

On April 24, 1915, the Ottoman Empire launched a brutal and unconscionable policy of mass murder. Over an eight year period, 1.5 million Armenians were killed, and another 500,000 were driven from their homes, their property and land confiscated.

We who enjoy the blessings of freedom and liberty must commemorate this event to ensure that it does not happen again. Far too often during this century we have remained silent as men, women, and children have been singled out, rounded up, and killed because of their race, ethnicity, or religion. By acknowledging the Armenian Genocide we state loud and clear: Never again.

Never again will we let brutal violations of human rights go without condemnation. Never again will we turn our backs on the oppressed and give comfort to the oppressors. Never again will we fail to stand up for justice and human dignity. Never again will we allow genocide to be perpetrated on this Earth.

Even as we remember the tragedy and honor the dead, we also honor the living. I am proud that my home State of California is home to a vibrant Armenian American community, a half a million strong. They have enriched the culture of our state and have participated in every aspect of civic life. They are a shining example of a people who overcame the horrors of the past to create a better future.

Let us never forget the victims of the Armenian Genocide. Let us ensure that they did not die in vain. Let us come together to remember the crimes of the past and to pledge to one another that they will not happen again in the future. Let us look ahead with Armenia and the Armenian American community to a brighter tomorrow.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 86th anniversary of the Armenian genocide. From 1915 to 1923, 1.5 million Armenians were executed in the first genocide of the 20th Century.

Sadly, there are some people who still deny the very existence of this period which saw the institutionalized slaughter of the Armenian people and the dismantling of Armenian culture. To those who would question these events, I refer them to numerous documents kept by the United States National Archives, which detail these horrifying events. The entire Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire was forcibly removed from their historic homeland in present-day eastern Turkey. A million and a half people were massacred and another 500,000 were exiled. As the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman State at the time, Henry Morgenthau, said, "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."

Tragically, the Armenian genocide was the first in a series of genocides in the 20th Century. Adolf Hitler, in preparing his genocide plans for the Jews, predicted that no one would remember the atrocities he was about to unleash. After all, he asked, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

And that is why we come together every year at this time to remember. The genocide of the Armenians did take place, and we do remember. That memory must be kept alive, to keep us vigilant in our efforts to prevent such atrocities from ever happening again.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to join with Armenians throughout the United States, in Armenia, and around the world in commemorating the 86th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

This week, members and friends of the Armenian community will gather together to remember April 24, 1915. On that day, nationalist forces of the Ottoman Empire started an eight year campaign of massacre and deportation that would impact the lives of every Armenian in Asia Minor.

Armenian men, women, and children of all ages fell victim to murder, rape, torture, and starvation. By 1923, an estimated 1.5 million Armenians had been systematically murdered and another 500,000 had their property stolen and were driven from their homeland. With World War I occupying center stage at the time, the Armenian people's situation went unaided.

Unfortunately, the residents of Armenia still suffer today. Armenian efforts at democracy and economic development have been hindered by regional conflict, natural disasters and internal strife. Yet, despite these setbacks, the Armenian people have maintained a persevering spirit that has kept hope alive. In the past few months, optimism has grown as internationally mediated peace talks between Armenian President Kocharian and Azerbaijani President Aliyev have made progress.

Commemoration of the Armenian genocide is important not to keep alive the memory of those Armenians who died, but to remind the world of its duty. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted in 1999, "It is sadly true what a cynic has said, that we learn from the history that we do not learn from history. And yet it is possible that if the world had been conscious of the genocide that was committed by the Ottoman Turks against the Armenians, the first genocide of the twentieth century, then perhaps humanity might have been more alert to the warning signs that were given before Hitler's madness was unleashed on an unbelieving world." It is my hope that the world has begun to pay attention to history because, unlike in 1915, the international community heeded the warning signs in Kosovo and did not sit back and watch, but reacted quickly and decisively. We must always bear witness to the terrors of yesterday so that we can respond to acts of oppression in the future, ensuring that the deaths of all victims of hatred and prejudice are not in vain.

Therefore, on the 86th anniversary of the terrible tragedy of the Armenian genocide we remember the past and rededicate ourselves to supporting Armenia as it looks to the future.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, April 24 marks the 86th anniversary of the beginning of one of the most tragic events in history, the Armenian Genocide. In 1915, the Ottoman Turkish Government embarked on a brutal policy of ethnic extermination. Over the next eight years, 1.5 million Armenians were killed, and more than half a million were forced from their homeland into exile.

In the years since then, the Armenian diaspora has thrived in the United States and in many other countries, bringing extraordinary vitality and achievement to communities across America and throughout the world. The Armenian Assembly of America, the Armenian National Committee of America, and other distinguished groups deserve great credit for their impressive work in maintaining the proud history and heritage of the Armenian people, and guaranteeing that the Armenian Genocide will never be forgotten.

One of the enduring achievements of the survivors of the Genocide and their descendants has been to keep its tragic memory alive, in spite of continuing efforts by those who refuse to acknowledge the atrocities that took place. In Massachusetts, the Armenian Genocide is part of that curriculum in every public school. Legislation was introduced last year in the U.S. House of Representatives to support recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and the French government approved a law to recognize the Armenian Genocide in January.

It is time for all governments, political leaders and peoples everywhere to recognize the Armenian Genocide. These annual commemorations are an effective way to pay tribute to the courage and suffering and triumph of the Armenian people, and to ensure that such atrocities will never happen again to any people on earth.

#### LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about hate crimes legislation I introduced with Senator KENNEDY last month. The Local Law Enforcement Act of 2001 would add new categories to current hate crimes legislation sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to detail a heinous crime that occurred in my own home State of Oregon in 1995. A twenty-seven year old Stockton, California man murdered a Medford, OR couple, Roxanne Ellis, 53 and Michelle Abdill, 42. The women, who ran a property management business, disappeared December 4, 1995

after showing the man an apartment for rent. He shot them both in the head, and the bodies were left bound and gagged in a truck bed. The Stockton man later confessed, saying he targeted the women because they were lesbians, and he figured they wouldn't have families that would miss them.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 is now a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation, we can change hearts and minds as well.

#### FINAL PASSAGE OF S. 27

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on Monday, April 2, the Senate took long awaited action to approve legislation to address what the American people believe is the single most egregious abuse of our campaign finance system—that is the unlimited flow of soft money permeating our elections system. If the McCain-Feingold legislation did nothing else but close the soft money loophole, it would still be reform.

But my colleagues have accomplished much more in this legislation. I congratulate Senators McCAIN and FEINGOLD for their vision in recognizing the powerfully negative influence of the money chase on our political system and their dogged persistence and patience in striving to craft a consensus on reform legislation that seeks to address the worst aspects of the current system.

But the Senate would not have passed this bill were it not for the equally determined leadership of TOM DASCHLE and the Democratic caucus. No member has been more consistent in support of reform than our leader, and no member has worked harder behind the scenes to hold the Democratic caucus together in support of this measure.

At the same time, I must also acknowledge the powerful influence of my colleague, the chairman of the Rules Committee, for his unstinting devotion to the principles of free speech and his unyielding belief that most, if not all, proposed campaign finance reforms are not only unwise, but unconstitutional.

While a majority of this body clearly do not share Senator McCONNELL's views, I appreciate his willingness to allow the debate to continue unhindered, unlike debates in the past, by repeated cloture votes.

This debate has exemplified the Senate at its best. The free flow of debate, the unrestricted offering of well reasoned amendments, and the opportunity for all members to be heard are the hallmarks of this, the world's greatest deliberative body.

Finally, I must express my great respect to my colleagues in the Democratic caucus, under the very able leadership of Senator DASCHLE, who, along

with a small group of courageous Senators across the aisle, have put aside their own short-term political interests and voted time and again in favor of comprehensive, commonsense, and badly-needed campaign finance reform.

I predict that this debate will find its place in history as one of the greatest Senate debates in the last decade, both in terms of its content and its impact on our system of democracy.

I have been privileged and honored to serve as floor manager of this measure, along with the Senator from Kentucky. As my colleague from Kentucky has alluded, the stakes in this debate were considerable for many interested parties.

And although members disagreed over the need for this measure, and amendments to it, Senators were not disagreeable in their debate. I thank my colleagues for their patience and cooperation throughout this debate.

I also compliment my good friend, the Majority Leader, for his willingness to allow the Senate to have a free-flowing debate. This issue is of paramount importance to the continued health of this democracy, and his willingness to provide for free and open debate on the McCain-Feingold measure has produced, in this Senator's mind, an even better bill than was originally brought to the Senate floor.

I am hopeful there will be an opportunity to make further improvements in this measure in the House. Although I am supporting the McCain-Feingold legislation, there are two provisions, in particular, that cause me concern.

First is the so-called millionaire's provision which purports to level the playing field for candidates who face wealthy challengers. While that may be a laudable goal, the amendment ignores the fact that many incumbents who face wealthy challengers are sitting on healthy campaign treasuries, sometimes amounting to several million dollars. In those instances, this amendment serves as an incumbent protection provision.

As I stated before passage of the Durbin-Domenici-DeWine amendment to fix this inequity, I am not satisfied that the Durbin amendment went far enough to recognize the considerable war chests that some incumbents have. I urge my colleagues in the House to carefully consider this provision with an eye to improving it.

Secondly, although I reluctantly supported the Thompson-Feingold amendment to increase the individual hard money contribution limits, I did so only in the context of achieving broader reform. Quite simply, the increase in the hard money limits was the price to be paid to gain sufficient support from our Republican colleagues for banning soft money and reining in so-called sham issue ads.

Of particular concern to me is the indexing of these increases which only ensures the continuing upward spiral of money into our political system. While I understand the desire of some to

avoid a future debate on reform, the fact that the hard money limits had not been increased since 1974 is what created both the pressure and the opportunity for this reform.

Again, I urge my colleagues in the House to consider these limits and avoid the temptation to increase them ever higher; otherwise, there may come a time when the price for reform becomes too great for this Senator.

I am hopeful that the House will act expeditiously on this measure. While I do not suggest that House members forego their responsibility and right to thoroughly debate and amend this legislation, I encourage them to do so in a manner that will allow this bill to reach the President's desk before the end of this year.

I also thank the numerous staff who have assisted in facilitating consideration of this measure, not the least of which are our Democratic floor staff, including Marty Paone, Lula Davis, and Gary Myrick, along with the outstanding Democratic cloakroom staff.

I also extend my special appreciation to Andrea LaRue of Senator DASCHLE's staff. She, along with Mark Childress and Mark Patterson, were invaluable in offering much needed expertise and guidance on this legislation.

Of equal assistance were the staffs of Senators FEINGOLD and McCAIN, including Bob Schiff, Ann Choiniere and Mark Buse, as well as Laurie Rubenstein of Senator LIEBERMAN's staff and Linda Gustitus of Senator LEVIN's staff.

I also wish to acknowledge the contributions of Senator McCONNELL's staff, including Hunter Davis of his personal staff, and Tam Somerville and Andrew Siff of the Rules Committee staff.

Finally, I thank Shawn Maher of my personal office staff, and Veronica Gillespie, my Elections counsel on the Rules Committee staff, as well as Kennie Gill, the Democratic staff director and chief counsel of the Rules Committee.

One final point, Mr. President. The great justice, Learned Hand, once spoke of liberty as the great equalizer among men. In his words, "the spirit of liberty is the . . . lesson . . . (mankind) has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

That, my colleagues, should be the ultimate test of whether any matter considered by this body is worthy of support. The McCain-Feingold legislation passes that test.

#### THE ARKANSAS PLAN

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, today I am announcing my vision for the design of the tax cut and I am sending a message to my Chairman and to the President that I am willing to work with them on a tax cut as long as it recognizes that Arkansas taxpayers