

Even the Clinton administration has recognized the value of promoting environmental self-auditing when it issued a policy statement in December of 1995. It was a good first step forward, but in 2 years, we've seen only intimidation.

Basically, the administration policy says that if companies come forward and voluntarily disclose violations, then EPA will not prosecute them as aggressively as they could otherwise. Not a real bonus. No evidentiary protection, no protection against citizen suits, and it is only a policy, not a rule, so it does not have the force of law nor does it have any impact on what the Justice Department or the FBI can do. And this policy can and will vary from State to State and company to company.

It is now time for legislation. Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON has accepted the challenge and introduced a sound bill yesterday. This bill fully recognizes the sovereignty of the State. Mr. President, Senator HUTCHISON's bill, S. 866, will encourage environmental self-auditing by setting up incentives at the Federal level for those States with the provision. Nothing more.

Americans get better environmental compliance. I urge my colleagues to give serious consideration to the proposal being advanced by Senator HUTCHISON.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, June 10, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,351,973,547,710.08. (Five trillion, three hundred fifty-one billion, nine hundred seventy-three million, five hundred forty-seven thousand, seven hundred ten dollars and eight cents.)

One year ago, June 10, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$5,134,653,000,000. (Five trillion, one hundred thirty-four billion, six hundred fifty-three million.)

Five years ago, June 10, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$3,939,456,000,000. (Three trillion, nine hundred thirty-nine billion, four hundred fifty-six million.)

Ten years ago, June 10, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,294,202,000,000. (Two trillion, two hundred ninety-four billion, two hundred two million.)

Fifteen years ago, June 10, 1972, the Federal debt stood at \$1,073,704,000,000 (One trillion, seventy-three billion, seven hundred four million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,278,269,547,710.08 (Four trillion, two hundred seventy-eight billion, two hundred sixty-nine million, five hundred forty-seven thousand, seven hundred ten dollars and eight cents) during the past 15 years.

COMMEMORATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and to congratulate the people of Israel on their commitment to freedom.

Jerusalem, Mr. President, is a city unique in all the world. We know much of its 3,000 year history. We know that Jerusalem has been a great city for many people; we know that it remains a holy city for people throughout the world; we know that it is an inseparable part of the Jewish state, a fundamental part of Jewish identity; and we know that it is the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

It was on the hill which we call the Temple Mount that overlooked the Jerusalem of Abraham, where God called upon Abraham to bring his son to be sacrificed; it was here that God made His covenant with man. Jerusalem holds the remains of the first and second temples including the Western Wall of the temple's courtyard, Judaism's holiest site. It is to Jerusalem that Jews everywhere in the world turn in prayer and, no matter where they live, they conclude their celebrations with the refrain "next year in Jerusalem."

Mr. President, I would like to read from perhaps the most moving description of this great city delivered by one of Israel's greatest leaders and statesmen. In 1995, the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin delivered the following remarks here in the U.S. Capitol:

Jerusalem is the heart of the Jewish people and a deep source of our pride. On this festive occasion, thousands of miles from home, here and now, we once again are raising Jerusalem above our highest joy, just like our fathers and our fathers' fathers did.

Jerusalem has a thousand faces—and each one of us has his own Jerusalem.

My Jerusalem is Dr. Moshe Wallach of Germany, the doctor of the sick of Israel and Jerusalem, who built Sha'arei Zedek hospital and had his home in its courtyard so as to be close to his patients day and night. I was born in his hospital . . .

My Jerusalem is the focus of the Jewish people's yearnings, the city of its visions, the cradle of its prayers. It is the dream of the return to Zion. It is the name millions murmur, even on their death bed. It is the place where eyes are raised and prayers are uttered.

My Jerusalem is the jerrycan of water measured out to the besieged in 1948, the faces of its anxious citizens quietly waiting in line for bread, the sky whose blackness was torn by flares.

My Jerusalem is Bab el-Wad—the road to the city—which cries out, "Remember our names forever." It is the ashen faces of dead comrades from the War of Independence, and the searing cold of the rusting armored cars among the pines on the side of the road.

My Jerusalem is the great mountain, the military cemetery on Mount Herzl, the city of silence whose earth holds the treasured thousands of those who went to bitter battle—and did not return.

My Jerusalem is the tears of the paratroopers at the Western Wall in 1967 and the flag which once more waved above the remnant of the Temple.

My Jerusalem is the changing colors of its walls, the smells of its markets and the faces of the members of every community and every faith, where all have freedom of thought and freedom of worship in the city where holiness envelops every stone, every word, every glance.

And my Jerusalem is the City of Peace, which will bear great tidings to all faiths, to all nations, "For the Torah shall come forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem . . . Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces."

We differ in our opinions, left and right. We disagree on the means and the objective. In Israel, we all agree on one issue: the wholeness of Jerusalem, the continuation of its existence as capital of the State of Israel. There are no two Jerusalems. There is only one Jerusalem. For us, Jerusalem is not subject to compromise, and there is no peace without Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, which was destroyed eight times, where for years we had no access to the remnants of our Temple, was ours, is ours, and will be ours—forever.

"Here tears do not weaken eyes," wrote the Jerusalem poet Yehuda Amichai. "They only polish and shine the hardness of faces like stone." Jerusalem is that stone.

Mr. President, Jerusalem is more than the heart of the Jewish people. It is sacred throughout the world. Jesus was crucified inside today's city, and Mohammed was said to have ascended into Heaven from the Temple Mount. Mr. President, Jerusalem indeed is a great city; it is a city of the world, a city revered by the world, and a city for the world. Its freedom is invaluable.

Unfortunately, from 1948 to 1967, beginning with the war waged against the new State of Israel and ending with Israel's victory in the Six-Day War, Jerusalem was a divided city. During this time, Israelis of all faiths and Jews from around the world were prohibited from entering the eastern part of the city and from praying at the holy sites there. Jerusalem had lost its freedom, and the world had lost its Jerusalem.

This week, Mr. President, marks the anniversary of the liberation of the holy city and its return to freedom. That is why we are congratulating the people of Jerusalem.

Today, Jerusalem is a city of growth, prosperity, and freedom. Upon their victory in 1967, those denied the city for so long did not deny it to the defeated. To this day, perhaps the most holy site for all three major religions of the city remains housed in a Moslem mosque, the Dome of the Rock. But it is a place which can be visited by anyone who desires.

So, beyond honoring the freedom of this great city, I want to congratulate the people of Jerusalem and of Israel for their commitment to religious freedom and the principle that religious faiths should not pay the price of political disputes. The Jews of Israel know very well the importance of religious freedom, and the pain of its denial.

Today, as we remember Jerusalem's proud and turbulent past, and honor its

freedom-loving residents, we must appreciate the continuing threat to the city's future.

Thirty years ago today, Mr. President, Israel was at war, fighting for the freedom and indivisibility of Jerusalem. I submit that today, Israel remains at war. We must remember, as the peace which seeks to end this war ebbs and flows, that many people in and around Israel are trying to accomplish through other means what they failed to do in 1967—push Israel into the Mediterranean Sea. In this environment, we must not assume all parties are equally right and equally wrong. The middle of a dispute is usually not halfway in between the belligerents. Treating bombs in cafes and on buses as morally equivalent to bulldozers on deserted hilltops jeopardizes peace.

The Senate, on May 20, passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, marking the anniversary of Jerusalem's reunification and congratulating the people of Israel. The measure had 88 initial cosponsors and passed unanimously. This clear message cannot be misunderstood. There is only one Jerusalem and it is the undivided capital of Israel. As the peace process continues there should be no doubt about where the U.S. Senate stands. The Senate strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years and calls upon the President and Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, today the Senate joins the people of Israel as they celebrate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem. The Six-Day War began after Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, spurred on by the Soviet Union, conspired with Syria, Jordan, and Iraq to have the people of Israel "thrown into the sea." Nasser persuaded U.N. Secretary General U Thant to withdraw peacekeeping forces from the Gaza strip which for 10 years had acted as a buffer between Israel and Egypt. The Egyptians began amassing troops in the Sinai. Israel, surrounded by 250,000 Arab troops preparing for war, launched a devastating pre-emptive strike on June 5.

The war was a significant event in Israeli history and resulted in the reunification of Jerusalem, which before the war had been divided with all access to the Old City and its holy sites denied to Jews.

I have been involved with this particular issue in some measure since my tenure as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations in 1975. By the early 1970's, a Soviet-led coalition wielded enormous power in the U.N. General Assembly and used it in an assault against the democracies of the world. In that regard, I cite an editorial in the *New Republic* which has said of the United Nations in that time that "During the Cold War, the

United Nations became a chamber of hypocrisy and proxy aggression."

Those who had failed to destroy Israel on the field of battle joined those who wished to discredit all Western democratic governments in an unprecedented, sustained attack on the very right of a U.N. member state to exist within the family of nations.

The efforts in the 1970's to delegitimize Israel came in many forms. None more insidious than the twin campaigns to declare Zionism to be a form of racism and to deny Israel's ties to Jerusalem. Those who ranted against the "racist Tel Aviv regime" were spewing two ugly lies. Both had at their heart a denial of Israel's right to exist.

The first lie, the infamous Resolution 3379, was finally repealed on December 16, 1991, after the cold war had ended and as the Soviet Union was dissolving. The second we are still dealing with today.

That Jerusalem is, and should remain Israel's undivided capital would seem an unremarkable statement, but for the insidious campaign—begun in the 1970's—to delegitimize Israel by denying her ties to Jerusalem. For far too long the United States acquiesced in this shameful lie by refusing to locate our embassy in Israel's capital city. As long as Israel's most important friend in the world refused to acknowledge that Israel's capital city is its own, we lent credibility and dangerous strength to the lie that Israel is somehow a misbegotten, illegitimate or transient state.

This suggestion is all the more untenable when you consider that no other people on this planet have been identified as closely with any city as the people of Israel are with Jerusalem—a city which recently celebrated the 3000th anniversary of King David declaring it his capital. No Jewish religious ceremony is complete without mention of the Holy City. And twice a year, at the conclusion of the Passover Seder and the Day of Atonement services, all assembled repeat one of mankind's shortest and oldest prayers, "Next Year in Jerusalem."

Throughout the centuries Jews kept this pledge, often sacrificing their very lives to travel to, and live in, their holiest city. It should be noted that the first authoritative Turkish census of 1844 reported that Jews were by far the largest ethnic group in Jerusalem—long before there was a West Jerusalem, or even any settlements outside the ancient walled city.

When the modern State of Israel declared independence on May 14, 1948, Jerusalem was the only logical choice for the new nation's capital, even if it was only a portion of Jerusalem—the Jordanian Arab Legion having occupied the eastern half of the city and expelled the Jewish population of the Old City. Jerusalem was sundered by barbed-wire and cinderblock and Israelis of all faiths and Jews of all citizenship were barred from even visiting the section under Jordanian occupation.

The world was silent while the historic Jewish Quarter of the city was sacked and razed to the ground, synagogues and schools were destroyed, and 3,000 years of history were denied. This bizarre anomaly only ended on June 5, 1967, when Israel faced renewed aggression from Egypt and Syria, both then close friends of, and dependents of the Soviet Union. As hostilities commenced, Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol sent a message to King Hussein of Jordan promising that, if Jordan refrained from entering the war, Israel would not take action against it. Jordan, however, attacked Israel that same day. Within the week, Israeli forces had captured all of Jerusalem, as well as other territories west of the Jordan River. The City of David was once again united, and has remained so since 1967. Under Israeli rule Jerusalem has flourished as it did not under Jordanian occupation, and the religious shrines of all faiths have been meticulously protected.

Having made the odious link between Zionism and racism, the Soviet inspired coalition now set its sights on the heart of Israel: Jerusalem. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which convened in New Delhi, India, March 7 through 11, 1983, devoted several lengthy passages of its Final Declaration to excoriating Israel and its ally, the United States. Special attention was devoted to the question of Jerusalem's status. And not just East Jerusalem as had become the practice of such fora.

I happened to be in New Delhi in the days before the summit began and was shown a draft of the Final Declaration. The draft passage of Israel read: "Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from it and restore it to Arab sovereignty."

While surely this can be read as a provocative statement that all of Jerusalem is occupied Palestinian territory, when pressed on the point, my Indian hosts assured me that by Jerusalem they really only meant east Jerusalem, which is to say the Old City, or perhaps the Arab section. Hence, the significance of the revised final text of the declaration of some 101 nations.

This is what the nonaligned declared in that session in 1983:

West Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from it and restore it to Arab sovereignty. West Jerusalem!

The 101 nations of the Non-Aligned Movement declared that the Israeli Parliament and government buildings, Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial, the King David Hotel, the whole of the new city, did not belong to Israel. The State of Israel is not a nation. It has no capital, or so said the nonaligned.

What was the response from Washington to such polemics? Not a word.

In effect, our silence could have been interpreted as implying that we had no quarrel with those who state that Israel has no capital. And thus, that Israel is less than a sovereign nation.

It was at this point that I brought the issue to the Senate floor. On October 31, 1983, I introduced S. 2031 which required the relocation of our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Official documents published by the United States Government at the time, such as the State Department's "Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts: Guide for Business Representatives," listed Jerusalem separate from Israel. The guide listed countries alphabetically, under each of which in subscript was enumerated the various diplomatic posts the United States Government maintained in that country.

There was Ireland, with the one post in Dublin; then came Israel, with one diplomatic office listed, its address in Tel Aviv; then curiously several pages later, after Japan, there was listed a Consulate General in a country called Jerusalem. Then came Jordan and Kenya.

That was how the "Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts" was organized until the end of 1994, when Secretary Christopher published the document with Jerusalem listed under the Israel heading. This is a welcome change. That simple refusal by the United States Government to associate our consulate in Jerusalem with the State of Israel carried much greater weight with the Non-Aligned countries than we realized.

They would not have acted as they had done in 1983 if they did not think at some measure we were not in disagreement. Our documents have so implied.

While my legislation did not pass in 1983, the drive to clarify the status of Jerusalem began to gain momentum in the Senate in 1990 when I submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, which states simply: "Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel." A simple declarative sentence which gained 85 cosponsors and was adopted unanimously by the Senate and by an overwhelming majority in the House.

On November 8, 1995, the Dole-Moynihan Jerusalem Embassy Act became the law of the United States. The law states, as a matter of United States Government policy, that Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel, and should remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they are today.

In the winter of 1981, I wrote an article in Commentary entitled "Joining The Jackals" in response to the Carter administration's disastrous support for a resolution challenging Israel's rights in Jerusalem. Sixteen years later, we find that the jackals are in retreat. Israelis and Palestinians are negotiating the details of their future. And the United States can make a simple

but important contribution to this process by unequivocally recognizing Israel's chosen capital.

The Senate has affirmed this simple proposition by unanimously adopting Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, on May 20, 1997, which commemorates the reunification of Jerusalem and states that:

[The Senate] strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years;

[and]
Calls upon the President and Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain an undivided capital of the state of Israel.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their strong support of this measure, and again wish to congratulate our friends in Israel on this important occasion.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, today I join my colleagues in congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of their capital.

Christianity, Islam, and Judaism hold Jerusalem sacred, and the many holy sites of all faiths make a city a world spiritual and religious center. With the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, Israel ensured the freedom of worship for all faiths and access to holy places of all religions with the enactment of the Protection of Holy Places Law, 1967.

Today, Jerusalem is a mosaic of many cultures, religions, and nationalities, of peoples and neighborhoods, of old and new. It is a union of contrasts with a unique character. Last year Israel celebrated the Tricentennial of Jerusalem, the City of David. And for the past 3,000 years there has been a continuous Jewish presence in the city. In fact, ever since King David made Jerusalem the capital of his kingdom, Jerusalem has become a center of Jewish existence.

No other nation has ever made Jerusalem its capital in such an absolute and binding fashion. The Temple was built in Jerusalem, and to it the religious made their pilgrimages. Chapters of the Bible were written within its walls, and there the prophets preached their prophecies. The city's ancient stones, imbued with millennia of history, and its numerous historical, sites, shrines, and places of worship attest to its meeting for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Sanctified by religion and tradition, by history and theology, by holy places and houses of worship, Jerusalem is a city revered by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. It reflects the fervor and piety of the three major monotheistic faiths, each of which is bound to Jerusalem by veneration and love.

The Jewish bond to Jerusalem was never broken. For three millennia, Jerusalem has been the center of the Jewish faith, retaining its symbolic

value throughout the generations. The many Jews who had been exiled after the Roman conquest and scattered throughout the world never forgot Jerusalem. Year after year they repeated "Next year in Jerusalem." Jerusalem became the symbol of the desire of Jews everywhere to return to their homeland. It was invoked by the prophets, enshrined in daily prayer, and sung by Hebrew poets in far-flung lands.

As a Christian, Jerusalem is a holy city for me. Jerusalem is the place where Jesus lived, preached, died, and was resurrected. I went to Jerusalem in 1994 and visited various holy sites including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Via Dolorosa. For me there is something very special about this ancient city and I am glad I was able to visit these sites unencumbered, as are all persons.

For Islam, the prophet Mohammed was miraculously transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and it was from there that he made his ascent to heaven. The Dome of the Rock built in the seventh century, is built over the site of Mohammed's ascent.

Every year Jerusalem plays host to hundreds of thousands of Christian pilgrims who come to walk in the footsteps of Jesus and pray at the shrines and churches throughout the city. Thousands of worshipers pray at the Mosques on the Temple Mount, with their numbers swelling into the hundreds of thousands during Moslem holy month of Ramadan.

Jerusalem is a special city for me, my fellow Christians, Moslems, and Jews. For the United States, Jerusalem is the recognized undivided capital of Israel, and the United States embassy will be established in the city by 1999.

Mr. President, again, I want to congratulate the citizens of Jerusalem and Israel on this special occasion. As I wish them all my best for the next 3,000 years, I am reminded of Psalms 122:2-3.

Our feet stood within thy gate,
O Jerusalem,
Jerusalem built up,
a city knit together.

Congratulations, Jerusalem.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I am proud to rise as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 and commend the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is and always will be the capital of Israel. For thousands of years the Jewish people prayed, "next year in Jerusalem." This prayer helped to sustain Jews even through the darkest days of the diaspora.

After Israeli independence, Jews were forced out of Jerusalem—where they had lived for three millennia. The holy sites of Jerusalem were closed to Christians and Jews. The Jewish quarter of the old city was destroyed. But since Jerusalem was unified in 1967, it has been open to all religions for the first time in its history.

I have visited Israel with Jews who were there for the first time. When we

visited the Western Wall, I saw what it meant for them to touch the stones that their ancestors could only dream of. I saw that Jerusalem is not just a city or a capital. It is the religious and historic homeland of the Jewish people.

Jerusalem is the capitol of Israel—though the world ignores this fact. Why is Israel the only nation that is not allowed to choose its own capital?

There is much talk about building in Jerusalem. Well, there is a building project that I particularly look forward to. America will build its Embassy in Jerusalem by 1999. We should have moved our Embassy long ago.

Mr. President, This year, as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem, let us mark this great event by reaffirming that Jerusalem is and always will be the capital of the State of Israel.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, this past Saturday, June 7, marked the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem. Prior to 1967, Jerusalem was a city divided, its center scarred by concrete and barbed wire, with many of its residents displaced. Israel's recovery of Jerusalem during the Six-Day War ended that ugly partition and restored the ability of visitors and residents of all religions to worship freely and visit important holy sites in Jerusalem.

For my part, I am convinced that Jerusalem should remain the unified capital of the State of Israel. I have consistently supported measures before the Congress expressing opposition to the division of the holy city.

The Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act, passed in 1995, definitively expressed Congress' heartfelt belief that Jerusalem should not only remain the capital of the State of Israel, but that the United States should recognize it as such.

Jerusalem occupies a central place in the Christian, Islamic, and Jewish faiths and I believe it is crucial to each of these great traditions that Jerusalem remain undivided and its holy sites open.

I urge that the President and the State Department declare their support for a free, united Jerusalem, and to avoid interfering in negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians on the status of the holy city.

Mr. President, in these last 30 years, the holy city of Jerusalem has flourished, not just for Israel, but for all people. Nobody can claim complete ownership of one of the spiritual centers of the world. But we can all congratulate the State of Israel on its excellent stewardship.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to add my voice to those celebrating the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem. The Senate has before it a resolution commemorating this occasion. Its passage will be an appropriate and fitting testimony to the courage of those who reunited and reopened the city, and to the wisdom of those who have maintained it that way for the last three decades.

Jerusalem is a city of faith. It is the spiritual home of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and it is the sacred symbol and temporal meeting place of their shared legacy and common humanity. Undivided access to its holy sites is a promise made in the tumult of war and kept in the name of peace. Those who made it and those who keep it are rightly remembered by us today.

Jerusalem also is a national city. It is the undivided capital of Israel—the political and cultural center of one of America's staunchest, most important allies. The continued unity of Jerusalem under Israel's flag is not an issue for debate. It is our best assurance that America's most cherished values, including the rule of law and basic human freedoms, will be preserved and protected in a region critical to our own national interest.

Thirty years ago, the people of Israel reunified Jerusalem. But for more than 3,000 years, Jerusalem has endured as the city on the hill. Geography and politics alone do not being to explain its significance. It is a place where God touches us and unifies our histories; it is where the privilege and responsibility of Abraham's heritage becomes our own. Peace with justice in Jerusalem is a measure of our integrity as people of faith; and the best hope for peace with justice in Jerusalem is continued undivided sovereignty.

I urge my colleagues to pass this resolution congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of that city's reunification.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is and shall remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel. The facts are simple: Jerusalem belongs to Israel for the simple reason that for three millennia, it has been the spiritual, historical, cultural, and moral capital of the Jewish people. In recognition of this fact, the relocation of our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem should take place as called for in the Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act of 1995.

Thirty years after reuniting the city after preempting another attack by her surrounding Arab neighbors, Israel has sought to make the city open to people of all faiths and to make the holy sites available to all who come. The fact remains, that Jerusalem has never been the capital of any nation but that of the Jews. That is the way it should remain.

Mr. President, Jerusalem has been central in the thoughts and minds of the Jewish people for 3,000 years. As the holy city, Jerusalem is the spiritual and religious center of Judaism and is an indivisible part of the State of Israel.

While I understand that the present Middle East peace negotiations are both complicated and delicate, I do not want anyone to fall under the impres-

sion that Jerusalem will belong to anyone other than Israel. If the future of Jerusalem remains unclear in the minds of the Palestinians then they will increase their demands and this will further complicate the already tense negotiations.

Let the message be clear: A united Jerusalem is off limits to negotiation.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 of which I am a proud cosponsor. This resolution congratulates the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of that historic city. This resolution also expresses our strong belief that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years. Furthermore it calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

There has been a continuous Jewish presence in Jerusalem for three millennia and a Jewish majority in the city for the past 150 years. Jerusalem has been, throughout these years, the holiest of cities and the focal point of Jewish devotion. Jerusalem remains a unique and critically important city to the Jewish people. Jerusalem is also the only city in the world which serves as the capital of the same country, inhabited by the same people, speaking the same language, and worshipping the same God as was the case 3,000 years ago.

During the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Jewish people were driven out of the Old City of Jerusalem and denied access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan. For 19 years Israelis of all faiths and Jews from all around the world were prevented from visiting their holiest sites by the barbed wire which divided Jerusalem. Today we commemorate 30 years of unrestricted access to these holy sites. Since the Israeli Government reunified Jerusalem under its control, the rights of all religious and ethnic groups have been restored and vigilantly protected.

The protection of the rights of every ethnic and religious group is critical to the maintenance of peace in such a diverse and religiously significant region. We are here today to commend the Israeli people and their government for restoring full access for all people to their holy sites. Today we again lend our support to continued Israeli control of a unified Jerusalem.

Support for a strong, independent, and undivided Israel is the keystone of our policy in the Middle East. Israel is not only the sole democracy in the region, but also a country with which we share cultural and historical ties. Our continued support of Israel, and of Jerusalem as its undivided capital, is especially important in this crucial point in the peace process.

We are here today in continuation of our previous policy initiatives regarding Israel and its control of Jerusalem. In 1990, the Congress adopted concurrent resolutions declaring that the Congress "strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic religious group are protected." In 1992, the Congress adopted resolutions to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem, additionally reaffirming congressional sentiment that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city.

Congress' most forceful and symbolically consequential actions in recognition of the importance of a unified Jerusalem have been part of its systematic rebuke of its previous policy of maintaining the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv. For some time the United States has conducted its official meetings and other business in the city of Jerusalem in de facto recognition of its status as the capital of Israel. The Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 stated as a matter of policy that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel. Funds for the building of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem were recently appropriated in the fiscal year 1998 appropriations bill, H.R. 1486.

As a Member of this Senate and a long-time supporter of Israel, I am proud to stand with many of my distinguished colleagues as a cosponsor of this important resolution.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I rise in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

It is an honor to be a cosponsor of this resolution, as it was to be a cosponsor of the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act. The 1995 act declared that the holy city should remain "undivided" and be "recognized as the capital of the State of Israel."

Mr. President, for 3,000 years there has been a continuous Jewish presence in the city of Jerusalem. No other city on Earth is the capital of the same country, inhabited by the same people, speaking the same language and worshipping the same God, for a span of three centuries as has been the case with Jerusalem.

In 1948, the Arab legion conquered East Jerusalem, including the Old City, as part of the general Arab military offensive to prevent Israel from coming into being. Israel retained control over West Jerusalem. It is important to note, Mr. President, that when East Jerusalem was under Arab or Muslim rule, it never served as a capital city for the rulers. Between 1948 and 1967, when East Jerusalem was under Jordanian control, Jordan's capital remained in Amman. I would also note that during this time, the holy city was closed to other religions. Jews were prevented from visiting their holy places, all the synagogues in the Old City were razed and Jewish burial places were desecrated.

In 1967, as Egypt and Syria moved again toward war against Israel, the Israeli Government urged King Hussein of Jordan to sit out the fighting and promised that the territories he controlled would be left alone if he did so. The King failed to heed the warning. He attacked Israel, and in the ensuing fighting lost East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

When the holy city was reunified after the war, Israel, under Labor Party leadership at the time, declared that Jerusalem will remain undivided forever as Israel's capital and that all people will have free access to their holy places. All people of all faiths are welcome to worship in the holy city. Former Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said it this way: "Jerusalem is closed politically and open religiously. This means that it will remain unified, and only as Israel's capital, not two capitals. It will remain under Israeli sovereignty."

I agree with Shimon Peres. Jerusalem is, and should remain, a united city—the capital of Israel. I urge the immediate adoption of this resolution. As the 1995 act did before, Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 will send a principled and constructive signal to all the parties in the Arab-Israeli negotiations that the United States recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in observing the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem. Although the modern State of Israel was founded almost 50 years ago, in 1948, the city of Jerusalem was at that time still divided between Israel and Jordan, and its holy sites were not open to all religious groups. After Jerusalem became one again in 1967, these important historical and religious sites were opened to Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others who wished to worship or simply spend some time in the Old City or at the Western Wall.

I have long supported an undivided Jerusalem in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group will be protected and respected. Jerusalem is not only the capital of Israel, but also the home of more than 40 Christian denominations and the home of the Moslem religion. It is imperative that we work to preserve this city's unity and prevent any actions that would threaten this status. At the same time, we must ensure that our efforts to maintain unity in the holy city do not divide those working toward a lasting peace in the Middle East. Jerusalem is holy to many people in many different ways, and its future has understandably been a sensitive issue in the ongoing peace process. Unfortunately, some have used the issue of a unified Jerusalem to divide those who share in the city's heritage. Our support today for unity in Jerusalem does not in any way detract from our support for peace in the Middle East. The peace process, with our unqualified support, must move forward.

In closing, Mr. President, I simply wish to restate my support for a unified Jerusalem that is open to all those who wish to visit its historical and spiritual sites. It is fitting that the Senate takes a moment to reflect upon the importance of Jerusalem as a symbol to people of diverse faiths and as a unified city open to all. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition today to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem during the Six-Day War. I congratulate the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on this important anniversary day.

On June 5, 1967, the Israelis responded to threats from their Arab neighbors and 6 days later the war ended with a reunified Jerusalem that once again gave Jews access to the old city and its holy sites. Some called this unexpected price of war a miracle; it is indeed an issue of great importance for the Jewish people.

Jerusalem holds a special place in Jewish history. Since King David, Jerusalem has been at the center of Jewish traditions and the very core of Jewish faith. The very city itself, not just the sites of religious significance, is considered hallowed by those of the Jewish faith. This issue has personal significance to me as well, as members of my own family live and worship in Jerusalem.

Jews have long been the majority of residents of Jerusalem. However, Jerusalem is not only important for the Jewish faith, but for Islam and Christianity as well. I am a cosponsor of the sense-of-the-Congress resolution that recognizes the significance of a unified Jerusalem to the people of Israel and reiterates the Senate's position that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected.

This resolution also calls on the President to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of Israel. Since coming to the Senate, I have supported initiatives that recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. I also supported the Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Implementation Act of 1995, legislation that will move the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. I will continue to work to ensure that never again will access to the old city and its holy sites be denied to Jews or to persons of any faith.

Mr. President, I join my colleagues on this momentous day in celebrating the triumph of Israel in the Six-Day War and the reunification of Jerusalem.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the nation of Israel and its courageous people on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Today, this remarkable city, with its proud history in both the ancient and the modern worlds, stands as a center

of diverse religious and cultural interests. Three of the world's great religions—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—consider Jerusalem to be a holy city, and all three have holy sites in the city.

In 1967, following 20 years of division, Israel reunited Jerusalem during the course of its heroic victory in the Six-Day War. As the capital of Israel, Jerusalem today is a haven for persons of all ethnic and religious groups. As we join in commending Israel on this important anniversary, we also reaffirm our commitment to an undivided Jerusalem.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, 30 years ago a singular, unexpected and startling event reshaped the world. I am referring to the conclusion of the Six-Day War of 1967, when the young Jewish state was faced with the amassed forces of the Arab world, bent on its destruction, but prevailed against all odds and concluded the short but bloody war with the victorious forces of Israel reclaiming and reuniting the holy city of Jerusalem.

It was the first time since the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. that the city was entirely in Jewish hands. One of the accounts of the first paratroopers and soldiers to reach the wall spoke of Gen. Shlomo Goren, then the chief rabbi of the Israeli Army, who raced to join the first to reach the wall. Last week's Jerusalem Post recounted that he was armed only with a Bible and a shofar, and that as they ran through the narrow streets of Old Jerusalem

Goren did not stop blowing the shofar and reciting prayers. His enthusiasm infected the soldiers, and from every direction came cries of "Amen!" The paratroopers burst out in song.

The Jewish author Abraham Joshua Heschel wrote movingly of this pivotal event:

In its solitude the Wall was forced into the role of an unreachable tombstone for the nameless dead. Suddenly the Wall, tired of tears and lamentations, became homesick for song. "O Come, let us sing to the Lord, let us chant in joy to the rock of our salvation!" (Psalm 95:1) It will be called the Re-joining Wall.

It was the first time since the partition of Jerusalem that Jews could pray at the Western Wall. In fact, after the Israeli paratroopers and soldiers liberated the city, many flocked to the wall even before the mines left by the Jordanians had been removed. A few days later, the headline of the Jerusalem Post read: "200,000 at Western Wall in first pilgrimage since Dispersion".

Heschel wrote:

July, 1967 * * * I have discovered a new land. Israel is not the same as before. There is great astonishment in the souls. It is as if the prophets had risen from their graves. Their words ring in a new way. Jerusalem is everywhere, she hovers over the whole country. There is a new radiance, a new awe.

Mr. President, the conclusion of this war had profound geopolitical consequences—for the Mideast, and for the world, as the superpowers responded to the consequences of the defeat of the Arab armies. The Soviets increased their support to the Arab regimes in-

tent on revenge, including the virulently anti-Israel governments of Saddam Hussein and Hafez Assad who came to power over the next couple of years. The United States, quick to recognize Israel's declaration of independence almost 20 years before, stood by our Democratic friend, as we would during the Yom Kippur War 6 years later, and as we have ever since.

But there were consequences even more profound than the geopolitics. The city of David was in Jewish hands. Whereas the Jewish graves and synagogues had been desecrated since the partitioning in 1948, Israel opened the city to the faithful of the three monotheistic religions. The Muslim leaders retained control of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Christians have joined Jews since then in pilgrimages to holy Jerusalem. Jerusalem today is a city for all faithful.

It is also, as so befits the sadness of this bloody 20th century, the center of unresolved political disputes.

Mr. President, if you look back at the history of the 1967 war, you see that among the Israeli leadership, the possibility of exchanging land for a permanent peace was being considered within days after the Six-Day war. This was a radical notion in that part of the world—and the years it took before the Sinai was returned was a necessary period when facing hostile regimes on every border of a narrow state. But Israel has always demonstrated its willingness—in fact, its insistence—on cohabiting in the region, and cooperating to do so—as long as its sovereignty and right to exist are recognized. These notions were at the heart of an unformulated peace process then as they are in a more formal peace process now.

It is up to the democratically elected government of Israel to determine the direction and content of that process today, as it is up to Israel's Arab neighbors to accept the reality of the Jewish state.

But one issue has been left more muddled than it should be: the status of Jerusalem. This issue has been debated on this floor for over a decade. I believe that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and I have joined many colleagues in expressing that it should be the policy of the United States to recognize Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel, and to cease the artificial posturing that has kept our Embassy in Tel Aviv. This is what we declared when we passed the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, and what we reiterated in our recent resolution, Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, congratulating the residents of Jerusalem on the 30th anniversary of reunification. With these acts, Congress recognized a geopolitical reality. There are times when doing so can enhance the management of peace, by declaring, once and for all, what are the feasible parameters of a negotiated peace. These acts of Congress were such times. If the peace process continues, it will progress more certainly on solid

ground. I continue to encourage the administration to join us in correcting a diplomatic anomaly that we have visited on our closest ally in the Middle East for too long.

Mr. President, I offer my deepest congratulations to the residents of Jerusalem, to the citizens of Israel, and to all who appreciate the peace and openness that has reigned over that city since it was reunited 30 years ago.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and support the resolution offered by my distinguished colleagues from New York and Florida in marking this auspicious occasion. Psalm 122 admonishes us to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." This biblical verse is as apt now, on the 30th anniversary of the Holy City's reunification, as it was 3,000 years ago.

Jerusalem knew little peace in the 19 years before 1967. The end of Israel's War of Independence left an obscene no-man's land of barbed wire, tank traps, sniper posts, and minefields. Israel's former adversary left almost no vestige of Jewish history in the historic old city untouched, including the destruction of 58 synagogues; Jewish gravestones from the Mount of Olives were used to build roads and latrines for occupying troops.

Mr. President, Israel's foes had as much regard for the rights of religious pilgrims as they did for religious sites: Jews could not visit the Western Wall, and Israeli Muslims were denied access to the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosque. During the occupation, the Christian population of Jerusalem declined from 25,000 to 10,000.

On the morning of June 7, 1967, our entire world changed. Israeli commandos stormed through St. Stephen's Gate on the northeast side of the old city walls and took control over the old city and its centerpiece, the Temple Mount. They discovered that occupying troops had used the Temple Mount area, including the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa mosque, as a huge ammunition dump. Mr. President, what might have happened if the ammunition would have exploded, destroying the Temple Mount and perhaps the nearby Church of the Holy Sepulcher? How great would our spiritual loss have been?

For the first time since the Romans leveled the city in AD 70, Jews controlled the Western Wall—the surviving remnant of Herod's Temple.

Mr. President, shortly after the end of the Six Day War, Israel did something astonishing for a victorious power. Israeli officials assured Arab leaders that the Muslims would keep control of the Islamic holy places on the Temple Mount. That inspired decision began Jerusalem on the road to reunification and began to heal the wounds of centuries.

Mr. President, I traveled to Israel with my father when I was 21 and saw

a city transformed from that which had seen pain and anguish for thousands of years. Where barbed wire and armed soldiers had once stood was a magnificent area of trees and grass that now surrounds the renovated walls of the old city. I saw a rebuilt Jewish Quarter in the old city. But Mr. President, most importantly, I saw for myself that free and open access to their holy places for people of all faiths was not merely the goal in Jerusalem, it was the rule.

The city's parks were revitalized. Schools and museums and hospitals sprang up. Music and poetry once again rose into Israel's evening sky. The people came together as artists, architects, lawyers, and theologians in an effort that resulted in a city that no longer just survived but lived and breathed. The Talmud proclaims that "of the 10 measures of beauty that came down to the world, Jerusalem took nine." Mr. President, for the first time since those prophetic words were first formed, those "measures of beauty" saw the light of day.

Mr. President, the question that those brave, industrious people tried to answer is one that we still ask today: How can Jerusalem, which means "city of peace," an ancient symbol of humanity's aspirations for redemption, become a living city that does not betray the promise of its name? An answer tragically eludes us, still today, 30 years after Jerusalem's reunification.

The United States Congress has a long-standing commitment to a united Jerusalem governed by Israel. Seven years ago, Congress declared that Jerusalem "must remain an undivided city" and the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 unequivocally stated that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel as a matter of U.S. policy. The resolution introduced by my friends Senator MOYNIHAN and Senator MACK clearly expresses our conviction that it should be so.

Mr. President, it is said that "one prayer in Jerusalem is worth 40,000 elsewhere." This resolution offers the voice of Congress to those voices coming from all over our Nation and the world praying for peace and prosperity for this most special city of all cities on this truly important day.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

AUTHORITY FOR RECORD TO REMAIN OPEN UNTIL 5 P.M.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Record remain open until 5 p.m. today for Members to submit statements or for the introduction of legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST— S. 419

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the hour of 2

p.m., the Labor Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 419, a bill to prevent birth defects by developing and implementing new prevention and surveillance strategies and the Senate now proceed to its immediate consideration under the following limitation: one substitute amendment be in order to be offered by Senator BOND; that no other amendments be in order to the bill; and that there be 30 minutes equally divided for debate, with Senator BOND in control of 15 minutes and the ranking member in control of 15 minutes. Further, following the disposition of the amendment and the expiration or yielding back of time, the bill be read a third time and the Senate proceed to vote on passage of the bill, as amended, with no intervening action or debate.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, the majority leader propounded a similar unanimous-consent request yesterday. As he recalls, I noted that we have not seen the amendment proposed by Senator BOND, nor has this legislation had the opportunity to be the subject of hearings or markup in the committee. Most importantly, however, since we still have not been able to resolve the matter pertaining to disaster relief, I am compelled to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard by the Chair. The majority leader is recognized.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUESTS— SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL AND AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEE TO MEET

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the hour of 2:05 p.m., the Senate begin 3 hours 55 minutes for debate only, to be divided equally between the two leaders or their designees, for discussions with respect to the supplemental appropriations bill, and that there be no motions in order during the approximately 4 hours of debate, other than a motion to adjourn by the majority leader or his designee.

I further ask unanimous consent that it not be in order for the Chair to entertain any unanimous-consent requests with respect to consideration of any supplemental appropriations bill during the 4-hour period described above.

And, finally, I ask unanimous consent that the Armed Services Committee be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today, Wednesday, June 11.

In support of that unanimous-consent request, before the Chair puts the request, I would just like to observe that I know there are Senators who would like to be heard on this issue, on the supplemental appropriations bill, about what is in it, the importance of it, how it can be resolved, comments on language that is included, a whole variety of statements that I am sure Senators would like to make to show their

interest in and their suggestions as to how we deal with the supplemental appropriations bill. So I think to have 4 hours of debate makes good sense for the Senate to be able to hear what Senators have to say.

I also indicate to our colleagues that there are a lot of discussions underway, a lot of meetings underway. Today, we have been in direct contact with the White House on how some of these issues can be resolved. I have had conversations with Senator DASCHLE. We are communicating with the House leadership to see exactly how they plan to proceed and when that would be. I understand perhaps there is a meeting right now at the White House on some of the provisions of this issue. So I think and I hope that we are making some progress and that we can find some way to bring this issue to fruition in the next few hours. Hopefully, we can have some action on it before we go out this week.

But I think while we are doing that, we should be doing the business of the Senate, having hearings or markups in committees, particularly the Armed Services Committee, which is working on the defense authorization bill which we hope to have up next week in the Senate, and also so that we can continue our efforts to come to an agreement on how we deal with the supplemental appropriations, the Government shutdown provision language, the census language, to try to see how we can work out an agreement and what that language might be. It is very important we have an opportunity to do that this very afternoon. That is why I make the request. I urge it be considered and that it not be objected to.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. I concur with the distinguished majority leader about the efforts now underway and his hope and expectation that at some point these efforts could lead to further success in resolving the impasse that we have faced now for some time. I appreciate his leadership and his personal involvement in making that effort.

I also have to note that there are many on our side of the aisle who have indicated strong objections to committees meeting during such time, so as not to lose the focus that we currently have. There are those who are involved in these efforts who need to be at these committee markups who would otherwise be occupied if they are prevented from participating in the discussions involving the disaster assistance legislation.

I would amend the unanimous-consent request propounded by the majority leader simply to suggest and propose a unanimous-consent agreement that would allow debate on the floor on