

I am sure the American people were flabbergasted at the answer and his obvious flip-flop. President Biden pledged to lead a strong pandemic response when it helped his chances of getting elected, but now that he is actually in office and has the power and authority to follow through, he is folding his hand and pointing the finger at others.

The Biden administration has fumbled the ball time after time. It has chipped away at our energy security. When you saw prices rise at the pump because of inflation or because demand of refined petroleum products exceeded supply, he actually went so far as to encourage Russia and OPEC to produce more oil and gas. At the same time, he was all about canceling the permit for the Keystone XL Pipeline. Nord Stream 2—the Russian pipeline—providing gas to Germany, he is all for it. When it comes to domestic pipelines providing oil and gas to refineries so they can produce gasoline so that people can drive their cars at an affordable price, he is not for it.

Additionally, this administration has failed to address the humanitarian crisis at the border, in an astonishingly blasé sort of way. It doesn't even seem to get a rise out of this administration anymore—the numbers are so high. There are 2 million-plus people apprehended at the border, with no real impediment or deterrent or discouraging words to keep them from entering the country illegally.

And then there is the fumbling of diplomatic relations, insulting some of our oldest allies and emboldening our biggest adversaries. The biggest example of that was ceding the war in Afghanistan to the Taliban in the most humiliating way possible.

So the list of missteps and failures during this last 365 days has been a long one, indeed. But perhaps the biggest disappointment was in not delivering what President Biden promised the American people 1 year ago today, and that is to be a unifying force for our country.

He promised, as we all heard, to bring people of different backgrounds and ideologies and beliefs together and to find common ground. It actually made sense to make a virtue out of something that a 50-50 Senate would ordinarily dictate, and that is: When you can't have your own way because you don't have the votes, then make a virtue out of working together and actually pass bipartisan legislation.

He actually went so far as to point to his record in the Senate as evidence of his ability to work across the aisle and broker bipartisan deals, but it didn't take long for the American people to find out that these were, by and large, empty words.

Less than 2 months into his Presidency, our colleagues across the aisle took a hammer to Congress's perfect record of bipartisan pandemic response. That was during the previous administration. Almost everything we did was bipartisan, virtually unanimous, when it came to responding to the pandemic.

First, our colleagues spent nearly \$2 trillion on a bill that even though it was framed as COVID-19 response, committed less than 10 percent of that funding to COVID-19 and only 1 percent to vaccines. But that blowout, \$2 trillion, wasn't enough.

The President tried and failed, along with his political allies, to advance the so-called Build Back Better agenda. While trying to sell this radical plan to the American people, President Biden continued to make big promises, most of which were not credible. He said, for example, that this multitrillion-dollar bill cost zero dollars. Nobody—nobody—believed that. But here it was, the President of the United States, embarrassingly, for himself and others, was saying that \$5 trillion is really zero dollars. He said it wouldn't increase the deficit. And he said anyone making less than \$400,000 a year would not pay a single penny more in income tax.

All of these claims turned out to be false. And in the end, Democrats couldn't muster enough support to get the bill to the President's desk—again, not particularly surprising to those who have been observers of the Senate for a while. A 50-50 Senate should tell you that the only way you are going to get things done is through bipartisan consensus building, not trying to do things all on your own with 50 votes in the Senate, plus a tie-breaking vote from the Vice President.

But that didn't stop our colleagues from turning to yet another partisan bill—this time, one to launch a Federal takeover of State-run elections. Yesterday, our Democratic colleagues brought this bill up for a vote in the Senate and, of course, as we now know, it failed to garner sufficient votes to pass. But no one should be surprised, especially because this bill was drafted by one party in a 50-50 Senate.

And then when the bill failed, as we all knew it would, our Democratic colleagues took their penchant for partisanship to an entirely new level.

With the President's blessing, somebody who served more than three decades in the Senate and who railed against efforts to eliminate the filibuster, the 60-vote bipartisan consensus requirement before bills can be advanced—the President, in spite of his previous comments supporting that requirement, the so-called filibuster—this time, with the President's blessing, Senate Democrats tried to change the rules of the Senate to secure a purely partisan win.

What we witnessed in the Senate yesterday evening was a remarkable show of priorities of our Democratic colleagues. Forget the rules, forget compromise, forget consensus building, and forget the traditions of this institution, our Democratic colleagues proved that they are willing to taking a wrecking ball to this Chamber in pursuit of power.

It is no wonder that President Biden's approval ratings continue to

plummet. One recent poll found that only 33 percent of the respondents to that poll approved of the job that he was doing. After all, after everything the President promised, and with his dismal record of actually delivering on that promise, it is hardly surprising that the American people are disappointed.

In addition, inflation is up, wages are being eaten away by inflation, eroding the cost of living, and our country feels more divided than ever, despite the President's extravagant promises 1 year ago today, just out here on these steps.

The man who positioned himself as an experienced, unifying leader for the country has spent virtually all his time pursuing partisan ends. As a result, the Democratic Senate majority has wasted a lot of valuable time. I am disappointed by the wasted opportunities during the past year.

Floor time in the U.S. Senate is a precious commodity. It is the coin of the realm. There are a lot of great ideas that occur outside of this Chamber, but unless it can get time on the floor, it doesn't happen. But rather than taking up bills that did have that proud, bipartisan support, wasting time on purely partisan bills has resulted in very few accomplishments.

I can only hope that the second year of the Biden administration will bring more bipartisan cooperation. Hopefully, the administration can learn from its mistakes of the last year. This parade of dead-on-arrival legislation isn't helping the American people. The only way we can accomplish anything is by working together and building consensus.

Again, voters elected a 50-50 Senate, a closely divided House, and a President who promised to bring people of different views together. Let's hope this next year, the second year of the Biden administration, the President will see fit, along with our Democratic colleagues, to deliver on that commitment made 1 year ago today.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

S.T.A.N.D. WITH TAIWAN ACT OF 2022

Mr. SULLIVAN. Madam President, today I introduce the S.T.A.N.D. with Taiwan Act of 2022, which would mandate comprehensive and devastating economic and financial sanctions against the Chinese Communist Party, key sectors of China's economy, and leaders in the Chinese Communist Party, if the Chinese People's Liberation Army initiates a military invasion of the island democracy of Taiwan. Representative MIKE GALLAGHER of Wisconsin introduced an identical bill in the House today as well.

I am hopeful that when my colleagues come back from recess, the vast majority of Senators here, Democrats and Republicans, will end up joining me in supporting this important bill.

Last March, in a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing, I posed this

question to the INDOPACOM commander, Admiral Davidson:

Given the Chinese Communist Party's recent but long list of coercive and even violent actions—a hostile suppression of freedom in Hong Kong, threatening nuclear war with Japan, hand-to-hand combat with Indian soldiers in the Himalayas, economic blockades of Australia, genocide in its own Xinjiang province, [and aggressive naval actions in the South China Sea]—how do such actions impact your analysis [Admiral Davidson] on if and when China would invade Taiwan?

His response to me in this hearing made news around the world. He called these recent actions by President Xi “alarming,” and then he said:

I think the threat [of an invasion of Taiwan] is manifest during this decade, in fact, in the next 6 years.

Six years—that is not a lot of time. The Senate needs to focus on this issue much more. Indeed, this issue is not unrelated to the actions of another dictator—Vladimir Putin—who is right now threatening and likely to invade one of his neighbors—Ukraine.

Now, some see the defense of Taiwan as a luxury we cannot afford in an age of sharpened and great power competition and China's global economic strength. I reject that view. Importantly, so does American law, particularly the Taiwan Relations Act, which this body passed in 1979 by a vote of 90 to 6. Among other things, it states the following:

The United States will consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means . . . a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern.

The free world cannot be neutral in the contest between freedom and authoritarianism that is once again underway around the world, especially in the Indo-Pacific region.

American alliances, power, and ingenuity helped build a world that provided more freedom and prosperity to more people than ever before. Think about this fact: The U.S. democracy, bolstered by our strong military, has done more to liberate humankind from oppression and tyranny—literally hundreds of millions of people—than any other force in human history.

The Chinese Communist Party knows exactly what it wants to accomplish—to make the world safe for its authoritarian government, to export its dictatorship model to other countries, to separate America from its democratic allies, and to erode U.S. leadership around the world.

A world governed by Xi Jinping's totalitarian vision would be a world unsafe for America and other democracies around the world. That is why Taiwan is so central to the free world and its future. It is a thriving, prosperous Chinese democracy that holds free elections and bounds its power by the rule of law. For that reason, it threatens the CCP's central premise, which is that one man ruling in perpetuity by crushing all dissent knows what is best for 1.4 billion people.

The Chinese Communist Party has already crushed Hong Kong, once a bastion of liberty, and the free world barely raised its voice in protest. Should America and the world stand by as China does something similar to Taiwan, a peaceful democracy of 25 million people who have voted for an entirely different future, that would not simply undermine the security of the Western Pacific, as the Taiwan Relations Act says. A violent military takeover of Taiwan by the Chinese Communist Party would be a sea change in how the world is ordered. It would change the history of the 21st century in ways that the guns of August of 1914 changed the 20th century.

Taiwan is not some peripheral side-show in terms of global great-power competition; it is the frontline between freedom and tyranny, like West Berlin was during the height of the Cold War. It matters everywhere.

Last month, the magazine the National Review highlighted many of these issues in an excellent issue which laid out the arguments for and against whether the U.S. military should come to Taiwan's aid if the island democracy was invaded by the Chinese military. Should our country militarily defend democratic Taiwan after the CCP launches a military invasion of the island? This is a vitally important question which was front and center in the National Review last month. As the National Review points out, there is much disagreement on this issue.

There are powerful arguments on both sides, as this issue admirably demonstrates, but I believe there is much less disagreement on whether the United States should take actions now to deter a Chinese Communist Party military invasion of Taiwan in the future. Indeed, taking actions now to promote deterrence of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan is an area where I believe there is broad bipartisan agreement and support in the U.S. Senate.

Deterrence comes in many forms, and with regard to Taiwan, I believe there are three crucial layers of deterrence, as depicted here.

First is Taiwan's ability to militarily defend itself, the so-called hedgehog approach right here, where Taiwan musters sufficient self-defense capabilities to make a Chinese military invasion very difficult and very costly.

The second layer of deterrence is America's capability and will to defend Taiwan militarily should the President of the United States decide to do so once there is an invasion by the Chinese.

Over the past several decades, through many different crises in the Taiwan Strait, this layer, the American layer of deterrence, has proven to be decisive in keeping the Taiwanese people free. Our deep network of allies in the region augments this level of deterrence.

As it relates to deterrence in Taiwan, it is really often discussed only in these two layers, but there is a third

layer that is depicted here, which in terms of the present circumstances might be the most important, and that is the use of other instruments of American power beyond our military, such as our global economic and financial strengths, to deter China from an invasion.

That is exactly what my bill, the S.T.A.N.D. with Taiwan Act of 2022, is all about. The full name of this bill is Sanctions Targeting Aggressors of Neighboring Democracies—aka S.T.A.N.D.—with Taiwan.

It is a simple bill but a very powerful one, especially in terms of its deterrent effect. It states that if the Chinese Communist Party initiates a military invasion of Taiwan, the United States shall impose a comprehensive suite of mandatory economic and financial sanctions. The bill lays out these comprehensive sanctions, some of which are listed here, in great detail. These sanctions would be crippling to the Chinese Communist Party, its leaders, and key sectors of China's economy.

The bill also calls on the United States to coordinate such comprehensive sanctions with our allies around the globe, with the goal of making the CCP an economic pariah globally if President Xi chooses to militarily invade Taiwan.

The bill's goal is to make very clear to President Xi today the true cost of what such a military invasion of Taiwan would be, thereby heightening deterrence, which we all in the U.S. Senate support.

I believe the S.T.A.N.D. with Taiwan Act of 2022 should receive broad bipartisan support. In many ways, it reinforces the goals, policies, and directives of the Taiwan Relations Act, which continues to have overwhelming support here in the U.S. Senate.

The defense of Taiwan is an issue that has been weaved in and out of the careers and professions of countless Americans, including my own.

Over 25 years ago, in 1995 and 1996, I was a Marine infantry officer deployed to the Taiwan Strait as part of a Marine amphibious task force and two U.S. carrier strike groups, all in response to the Chinese Communist Party's aggressive military provocations on the eve of Presidential elections in Taiwan—the Third Taiwan Strait Crisis, this period is now called. That was an important and decisive demonstration of American commitment and resolve to an emerging democracy and partner that is still remembered today on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

More recently, I was part of another demonstration of American commitment and resolve when I traveled to Taiwan with Democrat Senators TAMMY DUCKWORTH and CHRIS COONS to provide vaccines—close to a million—from the United States for the Taiwanese people in the face of the Chinese Communist Party's aggressive attempts to prevent the citizens of Taiwan from receiving these lifesaving Western medicines.

I am now a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve, working again on these issues in the INDOPACOM theater.

Let me conclude with this: American commitment and resolve for Taiwan has been part of our law, heritage, trade, economics, and military deployments for decades and should be for decades to come. The S.T.A.N.D. with Taiwan Act of 2022 is the next logical step to demonstrate America's commitment to Taiwan, this time emphasizing the deterrent power of our economic and financial strengths.

It is our values of freedom, innovation, the rule of law, individual rights, and openness that the Chinese Communist Party is most afraid of. We must be ready as democracies to defend these values or risk a world increasingly governed by autocracy, surveillance, aggression, and permanent conflict. The S.T.A.N.D. with Taiwan Act will help us do just that.

TRIBUTE TO EMMA BROYLES

Madam President, it has been a busy week. Let's face it—it has been a contentious week here in the U.S. Senate. We had a big vote last night. I spoke about the issues we were debating last night and a few times on the Senate floor. Just a minute ago, I introduced a bill of mine on a very serious topic regarding a possible war with China and Taiwan. So it has been busy.

To be honest, my team and I were focused on a lot of these issues, and we were thinking about skipping my favorite part of the week—coming down on the Senate floor and talking about the Alaskan of the week—but then we came across a Twitter meme. You almost have to see it to completely understand it, but the gist of it was this: We in the Senate can't achieve civility without an "Alaskan of the Week" speech at the end of the week to lift spirits here in the Senate.

I kind of appreciated that meme, so we wanted to make sure that we, after a rough, contentious couple of weeks, ended it on a note that was uplifting and to highlight another very special Alaskan, as I try to do pretty much every week, whose role right now in our country is, in fact, going to be about bringing civility and respect and emphasizing the importance of service to all people of the United States and across the globe. So I thought, what a great time for an "Alaskan of the Week" speech. I know the pages love it.

So let me introduce to you our Alaskan of the week this week: 20-year-old Emma Broyles from Anchorage, who broke through barriers to become the first Alaskan and the first Korean American ever to be crowned Miss America. This just happened a couple weeks ago. Emma is very well-deserving, as you will see, and when it was announced that she had won Miss America, when that happened, when her name was announced, she cried tears of joy, of course, and Alaskans across the State cheered.

Now, every Miss America contestant picks a cause to champion. Special

Olympics, which I love—I am probably Alaska's Special Olympics biggest fan—was Emma's cause.

The night of the event, they held a watch party at the Jim Balamici Special Olympics training center in Anchorage, which is a great facility. Our Special Olympian athletes were the loudest of any group in the State cheering for Emma and her great win. Then, of course, there is the huge, extended Korean-American family who was also cheering, laughing, and crying when it was announced that she had won.

After it was done, Emma told reporters: "I didn't even expect to make the top 10. I was there for the good time and the cheesecake." That is Emma for you—funny, self-deprecating, humble, and real, just like her home State. She is the perfect Miss America to represent the great State of Alaska.

So let me tell you about our Miss America, America's Miss America, Alaska's Miss America, and her goals going forward.

About 50 years ago, Emma's grandparents emigrated from Korea to Anchorage. They wanted to raise a family, to live the American dream. Alaska, of course, is a great place to do that.

By the way, we have the greatest, strongest, most incredible Korean-American community in Alaska, who are just incredible Americans.

Emma's grandparents' daughter—Emma's mom—Julie was born in Anchorage, and so was her father Ron. Emma grew up a typical Alaskan kid—like my three daughters—fishing, winter sports, hard work at school, community-oriented. Her mom was a special education teacher, and her older brother has Down syndrome.

Emma likes to say that she went to her first Special Olympics meet when she was in the womb, so she has been a fan literally from the beginning of her life, and that is one of the reasons she is so passionate about that issue. She knows firsthand, like many of us do, the power of Special Olympic athletes to inspire and to be such great representatives for inclusion and respect and healthy competition.

Emma graduated from Service High School and made her way to Arizona State University, where she is now a junior studying biomedical sciences and voice performance. She wants to be a doctor. In fact, she wants to be a dermatologist.

Emma shared something with the world during the Miss America pageant that was very brave, like so many young women are doing now, particularly our athletes who have to perform and have a platform and use that platform for good, to talk about some difficult issues. Emma told the world that she had been diagnosed with ADHD—attention deficit hyperactivity disorder—which led to chronic scratching and skin-pinching issues.

Now, we don't hear a lot about that, but roughly 2 percent of the population

has this challenge, mostly young women. That is why Emma wants to be a dermatologist—to help young women like her who suffer from this disorder or other medical challenges.

"It was kind of a hard thing for me to share at first," Emma said, with the world during the pageant. "I wasn't sure if I was ready to be that vulnerable, you know, on a national stage with hundreds [of] thousands of people watching."

That is what she said, but she did it. She did it. That was very courageous, and we are better for it.

With Emma's beautiful singing voice, her poise, her bravery in highlighting an issue that has caused her a lot of pain, her role of championing the Special Olympics, her heritage, her home State, the crown looked very natural and beautiful atop Emma's head, like it was meant to be there.

Here is what she told a reporter after she won:

There were a lot of people who felt like they saw themselves in me.

She talked about all of the positive messages she had received from people all across America, Alaska, and the entire world after she won.

They told her how wonderful it was to see someone like them, someone who had similar issues or someone who has a family member who has a disability, and she talked about it courageously. They told her how wonderful it was "seeing themselves in me and seeing this kind of relatable figure and someone they can look to." That is Emma.

I think you are starting to see what a great young woman she is. Like so many of us, she had a tough time during COVID last year, but she overcame it. She said, "I hope that other people know that they can do the same thing," overcoming these challenges, "whatever it is they're struggling with."

So thank you, Emma, for being such an inspiration—incredible job, incredible courage, incredible poise.

I also—because I am talking about Emma—want to recognize so many other incredible Alaska women who have recently stepped up, done amazing things.

We have a State of very strong women. I am lucky to be surrounded by them everywhere—my wife, my daughters, cousins, sisters-in-law.

There is a famous saying in our State, and when you come to Alaska, you see it everywhere—T-shirts, mugs, bumper stickers. It is a simple saying: Alaska girls kick ass.

Now, look, I am not sure I am supposed to be able to say that on the Senate floor, but I just did. I hope I am not going to get fined or anything. But take a look. It is everywhere in our State. I love the bumper stickers.

And that, in the past year, has really proven to be true—truer than ever. We have our first Alaskan to win Miss America, our Alaskan of the Week today, Emma Broyles. We had our first