

of our citizens to keep on our feet. We kept on our feet. They did not knock us off our feet. They broke a rib, but they did not knock us off our feet.

That is because the great leaders of this country have prepared this country in the same sense that we have to prepare this country for the future, and that is the capability to sustain an attack, to be able to turn around and stop the attacker in a military sense.

What is going on in the world today is tragic. What is going on in the Middle East, obviously. I mean, I wish my colleagues knew the solution. I am not sure anybody has got it figured out there yet, but the reality of it is that no matter how long we pray, I know it is very helpful, and I do it a lot, no matter how long we pray, no matter how much we hope, and touchy-feely things we do, the reality of it is the world will never know total peace, but we can go a long way towards that.

The best way we can go towards that is to negotiate from a position of strength, and that is exactly what the United States, its leadership in the past, they have placed our country in a position of strength, and that is the obligation that every one of us on this House floor has to future generations, to continue to keep this great Nation of ours in a position of strength, to allow this great Nation and its future generations to go forward from a position of strength.

From a position of strength this great Nation has helped hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. From this position of strength our Nation can help many, many other nations throughout the world. We can help escape poverty. We can help escape tyrannism. We can help escape communism. And we can go on and on, but it all starts with the core of our strength. We cannot help our neighbor if we are not strong.

We need to be strong. We are strong, but we need our commitment to stay strong. That means a strong defense. That means a strong educational system. That means a strong welcome system. It means a strong energy policy. Working together, I think we can continue the strength of this great Nation.

So I look forward to working with my colleagues in the future, but let me summarize by saying a couple of things. Number one, I think it is a mistake for my colleagues to take this microphone, as I witnessed this evening, and criticize this administration for not being diplomatically engaged, as if diplomatic engagement has not taken place in the Middle East for decades.

I am amazed that while we have a great deal of knowledge available to us, while we can have classified briefings, and many of us receive classified briefings on countries of our choice and so on and so forth, our level of knowledge and our level of expertise on the Middle East, for example, is somewhat limited. I would venture to say that the administration, Colin Powell,

Condoleezza Rice, DICK CHENEY, obviously the President, have a little bit more access and a little bit more knowledge of what is going on over in the Middle East minute by minute. We simply have not been able to make ourselves available to that.

So before we criticize the persons that have the knowledge, before we are so critical from the House floor, my colleagues ought to learn a little bit more exactly what is occurring. Because while we were speaking this evening, bullets have flown over there, and it is amazing that while machine gunfire is taking place, while allegedly 10-year-old or 13-year-old suicide bombers are running in to kill one side or the other, it is a little surprising to hear one of our Congressmen or the Congress as a whole maybe, which has not happened, I guess particular colleagues of mine, to stand up here and say, well, we have not diplomatically engaged. If any of us have a better idea that is going to work, not just to get publicity back in our district, if someone has really got an idea that is going to work, if they think they have got a solution for it, advance it. Do not wait till nighttime on special orders to come down here and say, well, how easy it is to criticize you because you are not a diplomatically engaged administration, and what we ought to do, hope for peace, that is how we solve the situation in the Middle East.

We want peace. All peace-loving Americans want peace, and I am quoting directly from some of the previous comments. Well, that is a nice statement to make, but how are we going to solve the problem? What are the nuts and the bolts of the solution? When we have a crisis like the Middle East, I get a little impatient, as I would hope my colleagues get a little impatient, with one of us standing up here and constantly criticizing the administration but never coming up with a solution of their own.

□ 2130

Mr. Speaker, the easiest thing in the world is to criticize. The toughest thing in the world is to lead. I have seen a lot of criticism, but I am not sure how much leadership I am seeing. I am trying to learn everything I can about the situation in the Middle East, and I hope that the administration is doing the right thing; and I have placed my faith in this administration, as I have placed my faith in the United States. I think we are doing the right thing with what we have and what we know.

I hope that our common sense leads us to some type of solution; but I can tell Members this, it would be a cold day in Members-know-where before I would jump up and make the criticisms while the guns are firing. I think we need to be a little more supportive.

## RESPONSE TO MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMMONS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, the topic we are going to speak about this evening is, in a sense, a response to what is going on in the Middle East today; and specifically a response in terms of being not just sensitive, but supportive of what the Israelis are trying to do regarding terrorist acts in their country.

The reason I put this chart up first is just to try to lay out a perspective of what has happened in Israel over the last several months. Israel is about 5 million people. The United States is about 300 million people. We are about 60 times larger than Israel. As all Americans know, on September 11, about 3,000 Americans died in an instant. The equivalent number in Israel would be about 50.

Last month in Israel, the Israeli people sustained the equivalent of three September 11's, in the month of March. Since this calendar year, the Israeli people have sustained the equivalent of approximately eight September 11's. I think all of us understand what the United States' response, God forbid, would be, in that type of situation. We understand what the United States' response has been in response to September 11 itself. In fact, I have been very supportive of the President, and I do not think any Member of Congress has not been supportive of the President and America's efforts to eradicate weapons of mass destruction that have a direct effect on the United States. There has been no daylight at all between any of us for those efforts.

I think the President gets it completely about the threat of international terrorism from countries like Iraq, Syria, and North Korea. But unfortunately, the President does not get it in terms of some of his response to the State of Israel, his specific responses that effectively demand that the Israelis withdraw their troops and their activities in terms of cities like Ramalah, Jenin, and Nablut.

From an American perspective, to put it in some light, which is a very appropriate analogy, the United States of America does not have to have our men and women in Afghanistan. We are in Afghanistan because we have no choice but to be in Afghanistan to literally protect ourself at a national security level. We do not want to be there. I think everyone in the world or at least everyone in America understands, we have no national interest. We have no desire, zero, and I think Americans understand that we do not want to conquer Afghanistan, to colonize Afghanistan.

At the same exact level, the Israelis have no desire to be in Ramalah, Jenin, and Nablut. And just as we are concerned about our sons and daughters,

husbands and wives who are stationed in Afghanistan today, and in fact we have sustained the ultimate sacrifice in our troops, and the Israelis are doing the same today, and again our societies are very similar. As democratic societies, this is not forced military service. It is military service that an elected democratic body had to vote to send out the reserves.

In the Israeli Knesset, an elected Prime Minister called up the reserves. An elected Prime Minister is sending people into combat, risking lives, and in fact sustaining losses. If we think again, we have seen what is happening. We read about it. And, unfortunately, there are people being killed on both sides. The Israelis are making an extraordinary effort to avoid any type of civilian casualties, and there have been some. The extraordinary effort is something that we need to be aware of. Unfortunately, Israeli defense forces, troops, their lives have been put at risk, and there is no question that additional Israelis have died because of the sensitivity of avoiding civilian casualties has occurred.

I think all of us understand what would be happening in a different situation. And America joins that category, the extraordinary efforts that we did in the campaign, and we are still doing today, in the campaign in Afghanistan to avoid collateral damage. We all know that there was some, in fact, some significant collateral damage. We killed civilians in Afghanistan, and it is a tragedy that we did, but we made extraordinary efforts to prevent it, and at risk to our men and women as well.

That is what is happening in a sense on the ground. But at the same time this is going on today, literally today, this evening, in both the United States and in Israel. The President has asked indirectly, even tried to order the Israelis out. If we think about what that message is, if we think about what had occurred, what brought the Israelis to this attempt, for their own survival, it was a series of suicide attacks that do threaten the day-to-day existence of the State of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, can we conceive of any country in the world, and if we put ourselves in that kind of situation, can we conceive of the United States of America attempting not to try to protect itself? That is exactly what is going on. From a historical perspective, there were two incidents which were watershed incidents. One was the Karine A incident, which was the ship with over \$20 million of weapons that came from Iraq that Israeli commandoes commandeered.

Both the Israelis and the Americans had direct evidence of Chairman Arafat's personal involvement in the purchase and operation to bring those weapons into the Palestinian Authority area. And in fact the only plausible excuse Arafat had was he was not on the ship.

As has been reported in the press, Colin Powell called Chairman Arafat

after that incident and said, "Why did you do this? It is a clear violation of Oswald bringing in weapons that raise the level of the conflict."

His response was, "Why did I do what? Why did I do what?"

Colin Powell on the other end of the phone said we have direct evidence of your involvement and that evidence was then shown to Chairman Arafat, and Colin Powell calls him back and says, "Now that you have seen the evidence, what is your response?" Chairman Arafat's response was, "What are you talking about?"

If we think for a second what that means, who are we dealing with? Who are the Israelis dealing with? But more importantly, who are the Israelis dealing with. I would ask everyone to think about that type of response. How could any of us ever have any type of relationship, whether a business relationship or a personal relationship, with someone who literally, absolutely, totally lies? How can one have a relationship to try to do anything? What is that person's word worth?

The second incident that occurred 10 weeks ago was a sniper attack on an Israeli checkpoint where six Israeli soldiers were killed. There was no attempt by anyone on the Palestinian side to prevent that type of attack. These sniper rifles can shoot several miles, an analogy of the distance from this building to the White House. Literally from a line of sight, someone could shoot with a sniper rifle from the top of this building, the Capitol, to the White House.

Once that attack occurred and there was no attempt to stop it, and many people are aware of the geography of the State of Israel, effectively Prime Minister Sharon made a decision that the Israelis had to protect themselves. Not until that occurred did the Israelis enter any refugee camp. At that point the decision was made to effectively go door to door or wall through wall, house to house to confiscate every weapon, every suicide belt bomb, every rocket; and literally hundreds and thousands have been confiscated and have been taken. That is in fact a continuation. It is not by choice.

I am joined today by a number of my colleagues. On the other side of the aisle, a Member who has been a leader in terms of things happening in the Middle East and is as concerned as anyone in the Congress, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his leadership on this issue. I apologize for being late. I have a number of comments that I want to make initially.

Mr. Speaker, Rudy Giuliani said after September 11 that he felt like Winston Churchill felt when London was under attack. Today the folks all over Israel, not just in any particular city or pocket, must have that same feeling. They have now suffered over 18 months of terrorist attacks that have killed over 400 of their citizens, injured thousands, and distressed millions.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH) knows that a couple of years ago I had an opportunity to go to Israel, and one of the things at the time was Mr. Barak told us that the people there are tired of suffering and they are tired of seeing their children being killed.

As a father of four, it is hard for me to say good-bye to my children on a Friday or Saturday night when they leave the house at 7:30 at night, and I am worried about them driving on the road with accidents. I cannot imagine what an Israeli parent or counterpart feels when saying good-bye to their children who are going to go to a discotec or some other public place, and can just imagine living in a country where so many people have died in such a short period of time.

Since the September 11 attacks, the American people have understood the terrorist menace. Israel has been living under this for nearly 50 years off and on. As the leadership of Israel has often said, we are living in a dangerous neighborhood, and it is getting more and more dangerous every single day.

One of the questions that seems to become popular and seems to be in vogue is should Israel be able to retaliate. If America can retaliate, why can Israel not retaliate? I think that is certainly the central question right now. The United States of America is rightfully pursuing its own national interests. We are not just in Central Asia, but looking very closely at the situation in Iraq and any other country, the axis of evil, and trying to figure out what rogue governments are harboring terrorism.

Just as we in America are doing that, surely it is in Israel's national interest to do everything that they can to neutralize the Palestinian terrorism. I do not believe that Washington can justify our actions and condemn their actions.

□ 2145

I believe that Israel is moving in the interest of their own national security, as a nation should be. In many respects, their war is our war. Their enemies are our enemies. Aside from Great Britain, Israel is our greatest ally in the U.N. Year after year, conflict after conflict, Israel has stood by America. You cannot make that statement about any other country except for Great Britain.

I think that in terms of some of the issues that we are dealing with, I am very pleased that Colin Powell is over there. I hope he is successful in his mission. I hope he can calm the waters. But I do not think Sharon should back down until the Palestinians guarantee a cease-fire and some sort of a way to assure them that Arafat can, if he still has control, neutralize his followers. I do not know that he has that anymore. When Colin Powell testified before our Foreign Operations Committee about a month or 5 weeks ago, I asked, are we ready to move into the post-Arafat era

of the Middle East? At that time people said, "It's probably too early to talk about that." I think there is fear, well, could it get worse if Arafat is gone? No one knows the answer to that, but we know under the current course it is getting worse and worse. So I do not think we should be afraid to talk about a post-Arafat era at all.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY) who has worked from the first day he was in the United States Congress to try to bring peace to the Middle East.

Mr. CROWLEY. I thank my colleague from Florida for calling this special order this evening. I would start off by saying that the initial numbers that you had on your chart were staggering. I think more of that information needs to be told to the American people. I think they need to understand exactly what the size of the state of Israel is and the type of pressure that they have been under for the past 18 months. I think more of the news agencies need to focus not only on single events but on the multiple events that have taken place over the last 18 months. If they could show not just one incident but how over the last few weeks there have been multiple incidents throughout Israel, I think people would begin to get a better understanding exactly what type of threat the Israeli people are really facing.

I regret the fact that there is a need for me to even be on the floor this evening to address this important issue, but the events of the last 18 months require a response. Last summer, Chairman Arafat, Prime Minister Barak, and President Clinton were ever so close to reaching an accord to bring peace to the Middle East after decades of violence. Unfortunately, all the progress and the sacrifices made on the part of the Palestinians and Israelis in Madrid, in Oslo, Camp David, and Wye were shattered the moment the first stone was hurled into the air in September of 2000. Since then, the atmosphere on the ground has degenerated, resulting in the death of hundreds of people on all sides of the conflict.

As Palestinian suicide bombers attack innocent Israeli civilians and the IDF responds by eliminating the sources of that Palestinian terror, both sides look to the United States to deliver a solution. Although I believe that it is in our national interest to resolve this conflict, I am increasingly concerned by the destructive role our regional allies have been playing in the current climate. The official Egyptian press cultivates anti-Israeli sentiment through skewed disclosures of the facts and spin campaigns that do nothing to improve the status quo.

Jordan, who has played such a key role in past years, has thought it best to remain on the sidelines. I would suggest that the Palestinians view the Jordanian silence as a tacit approval for the continuation of this campaign of terror.

The activities of Saudi Arabia are perhaps the most troubling of all. One should note that there are two countries that provide compensation to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers: Saudi Arabia and Iraq. One is considered a friend and the other a foe. If this is the case, why are both behaving in the same despicable manner? These nations are crucial to a resolution to this conflict and must assume a profile commensurate with their standing and influence in this region.

I am encouraged by Secretary Powell's visit to the region, but he cannot secure peace on his own. A lasting peace can only be secured in a regional context in which all parties contribute to a cessation of hostilities on the ground. Until that occurs, I fully support the steps that Prime Minister Sharon is taking to ensure the safety of his people, the Israeli people. If President Bush had not acted decisively against those who perpetrated the acts and attack of terror on New York and on the United States on September 11, the people of this country would be calling for his resignation. Now this administration is being critical of Sharon for taking similar action in his own country. The hypocrisy, in my opinion, is staggering.

This is not a question of being either pro-Israeli or pro-Palestinian. It is a question of being against terrorism, no matter where it is found and no matter who may be the victims. While the violence rages on, there are children that hope to go back to school and people that hope to go back to work and hope to do that in an environment free of terrorism. It is essential that we take the necessary action to turn all those hopes into reality.

As a New Yorker, as someone who has experienced firsthand a family member who was lost on September 11, my first cousin, I feel personally drawn into what is happening in the Middle East. I have had many, many discussions with people throughout my district. I am heartened to hear, and I am not just talking about those who have had longstanding sympathies with the people of Israel, but those who in my opinion have had questionable support in the past for the people of Israel, are now I think fully behind the Israeli Government and fully understand exactly what they are going through.

We lost 3,000 people in one attack. When we looked at the numbers that the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH) had put up before, they have lost, I believe, is it six times that figure?

Mr. DEUTSCH. It would be more than that. Six or seven times.

Mr. CROWLEY. Six or seven times. It is staggering. I think we in New York have nothing but sympathy for what the people in Israel are going through, and we believe only the people of Israel can make the decisions about their own safety and the personal safety of their families. That is why I stand here today in support of your discussion this evening.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR) who is an outstanding new Member that again, from the day he arrived, has thrust himself and been involved in foreign policy issues, particularly in the Middle East, and has worked as hard as any Member to try to gain peace in the region.

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Florida for yielding and I appreciate his willingness to share time in this debate and for his work on behalf of the U.S.-Israel relationship and also would like to recognize my colleague from Georgia and his leadership on this issue as well.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today on a very solemn occasion. Today is Yom Hashoah, the Day of Remembrance. This is the day that we recognize and remember those 6-million-plus individuals, innocent men, women and children who lost their lives in the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust, an evil associated with that era the likes of which the world had never seen.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are here tonight once again, this evil has reared its ugly head. On 9-11, as my colleague from New York just indicated, this evil and the individuals behind the terrorist attack stopped at nothing to kill innocent men, women and children on the streets of New York, in the World Trade Center, and here in the Washington area at the Pentagon. Mr. Speaker, it is that same evil, that same hatred that is perpetrating the violence and committing the terrorist attacks in Israel throughout that tiny country.

I applaud President Bush and his administration for drawing the appropriate moral structure and guidelines that we must follow as this country now engages in the fight for our freedom abroad.

As we know, President Bush has outlined this as a case of good against evil. Very simply, it is time for the nations of the world to choose, to choose whether they are with us and the civilized world or whether they are with the terrorists. Just last week, President Bush addressed the Nation from the White House and said yes, it is time for the nations of the Middle East to make that choice as well.

I applaud President Bush in his statements that the situation that Yasser Arafat finds himself in and the situation the Palestinian people are in are due to his own making. He has failed to do everything he can. He has failed to renounce terror as a tool to achieve his political gains. I think that the President ought to be applauded for making that bold step in the face of very harsh criticism that he is experiencing from all corners of the world.

Mr. KINGSTON. If the gentleman will yield, I want to really underscore that point, that over a year ago, at Camp David, when President Clinton had Arafat and Barak in, Arafat turned down the deal that he is now pretending to be behind, or at least the

Saudi prince's proposal, give up land and we will recognize you. And there is absolutely no assurance that once the Palestinians have the land, that they will turn around and recognize the state of Israel. The gentleman makes a great point, and I really wanted to underscore that.

Mr. CANTOR. I thank the gentleman for that. And as my colleague from Florida stated earlier, there have been a series of opportunities for Mr. Arafat to rise to the occasion and to demonstrate his commitment to peace. But instead, we face now calls from all corners of the world for the United States to engage in the process, to somehow produce a peace. In my mind, that means to pressure Israel. But the United States and the Bush administration has been engaged in the process. It has been engaged in the process by standing up for the principled position laid out by the President that there is good and there is evil, there are terrorists and there are those law-abiding citizens. And this country will not tolerate, negotiate, or support terrorist activity. And how can we, when we see Yasser Arafat and his counterparts in Israel going in, targeting women and children, innocent individuals for death? Going into family occasions like bar mitzvahs and weddings and an individual strapping explosives to themselves, blowing themselves up and killing these family members at such sacred times in their lives?

And we also see the sponsorship of the Palestinian Authority and other Arab regimes sponsoring and giving money to the so-called martyrs' families, providing an incentive for young men, and now we see women, to blow themselves up and in the process kill tens, if not more, of innocent Israelis at a time. And now we see that Israel has gained the momentum, has demonstrated that it has the resolve, both the spiritual resolve and the material resources to do what it must do, just as the United States has demonstrated that we will do what we must do in light of the al Qaeda attacks on 9-11 against the Taliban and al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan.

Israel is manning a counteraction to the terrorist attacks that has been inflicted upon its innocent citizens, and it must be allowed to root out the terrorists, because that is the only way that we will achieve peace is to get rid of the terrorists.

Mr. Speaker, I would posit that the equation is very clear. We ought not be insisting or pressuring Israel when it is doing what we do, and, that is, defending its innocent citizens. We must instead demand that the Arab leaders of this world step up to the plate, renounce terrorism, and contribute what they must toward the peace in the Middle East.

The bottom line, Mr. Speaker: First, we must have the cessation of terror, and then talk. First, the recognition, both in deed and in word, of Israel's right to exist, then diplomacy.

□ 2200

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. WEINER), who also is active and has traveled in this region many times and is personally involved with many of the leaders in the region as well.

Mr. WEINER. I want to thank the gentleman from Florida for organizing this special order, the gentleman from Georgia for his great leadership, and the previous speaker, and I want to pick up on something that the gentleman from Virginia mentioned.

Some have spoken about the necessity that there be a process towards peace, and I do not think there is anyone who disagrees with that. But we also have to recognize that the process in and of itself is not an end; it is to be a means to peaceful coexistence.

If you look at the history of the Jewish State, there have really been two things going on simultaneously. One has been her Arab neighbors and the Palestinians trying to wipe her from the globe; while, at the same time, time after time after time, efforts at peace have been embraced by Israel, only to have her pay the price in human lives.

You can really look at it in two ways. Since 1993, there has kind of been the three yards and a cloud-of-dust strategy towards peace in the Oslo Accords; concession, concession, concession given by Israel, with the hope that it will be led into, by recognition by the Palestinians, ultimately peace for her citizens.

When that did not work, when that broke down, Israel went for what was essentially the "Hail Mary" pass at Camp David, and gave the Palestinians, offered virtually everything; 90 percent of the territories that are now in contention, a divided Jerusalem, even concessions to try to work out questions of the refugees.

And how is that met with? It was met with by a string of violence that goes on to this day. Seventy-three separate terrorist attacks have gone on, taking the equivalent, as the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH) mentioned, of 20,000 lives, if they were here in the United States.

Some have asked, why does Israel go into house by house searches of a town like Ramallah? Of those 73 attacks, 40 of them came from people who lived in Ramallah. How do we know that with such certitude? Because it is no secret. They leave a videotape saying why they did it, and quickly they are given money. They are given a bounty by the Palestinian Authority for the great thing they have done. They have given up their young life for the cause of taking away the lives of Israelis.

We have to recognize, and this is an unsettling thing for anyone to say, but certainly for us in a peace-loving democracy, sometimes the only way to stop someone from killing you is to go get them and stop them by force. We did not want to have to send people to go cave by cave in Afghanistan seeking

out the terrorists, but that was the only option that we were faced with. It was not a subject that, if we could have negotiated, we would not have done it. Frankly, that is the position that Israel is in today.

Some have paid a great deal of attention and given a great deal of credibility to the plan proposed by the Saudi prince that in exchange for Israel withdrawing to its 1967 borders, the Arab nations would offer normal relations, although Libya has said they do not want to go along and Iran said they do not want to go along and Iraq said they do not want to go along.

But nowhere in this discussion has anyone really thought through, well, why is it that Israel's borders are not what they were in 1967? Is it because she is acquisitive? Is it because she is colonialistic? Is it because she is expansionist?

Her borders are different than they were in 1967, because on two separate occasions she was attacked by her neighbors, who do not even believe she has a right to exist. And to a large degree, she has already made concessions to Egypt and Jordan. She has shown more than a willingness to give up land if it meant true peace.

That is true, Mr. Speaker, today. You look at poll after poll of the Israeli people, even after the horrific events of the past month. You put down on paper a proposal that gets true peace for Israel to live with her neighbors, she would accept it. She would give up land, gladly do it.

But sometimes there is no deterrent to violence. The only way to stop violence is to confront it directly. That is the unfortunate and untenable position that Israel is in. Let me just say, if there was ever a practice, if there was ever an example of the Bush doctrine, it is tonight in Nablus. It is tonight in Ramallah. It is tonight in the West Bank.

When President Bush unified our country and arguably unified the world around the principle that terrorism needs to be stopped, he said very clearly, it is not a matter for negotiations. He says it may take a while, and he says we will not rest until every terrorist is rooted out, pulled out by its roots, and, if necessary, killed in battle. That is what is going on tonight. That is what 18-, 19- and 20-year-old Israelis are giving their lives for tonight.

And what is going on on the other side? Today on Palestinian television there were commercials running during the cartoon hour telling young children, put down your toys, take up your arms. That is the message that the Palestinians are sending to their side.

What we are saying here tonight is that Israel is in an untenable position. She chooses not violence; she never has. She chooses not to settle these matters by force; she never has. She chooses instead to defend her people, and we should stand four-square with her in her desire to do that.

I yield back to the gentleman from Florida, with my great thanks.

Mr. DEUTSCH. I would like to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. ROTHMAN, who is viewed by his colleagues as an expert in this area and has been very influential.

Mr. KINGSTON. If the gentleman will yield, before the gentleman from New York Mr. WEINER leaves, I wanted to make a point that as long ago as July 15, 2001, the Jerusalem Post reported that there were four summer camps currently training 8- to 12-year-olds for suicide bombings going on. That is exactly what you are saying, just calling the kids to arms right now against Israel. Summer camps training 8- to 12-year-olds for suicide bombing visions.

Mr. WEINER. If the gentleman will yield further briefly, also one has to wonder why it is when there are these stages of violence put on by the Palestinians, why there are always children at the front lines? It is because, simply put, children are being used as the stones of war. In a very cynical campaign to persuade us that children are being put in harm's way, they are. They are being put in harm's way by mothers and fathers who are being told by their leaders that is the pathway to peace.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for allowing me to participate in this presentation tonight. Particularly I would like to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON), for his leadership on this issue over a number of years, and as well my colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH), for his leadership, in making sure that America's number one ally in the Middle East, our number one strategic ally, Israel, is safeguarded.

But you know, my friends, I think it is time for a little history, and in 5 minutes I would like to give a little history lesson. I think it is important to know what the facts are.

A lot of people think that the State of Israel is somehow a stranger to the Middle East, is brand new, a brand new country in the Middle East, amidst, people think, Arab countries in particular that have been there for centuries. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Let us take a look at the map. First of all, you see the map of the Middle East, a rather large area. As you can tell, this tiny little speck here, this sliver of land, that is the State of Israel. Here is Egypt, Syria, Lebanon; Iraq is here, Iran is here, Saudi Arabia is here, Oman here, Yemen here, Kuwait is here. Look at this entire huge land mass, and look at tiny little Israel. That is number one.

Number two, when did these Arab States come into existence? Have they been around for centuries? Let us take them one at a time. Iran, established in 1935; Iraq, established in 1932; Syria, 1946; Lebanon, 1943; Egypt, 1952; Saudi Arabia, 1932; Jordan, 1946; and Israel,

about the same time, 1948. So virtually all of these states, including the State of Israel, established at about the same time, in the middle of the 20th century.

Well, where is Palestine? Well, there never was a country called Palestine, ever. Never. Never a country, never a kingdom, never a country called Palestine. Never rulers who called themselves the rulers of the Palestinian people, never in the history of the world.

But what happened in the middle of the 20th century when all of these states were established by the United Nations or recognized by the United Nations, what happened to the Palestinians? I will tell you what happened.

In 1947, the year before the United Nations recognized Israel, this was the map that was proposed for what is now Israel. In 1947 the U.N. proposed two states, an Arab Palestinian state, marked here in the gray, with contiguous outline all the way from the top to the bottom of what is now Israel. Jerusalem was not then to be the capital of Israel. Jerusalem, according to the 1947 U.N. two-state plan, was to be an international city. The areas in yellow were to be the State of Israel, alongside this Palestinian state offered in 1947 by the U.N.

What did the Palestinians do when they were presented this offer of their own state in 1947? They rejected it totally. They rejected it totally. They said we do not want to live next to a Jewish state. We want the entire entity, all of this, or none. So the U.N. said, you know, England, who owned this land after World War I, after they got that land as part of the spoils from the Ottoman Empire when the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, was defeated in World War I, they were allies of Germany, England got the land. The United Nations said okay, if the Palestinians do not want to live and share this land with the Jewish state as neighbors, in 1948 the United Nations declared this whole area the State of Israel, recognized by the United Nations in 1948.

What happened in 1948? All of the armies of the Arab nations surrounding invaded Israel in 1948. They said, we will drive the Jews into the sea, fellow Palestinians, and then you can have that one state. You will not have to live next door to the Jews, the Jewish state. Something miraculous happened. The Jewish State of Israel survived, even though they were out numbered more than 30 to 1, the Jewish State of Israel survived in 1948.

What did the Palestinians do who fled? They went to refugee camps. What did their Arab brothers and sisters do when they fled Israel? They kept them in refugee camps all over the Middle East, their Arab brothers and sisters. What else did they do? 1956, they attacked Israel again and they lost. Israel survived. 1967, they all surrounded Israel again, attacked Israel again, said we will drive the Jews into the sea, destroy Israel. The Jews sur-

vived again in 1967. The same in 1973. The Yom Kippur War when they attacked Israel again, Israel survived.

Just as recently as 2 years ago, as was mentioned by my colleagues, when President Clinton brought Prime Minister Barak from Israel to Camp David along with Yasser Arafat, Israel offered some 97 percent of the land that the Palestinians wanted to the Palestinians; said you can have your own state, Palestinians, you can even have a portion of Jerusalem as your capital. You can have your own state and live in peace with us.

What did Yasser Arafat do when presented that 97 percent of what he wanted? By the way, the first time in history that a losing power or losing entity, the Palestinians, who had lost every war when they tried to drive Israel into the sea, was offered 97 percent of what it had originally been offered. What did Arafat do 2 years ago when offered 97 percent? Did he come back and bring a counteroffer? He left the negotiating table and started the suicide bombings 2 years ago, figuring, as he has for the last 50 years, we will terrorize the Israelis, force them to give up strategic sites, more than 100 percent, and then eventually we will take those sites and we will drive them entirely out of the region. That is what Arafat has been doing.

Now, people always ask me, Steve, what possibly could be the conditions for peace? I tell them three things. There are three conditions for peace between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Number one, every nation in the world, especially the Arab nations and the Palestinian people, must recognize that the United States of America will never abandon its 50-year-old friend, the State of Israel. Not just because Israel is America's most important strategic partner in the entire Middle East. Israel, the only dependable, the only democracy in that sea of dictatorships and totalitarians; Israel, America's forward battleship of military intelligence and co-development of missile defense systems.

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Israel, on the front lines of democracy in a world of terror. But America does not give up its friends when confronted by terrorism or threats or blackmail. So that America will never abandon Israel is the first condition, and the world has got to know that.

Number two, America has to convince the world, and the world has got to understand, just as the United Nations in 1948 and the United States and the Soviet Union and all the countries of the world agreed, this shall be a Jewish State, the State of Israel, surrounded by states ruled by other religions, but this shall be a Jewish state. So today Israel will be and shall always be a Jewish state, albeit tiny, almost infinitesimal in the Middle East.

Finally, the third condition of the United States never abandoning Israel, Israel always being regarded as a Jewish state, but the third element, to paraphrase former Israeli Prime Minister

Golda Meir, the Palestinians have to accept responsibility for their own statelessness. The Palestinians have to love their children and love the idea that they can have their own country more than the Palestinians hate the thought of living next to a Jewish state in an otherwise Arabian Middle East.

Once those three conditions are met, the parties can go to the negotiating table. The Israelis have already over the years, with whoever has agreed to sit down with them, generally, for peace, Israel makes trades, land for peace. They did it with Egypt in wars of defense. Israel conquered the Sinai when Egypt kept attacking year after year. In exchange for peace, Israel gave up the Sinai, all of it, back to Egypt. The same with Jordan. They made peace with Jordan and established mutually agreed-upon borders. And they have made other concessions as well. Even in Lebanon when they had to invade Lebanon because they were being rocketed by Lebanon, they withdrew to internationally accepted borders in Lebanon.

So is Israel prepared to make concessions, land for peace, even with armies and peoples who despise them and try to drive them into the sea and put their children to death for 50 years? They are ready to make that decision. But what is missing? What is missing is a Palestinian leadership that is ready to live in peace next to a Jewish state, the only Jewish state in the world, the one established by the U.N. in 1948, the State of Israel. If the Palestinian leadership continues to demand that Israel be obliterated, even though it was established in 1948 at the same time as all of these other countries, the middle of the 20th century. Israel is no stranger to statehood. When we compare to it Syria, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, they all came about the same time. When the Palestinians elect a leadership ready to make peace with Israel, Israel will make that peace.

But finally, what do we ask of the Israelis now, when Yasar Arafat encourages in Arabic and in English his people to be martyrs, to blow themselves up in restaurants and religious observances? We say, do what America will do and is doing now. Fight for your lives. Fight for your children. Do not care what the world has to say. You defend yourself, protect your people. People say to get the Israelis to withdraw now before they finish rooting out terrorists from the areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority, that would be like someone saying to us in America, leave Afghanistan right now. After all, you have substantially done much of what you wanted to do. Leave it now. And also, America, by the way, even though there are al Qaeda terrorist cells in 60 countries around the world, terrorist cells plotting to overthrow the United States or cause additional terrorist attacks on innocent American civilians, they say, America, leave

those 60 countries. Do not pursue these terrorists. You have already made too many waves. What would we Americans say to that? Tell them to go jump in a lake, or perhaps in stronger language, we would tell them, we are going to get these people who killed our innocent men, women, and children.

By the way, these people do not ask us for anything, just like the Palestinians do not want to negotiate. They want the end of Israel, this present Palestinian leadership. Al Qaeda does not want to negotiate with America; they want to destroy America. When the Palestinian people understand that America will never bend on Israel, that Israel will always be a Jewish state, and that they are ready to live in peace next to the Jewish State of Israel, albeit in a sea of Arab nations, then the Palestinian people will get what all of Israel's neighbors have gotten: peace with Israel. Until then, America must stand up for Israel, its number one ally in the Middle East.

If we look at the U.N.'s voting record, of all of the nations in the Middle East, Israel is at the very top supporting the United States of America. If we were to abandon Israel now or tell Israel not to finish rooting out the terrorists, it would be as if we were saying, it is possible for terrorists and suicide bombers to blackmail people of goodwill, people who live in democracies. It is possible for them to stop us from defending ourselves and our own families. We will not do that as Americans. We would not let anyone do it to us, so we shall not and will not let anyone do it to our number one ally in the Middle East, the State of Israel, the region's only democracy, our best friend in the region for 50 years, our strategic military and cultural partner for 50 years, this tiny little courageous democracy, the State of Israel.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

We have had a great deal of discussion about Chairman Arafat specifically and the interest to try to resolve the conflict. One of the things which has been pointed out by several of my colleagues is the Camp David agreement, where literally, Israel put on the table an offer which was far beyond any of the so-called red lines that Israel had ever talked about before, giving up the vast sections of Jerusalem, an independent state, giving up 98 percent of the area in the West Bank and Gaza and, in fact, equalizing the area, the other 2 percent, far beyond, actually the Temple Mount itself, the holiest place to Jews in the entire world. Literally, an offer on the table that was far beyond anything that any Israeli leader had ever talked about; in fact, something which, for those who follow Israeli politics understand could never have been approved by the Israeli Knesset. And Prime Minister Barak had actually said this and was ready to bring that proposal to the Israeli people, effectively a plebiscite, and it was

unclear whether it would have passed, but it probably would have passed. When that offer was made and even enhanced at the Taba discussions, it was rejected by Chairman Arafat and the Palestinians.

In any negotiation, and I ask people to think about their own lives and their own interactions with people, in any negotiation, if someone made what you know is your bottom, bottom, bottom line, you know that you cannot possibly, under any circumstances go further, and the person on the other side of the table rejects that, can you actually believe that there is any possibility for an agreement with that person?

When Prime Minister Sharon has talked about this war as a war of Israel's survival and Israel's war of independence, I think there are some real points that lead to that; and that has also been a theme for most, in fact probably all, of the speakers at some level this evening, that there is still to this day not an acceptance by Chairman Arafat and by many Palestinians of Israel's, literally, their right to exist.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a minute?

Mr. DEUTSCH. I am happy to yield.

Mr. ROTHMAN. There are some of my dear friends and people I have never met who have asked me, Steve, how long is this going to take? It is so disturbing to see people being killed, the cameras recording warfare. And I say this: America fought the Soviet Union for decades. We had thousands of nuclear missiles pointed at us for decades. We did not give up. We should not give up on our war against al Qaeda until we are certain that we have them on the run, until we are protected. We should not give up on Israel. We should allow Israel to take the time Israel needs to make its people safe. Because do we know what will happen? Once the world understands that America will not give up Israel, that Israel will always be around as a Jewish state, and that it is the Palestinian people's own interest to live in peace and freedom next to Israel, then we can give the Palestinian people what we want for all people: peace and a good life. But they must have leaders who will say in English and in Arabic to themselves and the world, we are ready to live next to the Jewish State of Israel in peace. When that happens, as history has pointed out, they will sit at the negotiating table directly with Israel, and they will get a peace that they can live with, that Israel can live with, and we will have a new era. But until they are ready to have that kind of Palestinian leadership, Israel must do everything it needs to do to keep its people safe, as we expect our government to keep us safe from al Qaeda.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Let me again mention a follow-up to that point directly. The modern State of Israel, as the gentleman pointed out on his chart, is 54 years old, and there are still many in



the Palestinian community who again do not accept Israel's right literally to exist, want Israel to be destroyed, and for many in the Palestinian community, Israel is viewed no differently than the crusaders who took 150 years for the crusaders to leave. It is only a third of the way to that time frame.

But I think for those of us who understand the history of the State of Israel, it is not crusaders. I think part of what is going on now, and we can see it ourselves on TV or read about it, is that the Jews that are there are not leaving. This is a permanent home. This is not a temporary home. This is not a way station for the Jewish people; this is a permanent residence. I think when the Palestinians understand that, and I think that they will understand it, maybe they will not understand it this week or this month or maybe even this year or maybe even this decade, but when they understand that, the peace that the gentleman talked about that was on the table at Camp David will be an accepted peace.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, if I could make one final comment, I know the gentleman from Georgia wanted to make additional comments as well. What the American people should be doing and the American Government is saying to the Palestinian people and all of the other Arab nations is the following: get a new leadership in the Palestinian Authority who will be ready to accept living in their own state next to the Jewish State of Israel. When the Arab world forces that upon the Palestinian leadership, then we can have what we want for the Jews and the Palestinians together, to live together in peace. Until then, it breaks my heart that the Palestinians are suffering at the hands of their own misguided leaders who, even after 54 years, will not accept the existence of the State of Israel.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield the last moments of my time and, hopefully, he will be able to claim some of his own time, to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, let me yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. WEINER), because I know he wanted to make a comment.

Mr. WEINER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I just wanted to comment on the points made by my colleagues about the expanse of time. We frequently get into the misguided notion that everything has to run on a 24-hour news cycle, that sometimes we see something unsettling and we think instantly it is going to change.

□ 2230

I would remind my colleagues and remind those viewing at home that the first several weeks of the campaign against terror, against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, we were all commenting, oh, my goodness, this does not seem to be working, this does not seem to be working; the terrorists seem to be sur-

viving. Then suddenly, almost overnight, there was a collapse of the terrorist infrastructure that has made us today a much safer country.

The same strategy is being pursued, although it was not their first choice, by the Israeli government. I think we make a mistake when we say, well, as unsettling as this is, it has to end tomorrow or the next day. It may take a while.

It is estimated that for every suicide bombing, it takes 40 individuals to make that bombing happen. There is the person that puts the bomb together, that figures out the lock, that locates the person who is going to do it, that makes the harness that goes around.

Destroying that infrastructure may take a little while. But the only way to do it is not to look at what is going to be on tomorrow's television, but to think about how we do it in the context of a military operation against a very difficult foe to catch.

When we watch those images, and they are unsettling, there is nobody in Israel, I can say almost to a person, who thinks this is a desirable way to go, but it is the only way to catch them where they are. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. ROTHMAN. To build on that last point, by the way, it is important to remember that while we were at war, the Cold War, but nonetheless a very dangerous war with the Soviet Union for 50 years, we are now friends with Russia. We had a terrible world war against the Germans and Japanese, terrible losses of life, lasting years. Now we are best friends. We had a revolution against the British and now we are best friends.

There is no reason, once this effort to rout out terrorists concludes, that the Israelis and Palestinians cannot be friends.

#### REQUIREMENTS FOR PEACE WITH ISRAEL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FLAKE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN), to let him finish his comments.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my dear friend, the gentleman from Georgia, for yielding.

All is not lost. We should not lose hope. As heartbreaking as it is to see these terrible images on our television, and we wonder what is going to happen, some things take time. But we have to do them right.

Sometimes our friends are put in very dangerous, difficult positions. We do not abandon our friends. To have a friend, as my dad used to say, you must be a friend. If we step away from our friend, Israel, after a friendship of an unparalleled kind for 50 years, what

does that say about us? What does that say when we go looking to the world for our friends to help us?

We cannot abandon Israel. Stand with Israel. Let Israel carry the day and rout out these terrorists. Let us get a just peace between the Israelis and Palestinians.

If the Palestinians ever put together a leadership, because the other Arab nations force them, or they on their own demand it of their own leaders, if they put together a leadership that is committed to living in peace next to the Jewish state of Israel in their own state of Palestine, then but only then will the Palestinians have what they want, which is their own state.

It is up to the Palestinians, and it is up to their Arab brothers and sisters to make them realize that they cannot continue to reject the offer of peace and statehood that Israel and the world has been making to them since 1947.

Mr. DEUTSCH. If the gentleman would yield, I think one of the interesting things also, as we enter a dialogue stage this evening, it is important to note that the gentleman's comments were so much on point regarding the leadership of the Palestinians.

I think there has been a misplaced emphasis in many ways by this administration on calling Chairman Arafat the leader of the Palestinians. Let us be very specific. I think most Americans need to really understand this, that Chairman Arafat was elected, but what he did was he refused to have a reelection. His term of office ended in 2000.

All of us who are elected officials, we stand for election every 2 years, and in the Senate every 6 years, and the President every 4 years. I was an election observer. Some of us have participated in international election observation teams. I was an election observer this past year in Belarus, where the president of the country reelected himself. We do not recognize their government. Yet, our government says that Chairman Arafat is the chosen leader, when he chose not to have an election.

Mr. ROTHMAN. If I may, as far as I am concerned, the Palestinians need to take responsibility for choosing their own leaders. If they choose to call Yasser Arafat their leader, so be it. But that does not change what we as Americans must do.

We must say to the Palestinians, they have to put forth a leadership that announces in English and Arabic and to the world that they are ready to live in peace next to the Jewish state of Israel, something the Palestinians regrettably have refused to do, believing that they would intimidate, terrorize, or in other ways use the leverage of middle eastern oil to force America or Europe to make Israel weak enough so that they could finally, after 5 attempts to destroy Israel in five wars, they could finally destroy Israel.

What they are learning now is that Israel will not be defeated militarily or