

118TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S.** \_\_\_\_\_

To secure the supply of drugs in the United States, and for other purposes.

---

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

---

Ms. WARREN (for herself and Ms. SMITH) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

---

**A BILL**

To secure the supply of drugs in the United States, and  
for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Pharmaceutical Supply  
5 Chain Defense and Enhancement Act”.

6       **SEC. 2. LISTING OF CRITICAL DRUGS.**

7       (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the  
8 date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary, acting  
9 through the Commissioner of Food and Drugs and in con-  
10 sultation with the Secretary of Defense, shall develop a  
11 confidential list of drugs such Secretary determines to be

1 critical to the public health or national security. Such list  
2 shall include the name of each such drug, as well as all  
3 active pharmaceutical ingredients and starting materials  
4 required for the manufacture of the drug. In developing  
5 the list, the Secretary may consider the role of shortages  
6 in impeding access to drugs.

7 (b) UPDATES.—The Secretary shall update the list  
8 described in subsection (a) not less frequently than once  
9 every 2 years.

10 (c) SUBMISSION OF LIST.—The Secretary shall sub-  
11 mit the list described in subsection (a), including any up-  
12 dates to such list under subsection (b), as a classified mat-  
13 ter, to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and  
14 Pensions, the Committee on Armed Services, the Com-  
15 mittee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee on Bank-  
16 ing, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate, and to  
17 the Committee on Energy and Commerce, the Committee  
18 on Armed Services, the Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
19 and the Committee on Financial Services of the House of  
20 Representatives.

21 (d) INTERIM LIST.—During the period between the  
22 date of enactment of this Act and the date on which the  
23 Secretary issues the first list under subsection (a), the  
24 Secretary, in consultation with the Commissioner of Food  
25 and Drugs, the Secretary of Defense, and the Assistant

1 Secretary for Preparedness and Response, shall establish  
2 an interim list of drugs that will be deemed the list under  
3 subsection (a) until the Secretary develops the first list  
4 under subsection (a). Such interim list shall include not  
5 fewer than 30 drugs, as well as the active pharmaceutical  
6 ingredients and starting materials required for the manu-  
7 facture of such drugs, that are—

8 (1) included on the most recent list of essential  
9 medicines issued by the World Health Organization;  
10 or

11 (2) countermeasures and products that could  
12 replenish the strategic national stockpile.

13 (e) COMMENT PERIOD.—Not later than 60 days prior  
14 to the submission of the list described in subsection (a),  
15 the Secretary shall establish a comment period during  
16 which the public may comment on which drugs should be  
17 included on the list under subsection (a).

18 **SEC. 3. BOOSTING DOMESTIC DRUG AND ACTIVE INGRE-**  
19 **DIENT MANUFACTURING CAPACITY.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary, acting through the  
21 Director of the Biomedical Advanced Research and Devel-  
22 opment Authority, shall increase the domestic capacity to  
23 manufacture active pharmaceutical ingredients and start-  
24 ing materials for drugs critical to the public health and

1 national security by entering into the contracts described  
2 in subsection (b).

3 (b) CONTRACTS.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—To carry out subsection (a),  
5 the Secretary shall enter into contracts, not later  
6 than 6 months after the date of enactment of this  
7 Act, as follows:

8 (A) The Secretary shall enter into con-  
9 tracts with companies and nonprofit entities  
10 headquartered in the United States, under  
11 which such companies use manufacturing estab-  
12 lishments located in the United States to manu-  
13 facture the drugs included on the list under sec-  
14 tion 2, and the requisite active pharmaceutical  
15 ingredients and starting materials of such  
16 drugs, using advanced manufacturing, including  
17 continuous manufacturing where applicable.

18 (B) As a condition for entering into con-  
19 tracts with the Secretary to manufacture drugs,  
20 companies and nonprofit entities shall—

21 (i) develop and maintain a redun-  
22 dancy risk management and continuity of  
23 business plan (reviewed and approved by  
24 the Secretary) that identifies and evaluates  
25 risks to the supply of the drug, as applica-

1 ble, for each establishment in which such  
2 drug, and the requisite active pharma-  
3 ceutical ingredients and starting materials  
4 of such drug, is manufactured;

5 (ii) commit to implementing, as ap-  
6 propriate, risk management and other  
7 strategies to ensure that, in the case of po-  
8 tential supply chain disruptions, the entity  
9 can continue normal production of the  
10 drug, and the requisite active pharma-  
11 ceutical ingredients and starting materials  
12 of such drug, for 18 months;

13 (iii) commit to maintaining, to the ex-  
14 tent practicable (as determined by the Sec-  
15 retary) for each drug, and the requisite ac-  
16 tive pharmaceutical ingredients and start-  
17 ing materials of such drug, a 3-month sup-  
18 ply in order to mitigate the impact of sup-  
19 ply chain disruptions and shortages;

20 (iv) commit to selling drugs, or the  
21 requisite active pharmaceutical ingredients  
22 and starting materials of such drugs, de-  
23 veloped under contract with the Secretary  
24 at fair and reasonable prices, as deter-

1                   mined by the Secretary, taking into consid-  
2                   eration—

3                               (I) the impact of price on patient  
4                               access to the drug;

5                               (II) the cost of the drug to Fed-  
6                               eral or State health programs;

7                               (III) the cost of manufacturing  
8                               the drug; and

9                               (IV) the impact of price on mar-  
10                              ket competition for the drug; and

11                              (v) commit to making the prices de-  
12                              scribed in clause (iv) public.

13                              (C) The contracts described in this para-  
14                              graph shall contain continuity of business  
15                              agreements demonstrating, in advance of receiv-  
16                              ing a contract, the company's ability to rapidly  
17                              begin production.

18                              (D) The Secretary shall enter into con-  
19                              tracts only with companies headquartered in the  
20                              United States that use manufacturing establish-  
21                              ments located in the United States, under  
22                              which such companies expand the capabilities of  
23                              continuous manufacturing and other advanced  
24                              manufacturing for the production of the active  
25                              pharmaceutical ingredients and starting mate-

1           rials for the drugs included on the list under  
2           section 2.

3           (E) In issuing contracts under this section,  
4           the Secretary shall prioritize—

5                   (i) contracts designed to enhance the  
6                   supply of generic drugs and biosimilar bio-  
7                   logical products and the requisite active  
8                   pharmaceutical ingredients and starting  
9                   materials of such generic drugs and bio-  
10                  similar products; and

11                   (ii) contracts designed to enhance the  
12                  supply of drugs, and the requisite active  
13                  pharmaceutical ingredients and starting  
14                  materials of such drugs, that are not cur-  
15                  rently manufactured in the United States.

16           (2) INSPECTOR GENERAL REVIEW.—The In-  
17           specter General of the Department of Health and  
18           Human Services shall conduct a review of not fewer  
19           than 1 of every 3 contracts entered into under this  
20           section, and of the entities entering into such con-  
21           tracts, to ensure that contracts are being issued  
22           under fair and reasonable terms and conditions, in-  
23           cluding facilitating the procurement by the Federal  
24           Government of applicable products under section 2  
25           and applicable drugs, biological products, and med-

1 ical devices at fair and reasonable prices. The In-  
2 spector General shall make each such review public  
3 and, in cases where such a review identifies unrea-  
4 sonable prices, submit recommendations to Congress  
5 on how the Office should improve its contracting  
6 systems to ensure reasonable pricing.

7 (3) FUNDING.—To carry out this section, there  
8 are authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000,000  
9 for the period of fiscal years 2025 and 2029. Not  
10 later than April 1, 2029, the Secretary shall report  
11 to the congressional committees listed under section  
12 2(c), and provide a recommendation for renewal of  
13 funding under this paragraph.

14 (c) FEDERAL PROCUREMENT OF DOMESTICALLY  
15 MANUFACTURED DRUGS.—

16 (1) PROCUREMENT OF DRUGS.—

17 (A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning in fiscal year  
18 2029 when purchasing any drug included on  
19 the list under section 2, the Secretary of De-  
20 fense, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, the Di-  
21 rector of the Bureau of Prisons, and, for pur-  
22 poses of maintaining the strategic national  
23 stockpile, the Secretary of Health and Human  
24 Services, shall give priority to supplies of the  
25 drug manufactured in the United States (in-



1 including all active pharmaceutical ingredient and  
2 starting materials of the drug) that is of high  
3 quality.

4 (B) USE OF REMAINING FUNDS.—In the  
5 case that a Federal agency described in this  
6 paragraph that, after purchasing all drugs on  
7 the list under section 2 needed by such agency  
8 for a fiscal year, has funds appropriated under  
9 paragraph (2) for that fiscal year remaining,  
10 such Federal agency may use the remaining  
11 funds to purchase drugs wholly manufactured  
12 in the United States that are not included on  
13 the list under section 2.

14 (2) FUNDING.—

15 (A) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to  
16 be appropriated to each of the Secretary of De-  
17 fense, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, the  
18 Bureau of Prisons, and the Secretary of Health  
19 and Human Services, \$1,000,000,000 for the  
20 period of fiscal years 2029 through 2033 to be  
21 used to purchase drugs manufactured in the  
22 United States, as described in paragraph (1).

23 (B) REVERSION.—All funds that are ap-  
24 propriated under this paragraph for a fiscal  
25 year, but not expended by the end of the fiscal

1 year, shall revert to the General Fund of the  
2 Treasury.

3 (C) NO DIVERSION OR TRANSFER OF  
4 FUNDS.—No funding appropriated under this  
5 section shall be diverted, transferred, or other-  
6 wise made available for purposes beyond what  
7 is described in this Act.

8 (3) NIH AUTHORIZATION.—There are author-  
9 ized to be appropriated to the Director of the Na-  
10 tional Institutes of Health, for each fiscal year for  
11 which amounts are appropriated under paragraph  
12 (2) but not expended in full, an amount equal to the  
13 amount that reverts to the Treasury for such year,  
14 as described in paragraph (2). Such amounts shall  
15 be used by the Director of the National Institutes of  
16 Health to carry out biomedical research.

17 **SEC. 4. SUPPLY CHAIN TRANSPARENCY.**

18 (a) DOMESTIC SUPPLIERS TO FEDERAL PRO-  
19 GRAMS.—Each domestic manufacturer of a drug that sup-  
20 plies such drug to the Department of Defense, the Depart-  
21 ment of Veterans Affairs, the Department of Health and  
22 Human Services, or the Bureau of Prisons, or a domestic  
23 manufacturer of an active ingredient of a drug so supplied,  
24 shall—

1 (1) report annually to the Secretary and the  
2 agency receiving such drug on—

3 (A) whether any ingredients of such drug  
4 is sourced, either wholly or in part, from a for-  
5 eign country;

6 (B) in the case of an active pharmaceutical  
7 ingredient or key starting material that the  
8 manufacturer procures from a single source in  
9 a single foreign country, as applicable—

10 (i) not less than 2 alternative sources  
11 of any active pharmaceutical ingredient or  
12 key starting material;

13 (ii) 1 such alternative source, if only  
14 1 such alternative source is available; or

15 (iii) a statement that no such alter-  
16 native sources are available; and

17 (C) an assessment of the resilience and ca-  
18 pacity of the alternate sources identified under  
19 subparagraph (B); and

20 (2) develop continuity of business plans to pre-  
21 vent the disruption of any drug listed under section  
22 2, including any active or inactive ingredients of  
23 such drug, which the Secretary may audit.

24 (b) FOREIGN DRUG SUPPLIERS.—

1           (1) ESTABLISHMENTS IN A FOREIGN COUN-  
2           TRY.—Section 510(i)(5) of the Federal Food, Drug,  
3           and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360(i)(5)) is amended  
4           by inserting before “The Secretary” the following:  
5           “The requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) shall  
6           apply to establishments within a foreign country en-  
7           gaged in the manufacture, preparation, propagation,  
8           compounding, or processing of any drug that is re-  
9           quired to be listed pursuant to subsection (j), or of  
10          any active pharmaceutical ingredient of such a  
11          drug.”.

12          (2) LISTING OF DRUGS.—Section 510(j)(1) of  
13          the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21  
14          U.S.C. 360(j)(1)) is amended—

15                (A) in subparagraph (D), by striking  
16                “and” at the end;

17                (B) in subparagraph (E), by striking the  
18                period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

19                (C) by adding at the end the following new  
20                subparagraph:

21                “(F) in the case of a drug contained in the ap-  
22                plicable list, a certification that the registrant has—

23                        “(i) identified every other establishment  
24                        where manufacturing is performed for the drug  
25                        by the registrant; and

1           “(ii) notified each known foreign establish-  
2           ment engaged in the manufacture, preparation,  
3           propagation, compounding, or processing of the  
4           drug or the active pharmaceutical ingredient of  
5           the drug of the inclusion of the drug in the list  
6           and the obligation to register pursuant to sub-  
7           section (i)(5).”.

8           (c) REPORTS TO CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC.—

9           (1) CLASSIFIED REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not  
10          later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this  
11          Act and annually thereafter, the Secretary, in con-  
12          sultation with the Secretary of Defense, shall submit  
13          a classified report to Congress on the Nation’s reli-  
14          ance on importation of active and inactive ingredi-  
15          ents of drugs included on the list under section 2.

16          (2) PUBLIC REPORTS.—Not later than 1 year  
17          after the date of enactment of this Act and annually  
18          thereafter, the Secretary, in consultation with the  
19          Secretary of Defense, shall prepare an unclassified  
20          summary of the report described in paragraph (1),  
21          and shall make such summary publicly available on  
22          the websites of the Department of Health and  
23          Human Services and the Department of Defense for  
24          purposes of understanding the Nation’s dependency  
25          on foreign manufacturers of drugs. Such summaries

1 shall not include the names of any drugs, active  
2 pharmaceutical ingredients, or starting materials.

3 (3) CONTENT.—The reports under paragraph  
4 (1) shall include—

5 (A) all brand name and generic drugs, and  
6 the active and inactive ingredients of such  
7 drugs that—

8 (i) are not wholly produced in the  
9 United States;

10 (ii) are exclusively produced, or utilize  
11 active or inactive ingredients produced  
12 abroad;

13 (iii) are critical to the public health  
14 and national security of the people of the  
15 United States, as determined by the Sec-  
16 retary, in consultation with the Secretary  
17 of Defense, and including any drugs in-  
18 cluded in the list under section 2; or

19 (iv) are procured in any quantity by  
20 the Department of Defense for use by serv-  
21 ice members or veterans or by the Depart-  
22 ment of Health and Human Services for  
23 the strategic national stockpile;

24 (B) a list of potential, alternative sources  
25 for any finished drug or active or inactive ingre-

1           dient of a drug, that is sourced from a single  
2           manufacturer with establishments in the United  
3           States; and

4                   (C) assess the resiliency and capacity of al-  
5           ternative sources of any drug described in sub-  
6           paragraph (A), and whether any such alter-  
7           native source could be relied on to support do-  
8           mestic demand for such drug.

9           (d) MANUFACTURER COMPLIANCE.—

10                   (1) FAILURE TO NOTIFY OF A PERMANENT DIS-  
11           CONTINUANCE OR AN INTERRUPTION.—Section 301  
12           of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21  
13           U.S.C. 331) is amended by adding at the end the  
14           following:

15           “(jjj) The failure of a manufacturer of a drug de-  
16           scribed in section 506C(a), or an active pharmaceutical  
17           ingredient of such a drug, to notify the Secretary of a per-  
18           manent discontinuance or an interruption, and the reasons  
19           for such discontinuance or interruption, as required by  
20           section 506C.”.

21                   (2) EXEMPTION FROM PENALTY.—Section  
22           303(c) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act  
23           (21 U.S.C. 333(c)) is amended by inserting before  
24           the period at the end the following: “or (7) for hav-  
25           ing violated section 301(jjj) if such person made a

1 good faith determination that the discontinuance or  
2 interruption was not likely to lead to a meaningful  
3 disruption in the supply of that drug in the United  
4 States”.

5 (e) **REGISTRY OF ACTIVE INGREDIENTS.**—There is  
6 authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of Health  
7 and Human Services \$20,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, for  
8 purposes of establishing, in consultation with the Commis-  
9 sioner of Food and Drugs, an online registry of active  
10 pharmaceutical ingredients and key starting materials  
11 using information reported under subsection (a) and pur-  
12 suant to a registration under section 510(i) of the Federal  
13 Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360(i)).

14 (f) **FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION INSPEC-**  
15 **TIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated such  
16 funds as may be necessary to ensure that the Commis-  
17 sioner of Food and Drugs is able to conduct inspections  
18 and evaluations of new establishments established using  
19 funds made available under this Act.

20 **SEC. 5. OVERSIGHT OF FOREIGN PHARMACEUTICAL IN-**  
21 **VESTMENT.**

22 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 1 year after the  
23 date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter,  
24 the Federal Trade Commission, in consultation with the  
25 Secretary of the Treasury acting through the Committee



1 on Foreign Investment in the United States (referred to  
2 in this section as the “Committee”), shall submit to the  
3 appropriate congressional committees, the Secretary of  
4 Health and Human Services, and the Commissioner of  
5 Food and Drugs, a report on foreign investment in the  
6 pharmaceutical industry of the United States.

7 (b) ELEMENTS.—The report required by subsection  
8 (a) shall include the following:

9 (1) An assessment of—

10 (A) the supply chain of the pharmaceutical  
11 industry of the United States and the effect of  
12 concentration and reliance on foreign manufac-  
13 turing within that industry;

14 (B) the effect of foreign investment in the  
15 pharmaceutical industry of the United States  
16 on domestic capacity to produce drugs and ac-  
17 tive and inactive ingredients of drugs; and

18 (C) the effect of foreign investment in  
19 technologies or other products for sequencing or  
20 storage of DNA, including genome and exome  
21 analysis, in the United States, including the ef-  
22 fect of such investment on the capacity to se-  
23 quence or store DNA in the United States.

24 (2) The number of reviews and investigations  
25 conducted by the Committee, in each of the 10 fiscal

1 years preceding the year in which the study is con-  
2 ducted, with respect to covered transactions (as de-  
3 fined in section 721(a) of the Defense Production  
4 Act of 1950 (50 U.S.C. 4565(a))—

5 (A) in the pharmaceutical industry of the  
6 United States; or

7 (B) relating to the sequencing or storage  
8 of DNA in the United States.

9 (3) A short description of each such review or  
10 investigation, including whether the transaction was  
11 approved or prohibited.

12 (c) AUTHORITY.—The Federal Trade Commission  
13 shall have authority under section 6 of the Federal Trade  
14 Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 46) to conduct the studies re-  
15 quired to prepare the report required by subsection (a).

16 (d) PUBLICATION.—The Federal Trade Commission  
17 shall publish an unclassified summary of the report re-  
18 quired by subsection (a) on a publicly available internet  
19 website of the Commission.

20 (e) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-  
21 FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate congres-  
22 sional committees” means—

23 (1) the Committee on Banking, Housing, and  
24 Urban Affairs, the Committee on Health, Education,  
25 Labor, and Pensions, the Committee on Armed

1 Services, the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
2 Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transpor-  
3 tation, and the Committee on Appropriations of the  
4 Senate; and

5 (2) the Committee on Financial Services, the  
6 Committee on Energy and Commerce, the Com-  
7 mittee on Armed Services, the Committee on For-  
8 eign Affairs, and the Committee on Appropriations  
9 of the House of Representatives.

10 **SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.**

11 In this Act—

12 (1) “advanced manufacturing” means an ap-  
13 proach for the manufacturing of pharmaceuticals  
14 that incorporates novel technology, or uses an estab-  
15 lished technique or technology in a new or innovative  
16 way (such as continuous manufacturing where the  
17 input materials are continuously transformed within  
18 the process by 2 or more unit operations), that en-  
19 hances drug quality or improves the manufacturing  
20 process;

21 (2) the term “continuous manufacturing”—

22 (A) means a process where the input mate-  
23 rials are continuously fed into and transformed  
24 within the process, and the processed output

1 materials are continuously removed from the  
2 system; and

3 (B) consists of an integrated process that  
4 consists of a series of 2 or more unit oper-  
5 ations;

6 (3) the term “drug” has the meaning given  
7 such term in section 201(g) of the Federal Food,  
8 Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321(g));

9 (4) the term “Secretary”, unless otherwise  
10 specified, means the Secretary of Health and  
11 Human Services;

12 (5) the term “starting material” means a raw  
13 material, intermediate, or a drug substance that is  
14 used in the production of a drug substance and that  
15 is incorporated as a significant structural fragment  
16 into the structure of the drug substance; and

17 (6) the term “strategic national stockpile”  
18 means the stockpile maintained by the Secretary  
19 under section 319F–2 of the Public Health Service  
20 Act (42 U.S.C. 247d–6b).