

past year throwing policy spaghetti against the wall, trying to get something to stick. The American people, of course, aren't interested in what he has to offer. Nevertheless, he persists, pivoting when he needs to recapture the mainstream media's attention.

Meanwhile, over in Russia, Putin is enjoying every single minute of this. He is probably laughing. He knows he can be as belligerent as he pleases because his most powerful and lethal adversary is totally distracted.

Today, I sent a letter to the White House, asking them to clarify the spin they have been putting out on our posture concerning Ukraine. Here is the problem I am trying to get to the bottom of.

On December 9, the Associated Press reported on a diplomatic phone call between Biden and the Ukrainian President. During the call, the White House allegedly made it clear that we support Ukrainian sovereignty. That is good. However, that report also revealed a supposed plan, concocted by the White House, to persuade Ukraine to cede territory—cede their territory—to Russia because it is currently controlled by Russian separatists. White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki has denied the latter. I still have some questions about what is going on behind the scenes.

History tells us that autocrats and thugs like Putin find their greatest power in the weaknesses of their adversaries. That is right. When they see weakness, they pounce. Strength is the only thing that deters them.

Have my colleagues across the aisle ever heard of "peace through strength"? Have they looked at that as a policy?

President Biden must summon the strength to stop playing political games for the cameras and confront this direct challenge to Ukraine's sovereignty. My Democratic colleagues must join him. This will require more than strong words. It does require action.

This year's yet-to-be-passed NDAA authorizes \$75 million in lethal assistance to Ukraine. It is time to pass this bill.

And I would add, that the fiscal year 2022 NDAA is the most bipartisan thing that has come out of the Senate all year.

It is a no-brainer. Let's get this done and not just for Ukraine, but also the future of Western Europe. That is also at stake.

The Biden administration must stand firm and reimpose meaningful sanctions on Nord Stream 2. This one pipeline will double the total capacity of Russian gas exports and hand even more economic leverage to the Kremlin. Why would we want to do that? Ukraine, on the other hand, will lose an estimated \$3 billion each year in transit fees.

Putin is weaponizing energy in Europe. Our partners in Ukraine are living under the constant threat of invasion, and the Biden administration is just sitting there and letting it happen.

So here we are, at the eleventh hour, Christmas is coming, and we are still waiting for Biden and the Democrats to do the job the American people elected them to do.

They have squandered an entire year trying to conjure up support for their disastrous socialist agenda. We are never going to get this time back, and the American people who are suffering are not going to get this year back.

But now is not the moment to just let things go. We can't afford weakness and spin, not when it comes to the economy, not when it comes to foreign policy, and certainly not when it comes to proving to the American people that there is someone in Washington watching out for them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. CARPER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to speak for up to 15 minutes, Senator TUBERVILLE for up to 10 minutes, and Senator PADILLA for up to 10 minutes prior to the scheduled vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there an objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

TORNADO

Mr. CARPER. Madam President, I come to the floor this afternoon to talk about my friend Bob Dole, who was laid to rest last week. Before I do that, I want to just take a moment to express our heartfelt thoughts and sorrow at the loss of so many lives in more than a half dozen States, including Kentucky, where my sister and her family live; including Arkansas, where other friends live.

We just want the folks to know who are going through a really tough time and tough patch, that when we talk a lot about you are in our thoughts and our prayers, that you literally are, and it is not just words that we are saying. We hope and promise we will be there to help you going forward as you deal with all of this.

REMEMBERING ROBERT J. DOLE

Madam President, having said that, I just want to talk a bit about Bob Dole, as our Nation continues to mourn his loss and celebrate the life of one of the greatest of the "greatest generation." I rise today to add to the countless tributes benefiting the late, great Senator from Kansas, Bob Dole.

Born Robert Joseph Dole on July 22, 1922, in Russell, KS, Bob Dole grew up during a period known as the Dust Bowl in the American heartland, where his family, like so many others, struggled to pay rent and put food on their table.

Bob Dole was the star athlete in high school who wanted to pursue a career in medicine. He began his studies at the University of Kansas, but like many young Americans at the time, including my dad and uncles from West Virginia, like them, his plans were interrupted by the attack on Pearl Har-

bor and Hitler's army marching across Europe.

Bob Dole enlisted in the Army Reserve and was called up to Active Duty in 1943. Two years later, at the age of 21, as part of the 10th Mountain Division, Bob Dole was severely injured on the battlefield in Italy after bravely pulling a fellow soldier to safety. He sustained grave injuries to his spine, to his shoulder, to one of his hands, and by all accounts was left for dead on the battlefield. But Bob Dole, like the United States and our allies, didn't give up. He persevered.

Despite long odds of recovery, Bob never gave up and wouldn't take no for an answer. He spent 39 months—let me repeat that. He spent 39 months recovering in a hospital bed undergoing numerous surgeries. When doctors told him that he was partially paralyzed, he built a device—he built a device—to help him regain his strength and was able not only to stand upright but eventually to walk again and to run for office many, many times.

Bob Dole knew he was lucky to make it home. And the decades he spent in public service after sustaining his injuries, he dedicated much of his life to ensuring that our veterans, especially our fallen veterans during World War II, like my Uncle Bob, were honored and remembered for their sacrifices.

My Uncle Bob was my mom's youngest brother, one of those sailors who wasn't lucky enough to make it home. He died at the age of 19 in 1944 during a kamikaze attack in the Western Pacific on his aircraft carrier, the USS Suwannee. His body was never recovered. But his memory lives on, thanks in no small part to Senator Bob Dole's work to establish the World War II Memorial on the National Mall. And for that, my family, the Patton family on my mother's side, are forever grateful.

Though they never met, Bob Dole, like so many Americans of the "greatest generation," understood that my Uncle Bob made the ultimate sacrifice in defense of our Nation and for the preservation of our democracy. That is why Senator Bob Dole spent so much of his time raising money for the World War II Memorial and why he spent so many Saturdays there, greeting veterans and thanking them for their service. This meant the world to those families, like mine, who lost a loved one during the war.

When Bob Dole was finally able to stand on his own two feet again, the town of Russell, KS, rallied around him and encouraged him to run for office. And he did.

After a short stint in local Kansas politics, Bob served in the U.S. House of Representatives for four terms before being elected to the Senate in 1968, the same year I was commissioned an ensign in the Navy.

For 35 years, Bob Dole proudly served the people of Kansas in Washington—here. His time in Congress, especially as a Senator, is really where his legacy and public service started to take

shape. He was a proud Republican who ran three times for his party's nomination for the Presidency. But I believe that Bob Dole will be remembered most fondly for his ability to find common ground.

I believe he said it best himself. He said:

When we prioritize principles over party and humanity over personal legacy, we accomplish far more as a nation.

I will read that again. This is worth repeating.

When we prioritize principles over party and humanity over personal legacy, we accomplish far more as a nation.

He was right. We can accomplish far more when we work together as one Nation rather than as Members of different political parties.

Bob himself said his proudest political accomplishments were passing the bipartisan Americans with Disabilities Act and working to find a principled compromise to save Social Security—a compromise that I was privileged to support as a newly elected freshman in the House of Representatives in 1983.

I believe Bob Dole embodied the admonition of Matthew 25 to care for the "least of these" among us. He worked alongside the South Dakota Senator George McGovern, a liberal Democrat, who also ran for President, to improve the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as the Federal Food Stamp Program, to ensure that struggling families could feed themselves and their children.

Bob Dole took Matthew 25—and Matthew 25 goes something like this: "For I was hungry, and you gave me something to eat"—and he turned it into the law that, to this day, helps lift Americans out of poverty and on to longer, healthier lives because, ultimately, Bob followed his moral compass, even when it wasn't politically convenient. He wasn't afraid to buck his party when he felt doing so was the right thing to do.

He was a fiscal conservative, but he supported tax reforms to raise revenue. He also supported—get this. He also supported the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—landmark civil rights bills that sought to eliminate racial discrimination from our laws and sought to ensure equal access to the ballot box for all Americans.

These accomplishments required hard-fought—hard-fought—negotiations and courageous votes. But Bob Dole never let that interfere with his commitment to doing what was right and, I might add, an incredible sense of humor.

When Bob's wonderful wife—our former colleague here in the Senate, Elizabeth Dole—was in front of the Senate Labor Committee in 1989, having been nominated by then-President George Herbert Walker Bush, Bob accompanied her to her confirmation hearing and introduced her there as many of us introduce our own constituents when they are nominated for a

particular position by a President. One of the things that he said, as he sat there next to his wife Elizabeth, he quipped—and he was great for quips—to his colleagues: "I regret that I have but one wife to give for my country."

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And following his defeat in the 1988 Republican Presidential primary, he opened his remarks by saying: Not only do "I regret that I have but one wife to give to my country," he wanted to add: "If I had this much coverage in [my] primary, I would be writing my inaugural address." He then continued to say:

I once dreamed of making a name for myself in Washington, but I never thought it would be as the husband of the Secretary of Labor, but I'll take what comes these days.

The truth is, as much as Bob Dole probably learned while serving here in the Senate, the Senate could learn a lot more from the life and example of Bob Dole. And we could use more Bob Doles in this body today, on both sides of the aisle.

While Bob Dole was a serious man, he didn't take himself too seriously. He didn't care for politicians who divided us just for the sake of division. He also didn't care for big egos of folks who wanted to do something just so they could take credit for it.

He believed the words of Abraham Lincoln, one of his personal heroes, that ours is a "government of the people, by the people, [and] for the people." That is why he fought and nearly gave his life in defense of our Nation and our democracy. That is why he continued to serve our Nation also, always striving to improve the lives of Kansas and all of us.

We owe it to Senator Dole, to my Uncle Bob, and to the entire "greatest generation" who fought and made the ultimate sacrifice for us to live in a free and democratic country, to uphold the ideals of our democracy, and to work together to create a brighter, better tomorrow for our children and our grandchildren.

So as we mourn the passing of Bob Dole, I would challenge all of us to prioritize principles over party and humanity over personal legacy. We can all work better together to address the challenges of today and confront the challenges of tomorrow.

(Mr. HEINRICH assumed the Chair.)

Mr. President, some of us may recall the famous film, "The Wizard of Oz." It took place in Bob Dole's proud home State of Kansas. Throughout the film, Dorothy is reminded that "there is no place like home, no place like home." Well, Senator Dole entered these Halls one last time last week to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda, just down the hall over my right shoulder. And I, like many of our colleagues, had the chance to pay our respects to a man of integrity, passion, and wit.

Now, it is time to send Bob home back to Russell, KS, as we have, one last time because there is truly no place like home.

As the Presiding Officer knows, I like to—if we are not in session when somebody has a birthday, one of my colleagues has a birthday, I call them. I track them down or send them a text message. And I have done that with Elizabeth Dole, who served in this Chamber with us in more recent years, and I still call her on her birthday.

And her birthday is July 29. I called her on July 29 this year to wish her a happy birthday and to see how she and Bob were doing. I got to talk with him as well as with her, and they both said to me—they said, "Why don't you and Martha"—my wife Martha—"come down here sometime when we have some free time and you do as well, and we will just go out for dinner together."

Sadly, we never got to do that. But we are going to take a raincheck. And I promise you, if you are listening out there, Bob, we plan to take full advantage of that raincheck and come and see you, with Elizabeth.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

KENTUCKY

Mr. TUBERVILLE. Mr. President, I would like to add on to what the other Senators have said. We want to give our blessings and prayers to the people in the southern part of the country after all the tornadoes.

I grew up in Arkansas and now live in Alabama, and there hasn't been a year gone by that we didn't have devastated communities, towns, cities across the South. It seems like it is an every-year occurrence. There has been many people lost, many people injured.

The TV trucks and newscasters will leave in the next couple of days, leaving the destruction behind for the people of these cities and towns to rebuild, and it is a tough time. It is going to be a tough time all around, not just for a few days but for years. And our prayers go out to them and all the families that have to go through one of the toughest times of their life.

BUILD BACK BETTER ACT

Mr. President, on the list of people that my Democratic colleagues are claiming to help on this Build Back Better Act, there is a huge blank.

I worked in education all my life. I worked around people all my life. What is missing from this list is American families, American families all over this country. For example, the childcare program in this tax-and-spend spree is really about only helping certain families. And that is fine—certain families—but we should help all families.

But my colleagues want to help the ones that are structured toward the Democrats that they deem favorable, and that is not the American way. If you are in a two-parent, working household, my colleagues' plan would cost Mom and Dad thousands more each year to pay for their child's care. Think about that: thousands more. And this means tax many and give to a few. Well, that is not what we do here.