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House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS of New York).

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
October 29, 2013.

I hereby appoint the Honorable CHRIS COLLINS to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

JOHN A. BOEHNER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 3, 2013, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to 1 hour and each Member other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip limited to 5 minutes each, but in no event shall debate continue beyond 11:50 a.m.

BUILDING A NEW MIDDLE EAST—THE WORK OF A GENERATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF) for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, for nearly 3 years, the Arab Middle East, an enormous arc stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, has been in turmoil. Restive millions, frustrated by a lack of economic opportunity, repressive politics, and a social structure often at odds with modernity, have taken to the streets demanding change. Their revolution hangs in the balance with the entrenched interests of the

former regimes on one side and the stultifying religious rule on the other.

Faced with these daunting realities, the Obama administration may be in the midst of a strategic reevaluation of our role in the region—one that is far more modest in ambition, more tempered in expectation, and certainly more reliant on the use of its diplomatic, not military, resources.

This new approach stands in stark contrast to the effort by the George W. Bush administration to deliver a “freedom agenda”—sometimes through the barrel of a gun—that would bring democracy to a region that has known mostly misrule. That doctrine, or its application, proved entirely unworkable, as the societies freed of their authoritarian shackles had nothing upon which to build. This is a lesson we may be bitterly learning in Libya as well.

These setbacks and the realization that democracy building is a generational undertaking must not lead us to disengage from the region. The forces freed by the Arab Spring will not be contained, and I still believe they can lead hundreds of millions of people to more representative forms of government, more economic opportunity, and, we must hope, more tranquility and peace within their borders.

The United States needs to help build institutions capable of supporting a transition in the Arab world in three dimensions: political, economic, and civil society. Unmet economic needs are the most pressing. At its heart, the Arab Spring is the expression of discontent of millions of idle, young Arabs, who have seen the economic opportunities that the outside world offers, but whose own economic realities are plagued by stagnation, mismanagement, and cronyism.

The cure is not outright assistance, which will do little to unleash or occupy long-term energies of Arab youth. It is investment that will allow this generation of Arabs to drag inefficient,

antiquated, and highly statist economies in the 21st century. Since the ouster of Ben Ali and Mubarak, I have pushed for both creation of enterprise funds and other nimble vehicles that will allow us to direct resources at specific sectors that can help to drive economic growth, as well as improve the quality of life for ordinary people.

In coming years, these economies will need to produce sufficient jobs and wealth to both sustain workers and their families and to provide the economic conditions for sustainable political stability. But that cannot be an excuse to put off political reform now, because capital flows will not resume until investors have some confidence that their money is safe.

The experience of both Egypt and Tunisia serve to reinforce the inchoate nature of their political transitions. Both countries emerged from their respective revolutions with energized Islamist movements that were able to triumph over less well-organized secular parties—in large measure because the old governments had atomized their opposition and left political Islamist governments as the only viable alternative. In both countries, this experiment failed as a result of overreaching and a misreading of the people's wishes—a development that should ease the fears of those who saw a “green wave” sweeping across the Middle East.

The dysfunction in both Cairo and Tunis, and the Egyptian military deposing of President Mohammed Morsi in a coup, are a reminder that a democratic outcome is never assured or to be assumed. The United States must stand ready to assist Arab nations with the long-term institution-building and political spadework that are necessary preconditions for democracy.

In Tunisia, which is small, relatively prosperous, and not nearly as divided as some of its larger neighbors, prospects for a peaceful transition and

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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transfer of power from the current Islamist government to a technocratic government that would oversee elections are alive, if not entirely well. But while a framework for the installation of a caretaker government remains, squabbling between the Islamists and the secular opposition has slowed the process and reintroduced uncertainty into Tunisia's fragile politics.

Political institution-building and creating a culture of good governance will require targeted assistance, training programs, and a lot of patience. Egypt and Tunisia may be a mess now but 10 years from now will not be the same as they are today, and we can play a role in helping to shape that future.

Think of some of the other countries that have democratized in recent years in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America. The transitions have not been quick or smooth, and many of them are still ongoing. Amid the euphoria that accompanied the collapse of the Communist bloc in Eastern Europe, we were tempted to believe we were all witnesses to the "end of history," as one academic put it.

The reality has been far messier vestiges of communist oppression still remain throughout the former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

These experiences hold an important lesson for the Arab states—that persistence pays and that democracy is possible, even where it had not existed previously. The United States must support these transitions, and we must be willing to use financial inducements and other levers to steer their political development in a direction that will best serve the Arab peoples and preserve regional and global peace. The partial cutoff of military aid to Egypt and the broader conversation it has sparked about how best to configure assistance may presage a new diplomatic strategy that is less reliant on military relationships devoted to the status quo and more supportive of civil society, economic and political reform.

This leads to the third area where the United States can play an important role—in trying to support the transition of Arab civil society from one that was imposed from above to one driven primarily by the needs and interests of its people. Free expression, women's empowerment and respect for minority groups are essential to the growth of democracy. Focusing assistance to groups in these areas can help to broaden the constituency for change and also give the young and disaffected an alternative to jihad.

Today's Arab twentysomethings face even greater challenges than the Europeans of the 1990s. But President George H.W. Bush and his successor, Bill Clinton, both understood that the investment in Eastern Europe was one that would pay dividends for decades. They were right and it has. I believe that we have a similar opportunity to help the Arab people. It will take longer and there will be setbacks. But the alternative is to watch a generation succumb to despair—a despair that is likely to have negative consequences for us and for our allies. I prefer to bet on hope and work for change.

AFGHANISTAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES) for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, at this point in our Nation's history, I believe both parties will acknowledge that we have major economic issues facing our country. As Congress just recently came to a temporary resolution which raised the debt ceiling by \$230 billion, it is incredible to me that we still found \$30 billion in aid to send to Afghanistan and \$1.6 billion in aid to send to Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when America is drowning in debt, this is completely unacceptable. And even more important than the money are the American lives that have been lost—six in the time the government was shut down and one the weekend after.

As we work to fix our national problems, we should be wise enough to follow the lead of the nations who have interfered in Afghanistan before us—England and Russia are only two examples—and stop wasting lives and money on a country that will never change. History tells us that it is time to bring our troops home.

I want to thank ABC News for their effort each Sunday morning during "This Week with George Stephanopoulos" to faithfully list the names of the Americans who have been killed in Afghanistan, just as they did during the Iraq war. It is with sadness that I report that they have added seven names to this list over the last 3 weeks.

Mr. Speaker, on the poster beside me are the faces of two little girls, Stephanie and Eden, whose father, Sergeant Kevin Balduf, from Camp Lejeune Marine Base, which is in my district, was killed in Afghanistan. He and Colonel Palmer, from Cherry Point Marine Air Station, also in my district, were trying to train the Afghans to be policemen. One of the trainees turned their pistol on Palmer and Balduf and killed both of them. So these little girls are standing at Arlington Cemetery with their mom holding their hands.

Perhaps more disheartening is the fact that two of the most recent deaths in Afghanistan also were an example of Afghans that we were trying to train killing Americans. We were just trying to help them.

Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, I spoke on the floor about an article I read, entitled, "The Forgotten War" by Ann Jones. I also will submit an article written by an Iraq war veteran named Jayel Aheram, who now attends the University of Southern California, which is entitled, "Afghanistan War Must End Immediately." Both of these articles hold the same conclusion: the war in Afghanistan is a misuse of American youth, American money, and American military power.

It is time for the Congress of the United States to face the fact that we have our own problems here in Amer-

ica. To send over \$600 billion to Afghanistan to build roads, schools, and utility plants so the Taliban can blow them up makes no sense.

It is time for little girls like these two to have their daddies at home and not in a coffin.

[From the Daily Trojan, Oct. 7, 2013]

AFGHANISTAN WAR MUST END IMMEDIATELY (By Jayel Aheram)

Yesterday marked the 12 year anniversary of the war in Afghanistan. Americans have grown weary of the drawn-out conflict's undefined goals and increasingly unsustainable financial costs. According to a CBS News poll, support for the war in Afghanistan plummeted last year to its lowest with only 1 in 4 Americans agreeing that the United States is doing the right thing. President Barack Obama responded to this political reality when he announced last February that "by the end of next year, our war in Afghanistan will be over." But will there really be an end to the Afghanistan war?

There were three ends to the war in Iraq: The first was in May 2003, when President George W. Bush announced, "Mission accomplished," in an infamous speech aboard the USS *Abraham Lincoln* just two months after the invasion of Iraq. The second was in September 2010, when "combat troops" silently crossed the Iraqi border into Kuwait, an event Obama's MSNBC boosters were breathlessly proclaimed as the triumphant "End of the Iraq War." The third was in December 2011, when the Iraqi parliament refused to grant further immunity to U.S. troops beyond 2011, finally forcing to U.S. troops' withdrawal from Iraq. If Iraq had three "end of wars," how many will there be in Afghanistan? According to the Washington Post, a few thousand U.S. combat troops will likely remain in Afghanistan beyond 2014 to train and advise security forces. Despite this promise by Obama of the war's end, American presence in Afghanistan will merely add to the grim death toll after 2014.

According to Los Angeles Times, an American service member was killed last week in an "insider attack"—incidents where Afghan allies attack the U.S. troops who train them. This recent event follows another from the weekend before in which three U.S. troops were killed. According to NATO, in 2011 and 2012, 97 coalition members were killed by their Afghan counterparts in these insider attacks. Even as the United States shifts its role from combat to advisory and training, deaths from insider attacks will most likely continue. Taliban leaders, including Mullah Muhammad Omar, have urged their sympathizers and members to continue to infiltrate the security forces and kill American trainers and Afghan trainees.

Bob Dreyfuss wrote in The Nation that military commanders believe in an "insurgent math"—that is, for every civilian the U.S. military kills, 20 insurgents take their place. Approximately 6,841 civilians have been killed since the beginning of the Afghanistan war. Using this "insurgent math," that would mean the U.S. military has created more than 120,000 insurgents who continue to threaten the lives of U.S. troops and Afghans loyal to the Karzai regime. These newly created insurgents have empowered the Taliban as evidenced by a recent article by the Associated Press, which reported that Taliban fighters have started an insurgent campaign of regaining lost territories as foreign troops depart. After 12 long years, \$600 billion spent, more than 2,000 military deaths, 6,000 civilian deaths and tens of thousands of lives irrevocably altered, when will Americans muster the political will and courage to end America's longest war? Renaming the war is not progress, it is not