

to more than 1½ million Armenian men, women, and children at the hands of the Ottoman Empire. As we honor the memory of these individuals, we renew our commitment that the world will never forget their tragic suffering.

Between 1915 and 1923, officials of the Ottoman Empire carried out a systematic campaign to eradicate all Armenians. Innocent Armenians were murdered and those who survived were forced to flee their homeland and live in exile. Many of the survivors later made their way to the United States.

The campaign of genocide began with the execution of the Armenian leadership and proceeded with the targeting of the entire male population. It continued with the persecution of Armenian women, children, and the elderly, who were sent on forced death marches to be raped, tortured, and murdered. During this brutal 8-year period, over 1½ million Armenians died through massacres, disease, and starvation.

Unfortunately, even today, the Armenian people face continued violence and ethnic hatred. Since 1988, the conflict between Christian Armenians and Moslem Azerbaijanis for control of Nagorno-Karabakh has resulted in over 10,000 deaths and almost 1½ million refugees. Despite the May 1994 cease-fire and the armistice agreement signed the following month, a permanent solution to the conflict has yet to be found.

The United States has provided substantial humanitarian assistance to Armenia, but it has become increasingly difficult to deliver this assistance because of the continuing blockade by the Governments of Azerbaijan and Turkey. As a result, Armenia suffers from a long-standing shortage of food, fuel, and medical supplies. We need to redouble our efforts to end the current crisis and promote peaceful development of the region.

I commend the tireless efforts of the Armenian-Americans for their efforts to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict, and for keeping their Armenian heritage alive in the United States.

As we commemorate and honor the victims of the Armenian genocide, we renew our commitment to combat ethnic hatred and to end injustice and conflicts throughout the world.

THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, today marks the 80th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, the first great crime of the 20th century. Over 1½ million Armenians were murdered by the Ottoman Empire and its successor between 1915 and 1923. Many in this country and throughout the world still mourn the relatives they lost in the Armenian genocide. It is important that we take a moment to remember this terrible crime against humanity.

The 20th century has been not only a century of mass murder, but also a century of culpability in which the na-

tions of the world have failed to act to prevent or halt genocide. The slaughter of Armenians was ignored. The international community was too slow to act when the Nazis began killing Jews and Gypsies. Our response to the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Rwanda has been feeble.

However, on this day, we not only mourn the losses sustained by Armenia, we also celebrate the contributions of Armenians to our civilization and culture, such as fellow New Jerseyans Christopher Babigian, a prominent physician and community leader, Krikor Zadourian, a leading businessman and community leader, and Haigaz Grigorian, a community leader active in relief work in Armenia, to name a few. Indeed, the American-Armenian community has done much to enrich New Jersey and the United States.

Armenia itself, Mr. President, has now reemerged as an independent state in which Armenians can control their own destiny for the first time in centuries. Tragically, though, Armenia is a country which has thus far been forced to devote its resources to war rather than to building a peaceful, prosperous, life for its people.

It is our responsibility to educate future generations about the dangers of intolerance and to fulfill the pledge of "never again." Remembering the horrors of 1915-23 is one way of rousing ourselves to give meaning to this pledge.

THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in commemorating one of this century's most tragic events. Today marks the 80th anniversary of the Armenian genocide of 1915-23, recognized by some as the first genocide of this century when 1½ million Armenian men, women, and children lost their lives as a result of the brutal massacres and wholesale deportations conducted by the Turkish Ottoman rulers.

Mr. President, on this day 80 years ago began one of the great martyrdoms of modern history, a systematic and methodical campaign to exterminate an innocent people. An entire nation was uprooted from its homeland scattering thousands of survivors around the world. Thus this human tragedy, having left few families unaffected, and its anniversary have special meaning to Armenians everywhere.

The 1915 genocide represented the culmination of decades, and the development of an insidious pattern, of persecution against the Armenian community living in the Ottoman Empire. During the period 1894-96 and again in 1909, thousands of Armenians lost their lives at the hands of their ruthless persecutors. On April 24, 1915, Armenian intellectual, religious, and political leaders, were rounded up by Ottoman authorities, taken to remote parts of Anatolia and murdered.

At least 250,000 Armenians serving in the Ottoman Army were expelled and forced into labor battalions where executions and starvation were common. Men, women, and children were deported from their villages and obliged to march for weeks in the Syrian Desert where a majority of them perished.

There was no shortage of contemporaneous newspaper accounts in the United States of the Ottoman Turkish atrocities—a simple review of headlines appearing in the New York Times in mid-1915 yields the following: "Wholesale Massacres of Armenians by Turks," "Tales of Armenian Horrors Confirmed," "800,000 Armenians Counted Destroyed," "Thousands Protest Armenian Murders." In fact, through a congressionally chartered organization called Near East Relief, Americans contributed \$113 million in humanitarian assistance from 1915 to 1930 to help the survivors. In addition, 132,000 Armenian orphans were adopted in this country.

Perhaps America's most notable observer of the Armenian genocide was its distinguished ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau, who published an article in the Red Cross magazine in 1918 describing the wide-scale and deliberate orchestration of Ottoman atrocities against the Armenian people as "the Greatest Horror in History." Morgenthau has also written the following about the Armenian genocide in this now famous passage:

Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. 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 to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915. The killing of the Armenian people was accompanied by the systematic destruction of churches, schools, libraries, treasures of art and of history, in an attempt to eliminate all traces of a noble civilization some three thousand years old.

Indeed, Morgenthau and other diplomats who witnessed and reported in great detail the enormous devastation of the Armenian community by the Ottomans would be astonished to learn today that the abundant evidence they collected, much of which is held in our own National Archives, and the testimony of survivors who are still with us, continue to be challenged without a trace of contrition. Despite the irrefutability of the documentation and testimony, including extensive accounts from survivors, witnesses, and historians, there are those who refuse to come to grips with the past, blame the victims, and deride reconciliation.

Remembrance and understanding, however, are universal imperatives essential to all decent people an decent

societies. To be sure, Armenians themselves are committed to the proposition that their experience has meaning for all of us—it must not remain the special province of the survivors. In other words, to ignore or forget the past is to remain its captive, and coming to terms with the past is an indispensable part of building for the future.

Elie Wiesel, speaking at a Holocaust memorial service here in the Congress during the early 1980's, expressed eloquently the importance of recognizing the Armenian genocide when he said:

Before the planning of the final solution, Hitler asked, "Who remembers the Armenians?" He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history.

From the darkness of this experience, Armenians have risen to demonstrate great courage and strength in their pursuit of human dignity and freedom. After enduring years of struggle under Soviet rule the Armenians gained independence at last. They now face the effects of a devastating earthquake in 1988, an inhumane economic blockade which continues to hamper the delivery of needed humanitarian assistance, and the hostile forces arrayed against them in their volatile area of the world.

Perhaps the Armenian-American community is one of the best examples of this indomitable human spirit of the Armenian people. The contribution of the Armenian community to the cultural, social, economic, and political life of America is a source of great strength and vitality in our Nation. Americans of Armenian origin have kept alive, and not let tragedy shatter, the rich faith and traditions of Armenian civilization.

Mr. President, in keeping with our country's highest principles and ideals, we pause and pay tribute today to the survivors and the victims who perished in the midst of a deliberate attempt to rid the world of the entire nation. As we recall the events that began on the night of April 24, 1915, we are reminded yet again of the fundamental importance of freedom and respect for human rights, and of the terrible consequences of their abuse.

I ask unanimous consent that a recent column appearing in the New York Times entitled "For Old Armenians, April is the Cruellest Memory" be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 19, 1995]

FOR OLD ARMENIANS, APRIL IS THE CRUELEST MEMORY

(By Michael T. Kaufman)

The forsythia at the Armenian Home in Flushing are blooming cheerily and the dandelions wink from the lawn, but for the old people who live there, April remains a time of heavy sorrows. They sit silently in sunny rooms, keeping to themselves what they saw and heard and smelled 80 years ago when their people were scattered and killed in the first of the century's many genocides.

"We don't talk to each other about it because everybody has their own terrible stories," said Alice Dosdourian, who is 89 years old. They also no longer go to the commemorative gatherings, such as the one to be held this Sunday in Times Square, where younger people mark the years of Armenian agony that began when the Turks killed 235 intellectuals on April 24, 1915. The home's administrators say the memorials were too upsetting for the residents.

"But I never forget," Mrs. Dosdourian said. "I think about what happened all the time. Sometimes I dream about it and I wake up and I hold myself and tell myself, 'No, you do not have to worry, now you are in America.'" Mrs. Dosdourian has been in America since 1924.

But if the old Armenians discreetly avoided making each other cry, they eagerly took advantage of a stranger's visit to tell what they had seen and endured as children. They are, after all, among the last ones alive who had seen the horrors with their own eyes. They need to reveal their recollections to those who were not there, not to seek redress or make politics, but simply to have the facts acknowledged. And so, one after another, the Armenians clasped a stranger's arm and testified.

Mrs. Dosdourian had been born in Mazhdvan, a village in that part of Turkey where the Armenians had lived for many centuries. She was 6 years old in 1915 when soldiers came and took away her father, a shoemaker. She never saw him again. "My mother took me and my brother, who was 12, and we walked. We went from village to village. We went to the mountains. I do not know how many months we walked. Once we were in a village where all the men were Armenian heroes, big men who fought until they died. But then the soldiers came and made us walk again."

There were more than a million who walked, mostly women, children and old men forced across Mesopotamian deserts into Syria. Many drowned and died of hunger. Some, like Mrs. Dosdourian's brother, were shot to death during the exodus. In all, the estimates of the dead ranged between 600,000 and 1.5 million. Until World War II and the destruction of the Jews, it was the sufferings of the Armenians, well documented by journalists and writers, that set standards of horror and contemporary barbarism.

"Every night," Mrs. Dosdourian said, "I heard people shouting that they were robbed by the gendarmes. We were always hungry. People were dying and we had no shovels to bury them. People stayed up at night to protect bodies from dogs and wild animals. People sang out to God, 'How could you let this happen to us?'" The woman spoke unhesitatingly, sitting erect and keeping her clear blue eyes on her listener.

"One day we came to a river. There were many dead around but in the water there was the body of a young woman floating. I could see her long black hair spread out like a beautiful fan." She shuddered and her clear blue eyes filled with tears.

Annahid Verdian also remembers. She was 4 years old when she was forced from her home with her mother and her father. She and her nurse became separated from the others. At one river she watched as a ferry full of people was turned over. She thinks her family may have been on the boat and drowned. She was adopted by people, some good, some exploitative. She worked as a maid, as a seamstress. She went to Greece and then to Marseille, and then in 1934 she came to Massachusetts, where she worked in textile mills.

Hagop Cividian, who is 86, did not come here until 1990. In French and German he explains his story. With difficulty he talks

about a woman named Diana, saying it is important to remember her because she was a real hero. He has written her story but only in Armenian. "Americans should know," he said with passion. "She was an American." She was married to his cousin and they had a 7-year-old boy who was a prodigy on the piano. "The authorities told her that because she was American she could go but she would have to leave the boy," Mr. Cividian said. "She stayed and died with her husband and son."

Mr. Cividian managed to live. "For four years I was hungry, and beaten," said the stocky and still muscular man. Later he made his way to Romania, where he became a chemical engineer. "As a child I saw the Turks kill the Armenians, later I saw Hitler and then Ceaucescu," Mr. Cividian said. "The only time I knew freedom was when I came to America five years ago. Only here I can do what I want. I can think, speak and remember."

IS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the impression simply will not go away; the enormous Federal debt greatly resembles that well-known energizer bunny we see, and see, and see on television. The Federal debt keeps going and going and going—always at the expense, of course, of the American taxpayers.

A lot of politicians talk a good game—when they go home to campaign about bringing Federal deficits and the Federal debt under control. But so many of these same politicians regularly voted for one bloated spending bill after another during the 103d Congress, which could have been a primary factor in the new configuration of U.S. Senators as a result of last November's elections.

In any event, Mr. President, as of yesterday, as of Friday, April 21, at the close of business, the total Federal debt stood—down to the penny—at exactly \$4,837,382,183,299.27 or \$18,362.79 per person.

FATHER ROBERT J. FOX

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I am pleased to pay tribute to an outstanding South Dakotan and good friend, Father Robert J. Fox of Alexandria, SD. Today, April 24, 1995, marks the 40th year of his dedicated service to the Catholic church and the people of South Dakota.

It has been my personal pleasure to work with Father Robert over the past 6 years in establishing National Children's Day. As national chairman of National Children's Day activities for the Catholic church, he has tirelessly promoted this special day for our children. As a result of his efforts, I expect to see National Children's Day successfully celebrated on the second Sunday of October for many years to come.

Father Robert Fox began his pastoral career at the age of 27 after graduating from St. Paul Seminary school. A little over a year later, on April 24, 1955, he was ordained into the priesthood, and gave his first sermon soon afterward at