

that Ukrainians would one day be able to utilize these weapons.

Now, why do we want that weapon? It could go deep into Russia and knock out factories that make drones that come from Iran and to destroy missile factories that are used to terrorize the Ukrainian people at night.

I think we have a moment here to act decisively with our European partners. I appreciate what President Trump has done to try to solve this conflict through diplomacy. I appreciate what he has done to make Ukraine more lethal, providing more weapons by selling to Europe weapons to the benefit of Ukraine. I appreciate the sanctions that were imposed yesterday, and I think they are having a beneficial effect already. But I think we need to do more.

So as President Trump engages President Xi, it is my hope that the Chinese would change their position about this war and work with President Trump to get Putin's attention to find a way to end the bloodbath honorably and justly.

Why do I keep talking about China? There is no way Putin can prosecute this war if China decided to isolate Russia and stop buying their oil. And we would find ways to help China with their oil needs so they wouldn't be at a loss. If that happened, then this war would end pretty quickly.

To President Trump: Good luck. I am glad you are talking to China about a bunch of things, including trade. I am sure you will talk about the recent efforts of the Chinese Communist Party to go after Christians in an unprecedented way in China. The Christian church is under assault.

We have a lot of differences with China, but if China wants to change its relationship with the United States, you have a chance in the next few days to do it in a positive way.

To China: If I and others believed that you used your influence with Putin to end this bloodbath in Ukraine, it would be to the benefit of you over time, and I would respond differently than I have in the past. I think Western Europe would respond differently than they have in the past.

So this is an opportunity for China to do something good for the world. You have it in your power to get Putin's attention unlike anybody else on the planet. I would urge you to use that power to end the bloodbath.

If you choose to continue to buy cheap Russian oil to fuel Putin's war machine, to benefit your economy, then you should not be surprised that we push back hard. It is your choice.

But I am speaking for most everybody in this body, where we believe the time has come for China, India, and Brazil to stop profiting off this war. The time has come to end this bloodbath.

To China, India, and Brazil: You have the power, if you would use it, to get Putin's attention like no one else on the planet.

To India: You are definitely moving in the right direction.

China made some announcements today about maybe reducing their purchases of Russian oil. All of this is good.

The reason I keep talking about this is I concluded that, unlike anybody else on the planet, China can, if they choose to, help us end this war better than anybody. So I am appealing to President Xi to help President Trump end a war that should have been ended a long time ago.

I am very concerned that if this war continues, then the relationship between the United States and China is going to get worse, not better. And I seek it to be better.

The Presiding Officer has been involved in everything I have just said.

You have been one of the leading champions of protecting the Ukrainian children kidnapped by the Russians. You are one of the first people that sponsored the legislation. You have been to Ukraine numerous times. I know the Presiding Officer has a personal relationship with Ukraine that goes back to a long time ago when you were actually involved in Ukraine and Ukrainian families, spending some time there. You have been a strong, consistent voice that Russia needs to stop; we need to end the war, not continue the war.

My Senate colleagues, you have been asking me a long time: When are we going to move your bill?

It is not my bill; it is our bill. The time has come. I am hoping—and I believe the majority leader agrees—that the time has come. We will wait to see what happens in China, but if nothing changes in China, then we need to have a week, I believe, of where this body focuses on applying pressure against Russia to end this conflict to the betterment of the world.

With that, I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

REMEMBERING RICHARD MOE

Ms. SMITH. Madam President, I rise today to honor my friend and great American Richard Moe, whom we lost to Parkinson's disease at the age of 88 on September 15 of this year.

Dick leaves behind a legacy that shaped Minnesota and our country and my own life and career.

Madam President, I understand that some of Richard Moe's family are visiting us in the Gallery today, and I want to, through the Presiding Officer, welcome them to the Chamber.

From leading Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party at only 32, to serving as chief adviser to Walter Mondale in the Senate and the White House, to spending 17 years as president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Dick leaves behind a remarkable legacy of public service.

Dick was born in Duluth, MN—fondly called the San Francisco of the Great Lakes, to those of us who love it. He was born there in 1936. He became ac-

tive in Minnesota politics at a very young age, at 24, and right out of college, he volunteered to be a driver for Minneapolis mayor Hubert Humphrey when he was running first for the Senate. Dick was, as I said, Humphrey's driver and reportedly was so nervous driving the great man around that he drove Humphrey right into a gate at one point—an event that, thankfully, was not a career-ending move for him.

A few years later, when he was only 32, Humphrey recruited Dick to lead Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, and there, Dick showed really exceptional political intuition and skill, where he led Minnesota Democrats to win majorities in the State legislature for the first time ever.

His political and organizing skills caught the eye of Senator Walter Mondale, who recruited Dick to come work on the Washington staff, and soon Dick became Mr. Mondale's chief of staff and one of his closest advisers.

Among his many accomplishments, Dick continued to show prescient political insight by hiring a bright-eyed, young Minnesotan named AMY KLOBUCHAR to be an intern for Walter Mondale. AMY will be here to tell you the rest of the story.

I think it is fair to say that Dick loved the Senate, and he believed strongly in the power of this institution to do good in people's lives. He understood that politics is about making the very most of the power that you have, for good.

One of my favorite stories comes from 1976, when Jimmy Carter was considering Walter Mondale to be Vice President. Fritz balked at the idea at first. He had heard some of the horror stories about how LBJ treated his friend Hubert Humphrey, and he was very negative to the idea of the Vice Presidency. But Dick encouraged Mondale to keep an open mind, and then he invited Humphrey over to the Senate to talk the whole idea through. And Humphrey was really clear. He said: Fritz, you will get more done up there in 2 days than you will get done here in 2 years.

So Fritz and Joan and Dick, as I understand it, went down to Plains, GA, to meet the Carters. Now, Fritz always said that Joan charmed the Carters and that sealed the deal, and I am sure that there is a lot of truth to that, but after that meeting, Dick told Mr. Mondale that he needed to write down on paper what he wanted the job of Vice President to be. So the two of them talked, and then Dick drafted a memo that laid out the template for the modern Vice Presidency.

After the election, they presented their ideas to President-elect Carter, and Carter agreed. With that memo, what had been a torture to Hubert Humphrey was reimagined by Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter, thanks to Dick Moe.

Vice President Mondale had an office in the West Wing because they understood that proximity to the Oval and

to decision making was essential. Mondale got the information and the security briefings and the respect that allowed him to truly be a true adviser and trusted confidant to the President, not just a ribbon cutter and somebody who was designated to go to funerals. And Richard Moe became Chief of Staff to the Vice President and Senior Adviser to President Carter.

Many years later, when Gov. Mark Dayton asked me to be his Lieutenant Governor, I consulted my friend Walter Mondale: Did he think this was a good idea? Characteristically, Mondale was a little skeptical at first, but then he called me down to his office, and he had a mission in mind. I came in and I sat down, and Mondale shouted out to Linda, his longtime personal assistant—he said, “Linda, get me Dick’s memo.”

So he handed me Dick Moe’s 11-page revolutionary tract on how to change the role of the second in command.

“Take a look at this,” says Mondale, in his understated way. “I think it might give you a few ideas.”

So I used that memo to write my own memo to Governor Dayton so that together we were able to transform that role of Lieutenant Governor in Minnesota. And I remember saying to Mark: You are no Jimmy Carter and I am no Walter Mondale, but I think there are some good things for us to take to heart here. And that changed my life.

I love this story because, at its heart, I was a chief of staff and Dick was a staffer, and as a former staff, I appreciate great staff. And he was the consummate staffer, Dick Moe.

But what happens next in his story is how Dick left behind the role of adviser and became a principal in his own right. When the Carter-Mondale ticket lost, badly, in 1980, Dick regrouped. He practiced law for a while, and he dedicated himself to his love of American history.

He wrote a book called “The Last Full Measure” about Minnesota’s famous First Regiment and the Battle of Gettysburg, and this led him to leading the National Trust for Historic Preservation, where he served as president for 17 years. In that role, he had a significant hand in preserving some of our country’s most precious buildings and historic sites and shaping how cities and small towns preserve the unique Main Streets and downtowns that give these communities a sense of place.

His book “Changing Places” changed how downtowns were imagined, and he called out how big-box stores were destroying what is precious and unique about these communities that we love.

He marshalled famous historians and grassroots organizers to protect the Manassas Battlefield from being overrun by a Disney theme park, and he was one of the first people to go to New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina to highlight the need to restore the historically Black neighborhoods decimated by the storms.

His fondest achievement was the restoration of a gothic revival home that President Lincoln used as a refuge for his family during the hot Washington summers of the Civil War. You can all visit President Lincoln’s cottage in Washington, DC, thanks to Dick. In fact, Madam President and Senator KLOBUCHAR, I believe we had a women’s Senate dinner there ourselves and enjoyed that beautiful place that Dick protected and restored for all of us.

When I came to the Senate in 2018, Dick reached out to me immediately, and he became a trusted adviser to yet another Minnesota Senator. He gave me wise counsel and in so many ways helped me to learn how to be a Senator but maybe most especially around the importance of protecting Minnesota’s Boundary Waters wilderness area.

The Boundary Waters is one of the great places on this planet. It is a million acres of lakes and bogs and forests and streams. And as Vice President Mondale’s Chief of Staff when they were in the Presidency, Dick helped Mondale and President Carter shepherd through Congress the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness Act of 1978. This was the culmination of years of grassroots efforts to protect this place.

After all these years, Dick was still engaged in protecting the Boundary Waters from copper, nickel, and sulfide mining. Dick understood the North Country of Minnesota. It was in his history, it was in his blood, and he understood the power of leadership to protect this special place.

Madam President, I can tell you, he was relentless. I remember once, I took a call from him on New Year’s Day morning. I was still in bed, and he is calling me on New Year’s Day: Starting a new year, Tina. Time for us to think about what you can do to help to protect the Boundary Waters. Leadership, he said, makes a big difference. And he was right.

Dick loved Minnesota. He loved this country, and he believed passionately in the idea that the U.S. Senate has the power to do good. He was steadfast in believing that individual leaders have an obligation to do their best and be their best and live up to our highest values.

I can see him sitting across from me in the Senate Dining Room. There we were—the elder statesman and junior Senator. He would lean in and say to me: Tina, I have been thinking about something that I think you could do that would make a big difference. Let me tell you about it.

Even as Parkinson’s took its toll—and it did—he kept at it. One of the last conversations I had with him was about a speech he wanted me to give on Minnesota’s value of civic participation and our collective responsibility to work together for the good of all of us.

After the tragic and wrenching murders of Melissa Hortman and Mark, her husband, and the shooting of State senator John Hoffman and his wife Yvette,

Dick could still see the through line of our Minnesota story—from Minnesota’s First Regiment sacrificing everything at Gettysburg, to Humphrey and Mondale, through civil rights and farmers and laborers, to this moment. For Dick, this was the story of regular people called on to do the hard work of holding our democracy together—not out of partisanship but in the spirit of building a more perfect Union.

So I have yet to deliver the speech that Dick had in mind, but I am working on it. And I am missing the inspiration of my friend and mentor Dick Moe. We all should have someone like Dick in our corners—someone wise, kind, telling us what we need to hear, and pushing us to do better and do more for the good of all of us.

Dick is loved and missed by his wife of 60 years, Julia Neimeyer Moe, by his daughter Alexandra and son Andrew, his sister Elizabeth, his two granddaughters, and many, many other family and friends, and those whose life he expanded by being a part of it.

May his memory be a blessing to all of us who knew and loved him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUDD). The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I first want to thank my colleague and friend Senator SMITH for her beautiful remarks and for her friendship with Dick to the end.

I am sure you hear his voice all the time when you are trying to make decisions, and having that kind of person that is so grounded, not just in Minnesota but in his values that he brought with him to Washington and that he brought with him to the Vice President’s office, couldn’t be more important, and especially at a time like this.

I just kept thinking, as Senator SMITH spoke, about how Dick cherished history instead of trampling on it like we have seen right now. He understood that you could learn from history and that history can teach you lessons that help guide you when you have to make decisions in the now.

As Senator SMITH mentioned, Dick was born in Duluth, not actually far away from where my dad grew up, in Ely. So there was a lot of good stock up there. He was the son of Russell and Virginia Moe, and he grew up surrounded by the values that define our State: hard work and service to others, and especially northern Minnesota.

He then goes on to the University of Minnesota and gets his start in a big way by running the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, and he helped to lead that party to victory, time and time again, because, like I said, he was grounded in doing the right thing, but he also was a mastermind of how to win elections and how to follow up for people and get things done.

That is the path that led him to my mentor, Walter Mondale, whom we all miss very, very much. I literally got to see Mondale at his highest peaks, when

he was Vice President and I was an intern in the office, hired by Dick when he was Chief of Staff.

And then I got to see him back in Minnesota, where he was, literally, working at the law firm with me, and I saw him in grocery lines, where he would engage in long discussions with the clerk at the grocery station on how we could get, say, peace in the Middle East or what we should be doing about an economic crisis.

And Mondale had that same thing that drew Dick Moe to him, and that was a grounding in the people that you represent.

So we all know what a great job he did running that office and his Norwegian sense of humor—I know those words don't always go together, but it was a very dry sense of humor—and just this belief in decency.

Senator SMITH recounted how Dick helped Fritz prepare for that meeting with Jimmy Carter. And I had one interesting perspective on how prepared Walter Mondale was for that meeting.

When I actually went to Plains, a few years back, and met with President Carter and Mrs. Carter, what they told me, over the pimento and cheese sandwiches that the former First Lady made, was that it was Walter Mondale that knew that her name was pronounced “Rosalynn” and not “Rosalynn.” And I have a very strong feeling that Dick Moe drilled that into Mondale's head when running down there. And Carter actually said that really stood out because a bunch of the candidates mispronounced his wife's name.

Among other things, as Tina explained, this was a model that they, after getting elected, embarked on, and Dick Moe became Vice President Mondale's Chief of Staff. He crafted that 11-page memo that redefined the Vice Presidency, giving an active role in shaping policy, and he also served on President Carter's senior staff, which was very unique.

That is when I got to be an intern at that time. I still remember writing in, sending in my letter, and interviewing over the phone. I have this cherished picture in the Vice President's home backyard that Dick Moe is in with all the interns, which included me and Tom Nides, who went on to be our Ambassador to Israel. It was quite an intern class, and he was there. I remember it was the first time I ever had lobster; so it is very memorable to me.

I was so eager when I got there to do these policy memos that I had talked to Dick about and write all of these very smart ideas for them. And they, in fact, assigned me to do the furniture inventory of every piece of furniture in the Vice President's office and write down the numbers on a spreadsheet and make sure that they were all there and turn it into some government office. And I literally crawled around on the floor for 2 weeks, checking serial numbers on desks and chairs.

So the first thing I learned from all that is that Walter Mondale and his

Chief of Staff, Dick Moe, were scrupulously honest, and nothing was missing and, second, was to take every job seriously. I often share that with young people, including the interns in the Capitol.

That internship that Dick Moe hired me for was my first government job in Washington, DC, and this was my second. So I remind them: Take those internships and the people you work with and the relationships, even if they are fleeting, that you form as you are meeting people and getting to know them, because they are oftentimes the key to your future. And never complain about what assignments you get.

So Dick Moe believed in preparing the next generation of public servants. I think Senator SMITH's story of that just really says it all. And then, in his later years, when he is not feeling as good, he takes that time to be such a mentor to her.

So we talked about the longest serving president for the National Trust for Historic Preservation—a 17-year tenure. He led the efforts to rebuild so many historic neighborhoods in New Orleans, after Hurricane Katrina. Working on restoring President Lincoln's cottage is such an amazing thing. To think it had not been restored, but Dick Moe knew how important that was.

I don't think he saw preservation as nostalgia. I think he saw it as honoring our country and honoring the Americans that had served.

There was a lot about that book, “The Last Full Measure,” that I just love, and it is now recognized as the definitive history of the First Minnesota Regiment, which, as we know, fought for the Union in the Civil War, before Minnesota was even a State.

There had been another book, the historical novel “The Killer Angels,” which, OK, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1975, but Dick felt it did not correctly account for the bravery of the Minnesotans in the First Minnesota, and he more than righted that wrong.

So that story that I have often quoted around our State about the 262-member First Minnesota Regiment, which held the line against 1,600 Confederate troops while desperately needed reinforcements were brought in on the Union side, is truly worthy of the book that Dick wrote.

I went with a number of Senators, including Senator KING and a number of Republican Senators, to take a 1-day deep dive on the Gettysburg battlefield site, Monday. It was led by the head of the War College and another veteran member of that War College. And we went to that site.

We first talked about Maine and the historic story of Maine, and then we went to the Minnesota site, which is a very big monument, but it is not nearly as much visited.

The head of the War College, at the time, actually started to shed a tear when he told the story because he said,

as Dick knew, the story of the First Minnesota was a story like no other.

They asked them to hold the line—262 men, 200—and they didn't pause. They went and did it. And we saw that open field. And 215 of them were struck down by bullets, an 82-percent casualty rate, the highest percentage of casualty suffered by any Union regiment in a single engagement in the entire war.

That sacrifice, which Dick researched and captured, is summed up by a Churchill quote:

Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

Those ragtag soldiers that didn't even have proper uniforms, that were farmers, that were laborers, that were part of a regiment from a State that wasn't even a State, stood up when it couldn't be more of a difficult burden, and they didn't hesitate, and they did their jobs.

That is what Dick honored with that story, and it is something I think we all should be thinking about right now. What is truly sacrificed? What does it mean to be an American? What does it mean to stand up for your country?

So Dick's wife Julia and his kids Alexandra and Andrew, and the granddaughters, we send our love and gratitude. Our State is so much better and our country is so much better because of Dick Moe. He showed us, and clearly Senator SMITH, that public service is worth it, that this devotion to history is not just some ancient thing in a dusty book. It matters to now.

He showed us that the ties that bind us—whether it is small towns and historic preservation of buildings, like Lincoln's Cottage—mean something in the now; that history matters. And I think we all need to remember that today.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Ms. ERNST. Mr. President, it is day 23 of the Schumer shutdown, making this the second longest shutdown in modern history. While Senator SCHUMER says “every day gets better” for Democrats, the stunt is taking a real toll on Americans. Closing the government may be a game for Washington politicians, but it is not fun for the folks in Iowa who work hard and expect Congress to do the same.

A social service provider in Sioux City is facing challenges providing shelter for the homeless because the Social Security Administration is closed.

The wife of a civilian employee at the Rock Island Arsenal worries that if he doesn't get paid, the family may have to dip into their daughter's college funds to make ends meet.

Another frustrated constituent in Council Bluffs says:

We have families here living paycheck to paycheck. They cannot afford food, much less healthcare.

An employee of the Farm Service Agency in Taylor County, which is a