

suddenly the Ukrainians are making real advances on the battlefield. We must continue this critical support.

President Zelenskyy has pulled together and mobilized the Ukrainian people in a remarkable show of determination, a fierce resistance. Despite being badly outnumbered by a much greater military force with advanced and sophisticated weaponry, Ukrainians have fought bravely and with enormous determination. They deserve our continued support.

In just recent weeks, there have been some real signs of progress in opening the Black Sea ports of Ukraine so that grain can be exported to a dozen hungry countries, in making progress on prisoner-of-war exchanges between the Russians and the Ukrainians, and in protests in Russia.

In an act of desperation, President Putin has called up hundreds of thousands of reservists in a mobilization to try to push back against Ukrainian forces. Russia is losing this fight. They are losing on the ground in Ukraine; they are losing in the court of public opinion; and they are losing strategically.

My entire life, we had thought it was unlikely that Sweden or Finland would ever join NATO—the most successful multilateral security arrangement we have ever engaged in as a nation—but because of Russia's aggression against Ukraine now, both Sweden and Finland are seeking admission to NATO. This body acted quickly to ratify their admission to NATO, and we are down to just a few countries.

In New York, I had a chance to meet with President Erdogan of Turkey to convey to him both our appreciation of his help in getting the grain out of the Black Sea ports of Ukraine but the urgency of expanding NATO to secure it against further Russian aggression.

It is my hope that we will move quickly as a united NATO alliance and that we here in this body will act quickly to provide the additional assistance to the Ukrainian people, government, and armed forces that our President has sought.

Earlier today, we took up a vote on the DISCLOSE Act. Since 2010, when the Supreme Court of the United States issued an ill-conceived opinion in the case of Citizens United, we have seen a flood of dark money steadily become more and more pernicious in its impact on our politics and our policies.

Here in Washington and now around the country, wealthy individuals, corporations, and shadowy special interest groups have contributed hundreds of millions—now billions of dollars across several election cycles that have undermined the integrity and fairness of our elections that are at the very heart of our democracy.

This bill would do a simple thing. It would require full disclosure of all corporations, trade associations, nonprofits engaging in electioneering. They would have to disclose any donors of \$10,000 or more over any 2-year pe-

riod. It wouldn't solve all the problems created by Citizens United, but sunshine is the best disinfectant, and it would allow the American people to know who is truly behind the dark money-funded ads that now bombard citizens in competitive elections around our country.

Tragically, it was a straight party-line vote today, and we were not able to proceed to take up and vote on the DISCLOSE Act. In the end, one party continues to defend the practice of dark money flooding our elections, while another is seeking to open up clarity for the general public and our electorate on who is giving money to whom. We should have had a vote on the DISCLOSE Act. Instead we failed to get to that bill because we could not get in this Chamber 60 votes to move ahead.

It is my hope that the American people are paying attention and realize on whose side we are on in this fight over transparency in our elections.

With that, Mr. President, I offer my thanks.

I yield the floor to my colleague from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I first want to echo Senator COONS' comments on the DISCLOSE Act and how unfortunate it was we could not get just 10 Republicans to join us to be able to end dark money and foreign—the potential of foreign dollars going into elections. So I want to thank you, Mr. President, for your leadership both in the House and in the Senate on this real important issue.

MANUFACTURING

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, as everybody in the Chamber knows, I am extremely proud to be from Michigan. Our State leads the world in innovation. We created and built the automobile, the automotive assembly line, and the American middle class along with it.

And today, our workers are still putting the world on four wheels—and really amazing wheels right now.

I got to show one of our Nation's foremost car guys, President Biden, some of Michigan's latest and greatest creations during last week's Detroit Auto Show. He was so happy behind the wheel of Chevy's new Corvette that I was a little worried he was going to put on his aviators and drive right out of the exhibition center. It took a lot to get him out of that car, he was so into it.

He was inspired, and we all were. Of course, the auto show is always inspiring, but this year it was even more, and that is because our Nation is in the middle of a manufacturing renaissance. And I don't say that lightly. We are in the middle of a manufacturing renaissance.

Democrats in Congress, along with President Biden and Vice President

HARRIS, are helping to revitalize American manufacturing. With tiny House and Senate majorities and the car guy in the White House, Democrats have done more to advance manufacturing in America than at any point in the past 70 years. We are not just bringing back the jobs lost during the pandemic; we are going far beyond that. Already, nearly 700,000 new manufacturing jobs have been created under the Biden administration. This represents the strongest manufacturing job growth since the 1950s—in our lifetime. In 2021 alone, more manufacturing jobs were created. Just last year, more manufacturing jobs were created than in any single year, any 1 year in nearly 30 years, which is extraordinary, and it is exciting.

And over the past year, the construction of new manufacturing facilities in the United States has grown by over 100 percent—116 percent. Meanwhile, 80 percent of our CEOs in a recent survey were either in the process of moving manufacturing operations from China or were seriously considering doing so. So we are seeing a real shift about bringing jobs home, and we have been providing the incentives and the support to do that. So that is really great news because we know if you are going to have an economy, somebody has to make something—somebody has to make something. And, frankly, that is what we do in Michigan. We make things. We innovate. And then we make things even better and then we do it over and over again.

Of course, we can't make much of anything if we don't have the semiconducting chips—these little microchips the size of a nail. Whoever thought that not having microchips would shut down a whole plant, and that is what has happened in Michigan, unfortunately, during the height of the supply chain breakdowns.

A lack of chips means that auto manufacturers have to idle plants. Assembly lines shut down, and workers get sent home. Parking lots at plants fill up with cars that can't be sold because of these missing chips. And I see many of them not very far from my home in Lansing, MI.

Car lots that normally are full of different makes and models sit empty, and the price of new and used cars goes up and up without these chips—all because of a tiny piece of technology no bigger than a thumbnail.

That is why the legislation that we passed, the CHIPS and Science Act—this legislation that was signed into law is really a big deal. This law is bringing semiconductor manufacturing back to the United States where it belongs. Instead of the majority of what we need being overseas, it is now going to be coming home and creating millions of jobs in the process, and that is, frankly, great news. Currently, U.S. manufacturers only have 12 percent of the world's semiconductor manufacturing—12 percent. And it actually was down from 37 percent in the nineties.

And now we are going to reverse that and bring those jobs home.

We are already seeing it make a difference. Intel is building new semiconductor fabricator plants in Ohio and Arizona. This year, Micron Technologies is breaking ground for a new \$15 billion factory in Idaho, and we would love to see them come our way. It is a great beginning, and we are just getting started.

The American manufacturing boom goes far beyond semiconductors, though. The investments we have made in research and development will ensure that the next generation of clean energy of telecommunications and transportation technologies will be developed and manufactured right here in America as well.

President Biden got a taste of what that was like in the auto show when he got behind the wheel of an all-electric Cadillac Lyriq and drove it across the floor. Again, we were hoping he was going to restrain himself from driving it off the exhibition floor.

Democrats provided a huge boost to manufacturing, including clean energy manufacturing, through the Inflation Reduction Act, which unfortunately none of our Republican colleagues voted for. It created new and expanded tax incentives for the next generation of clean energy technologies. I have constantly been talking about the importance of battery production tax credits—production tax credits, meaning you don't get the credit unless it is actually produced in the United States. We have done that now. That is now law.

And the new solar manufacturing tax credit is going to help American manufacturers like Hemlock Semiconductor create new products and good jobs as well. They create one-third of all the polysilicon materials for solar panels, but the production has been in other countries, primarily, China. Now, with the production tax credit, the incentive will be to build them, to make them here in America.

The CHIPS and Science Act also provided \$11 billion to develop cutting-edge technologies, including up to three new Manufacturing USA initiatives. We are proud to have two Manufacturing USA initiatives already in place from the Obama administration. There is the Lightweight Innovations for Tomorrow, or LIFT, and Michigan State University's Scale-Up Research Facility, or SURF. Both are located in the same facility in Detroit, and LIFT projects include research into better welding processes for Navy ships and an anti-rollover system for military humvees. SURF is partnering with the Department of Energy and Ford and GM to make sure that America is a leader in advanced technologies—advanced vehicle technologies.

And the CHIPS and Science package also more than doubled funding to develop technologies that are crucial to our national and economic security. That includes cyber security and bio-

technology and artificial intelligence and quantum computing, advanced materials science, and 6G communications.

Now, if we are going to be inventing all of this new stuff, we also need workers. You hear that all the time. We need workers who are skilled to produce these things, and that is something that we as Democrats have been laser-focused on also. In everything that we have done, there has been a workforce development piece of it, which is so critical. The CHIPS and Science Act includes dedicated funding for the development of semiconductor workforce opportunities.

The Inflation Reduction Act includes incentives for clean energy manufacturers to create high-paying jobs and apprenticeship programs, which we know are so successful and so needed. And we have also invested in workforce development programs in regions all around the country.

The Build Back Better regional challenge awarded \$1 billion to 120 projects across 24 States to help people get the skills that they need for these great new jobs. These projects are building a sustainable mariculture workforce in Alaska, training aerospace workers in Kansas, and ensuring that Michigan has the highly skilled workers needed to build the advanced vehicles on display at the Detroit Auto Show.

One thing I am also particularly proud of in all that we have been doing around manufacturing as well is that we have worked to ensure that our tax dollars are spent on American products made by American workers and American companies. Now, that sounds like a no-brainer. I know, Mr. President, you agree with that, but we have had laws on the books for a long time that have not been enforced. There has not been transparency about what was going on, and now they are going to have to be accountable and transparent.

“Buy American” needs to be more than a slogan on a bumper sticker, and now it is. We have ushered in the most significant expansion of “Buy American” policies in decades, including a new Made in America office at the Department of Commerce that is working with each Agency to make sure that they are exhausting all the possibilities to buy American before they are allowed to have a waiver to that provision, which is very important.

Decades from now, people are going to look back at the past 2 years as a real turning point. I really believe that. It is the point when we really truly stopped talking and started acting to rebuild American manufacturing. It is the point when we created hundreds of thousands of good-paying jobs, the kind of jobs that support families. And it is the point when we started to really bring jobs home.

Democrats are standing on the side of American manufacturing. We are standing on the side of good-paying American union jobs. We are standing

on the side of the American worker and our American middle class. And we are building things in America again—building things in America again—and that is really good news.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

NDAA

Mrs. FISCHER. Mr. President, over the years, many historians have studied how exactly the United States was able to rapidly mobilize during World War II. It was truly a remarkable thing.

One book, “Freedom’s Forge” by Arthur Herman, summarizes the feat well. American manufacturers produced “two-thirds of all Allied military equipment used in World War II. That included 86,000 tanks, 2.5 million trucks and a half a million jeeps, 286,000 warplanes, 8,800 naval vessels, 5,600 naval merchant ships, 434 million tons of steel, 2.6 million machine guns, and 41 billion rounds of ammunition—not to mention the greatest super bomber of the war, the B-29, and the atomic bomb.”

In the blink of an eye, entire manufacturing industries retooled their factories, and they began pumping out everything from fighter planes to ships to critical munitions. There is no doubt that our immense production capacity was a critical factor behind why the Allies won the war.

The threat environment that we face today is much different. There are a wide range of scenarios that our Nation has to be prepared for. And, of course, the way our economy is structured is also much different.

This raises an important question: Are we prepared to respond to the changing threat environment of the 21st century?

Repeating that incredible moment in American history would not be easy. What we can and what we should do is identify which investments we can make to effectively meet these threats and deter any adversary.

For years, we have underinvested in our munitions production capacity. We can start to reverse that by expanding already hot production lines, which would have an immediate positive effect on readiness.

If we don't make these investments now, it will be harder for us to surge munitions production in a time of emergency or global instability, and that is a concern we must take seriously.

During a crisis, surge capacity is one lever the Department of Defense must be able to pull to ensure that decision-makers have a range of options at their disposal. In fact, the ability to surge production of munitions is going to be vital to respond to most types of modern conflicts.

How do we know this? Let's just look at Ukraine and Russia and how quickly they are running through munitions.