The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable SHEEROD BROWN, a Senator from the State of Ohio.

PRAYER
The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Lord of our lives, hear our prayers. Fill us with Your spirit so that we may please You.

As we seek Your divine approval, empower our lawmakers to do Your will. Lord, help them not to have an excessive focus on the temporary things while neglecting the eternal. May our Senators live lives that bring glory and honor to Your Name, receiving Your approbation for their faithfulness. Create in them humble and contrite hearts that will refuse to deviate from the path of integrity.

And, Lord, we continue to pray for Ukraine.

We pray in Your merciful and powerful Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE
The Presiding Officer led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:


To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule L, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable SHEEROD BROWN, a Senator from the State of Ohio, to perform the duties of the Chair.

P. PATRICK J. LEAHY, President pro tempore.

Mr. BROWN thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME
The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS
The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

CHIPS ACT OF 2022—Resumed
The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the House message to accompany H.R. 4346, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

House message to accompany H.R. 4346, a bill making appropriations for Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2022, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Schumer motion to concur in the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill, with Schumer amendment No. 5135 (to the House amendment to the Senate amendment), relating to the CHIPS Act of 2022.

Schumer amendment No. 5136 (to amendment No. 5135), to add an effective date.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER
The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. President, for the last century—the whole last century—America’s prosperity was anchored on our country’s unmatched commitment to science research, technological growth, innovation, and advanced manufacturing.

The question before the Senate, then, is simple: Will that prosperity live on into the 21st century? Are we on the brink of another generation of American ingenuity, of American discovery, of American leadership? By passing our CHIPS and Science bill today, the Senate says: Yes, we are, and in a loud, bipartisan voice.

Today, by approving one of the largest investments in science, technology, and manufacturing in decades—in decades—we say that America’s best years are yet to come.

This is a very good day for the American people and for American innovation. The legislation is going to create good-paying jobs. It will alleviate supply chains; it will help lower costs; and it will protect America’s national security interests.

I am confident that future generations will look back on the passage of this bill as a turning point for American leadership in the 21st century.

I admit that some of the policies—not all, but some are esoteric, but they are vital. All too often we are told government and business think short term. This is one of the most significant pieces of long-term effect and thinking legislation that we have seen in this body in a very long time.

I believe that our grandchildren and our grandchildren’s grandchildren will work in jobs we cannot yet imagine because of the investments we are making here today.

Like the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act and the recent gun safety law, the CHIPS and Science bill is one of the major bipartisan achievements of this Congress. But reaching this point was anything but easy.

On the contrary, the legislation has been several years in the making, and it took a lot of twists and turns before reaching the finish line. It brought together industry, labor, universities,
Governors, mayors from both parties and from every region. And I thank my colleagues and their staff for pushing it over the line.

In 2019, I approached my Republican colleague Todd Young. We had talked in the gym that wasn’t interested in the same types of investments that I was. And I said: Let’s work together on legislation to revive America’s commitment to science and innovation. Together, we drafted the first version of the Endless Frontier Act, a bill whose policy was my legislation.

A year later, we joined with Senators Cornyn and Warner to begin addressing our Nation’s chip crisis by pushing for an authorization of new Federal investments as an incentive as part of the NDAA. And Senator Kelly of Arizona has been a major advocate for getting these chip programs done.

So even before this Congress began, Members on both sides knew that we had to work together if we were to keep America competitive in the 21st century. We also knew that if we didn’t get there first, our rivals—chief among them the Chinese Communist Party—would likely beat us to the punch and reshape the world in their authoritarian image.

A month after I became majority leader, I directed the chairs and members of our relevant committees to start drafting a legislative package to out-compete China and create new American jobs, with the Endless Frontier Act serving as the core of this effort.

I also instructed them to draft legislation to plug the dangerous holes in America’s semiconductor industry. I said to everyone, to people on both sides of the aisle, that if both sides work together, I would put a bill on the floor of the Senate later that spring, and that is what happened when we overlooked the NDAA conference committee, the National Energy and Geothermal Power Act and the Endless Frontier Act. It took 3 weeks, lots of debate, amendments, just as the Senate ought to work, even on major and difficult legislation, as this has been.

Senators Cantwell and Wicker were tremendous leaders in this effort and skillfully managed the floor process. They deserve a great deal of praise not only for passing last year’s bill but for their efforts this year as well.

A year later, legislation we are passing today contains many of the critical investments in that bill. Both bills make historic investments in science and innovation—the original Endless Frontier and USICA bill and the bill we are passing today, CHIPS plus Science. Both bills make these investments.

We will plant the seeds for developing the tech hubs of tomorrow in places with great potential but which have been overshadowed by cities like San Francisco or Boston or Austin or New York City. The bill will help turn cities like Buffalo and Indianapolis into new centers for innovation, and the result will be countless new, good-paying jobs and a bright future for those areas for years to come.

Both bills will help end the chips crisis by offering tens of billions of dollars to encourage American chip manufacturing and R&D. And, if anything, this bill is stronger because of the ITC provisions. It will create tens of thousands of high-tech manufacturing and Davis-Bacon construction jobs from Albany, NY, to New Albany, OH, and beyond. And it is going to lower the cost of those machines, and so much more in the long run because our chip shortage will be alleviated.

Both bills establish the National Foundation tech directorate and provide funding to the Department of Energy to achieve new breakthroughs in the technologies like AI, quantum computing, cyber security, renewable energy, 5G, biotech, and other discoveries yet unknown. And both bills provide funding to build wireless communication networks and counter Huawei. This was a top priority for my colleague Mark Warner, and I thank him for his efforts in this regard.

The bottom line is this: Today’s legislation is one of the largest investments in science, technology, and advanced manufacturing in decades. Now, of course, while this bill contains many critical investments in chips and scientific research, there are other major proposals from both sides that still are in the works within the conference committee. That important work must continue. It will. And it is my intention to put the conference committee on the floor in September after the work is complete.

So let me be clear. Today is a very good day for the American people and for the future of our country. I believe firmly that, when signed into law, this bill will reawaken the spirit of discovery, innovation, and optimism that made America the envy of the world and will continue to do so. Because of the investments we are approving today, America will be the place where the next transformational breakthroughs in industry and science occur. Nearly 80 years ago, Dr. Vannevar Bush, the head of the U.S. Office of Scientific Research, wrote in a report to President Truman that "without scientific progress, no amount of achievement in other directions can ensure the health, prosperity, and security in the modern frame of the modern world". Was he right? It was called "Science: The Endless Frontier." It is the inspiration for much of the work we have dedicated to passing this bill today.

In the wake of Dr. Bush’s report, we created the National Science Foundation, funded the National Energy Laboratories, split the atom, spiced the gene, landed a man on the Moon, and unleashed the internet. We generated decades of American prosperity and fostered a sense of optimism in the American spirit.

Today, we face the great task of renewing and strengthening that legacy in a world of fierce competition. It is no longer a situation where we can just leave it up to corporate America because we didn’t have competition. Now there are nation-states funding and aiding their corporations, and authoritarian governments around the world believe that democracy itself is a relic of the past and that, by beating us to emerging technologies, autocracies around the world hope to reshape the world in their own image.

Well, let me tell you something: I believe in America. I believe in our system. I believe that they will not succeed. I believe that this legislation will enable the United States to out-innovate, out-produce, and outcompete China in the industries of the future, and I believe that the strongly bipartisan work on this bill revealed that, in this Chamber, we all believe—all of us, Democrats and Republicans—that another American century lies on the horizon.

For this, these many worthy reasons, let us pass the CHIPS and Science bill today.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The acting President pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The President pro tempore. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Kaine). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Recognition of the Republican leader.

The Republican leader is recognized.

Inflation

Mr. McConnell. Mr. President, here is how Washington Democrats are describing the American economy. From the White House last month: "robust economic progress under President Biden’s leadership." According to President Biden himself, our economy has "unique strengths that we can build on," that it was "providing important breathing room for American families," and that it was "strong as can be but for inflation, but for gas and food." The economy is as strong as it can be except that pesky thing: the worst inflation in more than 40 years. You almost have to laugh at that analysis.

I contrast the Democrats’ spin with how working Americans are describing our economy. From a grocery store manager in Tennessee: “It’s just not a good situation.” From a grandmother in Georgia: “The food, the gas, the bills, and the mortgage, everything. Priorities like this one. They believe we are doing that and cheering for us to sit on our hands and not adapt to the changes in the 21st century. They believe that squabbling democracies like ours can’t unite around national priorities like this one. They believe that democracy itself is a relic of the past and that, by beating us to emerging technologies, autocracies around the world hope to reshape the world in their own image.
disapprove of what President Biden is doing about it.

Clearly, something isn’t adding up, but that isn’t a new feature of Washington Democrats’ one-party control of government. In fact, missing the mark on one of the most important benchmarks of the Biden administration. Last spring, they misread what it needed after a once-in-a-century pandemic and flooded the engine with trillions in liberal spending. Then, they missed the warming signs of the runaway inflation that that mistake brought on. Now, they are mounting a panicked campaign to redefine the word “recession” before the next quarterly GDP comes out tomorrow.

So Washington Democrats seem to think the real-world effects of their policies—the pain Americans are feeling as they try to balance household budgets—can just be spun away—spun away—with talking points. Well, I can tell you there are millions of working families who believe it simple, but you know full well that it isn’t.

**BORDER SECURITY**

Mr. President, now on a different matter, yesterday, I met with members of the Kentucky Narcotics Officers Association to discuss the ongoing subsistence abuse crisis in my home State. These frontline professionals have watched Kentucky pass some grim milestones in recent years. This is one of the most horrifying consequences of the falling overboard of law and order in our country.

In 2020, overdose deaths in the Commonwealth increased nearly 50 percent from the year prior, reaching an all-time high of 1,964. Then, last year, we broke that record again, recording 2,250 overdose deaths—14.5 percent higher than 2020.

Remember, as of this past January, 2 years into the pandemic, fentanyl alone had killed more Americans aged 18 to 45 than the coronavirus. That is not even all overdoses; that is just fentanyl alone.

The Kentucky law enforcement officers with whom I got to visit work every day to try to reverse these heart-wrenching trends. They have had some success. Earlier this month, in Louisville, law enforcement seized a full kilogram of fentanyl in Louisville. The experts say that is enough to kill half a million people in Louisville alone. But they are struggling to stem the cascade of narcotics pouring into our streets. The reason for this, they told me, is pretty clear: our unsecured borders.

Already this year, our overwhelmed Customs and Border Patrol agents encountered more than 1.6 million illegal crossings at the border. That is close to the total number of encounters for the entirety of last year. Some of these individuals were promptly detained and deported, but many of them were booked briefly and then released into the American heartland. Presumably, we will never hear from most of them ever again. These are just the known encounters, to say nothing of the 900,000 “gotaways” that DHS officials think have taken place since the beginning of the last fiscal year. Put another way, a group of people larger than the population in my hometown broke into our country without interacting with border agents at all.

Alongside this human tide is an ever-increasing flood of illicit drugs, most notably fentanyl. That drug played a role in 72 percent of overdoses in Kentucky last year. CBP officials have seized 5,722 pounds of the stuff this year alone. Imagine how much slipped through their fingers and onto our streets.

Are Democrats admitting this is an emergency? Are they working overtime to put a tourniquet on this crisis? Just the opposite. Secretary Mayorkas jetted to a summit in Aspen earlier this month and said, “the border is secure.” That is our Secretary of Homeland Security. Maybe that kind of talk plays well at a ritzy ski resort packed with liberals. It doesn’t play very well with law enforcement at the first responders States like Kentucky who have to deal with crime and fatal drug overdoses every single day. The far left throws our borders open for ideological reasons, and it is the most vulnerable communities that end up paying the deadly price.

The president of the National Border Patrol Council has directly contradicted the Biden administration’s insistence that our southern border is in great shape. Here is what he had to say. This is the president of the National Border Patrol Council:

[T]he cartels use illegal border crossers to facilitate their higher value contraband, including . . . fentanyl.

In other words, more illegal immigration means more of this illegal poison. But President Biden and Washington Democrats simply won’t admit it. Their response to the border crisis is to issue new guidance encouraging border personnel to use more politically correct language when they are referring to criminal aliens. They would rather police language than police the border.

Remember, the Biden administration spent taxpayer dollars going to court, arguing they have a right to end the “Remain in Mexico” policy and throw our borders open even wider. President Biden tried to cut funding for ICE in his most recent budget.

Washington liberals say the compassionate policy is to lure desperate people into inhumane conditions, let the drug cartels have open season, and let Americans die. That is not compassion; that is cruelty—an abdication of duty with deadly consequences for the American people.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LUJAN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, the Biden border crisis continues to rage. Last month, U.S. Customs and Border Protection encountered 207,416 individuals attempting to cross our southern border illegally, the highest June number ever recorded. And April and May successfully set records for the highest numbers for any month ever.

During the 2021 fiscal year, Customs and Border Protection encountered a record number of individuals attempting to cross our southern border illegally—1,734,686, to be precise—a record. We still have 3 months to go for this fiscal year, but we have already exceeded last year’s number by more than 11,000. That is right. In just 9 months, we have already exceeded last year’s record by more than 10 percent.

The situation on our southern border is out of control, although you would never know it to hear the President and his administration. “The border is secure,” the President’s Homeland Security Secretary said just a few days ago. Again. The border is secure. My only question is how he said that with a straight face.

Our southern border is the opposite of secure. It is in crisis. The flood of illegal immigration is huge numbers of Customs and Border Protection officers have been pulled off the border to process migrants. A May article from the Economist reported that:

Around 60 percent of CBP agents have been assigned to process migrants, taking them away from field work.

That, of course, leaves our borders wide open to illegal activity, including the drug trafficking that is flooding our country with fentanyl.

It also means even with all the apprehensions the Border Patrol has made, many more individuals are getting through unstopped. One source reports that so far this fiscal year, there have been more than half a million got-aways—in other words, individuals the Border Patrol saw but was unable to apprehend.

The Economist article I mentioned also noted:

The expert estimates that less than 20 percent of people trying to cross the border are undetected are stopped.

Less than 20 percent—that is a security nightmare.

Our Customs and Border Protection agents are giving this job their all, but there is no way for them to keep up with the flood of illegal immigration, especially when they are being pulled off the border to process migrants.

It is President Biden’s job to help stem this border crisis, but when he is not pretending this crisis doesn’t exist, he is taking actions that are contributing to this disaster. On his very first day in office, President Biden rescinded
the declaration of a national emergency at our southern border. He halted construction of the border wall. He revoked a Trump administration order that called for the government to faithfully execute our immigration laws. And his Department of Homeland Security guidelines passed last month are effectively open. Even as huge numbers of illegal immigrants pour across our southern border, he has continued to build on those actions. The President sought to significantly limit the ability of Immigration and Customs Enforcement to enforce immigration laws.

Deportations dropped precipitously during fiscal year 2021, as did arrests in the interior of the country. In March of this year, the administration rescinded a 2019 rule expanding expedited removal for individuals here illegally. And, of course, the administration is still attempting to remove title 42 COVID–19 restrictions, with no viable plan to control the resulting surge in illegal immigration.

Illegal immigration, especially the kind of out-of-control illegal immigration we are currently experiencing, has serious consequences. I have already mentioned some of the security risks it presents. With Customs and Border Protection overstretched, it is easier for bad actors to cross the border into our country—gang members, drug traffickers, human smugglers, and the list goes on.

Our country is currently in the midst of a fentanyl crisis. In fact, right now, fentanyl overdose is the leading cause of death for American adults between the ages of 18 and 45. And where is all this fentanyl coming from? Most of it is being produced and sold across our southern border. The current border situation is undoubtedly facilitating that trafficking.

Illegal immigration is financially costly, as well. Immigration and Customs Enforcement is currently running out of money for this year, thanks, in part, to the out-of-control situation at our southern border.

President Biden has talked about wanting to build a ‘fair, orderly, and humane’ immigration system. There is nothing—nothing—humane about our current situation. Encouraging illegal immigration, as the President’s policies have done, has contributed to a humanitarian crisis that saw 557 migrants die attempting to cross the southern border during fiscal year 2021. Just last month, in an incredibly tragic, horrific story, 53 migrants died in an unair-conditioned tractor-trailer after being smuggled across the border. It was a sober reminder of the human cost of policies that enable illegal immigration.

The President may think that his border policies are compassionate, but, again, he would be wrong. Policies that encourage illegal immigration, that encourage individuals to undertake the often dangerous journey across our southern border often at the mercy of human smugglers are the very opposite of compassionate. I would like to think that the tragedy of my family and the dangerous situation we are in and take action to help stem the flood of illegal immigration at our southern border, but after a year and a half of his administration’s neglecting this crisis, I am not so sure. I am afraid that, like inflation, out-of-control illegal immigration has become a fact of life in the Biden Presidency. As with inflation, Americans and those vulnerable individuals who are attempting to enter our country, will be left to suffer the consequences.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. Young. Mr. President, when it comes to America, I am an optimist—always. You see, I can’t help but approach the future with great hope. After all, as Americans, we have never let obstacles stand in our way or accepted that problems can’t be solved. Our citizens are the world’s most ingenious; our military, its mightiest; our economy, the strongest; and our innovators, the most creative. The last century was defined by our accomplishments and our ideals and I believe this one will be no different. I have to say, this path is not guaranteed.

Now as then, America’s success depends on unleashing the potential of our people and outcompeting and out-innovating global rivals who don’t share our values or our economic interests.

Right now, we are in the middle of a great power competition with an authoritarian regime in Beijing that seeks to dominate, denuclearize and rejects democracy. The Chinese Communist Party is currently investing $1.4 trillion in frontier technologies that will dominate the 21st century—artificial intelligence, quantum computing, hypersonics, among other key technologies. Its innovators are earning patents and publishing research in AI at greater rates than our own. Its schools are producing four times the STEM graduates as America’s. The Chinese Communist Party’s computer and science universities are regularly outpacing ours.

Its military is making advances in cyber warfare and the development of hypersonic weapons, autonomous vehicles, electronic and cyber warfare, and orbital bombardment systems. These are the technologies that will dominate the 21st century, economically and militarily.

China’s Government is planning on winning the AI race, winning future wars and winning the future. The truth is, if we are being honest with ourselves, Beijing is well on its way to accomplishing these goals. America is at risk of falling behind economically and technologically to a world power that doesn’t value liberty or even human life.

So how should we respond? For too long, when it comes to Chinese aggression, America has relied on a strategy of deterrence, taking steps like blocking Huawei from doing business in the U.S., tightening export controls, and improving foreign investment rules.

Now, these are important measures, but they are no longer enough. You see, it is time to go on the offensive. And that is exactly what this legislation—which has gone by many names from the Endless Frontier Act to the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act to CHIPS—will do: unleash private sector innovation while significantly boosting Federal national security investments.

This legislation reforms and invests in emerging technologies like quantum computing, hypersonics, neuromorphic computing, and more. It increases funding for high-tech computer chips that power our smartphones, automobiles, household appliances, and military platforms. In fact, the recent shortage of these chips has hobbled our economy; it has hit our pocketbooks. For example, a shortage of computer chips forced General Motors to idle its assembly plant in Fort Wayne, IN, twice already this year. U.S. semiconductor production, once accounting for nearly 40 percent of the world’s supply, has dropped to just 12 percent while China’s production share is increasing rapidly. Ninety percent of the chips used in our military technology are made overseas. Let me say that again. Ninety percent of the chips used in our military technology are made overseas. Most are made in South Korea and Taiwan, but an increasing number are produced in China. This is a very real economic and national security vulnerability.

And this bill will reassert America’s place in this industry and take a giant leap towards ensuring that our supply chain and national defense will never be at the mercy of technology produced overseas.

Another important aspect of this bill is critical applied research funding. This legislation reforms and invests in the National Science Foundation to partner with the private sector and universities to develop critical emerging technologies that will transform the global landscape. We know that national success and competitiveness in the 21st century economy will be built on emerging technologies like quantum computing and artificial intelligence.

Funding research crucial to keeping America safe is one of the Federal Government’s responsibilities, and this legislation will help us not just catch up but overtake China in these critical areas.

And this bill will establish regional technology hubs across our country, span the western United States, and bring together our brightest minds and most innovative companies to test new technologies and ensure American leadership.
which will become centers for the re-
search, development, entrepreneurship, and manufacturing of new key tech-
nologies.

This is incredibly important at a
time when too many Americans in the
heartland feel left out and too many
areas overlooked, when only a handful
of cities account for nearly 90 percent
of job growth in these advanced sec-
tors.

Simply put, this bill will make
America stronger, safer, and more
 prosperous. And it is desperately need-
ed. How do we know? Because the
Chinese Communist Party has actively
lobbied against this legislation. They
know this bill is bad for China and
good for the United States of America.

This bill is about securing our coun-
try, giving our people the tools to
flourish, and ensuring America con-
tinues its global research role.

It has been a long journey to get to
this point, but history will show that
by passing this CHIPS+ bill, we are
confronting the challenges of today
and building a prosperous and secure
tomorrow for all Americans.

I urge my colleagues to support this
legislation.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sen-
ator from Vermont.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. SANDERS. I have heard, time
and again, my Republican colleagues
and a number of Democrats voice their
serious concern about the deficit and
our national debt. We are told that be-
cause of the deficit this is the time when
we have the highest rate of childhood
poverty of almost any major country
on Earth, we cannot extend the child
care because of the deficit.

Well, guess what? All of that pro-
found and serious concern about the
deficit fades away when it comes to
providing a $76 billion blank check to
the highly profitable microchip indus-
try with no protections at all for the
American taxpayer.

Somehow the deficit is of great con-
cern when it comes to providing help to
working families, to low-income Am-
ericans, to children, to seniors, but it is
not a concern when you provide mas-
tive corporate welfare to enormously
profitable multinational corporations.

I guess when the semiconductor in-
dustry spends $19 million in lobbying
this year alone and when Intel spends
$100 million on lobbying and campaign
contributions in the last 20 years, when
that industry says: Jump, the re-

response from Congress is: How high?

That is what a political system domi-
nated by Big Money looks like. The
people in this country who desperately
need help can corporations that are
making huge profits and the CEOs who are making exorbitant com-
pensation packages get everything
they need—and more.

In other words, it appears that the
deep concerns about the deficit are
rather selective.

Now, after I finish my remarks, I
will give my colleagues a chance to prove
me wrong. I will be raising a budget
point of order against this bill because
it increases the deficit by over $75 bil-
lion, with $76 billion of that money
going to the microchip industry with
no strings attached.

Let me be very clear. There is no
doubt that there is a global shortage of
microchips and semiconductors, which
is making it harder for manufacturers
to produce the cars, cell phones, house-
hold appliances, and electronic equip-
ment that we need. And that is why I
fully support efforts to expand U.S.
microchip production.

But the question we should be ask-
ing is this: Should American taxpayers
provide the microchip industry with a
blank check of over $76 billion at a
time when semiconductor companies
are making tens of billions of dollars in
profit right now and paying the head of
Intel some $170 million a year in com-
pensation? And I think the answer to
that question is a resounding no.

That is why, at the conclusion of my
remarks, I will be asking unanimous
consent to attach an amendment to
this legislation.

This amendment is simple and
straightforward. It would prevent
microchip companies from receiving
grants under this legislation unless
they agreed not to buy back their own
stock—not complicated.

Now, this is rather amazing. This is
really quite incredible and tells you
where we are as a national policy. Over
the past decade, semiconductor
companies have spent nearly $250 bil-
lion—70 percent of their prof-
ts—not on research and development,
not on building new microchip plants in
America—what that is politically about—but on buying back their own
stock to enrich their wealthy share-
holders.

Let me repeat: The industry that is
asking for $76 billion of corporate wel-
fare today, over the past decade spent
$250 billion—70 percent of their prof-
ts—not on research and development,
not on building new microchip plants in
America but on buying back their own
stock to enrich their wealthy stockholders.

Apparently, they just couldn't find
$76 billion of their own money to invest
in new plants in America. They need
the taxpayers of this country to do it for
them.

Do any of my colleagues really be-
lieve we should allow microchip com-
panies to receive $76 billion in taxpayer
assistance without a ban on stock buybacks?

Under my amendment, microchip
companies would not be allowed to re-
turn taxpayer assistance unless they
agreed they would not repeal existing
collective bargaining agreements and
would remain neutral in any union or-
ganizing effort.

Do any of my colleagues believe that
we should be handing out corporate
welfare to profitable corporations who
are engaged in busting unions?

Under my agreement, microchip
companies would not be able to receive
$76 billion in taxpayer assistance un-
less they agreed not to outsource jobs
overseas.

Now, I heard my colleague from Indi-
a ana speak a moment ago about the cri-
sis in the microchip industry, how we
are producing a smaller and smaller
amount, but he forgot to mention—
somehow forgot to mention—that over
the last 20 years, the microchip indus-
try has shut down over 780 manufac-
turing plants and other establishments
in the United States and eliminated
150,000 American jobs while moving
mostly of its production overseas.

In other words, the taxpayers are
doing are rebuilding an industry that
was destroyed by the industry itself by
going abroad in search of more profit.

Under my amendment, microchip
companies would be prevented from re-
turning tax dollars unless they agree
to issue warrants or equity stakes to the Federal Government.

Now, I happen to believe in industrial
policy. I think it makes sense for the
government and private sector to be
working together when it is mutually
beneficial. If private companies, how-
ever, are going to benefit from gen-
erous taxpayer subsidies—$76 billion—
the financial gains made by these companies must be shared with the American people, not just wealthy shareholders. Does that sound really unreasonable?

If these guys are going to make huge profits based on this investment, don't you think maybe the taxpayers of this country who gave them the money might be able to get some of those benefits back?

The microchip industry today is worth about $880 billion. By 2030, that market, the market for microchips, is expected to grow to a trillion dollars. Do any of my colleagues really believe that if microchip companies make a profit as a direct result of these Federal grants—which is extremely likely—the taxpayers in this country, taxpayers do not have a right to get a reasonable return on that investment?

And let us be clear, none of this is a radical idea. All of those provisions that I just articulated were included in the CARES Act that passed the Senate by a vote of 96 to 0. In other words, every Senator here has already voted for these provisions.

Now, I have heard recently some of my colleagues who are saying: Don't worry. We have imposed "strong guardrails" to this bill.

Well, let me respectfully disagree. These so-called guardrails would do nothing to prevent microchip companies from outsourcing, a single job abroad. In fact, these so-called guardrails would not even force Intel to divest all of the money they have put into semiconductor companies in China. These so-called guardrails would do nothing to protect taxpayers or to stop microchip companies from union busting.

Yes, I understand some language has been inserted in this bill that would prohibit microchip companies from using Federal grants to buy back their own stocks. But let's be clear, this language is totally meaningless. Under this legislation, companies will still be able to use the enormous profits that they are making to buy back their own stocks.

Bottom line, let us rebuild the U.S. microchip industry. I believe that. But let us do it in a way that benefits all of our society, not just a handful of wealthy, profitable, and powerful corporations.

In 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said:

_The problem is that we all too often have socialism for the rich and rugged free enterprise capitalism for the poor._

I am afraid that what Dr. King said 54 years ago was accurate back then. And as we can see by this legislation today—massive subsidies for the rich and the powerful, while we continue to turn our backs on working families—what King said then is even more accurate now.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to call up amendment No. 5145, that the amendment be considered and agreed to, and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table without intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I raise a point of order that the pending measure violates section 4106 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018, H. Con. Res. 71 of the 115th Congress, the Senate pay-as-you-go point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, pursuant to section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, I move to waive all applicable sections of that act and any other applicable budget points of order for the purpose of the pending bill, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays are ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I would like to be recognized to speak on the bill.

We will soon be moving to a vote on the so-called CHIPS legislation. It has had several names during its consideration in the Senate and in the House. I prefer to call it the CHIPS and Science Act. But it is an important bipartisan piece of legislation, and I urge its adoption.

Is my friend from Vermont seeking recognition?

Mr. SANDERS. No.

Mr. WICKER. So I urge my colleagues to vote yes on this legislation. It will bring microchip production, create new opportunities for research into cutting-edge technologies, and enhance our ability to compete with China.

There is no more important competition than the one for technological supremacy between the United States and China. The outcome will shape the global balance of power for decades and will impact the security and prosperity of all Americans.

Regrettably, at this moment, we are not in the driver's seat on a range of important technologies; China is. China and other nations are increasingly dominant in tech innovation, posing a massive threat to not only our economy but to our national security.

But with today's vote, Congress has a chance to move us back in the right direction and put America back into a place to win the game.

This legislation—the CHIPS and Science Act, I will call it—will provide a historic boost to our semiconductor industry, which for too long has played on an uneven global playing field. Increasing American chip production is absolutely vital, given the importance of chips to our economy, as well as our national defense. The pandemic taught us the hard way that we cannot be dependent on semiconductor production overseas for anything we need.

But, of course, chip semiconductors are not the whole ball game. This legislation goes much further, advancing American innovation in quantum computing, advanced robotics, bioengineering, advanced materials, and artificial intelligence—the full suite of technologies that we need to outcompete China.

And instead of limiting those investments to a small handful of institutions in five wealthy States, this bill casts a wide net, enlisting the talent and expertise of STEM researchers nationwide. This legislation will guarantee that EPSCoR, a program designed to emulate competitive research in 25 predominately rural States, receives 20 percent of all R&D funding from the National Science Foundation, up from the current 13 percent—13 percent now, 20 percent when it is finally ramped up.

The bill will also authorize the National Science Foundation, the gold standard for funding basic research, and it will establish a new Directorate for Technology, Innovation, and Partnerships, called TIP, at NSF to supercharge the process of translating basic research into technology development, and then to the commercial market, enabling us to compete better with China across a vast range of technologies.

This legislation would not be complete without new safeguards against espionage—which we know is taking place right now—against intellectual property theft, for which the Chinese have become notorious. I am pleased we were able to include a number of long-overdue reforms to protect the fruits of our Nation's R&D investments. Even so, there is more work to be done to protect American research across the whole of government, and I commend my friend Senator PORTMAN from Ohio for moving forward with his initiative, which I hope can be incorporated into the statute at some point. This moment has been a long time in the making, and I want to issue some bipartisan congratulations and words of thanks.

My dear friend and colleague from the State of Washington, the Chair of the Senate Committee, Senator CANTWELL, is on the floor, and I congratulate her and commend her and thank her for her cooperation with me on this issue.

And I also want to thank Leader SCHUMER and Senator YOUNG, the original cosponsors of the Endless Frontier Act, as well as Senator CORNYN, Senator SINEMA, and many other colleagues who helped make this a better bill.

And I also want to congratulate and commend officials from the previous administration—from the Trump administration—who are also telling...
Americans about the importance of this legislation.

This is a bill that will be signed by President Joe Biden, but it is also endorsed by Ambassador Robert Lighthizer, President Trump’s International Trade Adviser; by Mike Pompeo, President Trump’s CIA Director and Secretary of State; and by Robert O’Brien, former National Security Advisor to President Trump. So three distinguished and knowledgeable national security officials are saying this about the bill we will soon vote on.

Ambassador Lighthizer, of the Trump administration, said on Kudlow 2 days ago:

We are in this existential competition with China. The battleground of that competition is technology and chips. That is where we are going to win it or lose it.

And he goes on to point out that the bill, while not perfect, is exactly the bill that can get done right now, and I don’t know of any bill that is ever perfect.

Mike Pompeo, Secretary of State, a stalwart in the last administration on national defense, says this:

Congress must adopt the CHIPS Act for both our national and economic security. We have to become less dependent on China for critical technologies—and this is how we do it. ... A bipartisan bill, supporting R&D for semiconductor chip manufacturing, is essential to securing vital technologies for our economy and our military.

That is Mike Pompeo, President Trump’s Secretary of State. And then Robert O’Brien, former National Security Advisor to President Trump, said:

America needs this legislation without delay.

So I want to also say a note of thanks to my own staff—my personal staff and my committee staff—for their tireless efforts over the last year and a half on this issue. This is the culmination of a great deal of work by some very, very, very dedicated members of my team over the last year and a half. We had 1,000 amendments made to this bill. The bill that eventually ends up on the floor is a final result of a lot of hard work by them in order to get it passed.

So thank you very much, Mr. President. I urge a “yes” vote. I think the strong 64 votes we had yesterday on cloture was indicative of the support, and I anticipate its passage and look forward to its successful passage in the House of Representatives.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to finish my remarks prior to the scheduled vote.

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

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to talk about the legislation before us and how it is an investment today for jobs tomorrow.

And I want to thank my colleague from Mississippi for his partnership on this legislation. It seems like a century ago that we had a markup in combination of the House and the Senate portion, which we are now voting on—24 to 4, more than a year ago. And yet here we are today, on the product of much negotiation, not just in our committee but in eight other committees—seven other committees.

We are here because we know that innovation is in the DNA of Americans, and we know that it helped us win the world wars; it helped us cure disease. We know it has helped create millions of jobs, and it has helped members of the business community on opposite sides of a phone call or an email connect to each other to get a product or a service.

So this bill embraces American innovation and our tradition of it, and I, too, encourage a “yes” vote.

After watching the COVID crisis mangle our supply chain and see semiconductors be a big part of inflation, the shortage of semiconductors has increased the cost of a used car by more than 40 percent, putting it out of reach of many families at a time when they just needed a car to drive to work.

So this bill is about making sure that we face our manufacturing challenges here at home and that we train and skill the scientists and the workers to get that done.

And so thanks start with Senators Schumer and Young for their hard work in introducing this legislation more than 2 years ago. Senator Schumer’s great work with Senator Young on this was an eye-opening change in the way that we make investments in R&D. It was a concept novel then, but I think we have a lot of understanding of it now, and that is to move our R&D into faster translation into products and services. Why? Because the rest of the world is doing that and we need to hurry as well.

I also want to just point out that there are lots of contributions from Members in this bill: Senator Peters on AI scholarships, Senator Cortez Masto on national science technology strategy, allowing us to continue to be more and more expensive because it is only produced in those areas?

I am a firm believer in distributed generation, whether that is electricity or hydrogen that is produced here and the more dispersed the innovation is, you never know where the next Bill Gates or Bill Boeing is going to be from and what innovation they might come up with.

So this bill also has a new mission in the Department of Commerce in technology hubs, where it will focus on trying to foster new collaboration between
universities, businesses, labor, and local government to accelerate economic growth and opportunity in innovation. These tech hubs will focus on key technology areas that are in this bill and help us move faster at innovation.

I want to thank my colleague Senator Tester, from Montana, who is a very big advocate in making sure that there was geographic diversity to the tech hubs so that we want to grow more technology advancement in the United States, that we also want to see it not just in Seattle, but in places like Spokane or Indianapolis or West Virginia or Wichita. We also increase the number of chip manufacturing extension partnerships. During the pandemic, we saw that many companies could not survive without supplies that were no longer available to them. And we know that with the manufacturing extension ecosystem, that we have to stay competitive by innovating. This bill delivers $76 billion over 10 years to develop the next generation of chips and to reestablish our manufacturing in the United States.

Now I know my colleague from Vermont and my colleague from Florida and many others have criticized this part of the legislation. I know that they think that this is somehow—I wish, trust me, I wish that—I would probably agree more with the Senator from Vermont on the prioritization within our budget on the various things that will help American families. But we cannot ignore that chip production has gone overseas and that the United States has lost its share of that production to the point that we are now down to as little as 12 percent—or could go to 12 percent, at which point, who wants to manufacture when the ecosystem is somewhere else? We know that just last year alone, chip shortages cost the U.S. economy $240 billion. That is the automotive industry that didn’t have chips; that is part of the electronics industry that didn’t have chips. You can say it is even in the cost of every product that you buy because we certainly didn’t produce the transportation system to even move products throughout the United States in companies like PACCAR that are from the Northwest, because they too did not have chips to put into their trailers to move products across the United States. So we know that with every dollar of investment, that increases GDP gains by $16.50.

So I know my colleagues would like us to make other investments, but I would say that chips are just as essential as wheat is in America. People think of farm investments and with no hesitancy say: Let’s make sure that we keep wheat production in the United States of America. I guarantee you, chips are no less important. And we have to have an increase in the United States. We are going to continue to fall behind on national security issues and on economic development issues that are so critical. We also, in this legislation, make one of the most significant investments in STEM over the last many years. It puts $13 billion into science, technology, engineering, and mathematics workforce development. It creates $2 billion to minority-serving institutions, including historically black colleges and universities, businesses, labor, and collaborating organizations. That is what the strength of our R&D is.

So I want to thank Senators Schumer and Young, Senators Cornyn and Kelly, and many other people who helped introduce and move this legislation. I want to thank Senator Warner for his contributions and thank, again, Senator Wicker and his team for the many advances in this legislation. I also would be remiss if I didn’t thank retiring Chair EDDIE BERNHOLDE JENKINSON and Ranking Member FRANK LUCAS who worked hard to craft the legislation before this.

I want to thank my staff: Lila Helms, Melissa Porter, Mary Guenther, Amit Ronen, Stacy Baird, Nikki Teutschel, Christi Barnhart, Jonny Pellish, Rosemary Balze, Erica Holman, and Emma Stohlman for their help; and on Senator Wicker’s staff, as he already mentioned, James Mazol and many other people. I want to thank on Senator Schumer’s staff Jon Cardinal, Mike Kulken, and Meghan Taira for their hard work. But no one deserves more focus and attention than Richard-Duane Chambers from my staff, who literally worked on the last COMPETES bill and then worked at DARPA, so clearly knows seriously the challenges that we faced in getting this legislation done and getting it over the goal line.

So I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation. We don’t know exactly what innovations will come out of this, but we do know this: America will be more competitive because we do know this: that we will be able to grow our economy for the future because of the investments that we have made today.

I yield the floor.
we dare not cede the mantle of global leadership on our watch. We dare not permit America to become a middling nation in the middle of this century.

No, we mean for America to lead this century. We mean for America to prosper and grow just as we have done throughout history. It won’t happen on its own, but today we are laying the foundation for a bold and thriving future. Today, by passing this CHIPS and Science bill, we are making clear that we believe America’s best days are yet to come.

I yield the floor.

VOTE ON MOTION TO CONCUR

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The question occurs on agreeing to the motion to concur with amendment No. 5135.

The yeas and nays were previously ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) and the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. MANCHIN) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

The result was announced—yeas 64, nays 33, as follows:

[Yea Vote No. 271 Leg.]

YEAS—64

Baldwin
Bennet
Blumenthal
Blunt
Booker
Brown
Burr
Cantwell
Capito
Cardin
Casper
Cassidy
Collins
Corsa
Corryn
Cortez Masto
Daines
Duckworth
Durbin
Feinstein
Gillibrand
Portman

NAYS—33

Barrasso
Blackburn
Boozman
Braun
Cotton
Cramer
Crapo
Cruz
Ernst
Fischer
Grassley

Leahy

NOT VOTING—3

Manchin
Murrell

The motion was agreed to.

SERGEANT FIRST CLASS HEATH ROBINSON HONORING OUR PROMISE TO ADDRESS COMPREHENSIVE TOXICS ACT OF 2022—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the House mes-

age to accompany S. 3373, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

House message to accompany S. 3373, a bill to improve the Iraq and Afghanistan Service Grant and the Children of Fallen Heroes Grant.

Pending:

Schumer motion to concur in the House amendment to the bill.

Schumer motion to concur in the House amendment to the bill, with Schumer amendment No. 5148 (to the House amendment to the Senate amendment), to add an effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 5149 (to Schumer amendment No. 5148), to modify the effective date.

Schumer motion to refer the bill to the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, with instructions, Schumer amendment No. 5150, to add an effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 5151 (to the instructions (Schumer amendment No. 5150) of the motion to refer), to modify the effective date.

Schumer amendment No. 5152 (to amendment No. 5151), to modify the effective date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

CHIPS ACT OF 2022

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, just a few minutes ago, after an arduous and a half of work, we have finally—finally—passed our plan to boost microchip manufacturing in the United States.

Microchips go in nearly everything we use. They are in the TV or the cell phone that you pick up, the car that you drive, the plane that flies. It is an essential part of all our lives. They are in lifesaving medical devices, and they are in our most advanced weapons systems.

The United States invented microchips, and, once, we produced 40 percent of the world’s supply. Today, we only produce about 12 percent, and we don’t produce any of the most advanced microchips.

Now, that leaves us vulnerable to disruptions in the supply chain, like the current microchip shortage that has halted production lines and driven up prices.

If you have recently tried to buy a car—a new car—and waited months or paid more than you were expecting, the microchip shortage is a big reason why.

So we have worked on a plan. Republicans and Democrats, with incentives to make sure the world’s leading microchip manufacturers grow their operations here in the United States instead of in China. It also boosts research so that the most advanced chips in the world are invented and produced right here in the United States.

That will mean tens of thousands of new jobs in places like Arizona, which is already a microchip hub, poised to grow as an industry, and the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company expand and build new manufacturing facilities.

That is all made possible by this legislation, and it creates jobs, not just for microchip manufacturers but also with the companies that supply them the tools and packaging for their products. And these are great-paying jobs, and many