

upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's actions.

The Senator from Michigan.

ABORTION

Ms. STABENOW. Madam President, I rise today to speak on behalf of American women, our fundamental rights, and our freedom to make our own healthcare decisions.

It is shocking that in this day and age that we have to actually stand up and fight for something as basic as making our own reproductive health decisions, not a bunch of politicians, not a bunch of judges but women making our own healthcare decisions.

Thanks to a radically conservative Supreme Court that we now have, reproductive freedom is no longer a constitutional right in the United States of America—no longer a constitutional right in the United States of America after 50 years.

Today's daughters and granddaughters have fewer freedoms than their grandmothers did, and, for the record, we are furious. Want to know just how furious? Well, in Michigan, our State could soon revert back to a 1931 law that makes abortion at any stage a felony—no exceptions for rape or incest; putting people in jail, potentially; women going to jail; doctors going to jail. Who knows how far this would go?

Well, the people of Michigan aren't going to stand for that, and a group called Reproductive Freedom for All has gotten to work. These passionate advocates and volunteers from all across Michigan—west side, east side, up north, down south in Michigan—have collected more than 750,000 signatures to put reproductive freedom on the ballot for Michigan women this November.

It is the most signatures ever collected for a ballot measure in Michigan, twice as many as is actually needed to put the ballot proposal on the November ballot—the most ever. Madam President, 750,000 people have come forward to sign petitions to give them the right to vote, to protect their reproductive freedoms. So our freedoms are on the ballot in November.

Now, we also know that we have to continue to do everything we can right now, both at the State level and the Federal level, because waiting isn't an option. Women's lives and people's livelihoods are on the line today, and it has revealed a stark contrast when we look at the actions that are being taken or not taken.

Democrats are standing with women to protect our reproductive freedoms. As of June 1, Democrats in five States have already enacted laws—new laws—protecting access to legal abortion, and 62 pieces of legislation have been introduced in 17 States across America to protect reproductive freedom. Vermont, California, and Arizona have joined Michigan in pursuing ballot initiatives to enshrine reproductive freedom in their State constitutions.

So men and women will have the opportunity there, the freedom to vote to protect their reproductive freedoms. Democratic Governors have issued executive orders and taken other actions to protect access to reproductive healthcare. The Biden administration signed an Executive order directing Agencies to protect access to medical care and is providing legal support to patients and healthcare providers.

Meanwhile, Republicans are doing everything they can—everything they can—to stand in the way of women who are simply trying to access basic healthcare—basic healthcare, what is best for them, with their own faith, their own family, the counsel of their doctors, the capacity for women to make their own decisions, again, not a bunch of politicians, not a bunch of judges. It is the United States of America. This is not about what decisions are made; it is about who makes them: the government or women.

Now, Republicans are saying the government at every level. Fifteen States have already banned abortion, and several more are expected to follow soon. A clinic in Cleveland, OH, a State where care has been severely restricted, is now sending its patients to Detroit.

These women have to drive 2½ hours, at least, to receive basic healthcare. And now some people want to take away their car keys. And to be clear, Republicans—Republican elected officials—want to take away their car keys.

Republican lawmakers in some States are pursuing legislation to prevent people from traveling to another State to receive reproductive healthcare. In America, people are being banned from driving to another State to be able to get the healthcare that they need, oftentimes, in very serious emergency situations, tragedies.

Think about that for a moment. Republicans, who fancy themselves the party of freedom, are trying to pass laws that would prevent an Ohio woman from driving to Michigan for healthcare in America.

The Freedom to Travel for Healthcare Act introduced by my friend Senator CORTEZ MASTO would have protected that right. It would protect that right, and last week we tried to pass it.

Unfortunately, my Republican colleagues have blocked it, but we will keep trying. We will keep doing everything we can to get enough people who are pro-choice, who respect privacy, respect women in this Chamber to be able to make that happen.

So, this week, we are trying a different approach to protect people's reproductive freedom. Senator SMITH and Senator MURRAY have introduced legislation that I am pleased to cosponsor as well. It would provide \$550 million a year in permanent funding for title X family planning programs.

Now, let me remind everyone that title X funding can't be used to provide

abortion. This is about basic healthcare, yearly Pap smears, OB/GYN visits, and the capacity to work with a clinic to get the basic care that you need and the basic birth control that you need.

It prevents unplanned pregnancies in the first place by providing affordable birth control and other reproductive healthcare to people who need it. We should all be able to come together. Given my colleagues across the aisle and how passionate they are about preventing abortions, I expect that they will eagerly support this commonsense bill when, in the next couple of days, a motion is made to pass it.

Birth control is basic healthcare. We shouldn't need to be here defending something that nearly 90 percent of American women use at some point in their lives. But we saw what happened to Roe, and we have since seen how eager Republicans at all levels are to constrain reproductive freedom. So here we are.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation coming before us this week. Democrats are standing with women. We respect women. We understand that women need to make their own decisions, and Democrats understand that this is about freedom—the freedom to decide for ourselves, in whatever circumstance that we are in, whatever tragedy, whatever is happening that women need to be able to make our own basic healthcare decisions and not have the government coming in to regulate what is happening for women.

So it is time for Republicans to join us on this legislation, basic legislation on title X that will ensure that there is support for basic reproductive healthcare. Again, we are talking about annual visits. We are talking about OB/GYN visits for women. We are talking about basic birth control. I certainly hope that my Republican colleagues are not going to say no to basic healthcare, reproductive healthcare for women.

I hope Republican colleagues will join us.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

CHIPS ACT

Mr. PORTMAN. Madam President, I come to the floor of the Senate today because we are poised to begin consideration of a really important piece of legislation. It is a plan to make America more competitive with China and a plan to bring good jobs back to America. I am talking about the bipartisan CHIPS Act, which includes reshoring semiconductor manufacturing to America and giving American workers and American companies the tools they need to compete and win.

Let me give some background on why this legislation is so badly needed. U.S. dominance in what is called semiconductor manufacturing has dwindled for decades, and it is an economic and a national security concern. The U.S. has always led the world in chip design. We

came up with this technology, but our share of the global chip manufacturing capacity over the past 30 years has gone from about 37 percent down to less than 12 percent today.

As a result, we rely more and more on foreign countries for these essential chips; and in the past few years, the supply chain has not been reliable. You know that if you tried to buy a car recently—maybe even a washing machine—that you had to wait forever. Why? Because of the lack of semiconductors. These chips are just not available.

We have all come to learn in recent years that semiconductors are the building blocks of everything—automobiles, cell phones, computers, household appliances, medical equipment, but also military systems and weaponry like the F-35. And in a more digital economy, by the way, that demand for these semiconductors, these chips, will only continue to grow.

Last year, this lack of semiconductors caused an estimated loss of \$240 billion to the U.S. gross domestic product. So a \$250-billion hit to our economy, according to the Department of Commerce, last year just because of these supply chain issues with semiconductors.

This is more complicated by the key role that our adversaries play in the production of these semiconductors and the fact that we rely on some very vulnerable nations for critical components of the supply chain. Neon gas, which is critical for the laser imprinting of the chips, comes largely from Ukraine. Taiwan is the No. 1 semiconductor fabricator in the world. By the way, 90 percent of the high-end chips are made in Taiwan; none are made here in America anymore—90 percent. Of course, Taiwan's proximity to China and the constant threat of invasion by China adds to the urgency of diversifying the semiconductor supply chain.

By incentivizing companies to make these critical components here in America, we can make our supply chains more resilient; we can protect our national security; and we can boost economies all across the country. That is why the CHIPS Act is so important and why we have been working in a bipartisan fashion in Congress through legislation like this and the broader USICA legislation.

This legislation would work to improve our Nation's competitiveness, generally, in technology, foreign relations and national security, domestic manufacturing, education, trade, and other matters. The CHIPS Act specifically would bring \$52 billion in Federal investments for domestic semiconductor research, design, and manufacturing.

This broader bill, the so-called USICA bill, last June passed this Senate with an overwhelming bipartisan vote. We had hoped that the House would simply pass the Senate approved bill because it was already bipartisan. It had been worked out with Democrats

and Republicans here in the Senate. Nineteen Republicans supported it; all 50 Democrat Senators supported it; the White House supported it.

Instead, the House sat on it. It took them almost a year—11 months—to pass their bill. But when they passed it, it was filled with all sorts of unrelated items that no Republican could support. That is why this has gone so slowly.

So earlier this summer, we began conferencing the House- and the Senate-passed bills, trying to find that common ground between the two bills. We made some progress, but both Chambers have yet to agree on a final product.

Meanwhile, there is an urgency to get this done because it is critical to the decisions that employers are making right now to create and bring semiconductor manufacturing factories and jobs to America or to some other country.

In January, Intel announced its plan to build a \$20 billion site consisting of two semiconductor fabs in the United States and in my home State of Ohio. This is the largest investment in Ohio's history, by far. It comes with a grand total of, again, \$20 billion, two fabs; and we hope that is just a start.

Intel has said time and time again that if the CHIPS Act funding is enacted, this will move forward and move forward quickly. They have also said that if the CHIPS Act moves forward, it could be extended—the \$20 billion—to an up to \$100-billion investment in Ohio. Remember, the \$20 billion is hardly historic. That is because it would continue to build fabs—not just 2, but up to 10. This 3,000-acre site in Ohio could be home to up to eight additional fabs and make central Ohio the silicon heartland. This would be great for my State, great for our region, and great for our country.

This initial investment, by the way, would create about 10,000 good-paying jobs—3,000 on-site eventually, all good-paying, high-paying jobs, good benefits; but also 7,000 good-paying construction jobs in putting it together, tens of thousands of additional electrical, engineering, supplier, restaurant, housing, healthcare, and entertainment jobs to support the region as it expands thanks to this investment. The suppliers alone will be tens of thousands of new jobs.

Ohio has already projected that this investment will add \$2.8 billion to the State's GDP, and that is just a start. Investments, like what is in front of us in Ohio, by the way—as well as similar efforts in Arizona where the Presiding Officer is from, Texas where my colleague Senator CORNYN is from who is here on the floor with us today—are all perfect demonstrations of what this investment in semiconductors incentives can mean to American workers and American companies.

China has committed a lot more than we are talking about as have, by the way, a lot of other countries. This is

not a free market situation. One of my colleagues today asked me about, Shouldn't we just let the market decide? Well, if the market decides and China is offering \$150 billion—which they are, over the next 10 years—when Europe has its own equivalent legislation to ours and is offering tens of billions of euros, or when South Korea or when Japan or when Taiwan are offering these huge incentives, it is very difficult to see us being able to bring these chips back to America—where costs are a little higher—and be able to be competitive. And we need that to happen for our domestic economy, but also our national security.

If we fail to act, we are going to miss a key opportunity here to boost our competitive edge as a nation because these fabs will go elsewhere.

I would also like to see us include some of the other key pieces of the broader Senate passed USICA bill that was passed on a bipartisan basis—again, 19 of us supported that here on the Republican side. That includes critical new investments in research but also key protections to be sure that that research is not stolen by foreign governments, such as China.

We have got to remember that the overall goal of this effort is to improve our country's competitiveness, especially with regard to China. To do that, we must not only invest in research and innovation, which I strongly support, but we must protect that taxpayer-funded research and intellectual property from being taken by our competitors like China and used against us. I believe, given current realities, without such protections, any bill with significant increased levels of Federal funding for research would be a huge giveaway to Beijing. Why do I say that? Because I have worked on this issue for the past 4 years. We have investigated it; we have held hearings; we have passed legislation.

Recently, FBI Director Wray said it well:

The biggest threat we face as a country from a counterintelligence perspective is from the People's Republic of China and, especially, the Chinese Communist Party. They are targeting our innovation, our trade secrets, our intellectual property on a scale that is unprecedented in history.

That is the Director of the FBI. Senator CARPER on the other side of the aisle and I introduced what is called the Safeguarding American Innovation Act and insisted that it be included in the USICA legislation in order for us to support it. That was my condition for supporting the broader USICA bill. This came after we did a yearlong study with the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations that found, shockingly, how China had used what are called talent programs for two decades—two decades—to target the most promising taxpayer paid research and researchers and to take that technology, that intellectual property, back to China.

We found that the American taxpayers had been unwittingly funding

the rise of China's military and economy over the past two decades, while the Federal Government had done very little to nothing to stop it. In fact, when the FBI testified at our hearing, they acknowledged that. They said, We haven't been focused on this in the past couple of decades like we should have been; we are going to now.

And they started to. They started to make arrests—and you probably heard about some of these—arresting scientists all over the country, who are abusing our lax attitude toward protecting research by taking research back to China and using it, often, against us.

This legislation goes directly to the root of the problem. It makes it punishable by law to knowingly fail to disclose foreign funding on Federal grant applications. That is not a law now. The FBI has asked us for that law. It requires the executive branch to streamline and coordinate grant-making between the Federal agencies so there is continuity, accountability, and coordination. That does not happen now. It is too wide open. It is not coordinated.

It allows the State Department to deny visas to foreign researchers who are coming to the United States to exploit the openness of our research enterprise, and it requires research institutions and universities to do much more, including telling the State Department whether a foreign researcher will have access to export-controlled technologies.

We have worked on this legislation, again, for the past few years. We have made lots of compromises and concessions with people who had potential concerns about it. We have come up with legislation that is bipartisan and makes sense. It has already passed, again, with an overwhelming margin here in the U.S. Senate. I want to be sure, before we spend billions of dollars more in Federal research, which is being proposed, including to the National Science Foundation, that that research can be protected. Who could be against that? Who could be for China being able to have better access to this information? Nobody.

Again, a vital component of any competitiveness bill is this commonsense, extensively negotiated bipartisan bill, which is already included in the Homeland Security title of USICA.

I can't express enough the importance of passing this legislation, and it should be done on a bipartisan basis because it has been done before. It just makes sense.

The broader USICA bill and the chips bill are both important. To pass the chips legislation is critical right now; it is urgent. And then what we can pass in terms of USICA is also important. Again, if we are putting more money into research, which is being proposed and which I support, it has to be protected. That is pretty simple and common sense. There is no perfect bill, but this bill will help keep America's econ-

omy competitive. It will help keep American jobs here and grow new jobs, good-paying jobs with good benefits. We should pass this legislation, get it through the House, and take it to the President's desk for signature. I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting its passage.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, I want to express my gratitude to the Senator from Ohio for his excellent remarks and for his support getting us to the point we are today, which is on the cusp of a historic accomplishment—and that is to make sure that the supply lines of advanced semiconductors remains available to American businesses and, even more importantly, to our national security.

Now, 2 years ago, Senator WARNER, the senior Senator from Vermont, and I introduced the CHIPS for America Act. It has been a long, strange trip till today.

I daresay at the time we introduced the bill, there were many people who didn't know the difference between chocolate chips and microchips. Frankly, that is an exaggeration, but the point is that most people are really unaware of the dependency of our economy and our national security and, frankly, just the quality of our life on access to these microcircuits known as semiconductors. And over time, the semiconductor manufacturers have been able to make them smaller and smaller and more and more powerful until your cell phone, which is essentially a minicomputer, contains thousands of these microchips. Again, whether you are talking about a laptop computer or a new car or a washing machine or just some desktop computer, all of them depend on access to these semiconductors.

As I said, Senator WARNER and I introduced the bipartisan CHIPS for America Act 2 years ago. Eighteen months ago, this legislation became law; that was as part of the National Defense Authorization Act. Thirteen months ago, the U.S. Senate passed a bipartisan bill to fund the program. Unfortunately, as the Senator from Ohio mentioned, the House failed to respond to the bipartisan USICA, the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act, and sent over a partisan bill, which has delayed our consideration of this important legislation unnecessarily.

Today, I am optimistic that the Senate will follow up on its commitment to enact this chips funding into law before we break for the August recess. This afternoon we will take a procedural vote to kick-start consideration of the legislation. Of course, as we lead up to this important vote in debate, many of us have been talking about the size and shape of the bill on both sides of the aisle. And there is still some things that need to be decided, and the fate of the bill is not yet secure. Being the majority leader, Senator SCHUMER

will ultimately be the one to determine what the size and shape of the bill will look like, but I am encouraged by where we stand.

This bill will not, however, be the Senate's U.S. Innovation and Competition Act or the USICA bill or the House's massive partisan America COMPETES Act. This will be a far more narrow bill that focuses on the core issue of semiconductor manufacturing. Semiconductor manufacturing is, as I said, the key to our economy and our national security. As it turns out, most of the manufacturing capacity has been built overseas, primarily in Asia, because it is significantly cheaper to build those manufacturing facilities there rather than here. I am not opposed to additional Commerce provisions, for example—that have already been voted on as part of USICA—being included, but anything else that is included by Senator SCHUMER must be bipartisan, and those decisions have to be made very quickly. The time for voting on this bill should not be delayed any further.

Over the last three decades, the United States has gone from making 37 percent of these microcircuits, or semiconductors—37 percent—to only about 12 percent now. When you look at the most advanced chips, the smallest and the most powerful, none of these are made in the United States—none. Now, Taiwan's Semiconductor, located in Taipei, Taiwan, has a great business model: American companies design the chips, and they make them. As I said, it is cheaper to make them in Asia than it is here in America, but post-COVID we have come to realize the vulnerability of our supply chains for virtually everything.

When you look at our dependency on the supply chain of these advanced chips and what it might mean to our country, well, it is shocking. The CEO of Micron, out of Idaho, has said there is a 35- to 45-percent cost gap between domestic and overseas production. Now, if you are talking about making toys or something like that or furniture items, it is great to have a cheaper alternative where that product is manufactured overseas rather than here in America. That is good for consumers as it makes things a lot more affordable, but when you are talking about a sole source for the most advanced semiconductors, that goes from being a convenience to a nightmare, and, of course, during the pandemic, we experienced a number of supply chain vulnerabilities. Now, as the economy around the world continues to expand, anybody who has tried to buy a car, a dishwasher, or a computer over the last couple of years has likely been impacted with higher costs or long delays or both.

As a matter of fact, due to the shortages of supply, that has necessarily driven the costs higher, which has further exacerbated inflation, but there is an even more important reason to get this bill done.

The chip shortage and our lack of domestic manufacturing capability is a huge national security risk. That is why the Secretaries of the Departments of Defense and Commerce sent a letter to Congress a few weeks ago, saying very clearly:

Funding the CHIPS Act is critical to our national defense.

That is why the Republican-led Senate passed the original bill and helped it become law during the previous administration. That is why I hope the current Congress will fund it with today's vote—or with, actually, this week's vote.

Whether it is advanced fighters, the fifth-generation stealth strike fighter, like the F-35; whether we are talking about quantum computing, the next generation of computing; or whether we are talking about missile defense systems or the Stinger or Javelin missiles that we have exported to Ukraine for them to defend themselves against Russian aggression, all of them depend on semiconductors. As a matter of fact, a single rocket interceptor used in Israel's Iron Dome, for example, contains more than 750 chips. An overreliance on other countries to produce the key components to our most vital defense assets is a huge and unacceptable risk.

As I said, that is why Senator WARNER and I initially introduced the bill in June of 2020 and why it has received such strong bipartisan support.

Building a new foundry—or “fab” as they are sometimes called—is a huge undertaking and requires a massive investment. A single foundry can cost upward of \$10 to \$20 billion—\$10 to \$20 billion. Without some level of support from the government, these investments simply won't materialize, at least not in America. Other governments, as you have heard, have made similar investments in semiconductor manufacturing in trying to make sure that their supply chains are not vulnerable. Countries like China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Germany, and a number of others have included an over-\$100 billion pledge to boost semiconductor manufacturing in the European Union alone. The United States simply cannot get left behind, and we can't keep dragging our feet.

It doesn't just take a lot of money to get these foundries up and running; it also takes time. Last year, I hosted a roundtable in Dallas, TX, to talk about the impact of the chip shortage with industry leaders. During our conversation, a Qorvo executive talked about how it can take years to receive all of the high-functioning equipment that is necessary to make semiconductors. That is why there has been such a big push in Congress to get this funding out the door.

Chip makers who have to make decisions about where and when to build their next manufacturing facilities need to know that these incentives are available for them to build those foundries here in America, and the win-

dow of that decision-making process is closing rapidly. If it closes—if we continue to drag our feet and not fund the chips bill—they are going to pull their investments from new or expanded foundries in the United States and take them overseas. This isn't just a “Chicken Little” claim. Companies have put out the warning call, and I believe them.

One company called GlobalWafers is planning to build a new silicon wafer factory in Sherman, TX, which would create up to 1,500 new jobs and produce 1.2 million wafers a month. Silicon wafers are an essential component of semiconductors. Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo said that the CEO told her that their plan to build this factory in Sherman, TX, is contingent on Congress passing the CHIPS Act. Unless the funding is approved by the August recess, which is rapidly approaching, the company will scrap its plans for that facility.

As you heard from our colleague from Ohio, the CEO of Intel expressed a similar sentiment for a planned Ohio facility. He said the company would expand chip production in Europe instead of in America if Congress fails to pass this funding.

Another company, NXP Semiconductors, is weighing new investments too. It is looking at expanding one of its factories in Austin, TX—a project that would cost, roughly, \$2.6 billion. The company is planning to decide later this year whether to move forward with that investment or to take that investment to Europe or Asia.

In other words, there are real consequences on the line. If Congress passes this chips funding act in the coming days, we can shore up this domestic supply chain vulnerability, bring good jobs back to America, and protect our economic and national security, but if we fail to act or if we fail to act with dispatch, all of those benefits will evaporate, and all of those dangers will become our worst nightmare. Instead of here in America, those benefits from building those fabs will rain down on communities on the other side of the planet instead of here at home.

It has been more than a year and a half since the CHIPS Act became law, and we simply cannot afford to wait any longer. Every day that goes by creates additional risks. Unless Congress gets this job done in the coming days, these companies will simply go elsewhere.

Chips funding will help secure our most critical supply chains. It will create thousands of well-paying jobs and boost our global competitiveness by providing made-in-America chips to our friends and allies around the world. So we have a big opportunity ahead of us but big risks in not acting as well, and success, I believe, is our only option.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TESTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REMEMBERING DAVID BELCHER

Mr. TESTER. Madam President, I come to the floor today to speak of a person who took his own life. It was either on Thursday or Friday of last week. It happens far too often.

This guy was an Army veteran. His name was Dave Belcher, and I had known Dave for 30 years. Dave worked at White Refrigeration as a salesman. I bought TVs from him in the early nineties. I bought the first front-loading washer from him and a refrigerator. He was just a great guy—just a great guy—but he had a challenge. His challenge was that he served his country, and because of that service to this country, he ended up with something that we talk about on this floor a lot. It is called post-traumatic stress disorder, PTSD. And because of that PTSD, Dave, not to my knowledge at the time when I first met him, but he was fighting demons, and he fought demons throughout his life. There were issues of depression and guilt that he just couldn't overcome and in the end, probably some paranoia involved, but he ended up taking his own life.

I think to myself, back when I first met Dave 30 years ago, how this guy was as normal as anybody you would ever meet. He is not somebody you would look at and say: You know, he has got a bunch of problems. He is not somebody who you could predict, 30 years after the fact, that he would have taken his own life, but that is what happened.

It happens far too often. In fact, it happens 22 times a day to our veterans in this country. This time, it happened to somebody whom I considered a friend—not somebody I saw a lot, but he is somebody who I knew had his struggles in the end. He went through veterans court. He was one of the first graduates of the veterans court and was somebody who did his best to try to get his life turned around, but it didn't happen. The demons got him.

I just wanted to come to the floor today to say: Dave, you and all your friends who have served this country have people in the Senate, people in Congress who fight for you every day.

For those folks who are watching this, who can relate to what I am saying, if you have an issue, please get ahold of somebody who can help you, like a mental healthcare professional out there, because mental health can be fixed. All you need to do is get the tools to be able to deal with it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 3770

Mr. LEE. Madam President, we have broken another record. Unfortunately, it is not the kind of record we want to