families shattered in the process.

They are upholding—the people of Ukraine, those brave fighters on the battlefield every day, every week, every month now, those Ukrainians are upholding democracy, not just for themselves, not just for our country, but for the entire free world.

There are, of course, other consequences to this war. The war has already driven over 13 million Ukrainians from their homes. These Ukrainians, who are either refugees going to another country or internally displaced within Ukraine but are outside of their homes, that number is equal to the entire population—roughly equivalent, 13 million, to the entire population of my home State of Pennsylvania. Just imagine that, 13 million people being displaced. And, unfortunately, it doesn't seem like that will be the end.

So I want to commend the European Union and Ukrainian neighbors in the region for their warm welcome to such an unprecedented refugee flow from Ukraine. Now, recently, just two weeks ago, traveling through Italy, Georgia, and France, I saw everyday Italians, Georgians, Frenchmen and Frenchwomen opening their hearts and their homes to Ukrainian refugees, not to mention the people of Poland, who have done so much, and so many others.

Just one example, in Italy, faith-based nonprofits like Sant'Egidio that we had time to meet with on our trip have led the way in providing support to those in need.

I also commend the administration's work to support these refugees across Europe and those remaining in Ukraine, much of that work funded by part of the \$13.6 billion that Congress appropriated in March.

FOOD SECURITY

Mr. President, let me move to another topic, but it is directly related to what we just talked about: food security. Our work on the overall strategy, as it relates to the people of Ukraine and protecting democracy, is far from complete.

The world has not yet felt the full effect—the full brunt—of the global effects of Mr. Putin's unprovoked, unlawful, and certainly unjustified war. While millions of Ukrainians have already become refugees, or internally

displaced people, there are food shortages in more than one-third of the country. By the end of the year, tens of millions across the globe also will face immediate danger from hunger.

So this is a crisis for the people of Ukraine on a whole host of fronts, obviously, but it is also a food security crisis for the world at the same time.

The reason for that immediate danger that people face right now being unable to find the food that they need to survive is because of this invasion, as well as, obviously, the terrible impact the pandemic has had.

As a breadbasket of the world, before the war, Ukraine fed over 400 million people across the globe, and the greater Black Sea area exported more than 12 percent of the food calories that are traded worldwide. The war has cut off, cut off, these supplies while also raising fuel and transportation costs.

There is less food to go around, and it costs more to get food to those who need it the most.

This comes on top of the COVID-19 pandemic, as I mentioned, which increased hunger and complicated supply chains and climate change effects like severe droughts and floods.

It also costs more to grow food, as Russia previously dominated the world's fertilizer markets. Today, both food and fertilizer prices have skyrocketed to higher than ever before, and the World Food Programme estimates that 878 million people across 92 countries of the world do not have adequate food on their table—878 million people.

Over 276 million people now face acute food insecurity, meaning that they are in immediate danger of not being able to find their next meal. So they are the ones in the most trouble right now all across the world—276 million. It is not all the folks who are hungry and have a food security crisis but those who are in immediate danger.

Due to Putin's horrific war, by the end of 2022, another 47 million people will likely face those same dangers—47 million people. That will mean that around the world, almost as many people as live in the entire United States will face immediate danger from hunger. Most of these people live outside of Ukraine in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, where any further price shock may put entire communities at risk.

I see the distinguished majority leader. Does he want me to suspend?

I yield the floor.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

U.S. SUPREME COURT

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I thank the always gracious, always thoughtful, always perspicacious, always persistent—and many other good adjectives—Senator from Pennsylvania for yielding.

Now, Mr. President, there is only one way—only one way—to describe the

Supreme Court's reported decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*: an abomination.

Such a decision, if it comes to pass, would be an utter abomination. Women across America would suffer irreparable harm to their rights, their health, and their dignity. It would go down as one of the worst and most damaging opinions that the Court has handed down in modern history, and the Court would suffer a mortal blow to its reputation that I fear will last forever.

Yesterday, I pledged that Senate Democrats will act on legislation to codify *Roe* into law. It is vital that we act quickly because this is no longer an abstract exercise. This is as real as it gets, America—as real as it gets.

Every single American is going to see where every single Senator stands on protecting a woman's right to choose. And rest assured, Americans will be watching.

Now, we must be clear. This week's draft decision didn't come out of nowhere. It didn't materialize in a vacuum. Indeed, the blame for the end of *Roe* lies primarily right across the aisle here with Senate Republicans.

The Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe* would never have been possible without Leader MCCONNELL and Senate Republicans spending years packing our courts with hard-right judges, judges who came from a list under the Trump years that the Federalist Society approved. And the Federalist Society's purpose, when it was put into action, from what I have read, is to repeal *Roe*. And the Republicans on this side of the aisle, right there, were willing—willing—accomplices in that deed.

Let me say it again. The Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe* would have never been possible without Leader MCCONNELL and Senate Republicans spending years packing our courts with hard-right judges.

Now, Republicans are twisting themselves into pretzels, trying to distract from this truth. Yesterday, Leader MCCONNELL said that the real story was somehow the leaks and not the end of *Roe*.

Can you believe that? The leaks are more important than the rights of 100 million American women? Give me a break.

And when Leader MCCONNELL evidently was asked at his press conference yesterday: Are you glad *Roe* would be repealed, he wouldn't even answer that, even though he had worked years to do it, because they know where history is going. They know where the American people are. They know they are on the wrong side of both so they are trying to “low key” it.

Republicans have spent decades trying to achieve the end of *Roe*, and now that they are about to succeed, they are flailing around, talking about a leak instead of owning up to their own actions. We won't let them. We know, all of us, why Republicans are spending

all their focus on the leak. It is because they don't want to focus on Roe, where, again, they are on the wrong side of history and the wrong side of the American people.

Their hypocrisy and refusal to own this decision is utterly shameful. The end of a constitutional right to choose is not some small or inconsequential subject; it is huge. It touches on one of the most personal, most private, most important decisions a woman can make regarding her body.

So it is worth saying again: Without Senate Republicans working years to pack our courts, without them changing the rules of the Senate to confirm three ideological Justices, Roe would not—would not—be on the brink of being overturned.

And don't take my word for it. Leader McCONNELL himself expected and hoped for this outcome. When asked in 2019 what confirming President Trump's Justices meant for the anti-abortion movement, he said:

There are a number of [States] who have enacted new legislation [that] would be winding its way up through the courts and [it] gives us an opportunity to begin to pick away at Roe v. Wade.

“Pick away at Roe v. Wade.”

So what the Court did was not an aberration; it was a plan, a plan by Senate Republicans, a plan by Leader McCONNELL.

Senate Republicans spent years rubberstamping one radical Trump judge after another onto the Federal bench in order to “pick away at Roe.”

Many of these judges were wildly unqualified. Many of them were out of step—far out of step—from the American mainstream.

What is more, every single Republican also changed Senate rules to confirm not one, not two, but three Trump Justices to the U.S. Supreme Court, assuring a 6-to-3 conservative majority. Some of these Justices lied to the Senate by misrepresenting their views on respecting precedent when it came to decisions like Roe.

And, of course, after the death of Justice Scalia, Leader McCONNELL took the unprecedented and truly destructive step of preventing the Senate from considering the nomination of Merrick Garland.

So nobody here should be fooled. Nobody in America should be fooled. The Republican leader might not say it, but the end of Roe is a culmination of actions taken by the Republican leader and the Republican Party writ large to skew our courts with hard-right, ideological, vehemently anti-choice judges.

And now that they are close to succeeding, they can't even bring themselves to own up to their own actions because they know—they know—just how strongly the American people oppose restricting the right to choose.

But this is not the end of the story. Republicans cannot hide from the American people and cannot hide their role in bringing Roe to an end. They will have to answer to the people this

month, this year, and especially this November, when American voters go to the polls. And we are going to vote here in the Senate to make clear where every single Member stands on the right to choose.

Few issues—few issues—are as personal, as private, and as important to Americans as whether or not to have an abortion. The Nation will be watching to see who in this Chamber will defend this precious right to choose and who will stand with the Roberts Court to destroy this right in one fell swoop.

BUSINESS BEFORE THE SENATE

Mr. President, now, on another subject—on a very different subject—to-night, the Senate—or, this afternoon, the Senate will begin holding votes on as many as 28 motions to instruct before the conference committee begins the work of finalizing our jobs and competition bill.

Twenty of those motions to instruct come from Republicans, a sign of the immense good faith Democrats have shown Republicans in getting this bill over the finish line.

For the information of all Members, we are going to be voting late into the night to get through as many of the motions to instruct as we can. I ask Members to vote quickly, to stay near the floor, so we can keep the process moving smoothly and as quickly as we can on the floor of the Senate.

Once again, I thank my dear colleague from Pennsylvania for yielding. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

FOOD SECURITY

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader.

I will resume my comments about food security.

As I mentioned earlier, across the world now, we not only have 276 million people who now face acute food insecurity—as I said, meaning that they are in immediate danger of not being able to find their next meal—but what is ahead is an exacerbation of that problem. Another 47 million people will likely face these same dangers by the end of this year.

So a food security problem, which was a substantial problem before the pandemic, made ever worse by the pandemic, has gotten much worse because of the war in Ukraine—all caused by an attack on a sovereign country by a brutal dictator, Mr. Putin.

So this is one of the many reasons why this war in Ukraine—or why all of us, I should say, across the free world have a stake in what happens in Ukraine.

I wanted to also highlight what the United States is doing in the midst of this terrible food insecurity crisis.

We can't afford to forget and should not forget about the tens of millions who are struggling to survive as a result of this invasion. To feed all of those in need, the World Food Programme, which does such good work all across the globe—goes into conflict

zones to provide food to people—that program estimates it will take more than \$18 billion.

The United States must not share this burden alone, but if we don't lead the way, no one will. That is true in so many instances. It is true with regard to the President's leadership against Mr. Putin by helping the people of Ukraine; it is also true in terms of American leadership on food security.

President Biden's request for \$33 billion for all aspects of the challenge in Ukraine doesn't include enough, in my judgment. It includes \$1.6 billion for food security and humanitarian assistance. Now, that sounds like a lot of money, but it is not enough to meet the moment.

And despite my consistent urging, Congress has appropriated flat funding for the U.S. food security program, Feed the Future, over the last 10 years. Adjusting for inflation, the program has been cut by almost a third of its total programming, from almost \$1.5 billion in today's dollars to just over \$1 billion.

So, today, we face the same global food crisis which the Feed the Future Program was originally created to address after the 2008 recession. So after a recession, we had a global food security challenge, and now after a pandemic, and exacerbated by the war in Ukraine, we have potentially an even greater challenge.

So we must again rise to the challenge. When I say “we,” I mean the U.S. Government, the Congress, the branch of our government that appropriates money, has to rise to the challenge by providing the resources that are necessary to feed those who face famine—not just missing a meal here and there, famine itself.

We have got to support these smallholder farmers, who are the backbone of the world's food supply, and sustainably strengthen food systems to protect against the next war, the next pandemic, the next drought, or the next flood.

So that is why I am leading a letter to appropriators urging robust funding of all—all—global food security accounts in the fiscal year 2023 budget, specifically calling for an almost \$200 million increase just for the Feed the Future Program, not to mention those other global food security programs and accounts.

This funding will only put a dent in the growing food security crisis, but it will inspire our allies and our partners to follow us. America leads the world in so many ways, and, fortunately, most of the time on food security we have led the world as well.

We need to do that again. We need to lay the groundwork for a more secure food future and save tens and tens of thousands of lives—potentially a lot more than that—in the immediate future.

NATIONAL CRITICAL CAPABILITIES DEFENSE ACT

Mr. President, I will move to one final topic before I conclude. This is a