

The United States has strategic interests in Serbia and the Balkan region. Increasingly, what happens there—especially transnational crime such as human trafficking, drug smuggling, terrorism, and more—impacts us here at home. This is because crime is no longer localized in a neighborhood or community or city or country. It is global in presence, scope, reach, and impact.

So, when we are engaged in combating terrorism and transnational crime in the Balkan region, we are not only protecting citizens there, we are also protecting citizens here.

Our federal government is a fierce and determined combatant in the war on global terrorism and transnational crime. But its ferocity and determination are every bit as matched by terrorists and transnational criminals. No one entity—be it a government, non-governmental organization, or other group, even one with considerable human resources and tools—can singlehandedly take on these enemies and prevail against them in the long run.

But by joining forces with and making common cause with organizations like Crime Stoppers Global Solutions, the federal government is stronger and more capable of dismantling terrorist organizations and transnational criminal enterprises and bringing their leaders and foot soldiers to justice.

Crime Stoppers Global Solutions offers the powerful twin assets of people and technology to enhance the efforts and effectiveness of the federal government in its global mission of combating terrorism and transnational crime. These are true and proven force multipliers in crime fighting.

For these reasons, I strongly encourage Secretary of State Pompeo and the secretaries of the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Justice, and the Treasury, as well as the heads of relevant federal agencies to partner with Crime Stoppers Global Solutions.

The war on global terrorism and transnational crime is winnable. It takes a team approach. By partnering with Crime Stoppers Global Solutions, the federal government can pool, share, and leverage powerful human resources—engaged citizens—and new tools—advanced wireless technology—that far exceed the capabilities of our enemies and their ability to respond in kind. This joint forces approach has the greatest potential for defeating our enemies and ensuring the safety and wellbeing of Americans and Serbians alike for the long term.

And that's just the way it is.

HONORING BOB COURTNEY

HON. LUKE MESSER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Mr. MESSER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, on behalf of the entire 6th Congressional District of Indiana, to recognize Bob Courtney for his contribution to Jefferson County, and our state.

Bob is a positive leader and hard worker who has been a great advocate as County Chair in Jefferson County. Over the years, he

has worked tirelessly to advance Republican values and to improve the quality of life for Hoosiers living in Southern Indiana. He has also had an incredible career in the private sector, working as an investment banker to provide the necessary capital to help employers grow and create Hoosier jobs. It has been an honor to work with him. Our state and Jefferson County are better off today because of his extraordinary leadership and service.

On a personal note, Bob is my friend who I could always count on for a positive word and consistent support. I want to thank Bob for his friendship and loyalty to me over all these years. I wish him continued success in all that God has planned for his family.

RECOGNIZING CARWYN JONES

HON. H. MORGAN GRIFFITH

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Mr. GRIFFITH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in recognition of Carwyn Jones, who stood down as the First Minister of Wales on December 11. Throughout his nine years as First Minister, Carwyn consistently acted to strengthen the enduring bond between the Welsh and the American peoples.

From its earliest days, the Welsh people have maintained an active and important presence in the United States. People of Welsh descent signed our Declaration of Independence and served as President. Welsh immigrants worked on the farms, in the mines, and in the mills that drove our country's economic ascendance.

Today, an estimated 11 million people in the United States possess Welsh ancestry. Their proportion of the population is highest in Appalachia and the mid-Atlantic states, but they can be found across the country. The ties between Wales and the United States are also economic, as over 250 American-owned companies are based in Wales, and many Welsh businesses conduct operations in the United States.

As First Minister, Carwyn Jones has been a champion of the long-lasting friendship between Wales and the United States. He has been a strong supporter of the Congressional Friends of Wales Caucus, which raises the profile of Wales in Washington, D.C. As an advocate for greater economic ties between our nations, he has worked to increase prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic. His belief in the continued importance of the historic ties between Wales, the wider United Kingdom, and the United States made him a valued friend and partner of our country.

As the founder and chairman of the Congressional Friends of Wales Caucus, I value Carwyn's contributions to our success, which includes his repeated attendance at the annual St. David's Day receptions in Washington, D.C., and other U.S. locations. His efforts on behalf of Welsh-American friendship have yielded economic, political, and cultural benefits that will be enjoyed by both of our nations for years to come.

RECOGNIZING MATT ZWEIG

HON. EDWARD R. ROYCE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Mr. ROYCE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express gratitude to Matt Zweig, and to commend his over 17 years of service on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Matt came to the Committee in 2001, as support staff and quickly worked his way up the ladder to become a Senior Professional Staff Member.

Matt has served the Committee in many different capacities. He was the staff member responsible for providing expertise on sanctions and illicit finance—from Iran, to North Korea, to Burma and Russia. He has been the primary staffer responsible for coordinating the National Defense Authorization Act process for the Committee—an annual exercise that involves dozens, and sometimes hundreds of provisions that fall within our Committee's jurisdiction. In this role, he negotiated some of the most critical measures to pass both chambers and be enacted into law—from the two bills that formed the legislative basis for sanctions against North Korea, to innovative measures to confront Iran's terrorist proxy, Hezbollah. Throughout, Matt has maintained critical relationships on both sides of the aisles in the House and Senate that have allowed the Committee to move so much critical legislation. Matt worked many long hours in service to the Committee and country, and I want to thank his wife Behare and their children—Ari, Isabel, and David—for sharing him with us. We wish Matt the best as he departs the Committee for a new mission.

HONORING ANDREW FORRESTER

HON. LUKE MESSER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Mr. MESSER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, on behalf of the entire 6th Congressional District of Indiana, to recognize Andrew Forrester for his contribution to Jefferson County and the City of Madison.

Andrew is a positive leader and hard worker who has served the City of Madison with honor and distinction for years. As the City Director of Community Relations, Andrew has been responsible for representing the City and advancing efforts to improve the quality of life for Madison residents. It has been an honor to work with him.

On a personal note, Andrew is my friend who I could always count on for a positive word and consistent support. Andrew and I are both proud alums of Wabash College, too. I want to thank Andrew for his friendship and loyalty to me over all these years. I wish him continued success in all that God has planned for his family.

AN INTERVIEW ON WHAT THE CONGRESSIONAL CLASS OF 1974 CAN TEACH US ABOUT POLITICAL CHANGE

HON. RICHARD M. NOLAN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 12, 2018

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today at the request of Mr. John Lawrence. Before this most recent election, Mr. Lawrence wrote a book about what the Congressional Class of 1974 can teach the incoming Congressional Class. As a member of that class myself, I'm sure others will find this interview and the book it's about as interesting as I did.

THE WATERGATE BABIES

(Claire Potter and John Lawrence)

It is less than ninety days until Election Day in the United States, when Democrats hope to achieve one of the biggest sweeps of Congressional seats in recent American history. Many of these Democratic hopefuls are veterans. As longtime political strategist Joe Trippi put it back in March, these are candidates who are new to the electoral arena, people who "served the country without worrying about who's a Democrat and who's a Republican" and just want to "get the damn thing done." And a record-breaking 40% of the Democratic House candidates this primary season are women, some of them veterans as well.

If the Democrats' hopes are fulfilled, will this be unprecedented? Not really. On July 24 2018, we published an excerpt from a book written by historian John Lawrence, former chief of staff for Speaker Nancy Pelosi. In *The Class of '74: Congress after Watergate and the Roots of Partisanship* (Johns Hopkins, 2018), Lawrence tracks this earlier revolution, its achievements, and its flaws.

John sat down to talk to us about the book this week, and its implications for our current political situation.

Claire Potter: John, thanks for joining us at Public Seminar. You were trained as a professional historian, and then went into politics, a career path that, as you noted in this essay, mystified your advisors at Berkeley. First, I want to ask you: how did a Ph.D. in history prepare you for a career that eventually led you to becoming Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi's chief of staff?

John Lawrence: Many of the people working on Capitol Hill in key policy and management roles have legal training or campaign experience. Both are valuable, but don't train people to contextualize current issues into a broader narrative. Training in history provided that skill, particularly research methodology and, perhaps most significantly, writing skills. Politics is often a very presentist business. While attorneys certainly are aware of judicial and legal precedents, historians have the ability to view contemporary debates through a unique prism that helps explain the evolution and nature of complex issues.

CP: OK, now I want to turn that question around. How did your work in politics support the writing of *The Class of '74*? What did you bring to writing this book that a scholar who has not spent 38 years working in the House of Representatives would not have?

JL: Politics is an intensely personal business. Working in Congress for nearly four decades enabled me to develop close relationships with dozens of members, staff, reporters and others whose decisions shape the making of public policy and the design of political strategies and campaigns. These connections enabled me to gather material for

The Class of '74 that, I have no doubt, would have been impossible for a researcher without my experience.

Many who write about Congress without this personal connection often miss the nuances of why legislators make certain decisions because motivations can be tied to personal relationships and other factors that are difficult to quantify. I think this is why political scientists, in particular, who frequently eschew the narrative in favor of data analysis of voting patterns, often miss much of what really explains how Congress, and politics more broadly, works.

CP: Thanks. Now let's get to the book prior to 1974, the mood in Congress was changing, and not just because of Watergate. Reflecting some of the disdain for authority that was moving politics in the street, younger Representatives were pushing back against the way the institution ran. What were the issues?

JL: Certainly, the most significant stimulus to the changing mood in Congress was Vietnam. The war was important on many levels: the reassertion of congressional prerogatives against the Imperial Presidency that developed and promoted the war; the rise in the use of oversight to challenge official accounts of the status of the war; the resistance to the draft; the emergence of an investigative, aggressive journalism that often worked collaboratively with dissidents in Congress.

There were other issues that raised passionate concerns among newer members of Congress too: civil rights, women's equality, the environment, energy policy, consumer protection, among them. Within Congress, reformers also resented the structure of the institution. Power was lodged largely in autonomous chairmen who did not need to be responsive to the views of the broader membership because their chairmanships were virtually guaranteed by the seniority system—instituted after the 1910 revolt against Speaker Joseph Cannon. Increasingly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it became evident to the younger reformers that it was essential to challenge the awarding of chairmanships on the basis of duration of service alone. If chairmen did not have to be responsive to the broader membership, then the issues that the younger, more progressive, cohort wished to elevate could be (and often were) suppressed by more conservative chairs.

CP: In 1974, in a far bigger sweep than was anticipated, 76 Democrats were elected to the House, 49 replacing Republican incumbents. What set the stage for this colossal shift in power?

JL: Longstanding disapproval of the Vietnam policy played a significant role in encouraging reformers to run and in their winning. So, too, did the recent oil embargo which had elevated public anxiety and accentuated the need for a national energy policy. By 1974, Watergate, with all of its turmoil within the Executive Branch and Congress, as well, helped create a demand for reform of what was viewed as a corrupt White House. Certainly, the revelation of the Nixon tapes and Nixon's subsequent resignation complicated the re-election of many loyalists who had stood by the President as the crisis deepened.

President Ford's pardon of Nixon, coming just weeks before the election, further cemented the idea that corruption was rampant in Washington and a housecleaning was in order. Lastly, the continuing poor economy, and the ineffectual response of the Ford Administration—the Whip Inflation Now campaign—created a toxic political environment for many Republicans: corruption, recession, energy disruptions and price hikes. The climate was perfect for new, opti-

mistic, earnest young candidates like the Class of '74.

CP: Sounds like a perfect political storm. Vietnam was obviously huge, as was inflation that would soon push the American economy into a real crisis. What were the other concerns these "Watergate babies" had in common—and what policy problems divided them?

JL: The issues around which the Class of '74 were most united were the internal reforms that disseminated power in Congress. The changes they made, effectuated in December, 1974, gave heightened power to the Caucus and strengthened the role of subcommittees on which freshmen and other reformers enjoyed disproportionate strength, enabling them to raise and promote issues. These changes benefitted all new members by increasing their participatory rights, regardless of their ideology or view on specific issues.

When the freshmen were faced with policy questions where their constituents had particular interests, or where constituents had strongly held views—issues like abortion, school busing, labor law and energy—the unanimity within the freshmen caucus proved somewhat more difficult to maintain. However, it should be noted that overall, the freshmen not only voted with significant consistency but they were also among the most loyal to the Democratic leadership's positions.

CP: 1974 was also, in some ways, the twilight of Republican liberalism: you point out in the book that while many Republicans shared the majority's "goal of democratizing House procedures," their "objectives were quite different." Can you describe these differences?

JL: Newer members in both parties stood to gain from changes that extended greater participation to those with less seniority. And Republicans in general were supportive of reforms that not only benefitted the minority (for example, the ability to hire more staff on committees) but members in general. Whereas Democratic freshmen used expanded rights to raise issues and offer amendments in committee and on the floor to promote more progressive ideas, Republicans increasingly became skilled at exploiting the more open rules to force less secure Democrats into casting controversial votes that could render them vulnerable to political challenge.

Similarly, Republicans very successfully learned to utilize the coverage of committee and floor proceedings by television cameras to send messages to supporters and to raise issues that favored GOP policies. When Democrats rescinded some reforms that constrained the ability of Republicans to exploit divisive issues, strategists like Newt Gingrich were able to make a case against the majority for being heavy-handed and unfair, which they cited as justifying a change in control of the House.

CP: By the late 1970s, the political terrain in the United States was quite different: what changed in the 1970s, and how did that set the stage for the polarized politics of the 21st century?

JL: The signs of a more polarized politics were developing quite markedly in the mid-to-late 1970s, although many date the emergence of a revitalized conservatism to the 1980 and the Reagan Era. Many of the key changes were driven by demographics, especially the movement of many conservative white voters from the Northeast and Midwest to the border and southern states in search of jobs. Reaction to the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam and student protests and the whole litany of "sex, drugs and rock-and-roll" cultural divisions all