

The VICE PRESIDENT. The President of the Senate, at the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators as a committee on the part of the Senate to escort His Excellency, Binyamin Netanyahu, the Prime Minister of Israel, into the House Chamber: The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT]; the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES]; the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK]; the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CRAIG]; the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO]; the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]; the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS]; the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH]; the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER]; the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE]; the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD]; the Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER]; the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. FEINGOLD]; the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN]; the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG]; the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY]; the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN]; the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL]; the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE]; the Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN]; and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN].

The assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the acting dean of the diplomatic corps, the Honorable Nuzhet Kandemir, Ambassador of Turkey.

The acting dean of the diplomatic corps entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seat reserved for him.

The assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 10 o'clock and 7 minutes a.m., the assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Prime Minister of Israel.

The Prime Minister of Israel, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great privilege and I deem it a high honor and a personal pleasure to present to you His Excellency, Binyamin Netanyahu, the Prime Minister of Israel.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, BINYAMIN NETANYAHU, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

Prime Minister NETANYAHU. If I can only get the Knesset to vote like this.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, this is not the first time that a Prime Minister of Israel addresses a joint meeting of Congress. My immediate predecessor, Shimon Peres, addressed this body, and before him, the late Yitzhak Rabin, who fell, tragically cut down by a despicable, savage assassin. We are grateful that Israeli democracy has proved resilient enough to overcome this barbaric act, but we shall always carry with us the pain of this tragedy.

I recognize, Mr. Speaker, that the great honor you have bestowed on me is not personal. It is a tribute to the unshakable fact that the unique relationship between Israel and the United States transcends politics and parties, governments and diplomacy. It is a relationship between two peoples who share a total commitment to the spirit of democracy, an infinite dedication to freedom. We have a common vision of how societies should be governed, of how civilizations should be advanced. We both believe in eternal values; we both believe in the Almighty; we both follow traditions hallowed by time and experience.

We admire America not only for its dynamism and for its power and for its wealth. We admire America for its moral force, as Jews and as Israelis. We are proud that this moral force is derived from the Bible and the precepts of morality that the Jewish people have given the world.

Of course, Israel and the United States also have common interests. But our bonds go well beyond such interests. In the 19th century citizens for all free states viewed France as the great guardian of liberty. In the 20th century every free persons looks to America as the champion of freedom.

Yesterday my wife and I spent a very moving hour at Arlington National Cemetery, and we saw there the evidence of the price you paid for that freedom in the lives of your best and brightest young men, and it is a toll that is exacted from you, from all of us, but from you these very days.

I think it was the terrible misfortune of the Jewish people that in the first half of this century the United States had not yet assumed its pivotal role in the world, and it has been our great fortune that in the second half of this century, with the miraculous renewal of Jewish nationhood, the United States became the preeminent power in the world. You, the people of America, offered the Jewish state, a fledgling Jewish state, succor and support. You stood by us time and time again against the forces of tyranny and totalitarianism, and I know that I speak for every Israeli and every Jew throughout the world when I say to you today: Thank you, people of America.

Perhaps our most demanding joint effort has been the endless quest to achieve peace and stability for Israel and its Arab neighbors. American Presidents have joined successive Israeli Governments in an untiring effort to obtain this peace. The first historic breakthrough was led by Prime Minister Begin and Presidents Carter and Sadat at Camp David, and the most recent success was the pact with Jordan under the auspices of President Clinton. These efforts, I believe, are clear proof of our intentions and our direction. We want peace.

We want peace with all our neighbors. We have no quarrel with them which cannot be resolved by peaceful means, nor, I must say, do we have a quarrel with Islam. We reject the thesis of inevitable clash of civilizations. We do not subscribe to the idea that Islam has replaced communism as the new rival of the West, because our conflict is specific. It is with those militant fanatics who pervert the central tenets of a great faith, toward violence and world domination. Our hand is stretched out in peace for all who would grasp it.

We do not care about the religion. We do not care about their national identity. We do not care about their ideological beliefs. We care about peace, and our hand is stretched out for peace.

Every Israeli wants peace. I do not think there is a people who has yearned or prayed or sacrificed more for peace than we have. There is not a family in Israel that has not suffered the unbearable agony of war and, directly or indirectly, the excruciating, everlasting pain of grief. The mandate we have received from the people of Israel is to continue the search for an end to wars and an end to grief. I promise you, we are going to live up to this mandate.

We will continue the quest for peace, and to this end, we are ready to resume negotiations with the Palestinian Authority on the implementation of our interim agreement.

I want to say something about agreements. Some of you speak Latin, or at least study Latin. Pax est summa servanda. We believe agreements are made to be kept. This is our policy. We expect the Palestinian side to abide by its commitments. On this basis, we will be prepared to begin final status negotiations as well. We are ready to engage Syria and Lebanon in meaningful negotiations. We seek to broaden the circle of peace to the whole Arab world and the rest of the countries of the Middle East.

But I want to make it clear that we want a peace that will last. We must have a peace based on security for all. We cannot, and I might say we dare not, forget that more men, women, and children have lost their lives through terrorist attacks in the last 3 years, than in the entire previous decade.

I know that the representatives of the United States sitting here, the people of the United States, are now becoming tragically familiar with this

experience. You have experienced it in places as far afield as New York's World Trade Center and, most recently, in Daharan. I notice also the recent torchings of the Afro-American churches in America, which I must tell you strike a familiar and chilling note among Jews. But I want to try to put the Israeli experience in perspective, and one has to imagine, to do so, to imagine such attacks occurring time and time again in every city, in every corner of this great country.

So what we are saying here today is as simple as it is elementary: Peace means the absence of violence. Peace means not fearing for your children every time they board a bus. Peace means walking the streets of your town without the fearful shriek of Katyusha rockets overhead.

We just visited with the wife of a friend of mine, the deputy mayor of Kir yat shemona, who was walking the streets of Kir yat shemona when the fearful shriek of a rocket overhead burned her car, nearly burned her, and she was miraculously saved, and she is alive and she is getting better. But peace means that this does not happen, because peace without personal safety is a contradiction in terms. It is a hoax. It will not stand.

What we are facing in the Middle East today is a broad front of terror throughout the area. Its common goal is to remove any Western, and primarily any American, presence in the Middle East. It seeks to break our will, to shatter our resolve, to make us yield.

I believe the terrorists must understand that we will not yield, however grave and fearful the challenge. Neither Israel nor any other democracy, and certainly not the United States, must ever bend to terrorism. We must fight it. We must fight it resolutely, endlessly, tirelessly. We must fight it together until we remove this malignancy from the face of the Earth.

For too long the standards of peace, used throughout the world, have not been applied to the Middle East. Violence and despotism have been excused and not challenged. Respect for human freedoms has not been on the agenda. It has been on the agenda everywhere else, everywhere else: In Latin America, in the former Soviet Union, in South Africa. And that effort has been led by successive American administrations and by this House.

I think it is time to demand a peace based on norms and on standards. It is not enough to talk about peace in abstraction. We must talk about the content of peace. It is time, I believe, for a code of conduct for building a lasting Middle East peace. Such a peace must be based on three pillars, the three pillars of peace.

Security is the first pillar. There is no substitute for it. To succeed, the quest for peace must be accompanied by a quest for security.

Demanding an end to terrorist attacks as a prerequisite for peace does

not give terrorists veto power over the peace process, because nearly all of the terrorist acts directed against us are perpetrated by known organizations whose activities can be curbed, if not altogether stopped, by our negotiating partners. This means that our negotiating partners, and, indeed, all of the regimes in the region, must make a strategic choice: either follow the option of terror, follow the option of terror as an instrument of policy or diplomacy, or follow the option of peace. But they cannot have it both ways.

This choice means that the Palestinian Authority must live up to its obligations it has solemnly undertaken to prevent terrorist attacks against Israel. This choice also means that Syria must cease its policy of enabling proxy attacks against Israeli cities, and undertake to eliminate threats from Hizbollah and other Syrian-based groups. This means that the fight against terror cannot be episodic, it cannot be conditional, it cannot be whimsical, it cannot be optional. It must become the mainstay of a relationship of trust between Israel and its Arab partners.

The second pillar of peace is reciprocity. This means an unshakeable commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes—including the border disputes between Israel and its neighbors.

The signing of a peace treaty should be the beginning of a relationship of reciprocal respect and recognition, and the fulfillment of mutual obligations. It should not trigger round after round of hostile diplomacy. Peace should not be the pursuit of war by other means.

A peace without pacification, a peace without normalization, a peace in which Israel is repeatedly brought under attack, is not a true peace.

But reciprocity, reciprocity means that every line in every agreement turns into a sinew for reconciliation. Reciprocity means that an agreement must be kept by both sides. Reciprocity is the glue of mutual commitment that upholds agreements, and this is the second pillar of peace.

The third pillar of lasting peace is democracy and human rights. I am not revealing a secret to the Members of this Chamber when I say that modern democracies do not initiate aggression. This has been the central lesson of the 20th century. States that respect the human rights of their citizens are not likely to provoke hostile action against their neighbors. No one knows better than the United States, the world's greatest democracy, that the best guarantor against military adventurism is accountable, democratic government.

The world has witnessed the bitter results of policies without standards in the case of Saddam Hussein. Unless we want more Saddams to rise, we must apply the standards of democracy and human rights in the Middle East. I believe that every Muslim and every Christian and every Jew in the region is entitled to nothing less.

I do not think we should accept the idea that the Middle East is the latest or the last isolated sanctuary that will be democracy-free for all time except the presence of Israel. I realize that this is a process. It may be a long-term process, but I think we should begin it.

It is time for the states of the Middle East to put the issue of human rights and democratization on their agenda. Democratization means accepting a free press and the right of a legal opposition to organize and express itself. It is very important for the opposition to be able to express itself, Mr. Speaker. I have just learned that, and we will accord that same right, as you know.

This is democracy. It is to be able to disagree, to express our disagreements, and sometimes to agree after disagreements. It means tolerance. It means an inherent shift away from aggression toward the recognition of the mutual right to differ.

I will admit, the Middle East as a whole has not yet effected this basic shift, this change from autocracy to democracy. But this does not mean that we cannot have peace in the region now, peace with nondemocratic regimes. I believe we can. It is a fact that we have had such peace arrangements. But such peace arrangements as we can now arrive at can only be characterized as a defensible peace in which we must retain assets essential to the defense of our country and sufficient to deter aggression.

Until this democratization process becomes a mainstay of the region, the proper course for the democratic world, led by the United States, is to strengthen the only democracy in the Middle East, Israel, and to encourage moves to pluralism and greater freedom in the Arab world. I want to make something clear. We do not want merely peace in our time. We want peace for all time.

□ 1030

To the message of peace now, we do not just want peace now. We want peace now and later. We want peace for generations. There is no divide. That desire is heartfelt. It should be a point of unity, not of disunity. I believe this is why we must make the pursuit of human rights and democracy a cornerstone of our quest.

So these, then, I believe are the three pillars of peace: security, reciprocity, and the strengthening of democracy.

I believe that a peace based on these three pillars can be advanced. Yet, ladies and gentlemen, I would be remiss if I did not refer to a major challenge facing all of us.

I have touched on the problem of the Middle East that is largely undemocratic, and part of it is strongly anti-democratic. Specifically, it is being radicalized and terrorized by a number of unreconstructed dictatorships whose governmental creed is based on tyranny and intimidation.

The most dangerous of these regimes is Iran, that has wed a cruel despotism

to a fanatic militancy. If this regime, or its despotic neighbor Iraq, were to acquire nuclear weapons, this could presage catastrophic consequences not only for my country and not only for the Middle East but for all of mankind.

I believe the international community must reinvigorate its efforts to isolate these regimes and prevent them from acquiring atomic power. The United States and Israel have been at the forefront of this effort, but we can and we must do much more. Europe and the countries of Asia must be made to understand that it is folly, nothing short of folly, to pursue short-term material gain while creating a long-term existential danger for all of us.

I believe that only the United States can lead this vital international effort to stop the nuclearization of terrorist states. But the deadline for attaining this goal is getting extremely close.

In our own generation, we have witnessed how the United States averted, by its wisdom, tenacity and determination, the dangerous expansion of a totalitarian superpower equipped with nuclear weapons. The policy it used for that purpose was deterrence. Now we see the rise of a similar threat, similar and in many ways more dangerous, against which deterrence by itself may not be sufficient. Deterrence must now be reinforced with prevention, immediate and effective prevention.

We are confident that America, once again, will not fail to take the lead in protecting our free civilization of this ultimate horror. But, ladies and gentlemen, time is running out. We have to act, responsibly, in a united front, internationally. This is not a slogan. This is not overdramatization. This is the life of our world, of our children and of our grandchildren. And I believe that there is no greater, no more noble, no more responsible force than the united force of democracy led by the greatest democracy, the United States. We can overcome this challenge. We can meet it successfully.

Let me now say a word about a subject that has been on your mind and ours, and that subject is the city of Jerusalem.

Countless words have been written about that city on the hill, which represents the universal hope for justice and peace. I live in that city on the hill. And in my boyhood I knew that city, when it was divided into enemy camps, with coils of barbed wire stretched through its heart.

Since 1967, under Israeli sovereignty, united Jerusalem has, for the first time in 2,000 years, become the city of peace. For the first time, the holy places have been open to worshipers from all three great faiths. For the first time, no group in the city or among its pilgrims has been persecuted or denied free expression. For the first time, a single sovereign authority has afforded security and protection to members of every nationality who sought to come and pray there.

There have been efforts to redivide this city by those who claim that peace

can come through division, that it can be secured through multiple sovereignties, multiple laws, multiple police forces.

This is a groundless and dangerous assumption, and it impels me to declare today: There will never be such a redivision of Jerusalem. Never. We shall not allow a Berlin Wall to be erected inside Jerusalem. We will not drive out anyone, but neither shall we be driven out of any quarter, any neighborhood, any street of our eternal capital.

Finally, permit me to briefly remark on our future economic relationship. The United States—how can I tell it to this body? The United States has given, apart from political and military support to Israel, munificent and magnificent assistance in the economic sphere. With America's help, Israel has grown to be a powerful, modern state. I believe that we can now say that Israel has reached childhood's end, that it has matured enough to begin approaching a state of self-reliance.

We are committed to turning Israel's economy into a free market of goods and ideas. I believe that such a free market of goods and ideas is the only way to bring ourselves to true economic independence; and this means free enterprise, privatization, open capital markets, an end to cartels, lower taxes, deregulation.

There is not a Hebrew word for deregulation. By the time this term of office in Israel is over, there will be a Hebrew word for deregulation.

But may I say something that unites all of us across the political divide? I am committed to reducing the size of government; and I am quoting Speaker GINGRICH, quoting President Clinton, saying that the era of Big Government is over. It is over in Israel, too.

I believe that a market economy is the only way to effectively absorb immigrants and realize the dream of ages, the ingathering of the Jewish exiles.

To succeed, we must uphold the market economy as the imperative of the future. It is a crucial prerequisite for the building of the promised land.

We are deeply grateful for all that we have received from the United States, for all that we have received from this Chamber, from this body. But I believe there can be no greater tribute to America's long-standing economic aid to Israel than for us to be able to say: We are going to achieve economic independence. We are going to do it.

In the next 4 years, we are going to begin the long-term process of gradually reducing the level of your generous economic assistance to Israel, and I am convinced that our economic policies will lay the foundation for total self-reliance and great economic strength. In our Hebrew scriptures, which spread from Jerusalem to all of mankind, there is a verse, "HaShem oz l'eamo yiten; HaShem yevarech et amo bashalom." "God will give strength to His people; God will bless His people with peace." This is the original, in-

spired source for the truth that peace derives from strength.

In the coming years, we intend to strengthen the Jewish people in its land. We intend to build an Israel of reciprocal dialog and peace with each and every one of our neighbors. We will not uproot anyone, nor shall we be uprooted. We shall insist on the right of Jews to live anywhere in the land, just as we insist on the right of Jews to live anywhere in any other place of the world. We will build an Israel of self-reliance. We will build an Israel with an undivided and indivisible city of hope at its heart. We will build a peace founded on justice and strength and amity for all men and women of good will.

And I know that the American people will join us in making every effort to make our dream a reality, as I know that the American people will join us in prayer: "God will give strength to his people, God will bless his people with peace." Thank you very much.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

At 10 o'clock and 46 minutes a.m., the Prime Minister of Israel, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The members of the President's Cabinet.

The Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The acting dean of the diplomatic corps.

JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The purpose of the joint meeting having been completed, the Chair declares the joint meeting of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 10 o'clock and 47 minutes a.m., the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The House will continue in recess until the hour of 11 o'clock and 30 minutes a.m.

□ 1130

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. EWING] at 11 o'clock and 30 minutes a.m.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 419. An act for the relief of Benchmark Rail Group, Inc.; and

H.R. 701. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey lands to the city of Rolla, MO.