

(Mr. McCLINTOCK addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGREY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GINGREY of Georgia addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

**HONORING THE LIFE AND SERVICE
OF AMERICA'S PEACEMAKER,
AMBASSADOR RICHARD
HOLBROOKE**

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SCHAUER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas. Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

I am saddened by the occasion on which I come to the floor of the House, but it is a privilege to be able to speak about a great American, for we do not capture the life and the legacy of great Americans. We find ourselves forgetting. Some would say, if we don't remember the past, we are doomed to repeat some of those hills and valleys in the future. Tonight, I want to remember Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, whom this Nation lost on Monday evening.

It is important that his story be told for I would like to know him and for this Nation to know him as America's peacemaker, but many will say that peacemaker had a tough edge.

Before I start, I want to mention his family and express my sympathy to them for their loss—to his wife, his two sons, and his stepchildren—all who loved him so very, very much.

What I would say to you is that this was an action man. He was someone who threw himself into the world of diplomacy. Frankly, there was no challenge of peace too difficult for Ambassador Richard Holbrooke.

One newspaper, USA Today, calls him as he is known in the headline—Bulldozer, Giant of Diplomacy Holbrooke Dies.

Among his credits, the 1995 Bosnian pact, but Richard was also known around the world for being unending and unceasing in his commitment to solving a problem, and he would ask you to work with him to solve that problem.

Henry Kissinger said, If Richard calls you and asks you for something, just say, "Yes." If you say, "No," you will eventually get to saying "yes," but the journey will be very painful.

Ambassador Holbrooke was not prepared to give up. He learned to become extremely informed about whatever country he was in. He would push for an exit strategy and look for ways to get those who lived in a country to

take responsibility for their own security. He didn't mind getting engaged and involved with those who lived in faraway places, whether it was Vietnam or whether it was Bosnia—the resulting agreement, the Dayton peace treaty. The Washington Post headline credited him with deft maneuvering that resulted in that peace treaty. He brokered the accord in Bosnia. He was seeking peace in Afghanistan, and he refused to give up.

So, tonight, it is important that we remember this man, this gentleman—this giant of a man, large in size and with the capacity to do much. America was saddened by his loss. In particular, I note that Ambassador Holbrooke always accepted the call to duty, whether it was as the U.N. ambassador or whether it was as the special envoy which President Obama called him to be. In the time of sadness, many came to present and to give their thoughts. Let me share with you some of those words.

For nearly 50 years, Richard served the country he loved with honor and distinction. He worked as a young foreign service officer during the Vietnam war, and then supported the Paris Peace Talks, which ended that war.

□ 2200

As a young assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, he helped normalize relations with China. As U.S. ambassador to Germany, he helped Europe emerge from a long Cold War and encouraged NATO to welcome new members. The progress that we have made in Afghanistan and Pakistan is due in no small measure to Richard's relentless focus on America's national interests and pursuit of peace and security. He understood in his life, his work, and his interests that they encompass the values that we hold so dear, and as usual, amidst this extraordinary duty, he also mentored young people who will serve our country for decades to come. One of his friends and admirers once said that if you're not on the team and you're in the way, God help you. Like so many Presidents before me, I am grateful that Richard Holbrooke was on my team, as are the American people. President Barack Obama.

I remind you, like so many Presidents before me, I'm grateful that he was on my team. The President understood the kind of strength that Ambassador Holbrooke had. This sounds just like him: If you're not on the team and you're in his way, God help you. But remember, he was doing it for the good of this Nation and for the good of the world.

Another comment on his great life: In a lifetime of passionate, brilliant service on the front lines of war and peace, freedom and oppression, Richard Holbrooke saved lives, secured peace, and restored hope for countless people around the world. He was central to our efforts to limit ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and paved the way for its inde-

pendence, and he found a way to break the stalemate in the talks in Cyprus.

Little known to many people, I was proud to nominate him as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations where he helped equip the U.N. to meet the challenges of our 21st-century world. Former President Bill Clinton.

Let me just reiterate these words. He helped restore hope for countless people around the world. I remember engaging with Ambassador Holbrooke in the early stages of my congressional career, and I remember him as the United Nations ambassador: resilient, joyful, persistent, determined, ready to tackle the world for peace. He wasn't bored with his job. He was never bored. He was always ready to do what was right.

Another comment on his life: Richard Holbrooke was a larger-than-life figure who through his brilliance, determination and sheer force of will helped bend the curve of history in the direction of progress. He touched so many lives and helped save countless more. He was a tireless negotiator, a relentless advocate for American interests, and the most talented diplomat we have had in a generation. Vice President JOE BIDEN.

Other words pouring out for him and toward him: From his early days in Vietnam, to his historic role bringing peace to the Balkans, to his last mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Richard helped shape our history, manage our perilous present, and secure our future. I had the privilege to know Richard for many years and to call him a friend, colleague, and confidante. As Secretary of State, I have counted on his advice, relied on his leadership. This is a sad day for me, for the State Department and, yes, for the United States of America. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Some would say that States and defense, power and diplomacy, sometimes did not match or mix, but Richard Holbrooke knew how to walk that line. Ambassador Holbrooke was one of the most formidable and consequential public servants of his generation, bringing his uncommon passion, energy, tenacity, and intellect to bear on the most difficult national security interests of our time. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates.

He never lost time fighting for ideals he believed in. He never lost touch with the problems faced by millions of people he never knew. And he never lost hope that those same people could live in peace, security, and safety. Indeed, he shared their vivid aspirations. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mike Mullen.

You can see that he interacted with these leaders of our present government and past government quite frequently. He was a frequent visitor to the White House. Those who worked in this area and those who did not knew Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, and he drew the admiration and respect and sometimes the intimidation of those who watched him work and wondered

what he would say next. Well, I can tell you as someone who has likewise watched his work, he would be talking about peace.

Further words about him: His drive was immense. His desire to do good in the world was fierce, and he pursued all that he set out to do with a resolution and tenacity that was second to none. His legacy will be his work, his inspiration to so many around the world. That's what we should note about Ambassador Holbrooke: how many miles he accumulated in his travels around the world, how many times in his lifetime around the world he went.

More than we probably could calculate because, when this Nation called him, when there was a conflict, a difficult situation, where people were at odds, where others were suffering, he wanted to intervene and to bring peace. He wanted to see the best of Pakistan and Afghanistan. He wanted those people to thrive and to grow. He wanted the children to have an opportunity for education and to mature into citizens of their nation.

He wanted the people of Afghanistan to have freedom and a good government and good governance. He wanted there to be the opportunity for girls to go to school and women to be respected and held in dignity and to have the same access to opportunities that we cherish here in the United States of America. He cared about our soldiers on the front line, and he knew that they were putting themselves on the line so that he could work his magic and bring resolution.

You know what I would say to my colleagues, I know that the heads of state of both Pakistan and Afghanistan have experienced the similar loss and pain of a giant like Ambassador Holbrooke in losing his life. I know that because both Presidents, Presidents Zardari and Karzai, called the family to express their concern. Presidents called far away from their homes, as one could imagine, because they respected a man who would get in the mix and fight both, if he had to, to draw them together and to iron out or to box out these particular issues that were keeping us from being united around the question of peace.

Further comments about this great man. They noted that Ambassador Holbrooke's service spanned decades and continents confronting profoundly difficult issues and global affairs. The members of the council expressed admiration for his contributions as the United States' permanent representative to the United Nations, as well as for his energetic and unrelenting commitment to promoting peace and strengthening international cooperation of the United Nations.

I will tell you that his work at the United Nations allowed him to touch governments around the world, and I venture to say that any hotspot that would occur today, this giant of a man would be able to go and begin to develop a solution. Remember what I

said, any country that he would go to, he would begin to know more than anyone else about that country and probably more than those who lived there. That's what made him effective. That's what made him have the ability to talk to heads of state and prime ministers and foreign ministers and those who were engaged in the day-to-day diplomacy of that particular country. It was his understanding of their culture, his understanding of their language, his understanding of how they thought, but most of all, his understanding of his own thoughts, and he knew he wanted peace, and he would do what was necessary.

There were so many that considered him friend, but there were really so many more that respected him for being the bulldozer, giant for peace. I call him America's peacemaker.

Further comments that I pay tribute to his diplomatic skills, strategic vision, and legendary determination as the architect of the 1995 Dayton Agreement, Ambassador Holbrooke played a key role in ending the war in Bosnia, the most terrible tragedy on European soil since World War II. At the end of this long and distinguished career, he traveled tirelessly to Afghanistan and Pakistan in pursuit of peace and stability in the region, and he would not stop. My words.

He knew that history is unpredictable, that we sometimes have to defend our security by facing conflict in distant places and that the transatlantic alliance remains indispensable. Secretary General of NATO.

□ 2210

And so Ambassador Holbrooke knew how to put it together, how to work with the various entities that represented the front lines of defense for this Nation and for Europe and other countries. He knew how to walk the walk and talk the talk.

I remember, as a new Member of Congress, coming in during the hostile and the horrible conflict of Bosnia, the ethnic cleansing that occurred in Kosova, and to realize that one man was the pinnacle, the pivotal point of working on the Dayton peace treaty, I tell you how important that was. As a new Member of Congress, I was able to go on the first delegation into Bosnia, then to meet with heads of states of Bosnia and former Yugoslavia and Croatia. We went to Sarajevo, and we landed where there was no actual peace in place at that time. They were looking to finalize the Dayton peace treaty. We were going in to determine whether or not this peace treaty was going to be welcomed by the people.

As we went into this town that was known for its beautiful Alps and skiing opportunities, I was literally shocked. It drew me back to pictures I saw in history books of World War II when Europe looked as if it was completely bombed out and desolate. Whole buildings had their tops knocked off. In libraries, doors were opened and books

strewn on the ground. People walking aimlessly through the streets. And as we walked to what was left of a public building to meet the various leaders, there were women who came up to me in the street and asked had I seen their son. In this horrible war, they had lost their son. Is their son alive? in their language, speaking to me.

I know the price of that horrible war by way of seeing those people in pain. Ambassador Holbrooke understood it and worked without ceasing to secure a peace that is lasting today. No peace is a hundred percent. There are always some trials and tribulations, but he laid the framework that is in place today. He left it to us to be vigilant, to give oversight, if you will, and to ensure that people who have been in conflict, who desire to have peace can live in peace.

Further comments about Ambassador Holbrooke: We will always remember his efforts of promoting peace and stability in our region with a deep sense of appreciation and gratitude. Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani.

He will always be remembered for his preeminent role in ending the vicious war in Bosnia, where his force of personality and his negotiating skills combined to drive through the Dayton peace treaty agreement and put a halt to the fighting. British Prime Minister David Cameron.

As you can see, from all walks of life, they poured out their comments of respect for, again, America's peacemaker.

He could always be counted on for his imagination, dedication, and forcefulness. Former Secretary of State Madeline Albright.

Many understood his work, many who were in the business. More comments: Richard Holbrooke's legacy goes well beyond the critical role he played in bringing a decade of fragile peace in the Balkans, welcoming a reunified Germany in an expanding NATO. He also leaves a vast multigenerational intercontinental network of friends. I say that again: He also leaves a vast multigenerational intercontinental network of friends.

Thank you, Ambassador Holbrooke. It means that you have touched people around the world through generations, and that means that some are left with your spirit, your inspiration, and your training. These words came from the president of the Brookings Institution, Strobe Talbott, one who knows this system well.

And then of course you had the fun stories about him, and one could not speak about him without saying how many different things he was. As it was said in The Washington Post: a writer, a diplomat, an editor, a banker, publisher, impresario of numerous organizations. He was a deeply serious man, engaged always in a serious business of saving lives in Vietnam, in Afghanistan, in Bosnia, and I will say at the United Nations.

Yes, Ambassador Holbrooke, you were engaged in saving lives. And to

the end of your life, it was your pursuit to save lives. As I indicated, to save the lives of our soldiers in Afghanistan, to save the lives of women and children and families, to save the lives who simply want to go from marketplace to home, the farmers who want to take their goods from Kandahar to Kabul or want to do something else other than poppy crop, he was trying to save their lives in Afghanistan.

As I visited and as I reflect on my visits to Afghanistan and seeing what a unique terrain, how difficult, how challenging it is, I just want to say to my colleagues, Ambassador Holbrooke could have sat in an armchair, could have done armchair diplomacy. In the world of technology, he could have made attempts to communicate in ways other than the kind of “roll up your sleeves, get on an airplane, and go into the harshest places” to bring about peace. But he understood that peace was about a people-to-people relationship. It was something that was special, and he had the special touch.

Further words from a friend: Dick Holbrooke was a friend of mine. Just 2 days before he fell ill, I saw him and his devoted wife at a dinner where he proposed a toast with generosity, affection, self-deprecation, and the sort of comic timing that made you think he had missed his true profession. I liked him enormously. But for all that he did over nearly 50 years of service to his Nation and, indeed, to all human kind, I admired him much, much more.

As you begin to reflect on Ambassador Holbrooke’s life, you have to admire him much, much more, and that was from the international editor of Time magazine, Michael Elliott.

I am sure that we could count so many emails and Twitter and blogging that is going on right now, first because of the shock of losing this giant of a man, this man that exuded desires for peace; but yet he leaves a life of instruction, that if we are to really develop the kind of world that brings peace to all in the backdrop of Afghanistan and Pakistan and the backdrop of the issues in the Mideast and the backdrop of North and South Korea, it has to be the kind of hand-to-hand diplomacy, insistent diplomacy, persistent, determined diplomacy, and out-of-the-box diplomacy.

One of the champions of a unique new concept for Pakistani Americans and helping Pakistan, and I was delighted to be able to engage with him on this and the Secretary of State to go to the first inaugural meeting in New York, and that is to develop a Pakistan-American development board that would generate resources and investment by Pakistani Americans and others in Pakistan.

That is a love for the people. He knew that he could start there because he knew that in his interactions, he was not willing to label the entire Pakistan with the frontier area and the unfortunate circumstances that cause Pakistan to be able to be in the way, if

you will, of receiving terrorists running from Afghanistan. He knew the circumstances. He knew the harshness of it. But he also knew that there were people every day in Karachi and Lahore, Islamabad, and other places, in Peshawar that wanted to go to school, to open business, to be able to have a democratic government, a judicial system that worked.

And so he put the burden on the Government of Pakistan to say to them, I will work with you if you will work with me. He believed that there could be a solution, so he was excited about this Pakistan development board, similar to the Irish-American board, and he was the heart and soul behind it. And we had a great celebration in New York, and it exists, and it’s one of his legacies.

And so I will say to Ambassador Holbrooke, to his spirit and to his legacy, You’ve left something behind that can help to create peace, that can network across the ocean between the goodwill of the people of America and Pakistani Americans and those in Pakistan who really want to focus in on building a great nation.

□ 2220

Maybe in the spirit of their founding father, Dr. Jinnah, who believed in a democratic process, living harmoniously with Bangladesh and India, Pakistan and Afghanistan and that region. And so I want us to support the concept of his legacy. Just let me read some headlines that are reflective of his history.

Strong American voice in diplomacy in crisis. I can affirm that. Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, all resulted out of crisis, but he was a man of diplomacy.

Statesman who defined a generation. Clearly, 50 years of service, there was no doubt that Ambassador Holbrooke’s life will be considered an era, a timeframe of American diplomacy, and an approach of get involved and getting to know the people who you had to engage with.

As we listened to reflections about Ambassador Holbrooke, it was noted that he would go to the sites of the chief or the elder statesman or elder warrior or the village or the mountain to be able to draw from that very person who could be part of making peace.

You know, as I reflect on this, I would say to you, that’s the kind of diplomacy we need. We’re going to have to unshackle ourselves.

It’s interesting, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Ambassador Holbrooke, in his astuteness, appeared before us a number of times and was always so erudite and brilliant and carefully thinking and analyzing as he responded to questions. But one thing that comes out of his life, and one thing I gleaned as I’ve had the privilege of representing the people of Houston in the 18th Congressional District, and seeing how the world works on their behalf and trying to be part of

the solution and not the problem, people believe America can solve their problems. I know many Americans push back on that and actually say that we can’t nation-build and we can’t solve everyone’s problems. And in the literal sense, they may be right. But if there’s a perception that America has the answer, that our democratic values are so strong that we can reach in times of peace, or with peaceful tactics help guide them toward peace, there’s nothing wrong with that. I believe Ambassador Richard Holbrooke truly believed that, that our values were so strong that we could, by sheer determination, commitment, and dedication, help those people who could not help themselves.

Time Magazine has Richard Holbrooke, an archetype of American diplomacy. And let me just share these few words. But there have been many career diplomats whose lives overlay the most important historical moments of the last half century. And they name a few. These are friends and rivals of Holbrooke’s, who also played key roles and influenced events in ways we’re still only beginning to learn.

What made Holbrooke most memorable—and of course the article names a number of individuals—and what lies behind the outpouring of mourning and reminiscence that is sweeping Washington in the wake of his death Monday evening was his personification of what many at home and abroad imagine U.S. diplomacy to be. And I imagine what they’re saying is that it was the hands on, get in your face, but come with a smile and tell you we can do this together. That’s Ambassador Richard Holbrooke.

Now, he didn’t pull any punches. I remember sitting in a meeting with him with Pakistani Americans, and he answered hard questions and sometimes gave hard answers. But he left the room with friends, and they truly believed he was looking for peace in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Holbrooke, this article goes on to say, was not just a prominent American diplomat who engaged in some of the most consequential international events of this time. In the same way that Shakespeare’s characters still seem to live with us today as the archetype for human nobility, vanity, and ambition, so Holbrooke seemed to be the very human version of American diplomacy itself: piledriver powerful yet subtly persuasive, brash, volcanic and occasionally offensive but tactically brilliant and capable of the finest strategic judgment, cold-eyed and sometimes heartlessly realistic but possessing high principles and real deep compassion.

Friends, I just read that from Time. But as you have heard my tribute, it’s interesting how these words come from all of us. And as I indicated to you, if Ambassador Holbrooke’s legacy is anything, it is, in fact, to leave us with that kind of roadmap. That’s the kind of exciting diplomacy we must be engaged in.

The world is not the same. It's not quiet. It's not two heads of state sitting down quietly and having tea and coming to the room and signing the treaty. It is somebody that's hard moving. It is somebody that can be heartless but realistic, high principles, deep compassion, get in the way.

Thank you, Ambassador Holbrooke, for leaving with us a roadmap and leaving us with your legacy and challenges. Because I don't know if the Ambassador, as he was working so diligently, where he felt we were going in Afghanistan, but I believe we must make a commitment in light of his spirit and the sacrifice for his family, friends, as he dedicated almost 100 percent of his time, unending, to finding a resolution and bringing people together.

I would simply say that to President Karzai, for the spirit in which you express your sympathy, I know that Ambassador Holbrooke would be so grateful for movement toward resolving this conflict, toward the ceasing of those who would move from Afghanistan to take refuge and cover in Pakistan. He would welcome the rising up of both governments to go against those acts of terror that were killing their people. He would welcome the resolve of those heads of state to continue fighting for peace and welcome the growth, development, and opportunity for the Pakistani people and the people of Afghanistan. He would welcome that. And I would simply say, we owe this giant of a man that kind of tribute.

Words obviously are nice and nice to be heard. But I would hope that we would be most effective in carrying forth his legacy by actually putting to the test how we can resolve the conflict in Afghanistan without a protracted extension, but also to put the burden, the extra burden of bringing peace, on the Government of Afghanistan and its people working with us, with that aggressive spirit, can-do spirit that we can solve this and, yes, working with the people of Pakistan.

Let me just relay a story in pictures and show you why this, again, hands-on diplomat was everywhere, meeting now with the President of Pakistan and developing a relationship, a relationship that was tough but good and sincere.

And I pay tribute to the Pakistani Government for the kind words that they have said. And I think the meaningful words, particularly the Ambassador to the United States, who has expressed, from Pakistan, his deepest sympathy. Here with President Karzai. Often they were together and had frank and to-the-point conversation. You can't engage in hand-to-hand diplomacy without being in place where those leaders are, making them feel comfortable that you're working on their behalf.

This is his early stages with President Clinton, who appointed him to the United Nations. You can see that he moved around, and he was eager to be known as a person who, if he got the call, would come.

Let me share some of these live pictures with him that have him and clearly speak to the action that Ambassador Holbrooke was.

□ 2230

This looks to me as the Pakistani flood when he was going into the camps, the most horrific flood over the last couple months that covered some two-thirds of Pakistan. People were moved from their land—disastrous, devastating conditions. Ambassador Holbrooke did not miss an opportunity to go and to check, in this instance, on children and to see what they were doing.

Here, you will find him not sitting in a traditional chair but sitting with the people. And I speculate that this is a meeting in Afghanistan, but here is a man and his child. And Ambassador Holbrooke is not standing. He is not sitting in a chair as we know it, but he is with the people and he is engaging. This is the style, the diplomatic style of Ambassador Holbrooke.

Again, this is not in the comfort of the State Department or any office building, but here he is with the military personnel on one of our battlefields, and my speculation is that again this is in Afghanistan.

Greeting again the people, letting them know that he cares. And, again, Ambassador Holbrooke on the move, meeting some of our allies, some of the coalition forces or the forces that work along with the Afghan forces. Here he is again in the field shaking hands and indicating his interests.

Here, with women, as he greets them. Another out in the field, hands on, ready to serve. Meeting with our military personnel. And, again, always interacting, and our Ambassador to Afghanistan constantly being engaged.

Involving himself again with the people and in the camps. Here, meeting with others who are in camp and being displaced, always working, always hands on.

We can learn a lot from Ambassador Holbrooke, and we can learn a lot from his never say never attitude and his willingness, if you will, to ensure that the solution is his top priority.

Let me just remind you again of how early Ambassador Holbrooke started his career. He had a tremendous career with the United States State Department, and he had actually begun with a response to President Kennedy's call to service for government work in the early 1960s. He always had it in him. Ambassador Holbrooke was undoubtedly a public servant ever since he graduated from Brown University in 1962, when he joined the Foreign Service and was sent to Vietnam. A tough assignment.

At the young age of 24, Richard Holbrooke, an expert on Vietnam issues, was appointed to a team of Vietnam experts, the Phoenix Program, under President Lyndon B. Johnson. Ambassador Holbrooke has always been a champion of peace and democ-

racy, and this began at a young age with a profound dedication to the United States' international diplomacy efforts. Since beginning his career in foreign policy at such a young age, he obviously was at the forefront, at the 1968 peace talks, director of the Peace Corps in Morocco, or as the editor of the Foreign Policy Magazine.

Let me make that clear. He served as the director of the Peace Corps in that area in 1968. Ambassador Holbrooke was always and has always been an archetype of the United States' diplomacy, and his resume only serves to demonstrate how he has been consequential to diplomacy in some of our generation's most tumultuous events.

So, my friends, I thought it was important, shocked, dismayed, and saddened by the loss of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, that we not fail to acknowledge his legacy in the hours after his passing; for there are still people dying in Afghanistan, civilians; there are still our soldiers on the front lines; there are still terrorists, Taliban, hiding in the mountains of Pakistan, allegations that Osama bin Laden is there as well.

So we know that the world that Ambassador Holbrooke was so engaged in goes on, but we cannot allow it to go on without a pause for a moment to be able to say thank you to this giant of a man, bulldozer for peace, America's peacemaker, but a credit to the world; and, as I said in my earlier remarks, someone who loved this country and loved the ability to draw disaster and to draw nonbelievers out into the open and to make it right; to help the people in a disaster, and to draw those nonbelievers into the circle of diplomacy to get them working on peace. That is what you were about, Ambassador Holbrooke. I am glad to have been able to call you acquaintance, yes, friend, but most of all an American hero. Such a strong legacy.

I know that this is a very sad time for so many, and so I rise on the floor this evening to be able again to offer my deepest sympathy. But what I would also say is that we have so much to be thankful for, so much to study and read, so much to emulate, so much to be able to go on, so much to use in the continuing effort for peace. We have got a roadmap left to us by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. And remember an earlier comment that, if he asked you to do something, don't waste your time saying no, because more than likely, with a little pain, you will be there saying yes.

So why don't we just keep his legacy ongoing, realize that he has asked us to continue to make peace. And as long as we fight against it, it is going to be painful, but if we can gather our thoughts together, if we can continue to work together, to work with this administration, the President, the Secretary of State, and the Congress, and really realize that the important end game is peace in Afghanistan and an independent peaceful Pakistan and a

peaceful region, but with the idea that people of those countries must take on that burden and really desire peace—maybe that is the message that they have gotten in this terrible tragedy, to desire peace and to fight for it—if that is the case, then this hands-on, lively, and well-versed diplomat's legacy will be embedded in the next days, hours, minutes, next couple of months when we might see a glimmer of sunshine reflecting the hands-on evidence of a man that never tired of seeking people to find peace.

I hope that, as we mourn the loss of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, the tribute that we give to him that will be ongoing will be an unceasing quest for peace, and I hope that we will find it in his name.

On behalf of the fallen men and women who have given their lives for peace in the United States military, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, we are indeed grateful for the service of Ambassador Holbrooke, and we tell his family thank you for sharing him with the American people.

I submit for inclusion in the RECORD additional materials.

With that, I humbly I yield back my time in the name of peace and respect for Ambassador Richard Holbrooke.

On Monday, I was extremely saddened to hear about the death of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. He was a great leader and a dedicated representative of peace and democracy throughout the world. I extend my deepest condolences to Ambassador Holbrooke's family, his wife Kati Marton, his brother, Andrew, and his children, David, Anthony, Christopher and Elizabeth.

Ambassador Holbrooke has had a tremendous career with the United States State Department, which began with a response to President Kennedy's call to service for government work in the early 1960s. Ambassador Holbrooke was undoubtedly a public servant ever since his graduation from Brown University in 1962, when he joined the Foreign Service and was sent to Vietnam. At the young age of 24, Richard Holbrooke, an expert on Vietnam issues, was appointed to a team of Vietnam experts, the Phoenix Program, under President Lyndon B. Johnson. Ambassador Holbrooke has always been a champion of peace and democracy, and this began at a young age with a profound dedication to the United States' international diplomacy efforts.

Since beginning his career in foreign policy at such an young age, Ambassador Holbrooke was always at the forefront of international political issues, whether it was as a public servant at the 1968 Paris Peace Talks, Director of the Peace Corps in Morocco, or as the editor of Foreign Policy magazine. Ambassador Holbrooke will always be an archetype of United States diplomacy, and his resume only serves to demonstrate how he has been consequential to diplomacy in some of our generation's most tumultuous events.

Ambassador Holbrooke never relented in his efforts to expand his efforts to pursue U.S. interests of diplomacy and democracy internationally. In 1977, under President Carter, Richard Holbrooke was Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. As the

youngest person to have been appointed to that position, Ambassador Holbrooke oversaw the normalization of relations with China in 1978, and the warming of the Cold War during his tenure. His diplomatic achievements do not culminate with the establishment of diplomatic relations with China—instead they continued, and arguably exceeded anyone's expectations.

When President Clinton took office in 1993, Mr. Holbrooke returned to work for the United States Government with the State Department. His first appointment was as the U.S. Ambassador to Germany, where he participated in the founding of the American Academy in Berlin as a cultural exchange center.

In 1994, he returned to Washington after being appointed by President Clinton to be the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, where he was the lead negotiator in the Balkan Wars. He was strategic in establishing a lasting peace at the Dayton talks that undoubtedly saved thousands of lives. The 1995 Dayton peace accords ended the war in Bosnia—but it required an agreement by the three warring factions, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Bosnian Muslims. Holbrooke's role in this is lasting; he ended the three-year war, and helped develop the framework for a dividing Bosnia into two entities, one of the Bosnian Serbs and another of the Croatians and Muslims. Ambassador Holbrooke is a hero of U.S. diplomacy, and undoubtedly had a tremendous importance in facilitating peace, in whatever form, in Bosnia.

After playing a key role in the Dayton Peace Talks, President Bill Clinton named Mr. Holbrooke the next representative of the United States to the United Nations. Ambassador Holbrooke demonstrated his drive to securing international peace, and his dedication to diplomatic efforts.

His work never ceased, and it continued with President Obama. Under the Obama administration, Ambassador Holbrooke was appointed Special Envoy to Pakistan and to Afghanistan—a region that contains the United States' greatest national security concerns. Just as his responsibility unfolded in the Balkans, his responsibility in Pakistan and Afghanistan posed a major challenge that would not have an easy solution. As we all know, the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan are multidimensional and are problems that could not be solved overnight. Ambassador Holbrooke knew this, yet he commendably took on the role, and worked courageously and diplomatically in a densely complicated region.

Ambassador Holbrooke was the intermediary between Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States. Ambassador Holbrooke was fighting, diplomatically, to stabilize the often unpredictable and always fluctuating region. The fight continues to be multifaceted, and Ambassador Holbrooke dealt with fragile economies, containing corruption within governments and elections, destabilizing the Taliban resurgence, a rampant narcotics trade, the presence of Al Qaeda, and maintaining peace and security, all while promoting United States diplomatic efforts. Representing the United States, Ambassador Holbrooke worked to promote economic development in Pakistan through the Kerry-Lugar-Berman Bill, and worked with the Afghani Government and administration to reduce U.S. combat troops and to forge a lasting peace in the region.

He is an example to us all, his life was foreign policy, his dedication was to the United States, and his motivation was diplomacy. Ambassador Holbrooke will always be regarded as a true American diplomat, one who strived for international peace throughout his entire career, of nearly fifty years, as a public servant.

[From the USA Today, Dec. 14, 2010]

'BULLDOZER,' 'GIANT' OF DIPLOMACY HOLBROOKE DIES—AMONG CREDITS: '95 BOSNIAN PACT

(By the Associated Press)

WASHINGTON—Richard Holbrooke, a brilliant and feisty U.S. diplomat who wrote part of the Pentagon Papers, was the architect of the 1995 Bosnia peace plan and served as President Obama's special envoy to Pakistan and Afghanistan, died Monday, the State Department said. He was 69.

Obama praised Holbrooke for making the country safer, calling him "a true giant of American foreign policy."

Holbrooke, whose forceful style earned him nicknames such as "The Bulldozer" and "Raging Bull," was admitted to the hospital on Friday after becoming ill at the State Department. The former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations had surgery Saturday to repair a tear in his aorta.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton called him one of the nation's "fiercest champions and most dedicated public servants."

Holbrooke served under every Democratic president from John F. Kennedy to Obama in a career that began with a foreign service posting in Vietnam in 1962, and included time as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Talks on Vietnam.

His sizable ego, tenacity and willingness to push hard for diplomatic results won him both admiration and animosity.

"If Richard calls you and asks you for something, just say yes," former secretary of State Henry Kissinger once said. "If you say no, you'll eventually get to yes, but the journey will be very painful."

He learned to become extremely informed about whatever country he was in. He would push for an exit strategy and look for ways to get those who live in a country to take responsibility for their own security.

Holbrooke said in 1999 that he has no qualms about "negotiating with people who do immoral things."

"If you can prevent the deaths of people still alive, you're not doing a disservice to those already killed by trying to do so," he said.

With his decades of service and long list of accomplishments, Holbrooke missed out on a tour as secretary of State, a job he was known to covet. As U.N. ambassador, he was a member of the Clinton Cabinet but his sometimes-brash and combative style contrasted with that of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Born in New York City on April 24, 1941, Holbrooke had an interest in public service early on.

At the Johnson White House, he wrote one volume of the Pentagon Papers, an internal government study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam that was completed in 1967. The study, leaked in 1971 by a former Defense Department aide, had many damaging revelations, including a memo that stated the reason for fighting in Vietnam was based far more on preserving U.S. prestige than preventing communism.

One of his signature achievements was brokering the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the war in Bosnia. He detailed the experience in his 1998 memoir, *To End a War*.

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GROWING THE ECONOMY AND JOBS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SCHAUER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. AKIN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. AKIN. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join you and my colleagues this evening on a subject that has been of great concern and attention to Americans now for a number of years, unfortunately, and that is the subject of the economy and jobs. This ongoing discussion and debate is taking new turns here the last few weeks, and I think it is helpful and perhaps informative to try to put that into perspective somewhat.

The thing that I think that perhaps we have to understand from the beginning is that the whole question of the economy and jobs is owned right now by the Democrats, because that party has been driving the train for the last couple of years.

The distinction between the parties has never been more sharp over the past 2 years because of the fact that you have had almost entirely party-line voting on major piece of legislation after major piece of legislation. When it came particularly to the stimulus, it was called the stimulus bill, some people called it the "porkulous" bill of a couple of years ago. That was a black and white kind of party-line vote, along with quite a number of other items on the agenda.

So what we have right now is essentially the Democrats have been running things for a couple of years, and we have got a recession going. And the question is, what are we going to do about the economy and about jobs?

There are two solutions to the problem. The ones that the Democrats have proposed over the last couple of years have been a very, very high level of Federal spending, and what they consider to be stimulus, which is more Federal spending, which they think will somehow fix the economy.

For a couple of years I have been here on the floor on Wednesday evenings saying, with all due respect, I don't think that solution will work. I am not saying that it won't work just because I think it won't, which I don't, but also because prominent Democrats have also said that it won't work.

I have quoted Henry Morgenthau, FDR's Secretary of the Treasury. They tried a whole lot of Federal spending. It was the time that "Little Lord Keynes" had come along and it was all the rage. If you get in trouble economically, spend a lot of money, and that will get the economy "stimulated" and you will pull right out of the recession. That is the theory.

It has not worked. It has never worked. And after about 8 years, Henry Morgenthau, a Democrat, came before the House Ways and Means Committee

and said, it won't work. He said, we have tried spending, and unemployment is as bad as it ever was, and we have a huge deficit to boot. Well, it didn't work then. It still hasn't worked for the last couple of years.

I think the point as we move forward into this discussion about what are we going to do with the expiring tax cuts left over from the Bush administration, I think it is important to understand where we are in context, and that is we have come to a point where the Democrats have been making the calls and they have been driving this equation and the economy and jobs has not turned around.

We were told at the time of the stimulus bill that if we did not pass the bill, that we could have as much as 8 percent unemployment. Supposedly, if we did pass the bill, unemployment would be lower.

We did pass the bill. Unemployment jumped to about 10 percent. And those numbers are pretty conservative, because people who have been looking for a job for over a certain number of months are no longer counted as unemployed. So in fact the unemployment number is probably higher, by the way many people would calculate it. So, that is what has gone on.

Now, this is not complicated economics, if we are really serious about creating jobs. But there really are two different party solutions: One is more bureaucracy and food stamps; the other is more jobs and paychecks. That is America's choice, and America chose in the November election to move toward the more jobs and paychecks and less bureaucrats and food stamps. But this is some of the spending we are talking about in the last couple of years. You just can't do this and have it not affect jobs.

We had the Wall Street bailout, which some of it was supported by Bush in the past, but also by the Obama administration. Then you have got this supposed stimulus bill, \$787 billion, which was a total disaster, and other miscellaneous items here. Then, of course, health care reform, which is the biggest of all, ObamaCare, at about \$1 trillion. So you have a tremendous record of Federal spending.

Let's step back a little bit and go back to the things that we know work. You can go to anybody who you know that started a small business, people that run businesses; you can go to Main Street anywhere in America and you can ask the people who run businesses, what does it take to make jobs? It is not very complicated. But you will never be able to, as the Democrats try to do, separate the employer from the employee. If you want jobs, you can't destroy the employer. If you destroy companies, you will have less jobs. It is that simple.

So, let's say that you ask people on Main Street, well, what are the things that you have to worry about in terms of destroying jobs? The thing they are going to tell you probably first out of

their mouth is going to be excessive taxes. When you have too much taxes on business, what happens is they use their money to pay the taxes and they don't use their money to invest in new equipment, new processes and new R&D and various ways that when they invest they create more jobs.

So the first thing that is an enemy to job creation is, first of all, excessive taxation. So what we have coming along now, and everybody has known it for years, is these tax cuts are coming along, they are going to expire and it is going to be a massive tax increase.

In fact, we have what in a way is a tax increase train wreck. You could think of it as the train is steaming along and everybody knows the bridge is out. The bridge is out on January 1st, 2011, the tax cuts expire, and what happens then, America receives the largest tax increase in the history of the Nation. Now, that is very bad medicine for an already-sick economy. So that is the situation we are facing.

So there is no surprise about this. Everybody has known these tax cuts are going to expire and there will be this whopping big tax increase, and somebody has to do something about it. So now we are waiting to the last couple of weeks of December to try to deal with this problem. That is not particularly responsible, I suppose.

So what is it when you go to Main Street and you ask businesses, what is it that kills jobs? Well, the first thing is major heavy taxes on businesses and on entrepreneurs and on the people that run businesses. That is the first killer of jobs. Now, we are doing that in spades. We are doing a lot of that. And if these massive tax increases come along, it simply makes it a whole lot worse.

What is the next thing that businesses would talk about that would kill jobs? Well, it is something else that eats into their profits, and that is a whole lot of red tape and government paperwork. So how are we doing in that department?

Well, one of the big bills that the Obama administration, the Democrats, wanted to push was cap-and-tax. That was the tax and tremendous amount of new red tape and bureaucracy to prevent global warming.

Now, if you believe in the theory of global warming, one of the things it says is it is really bad to create CO₂. An honest attempt to stop global warming would say, well, we probably need to stop burning as much carbon in any form and move to some other source of energy generation, which suggests nuclear. If you were to take the number of nuclear power plants in America and double them, you would in effect get rid of the same amount, if you did that, of all the CO₂ produced by every passenger car in America.

The bill didn't do that. The bill created instead more taxes, which, again, kill jobs; and, second of all, a tremendous amount of red tape.

Now, that bill didn't pass because of the fact that even some of the liberals