

Gekas	LoBiondo	Royce
Gephardt	Lowey	Ryan (WI)
Gibbons	Lucas (KY)	Ryun (KS)
Gilchrest	Lucas (OK)	Sanchez
Gillmor	Luther	Sandlin
Gilman	Maloney (CT)	Saxton
Gonzalez	Maloney (NY)	Schaffer
Goode	Manzullo	Schakowsky
Goodlatte	Markey	Schiff
Gordon	Mascara	Schrock
Goss	Matheson	Scott
Graham	Matsui	Sensenbrenner
Granger	McCarthy (MO)	Sessions
Graves	McCarthy (NY)	Shadegg
Green (TX)	Green (TX)	Shaw
Green (WI)	McCrery	Shays
Greenwood	McGovern	Sherman
Grucci	McInnis	Sherwood
Gutierrez	McIntyre	Shimkus
Gutknecht	McKeon	Shows
Hall (TX)	McNulty	Shuster
Hansen	Meehan	Simmons
Harman	Meek (FL)	Simpson
Hart	Meeks (NY)	Skeen
Hastings (FL)	Menendez	Skelton
Hastings (WA)	Mica	Slaughter
Hayes	Miller, Dan	Smith (MI)
Hayworth	Miller, Gary	Smith (NJ)
Hefley	Miller, Jeff	Smith (TX)
Herger	Moore	Smith (WA)
Hill	Moran (KS)	Souder
Hilleary	Morella	Spratt
Hinojosa	Myrick	Stearns
Hobson	Nadler	Strickland
Hoefl	Napolitano	Stump
Holden	Neal	Stupak
Hooley	Nethercutt	Sununu
Horn	Ney	Sweeney
Hostettler	Northup	Tancred
Houghton	Nussle	Tanner
Hoyer	Ortiz	Tauscher
Hulshof	Osborne	Tauzin
Hunter	Ose	Taylor (NC)
Hyde	Otter	Terry
Isakson	Owens	Thomas
Israel	Oxley	Thornberry
Jackson-Lee	Pallone	Thune
(TX)	Pascrell	Thurman
Johnson (CT)	Pastor	Tiahrt
Johnson (IL)	Paul	Tiberi
Johnson, Sam	Pelosi	Toomey
Jones (NC)	Pence	Towns
Kanjorski	Peterson (PA)	Turner
Keller	Phelps	Udall (NM)
Kelly	Pickering	Upton
Kennedy (MN)	Pitts	Velazquez
Kennedy (RI)	Platts	Visclosky
Kerns	Pombo	Vitter
King (NY)	Pomeroy	Walden
Kingston	Portman	Walsh
Kirk	Pryce (OH)	Watkins (OK)
Knollenberg	Putnam	Watson (CA)
Kolbe	Quinn	Watts (OK)
LaFalce	Radanovich	Waxman
LaHood	Ramstad	Weiner
Lampson	Rangel	Weldon (FL)
Langevin	Regula	Weldon (PA)
Lantos	Rehberg	Weller
Larsen (WA)	Reyes	Wexler
Larson (CT)	Reynolds	Whitfield
Latham	Rodriguez	Wicker
LaTourette	Roemer	Wilson (NM)
Leach	Rogers (KY)	Wilson (SC)
Levin	Rogers (MI)	Wolf
Lewis (CA)	Rohrabacher	Wu
Lewis (GA)	Ross	Wynn
Lewis (KY)	Rothman	Young (AK)

NOES—76

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

Rush	Solis	Udall (CO)
Sabo	Stark	Waters
Sanders	Stenholm	Watt (NC)
Sawyer	Taylor (MS)	Woolsey
Serrano	Thompson (CA)	
Snyder	Tierney	

NOT VOTING—29

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

□ 1500

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1500

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

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

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 392

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime”;

Whereas President Bush recently stated that he “fully understands Israel’s need to defend herself” and that he “respect(s)” the fact that Israelis have “seen a wave of suicide bombers coming to the heart of their cities and killing innocent people”;

Whereas President Bush, in his speech of April 4, 2002, stated that “the situation in which he [Arafat] finds himself today is largely of his own making”; that Arafat “missed his opportunities, and thereby betrayed the hopes of the people he’s supposed to lead”; and that, [g]iven his [Arafat’s] failure, the Israeli Government feels it must strike at terrorist networks that are killing its citizens”;

Whereas Israel’s military operations are an effort to defend itself against the unspeakable horrors of ongoing terrorism and are aimed only at dismantling the terrorist infrastructure in the Palestinian areas, an obligation Arafat himself undertook but failed to carry out; and

Whereas the process of Israeli withdrawal is nearly complete: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) stands in solidarity with Israel as it takes necessary steps to provide security to its people by dismantling the terrorist infrastructure in the Palestinian areas;

(2) remains committed to Israel’s right to self-defense and supports additional United States assistance to help Israel defend itself;

(3) condemns the recent wave of Palestinian suicide bombings;

(4) condemns the ongoing support of terror by Yasir Arafat and others members of the Palestinian leadership;

(5) demand that the Palestinian Authority at last fulfill its commitment to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in the Palestinian areas, including any such infrastructure associated with PLO and Palestinian Authority entities tied directly to Yasir Arafat;

(6) is gravely concerned that Arafat’s actions are not those of a viable partner for peace;

(7) urges all Arab states to declare their unqualified opposition to all forms of terrorism, including suicide bombing;

(8) commends the President for his leadership in addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly the efforts of the Administration to engage countries throughout the region to condemn and prevent terrorism and to prevent a widening of the conflict;

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

(10) encourages the international community to take action to alleviate the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). Pursuant to House Resolution 404, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 30 minutes.

For what purpose does the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) rise?

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution and request half of the time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) opposed to the resolution?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, no, I am not. I strongly support the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XV, the gen-

tleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) will control the time in opposition to the motion.

The Chairs recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for 30 minutes.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield half of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and ask unanimous consent that he may be permitted to control that time.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) will control 15 minutes.

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

Mr. Speaker, I support the pending resolution offered by my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) and by many of our colleagues.

For a moment, Mr. Speaker, put yourself in the position of the Prime Minister of Israel and more importantly in the position of the mothers and fathers of Israel. And I speak of Jews and Arabs, for both have been victims. Having concluded an agreement under which the parties foreswore the use of force to settle political disputes, you are suddenly subject to violent acts, including eventually the nearly daily horror of homicide bombings. You realize those acts are not opposed and actually seem to be supported by the leadership on the Palestine side.

What are you to do? You just take action to defend yourself, your people, your children; and that is what Israel did and the American people support it. We must, of course, think beyond the current situation.

The administration has done a good job at diffusing this crisis and minimizing the loss of life, but now they must arrive at a method to determine once and for all if Chairman Arafat, given sufficient pressure and incentive, can exert the required leadership. If not, someone with authority must take his place; but for now he is the leader of the Palestinian people and for their sake, if not his, we must go the extra mile. This will require a reconstruction on democratic grounds of the Palestinian Authority, a new deal for the Palestine people from their leaders. Good government, open markets, not corruption, cronyism and monopolies must prevail in the Palestinian areas.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and I have now determined that we must add to the political and

security steps that are part of the administration’s plans. We must add an economic component to provide a prospect of a better life for the people of the region. A new Marshall Plan is needed to provide stability in the region, and I hope to develop a proposal in the near future with the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

The leadership of President Bush has been enormously helpful; and I am proud that he, the Congress, and the American people are standing up for our friends in the Middle East at this crucial moment in its history.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Democratic leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT).

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, with this resolution today the House of Representatives is standing in solidarity with the people of Israel and for peace in the Middle East. We are defending a people, a democracy, and a friend that shares our commitment to the universal values cherished by all human beings in the world.

Since 1948, America has stood with Israel when Harry Truman rejected the advice of his staff and formally recognized Israel as a sovereign nation. Since that time Israel’s strength and America’s leadership have been essential in advancing these goals. We cannot stand on the sidelines as Israel’s security and the prospect of peace are undermined.

We must not waiver in our commitment to those, Arab and Israeli alike, who have chosen the path of peace.

A few months ago I visited the Middle East and saw firsthand that Israel is in a moment of great danger. Over the past several months Israel has endured terrorist attacks unrelenting in frequency and severity. In the past 18 months, more than 450 Israelis have been killed and over 4,000 have been wounded in attacks. For a country the size of Israel, these numbers are staggering. Proportionally, this equates to more than 21,000 American deaths and over 200,000 American injuries. Yet the Israeli people remain strong, and they remain determined to increase their security and pursue a lasting peace in the region.

The American people are also committed to these goals: first, to preserve and strengthen Israel’s security; second, to help Israel and its neighbors end the violence and the threats posed by terrorism; third, to resume a dialogue among those committed to a just and lasting peace for all. This is not an issue that politics should infect.

What is important here is that Americans stand together and be bipartisan, and that the administration and the Congress speak with one voice as much as humanly possible on this issue.

We must continue to lead efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East.

We are committed to the vision of two independent states living side by side in peace, security and prosperity. We seek a resolution of the conflict between Israel and all of its neighbors. We recognize the humanitarian needs of all people in the region, and we support efforts to address these needs.

This is an important issue for the security of every human being in America, everybody in the Middle East and maybe everybody in the world. With this resolution we will stand by Israel, we will stand for peace, and we will stand for a future that brings peace and prosperity to all of the people of the Middle East.

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

Mr. Speaker, this is probably the most political nonpartisan resolution in the history of Congress. I have every bit of empathy and concern for those innocent Israelis that have lost their lives. And the statistics in the resolution, they have been demonstrated here today; but no mention has been made of the innocent Palestinians that have been killed by Israeli forces and settlers. In terms of U.S. numbers, this amounts to more than 30,000 dead, 120,000 wounded and maimed.

So let us look at this issue in a balanced approach. Let us send a balanced message to the Middle East. The tens of thousands of Americans that have come to our Nation's capital demonstrating on both sides, Israelis have come, Palestinians have come, they need to see that Washington and the Congress is balanced in our efforts here.

Neither side has fulfilled their agreements under Oslo. Let us get that straight. You have heard the attacks against Arafat. Sure he has not fulfilled them. Neither have the Israelis. Neither side, neither side is an angel here. Neither side is an angel. Let us get that on the record perfectly clear as well.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL).

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

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, we have seen this resolution or one very like it before. The same thoughts that we saw before we see before us today, and that is that this is not a balanced resolution. It is not in the interests of Israel. It is not in the interests of the Palestinian people, and it is not in the interest of the United States. It is simply a denunciation of the Palestinians, and it does nothing to set out a picture of balance as the position of the United States.

It is time the United States recognizes something. Our commitment, and I am a part of that, to Israel for its continued existence requires that there be peace in the Middle East, and it requires that the United States function as an honest broker and as a friend to all parties and to all countries in that

area. We can and we should and we do and we denounce terrorism. It is wrong.

But this denunciation of terrorism is not the kind of mechanism that will bring peace. It does not posture the United States as a friend to all. It does not posture the United States as an honest broker seeking to defend the interests of peace and to establish a place and a climate in which Israelis and Israel and Palestinians and a Palestinian state may live at peace. It simply takes one side. That is no way to get ourselves in the position of being an honest broker.

I would like to read something that was said by a man wiser than I and wiser than most of us here. He said this: "I truly tell you, we have before us today an opportunity for peace which time will never repeat and we must seize if we are really serious in struggling for peace. If we weaken or fritter away this opportunity we shall end in a new blood-bath. He who has conspired to lose it will have the curse of humanity and history upon his head."

These are the words that Anwar Sadat spoke to the Israeli Knesset in 1977. I would remind you that Sadat, like Yitzak Rabin, paid the highest price for his search for peace.

I would tell you that until the United States recognizes the need for us and this country to function as an honest broker for peace, there will be no peace, there will be no security for Israel, there will be no security for the Palestinians and no security for the United States.

Mr. Speaker, today we are debating yet another irresponsible Congressional resolution that does absolutely nothing to help end the violence that plagues the Israeli and Palestinian people. I rise in opposition to this resolution, which at a very delicate time undermines the Bush Administration's efforts to ease tensions, end violence, and bring about a fair peace that will be acceptable and beneficial to Israelis and Palestinians. This resolution sends exactly the wrong signal at this perilous time. It will only further fan the flames of violence, increase regional instability, and compromises our war on terrorism.

With American forces engaged in battle, the Administration needs Congress to support its diplomatic efforts, particularly the effort to bring about peace in Israel and the Occupied Territories. The Administration needs Congress to support its efforts to engage both the Israelis and Palestinians as an honest broker that sees the death of any innocent human being as a tragedy and threat to the long-term interests of the parties involved, our regional allies, and the United States. Congress must stand for peace, for it is peace along that will benefit Israel, Palestine, and the United States. The Administration does not need Congress to pass one-sided, proactive measures that undermine U.S. diplomacy and our ability to address this problem, which has proven to be a cancer on Israel, Palestine, the region, and U.S. diplomacy.

Consistent and fair U.S. leadership is critical to proving Israel security and allowing the Palestinian people to live with dignity, and is the

best and perhaps only viable hope for reducing bloodshed. As bad as the situation is today, there are rays of hope that we must not block. We have an opportunity for peace, and numerous diplomatic initiatives—based on U.S. leadership and building on the Mitchell Committee Report, the Tenet plan, and the Saudi Proposal—that must move forward. These measures could prevent the widening of this conflict into a war in which there will not be a winner regardless of military outcome.

Passage of H. Res. 392 will undermine the Administration, diminish U.S. leverage with the Palestinians, and further damage U.S. credibility in the region. If the U.S. fails to act as a peace proponent now, there will most certainly be a leadership vacuum in the region. This will hurt our allies, including Israel.

Mr. Speaker, what is the vision of the Administration? Secretary Colin Powell said that is to build, "a region where Israelis and Arabs can live together in peace, security, and dignity." To do this he noted that both parties must take steps, some painful, in order to reach a just conclusion to this conflict. H. Res. 392 does not embody this vision, and it does not embody peace.

Why aren't we debating H. Con. Res. 253, a bill I introduced that endorses the Mitchell Commission recommendations? Why aren't we debating H. Res. 394, which my colleague from Oregon, Mr. DEFAZIO, introduced? Why aren't we debating H. Res. 382, that my friend ALCEE HASTINGS introduced? All these bills are balanced, and urge a peaceful settlement to the ongoing conflict that is endangering the region and the world. Why aren't we urging the parties to work with the Administration to end the violence and make peace?

Let me read you a statement made from a man wiser than I:

I truly tell you: we have before us today an opportunity for peace which time will never repeat and we must seize it if we are really serious in struggling for peace. If we weaken or fritter away this opportunity we shall end in a new blood-bath; he who has conspired to lose it will have the curse of humanity and history on his head.

Mr. Speaker, these are the words Anwar Sadat spoke to the Israeli Knesset in 1977. Sadat, like Yitzak Rabin, paid the highest personal price for peace. Let us remember these words and these brave men, and champion efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace. Let's be on the right side of history. Vote down this resolution, and support the Administration's efforts to solve this conflict and bring peace to this troubled land.

□ 1515

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

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

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 392 in expressing America's solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism, and I commend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) for his leadership and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking minority member of our committee,

for their cosponsorship of this resolution which makes several significant policy statements.

The PLO and Chairman Arafat have long been suspected, but it was only recently made clear that they were engaged in an organized deliberate campaign of terror aimed at inflicting as many casualties as possible on the Israeli population by their suicide bombings. It is obvious that Mr. Arafat has not been any partner for peace.

The amount of illegal weapons seized from the Palestinians by the Israelis is decisive evidence of their warlike intentions. Moreover, Mr. Arafat has continued to incite terror by stating with regard to the Passover massacre suicide bomber, "Oh God, give me a martyrdom like this."

This proposal concludes that Mr. Arafat and the Palestinian Authority have failed to abide by their commitments, pursued an ongoing terrorism campaign against the State of Israel. The Passover massacre was perpetrated by a terrorist whom Israel had previously had called on Mr. Arafat to arrest.

This resolution, which I am pleased to cosponsor, maintains its firm commitment to Israel's right of self-defense. Mr. Speaker, political disputes can only be solved through negotiation, through compromise and the building of trust and not by violence and certainly not by suicide bombings.

Accordingly, I strongly urge support of H. Res. 392, and I urge my colleagues to fully support this measure.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

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

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I have always been a strong supporter of the State of Israel, the people of Israel, and their need to live in peace behind secure borders, enjoying normal relations with their neighbors and the world.

I am an equally strong supporter of the rights of the Palestinian people to live in peace in their own state, behind secure borders, enjoying normal relations with their neighbors and the world.

I agree with the sponsors of this resolution that the recent spate of Palestinian suicide bombings of Israeli civilians is horrific, and deserves condemnation. We must stand united against terrorism, in all its forms.

However, I am concerned with some of the deficiencies of this resolution.

President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell are exerting great efforts to move the Middle East peace process forward. The United States is the only country that has the resources, the will, and the influence with both sides to help bring them to a peaceful solution.

Both President Bush and Secretary Powell have raised questions about the effect of this resolution.

The Congress should rightly praise the President's peace efforts. But we should also encourage the Arab countries to embrace the

Saudi peace proposal for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, coupled with a complete recognition and acceptance by the Arab countries of Israel's right to secure borders and normal relations with her neighbors.

It is also unfortunate that the sponsors of the resolution did not insert language sought by the Bush White House that would acknowledge the suffering of the Palestinian people.

Peace will not come to this region until both sides are willing to give up some of their maximal goals, including the questions of refugees and settlements. And it means both sides must be invested in the success of the peace process and in maintaining peaceful relations between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

Mr. Speaker, I will vote for H. Res. 392, despite its deficiencies as a way of expressing solidarity with the people of Israel during a time of strife. But we must never lose sight of the need to also acknowledge the suffering and the political rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, in the last 18 months we have watched while nearly 400 Israelis, mostly civilians, have died in the violence in the Middle East. We have watched the escalation that has cost so many Palestinians their lives in a senseless intifada. We seek an end to violence and we ask for peace to all the people of the Middle East.

The established Palestinian leadership cannot decide on which side of the line they stand, but this is a moral line that one cannot straddle in pursuit of political goals. Whether or not they ordered the terrorists into action or whether they turned a blind eye, it is they who are responsible for the violence that kills the innocent and kills the young people who are suicide bombers today.

Israel is not perfect, but I believe that Israel does not wage war on innocents. Israel knows that there is no compromise with terrorism.

America lost its innocence after September 11, and that caused us again to view and understand of the forces of evil that can threaten our survival. There is no more important moment for solidarity. With only 6 million people in the preciously small place, Israel needs our voice. Our solidarity is borne of our common instinctive response to that September 11 attack. With this resolution, we renew the solidarity in a common cause.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from West Virginia for yielding me the time.

I am going to enter into the RECORD at this point a statement by Desmond Tutu, who asks for a balance for peace and a way to bring peace together.

[From the Guardian, Apr. 29, 2002]

APARTHEID IN THE HOLY LAND

(By Desmond Tutu)

In our struggle against apartheid, the great supporters were Jewish people. They almost instinctively had to be on the side of the disenfranchised, of the voiceless ones, fighting injustice, oppression and evil. I have continued to feel strongly with the Jews. I am patron of a holocaust center in South Africa. I believe Israel has a right to secure borders.

What is not so understandable, not justified, is what it did to another people to guarantee its existence. I've been very deeply distressed in my visit to the Holy Land; it reminded me so much of what happened to us black people in South Africa. I have seen the humiliation of the Palestinians at checkpoints and roadblocks, suffering like us when young white police officers prevented us from moving about.

On one of my visits to the Holy Land I drove to a church with the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem. I could hear tears in his voice as he pointed to Jewish settlements. I thought of the desire of Israelis for security. But what of the Palestinians who have lost their land and homes?

I have experienced Palestinians pointing to what were their homes, now occupied by Jewish Israelis. I was walking with Canon Naim Ateek (the head of the Sabeel Ecumenical Centre) in Jerusalem. He pointed and said: "Our home was over there. We were driven out of our home; it is now occupied by Israeli Jews."

My heart aches. I say why are our memories so short. Have our Jewish sisters and brothers forgotten their humiliation? Have they forgotten the collective punishment, the home demolitions, in their own history so soon? Have they turned their backs on their profound and noble religious traditions? Have they forgotten that God cares deeply about the downtrodden?

Israel will never get true security and safety through oppressing another people. A true peace can ultimately be built only on justice. We condemn the violence of suicide bombers, and we condemn the corruption of young minds taught hatred; but we also condemn the violence of military incursions in the occupied lands, and the inhumanity that won't let ambulances reach the injured.

The military action of recent days, I predict with certainty, will not provide the security and peace Israelis want; it will only intensify the hatred.

Israel has three options: revert to the previous stalemated situation; exterminate all Palestinians; or—I hope—to strive for peace based on justice, based on withdrawal from all the occupied territories, and the establishment of a viable Palestinian state on those territories side by side with Israel, both with secure borders.

We in South Africa had a relatively peaceful transition. If our madness could end as it did, it must be possible to do the same everywhere else in the world. If peace could come to South Africa, surely it can come to the Holy Land?

My brother Naim Ateek has said what we used to say: "I am not pro-this people or that. I am pro-justice, pro-freedom. I am anti-injustice, anti-oppression."

But you know as well as I do that, somehow, the Israeli government is placed on a pedestal [in the US], and to criticize it is to be immediately dubbed anti-semitic, as if the Palestinians were not semitic. I am not even anti-white, despite the madness of that group. And how did it come about that Israel was collaborating with the apartheid government on security measures?

People are scared in this country [the US], to say wrong is wrong because the Jewish

lobby is powerful—very powerful. Well, so what? For goodness sake, this is God's world! We live in a moral universe. The apartheid government was very powerful, but today it no longer exists. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Pinochet, Milosevic, and Idi Amin were all powerful, but in the end they bit the dust.

Injustice and oppression will never prevail. Those who are powerful have to remember the litmus test that God gives to the powerful: what is your treatment of the poor, the hungry, the voiceless? And on the basis of that, God passes judgment.

We should put out a clarion call to the government of the people of Israel, to the Palestinian people and say: peace is possible, peace based on justice is possible. We will do all we can to assist you to achieve this peace, because it is God's dream, and you will be able to live amicably together as sisters and brothers.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), a member of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, Oh, little town of Bethlehem, we witness and we cry, Israelis and Palestinians, both practice eye for eye.

Made blind by rage and terror, they make a just God cry, and crush the hopes of all the years while still more children die.

Our senators and congressmen produce a rash appeal, selective words of blame are used, instead of words that heal.

Put politics and word games before the cause of peace and make it still more difficult to bring the region peace.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. COBLE).

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for yielding the time to me.

I have been in the People's House, Mr. Speaker, for nine terms, and during each term, peace in the Middle East has been debated at length. Here we are again today.

I care not who speaks for Israel or for the PLO, but I do care who rejects terrorism and who embraces it. We cannot stand idly by and see innocent persons slain day after day. This peace process must be driven by reason, not anger and hostility.

Israel has demonstrated that it can live in peace with its Arab neighbors, and reasonable men and women representing each side of this conflict should formulate a peace plan whereby bloodshed in the Middle East becomes a sordid plank of the past, and peace, an ingredient that sweeps across the Middle East, to be enjoyed by Israelis as well as Palestinians.

This should be our prayer.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY).

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this important resolution. On September 11, raw, cold blooded terror exploded in the United States of America, the type of terror that Israelis know far too well.

Here in the United States we point to one single day, September 11, and re-

member the unspeakable carnage and terror. Israelis cannot point to one single day of terror because they live with terror every single day.

As someone who lost a family member on September 11, each time a homicide bomber attacks a cafe in Israel, it reawakens my grief and my anger, and I know the impact of each explosion is felt in the hearts and minds of every single American.

Israel and the United States are fighting the same enemy. Our enemies have different faces but a common objective.

The U.S. has found it easy to identify our enemy but often difficult to identify our true friends. A friend is someone with whom one shares a common cause and struggle. Our cause is peace and our friend is Israel.

It is time to stand up and speak with one resolute voice and say, Israel, we are in this together.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, is there anyone in this body or Nation that does not know that the U.S. government is friendly with Israel and supports their cause? Now, I would ask the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman, why were there no hearings? I would ask the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, why were there no hearings?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONYERS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I will be delighted to respond to the gentleman.

There was no reason for the lack of hearings. This issue has been discussed ad nauseam and ad infinitum, and the tragedy which is unfolding in the area compelled us to move expeditiously. We will be delighted to have extended hearings, as I am sure the Chairman plans, on the whole issue of peace in the Middle East.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, as my ranking member and friend knows, we are trying to construct an environment that we can talk about this matter among ourselves and that there needs to be a national dialogue around the country.

I have talked with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) about it, to which he has agreed. I have talked with the senior Senators from Delaware, North Dakota, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL), and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

Here is what Martin Luther King said, "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny."

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted and proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), our distinguished Democratic whip, and my friend and neighbor.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, today as we are engaged in this very sad and difficult debate on this floor of the House, there is an ongoing tragedy in the Middle East, and indeed, we mourn the loss of life on both sides of the conflict.

Yes, the U.S. and Israel have had an unbreakable friendship based on our shared commitment to peace, stability and democracy. A secure Israel can only prevail if there is peace in the Middle East.

Less than 2 years ago, Israeli and Palestinian leaders met at Camp David, and we were hopeful of an agreement that all issues of permanent status, including the establishment of a Palestinian state and a secure State of Israel would be resolved.

Prime Minister Barak made a generous and historic proposal. Chairman Arafat missed that historic opportunity when he failed to seize it and to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis.

We must return to that effort sooner rather than later. Neither Israel nor the Palestinians can afford to abandon the search for peace.

The United States must lead at this critical time. We know that when the United States is involved, there is less violence in the Middle East.

Terrorism and suicide bombings must not be the price that is paid for a free society. The goal of terrorists is to instill fear. They kill not just to destroy lives but to change the way people live and the way a country thrives.

In order to build a better future for his people, Chairman Arafat must become a viable partner for peace. It is only through honest negotiations, not through violence, that the Palestinians can achieve their goal, which most of us support, the creation of a Palestinian state.

That is why I am pleased that the resolution before us today calls for the international community to provide humanitarian assistance to Palestinians, and the United States must be a strong part of that. We must build upon the efforts of the heroes who have built the foundation for peace. We must honor the legacy of the martyr for peace, Prime Minister Rabin, and work for a secure Israel and for peace in the Middle East. As I said, that can only happen with a secure Palestinian state.

In the spirit of Rabin, we must be guided by his words, "No more bloodshed, no more tears."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has 9½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 10 minutes remaining. The gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) has 23½ minutes remaining.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I declare my support for the State of Israel and the security of the Israeli people. I

also declare my support for a Palestinian state and the security of a Palestinian people. So I will vote present today because I believe the security of Israel requires the security of the Palestinians.

I will vote present because I believe the United States can do better through honest brokering and a principled commitment to peaceful coexistence. Today we are missing an opportunity to lead people of the Middle East toward a secure and stable future together.

This resolution equates Israel's dilemma, which is the outcome of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, with the United States campaign against the criminal organization, al Qaeda. Unfortunately, our own policy is undefined, amorphous, without borders, without limits and without congressional oversight.

For this Congress to place the historic Israeli-Palestinian conflict into the context of the current fashion of U.S. global policy pitches, Israelis and Palestinians alike into a black hole of policy without purpose and conflict, without resolution.

The same humanity which requires us to acknowledge with profound concern the pain and suffering of the people of Israel requires a similar expression for the pain and suffering of the Palestinians. When our brothers and sisters are fighting to the death, instead of declaring solidarity with one against the other, should we not declare solidarity with both for peace so that both may live in security and freedom?

If we seek to require the Palestinians who do not have their own state to adhere to a higher standard of conduct, should we not also ask Israel with over a half century experience with Statehood to adhere to a basic standard of conduct, including meeting the requirements of international law?

There is a role for the Congress and the administration in helping to bring a lasting peace in the Middle East. However, this resolution does not create that role.

□ 1530

After today, we will still need to determine a course of action to bring about peace. This course will require multilateral diplomacy, which strengthens cooperation among all countries in the region. It will require focused, unwavering attention. It will require sufficient financial resources. And it will require that our Nation have the political will to bring about a true and a fair and sustainable resolution of the conflict.

When this Congress enters into the conflict and takes sides between Israel and Palestine, we do not help to achieve peace, but the opposite. Similarly, the administration should consider that when it conducts a war against terrorism without limits, the principle of war is quickened everywhere in the world, including the Mid-

dle East. When it talks incessantly about invading Iraq, the tempo of war is picked up everywhere.

If we truly want peace in the Middle East, this resolution is counter-productive. I will vote "present" because I do not believe this resolution dignifies the role towards creating peace which this Congress can and must fulfill.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN), my very learned colleague.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, September 11 showed Americans the results of the devastating effects of terrorism in our lives and communities. Sadly, citizens of Israel must deal with terrorism every day. The terrorists want to destroy Israel. As the only democracy in the Middle East, Israel embodies the ideals and virtues that we treasure as Americans.

Let us support the people of Israel. The peace will only come when Israel and its Arab neighbors come together and work out a realistic and honest agreement. For that to occur, acts of terrorism must end and Israel's right to exist in peace must be recognized and honored.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

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

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, today Israel faces an attack on its continued existence by those who reject a two-state solution. Now is the time for us to demonstrate our solidarity with those under terrorist attack. We should not be balanced between those who target civilians for death and those seeking to protect themselves from terror.

For those who thirst for balance, recognize that this resolution is but a drop in the bucket of world commentary, and this resolution will help balance, will help offset the rash of anti-Israel diatribes and anti-Semitic violence.

Some will disagree with the exact drafting of this or that clause in this resolution, but the world will little notice the exact text however. The vote total, will blaze in headlines worldwide. Let that vote total demonstrate that no one can drive a wedge between the United States and Israel, and no one can drive a wedge between Democrats and the pro-Israel community.

Vote yes!

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR).

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in the cause of peace and to express my concern about the content and the timing of this resolution, and I urge my colleagues to vote "present."

Just before we adjourned last year, I introduced House Resolution 328, a bill expressing the sense of Congress that during the holiday season peace should be America's top priority in the Middle

East. I was greatly disappointed, in fact I was shocked, that the leadership refused to bring up such a mild but hopeful bill on this floor. They never considered peace a priority.

The killing escalated over the holidays and into this year. What a corrosive impact this is having on the young minds of our world. If Congress truly wants to encourage peace, then let us do it constructively.

I agree with the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) that hundreds more innocent Israelis and Palestinians have died tragically in the ongoing violence. But his one-sided resolution will only fan the killing frenzy. It offers no encouragement for the Arab states to have a place at the peace table.

Israel cannot make peace alone. This resolution envisions no Palestinian state as key in the peace process. At its worst, I fear it represents crass domestic politics in this election year. By contrast, President Bush and Secretary Powell have both asked that Congress put this bill on hold.

Instead of supporting our ally, Israel, this resolution further endangers the delicate balance so necessary to bring peace to the entire region. Let us be a true partner for peace, not just with Israel but as well with the Arab states in the region, surely those that have suffered bloodshed in their common cause with Israel, for a just and lasting peace.

Mr. Speaker, a just peace process must be inclusive or it will not be sustained. America must stand for inclusion. I urge the Members to vote "present" on this resolution, and in this way we will demonstrate America's continuing support for Israel but also that this resolution is half-drawn and ill-timed.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON).

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I am going to support this resolution. There is no question about it. We have to support Israel, irrespective of what party is in charge. The people of Israel are our friends. In these horrible and dangerous times, we just cannot turn our back on them. They have to know we are there for them.

Having said that, I must admit that I think the timing of this resolution leaves a lot to be desired. Here we are at a point of high tension. Both Israelis and the Palestinians are wounded and desperate and looking to us for leadership. Secretary Powell has come back from his trip and Prince Abdullah has made his suggestions. As we sit here, the quartet, the U.S.-U.N., U.N.-EU, and the Russian Federation are hammering out some sort of resolution in the White House.

We must support Israel, but we must not turn our back against those on the other side, and they should know that, because our objective, primarily, has got to be peace.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution, in support of Israel, our best ally, with whom we have shared values; freedom of the press, freedom of speech. Israel is an outpost of western democracy in a sea of dictatorships and tyrants. If we, rightfully so, can go halfway around the world to combat terror in Afghanistan, surely Israel should be allowed to do the same in her own backyard.

For those who say the timing is wrong, the timing is right. Arafat has to know now that we will not allow him to use terror as a negotiating tool. The terror that has come out with the suicide bombers, three-quarters of those are affiliated with Arafat's Fateh group. We have to be consistent in the fight of against terrorism. No double standard. Because if we have a double standard, it undermines our fight against terrorism, and there is no moral equivalency between terrorism and self-defense.

People who say we should be more balanced, why is the rest of the world not balanced? The Arabs will understand and will make peace when they know that our bond with Israel is unshakable. And this resolution goes a long way in solidifying that bond.

We must vote "yes." Vote against terror, vote "yes" on the resolution.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO), a gentleman who has sponsored a very balanced resolution in this body.

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

When Yasir Arafat walked away from the peace agreement so painfully negotiated with President Clinton and Prime Minister Barak, he was recklessly irresponsible and not a leader in the interest of peace. He provided the fuel for the current endless, downward spiral of violence.

But when Ariel Sharon engaged in provocative foray to the Temple Mount to foster his political ambitions, he provided the spark that ignited the fuel of Arafat and the current violence. And his actions since then have only fanned the flames. These are not men who will lead to peace, neither of them.

The United States must stand tall as a powerful and honest broker of a balanced plan for peace. I believe that President Bush and Secretary of State Powell have made a strong and credible effort to bring an end to the violence and to begin a negotiated peace. They have offered a balanced plan. I have offered a resolution which mirrors their balanced plan. It will not be considered. It is not allowed to be debated. It will not be voted upon as an alternative. We only have this one resolu-

tion before us, which is totally slanted and biased and will only encourage more irresponsibility by Ariel Sharon.

I thought there was one thing that might turn the tide in this struggle, and it was a horrible tragedy in the end of March. Look at these two young women. They look like sisters. One, Ayat al-Akhras, 18, was a suicide bomber who killed Rachel Levy at the grocery store, age 17. I thought that both sides would be so appalled by this unbelievable tragedy and see the hopelessness of this that they might turn toward peace. But, no, that has not happened there.

Let that happen here, in the home of democracy and peace. Let us not have the United States Congress somewhere to the right of the Likud in Israel. Let us have the United States Congress stand up for the American people, for peace and democracy in the Middle East. And this resolution that we are being forced to vote on today will not lead us in that direction.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this resolution, with reservations. I will vote for it because the opposite perspective would be inexplicable. However, I have reservations on process and substantive grounds.

This resolution is pressed in this body at this time, without administration support and without review by the committee of jurisdiction, all apparently because of concern that the Senate might competitively address the issue before the House.

Substantively this resolution is unbalanced, untimely, and potentially counterproductive to the foreign policy interests of the United States and, implicitly, the viability of the State of Israel.

It is the case that this Congress must unequivocally support the existence of the state of Israel. This is a moral imperative. But if Israel is to provide security for its people, it must recognize that the Palestinian people, despite a leadership that has misruled it, have legitimate aspirations. There can be no security for either Israelis or Palestinians unless fair and equitable borders are established delineating both a Palestinian and Israeli state.

This resolution asserts a common U.S.-Israeli position on terrorism. The more difficult quid pro quo is to come: The expectation that if the United States and international community broker a credible peace agreement, the Knesset will seize the future and rise above the politics of the moment.

We in this body can express with ease, and perhaps too much glibness, rhetorical concerns of the nature contained in this bill. What will be quantumly more difficult is for the Knesset and the Palestinian Authority to reach an accord that can provide for a future of peace and stability. Parties

in the region simply must demonstrate more courage and more balanced judgment than this Congress is doing today.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, before yielding to my next speaker, to just point out to my colleague who equated a suicide bomber with a victim that that is precisely what this resolution is all about. There is no moral equivalence between a suicide bomber and an innocent victim of a suicide bomber. I find this analogy he portrayed sickening.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

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

With the passage of this resolution, we stand in solidarity with Israel and with her people, and offer our support and our sympathy. We are outraged by the use of terror against innocent civilians. It is time for the Arab leaders and the Palestinian leaders to completely renounce the use of terror, in word and in deed.

There is no moral equivalency, as my friend from California has said, between the use of terror against innocent civilians and with Israeli self-defense. There are simple truths here. Israel has the right to defend herself, and this country should not be putting limits on that right of self-defense.

I will join three of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, in a trip this weekend to Israel to demonstrate by our presence the solidarity and concern and support that this House will voice through a majority vote here today.

□ 1545

We stand with Israel. Our support is rock solid, and Israel will survive.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this resolution. This resolution blindly supports Israel's actions against the Palestinians and wholly denies the generations of suffering of the Palestinian people. This would be wrong at any time, but in light of what has happened at Jenin and Bethlehem, Ramallah, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Netanya, and what continues to happen today, this resolution is dangerous.

Like most Americans, I support Israel. However, just like most Americans, I do not support and will not support all of Israel's policies. Generations of Palestinians and Israelis have suffered in the region, but the violence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be examined or addressed in isolation of decades of occupation of millions of Palestinians.

Israeli suffering is something that this body understands and discusses. But what of the suffering of the Palestinian people? What of the history of

land confiscation, water rights, torture, settlements, collective punishments, home demolitions, curfews, administrative detentions, expulsions, child labor? Where is the language about the 1,000-plus Palestinians killed in the last 19 months, bodies found under rubble? Where is the language about the thousands made homeless by the bulldozers in Jenin alone? Where is the language about the relief agencies denied access to treat the sick and wounded? We know that relief agencies, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, were prevented from reaching and evacuating and treating the sick and wounded throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, resulting in untold deaths, from the mother who bled to death from a normally nonfatal wound in front of her children, to the couple buried alive under rubble for 8 days. The stories coming to light are horrific.

Rarely on this floor is there discussion of the nearly 420 Palestinian villages destroyed at the time of Israel's founding in 1948, or the 3.8 million refugees registered by the United Nations or the estimated 2 million others not registered. Palestinians live in 59 different recognized refugee camps in misery, in poverty, with no hope of a better future for the next generations that are born into those camps.

Can we know today what 38 percent employment in the West Bank or 75 percent unemployment in Gaza can do to a population? While we cling to the hope of peace that Oslo would bring, Palestinians saw a remarkable growth in settlements. As of February, Peace Now estimates the settlers' population at 230,000, having approximately doubled in the last 10 years under Oslo.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a good resolution. I encourage Members to vote against it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Nevada (Ms. BERKLEY).

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and as an advocate of a strong American-Israeli relationship. No country in the world is more familiar with what we Americans experienced on September 11 than is Israel.

There are those who object to Israel's actions of self-defense. I ask those Members, what is America doing in Afghanistan? Are Israeli victims of terror in some way different from American victims? Do Americans have a right to self-defense and Israelis a right to die? The peace process is dead because the Palestinians killed it. It is time for Yasir Arafat and the so-called Palestinian leadership to express their desire for a Palestinian state living peacefully next to Israel rather than a Palestinian state in the place of Israel; and they need to say it in English and Arabic.

The crisis in the Middle East has nothing to do with a Palestinian homeland. The Israelis have agreed to that long ago. It has everything to do with

the survival of the State of Israel, which the Palestinians have yet to recognize. This resolution sends a clear message to the supporters of terrorism and the enemies of Israel that America will never be an ally to those who commit terror.

Mr. Speaker, I ask all Members to support this resolution and stand, as this Member does, side by side with the people of the State of Israel.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE).

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

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, of course Israel has a right to a military response to this immoral terrorism. Of course we stand with Israel. But this resolution has a major omission: it is too weak for America. It does not cut the mustard for America because it does not allow America to fulfill its manifest destiny of the only hope in the world of a force for peace to be an honest broker to help find justice and peace in this region of the world.

It rightfully expresses our permanent, unalterable commitment to the security of a Jewish state in Israel, and it wrongfully excludes any reference, any reference of a recognition or even our interest in recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people for a viable state of their own. This is the national policy of the United States of America, but it was omitted from this resolution for partisan, political purposes.

We rightfully condemn suicide bombing, but we cannot blind ourselves to the reality that when the world's only superpower totally ignores one people, it cannot serve effectively to bring peace to the other. We owe the Israeli people more than blind obedience to any of their government's policies. We cannot be a blinded giant. We owe them honesty, and it is honest to say that a national policy of refusing to accept and recognize the legitimate right of Palestinians to a viable state is not a step on the road to peace. Ultimately there will be justice for both, or there will be peace for neither. We know that violence breeds when hope dies and both parties are blinded by hate. Only we can bring hope to this region.

Mr. Speaker, in doing so, we ought to give Israel the same love and assistance we would give our own brother. So as we would speak up when our brother makes a judgment as to his own harm, so we ought to speak out and say that the settlement policy on the West Bank is hurting Israel. In our acquiescence, our silence in this resolution hurts Israel and does not serve her true vision of high moral values for which we have always admired her.

Mr. Speaker, to make it abundantly clear what this debate is about, and I see the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has stepped out, I would ask the majority party: Would the majority leadership accept a unanimous consent

request to add to this resolution a simple sentence that would recognize the hope of the American people that both these parties can find viable states of their own, living in peace, one next to the other?

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. INSLEE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am not in a position to accept that statement at this time.

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, that is most regrettable because that is the aspiration of the American people and the world, and we ought to fulfill it.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that I must vote against this resolution, not for what it says, but for what it does not say. Of course I agree with the strong condemnation of Palestinian suicide bombings killing so many innocent Israeli civilians. Terrorism is utterly intolerable, and it cannot be rationalized by other injustices.

The Palestinian leadership's choice of violence against the innocent as a weapon of war does in fact justify retaliation. But how I wish we could have a leader with the greatness of Ghandi in the Middle East who understood that violence begets violence, as it has catapulted the region into killing and destruction.

I must oppose this resolution because it is unbalanced and, thus, I believe counterproductive in bringing long-term peace and security to the people of Israel. It does not reference President Bush's words of April 4 and America's consistent foreign policy that Israel must stop the expansion and withdraw from the Palestinian-controlled territories before a sustainable peace can be achieved.

This country supports U.N. Resolution 242, and Israel's unwillingness to comply is a contributing factor to the cycle of violence and despair.

This House resolution does not make it clear, as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz said before thousands at an Israeli rally that America mourns the deaths of all innocent life, Israeli and Palestinian. Over 1,500 Palestinians and 500 Israelis have been killed just since September.

Yes, many Arabs hate the U.S. for our prosperity and our way of life, but they especially hate us because they see us as turning a blind eye towards the aggression and adding to the daily humiliation that hardens the hearts of even the most peace-loving Palestinian people. And, yes, shame on the Arab states for too often being part of the problem rather than the solution, but their values and actions are not the standard by which we must measure ours. Our response should not be to further alienate these states, thus undercutting our efforts to persuade our Arab allies to help stem the Palestinian violence.

We as a Nation are defined by our respect for all innocent human life, and believe that our power has a purpose to promote peace, understanding and mutual interdependence among all of the neighbors of the world. When whole towns and villages are reduced to rubble, when innocent loved ones are killed indiscriminately, and when the Palestinian people have been treated with such contempt by their occupiers, it breeds rage and desperation among a whole new generation of avengers; and a whole new cycle of vengeance, by any means, begins. That is not in our interest; and it is certainly not in Israel's interest, whose existence, security and future is not best served by this unbalanced resolution; and that is why it should be rejected.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA).

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

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yield me this time to speak in favor of a bill, not because it is perfect, because like many of our resolutions, and like many Members have said, it is less than perfect. It does not speak in a balanced fashion about some of the other shortcomings.

But I believe on the floor today we have to make a statement, a statement that the violence must end. A statement that now that Chairman Arafat has at least limited freedom of movement again, that he use this second chance to bring about an end to violence and a resumption in the altogether too necessary compromises that must be made if we are going to have peace in the Middle East, peace that will benefit both sides, that will end the violence on both sides, that will save lives on both sides.

□ 1600

So although we could all speak and speak rightfully about what is not in this legislation, or even what is maybe wrong in the resolution, I would ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote for this, to make this strong statement.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. LYNCH).

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

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Speaker, I realize that there are many Members that wanted to speak on this resolution today; and unfortunately for me, my seniority does not allow me to have an opportunity to speak.

I have some remarks here, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of this resolution and in support of the people of Israel, and I will enter them into the RECORD at a later date.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. WEXLER).

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Speaker, the United States must stand in solidarity with Israel during this devastating time. Hundreds of Israelis have been murdered by Palestinian terrorists; and make no mistake, Yasir Arafat is directly responsible. The stark reality is that Arafat is no longer even remotely a partner in peace. Just the opposite. Arafat has eviscerated the promise he made at Oslo to renounce the use of violence against Israel. Just as we as Americans defend ourselves against terror, Israelis have the right, the obligation, to defend themselves against terror.

It is unacceptable to condemn both Israel and Arafat simultaneously, as if there was any moral equivalency in their actions. This Congress must never rationalize or explain away acts of terror. What should be the message from Washington to Israel is, Mr. Sharon, defend your people, destroy the infrastructure of terror, and know that America stands with you.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES).

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, sometimes God puts you at the right place at the right time, and I know he did not want to hear that from us from the floor of the House. I know what he wanted to hear from us was let there be peace on Earth, and let it begin with me. Let there be peace on Earth, and let it begin with me.

Let me step up to the plate and say to the world, I want peace, and I am going to do what it takes to give peace. Let me step up to the plate and say to the world, I have it within my power, within my hand, to make peace.

As a kid, remember that saying they used to say, "sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me"? All we have is names on this piece of paper, throwing words.

If we as a Congress sincerely believe in peace in the Middle East, let us get on some planes and go over there and sit down and talk to the people in the Middle East and make a difference. Let us stop talking and step up and give some action.

I support Israel. I support Israel. My congressional district has many, many people of Jewish descent; and I am pleased to represent them, but I am pleased to believe in peace. Let there be peace on Earth, and let it begin with this Congress. Let us stop throwing words across the floor and every which way and make a difference.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I think it has been established that I am pro-Israel and I am also pro-peace and I am also pro-Palestine. We need to find a way to bring people together.

I just want to quote just very briefly from a very insightful article by Desmond Tutu. He says, "In our strug-

gle against apartheid, the great supporters were Jewish people. They almost instinctively had to be on the side of the disenfranchised, of the voiceless ones, fighting injustice, oppression and evil. I have continued to feel strongly with the Jews. I am a patron of a Holocaust center in South Africa. I believe Israel has a right to secure borders.

"What is not so understandable, however, not justified, is what it did to another people to guarantee its existence. I have been very deeply distressed in my love for them and my love for the Holy Land. It reminds me much of what has happened to us as black people in South Africa. I have seen the humiliation of the Palestinians. Surely there are those who want terror, but not all the Palestinians. We need to find how we bring our beloved Israel and Palestine together for peace."

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH).

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to read the resolution, because what the resolution does is it speaks truth to power. Some of my colleagues who have spoken against the resolution I do not believe have read it, because there is nothing that is factually inaccurate in this resolution.

It talks about, unfortunately, what is going on in Israel today. There is no Yasir Arafat exemption to the war on terrorism. What is going on today in fact is terrorist actions; and when those bombs are going off, whether it is in a Cafe in Haifa or Jerusalem or Natanya, they are not just trying to kill Jews. In fact, some Arabs have been killed, many Arabs have been killed by terrorist acts themselves. But in essence it is terrorist action against America.

We need to pass this resolution. There are other issues we can talk about at another time. I urge my colleagues to read the resolution. As my good friend and colleague from California on the other aisle, who has been as concerned as any Member in this Chamber of the plight of the Palestinian people, and I praise him for his commitment to vote yes, I urge my friends and my colleagues on this side of the aisle to join with him and let there be no votes against this resolution, even with the objections that people have to the fact that some things are left out.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to my good friend, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

(Mrs. MALONEY of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time and for his leadership on this important issue, and I stand strongly in support of his resolution.

For 54 years, Israel has experienced terrorist attacks similar to the ones our country suffered on September 11.

After 9-11, our country took swift and sure action against the al Qaeda. Every Nation has the right to protect its population against terrorists, particularly terrorists that target civilians. That is what we are doing in the U.S., and that is what Israel should be allowed to do.

The world should recognize that Israel has the right to use military means to protect its citizens and its borders. I welcome President Bush's decision to increase American involvement in efforts to reach a diplomatic solution to the current violence. Israelis and Palestinians must find a way to live peacefully with each other, and we have the moral obligation and strategic imperative to make that happen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 2½ minutes remaining, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) has 5½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has 4½ minutes remaining and the right to close.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate those who have taken part in this debate. Except for a few shrill voices, there has been an honest exchange of views by all the Members here. And although that does not correct a faulty proceeding that brought this measure to the floor without a single hearing, can you imagine a motion of this moment, a resolution of this gravity, to never land down in the Committee on International Relations? I would say to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), you are a political genius. What you know about foreign affairs, we will determine in the months to come.

But what is most needed in Washington is an inclusive, open and respectful dialogue. And guess who has got to lead it? Us. There is nobody else in the United States. The Congress has to lead the dialogue.

In the world, the United States has to lead the dialogue. Is there anyone that has a reservation about that point? I would yield to them immediately. Because we know that if peace is to come to the troubled Holy Land, it will come with the United States of America playing the major role as mediator, facilitator, and monitor. So our credibility must be as impeccable as we can possibly make it.

The Secretary of State has told us very clearly that certain resolutions hinder our ability to play a constructive role. The Secretary of State says we must be very careful about the messages we send. The President of the United States begged the gentleman from Texas not to send anything to the floor only recently.

So what I am saying is that we must realize that our role is not merely taking sides, but is acting as the world leader. It is in our hands, it is only in our hands, and I urge you to conduct yourselves accordingly.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, Israel, like every other nation, has the right to self-defense. This resolution expresses our solidarity with Israel as she defends herself against the barbaric campaign of terrorism and expresses our determination that the violence must end.

We are told the resolution is not balanced, but we should not be balanced between Palestinian terrorists and Israeli victims; between an Israel that offered breathtaking concessions for peace, and Arafat, who walked away from the table and deliberately started a war.

We should not be balanced between the Palestinian Authority, whose method of negotiation is to murder as many Israeli civilians as possible in restaurants and pizza parlors and Passover seders, and Israel which exercises its right to defend its people by attacking terrorists and gunmen, not innocent civilians.

We all want peace, but to attain peace we must stand in solidarity with Israel so Israel can feel secure in seeking peace.

We can and should be an even-handed broker during negotiations, but we must stand forthrightly with Israel now against the terrorists if there are ever to be again real negotiations.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to close on my side.

Mr. Speaker, this has been an interesting debate today; and I do congratulate all those that have participated in it and followed it, because it is a very emotional issue, it is a very difficult issue and a very delicate issue.

There is no question, as I said in my opening comments, that America stands by Israel. They are our ally and should always be. Israel must protect itself. But the important question that we must ask is how Israel must protect itself.

The first step is to acknowledge its role in creating the violent conditions in the region. The time has come to stop blaming everything on Arafat. That just will not get it anymore. Getting Arafat is no solution. I am not here to defend him, nor defend his actions. But getting Arafat is not the solution that is going to bring us peace.

Continued humiliation is no solution. This is a method of operation of bullies, not of those who want to return to the peace process, to the negotiating table. "Whereas anybody involved," that means give and take. Is that the real fear here of going to the negotiating table, where it means you have to give up something? Does the father of the Israeli settlement policy, the current Prime Minister, really fear about going to negotiations? That is a question that I think is legitimate to ask.

□ 1615

The military option will not secure a peace in the Middle East. The military option will not work. No peace can be achieved. There are many steps that we can take to offer a balanced approach too numerous to mention at this particular time. But the bottom line is we cannot dispossess a people and then attempt to govern them by occupying their land, by forcing them to subsist in refugee camps, by blocking roadways to their jobs, by refusing access to medical attention, by cutting them off from their schools and universities, and by discounting their humanity. This is not the roadway to peace.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I think the bottom line is the Palestinians crave the recognition of their dignity; Israelis crave the dignity of recognition. It is incumbent upon this Congress to recognize both and do both. I ask for rejection of this one-sided resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for an additional 1½ minutes so that we may accommodate the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK). She will be our last speaker before I close.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). Does the gentleman ask unanimous consent that both the opponents and proponents of the resolution be given an additional 1½ minutes?

Mr. LANTOS. I am delighted to do so, Mr. Speaker.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I really do not want to object, but a lot of people are trying to get planes this afternoon. The weather is very questionable. I am sure her minute and a half is not going to upset us too much, but if we could hold it to that.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, we appreciate that very much.

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

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, but I do want to note that this has been a good debate, and I would not object to the extension of more time, even another hour or 2, or even 3 hours. I think we need to debate this issue more fully. It certainly has been debated fully in the Knesset in Israel, and I am glad to see this debate in the House of Representatives this afternoon, and I hope we will have more such debates.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL) each will receive an additional 1½ minutes. There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me this time.

Unlike many of my colleagues, I do not profess to be a professor of foreign affairs, nor a diplomat. I come to this floor today to speak to my colleagues about Israel. I am a friend of Israel and I have been for more than 40 years. I do not plan to change now. I will remain so. I think the people of Israel and Israel itself has been my friend, so I do not plan to stay away from a friend of such long standing. I think that we should pass this resolution. We should not worry about the timeliness of it, but we should think about whether it is right or whether it is wrong, and when it comes to helping a friend who has been our friend for many years, a friend who believes in democracy, and a friend who believes in freedom.

So we do not have a big debate here today, but we have people who believe in the right thing as they see it. The people of Israel deserve our support at this time. Whenever we have a friend in trouble, what do we do? We stand alongside of that friend. There is no right and left of this issue. There is only the right way, the straight and narrow way. It is a hard decision for many of my colleagues who are experts in foreign affairs, but I am saying be an expert of the people of Israel who have had to suffer for many years.

Now is the time for us to stand up, straighten up and fly right. There is no good frog that will not praise his own pond. Israel is a part of our pond.

Let there be no mistake about it, I am a friend of Israel—I have been since the forties—I will remain so. Israel must continue to have the right to exist.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this important resolution expressing our solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. Mr. Speaker, this resolution sends a vital message: that we stand firmly with Israel and for peace and justice within the region. There's a debate as to the timeliness of this resolution—but I think the real issue is to stand up for peace at any time the people of Israel and their friends have stood for me.

The resolution reaffirms our unwavering commitment to Israel's security and welfare, to the special relationship between the United States and Israel, and to the values of democracy and freedom that our two countries share. It supports Israel's right to defend its people from terrorism. I stand firmly with Israel and against terrorism. All of us should.

Mr. Speaker, I fervently hope and pray that our efforts and those of the parties to the ongoing negotiations will achieve a real peace in the region and justice for Israelis and Palestinians. Yet however long and crooked the path to real peace may prove to be, we must be clear that we will never allow anyone in the Middle East to choose terrorism as a method of diplomacy.

Israel is making progress toward returning the region to some degree of normalcy.

America must continue to stand firm in its support of Israel in her time of need. Our thoughts and prayers are with the Israeli people, and with all who are committed to a just, lasting and permanent peace of freedom, security, and liberty for all in the region.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the

gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS).

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

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is far from perfect; however, in the context of an ongoing peace seeking process, this reaffirmation of America's bond with Israel is a vital step forward. God has blessed America. We are the only remaining superpower in the world. We, the people of the United States, alone have the capacity to serve as the Great Angels of the 21st Century. We can lead the way to solve the most intractable problems. The fullest possible engagement in the Mid East is now a necessity. We must now go the final mile and offer all the resources that we can muster to encourage peace. The whole world knows the self-evident truth that in our hearts and souls we are wedded to Israel. There is no formal treaty that states the obvious; however, it is understood that a threat to the survival of Israel is a threat to a piece of America. We are brothers and sisters for democracy; for freedom; for equality; for the equal treatment of both genders; for recognition and respect for all races, religions and creeds. Against the overwhelming residue of oppressive governance throughout the world, America and Israel are leaders for enlightenment and liberating progress. Who among us, if forced to make the choice, would not want his children to live in the State of Israel, instead of any one of the despotic, oppressive surrounding Mid East nations. Our world has been plunged into a war against more than terrorism. We are in a war against technologically advanced barbarism. We, too, have a tradition that believes in martyrdom, but it is not based on the reckless courage of murderers. The Christians who met Nero's lions were martyrs; the followers of Ghandhi were martyrs; the slain American civil rights freedom fighters were martyrs; suffering 27 years in prison, Nelson Mandela emerged as a martyr and invited three of his prison guards to dine with him at the presidential inauguration banquet. There are millions of us who are determined to continue the fight for justice for all. But the martyrdom of suicide bombers will never bring freedom and justice. And peace can never be achieved merely with tanks and guns. "War never leaves us thrilled/ But maniacs demand to be killed." After we have blocked the murders of the maniacs, we must then go on to take the greatest risk. America must dare to exert a total pressure for peace. We must take the greatest risk of all. The Great Angels of America must be willing to support a formal treaty which guarantees defensible borders for Israel and guarantees an independent Palestinian state. No troops will be necessary to accomplish this feat. Our overwhelming moral force is adequate. We must just state this goal, set a deadline and make peace a reality. We shall overcome.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close for my side. It has been a good debate. The bottom line is, Israel is a democracy and Israel is our friend, and Israel is our ally in the global war against terrorism.

In our war against Iraq 10 years ago, Israel stood with us. In our war against

terrorism today, Israel is standing with us. In turn, we must stand with Israel in its war against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, it is particularly important that we adopt this resolution now at a time when Israel is subject to a vicious chorus of blind and bigoted hate. Our friends in Israel must be assured that they are not alone in facing the terrorist onslaught. We must make clear that there is no moral equivalence between terrorism and self-defense.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to rise to the occasion and show our strong solidarity with the democratic state of Israel in our shared struggle against terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from West Virginia seek to use his additional minute and a half?

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the remaining time.

Again, I say that there are other approaches and more balanced approaches that we can take that would further the cause of peace and that would further American interests in the region and certainly do this Congress a great deal more credibility. I do notice the main sponsor of the resolution has just walked on to the floor, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), and I want to commend him for the last 2 sentences that he finally put in his resolution, urging all parties to pursue and establish a just and lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, which I believe is only the second time in the whole resolution where the word "peace" was used, but nevertheless he finally got around to that. Then he did mention the suffering and the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people in the very last line, and I appreciate that.

I would ask him as he gets ready to close if he would also agree to the inclusion in his resolution of a line which, as President Bush has stated, recognizing the Palestinian state alongside an Israeli state.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has 4½ minutes remaining.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 4½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the distinguished whip.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his work on this resolution and his indulgence and his stature, and I appreciate his support. I also thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for his incredible courage and principle in co-authoring this resolution, and I appreciate his friendship.

Mr. Speaker, these are very serious times. The principles and virtues that all of us revere and respect about America are under assault today in the Middle East. The people of Israel are

resisting a wave of terrorism. As we watch that violence directed against Israel, we are roused to resolve that terrorism, in all its forms, has to be defeated. There is no moral equivalence, there is no moral equivalence between a democratic government defending its citizens and a calculated strategy of death waged by terrorist organizations.

Homicide bombings are evil incarnate. On the scales of justice and morality, they are no different from the attacks launched against the United States just last September. They serve only to satisfy the gruesome appetites of pure hatred and unrestrained wickedness, and they demonstrate beyond question that the abiding threat to peace in the Middle East stems from the groups which exist for the single purpose of destroying Israel.

The citizens of free nations share a very special bond. It flows from our common commitment to a set of enduring principles. We trust democracy. We defend human rights. We live under the rule of law, and we seek good relations with every country wishing to co-exist peacefully with other countries. Israel is the lone bastion of freedom in the region. Within Israel's own neighbors, peaceful transitions are nothing more than accidents of fate. Describing these countries as genuine democracies would be as inaccurate as calling an acorn an oak tree.

It is time for every country in the Middle East to pass a fundamental test of a civilized world by unequivocally rejecting terrorism and acknowledging that bombings and other acts of terror render any underlying cause of terror or grievance illegitimate. Mr. Speaker, it is the test that President Bush laid down in this Chamber, right here, when he said, you are either with us or you are with the terrorists.

The men and women of Israel must know that we recognize the broader significance of this struggle, that the attacks directed against Israel are attacks against liberty, and all free people must recognize that Israel's fight is our fight. Let every terrorist know that the American people will never abandon freedom, democracy, or Israel. America will never permit the Jewish state to fall to aggression.

The search for peace cannot diminish and must not obscure the very key lessons of the past 40 years. Democracies must never negotiate with terrorists. And for that reason, Yasir Arafat strikes many of us as a highly unreliable vessel to carry the hope for peace. To turn from his past, it would be very difficult for him to do. The most promising sign for both the people of Israel and the Palestinian people would be the emergence of a moderate Palestinian leader who truly seeks a negotiated settlement for lasting peace. The United States cannot be a broker between one party that wants peace and the other party that wants terrorism. It cannot succeed. It has not succeeded. The peace process has been a failure for over 25 years. Today, the

Palestinian men and women who wish nothing more than just to raise their family in peace have no voice. In fact, they are killed if they raise their head of moderation. Nothing will do more to bring peace to this region than the emergence of a Palestinian leader with the courage and support of the United States to accept Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state and a willingness to acknowledge Israel's legitimate security considerations. But until that day comes, every man and woman in Israel should know that they do not stand alone, because America stands with them.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 392, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 352, noes 21, answered "present" 29, not voting 32, as follows:

[Roll No. 126]

AYES—352

Ackerman	Clay	Foley
Aderholt	Clement	Forbes
Akin	Clyburn	Ford
Allen	Coble	Fossella
Andrews	Collins	Frank
Armedy	Combest	Frelinghuysen
Baca	Costello	Frost
Bachus	Cox	Galleghy
Baird	Coyne	Ganske
Baker	Cramer	Gekas
Baldacci	Crenshaw	Gephardt
Ballenger	Crowley	Gibbons
Barcia	Cubin	Gilchrest
Barrett	Culberson	Gillmor
Bartlett	Cummings	Gilman
Barton	Cunningham	Gonzalez
Bass	Davis (CA)	Goode
Bentsen	Davis (FL)	Goodlatte
Berkley	Davis (IL)	Gordon
Berman	Davis, Jo Ann	Goss
Berry	Davis, Tom	Graham
Biggert	Deal	Granger
Blagojevich	DeGette	Graves
Blumenauer	Delahunt	Green (TX)
Blunt	DeLauro	Green (WI)
Boehlert	DeLay	Greenwood
Boehner	DeMint	Grucci
Bonilla	Deutsch	Gutierrez
Bono	Diaz-Balart	Gutknecht
Boozman	Dicks	Hall (OH)
Borski	Doggett	Hall (TX)
Boswell	Doollittle	Hansen
Boyd	Doyle	Harman
Brady (PA)	Dreier	Hart
Brady (TX)	Duncan	Hastings (FL)
Brown (SC)	Dunn	Hastings (WA)
Bryant	Edwards	Hayes
Burr	Ehlers	Hayworth
Buyer	Ehrlich	Hefley
Calvert	Emerson	Herger
Camp	Engel	Hill
Capito	English	Hilleary
Capps	Eshoo	Hinchey
Cardin	Etheridge	Hinojosa
Carson (IN)	Evans	Hobson
Carson (OK)	Ferguson	Hoefel
Castle	Filner	Holden
Chabot	Flake	Holt
Chambliss	Fletcher	Honda

Houghton	Meeks (NY)	Serrano
Hoyer	Menendez	Sessions
Hulshof	Mica	Shadegg
Hunter	Miller, Dan	Shaw
Hyde	Miller, Gary	Shays
Isakson	Miller, Jeff	Sherman
Israel	Moore	Sherwood
Issa	Moran (KS)	Shimkus
Jackson-Lee	Morella	Shows
(TX)	Myrick	Shuster
Johnson (CT)	Nadler	Simmons
Johnson (IL)	Napolitano	Simpson
Johnson, E. B.	Neal	Skeen
Johnson, Sam	Nethercutt	Skelton
Jones (NC)	Ney	Slaughter
Kanjorski	Northup	Smith (NJ)
Keller	Norwood	Smith (TX)
Kelly	Nussle	Smith (WA)
Kennedy (MN)	Olver	Snyder
Kennedy (RI)	Ortiz	Souder
Kerns	Osborne	Spratt
Kildee	Ose	Stearns
King (NY)	Otter	Strickland
Kingston	Owens	Stump
Kirk	Pallone	Stupak
Knollenberg	Pascrell	Sununu
Kolbe	Pastor	Sweeney
LaFalce	Pelosi	Tancredo
LaHood	Pence	Tanner
Lampson	Peterson (PA)	Tauscher
Langevin	Phelps	Tauzin
Lantos	Pickering	Taylor (MS)
Larsen (WA)	Pitts	Terry
Larson (CT)	Platts	Thomas
Latham	Pombo	Thornberry
LaTourette	Pomeroy	Thune
Leach	Portman	Tiahrt
Levin	Price (NC)	Tiberi
Lewis (CA)	Pryce (OH)	Tierney
Lewis (GA)	Putnam	Toomey
Lewis (KY)	Quinn	Towns
Linder	Radanovich	Turner
Lipinski	Ramstad	Udall (CO)
LoBiondo	Rangel	Udall (NM)
Lofgren	Regula	Upton
Lowe	Rehberg	Velazquez
Lucas (KY)	Reyes	Visclosky
Lucas (OK)	Reynolds	Vitter
Luther	Rodriguez	Walden
Lynch	Roemer	Walsh
Maloney (CT)	Rogers (KY)	Waters
Maloney (NY)	Rogers (MI)	Watkins (OK)
Manzullo	Ross	Watson (CA)
Markey	Rothman	Watts (OK)
Mascara	Roybal-Allard	Waxman
Matheson	Royce	Weiner
Matsui	Rush	Weldon (FL)
McCarthy (MO)	Ryan (WI)	Weldon (PA)
McCarthy (NY)	Ryun (KS)	Weller
McCollum	Sanchez	Wexler
McCrery	Sandin	Whitfield
McGovern	Sawyer	Wicker
McInnis	Saxton	Wilson (NM)
McIntyre	Schaffer	Wilson (SC)
McKeon	Schakowsky	Wolf
McNulty	Schiff	Wu
Meehan	Schrock	Wynn
Meek (FL)	Scott	Young (AK)
	Sensenbrenner	

NOES—21

Abercrombie	Hilliard	Obey
Bonior	Inlee	Paul
Boucher	Jackson (IL)	Petri
Condit	Klecza	Rahall
Conyers	Lee	Rohrabacher
DeFazio	McKinney	Smith (MI)
Dingell	Miller, George	Stark

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—29

Baldwin	Kaptur	Peterson (MN)
Barr	Kilpatrick	Rivers
Becerra	Kind (WI)	Sabo
Bishop	Kucinich	Sanders
Brown (OH)	McDermott	Solis
Capuano	Mink	Thompson (CA)
Clayton	Mollohan	Thurman
Farr	Moran (VA)	Watt (NC)
Hostettler	Oberstar	Woolsey
Jones (OH)	Payne	

NOT VOTING—32

Bereuter	Cooksey	Istook
Bilirakis	Crane	Jefferson
Brown (FL)	Dooley	Jenkins
Burton	Everett	John
Callahan	Fattah	McHugh
Cannon	Hoekstra	Millender-
Cantor	Hooley	McDonald

Murtha
Oxley
Riley
Ros-Lehtinen

Roukema
Stenholm
Sullivan
Taylor (NC)

Thompson (MS)
Traffant
Wamp
Young (FL)

□ 1653

Mr. WELLER changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

Ms. KILPATRICK and Mr. MORAN of Virginia changed their vote from "no" to "present."

Mr. MOLLOHAN changed his vote from "aye" to "present."

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, due to district business, I was unable to cast a vote for H. Res. 392 to express solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism. Had I been present for the vote, I would have voted "aye."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, due to illness, I was unable to vote during the following roll-call votes. Had I been present, I would have voted as indicated below.

Rollcall No. 124 (H. Res. 404, on ordering the previous question)—"yes."

Rollcall No. 125 (H. Res. 404, on agreeing to the resolution)—"yes."

Rollcall No. 126 (H. Res. 392, on motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, as amended)—"yes."

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H. Res. 392, the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Ms. PELOSI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time to inquire as to the schedule for next week, and I yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to respond to the gentlewoman.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the House has completed its legislative business for the week. The House will meet next for legislative business on Tuesday, May 7 at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour and 2 p.m. for legislative business. On Tuesday, the majority leader will schedule a number of measures under suspension

of the rules, a list of which will be distributed to the Members' offices tomorrow. Recorded votes on Tuesday will be postponed until 6:30 p.m.

On Wednesday and the balance of the week, the majority leader has scheduled the following measures: H.J. Res. 87, the Yucca Mountain Repository Site Approval Act; H.J. Res. 84, a resolution disapproving the action taken by the President under section 203 of the Trade Act of 1974; and H.R. 4547, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Ms. PELOSI. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to seek further clarification from the gentleman.

Can I detect from your comments that there will be no votes on Friday for sure?

Mr. BLUNT. There probably will be votes on Friday since we are starting the DOD authorization on Thursday. It is likely that will go to Friday and, of course, on Friday we would have our final votes completed by 2 o'clock.

Ms. PELOSI. Again, seeking further clarification, H.J. Res. 87, the Yucca Mountain Repository Approval Act, can the gentleman be more specific about which day that will be coming up?

Mr. BLUNT. Expect that measure to come to the floor on Wednesday.

Ms. PELOSI. And the resolution disapproving the actions taken by the President under 203 of the Trade Act?

Mr. BLUNT. We expect that to be on the floor on Wednesday as well.

Ms. PELOSI. And the defense authorization the gentleman said will be Thursday?

Mr. BLUNT. Start on Thursday and anticipate that we are very likely to carrying over to Friday. And this will be, of course, the first Friday that we will have worked, and perhaps have been scheduled to work, will be this Friday.

Ms. PELOSI. Will the gentleman also shed some light on when you think the welfare reform bill will be considered on the floor?

Mr. BLUNT. The Committee on Energy and Commerce marked up the bill last week. The Committee on Education and the Workforce and the Committee on Ways and Means will do their markup this week. It is likely that we will have the welfare reform bill the week after next.

Ms. PELOSI. Does the gentleman have any idea when the supplemental will be brought to the floor?

Mr. BLUNT. We are working with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), and I think it is possible that the committee could mark up the supplemental next week; and we will move it to the floor as quickly as possible after it is marked up.

Ms. PELOSI. Do you anticipate that being next week or the week after?

Mr. BLUNT. We anticipate the committee could do the markup next week, and we will look for the earliest pos-

sible floor time; but that certainly could be the week after it is marked up.

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for the information.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, MAY 6, 2002

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Friday, May 3, it adjourn to meet at 2 p.m. on Monday next.

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

There was no objection.

HOOR OF MEETING ON TUESDAY, MAY 7, 2002

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Monday, May 6, 2002, it adjourn to meet at 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, May 7, 2002 for morning hour debates.

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

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

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

There was no objection.

HOOR OF MEETING THURSDAY, MAY 9, 2002

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Wednesday, May 8, 2002, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. on Thursday, May 9, 2002, for the purpose of receiving in this Chamber former Members of Congress.

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

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING THE SPEAKER TO DECLARE A RECESS ON THURSDAY, MAY 9, 2002, FOR THE PURPOSE OF RECEIVING FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order on Thursday, May 9, 2002, for the Speaker to declare a recess subject to the call of the Chair for the purpose of receiving in this Chamber former Members of Congress.

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

There was no objection.