

H.R. 4. An act to enhance energy conservation, research and development and to provide for security and diversity in the energy supply for the American people, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 4) “An Act to enhance energy conservation, research and development and to provide for security and diversity in the energy supply for the American people, and for other purposes,” requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. KERRY, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. BREAX, Mr. REID, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. LOTT, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CAMPBELL, and Mr. THOMAS, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed with amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 1646. An act to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal years 2002 and 2003, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 1646) entitled “An Act to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal years 2002 and 2003, and for other purposes,” requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. BIDEN, Mr. SARBAKES, Mr. DODD, Mr. KERRY, Mr. HELMS, Mr. LUGAR, and Mr. HAGEL, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed with amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 3295. An act to establish a program to provide funds to States to replace punch card voting systems, to establish the Election Assistance Commission to assist in the administration of Federal elections and to otherwise provide assistance with the administration of certain Federal election laws and programs, to establish minimum election administration standards for States and units of local government with responsibility for the administration of Federal elections, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 3295) “An Act to establish a program to provide funds to States to replace punch card voting systems, to establish the Election Assistance Commission to assist in the administration of Federal elections and to otherwise provide assistance with the administration of certain Federal election laws and programs, to establish minimum election administration standards for States and units of local government with responsibility for the administration of Federal elections, and for other purposes,” requests a conference with the House of Representatives on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses

thereon, and appoints Mr. DODD, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. McCONNELL, and Mr. BOND, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed a concurrent resolution of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 103. Concurrent resolution supporting the goals and ideals of National Better Hearing and Speech Month, and for other purposes.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. COMBEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report to accompany H.R. 2646 just adopted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 404 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

##### H. RES. 404

*Resolved*, That it shall be in order at any time on the legislative day of Thursday, May 2, 2002, for the Speaker to entertain a motion that the House suspend the rules relating to the resolution (H. Res. 392) expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. If the Speaker entertains such motion, debate under clause 1(c) of rule XV shall be extended to one hour.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to my friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for purposes of debate only.

(Mr. DIAZ-BALART asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 404 is a rule providing for the consideration of House Resolution 392 at any time on the legislative day of Thursday, May 2, under suspension of the rules.

The rule further provides 1 hour of debate on the suspension measure, rather than the customary 40 minutes. This is a fair rule that would allow consideration, Mr. Speaker, of an important resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I am a proud cosponsor of the resolution before us today. It expresses strong solidarity by this Congress of the state of Israel. Israel continues to be victimized by acts of ter-

ror. This resolution reaffirms the Congress' belief that Israel has a right to self-defense in the face of cowardly attacks against innocent civilians.

The United States has been a proud friend of Israel since President Truman promptly recognized the Jewish state in 1948. If there is one issue that unites us in this Congress, Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, it is and it should be our support for Israel.

□ 1315

As the resolution states, since September on a basis proportional to the United States population, approximately 9,000 Israelis have been assassinated by homicide bombers, three times the number of innocent civilians killed in the terrorist attacks of New York and Washington on September 11.

Israel has been under attack in recent months, ferociously and viciously attacked. Friends can best show their friendship when friends are precisely under attack. Our friend, Israel, is today under attack and so today once again we reiterate our friendship with Israel.

I would like to lend my supporting commendation to the efforts of President Bush and Secretary Powell and all of those involved in the difficult search for peace. I also would like to thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) and all of my fellow co-sponsors of this resolution for introducing and for pressing for its passage at this time.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules this afternoon brings to the floor a rule such as this to allow the House to consider very timely measures. I urge all of my colleagues to support this very straightforward rule.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this rule permits the House to consider today under suspension of the rules 1 hour of debate on H. Res. 392, expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism.

I urge the House to approve this rule so we can immediately demonstrate our strong support for the State of Israel, bypassing the underlying resolution.

Mr. Speaker, we face a historic turning point in the Middle East. All of us, Democrats and Republicans, want peace in the region and all of us want a strong vital State of Israel to prosper. In order for that to happen, the United States must reaffirm its long-standing support for Israel as we attempt to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. There should be no misunderstanding in the rest of the world: we are Israel's friend as she deals with the wave of terrorism directed against her by her enemies. That does not mean that we cannot

make constructive suggestions to our ally and work for a solution that provides two states in the region, one Israeli and one Palestinian.

But key to all of this is the clear understanding that Israel is our ally. She is the only democracy in the region and has always been our friend. And now in her time of need Israel stands virtually alone. Much of Europe has turned its back on Israel and few in the Arab world are willing to stand up to the radical elements that conduct terrorism against innocent civilians, including women and children.

The resolution that we will vote on later today is somewhat different from the original one drafted by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking Democrat on the Committee on International Relations. Some of us might reword portions of the resolution if we had that option. But we would not change the basic thrust of the resolution, that America stand by its ally at this critical juncture. The procedure chosen by the majority does not give us the opportunity to change one word in the resolution. It is unamendable and subject to a straight up-or-down vote. That being the case, it is my hope that the resolution will receive an overwhelmingly bipartisan vote at the end of the day.

Americans must speak with an unequivocal voice at this juncture in history. We stand with Israel in its fight against terrorism, and we urge the Palestinians to reject the extremists in their midst and to work for peace. We must also reject the pessimists who say that there is no solution for the differences that divide Israel and Palestinians. The United States is the only nation in the world that can mediate this dispute. It is my hope that the Bush administration will continue to be engaged at the highest level in seeking a peaceful solution.

But make no mistake about our role. We are not a neutral bystander with no stake in the outcome. We stand for a strong vital Israel and should continue to play a constructive role to ensure both peace and Israel's future.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER), my good friend and colleague from the Committee on Rules.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues to support the rule on H. Res. 392, a bill expressing the United States' solidarity with Israel in its ongoing fight against terrorism.

H. Res. 392 supports Israel's efforts to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in Palestinian areas and reiterates the United States' commitment to Israel as an ally by reproaching acts of terror condoned by Arafat and other Palestinian leadership. It also demands that Palestinian leadership adhere to dismantling terrorist groups. Finally, the bill challenges Israel's Middle Eastern

neighbors to set a good example to the Palestinians by pursuing a policy of peaceful relations with Israel.

Mr. Speaker, I have been to Israel on three occasions; and each time I went, the vulnerability and terror were more and more palpable. These are people living in terror on a daily basis. We have responded to terror in our midst in a ferocious way. We should expect Israel to do the same. We simply cannot ask our citizens to continue to live under terror.

Approving this rule that brings H. Res. 392 to the floor is a good step we can take as a Nation and we can take it today to help heal Israeli-Palestinian relations. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting both the rule and the underlying legislation.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and the resolution. This resolution expresses the solidarity of the Congress and the American people with Israel in a struggle against the forces of hatred and violence. It is both fitting and appropriate for us today to declare our support at a time when Israel had been subjected to repeated acts of terror.

Israel is our most reliable friend in the Middle East. It is our only democracy, a beacon of hope in the region of the world for the freedom we all take for granted. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom to challenge your government nonviolently without fear of retribution simply do not exist. Israel is the only country in the Middle East that guarantees all of these freedoms.

The Congress stands here today to condemn and reject this paths of violence led by Chairman Arafat. Instead, we must return to the path of peace. Israel must have a partner who is willing to say no to those who will use terror and violence.

Chairman Arafat must take action against those Palestinians who would block the path to peace.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FERGUSON).

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule and certainly as a strong supporter and core sponsor of the underlying legislation. I am also proud today to stand with my colleagues to express our solidarity with the people of Israel and our steadfast support in their fight against terrorism.

The people of Israel have become a target of a sustained campaign of violence that does not discriminate between soldier and citizen, and will yet target the innocent. The victims of this violence are citizens who put themselves in danger merely by going to work or conducting their daily routine. They are indiscriminately struck

down as they go to the market, eat at a cafe, or simply walk down the street. This barbarism cannot and will not be tolerated. And as a country that loves freedom, we can only be supportive of our friends in Israel during their time of need.

Our partnership began with Israel at its very birth as a nation in 1948, and it remains strong today. Israel is the sole democracy in the Middle East; and, therefore, the United States and Israel share a common bond. Our connection is strong and deeply rooted in our citizens' love for freedom. The connection between our two countries is now extended because of a new similarity, our common disdain for terrorism and our commitment to stop those who perpetuate it.

Mr. Speaker, last August I had an opportunity to visit Israel for my second trip; and as I left my wife was understandably nervous, concerned about violence in the Middle East. And upon my return, just a few weeks later here on our own soil, Americans, and particularly so many communities in my district in New Jersey, were devastated by the attacks of terrorism. We understand now firsthand the pain, the emotional pain, the physical pain, the economic loss and all of the problems and the heartache that come with terrorism.

It is now our opportunity to stand today to support this rule and to support our friends in Israel by standing in solidarity with them.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, when a democracy is under siege from terrorist assault, it must defend itself. I am proud of our Nation's response to the horrors of September 11. For the last 18 months, Israel has been a democracy under siege; and it has responded in the only way that any democracy must, it has defended itself. It has not asked for this war any more than we asked for ours against al Qaeda and the Taliban. But when democracies come under terrorist attack, it is morally incumbent upon us as the world's leading democracy to express our solidarity. That is what this resolution does.

Since September 2000, terrorist suicide bombers have claimed 180 innocent Israeli lives, a number proportional to 9,000 Americans, three times the lives we lost on September 11. This past weekend on the Jewish sabbath, Palestinian terrorists murdered four Israeli civilians, including a 5-year-old child. This was not collateral damage, Mr. Speaker. This was the deliberate and premeditated murder of an innocent little girl.

Mr. Speaker, there is no difference between the pain and anguish felt by a bereft Palestinian mother or father who lost their innocent child and the heart broken Israeli mother or father who lost theirs. But as we mourn equally the innocent causalities on both sides, we dare not treat equally

those who act out of self-defense and those who act out of terrorist designs. There is no moral equivalence in this struggle.

Our bipartisan resolution, Mr. Speaker, is not neutral as some would have it. It does not equivocate. It draws a bright line between terrorist aggression, and self-defense. It clearly distinguishes between the side that made a historically generous offer of peace, and the side that spat on that offer and started a blood bath instead.

□ 1330

This resolution is not for those who seek a neutral stance in Israel's struggle against terrorism. This resolution is for those who are committed to defend democracy against terrorism and stand shoulder to shoulder with Israel in our shared struggle.

In its 54-year battle for survival, Israel has suffered numerous attacks like ours of September 11. It has never wavered in its commitment to democratic values and human rights. Now, as its very existence is again challenged, we must not waiver in our support for Israel.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote to reaffirm our strong support for our democratic ally, the state of Israel.

**Mr. DIAZ-BALART.** Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mr. Virginia (Mr. SCHROCK).

**Mr. SCHROCK.** Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the state of Israel and this rule. We must continue to support Israel in its fight against terrorism. The citizens of Israel suffer undeserved death as suicide bombers terrorize Israeli cities almost daily. These bombers are not trying to achieve peace. They are trying to inflict mass murder throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I have been to Israel. I have seen firsthand the fear Israelis must live with on a daily basis. Not knowing whether they or their family will survive each day is absolutely unacceptable. Israelis have the right to defend their country from these terrorist attacks.

Having visited Afghanistan during the last recess, I have witnessed the devastation decades of war produce. If we do not stand next to Israel with our full support, the most stable and successful democracy in the Middle East may well fall to ruins like the dusty towns of Afghanistan.

I will not let that happen to Israel. I support Israel, will continue to support Israel and urge my colleagues to do the same by voting yes on this resolution.

**Mr. FROST.** Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS), a member of the Rules Committee.

(Mr. HASTINGS of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today in support of this rule and the spirit of the underlying resolution. While we continue to consume ourselves rightly with our own war against terrorism, we cannot forget that Israel has been waging its own war against terrorism as well as its own fight for democracy for more than 54 years.

Today, I stand with my colleagues in sending a message to the people of Israel that the support Israel enjoys from the United States is stronger today than it has ever been. As we send this positive message to Israel, we must also recognize the unique role we play as moderator in the peace process.

On two occasions recently, once in February and again in March, I wrote to President Bush urging him to personally become engaged in this region's peace process, but to my disappointment, I have yet to receive a response.

Early last month I introduced a resolution condemning violence in the Middle East. I am not suggesting that my resolution is the end solution by any means. However, my resolution does something that this one does not. It recognizes that there are things that can be done by both the Palestinians and Israel that will curb the ongoing violence and hopefully get the two parties back to the negotiating table.

We need to understand that as we embark on this difficult journey we need to ask how do we educate and re-educate misinformed communities in the Middle East. We, in addition to that, need to bring to the attention of everyone the complex manifestations of ongoing violence in the Middle East, and we need to bring to this Congress' attention the increasing amounts of anti-Semitism and racism that are emerging in Europe.

This is a harsh reminder to those of us in the black and Jewish community that the fight against racism and prejudice is far from over.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today in support of this rule and the spirit of the underlying resolution. While we continue to consume ourselves with our own war against terrorism, we cannot forget that Israel has been waging its own war against terrorism, as well as its own fight for democracy, for more than 54 years.

Today, I stand with my colleagues in sending a message to the people of Israel: The support Israel enjoys from the United States is stronger today than it has ever been.

As we send this positive message to Israel, we must also recognize the unique role we play as a moderator in the peace process. With that in mind, I ask, as a cosponsor of the underlying resolution, "How does this resolution bring us closer to a comprehensive solution and ultimate peace accord?" The answer, Mr. Speaker, is that I am not certain.

Over the past five months, we have watched violence in Israel and the Palestinian territories spiral out of control. We have watched hundreds of Israelis fall victim to suicide bombings, and we have seen the deaths of more than 1,000 Palestinians. And while the numbers of deaths increased and the likelihood of a peaceful solution decreased by the

day, the Bush Administration remained largely silent.

On two occasions, once in February and the other in March, I wrote to President Bush, urging him to become personally engaged in the region. But much to my extreme disappointment, I have yet to receive a response.

There are many who claim the U.S. involvement will do little, if anything, in bringing a solution to this ongoing problem. To them I say, if we do not try, then that will become a self fulfilling prophecy. The Administration's vacillations in Middle East policy have left the U.S. in two precariously unfamiliar positions when it comes to the peace process—on the outside and unable to deliver. If we are to optimize our chances of influencing Israel and the Palestinians, then it must start from the top. The President must accept that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is his problem and, ultimately, his responsibility to help remedy.

Early last month, I introduced my own resolution condemning violence in the Middle East. I am not suggesting that my resolution is the end solution by any means. However, my resolution does something that this one does not. It recognizes that there are things that can be done by both the Palestinians and Israel that will curb the ongoing violence and hopefully get the two parties back to the negotiating table, a place that both have been absent from for some time.

Mr. Speaker, if the United States is to continue down the daunting trail of bringing peace to the Middle East, we cannot and should not forget to address a variety of other complex manifestations of the ongoing violence in the Middle East. For example, Congress must address the increasing amounts of anti-Semitism and racism that are emerging in Europe. This is a harsh reminder to those of us in the black and Jewish communities that the fight against racism and prejudice is far from over.

Furthermore, as we embark on this difficult journey, we must also ask: How do we educate and reeducate misinformed communities in the Middle East? How do we stop countries such as Syria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and others from teaching hate? Finally, how do we maintain the balance of cultural, religious and political differences in a region that, historically, has not desired such a balance?

In the end, Mr. Speaker, I will support the underlying resolution because I support Israel and its right to defend itself. Nevertheless, if we are to have success in bringing a real and lasting peace to the Middle East, then we must accept the realities that I have raised and hasten our resolve and engagement to assist in ending this seemingly endless conflict.

**Mr. DIAZ-BALART.** Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SAXTON).

(Mr. SAXTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

**Mr. SAXTON.** Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule, and I rise in support of House Resolution 392 which expresses our solidarity with Israel in their struggle to fight terrorism and provide security for the people of Israel.

Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian leadership have simply failed to adhere

to their commitments in Oslo which would require strict adherence to a peaceful resolution to the conflicts and renounce the use of terrorism and other acts of violence. In fact, the violence has escalated, as we all know, culminating in the recent killing of 46 Israelis during the week of Passover with suicide bombings where more than 100 additional were wounded.

Yasser Arafat has demonstrated that he is not a viable peace partner, and I am glad to see that President Bush is now dealing with others. The Palestinian Authority has failed to fulfill its commitment to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in Palestinian areas.

Due to Arafat's unwillingness or inability to act Israel's military action is understandable. Israel has an inherent right to defend herself against armed attack and to utilize preemptive measures to prevent terrorist attacks on civilian populations, as we have done ourselves in our own war against terrorism.

H.R. 392 demands that the Palestinian Authority finally fulfill its commitment to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure. It also calls on Arab States to declare their opposition to all forms of terrorism, including suicide bombings. Israel has already begun to withdraw troops from the Palestinian areas and has released Arafat from confinement. In response, all nations in the regions must denounce terrorism and work to end the violence to stabilize the region if we are to realize a lasting peace in the Middle East.

I am calling on my fellow colleagues to support H.R. 392 to send a clear message to Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority.

The United States demands that Arafat call for an end to violence and assume responsibility over the actions of PLO members and prevent their future acts of terrorism.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN).

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us expresses our solidarity with Israel in its war against terrorism. We know from September 11 what it means to be attacked by a suicide or homicide bomber. We are fighting a just war 6,000 miles away in order to defend ourselves, and we should side with Israel as it fights for its very life against terrorists who are sent into Israel from operations only a few miles away.

The only way for peace is for the United States to make clear that we will demand that Israel be permitted to exist and live with peace and security.

The second way to peace is to stand up to terrorism. Palestinians killed when Israelis tried to root out terrorism in the territories, where they tried to root the infrastructure is a tragedy, but innocent civilians killed as the sole objective of murderers who are willing to kill themselves as well is abhorrent. It is vile. It should not be considered martyrdom or simply another tool to accomplish political objectives.

I know many Members would like to have various changes in this resolution, but the resolution before us ought to have the support of our colleagues, even if they would have preferred a different version, because the essence of this resolution is to stand with Israel and make clear to the Arab world, we want peace but we are not going to let them drive a wedge between the United States and Israel. They ought to forget about that.

Israel has been fighting for its very life since 1948 and has yearned for peace. It was willing to accept a Palestinian State in 1948 under the U.N. resolution. The Arabs rejected it. In 1967, the lines, the Arab world said they want to return to. They found it unacceptable in 1967 and declared a war against Israel, and Israel won that war, and has had the territory ever since, but Israel has been willing to take the risks for peace by talking about territorial changes.

It is Arafat, as the leader of the Palestinian people, who rejected the offer made at Camp David and Intaba and, rather than give a counteroffer, has gone to war. War should not be rewarded. Terrorism should not be rewarded. Only through negotiations of working out territory and security can there be peace, not a discussion of whether there ought to continue to be a state of Israel.

I urge members to vote for this resolution. Vote for it because in its very essence it puts the United States on the side of peace by assuring that there will be an Israel and that it will be secure and the terrorism will not be acceptable.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) for yielding me the time.

I rise in support of the rule and the resolution. This is a resolution that commits this Congress and the country further to go down the path for peace.

We have had a long and unique relationship with the State of Israel, but we also desire peace for all those that live in the Middle East. There is no cycle of violence in Israel any more than there is a cycle of violence as we respond to terrorists that attack the United States. There is a response to terrorism, the kind of response that is so clearly in line with the response that we had to that cowardly attack on our country.

This resolution really begins to make the case more effectively, as I think recent weeks and months have made the case, that the leader of the Palestinians today, Mr. Arafat, is not prepared to be a partner for peace. The negotiators on the Israeli government side deserve a partner for peace. Palestinians who desire peace, and the vast majority of Palestinians do desire, and deserve to be led by someone who is willing to be that partner for peace.

Mr. Arafat's been given opportunity after opportunity after opportunity. As

my friend the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN) just pointed out, he was given in September of 2000 an incredible offer for a peace plan for Israel and for the Palestinian people as well. He walked away from that opportunity. He went back, it would appear from all the evidence we see, on the same path of his history in the past, a path that promotes and encourages terrorism. Certainly, not a path that seeks to end terrorism.

If, in fact, he is a viable leader, he needs to lead for peace. If he is not a viable leader, we need to seek aggressively to find someone who can be a viable leader for us to deal with, for us to be as helpful as all peoples who live in that incredibly important part of the world, seek peace in that part of the world.

This resolution sends a message to the world of where this Congress stands. I look forward to seeing it pass today. I look forward to seeing the message even more clear to Mr. Arafat and those who would encourage terrorism that we will not tolerate that on our shores, we will not tolerate that in the country of our friends, we will not tolerate that in any country anywhere, and this resolution addresses that.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY).

(Mrs. LOWEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand in support of H. Res. 392, expressing the solidarity of Congress with Israel in its fight against terrorism.

Fifty-four years ago after the establishment of the State, the miracle so many fought and died for is once again under attack. Indeed, the ideals and values are under siege in this difficult time in the region, freedom, democracy and human rights, are not just Israel's. They are America's as well.

Today, Israel's fundamental right to exist within secure borders is being questioned by both sworn enemies and one-time friends of the Jewish state. The United Nations Human Rights Commission, which spent most of its recent session ignoring human rights violations around the world, voted to condone Palestinian armed struggle in pursuit of Statehood, declining to denounce terror.

□ 1345

Unbelievably, only six nations opposed the resolution.

But the United States, as ever, must stand with our ally. We must remind the world that the Israeli people have been prepared to give up land, to recognize a Palestinian state, to make other sacrifices to end hostilities and to return peace and security to the Jewish state.

That is why I join my colleagues here today. Peace has always been Israel's goal. In the words of David Ben-Gurion,

Israel's first prime minister, in the very declaration that established the state, and I quote, "We offer peace and amity to all neighboring states and their peoples. The State of Israel is ready to contribute its full share to the peaceful progress of the Middle East."

The Israeli people have been ready for peace, not just since Oslo in 1993, they have been ready for peace for 54 years. But peace requires a partner. It is clear that Yasir Arafat will not negotiate in earnest and will not keep his promises. He encourages suicide bombers. His actions threaten the security of Israel and the stability of the whole region. And they endanger our own country's war against terrorism.

My colleagues, we must remain actively and assertively engaged. Our message must remain unequivocal. Terror against any of us is terror against all of us, and it must stop.

Just as the United States decisively struck back against the terror perpetrated on our own shores, Israel must do the same. We have told Yasir Arafat what we expect, and he has met our requests with unreasonable demands and promises of violence. He has avoided real leadership, preferring to incite terror, hatred, and chaos. We must not bow to these tactics. I call on others in the region to put aside their dangerous flirtation with terror and push the Palestinian Authority towards the peace they claim to support. This is the only way progress can be achieved. The Israel-Palestinian conflict can no longer be a pressure valve for their failings and for the resentments of their people. They must save the region from its path of slow self-destruction.

Today, as this long and sad saga continues, Congress will reaffirm the strength of the United States-Israel relationship. Let there be no mistake why this friendship endures. We both cherish democracy. We are both committed to freedom of speech and human rights. And we stand together against terror. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise to express some concerns about the process that we are going through today.

I am on the Committee on International Relations, and we have not yet had a chance to really debate this. This was brought up rather rapidly last night. We had to not break the rules but bend the rules a little bit to get this resolution to the floor. It seems like it would have been reasonable to bring this up next week, but there may have been some other reasons why this is being pushed through today.

Certainly this would not have been the State Department's first choice. In talking with the State Department, matter of fact, they expressed some real reservations about this. They said it is not a very helpful approach, and they said we need to work with the situation as it is to be an honest broker.

This legislation is one-sided and, therefore, not very helpful. So here we are, as a Congress, in a desire to please certain people, moving quickly, even though it may affect what is going on in the State Department. And the State Department goes on to say that this one-sided legislation just comes when in the past 48 hours or so we have been making some progress.

Even our chairman of the committee was quoted in the paper this morning of saying, well, if he had his way, he would prefer a more balanced resolution. And he is a very, very strong supporter of Israel. Of course, I would like to see a more balanced resolution, too. I would like to see one where we balance America's interests as well as others.

There is a lot of talk about democracy and peace. I take a position of nonintervention in the affairs of other people. I believe very sincerely that it is consistent with the Constitution and very sincerely that it works to our best interest for national security and for defense; and that even though this is intended very sincerely to help Israel, motions like this, resolutions like this, can very well backfire and actually hurt Israel more so than they will help.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the underlying resolution which supports Israel's response to the attacks on its people. For many years, in the early 1990s, I was one of the most outspoken Members of this body urging the United States and its European allies to act with force, if needed, to stop the slaughter and ethnic cleansing of the Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that we had a moral imperative to confront the Milosevic-inspired evil and to take action to stop it. I stood squarely with the Muslim community seeking international justice.

I do not choose to be evenhanded or neutral in the face of despots who preach death and destruction to others. I believe Yasir Arafat is such a despot. In the name of legitimate grievances, he and his terrorist allies employ grossly illegitimate means. We must bring peace to this savage region of our globe, but we must not achieve peace at the price of justice. Justice for Israel, the only democratic state in the region, and her people, and justice as well for the Palestinian people.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I join in supporting this resolution because I strongly support the right of Israel's people to eliminate the genesis of unconscionable terrorist attacks against innocent men, women and children. The State of Israel, like every other nation on earth, has the right of self-defense. This resolution is an expression of American solidarity with Israel as it acts to maintain and secure its independence as a free and sovereign nation.

At the same time, it is incumbent upon the United States as well as the

international community to continue to work with Israel and other States in the region to end this escalating cycle of violence, to relieve the suffering of all peoples of that region, and to work toward a permanent and stable peace. I absolutely believe the Israeli people share that goal. I pray that there are Palestinian leaders who share it as well. In his actions and his words, it is clear to me, however, that Yasir Arafat does not.

We must not shrink from our responsibility to stand for a just resolution of this continuing conflict, and we must surely avoid making muddled mistaken parallels between essentially justified defensive actions and terrorist tactics designed to inflame and destroy. We must be committed to helping the parties avoid violence and effect peace. We must be willing to help a Palestinian state realize economic stability. And we must be willing to be an honest broker to achieve these ends. But we must leave no doubt that we are absolutely and irrevocably committed to the survival of Israel and to its security and to its safety of its people. On that, my colleagues, there can be no neutrality.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR).

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to first of all thank the majority whip, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for their leadership in bringing forth this resolution.

As the men and women in uniform continue to fight our war against the terrorists in Afghanistan and continue to face resistance by al Qaeda forces, I think it is very important that we reflect upon the words of our President which he delivered on September 20. He said that any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

I commend the President for these bold words and would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that our success in fighting this war depends upon America's preserving the precise definition of America's struggle. We cannot allow for exceptions or conditions. We cannot permit safe havens from which terrorists can operate with impunity. And we cannot shrink from our responsibility to support free nations under siege, especially Israel.

That is why we are here today, Mr. Speaker. The underlying resolution that we are here today to debate speaks very clearly of the failure by Mr. Arafat and his Palestinian Authority leadership to abide by the terms of the Oslo accords, to embrace non-violence and to renounce terrorism once and for all. Mr. Arafat has been unequivocal in his embrace of terrorism. The resolution points to the recent uncovering of evidence pointing to the direct financial support by Mr. Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to engage in the killing of innocent men, women, and children.

Mr. Speaker, it is important that we speak up and speak up with a clear voice in this House; that we support Israel in its fight against the terrorists; and that there is no such thing as one terrorist being another's freedom fighter. The intentional killing of innocent men, women, or children will not be tolerated by this country.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN).

(Mr. ACKERMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today with a heavy heart, because with this resolution of solidarity the House formally acknowledges three critical policy failures:

First, we are owning up to the failure of our Nation's Pygmalion-like, romanticized notion that we could transform an Arab Che Guevara into a Palestinian Nelson Mandela. In the end, Yasir Arafat could not put down the gun.

Second, we are at last admitting that our policy of one more chance was understood by Yasir Arafat to mean that, no matter what, there would always be one more chance. We are declaring today that there are no more last chances.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we are acknowledging the failure of our countless efforts to squeeze from Mr. Arafat even the smallest commitment to non-violence. After trips by the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the CIA director, and the President's special envoy, Yasir Arafat still cannot put down the gun.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we are acknowledging failure. Not a failure of our making, nor one of our choosing. But this admission is the first step toward realizing our policy toward our ultimate goal of peace with security and a peace with dignity.

We are declaring today that there are no more last-chances left. His credibility is gone. His promises are hollow. The Congress, at least, has had enough.

Instead of sharing dreams of hope and plans of progress, as all great leaders have, he inspires young people to kill themselves to blow up babies and grandparents in pizzerias, or young girls going to a dance, or worshipers observing Passover. Nothing can justify the use of such evil depravity as a negotiating tool. He cannot put down the gun.

"Get re-involved," Mr. Arafat and the world told us. "Get re-involved and the violence will stop. And so we did. But he couldn't put down the gun."

In February 2001, President Bush sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to the Middle East and Arafat couldn't put down the gun. The Administration endorsed the Mitchell Committee report, and sent CIA Director George Tenet to facilitate implementation of the Mitchell report, and Arafat couldn't put down the gun. At the UN, President Bush called for a Palestinian state, and in a major speech, Secretary Powell elaborated on the President's vision, and Arafat couldn't put down the gun. The President sent General Anthony Zinni as his special

envoy, and the Vice-President offered to meet with Yasir Arafat, but Arafat couldn't put down the gun. The President sent Gen. Zinni again, and Arafat still couldn't put down the gun.

And finally, finally, after 19 months of daily drive-by-shootings, mortar attacks, rocket attacks and suicide bombings in restaurants, cafés, discos and religious observances, the people being murdered by Arafat's bombers said enough is enough. Israel has endured what no other nation would ever be asked to accept: the daily slaughter of its citizens by the very parties with whom others expected it to negotiate.

And so the IDF was sent into the hotbeds of Palestinian terrorism. And the results are quite clear. Just as our armed forces broke the back of Al-Qaida in Afghanistan, the Israeli Army has rightfully crushed the Palestinian terrorist infrastructure. Not surprisingly, there has been a real, sustained and significant reduction in Palestinian violence against Israel.

As did every Member of the House, I hoped that the Oslo agreement between Israel and the Palestinians would lead to peace. I still believe that peace is possible, but it is only possible if the Palestinians will finally put away the guns and bombs and seek their statehood at the bargaining table.

So yes, Mr. Speaker, we are acknowledging failure. Not a failure of our making, nor one of our choosing. But we are today recognizing a terrible truth: as it stands today, the Palestinian Authority is the author, solicitor, supporter, organizer and financier of Palestinian terrorism. In concert with Iran, it is an enemy of peace. And what about tomorrow? After all, it is the Middle East. Perhaps Mr. Arafat can be resurrected as a seeker of peace. But until then, what we have done has failed.

And this admission is the first step toward realigning our policy toward our ultimate aim: a just and lasting settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors; a peace with security and a peace with dignity. Let us hope it begins today.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank our whip, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), as well as the ranking Democratic member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for this resolution.

As President Kennedy said, "America is great not because we do the easy things. We are great because we do the hard things. A powerful Nation fields armies and commands fear. A great Nation advances justice and human freedom." Our foreign policy is best when it reflects our values, supporting democracies like Israel. Terrorists do not hate Israel because it is a Jewish state, they hate Israel because it is a free, open and democratic state in a region of dictators. Iran and Iraq, enemies of the Gulf War, unite against Israel because of her democratic model.

And after September 11, we speak with moral clarity that America supports democratic allies in the war on terror. Israel has always been ready to sign a peace, but when faced with a homicide bomber, that little democracy needs a bottom line, and we are that bottom line for Israel and the other democracies of this world.

In tough times, we served as the arsenal of democracy, and we serve as that again. I am proud when America defends our values, who share our freedom and democracy, and that is Israel. And I thank the gentleman for moving this resolution.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL).

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished ranking member for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, here we go again. Here we go again. How many times has this body passed resolutions of this nature that are so unbalanced, so one-sided. That we become the laughingstock of the world? How many times have we passed resolutions of this nature? Yet do we have peace today? Do we have peace today?

I support the state of Israel. I do not support the brutal humiliating policies of Ariel Sharon. I support a strong relationship with Israel. That is not the issue here today. I support Israel being our ally. That is not the issue here today. Yes, Israel is our ally. Yes, we have had, we have today, and we will continue to have a strong relationship with Israel. But, by golly, we need other allies in the region as well.

What about the moderate Arab allies that want to help us, to whom we only cast further embarrassment today by the passage of these one-sided resolutions? Let us not shut the door. Let us not shut the door on those in the region who want to help us pressure Arafat to stop approving of these heinous acts of terrorism against civilians. Let us not shut the door on those allies of ours around the world, including the European Union, who want to help us, who want to help Israel stop these brutal acts against innocent civilians. And I deplore them as much as the next person.

There are those in the region that want to be our friends. Let us look at America's interests, number one. Let us look at America's interests. Are we furthering America's interests today by the passage of this one-sided, unbalanced resolution? Let us look around the world and ask ourselves that question.

I urge defeat of this resolution.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, prior to yielding to my friend from Colorado.

I would simply like to answer the question of whether it is in America's interests to pass this resolution today. When we stand with our friends, and when we reiterate our solidarity and our friendship with a nation that is our friend and that is under attack, the message that we are sending is that precisely we stand with our friends in good times and in bad times and that we are a friend worth having. And that is in the interest of the United States.

So because of our special friendship with Israel, because of the history of our friendship with Israel, and the ties

that bind us, and because we stand with our friends, we are passing this resolution.

□ 1400

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. McINNIS).

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the comments of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART), who said it the best. When does it count being a friend? What is being a friend all about?

I heard the gentleman from Texas say why is this resolution necessary? I will tell Members why it is necessary, because the public relations machine in this world is rolling over Israel. They are making Yasir Arafat, who is a terrorist, look like Robin Hood.

Look at the Olympics. Take a look recently on Passover, when they send a bomber in to blow up a restaurant on Passover. The equivalent of that in the United States is showing up on Christmas Eve and killing Santa Claus. What do Members think we would be doing? We would be going after them.

Arafat is a terrorist. He was a terrorist 25 years ago, he was a terrorist 15 years ago, and he is a terrorist today. There is only one country in the world outside of the borders of Israel that has enough guts to stand up to that public relations machine and say enough is enough.

For those Members who have some sympathy for this cause, take a look at how these people speak in English. When they speak in English they speak in moderation. When they speak in their own language, they speak in extreme tongue. There should be no question whether or not this resolution is necessitated. It is necessitated by the fact, as the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) said, they are our friends and we will stand with our friends against this kind of aggression. There is no justification for what that terrorist is doing.

Finally, in summation, one of my colleagues said I wrote the President and the President did not write me back on my solution. Give me a break. President Bush is fully engaged in this. Condoleezza Rice is fully engaged, Colin Powell is fully engaged, as is the whole cabinet. This resolution deserves our yes vote.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS).

(Mrs. CAPPS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, the House is right to condemn the horrific and heartless suicide bombings, and to reaffirm our support for Israel; but it is not right simply to voice our personal emotions and not to advance our national interests. This resolution should be stronger.

First, it should recognize the suffering of the Palestinian people. Many of the 1,500 Palestinians killed in this

conflict are not terrorists or fighters, but innocent people.

Second, Congress should forcefully support strong U.S. engagement in pursuit of a negotiated long-term settlement to the conflict. All suicide bombings cannot be stopped by the Palestinian authority alone, nor will they be ended by Palestinian incursions into the West Bank and Gaza. Terrorism was stopped before, and can be halted again only through joint Israel-Palestinian security cooperation.

Beyond that, the dream of a secure Israel can be realized only alongside a politically and economically viable Palestine. Our own national interests demand that the U.S. serve as an honest, credible leader towards peace.

Mr. Speaker, the House is right to condemn the horrific and heartless tactic of suicide bombing. The House is right to reaffirm the unbreakable bond between the American people and the Israeli people. But Mr. Speaker, it is not right to simply voice our personal emotions and not advance our national interests. This resolution should be stronger.

First, it should recognize the suffering of the Palestinian people. Many of the 1,500 Palestinians killed in this conflict are not terrorists or fighters, but innocent people. Surely, the United States of America and its Congress consider the death of an innocent child to be equally tragic—whether she is Israeli or Palestinian, Jewish, Christian, or Muslim.

Second, Congress should forcefully support strong U.S. engagement in pursuit of a negotiated long-term settlement to the conflict. We are here to offer solutions, not merely to express emotions. All suicide bombings cannot be stopped by the Palestinian Authority alone. Nor will they be ended by Israeli incursions into the West Bank and Gaza.

Terrorism was stopped before—and can be halted again—through joint Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation. Let us not forget that when Israel and the Palestinian Authority were combating terror together, under the watchful eye of our CIA, Israelis enjoyed three of the most peaceful years in their history. That ended when the peace process collapsed. These peaceful days will only return in the context of a vigorous, renewed peace process led by the United States. The dream of a safe and secure Israel can be realized only alongside an economically and politically viable Palestine. And this will only become reality if our country—and our President—is fully engaged in diplomacy.

Last night, the flames at the Church of the Nativity were a stark and vivid reminder that the cycle of violence in the Middle East threatens to spiral out of control. But the agreement to end the situation in Ramallah, secured by the United States, reminds us of the valuable role U.S. intervention can play.

Today, the United States is engaged in a critical war against terrorism. In my view, the fight against global terror will only be strengthened when we secure a just and lasting peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. For the sake of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples—and for our own sake—the U.S. government must be an honest, credible leader toward the path of peace. Our national interests give us no alternative.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to rise not only in support of this resolution, but to be one of the original cosponsors or one of the sponsors of the resolution.

Let me just point out that I do not have a large Jewish community in my district. The vast majority probably do not vote for me. I am not here to win friends, I am here to do what is right. This resolution speaks the truth. There are some people who are not going to be happy with this resolution. I can understand why, because it speaks the truth. It says “Yasir Arafat and the members of the Palestinian leadership have failed to abide by their commitments to nonviolence made in the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles (the Oslo Accord).”

Jeepers, they have not only failed, Yasir Arafat goes on the radio calling for more martyrs. Young people strapping bombs around their waists going into restaurants and supermarkets, blowing up innocent women and children, and he is calling for more of that. To say he is a terrorist is an understatement. I mean, this resolution goes on to talk about the Karine-A affair, how they were trying to import into the Palestinian authority tons of weapons.

Mr. Speaker, we tend to gloss over the fact why we support Israel, and we will frequently just say Israel is a democracy, and then we move on to the next sentence. We need to dwell on that issue for awhile. To my knowledge, there have never been two democracies that have fought each other. There has never been a democracy that have done the horrible things the Palestinian authority has perpetrated against Israel. We have given the Muslim world a pass for too long. 1.2 billion people living under dictatorships where they have no freedom of speech, they have no freedom of religion, or political freedoms. This is the right resolution. This is the people’s House. We listen to the people. The people want us to stand by Israel.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution, and say that I would have preferred Members to have had an opportunity to vote on H. Res. 405 by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support and proud co-sponsor of H. Res. 392. Israel is under a state of siege from terrorist forces in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian offices in Ramallah harbored the accused assassins of an Israeli cabinet minister. The Palestinian authority proudly pays for posters to put up in

their cities glorifying these terrorist activities; they call them martyrs.

The way to peace in a Palestinian state is not through terror. If the Arab League wants to advance the peace process, they need to tell their membership to stop financing terrorism against Israel and stop demonizing the Jewish people. The Arab League needs to stop supporting terrorist organizations, stop funding suicide bombers on the West Bank and Gaza, and stop paying rewards for the attacks.

Everybody speaks about peace in front of the cameras, but continues to secretly fund terrorist organizations against Israel. I support Israel's right to defend their citizens and support their operations to destroy the terrorist infrastructure which has been created by the Palestinian Authority.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Arafat could stop the violence if he restrained his forces and used his powers for construction instead of destruction. Israel only went on the offensive as a reflexive action to stop escalating terrorist attacks. If there are no more attacks, Israel is more than willing to restart the peace process. This resolution needs to be passed.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution which is one-sided and will not further the cause of peace. This resolution undermines President Bush's efforts to bring both sides together as an honest broker. Instead of compromising, this one-sided resolution will encourage excesses on both sides. It is anti-peace.

Clearly all of us are overwhelmed with a sense of outrage over the terrorist bombings that have left so many Israeli women and children, elderly people and other noncombatants dead or wounded. Strapping a bomb onto a young person and sending them out to blow up a Pizza Hut or a bus and to kill other noncombatants in order to terrorize a population is despicable beyond words.

But if we are going to bring peace to that troubled region, we must be scrupulously honest. There are piles of bodies in the Middle East. Many of the victims are noncombatants, and both sides of the conflict have engaged in the slaughter of innocents. I know the retort that many will use that the elderly and the children that have been killed by the Israeli Army was unintentional. Collateral damage. I have searched my heart to accept this argument. I cannot accept it.

I am asking my colleagues to search their hearts. Should we not be doing what we can to end the cycle of violence as our President and Secretary of State have been trying to do? We must seek out the good-hearted people on both sides rather than encourage the radicals and hate mongers on both sides, which this resolution will do.

I am sorry, but I do not put Mr. Sharon and Mr. Arafat in the camp of the

good-hearted. The last thing we should do is give Mr. Sharon a green light to unleash his total war on the Palestinian people. The fact of life is that the Palestinians are not going to disappear, that Israel is not going to be driven into the sea. We need to bring both sides together in a spirit of peace and compromise. This resolution goes in the opposite direction.

No one has been more committed towards ending the Taliban and al Qaeda terrorist regime, or getting rid of Saddam Hussein than I have been. But this is a different situation, and we will fail unless we go at it as peacemakers. This is a pro-war resolution for a conflict that cannot be won. Let us be peacemakers and do the right thing.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

(Mr. CONYERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, there is not enough time for all Members to speak, but I include my remarks for the RECORD. And I would just add, there have been no hearings on the underlying resolution.

Mr. Speaker, for over a month I have worked more intensively on this controversy than on any of the other pressing matters before us. My effort has been to convince my colleagues that—despite the very strong feelings many of them have on this matter—it is crucial that we promote and engage in honest dialogue. That dialogue must be marked by as much mutual respect as we can muster, and by a continuing effort to understand viewpoints we may not share.

Finger-pointing, reciting historical claims and hurtling charges may seem totally justified and important to express. But surely the goals of halting violence to achieve a resolution of the disputes requires that my words spoken here and my conduct are consistent with the necessity of having a dialogue in the Congress and in the Nation, as well.

Over the course of the last 5 weeks, I have spoken with many colleagues on both sides of the aisle, and on both sides of the capitol, urging that we create an inclusive forum in which different views could be freely expressed. On this controversial issue, it can truly be said, as Dr. King once reminded us, that: "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny."

My conversations have included the senior Senators from Delaware and South Dakota; the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE); the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL.) With the gentlelady from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), I have been convening a series of weekly meetings with colleagues, to which all members have been invited, and also attended by representatives of Jewish, Muslim, Protestant and Catholic religious institutions and organization deeply concerned about the Middle East crisis. All attendees at those meetings have agreed on the importance of maintaining real dialogue and minimizing emotional exchanges that are inflammatory or divisive.

I supported the creation of the State of Israel. My continuing support of its security, safety and viability has never wavered. At the same time, my dedication to America's playing its proper role in the pursuit of a just, equitable and lasting peace for all people in the region is equally well known.

I am sure that my colleagues share these goals but at this delicate time, I have concluded that this resolution, however well-intentioned, would be counterproductive to achieving them. I also am convinced that the Israeli Government and people know that the United States' commitment to their security and survival is steadfast and will remain so.

I agree, that this President, like his predecessors, should be given the maximum flexibility—to maintain the credibility of the United States with all parties and to preserve the ability to broker a permanent resolution, with equal conviction, I urge the President to use those capabilities to the fullest.

Mr. Speaker, it simply defies belief that, during these perilous times, the legislative bodies of the single nation on earth that can bring this crisis to closure would compromise that nation's ability to do so.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF).

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and resolution expressing solidarity with the state of Israel. Israel has been subject to the most horrendous series of terrorist attacks: Weekly suicide bombings targeting civilians in cafes, on buses and in markets; gunmen who go from home to home in search of innocent victims.

Today we resolve not only to support Israel in its time of need, our lone democratic ally in the region, but also to speak in a clear voice against the universal scourge of terrorism. As we saw on September 11, no nation, not even the most mighty, is immune from the poison of terrorism. We must realize that a threat to the life of civilians anywhere is a threat to civilization everywhere. I urge support of the resolution.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I pray for the peace of Jerusalem almost every day. As I listen to the gentleman from California speak about the tragic loss of life on both sides of this conflict, I know of his sincerity and greatly appreciate it.

But I rise today as an original co-sponsor of the resolution; and more than that, I rise in support of the dream that is Israel. It is a dream that I would say with great respect to the Members of this institution of Jewish descent and ethnicity, that it is a dream shared by the overwhelming majority of all Americans, the dream that is Israel that languished for 1,800 years in the heart of the people known as the apple of God's eye.

It was a dream that in the wake of the brutality and the horror of the Holocaust, this Nation responded to, returning the people of Israel to their historic homeland in 1948, and there did

we become a partner with this nation, as no other nation partnered in the history of the world.

Yes, we should stand with Israel because she is the lone democracy in this part of the world. Yes, we should stand with Israel because she is a liberal democracy to boot. But mostly, Mr. Speaker, I believe we should stand with Israel today because this Congress is simply a megaphone for the heart of the American people.

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This well should resonate with the hearts of our countrymen who believe in so many small buckboard churches that dot the landscape of districts like mine, that those who bless her, He will still bless, and those who cures her, He will cures.

Let us this day by this resolution send a deafening message from the heart of the American people to the world, that America stands with Israel in this, her darkest hour.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ISRAEL).

Mr. ISRAEL. I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this rule and resolution. As Yasir Arafat plays the role of victim before the cameras of CNN, he continues to create a successor generation of Palestinian homicide bombers. These homicide bombers are indoctrinated by the curriculum of killing, the dialogue of death, the textbooks of terror poisoning the minds of the children of the West Bank and Gaza.

In the official textbook, "Our Country Palestine," it says, "There is no alternative to the destruction of the State of Israel." In the Palestinian textbook entitled, "Our Arabic Language," a subject for a composition is "How are we going to liberate our stolen homeland?"

Mr. Speaker, if one wishes to find a breeding ground of teenage suicide bombers, one need not look beyond the state-control of the Palestinian National Authority. Chairman Arafat's record should not be graded by his pathetic public relations hypocrisy, but rather by the progress he makes in second grade classrooms throughout the West Bank and Gaza.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I stand today without shame in support of this resolution. I stand today without shame in support of the ability of Israel to defend itself and to stand free and democratic. And I also stand without shame in recognizing the humanity and dignity of the Palestinian people. And for anyone to say that this resolution would act against peace and negotiations is wrong, because there is no way to prevent people

who truly want peace to come to the table and negotiate.

I believe we should have engagement. President Bush, it is vital that Secretary Powell should go with this Nation's full support back to the Mideast. President William Jefferson Clinton should be asked for his involvement in this enormous challenge. We must do all to ensure that peace occurs.

So today let me simply say that I want to speak in the words of the late Prime Minister Rabin, spoken at Oslo in 1994, "We are in the midst of building the peace. The architects and engineers of this enterprise are engaged in their work, even as we gather here tonight, building the peace, layer by layer, brick by brick. The job is difficult, complex, trying. Mistakes could topple the whole structure and bring disaster down upon us. And so we are determined to do the job well, despite the toil of murderous terrorism, despite the fanatic and cruel enemies of peace. We will pursue the course of peace," Mr. Speaker, "with determination and fortitude, and we will prevail."

That is what this vote stands for. We will prevail for peace and a free democratic and secure Israel and a freestanding peaceful Palestinian state. America is at its best when we can bring our power to bear to save lives and preserve the dignity of all peoples.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution. I believe in Israel and its right to self-defense with the understanding that Israel must be engaged in crafting a comprehensive and lasting peace agreement in the Middle East. We must also consider the humanity of the Palestinian people and the need for an in depth, thoughtful statement on how the violence in the Middle East must stop. The United States must be actively engaged in the peace process and broker a new understanding between the Israeli and Palestinian people. This type of peace agreement will take real compromise and risk on all sides and a strong and continued effort by the United States in shepherding the parties through the process.

In engaging in the peace process, the United States must use all the resources at its disposal in a way to be helpful. President Bush is vital, past President William Jefferson Clinton can bring much, and Secretary Colin Powell must return now to the Middle East with the full support of this nation. This is the type of event that history is made of, where historic agreements such as the Oslo Agreements with the Palestinians and the Treaty of Peace with Jordan arose. We need eloquent words indicating true peace and respect for life such as those spoken by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin upon receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1994.

We are in the midst of building the peace. The architects and the engineers of this enterprise are engaged in their work even as we gather here tonight, building the peace, layer by layer, brick by brick. The job is difficult, complex, trying. Mistakes could topple the whole structure and bring disaster down upon us. And so we are determined to do the job well—despite the toll of murderous terrorism, despite the fanatic and cruel enemies of peace. We will pursue the course of peace with determination and fortitude. We

will not let up. We will not give in. Peace will triumph over all its enemies, because the alternative is grimmer for us all. And we will prevail.

We must also put these words into action. Positive action. We need to forge an agreement that renounces violence and terrorism, settles disputes through peace and negotiation, and acknowledges each people's right to existence.

As I stated before, I believe in an Israeli state and a Palestinian state. I believe in the rights of the Palestinian people and the people of Israel. Some may believe we are favoring a friend and slighting another, and some may not agree with the words of this resolution, but we should not let this hinder our objective of peace. We must keep an eye toward a different future and give peace another chance. There must be an immediate close fire.

This resolution urges an unqualified opposition to all forms of terrorism and urges all parties in the region to pursue vigorously efforts to establish a just, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

This is the kind of effort and mindset we need to accomplish our goal. We know the role we must play to get rid of the poisonous past, the trail of blood and tears and forge a path to peace filled with hope and opportunity.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN).

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, my father was a refugee from Nazi Germany. If he had not made his way here and not made his way in America, I would not be standing here.

My story is the story of many Members, themselves refugees, like our friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), or the sons and daughters of refugees from oppressed places all over the world.

The only country in the world which always, always provides a homeland for Jewish refugees is Israel. As anti-Semitism is on the rise all over the world, shockingly in France and Germany, Israel's existence and security becomes even more important.

President Harry Truman courageously recognized Israel 54 years ago and every administration since has strongly supported her. We must do so again today by strongly supporting this rule and this resolution. It is the moral thing to do. It is the strategic thing to do. It is the right thing to do.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, many of us will vote for H. Res. 392 because we do indeed wish to "express solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism." We are repulsed by the suicide terrorist attacks perpetrated by some Palestinian groups and gravely concerned by Chairman Arafat's failure to prevent such attacks and his encouragement of a violent uprising. The Israeli people need to know that they can count on the United States at this time of peril.

The resolution before us, however, falls far short of the kind of expression that might best contribute to stopping

the violence and moving toward a long-term settlement. The resolution appears designed to drive a "wedge" among friends of Israel for partisan purposes, and it risks misrepresenting the rationale behind the current efforts of President Bush and Secretary Powell to bring the parties together.

A more adequate resolution would reiterate our support both for the security and integrity of Israel and for justice and self-determination for the Palestinians. It would back a vigorous, sustained American peacemaking role. It would affirm Israel's right of self-defense, while noting the obligation to distinguish between uprooting terrorism and destroying the institutions and infrastructure of Palestinian self-government.

I regret, Mr. Speaker, that H. Res. 392 falls so far short. But its ninth clause captures a sentiment which I believe all of us share, urging "all parties in the region to pursue vigorously efforts to establish a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East."

May we as a body and as a government find ways to tirelessly advance this goal in the critical days and weeks ahead.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

(Mr. DEFAZIO asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the legislation. I had hoped to offer an alternative and speak and have not been allowed.

Mr. Speaker, I completely agree with my colleagues that Israel is the best friend of the United States in the Middle East. Israel is our most reliable ally in the Middle East. Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. I consider myself a friend of Israel.

However, the increasingly hard line stance being taken by the Israeli Government, and the current military offensive being conducted by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, will do nothing to bring about lasting peace in the region.

I am also concerned that the totally one-sided resolution being considered on the House floor today does nothing to enhance US. leadership in the region, and, in fact, could actually harm our ability to broker a permanent peace. I offered a truly balanced resolution, H. Res. 394, which would help send the message that the United States is committed to a negotiated settlement. Unfortunately, we are not being allowed to debate alternatives today.

I have been to Israel. I have seen first-hand how this emotional and complicated dispute manifests itself in the daily lives of Israelis and Palestinians. Both sides consider the actions of the other as illegal under international law. Both sides also consider the lands under dispute to be their ancestral home. And, both sides claim religious sites, particularly in and around Jerusalem, as their own. This conflict has no military solution.

Peace will never come to the region until all parties are committed to working toward the goal. I had thought that teenagers blowing up

other teenagers with suicide bombs might shake up the respective parties enough to stop the violence and begin permanent settlement negotiations. That is clearly not the case at this point.

Under no definition can Mr. Sharon or Mr. Arafat be considered men of peace. Neither can credibly claim the moral high ground.

Mr. Arafat has utterly failed in his multiple commitments to crack down on militants. He failed to seize an opportunity offered by President Clinton to create a Palestinian state. His leadership has been connected to terrorist organization.

But, prior to his election, Mr. Sharon intentionally visited a disputed holy site in Jerusalem in order to provoke a violent response. He has always been a vocal opponent of the Oslo Peace Process. He has advocated continued expansion of Jewish settlements in Palestinian territories. He ordered the Israeli military to reoccupy various Palestinian cities with weapons provided by United States taxpayers.

What this conflict needs is mature leadership. I commend President Bush for his April 4, 2002, statement in which he gave voice to the legitimate grievances of both sides. I was also relieved when the President sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region.

As President Bush noted in his April 4, 2002, speech, the parameters for a lasting resolution to this conflict are not really in dispute. What is lacking is the political will to reach a final settlement.

As the President, the Mitchell Commission, Saudi Arabia and the Arab League, the European Union and others have noted in similar ways, peace could be achieved through Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist, guaranteeing Israeli security approximately within its 1967 borders, creation of a viable Palestinian state, halting Jewish settlements in Palestinian territories, and sincere negotiations to determine the final status of Jerusalem and Palestinian refugees.

Mr. Speaker, we are at a dangerous crossroads in the Middle East. Unfortunately, there is no Itzak Rabin with a vision for peace.

Like all Americans, I unequivocally condemn acts of violence against both Israeli and Palestinian civilians.

I urge all parties to recognize that continued military attacks and terrorist activities will only lead to persistent, escalating violence with the potential to destabilize the entire Middle East.

I urge all parties to stop using state-controlled media or other means of propaganda to incite hatred and violence.

The United States must maintain sustained, high-level diplomatic engagement. The United States must bring the Israelis and Palestinians back to the negotiating table. It has become obvious to all but Sharon and Arafat and their most ardent followers that there is no military solution to this conflict. Hundreds of reservists in the Israeli Defense Forces are refusing to serve in the Palestinian terrorists because they understand there is no military solution.

I again commend the President and Secretary Powell for their efforts to mediate a peace and for their balanced view of the conflict.

I intend to vote against the unbalanced resolution on the floor today because it does nothing to advance peace.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I do not seek to pursue an evenhanded resolution. Mr. Arafat by his conduct does not deserve it. But this resolution makes all of its requests of the Palestinians, and none of Israel. It says nothing about the obligation of both parties under Resolution 242. It says nothing about the needs of Israel in the context of a final settlement to withdraw from settlements. It says nothing about the willingness to support a Palestinian state in the context of a full settlement.

It therefore, in my view, makes it harder for us to be seen as a fair-minded broker, and it makes it more difficult for the administration to persuade the Arab world to take the actions they must take to achieve peace; and that in the end hurts Israel, it does not help it.

I am going to ask people to vote "no" on the previous question so I can offer an alternative, the text of H. Res. 405, which makes clear our support for Israel in a more constructive way.

I fully support Israel's right to defend itself, but I do not support Mr. Sharon's efforts to hang onto the settlements and crush legitimate Palestinian nationalism.

This gag rule on the House this afternoon does no credit to this body.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I include the text of H. Res. 405 that I would offer if the previous question is defeated, as well as the text of a Washington Post editorial on the subject.

#### H. RES. 405

Whereas recent events in the Middle East, triggered by recent Palestinian suicide bombings, have created conditions under which the reestablishment of a nonviolent environment is highly unlikely without the active sustained leadership of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved.* That the House of Representatives—

(1) stands in solidarity with Israel's right as a frontline state in the war against terrorism to take military action to end terrorist attacks, to dismantle terrorist infrastructure, and to provide security for its people;

(2) remains committed to Israel's right to self-defense and to assisting Israel in exercising that right;

(3) will continue to assist Israel in strengthening its homeland defenses;

(4) condemns Palestinian suicide bombings and the ongoing support and coordination of terror by Yassir Arafat and other members of the Palestinian leadership;

(5) insists that the Palestinian Authority fulfill its commitment to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in the Palestinian areas;

(6) urges all Arab states, particularly United States allies Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to declare their unqualified opposition to all forms of terrorism, particularly suicide bombing, and to act in concert with the United States to stop the violence;

(7) urges Israel to make clear, in the context of the full settlement described in paragraph (8), its willingness to withdraw from occupied territories; and

(8) urges all parties in the region to vigorously pursue efforts to establish a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle

East that will enable Israel and an independent Palestinian state to exist within the context of full and normal relationships, which should include termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 24, 2002]

#### TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER ARIEL SHARON has insisted that his army's offensive in the West Bank has been aimed at uprooting the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorism, in the same way that the United States has used military force to drive al Qaeda from Afghanistan. That seems a worthy goal, and to some a valid comparison—and yet it doesn't explain why Israeli troops would have raided and deliberately destroyed the civilian ministries of the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah. At the Ministry of Higher Education, the Israelis stripped all the computers of their hard drives, then piled them together and blew them up. They also destroyed Palestinian television studios, knocked down radio antennas and looted Palestinian banks. Perhaps some of these acts were carried out by undisciplined troops. But the pattern of destruction also suggests a crucial distinction between Israel's campaign and that of the United States. Both invasions are aimed at crushing terrorist organizations that have carried out savage attacks on innocent civilians. But Israel also has another target: the Palestinian national movement, which aims at ending the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and creating a Palestinian state in its place.

The problem with equating Israel's campaign against terrorism with that of the United States, as Mr. Sharon and some of his American supporters do, is that it overlooks this contest for territory and sovereignty underlying the Israeli-Palestinian bloodshed. Though it has been contaminated by suicide bombings and other acts of terrorism, the Palestinian national cause and its goals are recognized as legitimate by the Bush administration and the United Nations, and they were tacitly accepted by Israel when it signed the Oslo accords of 1993. Mr. Sharon and most of the rest of his government, however, have never accepted Oslo; on the contrary, they have devoted most of their lives to the dream of permanently establishing Israel's control over most, if not all, of the territories it occupied during the 1967 Six Day War. Few outside of Israel support that plan, but Mr. Sharon and his allies have for decades argued that Israeli occupation and settlement of the Arab lands were necessary to control the Palestinian threat to Israel.

The disastrous decision of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat not to accept a negotiated settlement of Palestinian claims and his subsequent encouragement of a violent uprising against the Israeli occupation have justified an Israeli response. But they have also given Mr. Sharon and other Israeli nationalists the cover to pursue their own unacceptable ambitions. In the name of uprooting terrorism, they have systematically destroyed the institutions and infrastructure of Palestinian self-government. To back the Israeli invasion, as the Bush administration has mostly done, is not just to back the cause of counterterrorism, it is also to abet Mr. Sharon's drive to suppress Palestinian national rights.

The Bush administration's uncompromising opposition to terrorism following

Sept. 11 is politically and morally powerful and has yielded impressive results, both in Afghanistan and in many other parts of the world. Nevertheless, if counterterrorism is to remain an effective cause, the administration must discriminate between terrorism and the sometimes legitimate political causes it is used for; and it must also differentiate between legitimate defense against terrorism and attempts to use counterterrorism to justify unacceptable aims. The Israeli writer Amos Oz has observed that Israel is engaged in two separate campaigns against the Palestinians—a legitimate war against terrorism and an "unjust and futile" bid for control of the West Bank and Gaza. The Bush administration needs a policy that can tell the difference between the two.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, this has been an interesting debate today. I think it is very appropriate that this resolution is before us. It is a very important vote. Obviously, the vote on the previous question is a key vote.

What the proponents of this resolution, of which I am a proud cosponsor, are saying is basically let others be neutral. We should never be wary of standing with Israel. We should never be wary of standing with our friends, even when we are alone. That is one of the distinguishing and most honorable characteristics of this great Nation.

So with this vote today this Congress will be telling Israel that they can count on us; that Israel, our friend, can count on this Congress, can count on the United States of America. So I would urge all of my friends, all of my colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, to support this resolution.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Resolution 404, Expressing Solidarity with Israel. While some measures of this resolution may be accurate, it only provides one side of the story.

This resolution condemns the use of terrorism by Palestinians. I too, condemn these acts. This resolution also condemns Chairman Arafat for failing to take action to prevent terrorists from operating out of territory under his control. I also condemn this failure.

However, this resolution fails to condemn the excessive use of force by the Israeli government, it fails to call on Israel to allow United Nations investigators to go to the Refugee camp in Jenin to investigate accusations of human rights violations, and it fails to call on both sides to go back to peace talks to resolve their differences.

I am disappointed that the House Leadership brought this resolution to the floor instead of House Resolution 494, introduced by my friend Congressman DEFAZIO, of which I am an original cosponsor. H. Res. 494 is a balanced resolution that condemns the violent acts of both parties in this conflict, calls on both sides to protect human rights observers and aid workers, and calls on both sides to comply with United Nations Security Council Resolutions.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this resolution not because of what it says but for what it does not say.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, my vote in solidarity with the State of Israel should not be read as a vote in solidarity with policies of

Ariel Sharon that I view as misguided and counterproductive. My support for Israel is longstanding, but Ariel Sharon is not "Israel." He was wrong in rejecting the successful peace process in Oslo, in rejecting President Clinton's efforts at Camp David in 2000, in rejecting the talks between Israelis and Palestinians at Taba, Egypt in January 2001, and he was wrong in Sabra and Shatila. Without approving in any way actions of some of his adversaries or condoning their violence, he is wrong in continuing to reject measured answers to the Middle East crisis.

New York Times columnist Tom Friedman, hardly a Palestinian advocate, recently wrote: "Many Israelis feel Mr. Sharon is so paralyzed by his obsession with eliminating Mr. Arafat, by his commitment to colonial settlements and by his fear that any Israeli concession now would be interpreted as victory for the other side that he can't produce what most Israelis want: a practical, non-ideological solution."

A "non-ideological solution" is what this land—so small in size, and so great in meaning—requires. It is the spirit embodied both in the courageous efforts of Secretary of State Colin Powell and in our country's United Nations vote for Security Council Resolution 1397 "affirming a vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side-by-side within secure and recognized borders."

This is not the resolution that I would have drafted, but no amendments were permitted to it. This resolution fails to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to live in peace and security or to acknowledge that innocent Palestinians also lost lives and homes.

As Secretary Powell has indicated, this particular resolution "would be very unhelpful." It does not advance security for families threatened by violence, it may only lessen our ability to serve as an honest broker to secure a more lasting peace for all who suffer.

The Administration's months of inattention, indecision, and unwillingness to engage in the Middle East made a bad situation worse. Mr. President, heed Secretary Powell and General Zinni's counsel. Lead our foreign policy yourself—do not cede this critical mission to Ariel Sharon and TOM DELAY.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, due to the start of the celebration of Greek Orthodox Easter and religious obligations in my district, I was unable to cast a vote on roll call 126. Had I been present, would have voted "yea" on H. Res. 392.

I strongly support Israel's right to defend its citizens and applaud their quest for peace. Israel is exercising its right to act in self-defense against the suicide bombings and other attacks on Jews. This is the time for the United States to stand with Israel, our ally for several decades, and to express our support for ending the violence in Israel.

Israel must squash the terrorism within its borders in order to maintain its status as a free, democratic and civilized society. Our pledge to eradicate terrorism everywhere it occurs should be taken seriously, and Israel should be commended for having chosen to help us.

Ms. DEGETTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express solidarity and sympathy with the people of Israel, but also with innocent Palestinians who have suffered violence and injury. I believe it is important for Congress to condemn in the strongest terms terrorism wherever it occurs. I also strongly believe that the

U.S. must not forget that the highest goal of our foreign policy in the Middle East should be forging a lasting peace agreement. The U.S. must work toward a lasting peace for the vast majority of Israeli and Palestinian people who are non-violent and only seek peace and stability.

In its effort to help establish a concrete agreement for peace, the U.S. must first work aggressively through diplomatic channels with the Palestinians and the Israelis to help negotiate a cease-fire. All people in the Middle East deserve to live their lives in peace and security. Yet, only with a cease-fire and a reduction of fear and anger will there be any hope of future peace talks.

The goal of a lasting peace agreement is why the resolution that Congress is considering today should not be defeated. If this resolution were to fail, the wrong message would be sent to the people of Israel. The U.S. Congress would be seen as turning its back on the people of the Middle East in this time of horrible violence. The resolution's failure would have a dampening effect on America's ability to successfully negotiate a cease-fire, and eventually a lasting peace agreement that will benefit all the people of the Middle East.

**Mr. CLAY.** Mr. Speaker, I support H. Res. 392 in its expression of American solidarity with the people of Israel, our closest and most reliable ally in the region. I also support its declaration of our country's long-standing commitment to ensuring Israel's right to exist and its right to security in the region, although this commitment has never been in question. Given those two points, I will vote in favor of this resolution.

But at the same time, I am also deeply troubled by the timing of this resolution and the fact that it expresses no concern over the decades-long plight of the Palestinian people and their struggle for independence and security. Additionally, this resolution condemns only the sins of one side of this conflict, despite the fact that both parties share responsibility for the massive escalation of violence in the region over the last 18 months. Nor does this resolution provide any encouragement for either party to return to the negotiating table to work out a fair and lasting peace. Because of that, my vote in favor of this resolution comes with extreme reluctance.

I question the wisdom of the House Leadership for forcing a vote on this resolution at this time. This resolution has the potential to derail the current peace initiatives being offered by their own Republican Administration, initiatives that I and the vast majority of the American public support. It also has the potential of inflaming extremists on both sides to continue the violence, if the United States is perceived as a biased influence. This would be a disaster for both the Israeli and Palestinian people.

The United States has many vital strategic, economic and political interests in the Middle East. These vital nations interests require that the United States reconcile its simultaneous commitments to ensuring the security of the State of Israel; to supporting Arab allies to achieve regional stability; and to containing the proliferation of non-conventional weapons.

That is why a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians is an imperative and not merely an option for the United States. The U.S. goal of achieving regional stability, including security for Israel, is impossible without a

comprehensive resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I hope this resolution does not impede us from reaching that goal.

**Mr. ISSA.** Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, not because it is perfect, or even because it is as balanced as it could be. I support this resolution because it says something that needs to be said and can never be repeated enough. It states, once again, that terrorism cannot and will not be tolerated, no matter where it occurs. Mr. Speaker, the series of suicide attacks that have been perpetrated by Palestinian terrorist networks against the people of Israel are attacks against hope itself, and they must be condemned in the strongest possible terms.

But Mr. Speaker, the efforts to rebuild hope has to begin with the realization that violence will never bring peace. Israel certainly has a right to defend itself, but it cannot assume that it will be able to beat the Palestinian people into submission. Palestinians need to have their dignity recognized, just like any of us. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, we often ignore the fact that many of the 1400-plus Palestinians killed in this violence were civilians who, like the rest of us, only want to build a home and family and live in peace with their neighbors. Let us be clear: we will not support the domination of one people by another. We do not believe that people should have to live in subjugation to their neighbors simply because of their place of birth, their religion, the language they speak, or their ethnicity. We affirm the rights of both Palestinians and Israelis to live side by side in a state of peace, and I, along with many of my colleagues have stated that principle over and over again.

Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I cling to a hope that peace in the Middle East will one day become a reality. I have personally committed myself to the issue of middle East peace, trying to reinvigorate the hope that seems to have been lost during the past year and a half of violence. I will continue to be sincere in my efforts. I urge my colleagues to examine their own hearts on this issue, and move forward in a way that is constructive and helpful. Peace is possible, Mr. Speaker, but it will take a courageous effort from everyone to make it so.

**Mr. THOMPSON of California.** Mr. Speaker, I am compelled to vote "present" on H. Res. 392 because I believe that consideration of this resolution is premature.

Secretary of State Colin Powell is in the midst of delicate negotiations to bring about a cease-fire and return all parties to the negotiating table. I strongly support this mission to bring a lasting peace to the Middle East.

I also firmly believe Israel's right to defend itself against terrorism and denounce the brutal Passover suicide bombing, which killed 28 people and injured nearly 150. However, the Administration's peace initiative must be given time to work.

At this point, Congress should support the Secretary's peace mission and not pass a resolution that could undermine these efforts. As Americans, we all must work together to end the acrimonious relationship between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

**Ms. SOLIS.** Mr. Speaker, during these delicate times of instability, I do not believe that this Congress should be voting on a resolution regarding the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian territories.

I believe that this resolution we are debating today—H. Res. 392—does not serve any

great purpose but only serves to undermine the Administration's efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the conflict in the Middle East.

Our overall mission should be a resolution to the fighting; debating this measure at this time does not accomplish that mission.

**Mr. LANGEVIN.** Mr. Speaker, I rise in unwavering support of House Resolution 392 to reaffirm strong relations between the United States and Israel.

The U.S. has a unique relationship with Israel—the only democratic nation in the Middle East. We must continue to support nations with similar ideological goals and that share the same commitment to democratic principles. Our history of friendship spans many decades, and the U.S. has been one of the strongest advocates for efforts to craft a long-term peace settlement in the region. We cannot waiver from our commitment to stability in the area, and the U.S. should serve as a facilitator for peace negotiations.

Recently Israel's people have suffered from unspeakable acts of cruelty. The United States, still healing from the attacks of September 11, must stand by Israel in these difficult times. I strongly condemn the acts of radical Palestinian groups that use violence against civilians, a tactic that we cannot tolerate. In February, I called on the President to add the al-Aqsa Matrys' Brigade, the Tanzim, and Force 17 to the international list of terrorist groups. These organizations are responsible for countless attacks on the Israeli people, and the United States must take action against them.

I also call upon Chairman Arafat to curb these attacks, to denounce such acts of terror, and to reiterate his support for peace. Until the violence abates, I support Israel's right to take reasonable action to defend itself and its citizens from further harm.

We must continue our efforts in Congress to promote peace in the Middle East and maintain a strong United States-Israel relationship. I urge all of my colleagues to vote for the resolution before us today.

**Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.** Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 392 and in support of efforts to bring lasting peace and security to the Middle East. The United States Congress today will, once again, reinforce its bond and our nation's bond with the people of Israel. I am proud to join my colleagues in sending this message of support for our close ally and friend, the State of Israel.

A short time ago, as families and as a people, Jews retold the story of our Exodus from slavery in Egypt. And Jews everywhere vowed, "Next year in Jerusalem," because Jerusalem belongs to all of us. We tell that story to remind ourselves and our children how we once were slaves and now we are free.

A few weeks ago, we remembered the six million slaughtered in the Holocaust. We wept together and Jews everywhere vowed, "Never again." We tell that story to remind ourselves and our children that even now, especially now, we cannot take our freedom for granted.

A few days ago, we celebrated the 54th anniversary of the establishment of our beloved State of Israel, the tiny spot on this planet where Jews everywhere know that, no matter what, we can go there and be free.

And today we gather here to make a commitment to freedom: that Israel will thrive and shine as a democratic, Zionist, Jewish homeland now and forever.

The resolution before us today tells our brothers and sisters in Israel that we stand with them; that we will not stand idly by while they are murdered by terrorists during a Pesah seder, or waiting for a bus, or going to a restaurant, shopping at a mall, going to a café or sleeping in their beds. We will walk with them, and we're doing that today, every step of the way.

Our message today to those who would desecrate our synagogues or attack our children in France or Belgium or the Ukraine or Canada or Los Angeles or Chicago: "Never again" will we allow your anti-Semitism to threaten our lives and our freedom, and we will hold any government that tolerates anti-Semitism accountable for its actions or inaction.

Last week at the AIPAC Conference in Washington, attended by hundreds of people from Illinois, you could also see in attendance, the largest gathering of members of the U.S. House and Senate anywhere outside of a joint session of Congress. Over half of the U.S. Senators were there; over one-fourth of the 435 members of the House. This is unprecedented. They were there because they stand firmly with us as friends of Israel.

This outpouring of support did not happen by accident. It is a tribute to the Jewish community, to our organizations, all of the synagogues, institutions and individuals, and their decades of work that so many of my colleagues, even those from states with small Jewish populations, understand the importance of Israel and the U.S./Israel relationship. Because of that diligence, the day in, day out educating of policy makers, I know that the United States of America will always, ALWAYS, stand firmly with Israel. I will never allow that bond to be broken.

Let me end by quoting some of the words spoken by Rabbi Michael Melchior, Israel's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the incredible rally in Washington, D.C. two weeks ago. He referred to a Torah portion that describes the Biblical laws of holiness. "The climax of these laws," he said, "the peak of holiness is remarkable. It is the simple commandment—'Love your neighbor because he is as yourself.' This is Jewish holiness. We will never accept those who prevent this holiness, who subscribe to a doctrine of "Kill your neighbor with yourself . . ." This fight seems overwhelming. A raging sea of violence ready to engulf us, and many of us have moments of despair. But our people, from its earliest days of creation have found ways of crossing such seas. I pray and truly believe that if we keep sight of the values for which we are fighting, we will cross this sea as well as reach the land of which we have so long dreamed, the land of peace."

I urge all members to support this resolution. With its passage we make clear the U.S. commitment to the people of Israel. We will stand with Israel forever and we will guarantee that the people of Israel are free to live in peace and security. Today more than ever we need to reinforce that commitment. Passage of this measure joins the United States with all friends and allies of the people of Israel in saying Am Yisrael Chai! The people of Israel will continue to live—now and forever.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 392.

As Israel and its citizens undergo a daily bombardment from terrorists and suicide

bombers, we have an opportunity to stand in support of the only democracy in a desert of despotism. It is our responsibility to be the brokers for peace in the Middle East and ensure that two homelands exist—one for Israel and one for the Palestinians. But we cannot allow our pursuit of peace to ignore this rampage of Palestinian terror.

One of the most important moments in our modern history with the Middle East occurred in 1981. Israel knew that Saddam Hussein's Iraq was developing the Osirak nuclear reactor—the future of their nuclear weapons program. Israel had the prescience to deny Saddam Hussein the capacity to set up a nuclear bomb factory in Iraq when it sent a dozen F-16 fighters over the Saudi Desert to destroy the Osirak nuclear reactor. Israel was flogged with criticism from the world community, including the United States in a United Nations resolution.

Israel should have been commended, not reprimanded for taking out Osirak. This move set Saddam's Iraq's nuclear program back decades—the same Saddam who today will pay \$25,000 to the family of each suicide bomber who kills innocent Israelis. Should we stand with Israel, when the rest of the world condemns it? Yes. Israel is our only Middle East, democratic ally against terrorism and nuclear proliferation. Vote yes on this resolution and stand in solidarity with Israel.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, my ongoing medical treatment required my return to New Jersey today prior to the vote on H. Res. 392—Expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on this important measure.

Today the House of Representatives stands in solidarity with the people of Israel. The United States knows no more valuable ally in the Middle East than the nation Israel. The goals of our two democracies are identical: peace and freedom.

Today, our nation also stand for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We cannot wait idly while such violence continues in the Middle East. Mothers, fathers, and children have been slaughtered and terrorist attacks drive Israelis and Palestinians further and further apart. Peace cannot be negotiated in an atmosphere of terror.

I support the recent peace mission undertaken by Secretary of State Colin Powell at the direction of President Bush and I urge the Bush Administration to continue its active involvement in the peace process in the region. The President and his Administration should know that he has the support of Congress for his efforts in the Middle East and the war on terror.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise with sincere concerns about H. Res. 392. We should not be bringing this type of one-sided resolution to the floor now. Instead, we should be working on a resolution that encourages peace.

The United States does not need a political resolution to show that it is a friend of Israel. America has proven it is a friend of Israel, and I personally count myself as a long and loyal friend of Israel. But I am not pleased with the behavior of either side—Israel or the Palestinian Authority—right now.

When friends allow a fight to continue that neither side can win, inaction only prolongs the violence and killing. We must not allow our

aversion to inaction spur us to unhelpful resolutions that do not help our friends. I will vote "Present" on H. Res. 392 because this unbalanced resolution does not benefit our friends. Instead, it fans the flames of hatred.

That is one of the reasons I am a cosponsor of Congressman DEFAZIO's resolution, H. Res. 394. That resolution is a balanced attempt to bridge the gap between the two sides in this conflict. The United States' approach must be evenhanded if we are to move the peace process forward. Languishing in a cycle of blame over the mistakes of both sides is counterproductive. We must recognize that all parties have made mistakes, and instead of rehashing what they have done wrong, start thinking about what they can do better in the quest for peace.

As in the DeFazio resolution, we must recognize that the first step toward peace is stopping the violence being perpetrated by all parties. Israel's recent incursions into Palestinian-controlled territories have caused extraordinary hardship for innocent Palestinians and exacerbated the crisis. Likewise, the Palestinian suicide bombing attacks against Israel cannot be justified and the Palestinian leadership must do more to prevent these murderous attacks.

We absolutely must support Israel's right to exist and defend itself as a sovereign state, but do so while also recognizing the Palestinian right to self-determination. In order for the U.S. to be an honest broker, it is extraordinarily important that we retain the trust of both sides. Only then will we be able to advance the cause of peace.

Peace will be achieved only when Israeli citizens are secure in their homes and shops, when the Arab nations recognize Israel's right to exist, and when the Palestinian people have a state of their own. Acknowledging that the conflict may not be resolved soon, no option should be eliminated, including the possibility that international observers help maintain peace in the region.

With emotions running high on both sides, acting as an honest broker requires courage, leadership and risking the temporary anger of both sides. But we must, because America is the world's best hope for peace.

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution as one symbol of my solidarity with the nation of Israel as well as all those engaged in a momentous struggle against terrorism. Simply put, Israel has a right to defensible borders and a right to live in peace with its neighbors. Thus, the United States has a moral imperative to assist Israel in its defense.

In its 54 years of existence, Israel has been fighting an ongoing war against terrorists who sought to destroy her. These terrorists do not understand human mercy and kill indiscriminately men, women and children in service of a political cause that is the destruction of the Jewish state.

We were all heartened by President Clinton's attempt to create peace between Israelis and Palestinians beginning in 1993. But, unfortunately the Palestinians could not surrender their goal of eliminating Israel and pushing her citizens into the sea.

Almost 10 years after the Oslo process began we are facing the nightmare scenario for Israel. Attacked by terrorists inside her borders and from surrounding countries Israel has found little peace.

Much like our own war against terrorism, this effort pits a democratic society against a leader that uses murder as a regular type of statecraft. This resolution is important for the message that it sends to our embattled ally Israel, to her citizens, and to all our democratic friends around the world.

America stands by fellow democracies who share our values and our way of life. And, strong U.S. leadership is the best hope for bringing about a political process that can eventually pave the way for security and peace.

Knowing that we must do something to stop the violence, I call out to all peace-loving people throughout the region, especially those in Arab countries, who seek a better life for their children and grandchildren, a vibrant economy, and meaningful commerce and exchange, to join us in our quest for peace.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is important because the message it sends will ring throughout the world wherever democracies are fighting terrorists and I urge its immediate passage.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, while I agree with the sentiments expressed by many of my House colleagues about the need for Israel to defend itself, I do not think that this is the right time for Congress to take sides in the Israel-Palestine affair. In foreign affairs America should speak with one voice. The president has said that this resolution only complicates an already complicated situation in the Middle East. Instead of having a separate congressional message, I believe we should be giving the President greater leeway to act as an honest broker between the Israelis and Palestinians and formulate a policy that will stop the violence and get negotiations going forward.

On April 10, I met with former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to discuss the current fighting in the Middle East. He stressed the difficulty of negotiating with the Palestinians, and warned that if the suicide bombings in Israel do not stop, then they may spread to the United States with 'suitcase bombs.' But the U.S., as a military superpower and an economic superpower as well, can exert considerable pressure on both sides to encourage a resolution.

Secretary of State Colin Powell confronted an almost intractable set of problems on his peace mission to the Middle East. The Israeli government continues to occupy parts of the Palestinian Authority's territory despite requests to desist and withdraw from President Bush. Too many governments in the region, including Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, are ambiguous at best on their commitment to end terror. Although some Arab states have helpfully indicated their willingness to accept Israel, too many still confuse murder with martyrdom.

When the United Nations mandated the creation of Israel and Palestine out of British-controlled territory in 1947, it offered to partition the land between a Jewish state of Israel and an Arab-controlled Palestine. That offer was rejected then, and though Israel was limited to the area of the proposed partition, a coalition of Arab states including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan immediately attacked. Israel prevailed in that war, however, as it did in the subsequent wars of 1967 and 1972. Although Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with Israel, the other Arab countries maintain a state of "cold" war with Israel.

The situation is further confused by land Israel captured in various conflicts, primarily the 1967 war. In that fight, Israel captured the West Bank and Gaza, including Jerusalem. The Palestinian Authority now occupies the bulk of that territory as a result of the Oslo peace process. Israel offered nearly all of that territory two years ago for the creation of a Palestinian state. That offer was rejected, sparking the present conflict.

The current cycle of violence in the region must not continue. The killing and bloodshed on both sides is blocking a resolution to the conflict and an end to our war on terrorism. Most everyone from Palestine and Israel has had a friend or relative injured or killed by the other side. The hatred that exists on both sides will not be easily overcome. For its part, the Palestinian Authority and the Arab world should take strong action to curb the mindless violence of suicide bombers. A Palestinian state should be established and the Arab world should accept the suggestion of Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia to recognize Israel. At the same time, Israel must withdraw from Palestinian Authority territory as the President has requested. Accomplishing these acts, however, will not reduce the hatred. I see a need to build some physical separation between the two states until the animosity can subside.

The President is demonstrating bold leadership and wants results. An anxious world also wants results, especially the suffering innocents in Israel and Palestine.

We need to speak with one voice and that is why I am voting no on this resolution.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 392, expressing our nation's solidarity with Israel in our joint battle against terrorism throughout the Middle East and the world.

Unfortunately, because of a family medical emergency I was unable to cast a vote for the rule to consider this resolution and for the resolution itself. My vote earlier today though, for the previous question, to allow for the consideration of this legislation is indicative of my strong support for the House's expression of unity with Israel and the Israeli people.

The American and Israeli people continue to be the primary targets of cowardly terrorist cells and I stand with the people of Israel in ensuring their right to defend their homeland and their citizens from these attacks. This resolution today is one more signal to the world that our two great nations are allied in the effort to bring about peace and rid the world of terrorists. We must never waiver in that fight if we are to succeed and I pledge my continuing support.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 392, legislation expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the September 11th attacks, Americans have come to understand the struggle for security from the threat of domestic terror that so consumes the Israeli government and its people. This resolution comes at a crucial time in the history of both our nations. Israel, having just observed its 54th anniversary, continues the fight for its very survival while the U.S., engaged in its own full-scale war on terrorism, seeks to secure its own borders. H. Res. 392 recognizes our common struggle with Israel against terrorism, the enormous human toll the people of

Israel have suffered, and the efforts of Israel's government to thwart future attacks by Palestinian organizations determined to inflict the most possible damage on the people of Israel. The message from this body is one of unity and is meant to reverberate in every corner of the world, especially those that harbor the enemies of peace and democracy.

H. Res. 392 expresses our strongly-held belief that Israel has a right to defend itself, just as we have sought to do. Mr. Speaker, throughout Israel's existence—one constant has guided every administration—the desire to live in peace with its neighbors. The 1993 OSLO Accord set forth a path for peace. I must reiterate this point—since that time Israel has consistently expressed the willingness to give up sovereign land to live in peace with its Palestinian neighbors. The same cannot be said for Israel's would-be peace partner—Yassir Arafat. The violence of current intifada was triggered by President Arafat's rejection of Prime Minister Ehud Barak's offer of a comprehensive settlement at Camp David in 2000. Arafat continues to incite terror with statements like "Oh god, give me a martyrdom like this" which he said after the Passover suicide bombing that killed 27 and wounded hundreds of innocent Israelis.

Mr. Speaker, civilian casualties are the horror endured by both sides but we must not lose sight of the fact that all of this death and destruction was completely avoidable. At every turn the Palestinian Authority could have chosen peace but, time and again, have supported terror as a mode of achieving their political goals. Mr. Speaker, as we express our solidarity with the government and people of Israel, I come back to one fundamental truth, even as the very existence of the State of Israel is threatened, there is always a path to peace. It may be more difficult to see, and harder still to traverse, but it exists. If falls upon us to help the parties find and travel that road. In the meantime, let the world hear this strong proclamation of support for our good friend Israel during these difficult times.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, today we should be here to focus on what all sides involved in the Middle East have in common and what can be applied from our experience here in this country to achieving solutions to the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis. We should not be here to blame one side over the other, but to seek solutions leading to the peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians.

The struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinians is one of the most enduring and explosive of all the world's conflicts.

For the Jewish people of Israel, the return to the land of their forefathers after centuries of persecution around the world has not brought peace or security. Israel has faced and continues to face crisis after crisis.

Palestinians argue that over the last 54 years they have seen colonization, expulsion and military occupation in their difficult struggle for self-determination in a land they see as their God given land.

This resolution is not balanced. At this time the Secretary of State and the Administration are working to bring peace to the Middle East. This resolution does not help this cause. This resolution damages our nation's moral authority and credibility as a fair broker in the Middle East conflict. I cannot support the resolution in its present form.

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, while our country continues to be a staunch ally and long-time friend to Israel, this resolution does nothing to bring about a ceasefire that might lead to a lasting peace. Our role should be drawn these bitter enemies closer together, not drive them further apart, as this resolution does.

The legislation, far more than a simple expression of support for Israel, also contains a long list of rhetorical “findings” which undermine any attempts to move the parties toward a comprehensive peace agreement. It will do little but further enflame the conflict in the Middle East.

The measure before the House today comes on the heels of weeks of work by the Bush Administration to reduce tension in the region, and bring about an end to the suicide bombings and Israeli incursion into Palestinian towns. The resolution would likely complicate the President’s efforts since it provides a one-sided view of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict that likely would only cause anger and distrust for the U.S. among the Palestinian people and erode the hard-won progress the Administration has already made.

I and other Members have expressed a preference for a more balanced statement that would express support for Israel, but additionally advance the cause of peace. Press reports and a Member on the floor during debate today has stated that officials with the U.S. agency responsible for the peace process efforts, the State Department, also indicated their preference for a less one-sided bill.

Senator JOSEPH LIEBERMAN and Congressman DAVID OBEY both had prepared resolutions of support that were much more balanced that I would have strongly supported had I had the opportunity to do so. Both of those resolutions still condemn suicide bombings, support the right of Israel to defend itself and call on the Palestinians and other Arab states to work to end terrorism. Congressman OBEY’s resolution also urges Israel to make it clear when it will withdraw from Palestinian territories.

Additionally, included in the measure before the House today is a statement supporting increased foreign aid to Israel. With budget deficits projected over the next several years, we won’t even have the necessary resources to strengthen homeland security, improve Medicare benefits, safeguard Social Security, develop a comprehensive drug plan for senior citizens and provide a high quality education for America’s youth.

We must do all we can to support the President’s efforts to bring about peace in this region. I certainly do not want to undermine what progress he has already made. While I have consistently been a supporter of the State of Israel, regrettably, today I must vote ‘no,’ on this resolution. It is always difficult to say “no” to friends, but we must when it’s appropriate. And it is appropriate here because this action does not advance the long-term cause of peace in the region.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 392, a Resolution to express solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. Now more than ever, Americans can sympathize and find common cause with the plight of the Israeli people as they struggle against terrorism. And now more than ever, Israel needs our solidarity and support.

It is, and has always been, in both the moral and strategic interests of the United States to

stand by its only true friend and ally in the region. Israel is a lone democracy in a region that knows too little political freedom. It is one of the few countries in that volatile part of the world that does not support terrorist organizations. Like America, Israel is a society governed by law. Like ours, the Israeli press questions the actions of its government and allows for a pluralism of ideas. And like ours, Israel’s society is under attack by those that seek its destruction and are willing to use the most inhumane form of terrorism—turning young men and women into human bombs—to achieve their ends.

Like all concerned Americans, I hope for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the crisis in the Middle East, and I condemn intentional acts of violence against all civilians, both Israeli and Palestinian. When a Palestinian leader emerges who will renounce terrorism unequivocally and seek peace, all parties in the region will have an obligation to embrace the opportunity. Until then, Israel has the right to defend itself from those who will never accept its very existence. That’s why it is so critical that we here in America never waver in our resolve to stand by the State of Israel.

Israel faces the unfortunate reality of being a beachhead in the global war against terrorism. But more than this, Israel is a friend and ally. If terror is allowed to succeed in Israel, by forcing political concessions with vicious suicide attacks, it will only embolden those who seek to destroy the U.S., and indeed all civilization, with similar tactics. Israel is fighting for its survival against the forces of terror. Terror must not be allowed to win.

The Israeli people will continue their struggle for peace and security. They should do so knowing they have the full support of the United States of America. Good diplomacy is based on sound values. American values stand firmly with the State of Israel.

I urge my colleagues to vote “yes” on the resolution.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution, because I want to leave no doubt whatsoever about the depth of my support for the people of Israel. I grieve with them at the losses they have sustained, and stand in solidarity with them in their hour of peril. At the same time, I want to express my disappointment that the resolution fails to express concern for the loss of life on both sides of this conflict. Our hearts should go out to all innocent victims and their families, whether they be Israeli or Palestinian.

I am also concerned that this resolution may complicate the efforts of the President to bring the parties together. America is the only power on earth that has the means and the will to move the parties toward a comprehensive peace that each can accept. The President and Secretary Powell have committed themselves to this effort. And we should do nothing in this chamber that might make it more difficult for the Administration to exercise its leverage with both sides to bring about this result.

Finally, the resolution says nothing about what is required to achieve a “just, comprehensive and lasting peace”. In my view, it requires mutual recognition of an independent, viable Palestinian state and an Israel that exists within secure and defensible borders. It requires that each side recognize the legitimate aspirations of the other—and put an end to the cycle of provocation and retaliation that has brought so much misery to them both.

While only the parties themselves can set the terms for peace, this much is evident. On the Palestinian side there must be an end to terrorist violence and the financial and material support the terrorists receive from Arab states. On the Israeli side, there must be an end to the building of settlements, the bulldozing of neighborhoods, and other provocative acts that have driven the Palestinians to despair.

Decades of conflict have taken a devastating toll on both communities, creating conditions in which the Israelis suffer unimaginable losses and the Palestinians have nothing left to lose. What seems tragically clear is that the violence will continue until both sides recognize that they have more to gain from peace than from continuing their armed struggle. This will take more than resolutions. It will take genuine resolve. The kind of resolve that was so movingly expressed by the late Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, in his final speech before his tragic assassination on November 4, 1995:

I was a military man for 27 years. I fought as long as there was no chance for peace. I believe that there is now a chance for peace, a great chance. We must take advantage of it for the sake of those standing here, and for those who are not here—and they are many.

I have always believed that the majority of the people want peace and are ready to take risks for peace. In coming here today, you demonstrate, together with many others who did not come, that the people truly desire peace and oppose violence . . . This is a course which is fraught with difficulties and pain. For Israel, there is no path that is without pain. But the path of peace is preferable to the path of war.

Israelis and Palestinians have experienced much pain since Rabin offered those final words to his people. But the risks he believed worth taking are still the only viable option. Only by following the path he laid out can Israel and America keep faith with him and all who have given their lives for the sake of peace.

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, my vote today on H. Res. 392 is not a vote in favor of the Israelis or the Palestinians. Nor is it a vote against them. It is a vote for peace. I am convinced that an enduring settlement on the long-standing differences between Israel and Palestine cannot be achieved through military means—only through negotiations and compromise. The ongoing violence has caused pain and grief beyond measure for both peoples and there is blame and sympathy enough to go around.

The United States can play an important—and irreplaceable—role as an honest broker and a friend to all. Israel has been a good friend and ally to the U.S. I support her right to exist and her right to defend herself. The United States has always had a special relationship with her and I remain committed to that relationship. However, I am also steadfast in my desire to see a two-state peace in the Middle East and I do not believe such a peace is possible without fair, thoughtful leadership by the United States.

For some time now, constituents on both sides of this issue have demanded the same thing—that the U.S. condemn the other side, cut off all funding and diplomatic relations, and marginalize its leader. This does not strike me as wise. Former Senator and peace negotiator George Mitchell was very candid with me in a recent conversation about this. He believes

that we must maintain all manner of influence with both parties and our financial involvement in the region is part of that. I agree. At this point, we should not sever relations with either party or jeopardize future negotiations by being heavy-handed or unfair to either side.

I am uncomfortable with the tone of this resolution. While it is understandable that the House may wish to express grave concerns about the violence currently taking place in the region, those concerns must be expressed in a way that does not cause either party to doubt the United States "bona fides" as a peacemaker nor its commitments to achieving outcomes acceptable to both parties. George Mitchell has been very clear that cease-fire and long term peace will require delicate negotiation of many small steps that will have to be taken—a few at a time—by both parties simultaneously. This resolution does not enhance the probability of such an agreement.

Over the time I've been in Congress, the House has acted several times on resolutions such as this. I have tried to respond thoughtfully and fairly. However, there have been times when I have been concerned about the House's persistent efforts to intrude into the peace process from a distance. In those instances, I have abstained. Diplomacy is a delicate endeavor. There is little room for bias or partisan politics. For House Members to act unilaterally while negotiations are being sought or are ongoing would seem to jeopardize efforts to get both sides to compromise toward an agreement. For the Congress to so clearly take one party's side would seem to undermine, rather than further, our hopes for peace. A resolution such as this seems contrary to the outcome we all profess to desire.

Accordingly, I cast my vote as "present."

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the sentiments of this resolution, but not the timing. Though a well-intentioned document reinforcing the strong friendship between our nation and Israel, this resolution comes before us at an extremely sensitive moment in the Administration's attempts to stop the terrorist violence that has plagued Israel over the last 18 months.

Ever since the 2000 Camp David meetings, where Yasser Arafat rejected former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak's offer of 98 percent of what Arafat had demanded from Israel, the tensions in the Middle East have escalated. When Arafat left those meetings without a deal, the extremist faction who oppose peace, and, in fact, oppose the existence of Israel itself, got the green light to destabilize the region.

Despite Yasser Arafat's assertion that he opposes terrorism and is a so-called "man of peace," his very own al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade has been identified by this government as a "Foreign Terrorist Organization." This Brigade has been responsible for the deaths of too many innocent Israeli citizens. Earlier this year, the Karine-A was stopped en route to Arafat's Palestinian Authority carrying 50 tons of offensive weapons from Iran. Clearly, Arafat does not have peace in mind, nor does he view Israel as a neighbor.

Since September 2000, hundreds of innocent people in Israel have been killed by terrorists, sometimes financed and supported by the Palestinian Authority. We have learned that the Palestinian Authority and Saddam Hussein's Iraq are financially rewarding the families of those who willingly sacrifice their

lives to murder innocent people and stop the peace process. We have heard some threaten to use oil as a weapon against the United States unless we stop Israel from defending herself. Mr. Speaker, terrorist actions in our country or Israel or any country should be viewed as an act of war. More importantly, any country threatened by terrorists actions should be able to defend itself. We assert that right, and we should not set a different standard for our allies.

All of that being said, I am concerned about what message we send, as a Congress, at this particular time. The President is moving forward with delicate negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. Just yesterday, a breakthrough in negotiations yielded the release of Yasser Arafat from his headquarters in Ramallah. This came as a result of both sides trusting our government as a third party negotiator.

At this critical point, we should follow the lead of the Bush Administration, and maintain the trust established on both sides. There are many people in this country who have a kinship with Israel, a trusted ally and the only democracy in the Middle East, and want to see Israel reach peace with its neighbors, after more than 50 years of bloodshed. However, that mission becomes much harder if we are no longer honest brokers, who can be trusted by both sides. When the trust is broken, the Palestinians will look for others to help them, perhaps countries like Iraq or Iran, who will use armies, not diplomats to try and end this conflict.

This Congress will have its chance to make clear its feelings on Israel and her right of self-defense and, ultimately, deal with Mr. Arafat. However, that time should not be now. I will be voting 'present' and stand with the President. There is a time for this vote, it is just not this day.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, but I'd also like to take this opportunity to clarify my support.

I support the resolution's call for our continued solidarity with Israel and for the condemnation of terrorism everywhere and of Palestinian suicide bombings, in particular. I support the resolution's call for the Palestinian Authority to clamp down on terrorism in its territories and for Arab States to declare their opposition to terrorism. I support the resolution's call for the international community to help alleviate the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people. Most importantly, I support the resolution's urging that all parties in the region pursue efforts to establish a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace. However, I wonder what has prompted the leadership to schedule this resolution for consideration at this moment.

I do not think anyone has any doubt about our country's continuing support for the people of Israel. That has been a fundamental part of American foreign policy for decades, and remains so today. I do not think anyone, at home or abroad, has any doubt about it—so, as far as I can see, this resolution is not needed to remove any doubt. Further, I am concerned that the timing of this resolution could make the Administration's efforts to resolve the current crisis more difficult. I believe the Administration must continue to work with the Saudis and other moderate Arab states to get the parties to agree to move forward with the Mitchell and Tenet plans, and down the line, to restart negotiations.

In addition, I believe that Congress should consider additional assistance for Israel, but that it should also consider emergency humanitarian assistance—provided through NGOs—for Palestinian civilians, whose misery grows and feeds extremism in the region. I believe that Israel must heed President Bush's call to end its recent incursions into West Bank cities and that it must end settlement expansion, recognizing that these actions diminish the possibilities of what this resolution calls for—a "just, lasting, and comprehensive peace."

I believe that with crisis comes opportunity. There is now a window of opportunity to move away from the potential for a regional conflagration. Only the U.S. has been accepted by both parties as one that can lead them to peace. Now is not the time to take any action that might reduce our leverage with the Palestinian or with our Middle East allies. At this critical time, Congress should not only be signaling its strong support for Israel and signaling its rejection of violence, but it should also be trying to help—not hinder—the Administration as it works to get the parties back to the table.

International Relations Committee Chair HENRY HYDE said it best: "I would have preferred a more balanced resolution, because I think we have to get beyond finger-pointing and ask ourselves, will this action help move us toward a cease-fire and a comprehensive peace agreement?" I'm not sure that the answer is yes.

Mr. MATHESON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today not to assess blame—because there is too much of it to go around. Nor to offer unqualified support to either side in this conflict—because blind support only deepens the tragic spiral of violence.

I am here today to say once and for all, violence is wrong. Killing in the name of religion only defames it; and forcing the submission from an entire people only spawns hatred, contempt, hopelessness, and more violence.

We are here today to give support to Israel, and they do deserve our support. Israel, like all nations, has a responsibility to ensure the safety of its citizens. Just as our nation needs to protect itself from terror, so must Israel.

This resolution allows this great institution to emote; it is full of emotion, righteous indignation, and colorful language. But as elected officials of the greatest nation in the history of the world we must do more. Emotion is cathartic, but wisdom and pragmatism offer much more.

This resolution was written under the justified anger that follows the terrorist's carnage. And in its emotion we have lost wisdom. We have made no mention of the 1,500 Palestinian civilians who have lost their lives in the recent conflict. Surely, the United States of America and its Congress consider the health of an innocent child to be equally tragic—whether she is Israeli or Palestinian, Jewish, Christian, or Muslim.

Instead of sentiment we should be offering constructive ways to bring about a viable political solution to the current crisis. Remember, when the United States was fully engaged, when the Central Intelligence Agency was forcing the Palestinian Authority and the State of Israel to work together both peoples enjoyed three of the most peaceful years of their history.

I applaud the increasing engagement of this Administration in finding a political settlement.

As a Congress we need to speak as one voice in our support for Secretary of State Powell. The task before him is immense, but it is necessary. If we do not counter the escalating violence with diplomacy we lose the moral legitimacy of our leadership.

The best way to secure the continued existence of the State of Israel is to simultaneously give hope and voice to the aspirations of the Palestinian people. A safe, secure, economically prosperous, and truly democratic Palestinian state is the only way to attain this peace.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for this resolution, and commend Majority Leader TOM DELAY and Representative TOM LANTOS for their work. Israel should know that this House, this President, and the American people support her while she wages a war against terrorists who would mercilessly kill her citizens. Israel is fighting for nothing less than her right to exist, and today we express our solidarity with them in that fight.

I believe that Prime Minister Sharon, along with his united government and the Israeli Defense Forces, is taking the steps necessary to weed out the nest of terrorists that have attacked their citizens for so long. Suicide bombers have no place among people who wish to join the community of nations. Leaders who tolerate their existence should have no welcome and no seat at the table with world leaders. Real peace can only be achieved when the brutality of those who murder innocent men, women and children is halted completely.

I encourage all Members to support this resolution, Israel, the President, and all others including the courageous men and women of our own Armed Forces who are together waging the global war against terrorism.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Res. 392, a resolution expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism that was introduced by Congressman TOM DELAY, the distinguished Majority Whip from Texas. Unfortunately, due to a family illness, I was unable to be present when the House voted on H. Res. 392, however, had I been here, I would have voted "Aye."

Is it important for the House of Representatives to support H. Res. 392? You bet it is and let me tell why I believe so. The atrocities committed daily in the Middle East make us all sick and there's not a member in this body that doesn't want to see an end to it. We are confronted daily with scenes of carnage and destruction. Can we understand such violence? Yes we can. The facts, all too often forgotten, reveal the truth as to why peace has eluded the Middle East.

Today, Israel is the only democracy in the region. Israel is smaller than the state of New Hampshire and is surrounded by nations hostile to its existence. When the United Nations proposed the establishment of two states in the region—one Jewish, one Arab, the Jews accepted the proposal and declared their independence in 1948. The Arab states rejected the UN plan. In 1948, five Arab armies invaded Israel. Again, in 1967, Arab armies amassed on Israel's borders with the clear intention to invade the state. Rather than suffer a bloody ambush, Israel rightfully took the necessary steps to defend its citizens and homeland, a right obliged to every Nation. It

was during the Six Day War of 1967 that the West Bank and Gaza came under Israeli control.

Israel has returned most of the land it captured during the 1967 war, and right after the war offered to return all of it in exchange for peace and normal relations. Unfortunately, the offer was rejected—another missed opportunity for peace in the Middle East. As a result of the 1978 Camp David accords—in which Egypt recognized the right of Israel to exist and normal relations were established between the two countries—Israel returned the Sinai desert, a territory three times the size of Israel and 91 percent of the territory Israel took control of in the 1967 war.

Israel has conceded that the Palestinians have legitimate claims to the disputed territories and is willing to engage in negotiations on the matter, and in return they only ask that they be allowed to live in peace. Seventy-three percent of Israelis agree to a Palestinian state that will live peacefully alongside Israel.

In 2000, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza was offered to the Palestinians at Camp David, by Israel and the U.S., in return for peace. The U.S. said yes, Europe said yes, the U.N. said yes, and the Arab countries said yes. Why didn't it happen? Arafat said No. Chairman Arafat and the other Palestinian leaders said no because they demand a Palestinian state in place of Israel, not alongside of it.

Instead, the Palestinian Authority sanctioned an intifada, which the world is witnessing today. This has included twenty months of terror, shooting, and the bombing of innocent civilians.

Simply describing the situation as a "cycle of violence," although it may be accurate, ignores the distinctions in tactics and motivations of the two sides. Palestinian militants kill Israeli civilians, using bombs detonated by teenage suicide bombers who are promised wealth and pleasure for their martyrdom. Israeli troops kill Palestinians in self-defense of their lives and that of their countrymen.

The list of disturbing facts about Palestinian terror is long. Israeli troops recently discovered large quantities of counterfeit Israeli currency in the basement of Chairman Arafat's Ramallah headquarters, along with the printing machines that made it. They also found an invoice for \$8,500 to cover bombing supplies in the office of Arafat's chief financial officer—it was on the letterhead of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, an offshoot of Arafat's Fatah Party. The invoice specifically requested \$150 to build each bomb, saying the group would need five to nine bombs per week.

The Al Aqsa Brigades, which are forces directly under Chairman Arafat's control, have been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by our government. Indeed, Yasser Arafat wears the map of the entire area of Israel on his uniform.

Mr. Speaker, the national Palestinian goal is Jihad. All Palestinian organizations—political, military, cultural and commercial, along with the whole Palestinian school system, advocate the annihilation of Israel and educate generations of school-age children to become terrorists.

Furthermore, Palestinians who have voiced an objection to the practice of blowing up innocent Israeli civilians are labeled traitors.

In July 2001, these are the words of Chairman Yasser Arafat himself addressing his

people at a public event, "Kill a settler every day. Shoot at settlers everywhere. Do not pay attention to what I say to the media, the television or public appearances. Pay attention only to the written instructions that you receive from me."

The Palestinian terror attacks are not spontaneous acts of desperation. They are the product of a deliberate, well-planned, state-sponsored education and incitement program. Its product is to turn a whole people into a nation of terrorists. Since the Oslo Accords in 1993, when the Palestinian Authority gained control over 98% of the Palestinian population, it has been hard at work building this kind of terror system.

A fair and balanced portrayal of the current Middle East situation reveals that one nation stands head and shoulders above the other in its commitment to human right and democracy, as well as in its commitment to peace and mutual security. Mr. Speaker, that nation is Israel. That's why H. Res. 392 is so important. I, for one, don't want the greatest nation on earth, the United States, to weaken our resolve in the all-important fight against terrorism. Nor should we ask it of our only true friend and ally in the Middle East region, and that is clearly Israel.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, this legislation could not have come at a worse time in the ongoing Middle East crisis. Just when we have seen some positive signs that the two sides may return to negotiations toward a peaceful settlement, Congress has jumped into the fray on one side of the conflict. I do not believe that this body wishes to de-rail the slight progress that seems to have come from the Administration's more even-handed approach over the past several days. So why is it that we are here today ready to pass legislation that clearly and openly favors one side in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

There are many troubling aspects to this legislation. The legislation says that "the number of Israelis killed during that time [since September 2000] by suicide terrorist attacks alone, on a basis proportional to the United States population, is approximately 9,000, three times the number killed in the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11, 2001." This kind of numbers game with the innocent dead strikes me as terribly disrespectful and completely unhelpful.

It is, when speaking of the dead, the one-sidedness of this bill that is so unfortunate. How is it that the side that loses seven people to every one on the other side is portrayed as the sole aggressor and condemned as terrorist? This is only made worse by the fact that Palestinian deaths are seen in the Arab world as being American-inspired, as it is our weapons that are being used against them. This bill just reinforces negative perceptions of the United States in that part of the world. What might be the consequences of this? I think we need to stop and think about that for a while. We in this body have a Constitutional responsibility to protect the national security of the United States. This one-sided intervention in a far-off war has the potential to do great harm to our national security.

Perhaps this is why the Administration views this legislation as "not a very helpful approach" to the situation in the Middle East. In my view, it is bad enough that we are intervening at all in this conflict, but this legislation strips any lingering notion that the United

States intends to be an honest broker. It states clearly that the leadership of one side—the Palestinians—is bad and supports terrorism just at a time when this Administration negotiates with both sides in an attempt to bring peace to the region. Talk about undermining the difficult efforts of the president and the State Department. What incentive does Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat or his organization have to return to the negotiating table if we as “honest broker” make it clear that in Congress’s eyes, the Palestinians are illegitimate terrorists? Must we become so involved in this far-off conflict that we are forced to choose between Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon? The United States Congress should not, Constitutionally, be in the business of choosing who gets to lead which foreign people.

Many people of various religious backgrounds seem determined to portray what is happening in the Middle East as some kind of historic/religious struggle, where one side is pre-ordained to triumph and destroy the other. Even some in this body have embraced this notion. Surely the religious component that some interject into the conflict rouses emotions and adds fuel to the fire. But this is dangerous thinking. Far from a great holy war, the Middle East conflict is largely about what most wars are about: a struggle for land and resources in a part of the world where both are scarce. We must think and act rationally, with this fact clearly in mind.

Just as with other interventionism in other similar struggles around the world, our meddling in the Middle East has unforeseen consequences. Our favoritism of one side has led to the hatred of America and Americans by the other side. We are placing our country in harm’s way with this approach. It is time to step back and look at our policy in the Middle East. After 24 years of the “peace process” and some 300 million of our dollars, we are no closer to peace than when President Carter concluded the Camp David talks.

Mr. Speaker, any other policy that had so utterly failed over such a long period of time would likely come under close scrutiny here. Why is it that when it comes to interventionism in the Middle East conflict we continue down this unproductive and very expensive road?

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and the resolution.

This resolution expresses the solidarity of the Congress and the American people with Israel in its struggle against the forces of hatred and violence. It is both fitting and appropriate for us today to declare our support at a time when Israel has been subjected to repeated acts of terror. When 125 people in a small country die in one month, when a 17-year old girl cannot make a simple trip to the grocery store without fear of being blown up, or when 28 Jews at prayer during a Passover Seder are killed in cold blood by a suicide bomber, it is time for us to speak out and speak up.

Israel is our most reliable friend in the Middle East. It is the only democracy, a beacon of hope, in a region of the world where the freedoms we all take for granted—freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom to challenge your government non-violently without fear of retribution—simply do not exist. Israel is the only country in the Middle East that guarantees all these freedoms.

Israel, like the United States and every other country, has a right and obligation to de-

fend its citizens when under attack. One of the reasons I have always been so supportive of Israel is that even when it acts to defend itself, it also continues to reach out its hand in peace to its neighbors.

This is a country, who against all odds, made peace with Egypt. It made peace with Jordan. It withdrew its forces voluntarily from Lebanon. And a year and a half ago, under the guidance of President Clinton, this same country offered a historic peace proposal to the Palestinians that many thought was too risky. Unfortunately, peace was rejected by Chairman Arafat and he chose to return to a path of violence and terror.

The Congress stands here today to condemn and reject this path of violence led by the Palestinian leader. Instead, we must return to the path of peace. Israel must have a partner who is willing to say “no” to those who would use terror and violence. Chairman Arafat must take action against those Palestinians who would block the path to peace. There is no other choice. The time has come for Yasir Arafat to make a decision: will he write a page of history by pursuing the path to peace or will he be a mere footnote for leaving behind a trail of terror.

Today we stand by Israel but we also stand for peace. As my friend and mentor, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. observed just before his death: “I see Israel, and never mind saying it, as one of the great outposts of democracy in the world and a marvelous example of what can be done, how desert land almost can be transformed into an oasis of brotherhood and democracy. Peace for Israel means security and that security must be a reality.”

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I supported H. Res. 392, however I would have favored a more balanced resolution. As one of 435 members of Congress and one who does not serve on the International Relations Committee, I offered my views beforehand by respectfully suggesting that my colleagues incorporate into their views portions of a similar measure put forward by my colleague from Oregon, Representative PETER DEFAZIO, H. Res. 394. While I do not agree with every provision of Mr. DeFAZIO’s resolution, I think each one of us can agree this Congress should:

Unequivocally condemn acts of violence against Israeli and Palestinian civilians, urge all parties to recognize that continued military attacks and terrorist activities will only lead to escalating violence and the potential destabilization of the Middle East and neighboring regions, and urge all parties to stop using state-controlled media to incite hatred and violence.

These are reasonable provisions, and should have been included in the text of H. Res. 392.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote “yes” on H. Res. 392. Although I have grave concerns that passing this resolution will further inflame tensions in the Middle East, I am voting for the resolution in part to dispel any notion that I am anti-Israel or that I am not sensitive to Israel’s right to self-defense. I strongly support Israel, but I also strongly support efforts to bring about peace in the region, which will allow the Israeli and Palestinian people to live together side by side without having to endure an endless cycle of violence. In the past, the House has passed similar resolutions that I believe have been counterproductive to the peace

process. I fear that we are doing that again. Our own Secretary of State and National Security Advisor have expressed reservations with moving forward with this resolution because of the delicacy of the situation in the Middle East. I agree with them. We should not be bringing up this resolution at this time. That is why I intend to vote “no” on the rule governing debate over H. Res. 392.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I stand today in support of House Resolution 392, in which we express America’s solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. The truth is, the United States and Israel are engaged in a common struggle against terrorism. It is a war that neither nation sought; it is a war that both nations must win.

The resolution also calls upon the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, to choose peace and to fulfill his commitment to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure that threatens the Israeli people. If we had a dollar for every time a U.S. official had sent this message to Mr. Arafat we would be able to fully fund the war on terrorism. It is my prayer, for the sake of Israel and all the Palestinian people who would like nothing more than to live in peace, that Mr. Arafat finally honors the pledge to peace that he has repeatedly made. The recent Israeli incursions into the West Bank have occurred only because Mr. Arafat has not lived up to his responsibilities. This resolution we are considering today places the obligations to ending terrorism where it belongs—on the shoulders of Mr. Arafat.

All reasonable people begin their discussions of the violence that shatters the Middle East from the same position—it is horrible and many people on both sides have suffered greatly. The question revolves around how it can be resolved so that the people of the region can live in peace and build a secure future based on democratic principles. The burden has always been placed on Israel to do something for peace. For example, it has often been said that if Israel would simply move back to its pre-1967 borders there would be peace. But history shows there were wars against Israel in 1948, 1956 and 1967—and during that time Israel was within the borders that we are today told hold the key to peace. Absent a clear, forceful and enduring commitment on the part of Mr. Arafat to end terrorism there is no reason to believe those borders would produce peace today anymore than they did in the past.

All this being said, I am not convinced that today’s resolution will have much of an effect on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In fact, it may bring other members in this body to this very House floor with resolutions in support of Mr. Arafat. That is their right. However, America must speak with one single voice and that voice should belong to the president, not members of Congress. It is my hope that we can stop the resolutions and allow the administration to work toward establishing an atmosphere in which Israel and the Palestinians can begin learning how to live side by side in a land where they both have long-standing interests.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of Israel, its people, and its future as a vibrant and stable democracy. I also rise in support of the Palestinian people and their rights to a homeland and to live in peace and security with their Israeli neighbors. I rise in support of a future for the Middle East

in which children—Israeli and Palestinian alike—no longer have to go to school in armored busses and no longer have to worry about the safety of their mothers and fathers.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give my support to a peace process that benefits from the full engagement of the United States and is possessed of a fair and balanced approach to the problem. I rise to support a plan that understands the concerns of both sides and works to ensure that all voices in the region are heard and understood. I rise in support of the idea that peace in the Middle East is achievable and that two peoples brought together by history and geography can put their differences aside in the interests of future generations.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the notion that the United States can and must serve as the indispensable nation in the Middle East. Only the United States is prepared and equipped to serve as the impartial negotiator that is so desperately needed in the region, and I hope that our engagement in the current crisis will increase in intensity and focus. The current Administration has made a good start in this regard, but they can and should do more.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today, finally, in support of the goals contained in United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for the “termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for an acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.” I urge all parties in the region to vigorously pursue efforts to establish a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East that will enable Israel and an independent Palestinian state to exist within the context of full and normal relations.

Mr. OTTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for House Resolution 392 and my solidarity with the people of the Republic of Israel as they battle against terrorism. I also rise to thank Mr. DELAY for introducing this resolution, and the 52 members from both sides of the aisle that joined me in co-sponsoring this bill.

Since September 11 the United States and Israel have been linked in the same battle, and have fought the same foe. The same forces of evil that struck New York and Washington have struck Israel almost every day for the last 2 years. The same people who wish to drive Israel into the sea wish to drive America from the Middle East.

Some people wish to draw a line between the United States and Israel, and separate our causes. Nothing could be more misguided. Israel and the United States are democracies, and our unfree opponents envy us. Our religious freedom offends them, for they are free only to worship at the state's behest. Our two nation's freely trade with the world, and become wealthy, while they see the wealth of their lands stolen by their own corrupt leaders. And, in this crisis, we are strong and confident, while they know their cause is marching to what Ronald Reagan rightly called “The dustbin of history”. I urge my colleagues to join with me in standing with Israel and supporting this resolution.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the pending resolution of which I am an original co-sponsor, H. Res. 392, ex-

pressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, Israel and the United States are now engaged in a common struggle against terrorism both at home and abroad. The United States must stand strongly with Israel during this most trying of times. Since 2000 Israel has witnessed a horrendous level of terrorist activity directed at the civilian population, with scores of Israelis killed by suicide bombers and attacks and hundreds injured. While I recognize that many Palestinians have also been killed or injured in this conflict, only the Palestinians are engaging a systematic and deliberate campaign of terror aimed at inflicting as many casualties as possible on the civilian Israeli population.

This ongoing terror campaign is taking a devastating toll on youth and families. It is clear that such terrorist activities are perpetrated by forces under Yasir Arafat's partial or complete control, such as the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, which is part of Arafat's Fatah organization and has been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States government. Yasir Arafat and his advisers were also involved in the Palestinian Authority's thwarted attempt to obtain 50 tons of offensive weapons shipped from Iran in the Karine-A. The Palestinian Authority, in addition to other Arab governments in the region, continues to provide crucial financial support for terrorist acts, such as providing “martyr” payments to families of suicide bombers.

Yasir Arafat and members of the Palestinian leadership have failed to abide by their commitments to non-violence made in the Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles (Oslo accord) of September 1993, including their pledges: (1) To adhere strictly to “a peaceful resolution of the conflict,” (2) to resolve “all outstanding issues relating to permanent status through negotiations,” (3) to renounce “the use of terrorism and other acts of violence,” and (4) to “assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance [with the commitment to non-violence], prevent violence, and discipline violators.” In my view the continued terrorism and incitement committed, supported, and coordinated by official arms of the Palestinian Authority are a direct violation of these commitments.

Israel's military operations are an effort to defend it against ongoing terrorist activities. Israel has both a legal right of self-defense and a moral obligation to protect its citizens. The military operations are aimed at dismantling the terrorist infrastructure in the Palestinian areas, an obligation Arafat himself undertook but failed to carry out.

I am outraged at the ongoing Palestinian terrorist campaign, and I have joined with other members of Congress in introducing a resolution that insists that the Palestinian Authority take all necessary steps to end it. Specifically, I call upon the Palestinian Authority to: (1) renounce unequivocally, publicly, and in Arabic all forms of terrorism and violence; (2) destroy the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorist groups; (3) pursue and arrest terrorists whose incarceration has been called for by Israel; (4) either prosecute such terrorists, provide convicted terrorists with the stiffest possible punishment, and ensure that those convicted remain in custody for the full duration of their sentences; or render all arrested terrorists to the Government of Israel for prosecution.

Chairman Arafat has already been put on notice that he must bring an end to these terrorists attacks against innocent Israeli civilians. The United States must make clear that terrorism and violence can never be used as a negotiating tactic. Israel must not make concessions to the Palestinians as a result of the latest terrorist attacks. And the historic and enduring relationship between the United States and Israel will only grow stronger in these times of great turmoil.

Unless PA Chairman Arafat stops the violence and cracks down on terrorist cells under his control and authority, the President should seriously consider the suspension of all diplomatic relations with the Palestinian Authority. I have also co-sponsored H.R. 1795, the Middle East Peace Commitments Act, which would require the imposition of sanctions on the PA if Chairman Arafat fails to comply with the many commitments he has made in the past to stop terrorist activities that are planned or carried out in areas under the PA's control.

I also encourage President Bush to insist that all countries harboring, materially supporting, or acquiescing in the private support of Palestinian terrorist groups end all such support, dismantle the infrastructure of such groups, and bring all terrorists within their borders to justice. I commend the President for his strong leadership against international terrorism, his forthright response to this most recent outrage, and his swift action to freeze additional sources of terrorist funds. As the President stated to a joint session of Congress on September 2001: “from this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”

Mr. Speaker, each of us prays for peace in the Middle East, which will lead to the creation of a Palestinian state living in peace and prosperity alongside a safe and secure Israel. The only way to achieve peace is for the Palestinian leaders to not only condemn but to take steps to stop terrorism and violence.

Mrs. McCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise in solidarity with Israel. I'm proud to make this statement of support today, especially in light of the ever-changing news reports coming out of the region.

The resolution currently on the House floor is simple: the United States supports Israel's war against terrorism. Some in the international community contend the United States is biased; they render our country's support for Israel controversial. They are entitled to their opinions, as are we; I firmly believe every American makes the right decision when stating support for Israel during this turbulent time in history.

Israel, our sole democratic ally in the Middle East, continues to persevere. She has faced many tough times since her declaration of Independence, and this threat to Israel's existence surely rates as one of her most difficult battles yet.

Israel fights hatred on a daily basis. This hatred is terrorism. It is murder. Israel has every right to defend herself against terrorism. When innocent civilians are murdered, over and over again, Israel has no choice but to take action.

Israel is no stranger to difficulty, and no stranger to compromise. I continue to support Israel's decision to root out terrorists. I think it's natural, and expected, and it must be done just like America's efforts in Afghanistan. I also support Israel's recent decision to end the situation in Ramallah; the compromise was a



Gekas LoBiondo Royce Rush Solis Udall (CO)  
 Gephardt Lowey Ryan (WI) Sabo Stark Waters  
 Gibbons Lucas (KY) Ryun (KS) Sanders Stenholm Watt (NC)  
 Gilchrest Lucas (OK) Sanchez Sawyer Taylor (MS) Thompson (CA)  
 Gillmor Luther Sandlin Serrano Tierney Woolsey  
 Gilman Maloney (CT) Saxton Snyder  
 Gonzalez Maloney (NY) Schaffer  
 Goode Manzullo Schakowsky  
 Goodlatte Markey Schiff Bilirakis Hoekstra Murtha  
 Gordon Mascara Schrock Brown (FL) Issa Norwood  
 Goss Matheson Scott Burton Istook Riley  
 Graham Matsui Sensenbrenner Callahan Jefferson Ros-Lehtinen  
 Granger McCarthy (MO) Sessions Cannon Jenkins Roukema  
 Graves McCarthy (NY) Shadegg Shaw Crane John Sullivan  
 Green (TX) McCollum Shays Sherman Dooley McHugh Traficant  
 Green (WI) McCrery Sherwood Everett Millender- Wamp  
 Greenwood McGovern Sherwood Fattah McDonald Young (FL)

## NOT VOTING—29

Bilirakis Hoekstra Murtha  
 Brown (FL) Issa Norwood  
 Burton Istook Riley  
 Callahan Jefferson Ros-Lehtinen  
 Cannon Jenkins Roukema  
 Cooksey John Sullivan  
 Crane Linder Thompson (MS)  
 Shays Dooley McHugh Traficant  
 Sherman Everett Millender- Wamp  
 Sherwood Fattah McDonald Young (FL)

□ 1500

So the resolution was agreed to.  
 The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1500

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE ON RULES REGARDING AMENDMENT PROCESS FOR H.R. 4546, THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2003

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, today a "Dear Colleague" letter will be sent to Members informing them that the Committee on Rules is planning to meet next week to grant a rule which may limit the amendment process for H.R. 4546, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003. The bill was ordered reported by the Committee on Armed Services yesterday and is expected to be filed tomorrow.

Any Member who wishes to offer an amendment to this bill should submit 55 copies of the amendment and one copy of a brief explanation of the amendment by 5 p.m. on Tuesday, May 7, to the Committee on Rules in room H-312 in the Capitol.

Amendments should be drafted to the text of the bill as reported by the House Committee on Armed Services, which is expected to be available on Friday, May 3, tomorrow. The text will be available on the Web sites of both the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Rules.

Members should use the Office of Legislative Counsel to ensure their amendments are properly drafted and should check with the Office of the Parliamentarian to be certain their amendments comply with the rules of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 392

Whereas the United States and Israel are now engaged in a common struggle against terrorism and are on the front-lines of a conflict thrust upon them against their will;

Whereas hundreds of innocent Israelis and Palestinians have died tragically in violence since September 2000;

Whereas Palestinian organizations are engaging in an organized, systematic, and deliberate campaign of terror aimed at inflicting as many casualties as possible on the Israeli population, including through the use of suicide terrorist attacks;

Whereas the number of Israelis killed during that time by suicide terrorist attacks alone, on a basis proportional to the United States population, is approximately 9,000, three times the number killed in the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11, 2001;

Whereas Yasir Arafat and members of the Palestinian leadership have failed to abide by their commitments to non-violence made in the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles (the "Oslo accord") of September 1993, including their pledges (1) to adhere strictly to "a peaceful resolution of the conflict," (2) to resolve "all outstanding issues relating to permanent status through negotiations," (3) to renounce "the use of terrorism and other acts of violence," and (4) to "assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance [with the commitment to nonviolence], prevent violence, and discipline violators";

Whereas the continued terrorism and incitement committed and supported by official arms of the Palestinian Authority are a direct violation of these commitments;

Whereas the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, which is part of Arafat's Fatah organization and has been designated a "Foreign Terrorist Organization" by the United States Government, and other Fatah forces have murdered scores of innocent Israelis;

Whereas forces under Yasir Arafat's direct control were involved in the Palestinian Authority's thwarted attempt to obtain 50 tons of offensive weapons shipped from Iran in the Karine-A, and effort that irrefutably proved Arafat's embrace of the use and escalation of violence;

Whereas the Israeli Government has documents found in the offices of the Palestinian Authority that demonstrate the crucial financial support the Palestinian Authority continues to provide for terrorist acts, including suicide bombers;

Whereas the recent escalation of Palestinian attacks, killing 46 Israelis during the week of Passover, included a heinous suicide-bombing at a religious ceremony which killed 27 and wounded more than a hundred, many critically, and was perpetrated by a known terrorist whom Israel had previously asked Yasir Arafat to arrest;

Whereas this suicide attack occurred at the very time United States envoy General Anthony Zinni was attempting to negotiate a cease-fire that would lead to the resumption of Israeli-Palestinians political negotiations;

Whereas, just before the Passover attack, Israel had agreed to General Zinni's cease-fire proposals, whereas Yasir Arafat rejected them;

Whereas Yasir Arafat continues to incite terror by, for example, saying of the Passover suicide bomber, "Oh, God, give me a martyrdom like this";

Whereas Yasir Arafat and the PLO have a long history of making and breaking anti-terrorism pledges;

Whereas President George W. Bush declared at a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, that "[f]rom this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or

## NOES—76

Abercrombie Doggett Lee Lipinski  
 Baldwin Eshoo Farr Lofgren  
 Barrett Filner Lynch Frank McDermott  
 Becerra Hall (OH) McKinney  
 Bereuter Hilliard Miller, George Mink  
 Blumenauer Bonior Hinckley Holt Mollohan  
 Boucher Conyers Honda Moran (VA)  
 Brown (OH) Clay Inslee Oberstar  
 Capuano Clayton Jackson (IL) Obey  
 Clay Condit Jones (OH) Johnson, E. B. Olver  
 Clyburn Conyers Kaptur Peterson (MN)  
 Condit Costello Kildees Petri  
 Conyers DeFazio Kilpatrick Price (NC)  
 Costello DeGette Kind (WI) Rahall  
 Delahunt Kleczka Rivers  
 Dingell Kucinich Roybal-Allard

## EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 392) expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism, as amended.