

**AFFIRMATION OF THE UNITED STATES RECORD  
ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION**

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**MARKUP**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

**H. Res. 106**

OCTOBER 10, 2007

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# AFFIRMATION OF THE UNITED STATES RECORD ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2007

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:32 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Tom Lantos (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman LANTOS. The committee will come to order. We will close the doors. Before proceeding to our scheduled business today, I wish to recognize the sad passing of one of our dear colleagues, the gentlelady from Virginia, Jo Ann Davis. Mrs. Davis was a valued member of this committee. She showed a strong and passionate commitment to U.S. foreign policy, closely following our activities even as she battled her illness. She served as chair of the United States Congressional Delegation of the Trans-Atlantic Legislators Dialogue from 2003 to 2006, leading meetings with members of the European Parliament in Rome, Dublin, and Vienna, as well as several here in the United States.

I know I speak for all members of our committee when I say that Jo Ann will be deeply missed by many on the international scene, as well as by all of her colleagues here in Congress. Would my colleague like to say a few words?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And today I also would like to join so many of our colleagues in honoring and remembering our departed colleague and friend, Congresswoman Jo Ann Davis of Virginia. As the two Republican women on this committee, Jo Ann and I worked on many issues of great importance for our country, the United States. I was honored to witness the extent of her devotion to the people of her district, her Commonwealth, and her beloved country. People commonly use the term public servant to refer to those who hold elected office. As Members of Congress, we try our best to live up to that title, but Mr. Chairman, Jo Ann Davis personified it. She was, at her essence, a public servant. Simply by being elected, Jo Ann made history by being the first Republican woman from Virginia to serve in the House of Representatives. Not content to rest on her laurels, Jo Ann proceeded to commit herself unyieldingly to America's national security.

A minority of Members of Congress serve on the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Armed Services, or Intelligence. During her trag-

ically short 7-year tenure, Jo Ann served on all three committees and with great distinction, including her present position as ranking member of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Readiness, and as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere as well as on the Middle East and South Asia Subcommittee.

As a member of our Foreign Affairs Committee, Jo Ann not only co-sponsored legislation and attended numerous hearings on pressing national security matters, but she dedicated herself to the vital, yet often-overlooked, Atlantic alliance, leading delegations of representatives to meet with our counterparts in the European Parliament through the Trans-Atlantic Legislators Dialogue from the years 2003 to 2006.

Just this past weekend, Mr. Chairman, the Trans-Atlantic Legislators Dialogue met and her presence was greatly missed. At this time, what we feel most is an overwhelming sense of loss, a personal loss for our committee, a loss for our Congress, a loss for our country. Our thoughts and our hearts are of course with her husband, Chuck, and her two sons, her granddaughter, and her entire family. But as we mourn and miss her, we can take comfort in the knowledge that ours is and remains a world in which someone like Jo Ann Davis can exist, and indeed make a difference. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. I thank my colleague for her eloquent statement. And I now ask for a moment of silence in memory of our departed colleague, Jo Ann Davis.

[Moment of silence observed.]

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. On a happier note, I want to welcome back to the committee the gentleman from Missouri, the distinguished minority whip, my good friend, Mr. Blunt, who was appointed today to replace Mrs. Davis. We are delighted and honored to have you, Mr. Blunt.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the bill, H. Res. 106, calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian genocide, and for other purposes, for purposes of markup.

[H. Res. 106 follows:]

110TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. RES. 106

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes.

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### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 30, 2007

Mr. SCHIFF (for himself, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. SHERMAN, and Mr. McCOTTER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## RESOLUTION

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes.

1 *Resolved,*

2 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

3 This resolution may be cited as the “Affirmation of  
4 the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Reso-  
5 lution”.

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 The House of Representatives finds the following:

3 (1) The Armenian Genocide was conceived and  
4 carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to  
5 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly  
6 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men,  
7 women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors  
8 were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded  
9 in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of  
10 Armenians in their historic homeland.

11 (2) On May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers, Eng-  
12 land, France, and Russia, jointly issued a statement  
13 explicitly charging for the first time ever another  
14 government of committing “a crime against human-  
15 ity”.

16 (3) This joint statement stated “the Allied Gov-  
17 ernments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte  
18 that they will hold personally responsible for these  
19 crimes all members of the Ottoman Government, as  
20 well as those of their agents who are implicated in  
21 such massacres”.

22 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government  
23 indicted the top leaders involved in the “organization  
24 and execution” of the Armenian Genocide and in the  
25 “massacre and destruction of the Armenians”.



1           (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the  
2 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as  
3 charged, for organizing and executing massacres  
4 against the Armenian people.

5           (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Geno-  
6 cide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior  
7 Talaat, and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all  
8 condemned to death for their crimes, however, the  
9 verdicts of the courts were not enforced.

10          (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic  
11 judicial failures are documented with overwhelming  
12 evidence in the national archives of Austria, France,  
13 Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States,  
14 the Vatican and many other countries, and this vast  
15 body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same  
16 events, and the same consequences.

17          (8) The United States National Archives and  
18 Record Administration holds extensive and thorough  
19 documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially  
20 in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the United  
21 States Department of State, files 867.00 and  
22 867.40, which are open and widely available to the  
23 public and interested institutions.

24          (9) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United  
25 States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from

1 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials  
2 of many countries, among them the allies of the  
3 Ottoman Empire, against the Armenian Genocide.

4 (10) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly de-  
5 scribed to the United States Department of State  
6 the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Em-  
7 pire as “a campaign of race extermination,” and was  
8 instructed on July 16, 1915, by United States Sec-  
9 retary of State Robert Lansing that the “Depart-  
10 ment approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian  
11 persecution”.

12 (11) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of Feb-  
13 ruary 9, 1916, resolved that “the President of the  
14 United States be respectfully asked to designate a  
15 day on which the citizens of this country may give  
16 expression to their sympathy by contributing funds  
17 now being raised for the relief of the Armenians”,  
18 who at the time were enduring “starvation, disease,  
19 and untold suffering”.

20 (12) President Woodrow Wilson concurred and  
21 also encouraged the formation of the organization  
22 known as Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of  
23 Congress, which contributed some \$116,000,000  
24 from 1915 to 1930 to aid Armenian Genocide sur-

1       vivors, including 132,000 orphans who became foster  
2       children of the American people.

3               (13) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11,  
4       1920, stated in part, “the testimony adduced at the  
5       hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Sen-  
6       ate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly es-  
7       tablished the truth of the reported massacres and  
8       other atrocities from which the Armenian people  
9       have suffered”.

10              (14) The resolution followed the April 13, 1920,  
11       report to the Senate of the American Military Mis-  
12       sion to Armenia led by General James Harbord, that  
13       stated “[m]utilation, violation, torture, and death  
14       have left their haunting memories in a hundred  
15       beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that  
16       region is seldom free from the evidence of this most  
17       colossal crime of all the ages”.

18              (15) As displayed in the United States Holo-  
19       caust Memorial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering  
20       his military commanders to attack Poland without  
21       provocation in 1939, dismissed objections by saying  
22       “[w]ho, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of  
23       the Armenians?” and thus set the stage for the Hol-  
24       ocaust.

1           (16) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term  
2 “genocide” in 1944, and who was the earliest pro-  
3 ponent of the United Nations Convention on the  
4 Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the  
5 Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in  
6 the 20th century.

7           (17) The first resolution on genocide adopted  
8 by the United Nations at Lemkin’s urging, the De-  
9 cember 11, 1946, United Nations General Assembly  
10 Resolution 96(1) and the United Nations Convention  
11 on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide itself  
12 recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of  
13 crime the United Nations intended to prevent and  
14 punish by codifying existing standards.

15           (18) In 1948, the United Nations War Crimes  
16 Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide “pre-  
17 cisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern  
18 term ‘crimes against humanity’ is intended to cover”  
19 as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals.

20           (19) The Commission stated that “[t]he provi-  
21 sions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres  
22 were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with  
23 the Allied note of 1915 . . . , offenses which had been  
24 committed on Turkish territory against persons of  
25 Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek

1 race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent  
2 for Article 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo  
3 Charters, and offers an example of one of the cat-  
4 egories of ‘crimes against humanity’ as understood  
5 by these enactments”.

6 (20) House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on  
7 April 8, 1975, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1975, is  
8 hereby designated as ‘National Day of Remembrance  
9 of Man’s Inhumanity to Man’, and the President of  
10 the United States is authorized and requested to  
11 issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the  
12 United States to observe such day as a day of re-  
13 membrance for all the victims of genocide, especially  
14 those of Armenian ancestry . . .”.

15 (21) President Ronald Reagan in proclamation  
16 number 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part  
17 “like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and  
18 the genocide of the Cambodians, which followed it—  
19 and like too many other persecutions of too many  
20 other people—the lessons of the Holocaust must  
21 never be forgotten”.

22 (22) House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on  
23 September 10, 1984, resolved: “[t]hat April 24,  
24 1985, is hereby designated as ‘National Day of Re-  
25 membrance of Man’s Inhumanity to Man’, and the

1 President of the United States is authorized and re-  
2 quested to issue a proclamation calling upon the  
3 people of the United States to observe such day as  
4 a day of remembrance for all the victims of geno-  
5 cide, especially the one and one-half million people of  
6 Armenian ancestry . . .”.

7 (23) In August 1985, after extensive study and  
8 deliberation, the United Nations SubCommission on  
9 Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Mi-  
10 norities voted 14 to 1 to accept a report entitled  
11 “Study of the Question of the Prevention and Pun-  
12 ishment of the Crime of Genocide,” which stated  
13 “[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been  
14 the only case of genocide in the 20th century.  
15 Among other examples which can be cited as quali-  
16 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians  
17 in 1915–1916”.

18 (24) This report also explained that “[a]t least  
19 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Arme-  
20 nian population, are reliably estimated to have been  
21 killed or death marched by independent authorities  
22 and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in  
23 United States, German and British archives and of  
24 contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, in-  
25 cluding those of its ally Germany.”.

1           (25) The United States Holocaust Memorial  
2 Council, an independent Federal agency, unani-  
3 mously resolved on April 30, 1981, that the United  
4 States Holocaust Memorial Museum would include  
5 the Armenian Genocide in the Museum and has  
6 since done so.

7           (26) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression  
8 (later retracted) by the United States Department of  
9 State asserting that the facts of the Armenian Geno-  
10 cide may be ambiguous, the United States Court of  
11 Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after  
12 a review of documents pertaining to the policy  
13 record of the United States, noted that the assertion  
14 on ambiguity in the United States record about the  
15 Armenian Genocide “contradicted longstanding  
16 United States policy and was eventually retracted”.

17           (27) On June 5, 1996, the House of Represent-  
18 atives adopted an amendment to House Bill 3540  
19 (the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Re-  
20 lated Programs Appropriations Act, 1997) to reduce  
21 aid to Turkey by \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its pay-  
22 ment of lobbying fees in the United States) until the  
23 Turkish Government acknowledged the Armenian  
24 Genocide and took steps to honor the memory of its  
25 victims.

1           (28) President William Jefferson Clinton, on  
2 April 24, 1998, stated: “This year, as in the past,  
3 we join with Armenian-Americans throughout the  
4 nation in commemorating one of the saddest chap-  
5 ters in the history of this century, the deportations  
6 and massacres of a million and a half Armenians in  
7 the Ottoman Empire in the years 1915–1923.”.

8           (29) President George W. Bush, on April 24,  
9 2004, stated: “On this day, we pause in remem-  
10 brance of one of the most horrible tragedies of the  
11 20th century, the annihilation of as many as  
12 1,500,000 Armenians through forced exile and mur-  
13 der at the end of the Ottoman Empire.”.

14           (30) Despite the international recognition and  
15 affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of  
16 the domestic and international authorities to punish  
17 those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a  
18 reason why similar genocides have recurred and may  
19 recur in the future, and that a just resolution will  
20 help prevent future genocides.

21 **SEC. 3. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

22 The House of Representatives—

23           (1) calls upon the President to ensure that the  
24 foreign policy of the United States reflects appro-  
25 priate understanding and sensitivity concerning



1 issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and  
2 genocide documented in the United States record re-  
3 lating to the Armenian Genocide and the con-  
4 sequences of the failure to realize a just resolution;  
5 and

6 (2) calls upon the President in the President's  
7 annual message commemorating the Armenian  
8 Genocide issued on or about April 24, to accurately  
9 characterize the systematic and deliberate annihila-  
10 tion of 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to re-  
11 call the proud history of United States intervention  
12 in opposition to the Armenian Genocide.

○

Chairman LANTOS. Without objection, the resolution is considered as read and I yield myself such time as I might consume. Today we are not considering whether the Armenian people were persecuted and died in huge numbers at the hands of Ottoman troops in the early 20th century. There is unanimity in the Congress and across the country that these atrocities took place. If the resolution before us stated that fact alone, it would pass unanimously. The controversy lies in whether to make it United States policy at this moment in history to apply a single word, "genocide," to encompass this enormous blot on human history.

The United Nations Convention on Genocide defines the term as a number of actions, and I quote, "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group." These actions include killing or causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, and deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time of the atrocities wrote, and I am quoting:

"I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared with the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

The leadership of the United States has been in universal agreement in condemning the atrocities but has been divided about using the term "genocide." On one occasion, President Ronald Reagan referred to, I quote, "the genocide of the Armenians," but subsequent Presidents, George Herbert Walker Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, have refrained from using the word out of deference to Turkish sentiments on the matter. In recognizing this tragedy, some in Congress have seen common themes with the debate our committee held earlier this year on a resolution about another historic injustice, the tens of thousands of so-called comfort women forced into sexual slavery by Imperial Japan. The current Japanese Government went to great lengths to attempt to prevent debate on that matter. And dire predictions were made that passage of such a resolution would harm United States-Japan relations.

Those dire consequences never materialized. A key feature distinguishing today's debate from the one on the comfort women resolution is that United States troops are currently engaged in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Our troops depend on a major Turkish air base for access to the fighting fronts and it serves as a critical part of the supply lines to those fronts.

A growing majority in Congress, and I am among them, strongly oppose continued United States troop involvement in the civil war in Iraq, but none of us wants to see those supply lines threatened or abruptly cut. All eight living former Secretaries of State recently cautioned Congress on this matter, and I quote: "It is our view," write former Secretaries Albright, Baker, Christopher, Eagleburger, Haig, Kissinger, Powell, and Shultz, "that passage of this resolution could endanger our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and damage efforts to promote reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey."

Three former Secretaries of Defense, Carlucci, Cohen, and Perry, this week advised Congress that passage of this resolution, and I quote again, “would have a direct detrimental effect on the operational capabilities, safety, and well being of our armed forces in Iraq and in Afghanistan.”

Members of this committee have a sobering choice to make. We have to weigh the desire to express our solidarity with the Armenian people and to condemn this historic nightmare through the use of the word “genocide” against the risk that it could cause young men and women in the uniform of the United States Armed Services to pay an even heavier price than they are currently paying. This is a vote of conscience and the committee will work its will. I understand that the distinguished ranking Republican member, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, may not wish to make an opening statement. You will? I am delighted to yield to my friend and colleague from Florida.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Because I know that so many members wish to make opening statements, and we have competing committee responsibilities, I was not going to make an opening statement, but I know that this is such a serious issue for so many and I want to thank you for yielding me the time. As certainly the death of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of the officials of the Ottoman Empire is a dark and horrific chapter in our human history, this committee’s consideration of House Resolution 106, affirmation of the United States’ record on the Armenian genocide resolution, is a very serious matter, particularly at this time, Mr. Chairman.

This is a difficult issue, as you pointed out in your opening statement, and one where we must carefully evaluate a number of factors, including our commitment to justice and historical facts, the best strategy to advance reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey, as well as security, security interests that are so critical to the United States. As we discuss the resolution before us today, it is incumbent upon each and every one of us to carefully consider all of the factors and the possible implications involved in moving forward with this particular resolution at this particular time and the war that we are engaged in against Islamist extremists.

I will vote against the resolution because of the damage to our capabilities in Iraq and in Afghanistan, where my daughter-in-law is serving as a United States military officer. It could damage our operations against Islamic extremists and our counternarcotics efforts in South Asia and Central Asia. And to ensure that all of our members have ample opportunities to express their support, Mr. Chairman, or raise concern about this measure, I will yield back the balance of my time. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much. It is the intention of the chair that all members who wish to speak on this resolution will be recognized for 5 minutes. I now recognize one of the original co-sponsors of H. Res. 106, the gentleman from California, Mr. Sherman, for 5 minutes to explain the resolution.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for your outstanding review of history. My colleagues, we are here again considering an Armenian genocide resolution. Our committee has done this three times in the last decade, and once the Judiciary

Committee dealt with a resolution crafted to meet its jurisdiction. We have never had a vote on the floor. And there are those that say that every time we discuss this resolution in committee it is an irritant to our relationship with Turkey. That is the best reason to vote for it here, and on the floor. Let us do this and be done with it. We will get a few angry words out of Ankara for a few days and then it is over. And I promise that the proponents of this resolution will not be back with another resolution after the House recognizes the Armenian genocide. In contrast, if we vote down this resolution today, the some 225-plus co-sponsors will be back next year, and the year after. If this irritates our relationship with Turkey, let us stop the irritation by recognizing the truth.

Two years ago, we dealt with an identical resolution. The history is the same. The words of the resolution are exactly the same. The geopolitical situation is the same. Turkey has the same border with Iraq that it had 2 years ago. This committee's role is the same, which is to speak truth on human rights abuses even when our friends object. And we proved that again with regard to those called "comfort women," which the chairman referred to. Only one thing has changed and that is that a ferocious lobbying effort has been brought to this committee.

Two years ago, we passed this exact same resolution 40-7 and we ought to have a similar vote here today. What happened in 1915 to 1923? The population of Armenians in the area now encompassed by Turkey was some 2 million; 8 years later, it was virtually zero. Our Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, which the chairman quoted, said it clearly when he said, "When the authorities gave the orders for these deportations they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well, and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal that fact." Or we can turn to Mustafa Arif, the last Minister of the Interior of the Ottoman Empire, speaking just after World War I and reflecting on the recent actions of his own government. He said, "Our wartime leaders decided to exterminate the Armenians, and they did exterminate them."

This clearly meets the United Nations' definition and every other definition of genocide. In fact, the human rights attorney who coined the word "genocide" applied it directly to the Armenian genocide. It is right for Congress to recognize this genocide. We must do it. Genocide denial is not just the last step of a genocide, it is the first step in the next genocide. When Hitler had to convince his cohorts that the world would let them get away with it, he turned to them and said, "Who today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?" Opponents say that Turkey will be angry if we pass this resolution. Japan lobbied against the resolution that the chairman referred to.

This committee has passed resolutions criticizing such great allies as England and Canada. But let me give you a hypothetical. Say there is a new regime in Germany with a different view of world history that demands that we tear down the Holocaust Museum? Who would go to the floor and say, "We need Ramstein Air Force Base in Germany, let us tear down the Holocaust Museum"? We cannot provide genocide denial as one of the perks of friendship with the United States. We are told that if we pass this resolution,

Turkey will react. Turkey's long-standing practice is to try to win through intimidation. But every time a resolution is passed they then get on with it. Despite threats of harsh retribution, Turkey has either taken no steps or only token diplomatic steps against so many nations that have officially recognized Armenian genocide, including: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Argentina.

Some 40 United States' States have recognized the Armenian genocide and trade between those individual States and Turkey has blossomed, including my own State of California. The best example is the big battle in the French Parliament. In 2001, Turkey threatened France with a boycott of French goods. The result: France passed the genocide resolution and Turkey's imports from France skyrocketed, even tripled, as shown in this chart in just a few years. In addition, Turkey's bilateral trade increased significantly—

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SHERMAN [continuing]. With so many other countries that have adopted the Armenian genocide resolution.

Chairman LANTOS. I recognize the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, in September 2000, I chaired a hearing on the Armenian genocide resolution, H. Res. 398, that had been introduced by Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Bonior, and Mr. Rogan. It was the first hearing this House had ever held on the Armenian genocide. Great lengths and great pains were taken to be accurate, to provide information that could be proven on the record, and yet there was a major counter effort undertaken not even to have a hearing at all. The resolution, as I think all of us know, never made it even to the floor. In that case, the Clinton White House had weighed in and blocked the resolution.

The issues behind the resolution today is that whenever any government denies a genocide, whether or not Congress has a responsibility to insist that our Government at least, at the very least, acknowledge the atrocity. Mr. Chairman, I believe that we do. In 1915, there were about 2 million Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire. They were living in a region that they had inhabited for 2,500 years. By 1923, well over 90 percent of these Armenians had disappeared. Most of them, as many as 1.5 million, were dead. The remainder had been forced into exile. The government of the empire, whose leaders were members of the movement known as the Young Turks, called this campaign against the Armenians a mass deportation rather than the mass murder that it was. And the United States Ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau, called it a campaign of race extermination. The British, French, and Russian Governments accused the Young Turk Government of crimes against humanity, the first time in history that that charge had ever been made by one state against another.

After World War I, the term "genocide" didn't exist, but the whole world understood what had been done to the Armenians and who was responsible. The Government of Turkey tried and convicted a number of high-ranking Young Turk officials for their role

in the Turkish Government's indictment in what they called "the massacre and destruction of the Armenians."

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, memories fade and later generations chose another course. Now there are many who deny that the Armenian genocide ever happened. Today in Turkey—and I would ask members to look at the *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, the State Department chronicling of abuse—there is one journalist, one novelist after another who is indicted for simply talking about the Armenian genocide. Hopefully today, members will not be deterred from voting for this resolution.

There are members now or people in Turkey who say that what happened was during wartime, or it was the fault of both sides, or that the Armenians sympathized with the enemies of the Ottoman Empire, or that the atrocities were the random acts of a few people, not authorized by the central government. Yet after World War I, the Turkey Government's indictment said that the destruction of the Armenians was "the result of the decision-making of the central committee." In other words, it was planned, it was premeditated, and they carried it out with terrible and horrific consequences.

The sad truth is that the modern Government of Turkey refuses to come to terms with this genocide. The Turkish Government consistently and aggressively refuses to acknowledge the Armenian genocide. For Armenians everywhere, the Turkish Government's denial is yet another slap in the face. It is this denial that keeps the Armenian genocide a burning issue. Even in our own country, a conspiracy of obfuscation and expediency tries to muffle any acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide. Whenever the issue threatens to surface in Congress, there is a full court press to try to stop it from coming to the floor.

I would note here that Members of the House, Democrats and Republicans, are friends of Turkey. I consider myself a friend of Turkey. But friends don't let friends commit crimes against humanity, genocide, and then act as witting or unwitting accomplices in their denial after they have committed it. I recall to you that in judging the post-World War I case against the prime movers of this genocide, the Turkish president of the court stated, "perpetration of such atrocities is not only incompatible with Ottoman laws and the Constitution, but also is contrary to the dictates of our Muslim faith."

I admire him for saying this. He said this for the good of Turkey and his words were patriotic. Today in Turkey those kinds of words would get you indicted and perhaps prosecuted and thrown into prison. Before he launched the Holocaust, as my friend Mr. Sherman said a moment ago, Adolf Hitler sneered and he said, "Who today remembers the Armenians?" I recently visited Srebrenica, Mr. Chairman, during the July break and like you and like Members on both sides of the aisle, we are very sorry that there are genocides that have occurred in the 20th century, like Rwanda, Darfur, which is ongoing, and Srebrenica in Bosnia.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. I would ask, Mr. Chairman, that members vote for this resolution. And we need to tell our friends

in Turkey and Ankara that we speak truth to power. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman LANTOS. I am pleased to call on the gentleman from New York, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would first like to recognize four people who have joined us today. Two of them are from my district, from the Armenian Home in Flushing, New York. Perouz Kalousdian. She was born in 1909 in Harport, Turkey, and is 98 years old. Onorik Eminian, who was born in 1912 in Izmir, Turkey, and is 95. Uretzgaen Shirapi Koyan, who was born in Istanbul, Turkey. Askouhy Jallyan-Vassilian, who was born in Urfa, Turkey, who is 93 years old and is from Mr. Pallone's district, who is with us today. As their age would indicate, each is an Armenian survivor who has longed to be someplace like this on this day.

I would ask them just to raise their hands because I won't ask them to stand. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, this is a very agonizing issue and it is made as agonizing as it is by your very fair summary of the history and the equities, because there are equities on either side that one might choose to vote. And I am sure we have all given this a lot of thought and we have come to different conclusions. This has been tough for me. I am a big fan and supporter of Turkey. Turkey, as you point out, is a very important ally, plays a very important geopolitical role, plays a role in the war against terror, is with us at a time that is very, very important and when so much is at stake.

They are possibly the best example, in the world in which they live, of the things that we would like to see countries begin to become. And yet there is equity on the other side as well. We have indeed been told the timing is bad. In all the years I have been here the timing was always bad, and I can't think of a time when the timing is not going to be bad. But the timing was bad for the Armenian people in 1915 and nothing is going to change that either. The real question is a word, the word "genocide." You have defined it as the U.N. has defined it, Mr. Chairman, and I suppose that is the legal definition that we stand by. I just don't know how much of a people has to be destroyed before that word can really be applied. Is there a percentage? If another 1,000 Armenians were murdered would it then have been a genocide? Maybe 10,000 more?

Our friends in Turkey have to understand that they can get beyond this. And I know how emotional an issue this is with them. Hard for us to understand, but we try. We have gotten beyond the idea that we were fairly genocidal with the Native Americans as we chased them across our movie screens. We have to understand, and Turkey has to understand as well, that Turkey is no more the Ottoman Empire than today's Germany is the Third Reich.

We have gotten beyond that with the understanding and admission of things that we have done that are wrong. And we are then empowered, freed, and enabled to move on, as others have in the world. This is as much a disabling fact in the history of Turkey and before them, the Ottoman Empire, than anything else. And I think that the full confronting of this issue by our Turkish friends will certainly enable them to move forward. We have heard some people say that this would be very damaging to our efforts that are underway today.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ACKERMAN. More damaging than anything else, I believe, Mr. Chairman, would be the damage done by us denying the truth. Thank you.

Chairman LANTOS. I call on the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know we have a lot of resolutions that come before this committee. Some are important and some are not so important. But we debate those. But I can't remember an issue that is more important than the one we are talking about today. In my opinion, stability in the entire Middle East could be at risk. There is no question that thousands and thousands of people were killed during the time period we are talking about. That was over 90 years ago. And right now there is a conflict in Afghanistan, there is a conflict in Iraq, there is a conflict that is going off and on in Lebanon and the West Bank. All over that area it is a tinderbox. And right next door we have got Iran, who is trying to develop a nuclear capability. And our strongest ally in the area, the strongest ally in the area, and has been for over 50 years, is Turkey. And I just don't understand why we are going to cut our nose off, shoot ourselves in the foot at a time when we need this ally. War is hell. War is terrible. And I feel awful about these things that happened. I think everybody does. But the problem is, why are we doing this at this particular time? I have heard the argument on the other side, well, they will bring it up again and again. That is all right. They have a right to do that.

But we are in the middle of two wars right now and the possibility of a nuclear exchange down the road if we aren't careful, and the problems that are going on in Israel and Lebanon. The French National Assembly passed a bill criminalizing denial of the Armenian genocide and Turkey severed all bilateral military and defense ties with France. What would happen if that happened to us? Seventy-five to eighty percent of the war materials going into Iraq go through Turkey, Incirlic, that base. What if they cut us off there? How are we going to get supplies into our military? We have got thousands—and over 100,000, 130,000 men and women there. And yet, we know right now that that is at risk if we pass this resolution.

Now the Turkish Government and the Armenian Government have been pursuing some kind of reconciliation for a long time, and right now, including even the possibility of a normalization of relations. The Government of Turkey has made written and verbal offers to set up a commission outside both governments to look into the facts of what happened during this period and to come up with a resolution of it that is factual, based upon history, not something that is an emotional thing that we are dealing with year in and year out in this Chamber and in this room. Four-fifths of the Turks, 80 percent, have said they would oppose helping the United States in Iraq and Afghanistan if this kind of resolution passes.

The Government of Turkey has already kicked France out. We are in the middle of two wars and we have got troops over there that are at risk. And we are talking about kicking the one ally that is helping us over there in the face right now. It just doesn't make any sense to me. Nine Secretaries of State, the past nine, Demo-



crats and Republicans, have said that this is crazy. Our Secretaries of Defense have contacted us, both Democrats and Republicans, and said that this is crazy. And it is. I understand the emotionalism; I understand the tragedy that occurred. I feel very bad about these ladies who are here today and these gentlemen who are here today who lived through part of that. It is regrettable. It is horrible that that happened. And I believe this ought to all be put in an historical way so that everybody can understand it. And that is why I think this commission, with both countries being involved and appointing people outside the government to look into the historical facts, should be established, and we should see this come to an end. But to come to an end like this right now jeopardizes the security of our interests, our interests in the Middle East.

We get a tremendous amount of our oil from the Middle East. And if that area blows up because we don't handle this right, we are going to really rue that day. And it could lead to a war that is much, much wider than we have seen so far. This is not the time; this is not the way to do this right now. And I hope my colleagues will rethink this before this vote comes up, because it is not just this resolution.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's—

Mr. BURTON. It is the security of the Middle East that is at stake.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired. The gentleman from American Samoa, Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, I and, no doubt, just about every member of this committee has had an opportunity not only to review carefully the provisions of House Resolution 106 but to listen also to those who advocate passage of the bill and others who strongly believe that approval of this legislation will seriously put to question our long-standing relationship with the Government of Turkey. The issue of the Armenian genocide is not new to this committee, and I want to commend my colleague and former member of this committee for his authorship of this bill, the gentleman from California, Mr. Schiff, and some 225 of our colleagues who have signed on as co-sponsors of this legislation.

It is my understanding that many of Mr. Schiff's constituents are fellow Americans who are of Armenian ancestry. And I suspect that hundreds of thousands of Armenian-Americans who are descendants of some 1.5 million Armenians who were displaced and killed during the time when the Ottoman Empire was breaking apart at the beginning of the first World War and years after. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the Government of Turkey is very much opposed to this legislation, as is President Bush and all the top officials of this administration.

I do want to note for the record, Mr. Chairman, that for the past 60 years our country has not had a better friend and ally than the people and leaders of Turkey. In my opinion, Turkey, as a committed member of our NATO Alliance during the Cold War era, played a critical and most pivotal role in containing communism and limited Soviet influence in this important region of the world. Even today, our current efforts to stabilize the crisis in Iraq would have been worse had it not been for the assistance that we are getting from Turkey. It is without question that there is tremendous

controversy as to whether there was a genocide committed by officials of the Ottoman Empire against the people of Armenia, and obviously it depends on who you talk to. Some have suggested that perhaps some kind of a bilateral or multilateral international commission be established to conduct a comprehensive review of all the available documents and data to determine the facts. Others suggest that maybe it be brought before an international tribunal or court of justice to review this matter. Some have argued, Why now? This is during the time when the Ottoman Empire was breaking apart. The Government of Turkey today had nothing to do with what happened some 60 or 80 years ago, this is certainly true, but our own country is not without blemish.

We can talk about the treatment of the indigenous Native Americans, the moral issue of slavery, and the civil and voting rights of African-Americans; or the mass displacement of some 100,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II; or the illegal or unlawful overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii ruled by Queen Liliuokalani. I submit, Mr. Chairman, our Government took appropriate action to officially apologize to what we did to our fellow Americans who happened to be of Japanese ancestry, and even to those who happened to be of Hawaiian ancestry.

Someone once said, Mr. Chairman, that the greatness of a nation is not necessarily measured by its accomplishments, but by its ability to honestly face its mistakes in the past and then take appropriate action to correct them.

Mr. Chairman, most recently our committee and the House passed a resolution asking Japan to officially apologize and recognize the brutal treatment of some 200,000 women from Asia and the Pacific, women who were abducted and kidnapped by force into sexual slavery by the military forces of the Imperial Army of Japan during World War II. It is only fair that we also recognize what happened to the 1.5 million Armenians who were systematically tortured and killed during the days of the Ottoman Empire. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution and I respectfully ask my colleagues do the same.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. And before recognizing my next colleague, let me state for the record that it is the intention of the chair, irrespective of the outcome of the vote on this resolution, at the next markup to bring up a resolution of friendship with the Republic of Turkey. I now call on the gentleman from California, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and the ranking Minority member for providing us, I would say, a very, very thoughtful look at this issue. And it takes that. Every year all of us are barraged by lobbyists, retired Members of Congress, Turkish politicians, and citizen groups about this resolution. I always urge the Turks who come to see me, I always urge them to apologize. After all, we are talking about huge numbers of civilians who were slaughtered by the Turkish Army, and there is no question about that. There is no debate about that fact. Huge numbers of civilians were slaughtered.

I also point out, when people come to talk to me about this issue, that the Armenians also were killing civilians at that time. The killing of innocents didn't just happen on the Turkish side. But

there is no doubt that the Turks were in control of the situation and that the slaughter of Armenians was overwhelming. The right message to both the Turks and the Armenians today is to move on and put the past behind you. After all, what we are talking about is the Ottoman Empire and not the current Government of Turkey. And the current Government of Turkey is not accused of any of the crimes that we are discussing today. No one on either side who had any responsibility for that crisis and for the crimes that we are talking about, no one, not one of them, is alive today. Nevertheless, this issue emerges every year. What makes this year different than the other times that we faced this resolution?

This year, this issue that passes before this committee may well go to the floor. Also this year, there is something else that I think has at least affected my decision-making and that is the audacity that some Turks have had during this debate to threaten to cut logistic support for United States troops in Iraq. Isn't it enough that hundreds of our service members may have died due to Turkish refusal to permit the Fourth Infantry Division to transit through Turkey and enter Iraq at the beginning of the Iraq conflict? Isn't that enough? Isn't it enough that year after year, the United States raises its voice for Turkey's application into the EU, much to the chagrin of some of our friends in Europe? Year after year, we actively encourage democracy and free elections in that country.

Year after year we do everything we can to urge the military in Turkey to stay out of politics and remain in their barracks. And perhaps, you know, perhaps if we have to bend over backwards and continually do favors and ignore the truth, well, maybe Turkey isn't ready for EU membership if it demands that we base relationships on denying the truth. Perhaps they are not as good of friends of the United States as they profess if they are going to threaten to cut off American military troops after they already committed an action that cost the lives of our soldiers. The Germans apologized to the Jews; the Japanese apologized to the Koreans; the Chinese the Filipinos; and of course, the Chinese Communists have never apologized to anybody for the slaughter that they have had. Well, why on earth should we encourage our friends like Turkey to mimic the dictators in Beijing rather than those countries that have turned democratic and tried to realize that you build a future based on truth? Turkey needs to act responsibly. Both the Armenians and the Turks need to close the chapter in this book.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, to close the chapter, and let's get on with it and build a better world.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for calling this very important hearing. And let me say that the history and the facts are clear. I don't think that this question before us today has to do with genocide or not. The people that I hear who oppose this resolution are not questioning whether genocide occurred, that is clear, and of the 800-year Ottoman Empire and the new emergence of what in 1915 was really the Young Turks taking over. So it was sort of a cessation of the old Ottoman Empire into the new leadership of Turkey that genocide did occur. I don't think that anyone would deny it. Because even though it was in 1948 when the United Nations Convention on the Prevention

and Punishment of Crimes of Genocide defined genocide—genocide means that killing of members of a group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in part or whole, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group—genocide did occur. There is no question about it. As a matter of fact, Adolf Hitler said in 1939—we all know that when he ordered his troops into Poland, he said, “Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?” Because no one spoke out then. And if we continue to deny that it happened, we are denying history. And I think that the question has always been, and that is why it has never come up before: Are we going to alienate our allies? Well, you know, when the Europeans did not support our preemptive strike in Iraq, you remember our Vice President Cheney said, “Oh, we got old Europe and then there is new Europe, and these old Europe, they just don’t see it.”

Now Europeans were our allies and we separated Europe, and Cheney boldly talked about old Europe, and they are behind in their thinking, they are archaic. What was wrong about insulting our so-called allies of old Europe when now we are worried about what Turkey will take as action against us? And 20 countries in the world have declared genocide occurred there. Forty States in the United States of America have done so. The fact that we are more concerned about what Turkey will do—what is going to happen when Turkey attacks the Kurds in Iraq, where we for decades protected the Kurds from Saddam Hussein?

And now what are we going to do, look the other way when Turkey says we will never allow a Kurdistan or the Kurds to be able to represent themselves? And so we should not allow our allies—we have a responsibility, if we are going to be the leaders in this world. And we have tarnished ourselves, in my opinion, with preemptive strikes to countries like in Iraq. I think that we should stand up on principle. The question is whether genocide occurred or not. Ten years from now, if Turkey has turned against us, then can it pass? It doesn’t change the facts. The facts are the facts, and that is what we should vote on, the facts. I support the resolution.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Chairman Lantos, and I will be brief in my comments. I am a co-sponsor, original co-sponsor of this resolution. It is an issue I have worked on for many, many years. I am old enough to have known some of the survivors, while they were still alive, of this genocide. And I have worked on this issue since I was a State Senator in California. The original resolution that I introduced and passed in California a generation ago was this genocide resolution. And we have had President Reagan speak out about the Armenian genocide. We have had a lot of water under the bridge. But I think now it is time for Congress to take action. This resolution focuses singularly on the United States’ record of the Armenian genocide. As the text indicates, our National Archives are filled with thousands of pages documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people. As the genocide was being committed, the U.S. launched a diplomatic effort, a political

and humanitarian campaign worldwide to end the carnage at that time. We should be proud of that effort.

Yet to this day, for a variety of reasons, we fail to recognize the events that began 90 years ago for what they are. Genocide is what those events were. And we have a chance to set the record straight. The U.S. has long been a global leader in promoting human rights around the world. We all know this. But on this issue, the issue of the Armenian genocide, we lag behind. The French, the Swiss, the Swedish, the Germans, even the Russian Governments recognize the Armenian genocide. As a global leader in human rights, it is imperative for the United States to stand on principle and recognize the annihilation of the Armenians as genocide.

Opponents ask, "Why now?" They warn of dire actions that Turkey might take against the United States if this resolution passes. But it is important that this committee does not lose sight between what is right and wrong and speak out about the wrongs in the world. While the Armenian genocide was the first of the 20th century, the blind eye cast to the slaughter of the Armenians was a point used by Hitler, who asked his Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Who speaks today of their annihilation?"

This was a point first made to me by my father, who served with Third Army and Seventh Army as they cut through Germany. And when they got into Dachau, the concentration camp, he had his brother's camera, and he took photographs there of that genocide, of what happened in that genocide, of the human bodies that were in the baths and in the ovens and in the rail cars. And to this day he still has to use those photographs with those who denied that that genocide ever occurred. And as he says, "History is a continuum that affects today and tomorrow."

It is much harder to get tomorrow right if we get yesterday wrong. The world's strength to oppose killing today is made greater by accountability for actions present, but also past. And I want you to think for a minute about what could easily be said by the culpable leaders of the Khartoum government who continue their genocide in Darfur while denying that that is genocide.

So frankly, it is weakened by denial of accountability and obfuscation of past acts. Not recognizing the Armenian genocide as such does just that. For the sake of the genocides past and present, I urge the passage of this bipartisan resolution. One and a half million Armenians were murdered. Five hundred thousand were removed from their homeland. Passing this resolution will be a victory for human rights. And I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I speak in opposition to this resolution. I do so with deep reservations given the importance of this resolution to Armenian-Americans. Over the past several years, I have joined with both the Clinton and Bush administrations in recognizing the tragedy that befell countless Armenians under the Ottoman Empire, starting in 1915. No one disputes that this was one of the darkest chapters in the last century. However, as a Member of Congress who wants to see lasting peace and reconciliation between Armenians and Turks, I strongly believe this resolution will further divide these two nations and peoples.

I know it is not the objective of this resolution to create further tension between Turks and Armenians, however the impact of its passage will surely deepen animosity, cripple efforts of those seeking reconciliation, and will inflame a region of the world already under great duress. I urge my colleagues to heed the words of Mezrab II, the spiritual leader of the Armenian Orthodox community in Turkey, who recently said that the Armenian genocide resolution pending in the United States Congress disrupts both the relations between Turkish people and Armenians in Turkey, and between Turkey and Armenia.

Mr. Chairman, passage of this resolution is not in the interest of our national security and will damage our long-standing relationship with our NATO ally, Turkey. As Secretaries Rice and Gates stated in their letter to Speaker Pelosi in March, the passage of this resolution will significantly endanger U.S. national security interests in the region. Their letter also calls Turkey an indispensable ally in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Balkans, and states that we must recognize the important contributions Turkey is making to United States national security as well as security and stability in the broader Middle East and Europe. Additionally, eight former Secretaries of State and three Secretaries of Defense from the Clinton, Bush I, Reagan, and Ford administrations have all expressed their opposition to this resolution in the name of American national security interests, and in support of reconciliation efforts between Armenians and Turks.

It is clear that America can ill afford to lose the support of an ally as important as Turkey at this critical juncture. As the world's oldest Muslim majority democracy, Turkey is an indispensable partner to our troops in Iraq and in Afghanistan. In Iraq, Turkey provides American troops access to its air space, military bases, ports, as well as its border crossing into Iraq. Turkey is a linchpin in the trans-shipment of vital cargo and fuel resources to American troops and coalition partners. Incirlic Air Base in Turkey is responsible for 75 percent of American military air cargo going into Iraq. Turkey has provided training for Iraqi diplomats, political parties, military officers, and security forces, contributes to NATO's Iraq training mission, and is active in reconstruction efforts within Iraq.

In Afghanistan, Turkey twice commanded the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force. That is our war in Afghanistan. Turkey led the forces twice. Turkey also supports a provincial reconstruction team, provides both counternarcotics and military training to Afghan security forces, and is active in reconstruction, including building and operating several hospitals. In addition to Iraq and Afghanistan, Turkish peacekeeping troops serve shoulder to shoulder with our men and women in the Balkans. Turkey is essential to American energy security by providing alternative supply sources and routes around Russia and Iran.

Turkey also remains a critical partner of our ally, Israel. Together Turkey and Israel are essential to American security interests in the region and stand as beacons of democracy in a dangerous Middle East. Finally, I urge my colleagues to think carefully, carefully about the impact of this resolution on our Iraq policy. For those Members of Congress who want American troops to leave Iraq and come home as soon as possible, as I certainly do,

please think carefully about the impact of this resolution on our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Where will tens of thousands of American troops redeploy from when they do finally leave Iraq?

Mr. Chairman, it is my hope that today's debate will lead to a renewed effort by this committee and Congress to focus on reconciliation between Armenians and Turks that will lead to open borders and healthy bilateral relations between Armenia and Turkey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. It gives me special pleasure to call on my friend from Missouri for the first time as a returning member of this committee, Mr. Blunt.

Mr. BLUNT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am sorry to be returning to the committee under these circumstances. Jo Ann Davis was a great Member of Congress and a great example of courage. I well remember the last week I saw her on the House floor. And it was clear that this challenge that she was facing was a very difficult challenge for her, but she was still here doing the work that she was elected to do as long as she could. I am also pleased, Mr. Chairman, to return to the committee with you and Ms. Ros-Lehtinen and my many friends on either side of the aisle on this committee for the work that the committee does.

I have been concerned about this resolution, Mr. Chairman, for some time. I had no sense until yesterday that I would actually be voting on this resolution in the committee. And I respect the comments that have been made on both sides of this. It is clear that there is no partisan division in this committee on this issue, but clearly there are two strongly held points of view. I would repeat the comments that the chairman started the hearing by, by reminding our friends again that eight former Secretaries of State, in fact, all of the living Secretaries of State, including Colin Powell and Madeleine Albright, have urged us to drop the resolution, saying, "It would endanger our national security interests in the region, including our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, and damage efforts to promote reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey."

I also, Mr. Chairman, would like to add for the record of the committee just one paragraph from a *Washington Post* editorial this morning titled "Worse Than Irrelevant." Perhaps I am doing that because I so seldom get to quote the *Washington Post* in a way that I agree with. But the last paragraph of that "Worse Than Irrelevant" editorial this morning says, with some reaching out to both sides of this argument, I think, as members of this committee are today,

"Supporters say congressional action is justified by the refusal of the Turkish government to accept the truth of the crimes against Armenians, and its criminalization of statements describing those events as genocide. It's true that Turkey's military and political class has been inexcusably slow to come to terms with that history, and virulent nationalism—not Islamism—may be the country's most dangerous political force. But Turkish writers and intellectuals are pushing for a change in attitude, and formal and informal talks between Turks and Armenians are making slow progress. A resolution by Congress would probably torpedo rather than help such efforts. Given that reality, and the high risk to vital United States security

interests, the Armenian genocide resolution cannot be called frivolous. In fact, its passage would be dangerous and grossly irresponsible.”

I think, Mr. Chairman, that while there is never a good time to address this issue for the reasons that have been mentioned, this is a particularly difficult time, again for reasons that other members have brought to the committee. And I will be voting no as my first vote on this committee in some time. And I thank you for the time.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, in many ways, I wish this resolution was not before us today. Turkey has been a long and faithful ally and, from our point of view, has acted more than responsibly in Iraq, the Middle East, and the world at large. Turkey's population is overwhelmingly Muslim but Turkey is a secular state, has good relations with Israel, is a democracy and has been a country that the United States is proud to call a friend. Indeed, Turkey shows that there is another way for majority-Muslim states than radical Muslim fundamentalism.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, it is not to be denied that genocide did happen to the Armenian people. It was the Ottoman Empire who created this genocide, not Turkey. Turks today are no more responsible for the genocide that happened nearly 100 years ago than young Germans today are responsible for the Holocaust which happened 60 years ago.

Germany acknowledges the Nazi era and moves on. The United States is close friends with Germany. I believe that Turkey should acknowledge this and move on, as well. I don't support reparations or land claims or anything that might grow out of this resolution. But I do support the fact that genocide is genocide and there is no way of sugar-coating it or cleaning it up or pretending it isn't there. People suffered greatly and the best way to move on to the future is by acknowledging what happened in the past.

And so, Mr. Chairman, with a heavy heart, I will vote for this resolution today. But I think that sometimes we really need to reconsider, or consider, whether some resolutions that we vote for can indeed be counterproductive.

I yield the remaining time that I have to Mr. Sherman, who has asked me for a few minutes of my time.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank the gentleman from New York.

We are asked why we should act now. Turkey will be a better ally if we speak truth to Turkey, and Turkey will be an even better ally if it speaks truth itself.

But another reason to act now is very personal. Mr. Ackerman introduced us to four survivors. They fled to this country after the genocide. This is their last chance to see the country that gave them refuge take a stand of truth and to speak truth with valor, and that is why we can't put this off. They are here today and we need to show them that this is a country that acts based on morality, based on the truth.

I yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Colorado, Mr. Tancredo.  
Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



Mr. Chairman, when I last voted on this particular resolution a couple of years ago, I thought I made it clear—at least I hope I did—that that would be the last time I would be voting in favor, but in the hopes that our two friends in this dispute would come to some resolution of this on their own and that we were not, I believe, doing anything productive in the continued discussion of a resolution of this nature. So I am today going to vote no.

I do not know how deeply we need to look into the dustbin of history to find—or how this—I guarantee you this committee could spend all of its time that is allotted doing exactly that, looking into the dustbin of history, of every imaginable wrong that has been committed by every imaginable, in fact real, empire that has long since passed away, whether it is the Ottoman Empire, the Japanese Empire, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, or indeed the Roman Empire. We could go on for a long time condemning the atrocities committed under each of these regimes. It is not productive. It is no longer productive to do so today.

I was one of two to vote against the resolution we had condemning or asking the Japanese to step up to the plate, with regards to the comfort-women situation. Again, it was a different government, a totally different situation. We should, I think, use our time more productively.

I certainly believe that the atrocities have been committed but, as was mentioned by Mr. Royce, they are fully documented in our archives. There is nothing that this committee can do to make them either go away or to sugar-coat them. It only, unfortunately, in discussing this resolution, can make the situation worse. So I reluctantly will be voting no on the resolution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much.

We have live votes on the floor. The committee will stand in recess and we shall resume immediately upon the conclusion of the votes.

[Recess.]

Chairman LANTOS. The committee will resume.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

There is no doubt that Turkey is a critical ally of the United States in a volatile region. At a time of growing Islamic radicalism, it is a moderate Muslim country that provides a model for others.

But none of this justifies turning a blind eye to the reality of the Armenian genocide. I don't pretend to be a professional historian. I haven't scoured the archives in Ankara looking for original documents. But one thing is clear: The vast majority of experts, people who have looked at this issue for years, agree that the tragic events of 1914 to 1918 constitute genocide.

In a recent letter to Members of Congress, the International Association of Genocide Scholars stated the following, and I quote:

“The historical record on the Armenian genocide is unambiguous and documented by overwhelming evidence. It is proven by foreign office records of the United States, France, Great Britain, Russia and, perhaps most importantly, of Turkey's World War I allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as

by the records of the Ottoman courts-martial of 1918 to 1920 and by decades of scholarship.”

And it goes on to say—this is the International Association of Genocide Scholars:

“As crimes of genocide continue to plague the world, Turkey’s policy of denying the Armenian genocide gives license to those who perpetrate genocide everywhere. We urge you to pass H. Res. 106 because it is recognition of a historical turning point in the 20th century, the event that inaugurated the era of modern genocide. In spite of its importance, the Armenian genocide has gone unrecognized until recently and warrants a symbolic act of moral commemoration.”

Professor Yehuda Bauer, a highly-respected scholar at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has written that “the Armenian genocide is the closest parallel to the Holocaust.” In a 1985 report, a submission of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights found that the massacres of Armenians in 1915 and 1916 qualified as genocide. And as Raphael Lemkin, a Polish lawyer who coined the word “genocide” and drafted the International Genocide Convention, told an interviewer, “I became interested in genocide because it happened to the Armenians.”

Mr. Chairman, 20 other countries, including France, Canada, Russia, Switzerland and Chile, have formally recognized the Armenian genocide. As a world leader in promoting human rights, we have a moral responsibility to join them. I urge and I vote for this resolution.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Pence.

Mr. PENCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I really come to this markup today after a gut-wrenching number of days of reflection and prayer. And I rise in opposition to this measure, but I do it with a heavy heart.

For the victims of the events that began in 1915, 92 years is a long time coming. I want to acknowledge with admiration the presence of families affected by the events of the last century, about which we debate today. I admire them for their determination. I appreciate their prayers that have been rendered on behalf of members of this committee charged with public duties in this matter. And I am personally grateful for their testimony of faith and devotion to their families and their loved ones.

Mr. Chairman, let me be clear, there was a genocide committed against the Armenians in the period beginning in 1915. It is with this belief that I have supported a similar resolution in the past. The resolution before us correctly cites President Ronald Reagan’s proclamation on the holocaust dated 22 April, 1981, which made reference to the “genocide of the Armenians.” There was, indeed, a genocide of the Armenians, and it will not be forgotten.

I do not minimize or deny the horror that took place in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire. The fact that more than 1 million Christians were killed en masse makes it all the more poignant to me. I do not accept the contention that this was mere collateral damage in a bloody war; it was not. We will not forget this genocide, and I will not forget this genocide.

But I cannot support this resolution at this time. The Old Book tells us that there is a time for every purpose under Heaven. With American troops in harm's way dependent on critical supply routes available through an alliance that we enjoy with the nation of Turkey, I submit that, at this time, this is not the time for this Nation to speak on this dark chapter of history. I believe this is a season that calls for standing with our troops first, who are in harm's way. This is a season that calls for maintaining relationships with a crucial ally in the global war on terror.

And Turkey is an indispensable partner to our efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. More than 70 percent of air cargo into Iraq transits through Turkey. Thousands of transport sorties have left Turkey. The Northern Watch no-fly zones of the original Gulf War cease-fire were begun out of Turkey. Their basing and logistics support is simply indispensable to our efforts in the Middle East. And the Incirlik Air Base has been a staple of American power projection for decades. Our basing lease is renewed annually and it is something we should not, at a time of war, take for granted.

The question before us today, I submit to you respectfully, Mr. Chairman, is simple, and it should be: What is in our national interest and which course best advances our national security?

At this time in our Nation's history, we are engaged in a war on terror and we are constantly reminded that it requires allies, support at home and abroad. We need every ally in that war.

And we have heard from every living former Secretary of State and Defense that this resolution would be unwise at this time. And I am aware of the strong opinions of both the President and the Secretary of State on this subject, as well.

I believe we should proceed with compassion for Americans whose families were affected by the genocide of the Armenians last century. But I also believe we should proceed with caution. At a time that we are at war, we must do that which is in our Nation's interests and the interests of our soldiers downrange.

And with that, I respectfully and regretfully encourage a no vote on this resolution.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think it is important. I have heard others state that this House has not acted on this issue. The reality is that this House has acted on this issue, in 1984, and it is expressed in the "whereas" clauses under House Joint Resolution 247. And let me read into the record the relevant language:

"The President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the American people to observe such a day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially the 1.5 million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of a genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1928 and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world."

So the fact is that there has been an Act of Congress relative to this issue. I say that because I think it is important that the record

be clear because some of my colleagues have indicated that it is time for this Congress to take action. Well, this body has taken action.

Having said that, just several points: Nobody can deny the support and the friendship of Turkey and the Turkish people to the people of the United States and the American Government. We all remember their support for the United States in Korea. Others have listed in detail the contributions of Turkey and the Turkish people to the United States. That also is a fact.

I view this particular resolution not directed at the current government in Turkey, nor the Turkish people. As my colleague on my left, Congressman Engel, indicated in his remarks that he did not assess the culpability and the blame for the Holocaust on the German people who live in Germany today and have made efforts to make amends to the Jewish people. I look at this resolution as directed to all of us, all of mankind, if you will, to our darker angels, not our better angels. Because as others have indicated, we all share, on some level, whether we be Germans, Armenians or Turks, all Americans, a responsibility for dark moments in our own history. The gentleman from American Samoa related several: The internment of the Japanese-Americans in World War II, the stain of slavery that is a part of our own history. There is a long list. Events in Iraq that have been condemned by the world make us responsible.

Back in the 1980s, American Government actions in Guatemala resulted in a report commissioned by the United Nations which implicated the American Government in the genocide that occurred against the indigenous people in that country, where some 200,000 indigenous people were slaughtered and murdered.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Flake.

Mr. FLAKE. I thank the chairman.

I will be very brief. I simply think that it is with much caution that we ought to move on matters like these, given the repercussions out there. I want to associate myself with the comments of Mr. Pence. I don't try to minimize what happened, nor do I try to wash over it. But simply, where do we go from here?

And I think the best way is to vote no and hope that the parties themselves can reconcile. It is said that, if not now, when? When is the right time? I think we might have to concede that the time has come and gone for this type of resolution. We simply need to move ahead. And I think that that is the best course here.

I yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Like many of my colleagues here today, I have agonized over this markup, this hearing today. True, as many have indicated, that Turkey is a true and strong ally of the United States. And true, given the current political situation across this land, particularly with the moderate Islamic nations, we need to make sure that our war on terror is not us just condemning and looking at countries that happen to be moderate Islamic states. That is all true.

It is also true that there is no denying that, from 1915 to 1923, the ethnic Armenians suffered atrocities of the worst kind. I am re-

minded that we should never allow those kinds of atrocities to go and to be forgotten.

And so, to a degree that we talk about the atrocities of the past so that we can understand the mistakes of the past and have a better tomorrow, this dialogue is good, and I do believe that it should take place in the Parliament in Turkey.

What I am most concerned with, though, here, is our own House. This same resolution came up 3 years ago, and I, at that time, voted to support it, not to take sides, but with the hope that it would provide forward movement in the reconciliation process, that it would help to bring healing to those who suffered. And it hurts me now to still see many of the individuals who suffered in front of this room. But what hurts me even more is the apparent inaction of this Congress to deal with its own problems and how the rest of the world is looking at us.

And, yes, as many members have mentioned, they have talked about our past, particularly atrocities to deal with slavery. And I have been a Member of this House for the last 9½ years, and I have seen resolutions come up with regards to slavery, just to have this Nation apologize, and it has not happened. We cannot do what we are asking other individuals to do in our Congress. We have failed to do what we are asking other people to do. I was brought up to say that you take care of your own house first. In fact, I was reminded of a biblical scripture, Matthew 7:5. Basically the modern English translation says, "You hypocrite. First remove the beam from your own eye, then you will see clearly to remove the piece of sawdust from another believer's eye." We have not removed the beam from our own eye.

When the Judiciary Committee—and Chairman Conyers, he has had a bill for years just to study the effects of slavery and whether or not reparations would be appropriate, just to study it. It cannot pass this House. In fact, I have seen Members of this House, when that bill was proposed, smile and snicker that it is a foolish bill. We have to clean up our own house.

I have a bill coming up, a resolution that I am going to put out shortly, working on it now, talking about the atrocities that took place to the Native Americans of this land. I have yet to see us pass a resolution to talk about them, who we still have abolished and put them on their own small little territories called reservations, living in abject poverty.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Barrett.

Mr. BARRETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

While I understand the true intent of resolution H. Res. 106, I am afraid the consequences of this bill could be extremely great for our country if it is reported out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee today. I cannot stress the harm that I believe could come to our national security interests in the region and to our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Turkey is a crucial partner in United States efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the entire Middle Eastern region as a whole. Passage of the resolution could have significant negative effects on

Turkish-American relationships. The use of Turkish airspace, military bases and border crossings could be jeopardized. With about 3,000 trucks passing into Iraq every day from Turkey and a large percentage of our logistics in Iraq coming from the nation, this would be absolutely disastrous for our troops and coalition forces bravely serving in Iraq.

Furthermore, Turkey has continued to be a key collaborator in United States efforts to promote stability in the Middle East, the Balkans and Afghanistan, all of which have significant strategic importance to the United States. In Afghanistan alone, Turkey has twice commanded the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force and is currently supporting the provincial reconstruction and military training of Afghan security forces.

I believe the issue at hand today is best left to the Turkish and Armenian people to work through together. And I am extremely hopeful that the two countries can continue to move forward toward reconciliation and an opening of the Turkish-Armenian border.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I must respectfully oppose H. Res. 106.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Watson.

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for your leadership. And I want to thank Mr. Schiff for introducing H. Res. 106.

Mr. Chairman, the current administration has launched a massive lobbying effort against H. Res. 106. I find it incredible that not only the administration but the Government of Turkey has given so much attention to a nonbinding sense-of-the-Congress resolution about a horrific incident of Armenian genocide whose factual documentation is beyond dispute. The Turkish Government argues that congressional recognition of genocide will somehow adversely affect our two countries' bilateral relations, in what I believe is yet another misguided effort to silence recognition of Armenian genocide of 1915 to 1921.

The debate here today, in some ways, reminds me of the debate that took place in this same committee room not long ago on the comfort women. Similar arguments were used by the opposition to attempt to thwart the comfort-women resolution. Again, the historical facts of the matter were beyond dispute. Again, a government was in denial. And, again, a trusted ally of the U.S. vociferously argued that the pending nonbinding legislation would undermine bilateral relations. It hasn't. I don't see how speaking to truth can ever undermine relations with our allies.

H. Res. 106 is not directed against Turkey. Read the bill. It talks about the Ottoman Empire on Turkish soil. Instead, H. Res. 106 targets denial and, most importantly, it targets modern-day apologists and perpetrators of genocide and other grave crimes against humanity.

Opponents of H. Res. 106 argue that the resolution, if passed, would upset our ally, Turkey, causing it to retaliate against United States interests. Turkey, itself, at various levels and channels, has suggested so much. I believe, however, that Turkey would not be acting in its best interests if it was to opt for retaliation, particularly given the fact that 11 other members of NATO, including Canada, have recognized the Armenian genocide. Turkey is a close and trusted NATO ally, and that is beyond dispute. Its alliance

with NATO is based on shared interests and values. Turkey is also one of the largest recipients of United States security assistance. And as a valued and trusted partner of NATO and the U.S., I believe that the diplomatic fallout from passage of this bill is overblown and does not speak to the broad and deep relationship between our two great nations.

The promotion of human rights as a unique and critical part of the U.S. foreign policy is one factor that I believe sets our Nation apart from many others around the world. If we are to uphold these values and if they are to have credibility among both friend and foe, then we cannot be bullied into silence here today. And I would urge my colleagues to vote yes on H. Res. 106.

And I yield back my time, if I have any left, to Mr. Brad Sherman.

He is not here.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Fortenberry.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this markup today. Much has been said, and I will be brief.

After giving this matter careful consideration, I remain concerned that this resolution is not the appropriate instrument for fostering reconciliation between the peoples of Armenia and Turkey and could potentially cause unintended consequences.

But it must be said that, without diminishing a horrible chapter in history and one of the greatest humanitarian tragedies of the past century, I must conclude with reservation that this particular approach at this time to addressing some deep wounds of the past could jeopardize future opportunities to achieve genuine hope and healing.

I yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

H. Res. 106 is a nonbinding sense-of-Congress resolution that calls on the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity of human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide related to the Armenian genocide.

U.S. presidents have been and continue to take that into account in our foreign policy. President Clinton, in one of his addresses, remembered a great tragedy of the 20th century, the deportations and massacres of roughly 1.5 million Armenians in the final years of the Ottoman Empire. He further referenced in 1999:

“Today, against the background of events in Kosovo, all Americans should recommit themselves to building a world where such events never occur again. As we learn from the past, we also build for the future.”

Armenians are right to seek continued remembrance of unimaginable atrocities under the Ottoman Empire. The history is clear. Modern-day Turkey is wrong to be slow to acknowledge and quick to minimize or even criminalize discussion of historic facts.

We must look at this in the context of U.S. foreign policy in our country's interest. I believe we must pursue reconciliation between Turks and Armenians, stability and peace in the Middle East, pro-

moting a rare secular democracy in the Muslim world. On balance, this resolution, at this time, is not the best course.

We saw stunning clarity of message recounted in the *Washington Post* editorial of today with all eight former Secretaries of State, from Kissinger to Madeleine Albright, urging the Congress to drop the resolution, saying:

“It could endanger our national security interests in the region, our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, and damage our efforts to promote reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey.”

In a visit to Turkey last summer, I saw many speaking about Turkey’s aspirations to be a member of the EU. Turkey will have to step up and face its history with the Armenians, with Cyprus, with tolerance to religious minorities, in the course of that.

Turkey is a long-time and strong ally in a tough neighborhood, in an area where there are few examples in the Muslim world of a secular, democratic friend. In the context of today, in today’s U.S. interest, reluctantly I must vote no.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Inglis.

Mr. INGLIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This is a very difficult vote today and a difficult decision but I think it is best to vote no. And here is why.

To our Armenian friends, we understand your desire for justice and vindication, which you see closely tied up in this resolution. On the plain reading of the text, it would be very difficult for any of us to vote against this resolution. But we also understand that passage of this resolution may have the exact opposite outcome of what Armenians actually desire.

If you desire Turkey to have a frank admission of the past, maybe teaching Armenian perspective in schools and having reconciliation with your country and your people throughout the world, passing this resolution through the committee and on the floor of the House may make all of those things more difficult rather than less difficult.

That is why I must reluctantly vote no. And I suspect there are many members of this committee who feel that way, and they are certainly not genocide-deniers.

It seems to me that when we come upon a current situation of genocide, say, in Darfur, for example, it is incumbent upon us, as those with leadership in the United States, to speak out against those examples or those incidents of genocide. When it comes to a historical matter, it is a little bit different in that if there is a historical matter that needs attention—and there have been ones before this committee recently that were discussed earlier—it is worth voting to express the sentiments of the United States, the House, and the Senate on those topics. But where those sentiments begin to affect current populations is where we have to take special care.

And my concern is certainly with our supply lines, which has been well-discussed here already. But it is also with the Armenians who must face the current consequences of this kind of action. And for them, I think we should have some concern about whether this would actually make it worse for them.



And so, for that reason, Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote no. And I appreciate the opportunity to explain that vote.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Woolsey. Ms. WOOLSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the time.

I am proud to be a co-sponsor of this legislation, and I urge all of my colleagues to support it.

As part of the debate, I thought what I would do is use my time to highlight two women from our area, Mr. Chairman, from the San Francisco Bay area, and tell about their real-life experiences during the Armenian genocide.

The first woman I would like to talk about is Haiganoush Marcarian, and she is seen here in this photo. She was born on January 24, 1902. Look at her; she is still living. She was in the historic Armenian city of Kharpert, Turkey, which suffered a huge loss and many losses during the Armenian genocide. When the Turks came after her father and brother, both went into hiding, her brother in the hills, her father in the well at their home until he was actually forced to look elsewhere for his safety. Her mother somehow saved the family from the rampant deportations and massacres and, in fact, reunited with her husband for a very brief period. Her husband died, however, as a result of the damp conditions in the wells that he had hidden in for such a long period of time.

In 1923, the remainder of the family was able to make their way to Syria and eventually the United States. Ms. Marcarian now resides in Oakland. And at the age of 105, she says she prays she will live to see the day when both the Government of Turkey, from where she fled, and the Government of the United States, where she found refuge, will officially recognize the Armenian genocide.

The second woman I would like to honor and talk about today is Nuvart Karagozian, seen in this picture. She was born in Turkey in 1907, when her parents got word of approaching Turkish forces and the terrible atrocities they were committing. They put Nuvart and her four siblings in an orphanage, believing they would be safer there.

During the ensuing years, Nuvart's older sister was killed, as was their mother, and when Nuvart's sister was forced to leave the orphanage, her baby brother disappeared. Her two older brothers were taken by a Turkish family, from which one escaped and reunited later with Nuvart.

In 1920, Nuvart and her brother Melcon, the little one, were able to join an aunt and uncle in Massachusetts and later moved to Fresno, California, to establish a farm. In 1971, their long-lost remaining brother sought them out and the three siblings were reunited after 56 years.

Having been orphaned as a child, Nuvart later spent much of her time in Fresno, raising money for Armenian orphans. She celebrates her 100th birthday this October 25th.

These, Mr. Chairman, are just two examples of survivors. We may never know the story of those who were the victims of the genocide, so today this committee and the House must speak on their behalf.

I yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Poe.

Mr. POE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is obvious that the Armenian community wants this passed; the Turkish community does not. It is in the best interest of Armenia that it is passed; the best interest of Turkey that it is not passed. But passage of this will not settle the issue any more than it settled the issue with all of the other nations that have passed a very similar resolution, because the argument continues to go on.

Eventually, maybe in our lifetime, maybe not, Armenia and Turkey have to resolve this issue together. And I think that the passage of this resolution will actually cause more tension than less tension because both sides would be more adamant in their positions and stick their heels in the ground.

The question I have is: What is best for the United States? I think that is probably an appropriate decision to be made on this issue. What is best for American interests and America, especially in the Middle East? So my vote is not what is best for Armenia or even what is best for Turkey. My vote is going to be what is best for American interests, American national security interests, what is best for our troops that are in Iraq in a war and in Afghanistan in a war. And I think best for American interest is a vote of no on this.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentlelady from Texas, Sheila Jackson Lee.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. First of all, Mr. Chairman, let me offer my appreciation to this committee and to you and the ranking member, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, because I think this committee is one of the clear examples of opportunities for us to work together.

And in foreign policy, we often try to overcome partisanship and speak to the issues that are important to the United States of America. And I think we are doing that here today. And, frankly, I think that we are doing that in a manner that is in conjunction, that is aligned with the mindset and the principles of this Nation; that is, we are all created equal.

And I will say that I am greatly impressed with the Ambassador from Turkey and many of his supporters who have worked in these waning hours on the beliefs that they have. I am equally moved, and more moved, by those from the Armenian community who have toiled year after year to educate this Nation on the important issue of which they want addressed.

In Texas, someone who is in the middle of the road is usually called a dead armadillo because that is likely what happens to you when you try to broach a compromise.

I have an amendment that I was putting at the desk and I hope my good friends from Turkey will read it. I will not offer it at this time because I really want to speak to this legislation. The amendment reinforces some of the language that was in earlier initiatives that indicated that Turkey is an ally and a strong friend of the United States.

But I have read this legislation, H. Res. 106, and I would commend you to reading it because the legislation resolve points directly back to the United States, and it reinforces these pages and pages of Presidential messages that acknowledge the tragedy of the

Armenian people. We have been on record to acknowledge that. The legislation itself points as far back to Ambassador Morgenthau, who wrote to the United States Department of State that the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Empire described it as a campaign of race extermination on July 16, 1915. The legislation also refers us, in 1948, United Nations War Crimes Commission invoked the Armenian genocide—precisely one of the types of acts which the modern term “crimes against humanity” is intended to cover. There is a chronicling of the history that says that the world should simply acknowledge what has happened.

I hope my friends in Turkey will realize that engagement is important, not last-minute shuffling and pushing, but engagement, ongoing establishment of relationships. And all of those who have traveled to Turkey have indicated it is a beautiful, wonderful country, wonderful people. And those who are here from Turkey who are Americans, likewise, are great contributors.

But I would simply say that this legislation is balanced and fair. And if you read it, it simply calls upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian genocide and the consequences of the failure to realize a just resolution.

I respect the work of this administration and past administrations. In fact, I am holding in my hand a letter signed by 10 or so, or 8 Secretaries of State. I respect what they are saying. But I don't know if they have read this current legislation. This is not in any way an indictment that should impair the relationship between the United States and Turkey. It should be a celebration.

And maybe as we move to the floor, we might be able to look to that commission that has been advocated, where everybody opens their historic books. We all sit around the table of reconciliation and we document it in a concrete way—Turkey, the Armenian people.

For those of us who have abhorred Rwanda and Sudan cannot find it in our heart to ignore the Armenian people. And I am saddened that it has come to the point that Turkey would feel that this is an indictment against the friendship that we have had.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentlelady's time has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I ask my colleagues to support the underlying amendment.

And I thank my distinguished chairman for yielding to me.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Today I urge this committee to pass House Resolution 106 and recognize the horrific tragedy of genocide carried out against the Armenian people by the Ottoman Empire.

The more than 1.5 million innocent Armenian men, women and children who died should not be brushed aside by history or this Congress any longer. It is without question that Turkey is a strategic ally to the United States that has worked to bring peace and stability to the Middle East and surrounding region. It is also proven as a crucial partner in the global war on terror.

To be clear to my colleagues who oppose House Resolution 106, this measure does not condemn the existing government or Prime Minister Erdogan or accuse it of complicity in the genocide. A stable, secular and democratic Turkey has long been the foreign policy goals of the United States Government and it will continue to be long after this resolution has passed before us.

The reality is that the Armenian genocide must not be put on the back-burner of history for fear of acknowledging the truth or offending our ally, Turkey. This resolution simply, once and for all, seeks to characterize the deliberate extermination of 1.5 million Armenians as genocide.

For the sake of commemorating every instance of genocide so as to prevent its recurrence, let us adopt this resolution today and urge its prompt and final passage.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Appreciate it.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Hinojosa.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman Lantos and Ranking Member Ros-Lehtinen. I appreciate the opportunity to debate this resolution, H. Res. 106, and applaud your leadership in bringing this legislation before our committee today.

This resolution has drawn considerable attention from a wide range of interests—Armenian, Turkish and American. And it demonstrates the passion and emotion that springs from remembrances of the past.

I want to associate with the remarks of my friend and colleague, Congressman Meeks from New York. He makes a strong case for our Congress to acknowledge the wrong-doings to those who were held as slaves. While the twilight of the Ottoman Empire remains within the realm of genuine historical debate, the horrors that befell Armenian and Turkish civilians alike were undeniably violent and merciless.

While the academic community will undoubtedly continue their debate on the events of the First World War, it is important that we memorialize the victims of this violence in honest terms that neither antagonize nor trivialize. We must emphasize that the markup of H. Res. 106 and our consideration of this resolution is absolutely not an indictment against the modern nation of Turkey.

As our Nation has turned its attention toward the Muslim world, our alliance with Turkey has benefited our mutual goals of thinning terrorism and building a stable Middle East. This resolution should not be interpreted by the Turkish people as a break in our nations' close alliance. As our committee investigates the actions of a long-fallen empire, I wish to emphasize our Nation's continuing respect and admiration for the Turkish people and its government.

After full consideration of the consequences of this legislation, I must vote no. As committee members vote on this resolution today, it is important that we honor the contributions of our loyal allies and hope for a future of reconciliation and understanding by the Turkish and the Armenian people.

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

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing this resolution forward.

Let me state from the outset that I do recognize that our friends in Turkey are our allies, that there are many Turkish Americans who are great Americans and contributing mightily to our country today. And we recognize that. And I also recognize that this resolution is not aimed at modern Turkey. This resolution is aimed at what was once the Ottoman Empire and what they did in terms of what I believe was genocide to the Armenian people.

As was mentioned before, to destroy in whole or in part a national ethnic, racial or religious group, as such, killing members of a group, is within the definition of the confines of the genocide resolution of the United Nations. I believe that this particular case suggests that this was a case of genocide.

As with haste to my good friend from New York, Mr. Meeks, and his comments, which I believe are very powerful—and I know that he believes very strongly in the position as it pertains to slavery and as it pertains to the Native American situation—let me say that if those bills were before this committee, if we had jurisdiction, they were brought forward, I would vote for both resolutions to recognize the wrong-doings of slavery by this country as well as how we treated the Native American population. So I feel somewhat freer in terms of expressing that. I do believe that there were elements of genocide in both situations.

But that doesn't distract me from taking away from the point that is at hand. When is there ever a good time to do a resolution like this? Probably never is there ever a good time to do any of these types of things. There is always some inconvenience that will come up that will say that we ought not take this up at this point, we should put it to another time for another vote.

My mother had a great expression growing up; I think you all know it: "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me." In this case, bombs and guns may kill our sons, but resolutions will not hurt our country.

If we are to believe that there are threats that if we do this resolution, that somehow this will hurt our relationship with our ally and friend, Turkey; that somehow the unstable position that we sustain ourselves in in Iraq today will become more unstable because of this resolution, well, then shame on those who would suggest that. Shame on anyone who would try to use the lives of our young men and women in the position they all face themselves in, in Iraq today or anyone else in this world, because of this resolution that we are putting forward today.

We are trying to find the truth as to what happened during that time. It is about the Congress recognizing what happened during that time, not about anyone else. It is about the House of Representatives taking this position.

And I have supported this resolution in the past. I have supported this resolution prior to coming to Congress. I think it is the right thing to do and now is the right time to do that. I will support this resolution.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman LANTOS. Before recognizing my next colleague, I want to ask staff on both sides to alert all members that within a few minutes I anticipate having a rollcall vote.

The gentleman from Oregon, Mr. Wu.

Mr. WU. Mr. Chairman, at this point in our discussion, I think that my vote will speak more eloquently than most anything I say. I just want to borrow one phrase from a small school in California, the California Institute of Technology, better known as Cal Tech. Its motto is, The truth shall make you free. The truth shall make you free.

It has deeper textual roots, but I think it is the reason why we passed the comfort women bill. It was something that helped free the comfort women of the devils that had bedeviled them since World War II, is something that will make Japan a better country in the future, and it is something that freely states what we in the United States Congress see as truth.

Japan is a good friend and a good ally. Turkey is a friend and an ally. And I think that we should act today on the truth in order that those who suffered, and their family members, can move on, that Turkey can face its past. And if we in this Chamber, so well protected and, in fact, selected to come here to speak the truth, are concerned about doing that for passing factors, then I think the truth will have a hard time, anytime, anywhere in the world. Search your hearts, search your souls. I, for one, intend to support the resolution. And I believe that the gentleman from California—

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I have many pithy insights I am dying to share with the committee, the most significant of which is we ought to vote before they call a vote on the floor of the House. And I will restrain myself, yield back, and hope I inspire others.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Usually at this stage in the debate I would think that everything that could be said has been said. But my view is somewhat different. I think the burden of the sins of human history are intolerable for all of us. What happened in Germany is intolerable, what happened in Turkey and Armenia—or the Ottoman Empire and Armenia is intolerable.

I dearly wish that if this Congress passes this resolution, that modern-day Turkey would feel chastened, would pause, would examine what happened, would decide if there was something they needed to do to acknowledge and bewail their manifold sins and wickedness, to do something about it. I fear instead—or I feel certain instead, that there would be none of that; there would simply be a sense of being insulted, there would be anger, not any sense of being chastened.

Our standing in the Muslim world does not put us in a position to scold, to chasten, even for the most horrific acts of 90 years ago. Turkey remains a nation whose friendship we need, is perhaps the only stable democracy, enduring democracy in the Muslim world. It is a secular country. It needs to be a nation that is leading that part of the world toward a very different future, like the future that Turkey embraced shortly after these events, beginning with Ataturk and forward. And I do not think that there is anything that this resolution would accomplish that would push us, push Turkey in that direction.

I do grieve for the victims of those horrific events. I understand the healing power of acknowledging sins from the past. I remember having dinner, as a brand-new Member of Congress, an informal dinner with Bob and Doris Matsui. And they told the story that they intended to be just a story about how you get things done in Congress as a freshman, of persuading other Members to pass a resolution acknowledging and apologizing for the internment of Japanese in the Second World War. Both Bob and Doris Matsui were interned in the Second World War as children. I don't think they had any idea the emotional effect it would have upon them to tell the story. And they both broke into tears in telling the story.

I understand the healing power of acknowledging past sins. These are not our sins to acknowledge. I hope the time will come for Turkey that they will look honestly, with clear eyes at what has happened; they will search their soul; they will try to do what is right.

Mr. Meeks, I will join you in any efforts to search our souls as well, to acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness. But with great misgivings, I will vote against this resolution today.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. We arrive at a very, very difficult and challenging moment. We have three actors here on this stage: Turkey, Armenia, and the United States.

I can't begin to tell you how my heart bleeds for the pain, the anguish that the people of Armenia have suffered and are suffering. But I believe that we have to look at the here and the now. Many of my colleagues have talked about the situation in Japan and have talked about the kept women. And yes, there was an apology made, and rightfully so. But ladies and gentlemen, we were not at war in the Asian Pacific.

We are at war, whether we like it or we don't. I happen to don't like it. I wish we weren't at war. We find ourselves in a very particular position. And I know some of my colleagues have said very eloquently, "Well, we did that to Japan, they didn't do anything. Let us call the Turks' bluff on this."

The question we have got to ask with this vote is: Are we willing to put our soldiers, our brave men and women, at risk in this region? Are we willing to take that gamble to say, "Oh, they are not going to do anything," when they clearly have stated that they will?

Now, I said Turkey has a role in this. I belong to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. We just flew back yesterday from our fall meetings in Iceland. On the table was the issue of the missile defense system we are trying to put in the Czech Republic and in Poland. We had a vote on the resolution. The Russians, of course, were adamantly opposed to this. We didn't know where the debate would go. But critical to the debate was the fact that of all of them there, it was the delegation from Turkey that offered us some help, and we prevailed.

Now, what I am saying is, do we want to take a risk that the Turks will not remove and pull back over air rights that they have given us to fly our fighters into Iraq and Afghanistan? What will we say if they say, "We told you so, so we are not going to let you

use supply lines coming out of Turkey to feed and fuel your troops in Afghanistan and in Iraq?"

What will we say concerning the pipeline that is helping us to bring oil around in a less volatile region, skirting around Russia, to help with our oil dependency on the Middle East?

All I am saying, ladies and gentlemen, as we face this very difficult issue, when we measure our allies—and these are allies, proven allies—one of the most valuable commodities that they provide is intelligence. Our most reliable source of unfettered intelligence that is helping us in the Middle East comes through Turkey.

The Armenian question is plain as day. What was done to them was wrong. The issue is, what is in the best interests of the national security of the United States? And in the final analysis, the folks in this country who voted to send Members of Congress up here are citizens of the United States of America. And oftentimes in cases like these tough decisions, when right is right on both sides—

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired. The gentleman from California, Mr. Costa.

Mr. COSTA. Thank you very much, Chairman Lantos, for bringing this important resolution before the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the ranking member. You all demonstrate, I believe, profiles in courage, as our Chairman and our Speaker are demonstrating today, that this measure should be heard and debated in the House of Representatives.

Clearly, the debate has demonstrated that there are great differences of opinion on both sides of the aisle. The importance of Turkey as an ally to the United States, both as a supporter of the war on terrorism, as well as on our efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, obviously have been well stated and not taken for granted. I certainly don't. But I do support this resolution.

Much has been said about the potential impacts of our national security and the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. But I would heed my colleagues who have that concern to note that, in fact, when Russia recognized the genocide in 1995, their trade increased with Turkey by over 351 percent. When Greece recognized the genocide—who have had tensions over the decades with Turkey—in 1996, their trade increased by 266 percent. And yes, the European Union Parliament passed last year a set of conditions, economic conditions and social conditions, prior to the entry of Turkey into the European Union. And one of those conditions was the recognition of the genocide. And yes, Turkey still is attempting to enter into the European Union. Nation states ultimately at the end of the day, notwithstanding their own internal politics, do what is in their best interests.

And because of the assistance and because of all the important relationships that we have with Turkey, I believe if in fact we pass this measure that they will not like it, but they certainly will do what is in their best interests. And I believe at the end of the day, that will be to continue to have a relationship with our great Nation.

For me, as I suspect for others in this committee, this resolution involves the issue, the simple issue of man's injustice to mankind.



It has occurred in Rwanda, Cambodia, Bosnia, the Holocaust, and in this instance, this resolution is about the Armenian genocide. In May 2006 I went on a codel to Iraq and Turkey and Greece with my colleague, Mr. Pence. As we traveled through Turkey, we had a meeting with the President, Abdullah Gul, who was then the Foreign Minister. He is President today.

But I would like to relay the story to the members of this committee. I talked about the positive relationship with Turkey and America and our longstanding relations, that modern-day Turkey stands for successful secular democracy, a responsible nation state on the world stage. But I also told them that nations in the world have periods of history they would soon forget. I explained that slavery in early America is one of the chapters that many of us would soon overlook, and even some of our beloved Founding Fathers held slaves. Slavery created turmoil in our Nation for decades and was one of the many causes of the Civil War.

The issues of civil rights in America continued for 100 years following that and resulted in the Civil Rights Act, passed by the Congress in the 1960s. And despite this monumental legislation, we still have problems today in our country, but we acknowledge and we confront them, just as modern-day Turkey should.

The purpose of this resolution today, then, is not to belittle the accomplishments of Turkey, but rather to acknowledge an event that occurred early in the 20th century involving a plan to remove people from their homes and their lands. And, sadly, it evolved in into one of the first genocides of the modern world. Modern-day Turkey was not responsible for that genocide but they should acknowledge it and they should move on.

It is important that we acknowledge this fact in an effort to heal the wounds, to build new relationships among Turkey and Armenia and the world communities.

One can debate specific incidences, but growing up in Fresno, California, the land of William Saroyan, I can tell you I heard many stories as a kid from grandparents of my friends, the Kazarians, the Kalijians, the Abrahamian families, about being forced to leave their homes; the stories of long marches, the massacres and murders that occurred to women and children. Clearly, they believed there was a systematic approach to eliminate the Armenian communities in places that had been their homes and farms for centuries. My Armenian friends believed 1915 through 1923 was a systematic approach, among the first genocides of the 20th century, and so do I.

This resolution is not meant to reopen the wounds or degenerate the importance of our relationship with the Turkish people or their government, and an important ally. But my vote in favor of this resolution is to accurately reflect—

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. COSTA [continuing]. The importance—

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from New Jersey—

Mr. COSTA [continuing]. Of this and I support the measure.

Chairman LANTOS [continuing]. Mr. Sires.

Mr. SIRES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to congratulate Congressman Schiff on this resolution. I am truly amazed that a resolution that is not directed at modern Turkey should garnish

such attention. And you wonder, something that happened 90 years ago, why all of a sudden there is so much attention to this resolution that is not even binding.

The genocide happened. Over 2 million people. Why not admit it, move on? Every country has had their dark periods. Most countries have acknowledged them. Somebody has got to speak for these people that I see in front of me, these women that are over 90 years old. They have a history. I wish I could talk to them so they could tell me what they went through. Why not acknowledge it and move on?

And I certainly appreciate the relationship that we have with Turkey. But I feel pressure, I feel like I have a Turkish sword over my head somehow if I vote the wrong way here. And I don't like that feeling. Because the relationship between Turkey and the United States is as important as the relationship with Turkey with the United States.

I am in support of this resolution. I think it is important that history record—so maybe it doesn't happen again, just like the Holocaust, to make sure it doesn't happen again. So I am in support of this resolution, and I yield the rest of my time to my friend from New York, Congressman Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I thank the gentleman, my good friend from New Jersey.

One of our colleagues cited that there were three actors in this play: Us, the Armenians, and the Turks. I would say and remind us that truth, too, is on the stage. Do not banish truth from this stage. Several of our colleagues cited Scripture. I am not one who usually does that in public. But in response to the citation that there is a time for everything and everything in its season, truth is never out of season. It is always the season for truth.

And for those who claim that the time to do this is wrong, I would ask you to look at the four young ladies sitting here in wheelchairs, who had help getting up this morning and getting into those chairs and onto planes and coming down here after living almost 100 years of peace, and tell them when to come back to this room for justice. What time can they come back?

Please think of the consequences, the full consequences of what we do, the damage that we would do to history as you cast your votes today. This is not the time to study. It was laughable when Ahmadinejad said at Columbia University, "Well, maybe we should have scholars study this." The only thing that does is put it off to a future day when the timing would be bad as well. Please do your duty to honor justice, honor the truth, recognize history. There is no wrong time to do that.

Thank the gentleman for his time, and yield back.

Chairman LANTOS. I want to thank all of my colleagues for—Mr. Klein, you would like to be recognized? Please.

Mr. KLEIN. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

We have had a tremendous discussion and debate and expressions of why people are going to vote the way they are going to vote today, and I will just share mine for just a minute or 2. I think many of us in this room are students of history. We studied history. Many people in this room lived the history that we are discussing in this resolution today. But my experience has been

through the study of the Holocaust, and in Florida, where I was a State legislator, I worked with many of the people in the community, including a number of Armenian residents of our area, to require teaching the Holocaust in our public schools. And it wasn't so much as teaching the Holocaust, but teaching of what happens when man's inhumanity is allowed to fester over a period of time. And the result was the Holocaust and other genocides that have occurred before and after.

And I think the reason that I believe it is important that this historical event is acknowledged and understood is what the survivors of the Holocaust use as their two-word phrase: Never again. Never again.

And I know the people that survived the Armenian genocide, the families, and other situations since that time, also believe, Never again. But yet we live in a world today where we continue to allow these things to exist. The more we can learn from our past, the more we can educate our children, our adults, our grandparents, the more we can learn from these experiences in our country and around the world, and we can be a beacon, along with other countries, of high moral values and understanding that this is unacceptable on so many levels, the better we will be and the better our children will be and future generations will be. And it is going to take vigilance to do that.

I also understand the importance of the Turkish relationship with the United States and with our allies in the Middle East. And I can't speculate what is going to happen. I don't think any of us can do that. We have heard signals, we have heard expressions. I would only hope that we who recognize, and I think this entire Congress and the rest of the United States recognizes that the Turkish country, the Turkish Government of today is a very important ally of the United States. They provide support for our military. They work with us in intelligence. And they are friends of our friends in the Middle East.

We need to continue to have that relationship with them. And hopefully, this will not provide any long-term disruption, hopefully not even any short-term, because they need us and we need them. And I stand ready to do what we need to do to make sure that Turkey understands that message.

This is a historical situation that took place in a different time with a different government, but there still needs to be historical recognition and acknowledgment. My friends who came forward and asked me to support this, the Armenian population in my community, said this is not about reparations, this is not about restitution, this is about historical acknowledgment. I take them at their words for that, that this is not going to open up some future discussion about that.

But the point is this is an important moment in time that we recognize what did happen. There was loss of life. There was terrible inhumanity. And for that reason I will support this resolution today. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. I believe every colleague who wished to be heard had an opportunity to speak.

Before calling for a vote, I wish to advise everyone that at the next markup it is my intention to bring forth a resolution reaffirm-

ing the friendship and alliance between Turkey and the United States of America.

Let me also say to all of my colleagues, this was one of the finest hours of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I am deeply proud of every single member of this committee.

The chairman is prepared to receive a motion from the gentleman from California, Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move the favorable recommendation of H. Res. 106 to the House.

Chairman LANTOS. The clerk will read the roll.

Ms. RUSH. Chairman Lantos.

Chairman LANTOS. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Chairman Lantos votes yes.

Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Berman votes yes.

Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ackerman votes yes.

Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Faleomavaega votes yes.

Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne votes yes.

Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sherman votes yes.

Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wexler votes no.

Mr. Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Engel votes yes.

Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Delahunt votes yes.

Mr. Meeks.

[No response.]

Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson.

Ms. WATSON. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson votes yes.

Mr. Smith of Washington.

Mr. SMITH OF WASHINGTON. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith of Washington votes no.

Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Carnahan votes no.

Mr. Tanner.

Mr. TANNER. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tanner votes no.

Mr. Green.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green votes yes.

Ms. Woolsey.  
Ms. WOOLSEY. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Woolsey votes yes.  
Ms. Jackson Lee.  
Ms. JACKSON LEE. Aye.  
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Jackson Lee votes yes.  
Mr. Hinojosa.  
Ms. HINOJOSA. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Hinojosa votes no.  
Mr. Crowley.  
Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Crowley votes yes.  
Mr. Wu.  
Mr. WU. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wu votes yes.  
Mr. Miller.  
Mr. MILLER. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Miller votes no.  
Ms. Sánchez.  
Ms. SÁNCHEZ. Aye.  
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Sánchez votes yes.  
Mr. Scott.  
Mr. SCOTT. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Scott votes no.  
Mr. Costa.  
Mr. COSTA. Aye.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Costa votes yes.  
Mr. Sires.  
Mr. SIRES. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sires votes yes.  
Ms. Giffords.  
[No response.]  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Klein.  
Mr. KLEIN. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Klein votes yes.  
Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.  
Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen votes no.  
Mr. Smith of New Jersey.  
Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith of New Jersey votes yes.  
Mr. Burton.  
Mr. BURTON. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Burton votes no.  
Mr. Gallegly.  
[No response.]  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Rohrabacher.  
Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Rohrabacher votes yes.  
Mr. Manzullo.  
[No response.]  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Royce.  
Mr. ROYCE. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Royce votes yes.

Mr. Chabot.  
Mr. CHABOT. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Chabot votes yes.  
Mr. Blunt.  
Mr. BLUNT. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Blunt votes no.  
Mr. Tancredo.  
Mr. TANCREDO. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tancredo votes no.  
Mr. Paul.  
[No response.]  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake.  
Mr. FLAKE. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake votes no.  
Mr. Pence.  
Mr. PENCE. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Pence votes no.  
Mr. Wilson.  
[No response.]  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman.  
Mr. BOOZMAN. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman votes no.  
Mr. Barrett.  
Mr. BARRETT. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Barrett votes no.  
Mr. Mack.  
Mr. MACK. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Mack votes no.  
Mr. Fortenberry.  
Mr. FORTENBERRY. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortenberry votes no.  
Mr. McCaul.  
Mr. MCCAUL. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. McCaul votes yes.  
Mr. Poe.  
Mr. POE. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe votes no.  
Mr. Inglis.  
Mr. INGLIS. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Inglis votes no.  
Mr. Fortuño.  
Mr. FORTUÑO. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortuño votes no.  
Mr. Bilirakis.  
Mr. BILIRAKIS. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Bilirakis votes yes.  
Chairman LANTOS. Have all members voted? Mr. Meeks?  
Mr. MEEKS. Am I recorded?  
Ms. RUSH. You are not recorded.  
Mr. MEEKS. No.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks votes no.  
Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Manzullo?  
Mr. MANZULLO. Yes.  
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Manzullo votes yes.

Chairman LANTOS. Are there any other members who wish to be recorded? If not, the clerk will report.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Gallegly.

Mr. GALLEGLY. How am I recorded?

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Gallegly wishes to be recorded.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Gallegly votes yes.

Chairman LANTOS. The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. On this vote there are 26 ayes and 21 nays.

Chairman LANTOS. The ayes have it. The resolution——

[Disturbance in the hearing room.]

Chairman LANTOS. I have to ask the audience to respect the dignity of this committee room. And I will give an opportunity to my colleague to cast a vote.

Ms. GIFFORDS. Mr. Chairman, I vote aye.

Ms. RUSH. Ms. Giffords votes yes.

The new total is 27 ayes and 21 nays.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I request members be allowed 2 additional calendar days to file additional dissenting or minority views.

Chairman LANTOS. Without objection, so ordered.

The ayes have it. The resolution is adopted, and this markup session is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:18 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]





## A P P E N D I X

### MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BRAD SHERMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN  
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

My Colleagues: Here we are again considering the Armenian Genocide resolution. House Committees have done so four times this decade. Yet we have never had a Floor vote.

There are those who say that every time this Resolution comes up it is an irritant in our relationship with Turkey. I would say that is the best reason to vote for it. Let us move it to the Floor; let us pass it; and then it is done. We will get some angry words out of Ankara for a few days, and then it is over. And I promise you that after this passes, I am not coming back, and my friends are not coming back, with new Resolutions.

Two years ago, we dealt with an identical resolution. The history was, of course, the same then as it is now. The words of the resolution were exactly the same.

The geo-political situation, pretty much the same. Turkey still borders Iraq as it did in 2005.

The role of the Committee is still the same: to speak truth on human rights abuses, even when our friends object. For example, just a few months ago this Committee passed, over the strong objection of the Japanese government, a resolution talking about those referred to as "comfort women."

Only one thing has changed, and that is ferocious lobbying effort. Two years ago, we passed this exact same resolution 40-7, and the vote ought to be the same here today.

What happened in 1915 to 1923? In the area now encompassed by Turkey, the Armenian population was two million. Eight years later, it was virtually zero. Our own ambassador to the Ottoman Empire stated what happened: "When the authorities gave the orders for these deportations they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well, and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

Or turn to Mustaffa Arriff, the last minister of the Interior of the Ottoman Empire, who said, "Our wartime leaders . . . decided to exterminate the Armenians, and they did exterminate them."

It is right for this Congress to recognize a genocide, particularly when it is denied. Genocide denial is not only the last step of a genocide, it is the first step in the next genocide. When Hitler had to convince his cohorts that the world would let them get away with it, he turned to them and said, "Who today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

We cannot provide genocide denial as one of the perks of friendship with the United States.

Opponents say that Turkey will be angry. Well Japan is important and an ally, and that did not stop us when we had to recognize what had happened to those women in World War II. This Committee has condemned particular actions of such great allies such as England and Canada.

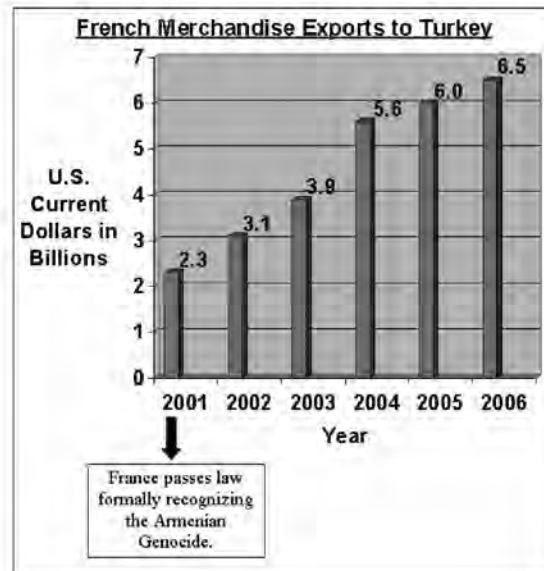
Let me give you a hypothetical: what if some future German government adopts a new revisionist view of history and demands that we tear down the Holocaust Museum. Who would go down to the Floor and talk about the importance of Ramstad Air Base (located in Germany) as a reason for us to tear down the Holocaust Museum.

We are told that if we pass this resolution Turkey will react against us. Beyond the moral bankruptcy of such threats, lies Turkey's long-standing practice of trying to win through intimidation, and then when a resolution is passed, doing little or nothing. Despite threats of harsh retribution, Turkey has taken either no steps at

all, or token diplomatic steps, against Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Argentina, and 10 other countries that have recognized the Armenian Genocide.

Some 40 United States have recognized the Armenian Genocide, and their trade with Turkey has gone up. My own state of California recognized the Armenian Genocide and our exports to Turkey are doing just fine, thank you.

The best example, and the biggest battle, was France, which in 2001 was threatened by Turkey with a trade boycott if it recognized the Armenian Genocide. The French recognized that Genocide. That chart shows you what happens, a near tripling of French exports to Turkey.



Turkey's bilateral trade increased significantly following the recognition of the Armenian Genocide by many countries, including: Belgium 167%, Canada 22%, Greece 266%, Italy 109%, Lebanon 126%, and Russia 351%.

Turkey should not be making threats because we have done far more for them than they have for us. After World War II, we protected them from Communism and provided over \$23 billion of military aid. Recently, we have helped build the Ceyhan-Baku pipeline to get oil into Turkey. In Iraq, we have prevented the creation of an independent Kurdish state. And most importantly of all, we have been loudest and most important advocate for Turkey's overriding goal, which is to become a member of the European Union.

This resolution is supported by virtual every scholar of genocide, and by both the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) and the Arab-American Institute.

Finally, we are asked, "Why act now?" Turkey will be a better ally if we speak the truth. Turkey will be an even better ally if Turkey speaks the truth.

But we also have very personal reasons. We have with us four victims of the genocide. They are in their 90 and 100s. I'll tell you their stories later in today's discussions. We cannot tell them, "Wait. Come back in a few years." Let these survivors see the country that gave them refuge also give them justice—while they are still here to see it.

On February 19, 2000, George W. Bush said, "The Armenians were subjected to a genocidal campaign that defies comprehension and commands all decent people to remember and acknowledge the facts . . ."

He used the word genocide. He urged all decent people to "acknowledge the facts." Be a decent person. Acknowledge the facts. Vote for the Resolution.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JIM COSTA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN  
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

“Thank you Chairman Lantos for bringing such an important resolution before the Foreign Affairs Committee for mark-up, and for the profiles in courage that you, as our Chairman, and our Speaker are demonstrating today that this measure should be heard in the House of Representatives.

“The importance of Turkey as an ally to the United States, both as a supporter of the War on Terrorism and our efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq obviously have been well stated and should not be taken for granted and I certainly don’t, but I do support this resolution. Much has been said about the potential impact on our national security in the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. But I would ask my colleagues who have this concern to note that in fact when Russia recognized the Armenian genocide in 1995 their trade with Turkey has since increased by 351 percent. When Greece recognized the genocide—who have had tensions over centuries with Turkey—in 1997, their trade has since increased by 266 percent. And yes, the European Parliament passed last year a set of economic conditions and social conditions prior to the entry of Turkey into the European Union; one of those conditions was the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and Turkey still, to this day, seeks entry into the European Union. Nation-states at the end of the day, ultimately, notwithstanding their own internal politics, do what is in their best interest. Because of the assistance we provide in foreign aid and the important relationship that we have with Turkey, I believe that in fact if we pass this resolution, Turkey will not like it, but they certainly will do what is in their best interest and that will be to continue to have a relationship between our great nations.

“But for me, as I suspect as it is for others on the Committee, this resolution involves one issue—the simple matter of man’s injustice to mankind . . . as it has occurred in Rwanda, Cambodia, Bosnia, the Holocaust, and in this instance, this resolution is about the Armenian Genocide.

“In May 2006, I went on a Codel to Iraq, Turkey and Greece with my colleague Mr. Pence. As we traveled through Turkey, we had a meeting with Abdulla Gül, at that time he was the Foreign Minister and today he is the President of Turkey. I’d like to relay a part of our conversation to the members of this Committee. I talked about the positive relationship with Turkey and America and our long standing friendship. That modern day Turkey stands for a successful, secular democracy, a responsible nation-state on the world stage.

“But I also told him that all nations in the world have periods of their history that they’d soon forget. I explained that slavery in early America is one of our chapters that many would overlook . . . And even some of our beloved Founding Fathers held slaves. Slavery created turmoil in our nation for decades, and was one of the causes the Civil War. The issues of civil rights in America continued for 100 years following the Civil War, resulting in the Civil Rights Act passed by Congress in 1964. And despite this monumental legislation, we still have problems today in our country, but we acknowledge and we confront them just as modern day Turkey should.

“The purpose of the resolution today is not to belittle the accomplishments of Turkey; but rather to acknowledge an event that occurred in the early 20th century . . . involving a plan to remove people from their homes and lands, and sadly, evolved into one of the first genocides in the modern world. Modern day Turkey was not responsible for that genocide but they should acknowledge it and they should move on. It is important we acknowledge this fact, in an effort to heal the wounds and build new relations among Turkey, Armenia, and the world communities.

“One can debate specific incidents, but growing up in Fresno, California, the land of William Saroyan, I can tell you I heard stories as a boy from grandparents of my friends—the Kezerian, Koligian and Abrahamian families about being forced to leave their homes, the stories of the long marches that evolved into the massacres and murders of women and children. Clearly, they believed there was a systematic approach to eliminate the Armenian communities in places that had been their homes and farms for centuries. My Armenian friends believe that what happened between 1915–1923 was a systematic approach, and was among the first genocides of the 20th century, and so do I.

“This resolution is not meant to reopen the wounds or degenerate the importance of our relationship with the Turkish people or their government . . . and an important ally. But my vote in favor of this resolution is to accurately reflect history. It is important that we support this measure, and move on. I urge an ‘Aye’ vote.”

