## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

Stabenow Udall Wicker Sullivan Van Hollen Wyden Tester Warner Young Thune Whitehouse

### NAYS-20

Blackburn Hawley Rounds Braun Inhofe Sasse Scott (FL) Cruz Lee Daines Paul Scott (SC) Enzi Perdue Tillis Ernst Risch Toomey Fischer Romney

#### NOT VOTING-6

Booker Harris Sanders Cassidy Klobuchar Warren

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

DIRECTING THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKE A CORRECTION IN THE ENROLLMENT OF H.R. 3055

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 75, which was received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 75) directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a correction in the enrollment of H.R. 3055.

There being no objection, the senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (H. Con. Res. 75) was agreed to.

## LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

# EXECUTIVE SESSION

# EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 386.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert M. Duncan, of Kentucky, to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for a term expiring December 8, 2025. (Reappointment)

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Robert M. Duncan, of Kentucky, to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for a term expiring December 8, 2025. (Reappointment)

Kevin Cramer, David Perdue, Ben Sasse, Rob Portman, Johnny Isakson, John Thune, Mike Rounds, Roy Blunt, Mitch McConnell, Chuck Grassley, John Boozman, Tom Cotton, Pat Roberts, Richard Burr, Rick Scott, James E. Risch, Shelley Moore Capito.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. RES. 150

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I come to the floor again with respect to S. Res. 150, which I introduced with Senator CRUZ, to recognize the Armenian Genocide. I am glad that he is with me today in a call for unanimous consent on this resolution. We are proud to report that we have 28 sponsors on this important resolution.

Last month, the House of Representatives passed a version of this resolution by a vote of 405–11—405–11. That sent a strong bipartisan message of dedication to the truth—dedication to historical fact, dedication to a principle held by so many in Congress—that genocide is genocide.

As a country, we should do whatever we can to prevent future genocides, but when it happens, we have an obligation as a country to call it what it is. If not, we operate without the facts outside of reality. We aren't being honest to ourselves and to the world. This resolution gives us that reckoning and sets the record straight, a record that so many administrations over the years have sought to obscure. These administrations, Republican and Democrat, have dug their heads into the sand, despite the words of U.S. diplomats who were there at the time, who saw the genocide with their own eyes.

Let me just share a couple of examples. Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, from 1913 to 1916, wrote in his memoir that, "When the Turkish authorities gave the order 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 this fact. 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." This was Henry Morgenthau Ambassador's quote.

On June 5, 1915, the United States Consul in Aleppo, Jesse Jackson, wrote, "There is a living stream of Armenians pouring into Aleppo from the surrounding towns and villages, the principal ones being Marash, Zeitoun, Hasanbeyli, Osmania, Baghtche, Adana, Dortyol, Hadjin.

"The Ottoman Government has been appealed to by various prominent people and even those in authority to put an end to these conditions, under the representations that it can only lead to the greatest blame and reproach, but all to no avail. It is without doubt a carefully planned scheme to thoroughly extinguish the Armenian race."

On July 24, 1915, in a report to Ambassador Morgenthau, the U.S. Consul in Harput, Leslie Davis, stated, "Any doubt that may have been expressed in previous reports as to the Government's intention in sending away the Armenians have been removed. It has been no secret that the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race. Everything was apparently planned months ago."

And, finally, on October 1, 1916, a telegram to the Secretary of State Robert Lansing, the U.S. Charge d'Affaires Hoffman Philip wrote, "The department is in receipt of ample details demonstrating the horrors of the anti-Armenian campaign. For many months past I felt that the most efficacious method for dealing with the situation from an international standpoint would be to flatly threaten to withdraw our Diplomatic Representative from a country where such barbarous methods are not only tolerated but actually carried out by order of the existing Government.'

Finally, Abram Elkus, who served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1916 to 1917, telegrammed the Secretary of State at the time on October 17, 1916, stating "In order to avoid opprobrium of the civilized world, which the continuation of massacres [of the Armenians] would Turkish officials have now arouse. adopted and are executing the unchecked policy of extermination through starvation, exhaustion, and brutality of treatment hardly passed even in Turkish history.'

American officials, those with the most credible and legitimate understanding of what took place, made these statements. They are part of the historical record, and they mark one of the prouder moments in the history of the State Department and our diplomacy.

Finally, there are 27 countries in the world that have already recognized the Armenian genocide. Eleven of them are NATO countries: Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, and Slovakia. None of them have ruptured their relationship with Turkey. None of them have ended their relationship with Turkey as it relates to recognizing the Armenian genocide as a historical fact.

Why is the greatest country on the face of the earth, the United States of America, incapable—incapable—of doing this when these 11 NATO countries haven't? So I want to thank the many individuals over the years, particularly the Armenian National Committee of America, the Armenian Assembly, and so many others, who have worked so hard alongside me to ensure the U.S. abides by its commitment to the truth and to a world where genocide truly never happens again.

I have had a good friend and colleague who has been engaged with me in this latest effort, and I want to yield to him at this time, Senator CRUZ.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I am proud to join with my friend and my colleague from New Jersey today in urging the Senate to take up and pass the resolution affirming U.S. recognition of the Armenian genocide. From 1915 to 1923, the Ottoman Empire carried out a forced deportation of nearly 2 million Armenians, of whom 1.5 million were killed. It was an atrocious genocide. That it happened is a reality that no amount of political doublespeak can cover up.

In fact, the word "genocide," which literally means the killing of an entire people, was coined by Raphael Lemkin to describe the horrific nature of the Ottoman Empire's calculated extermination of the Armenians. That is the genesis of the word "genocide."

As America, we must never be silent in response to atrocities. Over 100 years ago, the world sat silently as the Armenian people suffered and were systemically murdered. Many people today are still unaware of what happened. With this resolution—a bipartisan resolution—we are saying it is a policy of the United States to commemorate the Armenian genocide through official recognition and remembrance.

Let me echo what my colleague from New Jersey just said. Doing so is not incompatible with continuing to deal with Turkey as an ally. Just last week, I sat down with President Erdogan and President Trump in the oval office. Turkey is a NATO ally and an important one, but friends and allies can speak the truth, and we are not honoring America and who we stand for if we are afraid to speak the truth and willing to participate in covering it up. We have a moral duty to acknowledge what happened to 1.5 million innocent souls. It is the right thing to do, and it is my hope that the Senate will do so in a bipartisan manner.

I yield back the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Therefore, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations be discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 150 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration; I further ask that the

resolution be agreed to; the preamble be agreed to; and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. PERDUE. I am reserving the right to object.

Mr. President, just yesterday, Secretary Pompeo joined the foreign ministers at NATO headquarters in Brussels, including Foreign Minister Cavusoglu from Turkey. Secretary Pompeo had quite a lot to discuss with him, as this administration continues its engagement with Turkey's leadership on the heels of President Trump's meeting with President Erdogan last week. In light of these diplomatic efforts, I respectfully object to this resolution at this time.

While the content of the legislation before us merits undivided consideration, its passage would undermine the administration's overcoming real challenges in our bilateral relationship with Turkey. I look forward to working with the administration and Senator CRUZ and Senator MENENDEZ in holding our NATO ally responsible for its commitment made when it joined the NATO community of like-minded nations founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law.

For those reasons, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I am not new to this issue. I have been pursuing recognition of the Armenian genocide for the greater part of a decade, and there always seems to be some reason why, in fact, it is not a good moment. Well, it is like a rope-a-dope. It is like a rope-a-dope. There is always another reason. There is always another excuse.

The 11 NATO allies have done this, and they are still in NATO and still working with Turkey and still have diplomatic relationships with Turkey. It is amazing to me the greatest power on the face of this earth can't just speak truth of history. It amazes me. And so there never seems to be a good moment.

Now, I have been here in the Senate long enough to know that objections to unanimous consent work both ways, so I am going to continue to bring this issue to the floor. I think Armenian Americans, the world, and history should record who stands on the side of recognizing genocide for what it is and who is not, and so I am not going to relax. If necessary, I am sure there will be moments in which those will seek consent on issues, and if the only way is to get a vote on this through the actual process on the floor, then I will force that issue because history demands it. Our conscience should call for it, and a decade of waiting to make this happen is enough.

With that, I yield the floor. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I appreciate Senator MENENDEZ always speaking up for human rights, regardless who the President is, regardless of any colleagues running for President, whenever the President calls on them, and Senator MENENDEZ has always been a Senator here that stands up for his principles on international human rights.

BIPARTISAN AMERICAN MINERS ACT

Mr. President, thank you to Senator Manchin and all of my colleagues for coming to the floor earlier today to remind this body that we need to act now on behalf of almost 90,000 miners who are living under the threat of massive cuts for the pensions they earned; 1,200 miners and their families could lose their healthcare by the end of the year because of the Westmoreland and Murray bankruptcies. That leaves us about a month.

The bankruptcy court could allow these corporations to "shed their liabilities," which is a fancy way of saying they could walk away from paying miners the benefits they have earned.

Two years ago, we worked to save thousands of miners' healthcare. We have to do it again. We can't leave these workers behind to lose their healthcare over the holidays just because of the date their companies filed for bankruptcy. We have to make sure they don't lose their retirement security on top of that.

All 86,000 UMWA miners are facing crippling pension cuts. They aren't alone. This retirement security of hundreds of thousands of teamsters and ironworkers and carpenters and many other retirees and workers is also at risk. The crisis facing their pensions is real. It is immediate. It can have ripple effects across the country.

This week, the PBGC released a new report showing it could run out of money even sooner, and we should be concerned about that. If the multi-employer system collapses, if PBGC fails, we are looking at a potential recession. Small businesses that have been in the family for generations could face bankruptcy. Workers will lose jobs at businesses forced to close up shop. Retirees will face crippling cuts to their income.

Congress gave Wall Street a bailout a decade ago after they wrecked people's lives. These miner workers did what they were supposed to do. They gave up money at the bargaining table to put money aside for healthcare and pensions later. Is Congress going to abandon them? This is about our values. This is about whose side you are on. It is about the dignity of work. We should be committed to these miners, for these workers, these retirees. We should not give up. We are continuing to work for a bipartisan solution.

It comes down to the dignity of work. When people have dignity, when work has dignity, we honor the retirement security they have earned.