

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

MARKUP
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 252

MARCH 4, 2010

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

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 2010

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Howard L. Berman (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman BERMAN. A quorum being present, the committee shall come to order. Before we get to the committee's business I would simply like to announce that in addition to a closed briefing on an important subject this afternoon at 4 o'clock, which all members have been invited to, next week we will hold a hearing on Internet freedom on Wednesday at 10 o'clock, and on Thursday morning we will have a meeting of our Foreign Aid Reform Task Force, and I encourage all members to come to those.

A quorum being present, as I mentioned, the committee is in order, and pursuant to notice I call up H. Res. 252, Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

[H. Res. 252 follows:]

111TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 252

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.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 17, 2009

Mr. SCHIFF (for himself, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. KIRK, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. CANTOR, Mr. MCCOTTER, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Ms. WATSON, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. WU, Mr. SIRES, Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California, Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. WEINER, Mr. HONDA, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. WALZ, Mr. PETERS, Ms. SUTTON, Mr. COSTA, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey, Mr. WOLF, Mr. MARKEY of Massachusetts, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. CARDOZA, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mrs. CAPPS, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. HIMES, Mr. BACA, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. ROTHMAN of New Jersey, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. FATTAH, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. SPACE, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. POLIS of Colorado, Mr. LANCE, Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California, Mr. OLVER, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Ms. TITUS, Mr. STARK, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. KENNEDY, Ms. TSONGAS, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. DREIER, Mr. NUNES, Mr. TONKO, and Mr. TIERNEY) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy

1 (3) This joint statement stated “the Allied Govern-
2 ments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they
3 will hold personally responsible for these crimes all mem-
4 bers of the Ottoman Government, as well as those of their
5 agents who are implicated in such massacres”.

6 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government in-
7 dicted the top leaders involved in the “organization and
8 execution” of the Armenian Genocide and in the “mas-
9 sacre and destruction of the Armenians”.

10 (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the
11 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as charged,
12 for organizing and executing massacres against the Arme-
13 nian people.

14 (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Genocide,
15 Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior Talaat,
16 and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all condemned to
17 death for their crimes, however, the verdicts of the courts
18 were not enforced.

19 (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic judi-
20 cial failures are documented with overwhelming evidence
21 in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany,
22 Great Britain, Russia, the United States, the Vatican and
23 many other countries, and this vast body of evidence at-
24 tests to the same facts, the same events, and the same
25 consequences.

1 (8) The United States National Archives and Record
2 Administration holds extensive and thorough documenta-
3 tion on the Armenian Genocide, especially in its holdings
4 under Record Group 59 of the United States Department
5 of State, files 867.00 and 867.40, which are open and
6 widely available to the public and interested institutions.

7 (9) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States
8 Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916,
9 organized and led protests by officials of many countries,
10 among them the allies of the Ottoman Empire, against
11 the Armenian Genocide.

12 (10) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to
13 the United States Department of State the policy of the
14 Government of the Ottoman Empire as “a campaign of
15 race extermination,” and was instructed on July 16, 1915,
16 by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing that
17 the “Department approves your procedure . . . to stop
18 Armenian persecution”.

19 (11) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of February
20 9, 1916, resolved that “the President of the United States
21 be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citi-
22 zens of this country may give expression to their sympathy
23 by contributing funds now being raised for the relief of
24 the Armenians”, who at the time were enduring “starva-
25 tion, disease, and untold suffering”.

1 (12) President Woodrow Wilson concurred and also
2 encouraged the formation of the organization known as
3 Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which
4 contributed some \$116,000,000 from 1915 to 1930 to aid
5 Armenian Genocide survivors, including 132,000 orphans
6 who became foster children of the American people.

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

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

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

1 (16) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term “geno-
2 cide” in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the
3 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punish-
4 ment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a defini-
5 tive example of genocide in the 20th century.

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

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

18 (19) The Commission stated that “[t]he provisions
19 of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres were obvi-
20 ously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note
21 of 1915 . . . , offenses which had been committed on
22 Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship,
23 though of Armenian or Greek race. This article constitutes
24 therefore a precedent for Article 6c and 5c of the Nurem-
25 berg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one

1 of the categories of ‘crimes against humanity’ as under-
2 stood by these enactments”.

3 (20) House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April
4 8, 1975, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1975, is hereby des-
5 ignated as ‘National Day of Remembrance of Man’s Inhu-
6 manity to Man’, and the President of the United States
7 is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling
8 upon the people of the United States to observe such day
9 as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide,
10 especially those of Armenian ancestry . . .”.

11 (21) President Ronald Reagan in proclamation num-
12 ber 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part “like the
13 genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of
14 the Cambodians, which followed it—and like too many
15 other persecutions of too many other people—the lessons
16 of the Holocaust must never be forgotten”.

17 (22) House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on Sep-
18 tember 10, 1984, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1985, is here-
19 by designated as ‘National Day of Remembrance of Man’s
20 Inhumanity to Man’, and the President of the United
21 States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation
22 calling upon the people of the United States to observe
23 such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of
24 genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of
25 Armenian ancestry . . .”.

1 (23) In August 1985, after extensive study and delib-
2 eration, the United Nations SubCommission on Preven-
3 tion of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities voted
4 14 to 1 to accept a report entitled “Study of the Question
5 of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Geno-
6 cide,” which stated “[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortu-
7 nately not been the only case of genocide in the 20th cen-
8 tury. Among other examples which can be cited as quali-
9 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in
10 1915–1916”.

11 (24) This report also explained that “[a]t least
12 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Armenian
13 population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or
14 death marched by independent authorities and eye-wit-
15 nesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States,
16 German and British archives and of contemporary dip-
17 lomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally
18 Germany.”.

19 (25) The United States Holocaust Memorial Council,
20 an independent Federal agency, unanimously resolved on
21 April 30, 1981, that the United States Holocaust Memo-
22 rial Museum would include the Armenian Genocide in the
23 Museum and has since done so.

24 (26) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression (later
25 retracted) by the United States Department of State as-

1 sserting that the facts of the Armenian Genocide may be
2 ambiguous, the United States Court of Appeals for the
3 District of Columbia in 1993, after a review of documents
4 pertaining to the policy record of the United States, noted
5 that the assertion on ambiguity in the United States
6 record about the Armenian Genocide “contradicted long-
7 standing United States policy and was eventually re-
8 tracted”.

9 (27) On June 5, 1996, the House of Representatives
10 adopted an amendment to House Bill 3540 (the Foreign
11 Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Ap-
12 propriations Act, 1997) to reduce aid to Turkey by
13 \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its payment of lobbying fees
14 in the United States) until the Turkish Government ac-
15 knowledged the Armenian Genocide and took steps to
16 honor the memory of its victims.

17 (28) President William Jefferson Clinton, on April
18 24, 1998, stated: “This year, as in the past, we join with
19 Armenian-Americans throughout the nation in commemo-
20 rating one of the saddest chapters in the history of this
21 century, the deportations and massacres of a million and
22 a half Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the years
23 1915–1923.”.

24 (29) President George W. Bush, on April 24, 2004,
25 stated: “On this day, we pause in remembrance of one

1 of the most horrible tragedies of the 20th century, the an-
2 nihilation of as many as 1,500,000 Armenians through
3 forced exile and murder at the end of the Ottoman Em-
4 pire.”.

5 (30) Despite the international recognition and affir-
6 mation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of the do-
7 mestic and international authorities to punish those re-
8 sponsible for the Armenian Genocide is a reason why simi-
9 lar genocides have recurred and may recur in the future,
10 and that a just resolution will help prevent future geno-
11 cides.

12 DECLARATION OF POLICY

13 SEC. 3.

14 The House of Representatives—

15 (1) calls upon the President to ensure that the for-
16 eign policy of the United States reflects appropriate un-
17 derstanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to
18 human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented
19 in the United States record relating to the Armenian
20 Genocide and the consequences of the failure to realize a
21 just resolution; and

22 (2) calls upon the President in the President’s annual
23 message commemorating the Armenian Genocide issued
24 on or about April 24, to accurately characterize the sys-
25 tematic and deliberate annihilation of 1,500,000 Arme-
26 nians as genocide and to recall the proud history of United

1 States intervention in opposition to the Armenian Geno-
2 cide.



Chairman BERMAN. In a moment I will yield myself 5 minutes to make an opening statement on the resolution and 5 minutes to the ranking member to provide her views. Other members who wish to make general statements may do so by asking to strike the last word.

Without objection, I may recess the committee from time to time. In addition, I may exercise the chair's prerogative under Rule 4 of the committee rules to postpone votes for the convenience of members. I will give members as much notice as I can on when such postponed votes will occur.

Before we begin the discussion today I would like to recognize some special guests who are with us today. First we are joined by three survivors of the Armenian Genocide: Onorik Eminian, who is 97 years old from Flushing, New York, Mr. Ackerman's congressional district; Charlotte Kechejian, 98 years old, also from Flushing; and from Chevy Chase, Maryland, at the age of 105 years, Yeretzgeen Sirarpi Khayan. We are honored and humbled by your presence.

We also are joined by three distinguished members of the Armenian Parliament and eight distinguished members of the Turkish Parliament, including the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Honorable Murat Mercan, and the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Namik Tan.

Finally, I want to make it clear that only members of the committee will be recognized to participate in the debate. We are not going to have members of the audience making statements or answering questions or participating in any other way, and I now recognize myself for 5 minutes to make an opening statement.

Turkey is a vital and, in most respects, a loyal ally to the United States in a volatile region. We have also been a loyal ally to Turkey and should continue to be so. Be that as it may, nothing justifies Turkey's turning a blind eye to the reality of the Armenian Genocide. It is regrettable, for example, that Turkey's Nobel Prize-winning novelist, Orhan Pamuk, was essentially hounded out of his native country for speaking out on this subject.

Now, I don't pretend to be a professional historian. I haven't scoured the archives in Istanbul looking for original documents, but the vast majority of experts—the vast majority—academics, authorities in international law, and others who have looked at this issue for years agree that the tragic massacres of the Armenians constitute genocide.

In a letter to Members of Congress 2 years ago, 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 Court-Martial of 1918–1920, and by decades of scholarship.

“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.”

The Genocide Scholars urged the House to pass a resolution acknowledging the Armenian Genocide because, they said, it would constitute—and I quote again—“recognition of a historical turning point in the twentieth 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 the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has written that the Armenian Genocide, is in his words, “the closest parallel to the Holocaust.”

In a 1985 report, a subcommission of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights found that the massacres of the Armenians qualified as genocide. And Raphael Lemkin, the Polish lawyer who coined the word “genocide” and drafted the international genocide convention, told an interviewer that “I became interested in genocide because it happened to the Armenians.”

Nearly two dozen other countries—including France, Canada, Russia, Switzerland and Chile—have formally recognized the Armenian Genocide. So has the European Parliament. As the world leader in promoting human rights, the United States has a moral responsibility to join them.

The Turks say passing this resolution could have terrible consequences for our bilateral relationship, and indeed perhaps there will be some consequences. But I believe that Turkey values its relationship with the United States at least as much as we value our relations with Turkey. And I believe the Turks, however deep their dismay today, fundamentally agree that the United States-Turkish alliance is simply too important to get sidetracked by a non-binding resolution passed by the House of Representatives.

At some point every nation must come to terms with its own history, and that is all we ask of Turkey. Germany has accepted responsibility for the Holocaust. South Africa has set up a Truth Commission to look at apartheid. And here at home, we continue to grapple with the legacies of slavery and our horrendous treatment of Native Americans.

It is now time for Turkey to accept the reality of the Armenian Genocide. This will most likely be a difficult and painful process for the Turkish people, but at the end of the day, it will strengthen Turkish democracy and put the United States-Turkey relationship on a better footing.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I now turn to the ranking member, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, for her statement.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. The death of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of officials of the Ottoman Empire almost a century ago was a dark and horrific chapter in human rights, one which has had an enduring impact on the psyche of subsequent generations of Armenians. It continues to significantly influence the relations between the current nation states of Armenian and Turkey and thereby impacts attempts at reconciliation between the two countries.

This is also an extremely sensitive time for U.S. efforts in both Europe and the Middle East, and we need to ensure that our decisions and our actions concerning the resolution before us do not have unintended consequences that could place at risk critical U.S. security interests, our operations in Afghanistan and Iraq and our troops serving in harm's way.

Without question, this is an extremely serious matter that requires careful consideration. Unfortunately, we are at a disadvantage today. The current administration, in contrast to the Bush and Clinton administrations, has chosen not to engage in any way prior to today's markup and has not yet decided if it will at all at some later point. Despite various congressional requests, it has not submitted any views or provided any recent documentation that could assist us in our committee in arriving at the decision before us on House Resolution 252.

As such, some of us have reviewed information provided by the Department of Defense in 2007 and the intelligence community in 2009 in an effort to gain a more complete understanding of the different foreign policy priorities and important security interests at stake. Our colleague, Mr. McCaul, has reviewed those documents. He has constituents serving in Iraq and Afghanistan and wanted to ensure that he fully understood the potential ramifications for their safety and the safety of all of our personnel engaging the enemy in these countries.

The information contained in these documents had a profound impact on the way that he views today's markup of House Resolution 252 and what it could mean for our military operations. More broadly, as a number of our colleagues, including Chairman Ike Skelton of the Armed Forces Committee, cautioned in a letter to Chairman Berman and me earlier this week, and I quote:

"This legislation will have very real and meaningful consequences internationally. While we can and should debate the best ways to defeat extremism and help strengthen our struggling economy, we certainly should not be considering proposals that will only further damage our country both militarily and economically."

Lastly, I would suggest that it does not help nor advance our nation's interest for the members of this committee to engage in a tit-for-tat to disparage either the Armenian or the Turkish Government. To ensure that members have ample opportunity to express their support and raise concerns about this measure, Mr. Chairman, I will yield back my time. Thank you.

Chairman BERMAN. The ranking member has yielded back her time.

Without objection, the resolution shall be considered as read and open for amendment at any point. Members now will be recognized to strike the last word or to offer amendments. The gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Middle East and South Asia Subcommittee, Mr. Ackerman, for what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. ACKERMAN. I was hoping not to go first, but I guess the alphabet will have its way. I move to strike the last word, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, this is not one of those issues that Members of Congress look forward to voting on. I think it makes us a little bit uncomfortable. It is not as easy for most of us to just put out a sign that says yes or no without the kind of emotional involvement that so many of our fellow citizens have because of their mother country from which they or their parents or ancestors might have come from.

There is an argument to be made, and you have cited most of them, Mr. Chairman, that have been already before us and we have already considered. Turkey is an important, strong, necessary ally of the United States in so many efforts and so many ways. The role that they play in the Middle East as an intermediary, the geographic place which they occupy being so important to the world scene and their attitude toward democracy being the democracy that we point to that says democracy can work in Islamic countries. All of these are of great importance to us.

And then there is the argument of forgive and forget. Why don't we just ignore what so many have called to our attention, just let it go by the boards and not address it at all? But overriding all that I think, Mr. Chairman, is the issue of justice and the issue of history and the issue of the historic record.

It is like telling victims of a crime well, it happened already. Forget it. It is what kept rape victims quiet for so many years. It is what kept Holocaust survivors quiet for 40 years. You know, when you think about it, it was 40 years before Holocaust victims ever spoke up about the atrocities they experienced during the Holocaust.

Forgive and forget. It is easy to say, I suppose, if you are not the one or party to the one who has been damaged or hurt. You cannot forgive someone who hurt somebody else, and neither can you erase the problem from your memory. If you forget an injustice then it doesn't occur. If you forget something that was wrong, you will no longer be able to tell right from wrong because wrong then goes away.

I have given this a lot of thought and thought about it in personal terms, especially because we have those who still are around on this planet who say that the Holocaust involving the Jews committed by the Nazis did not occur. We hear it every day from the rantings of a mad man in Iran. Some people laugh at it, some people are confused by it and some people are inspired by it, and some people say oh, it is only words, and so many others say if you don't

confront these words then it is going to happen again. That is my concern here.

There are in this audience, as you have introduced, two constituents of mine, among others I am sure, each of whom are 98 years old, Mr. Chairman. There was one that was here last year who is no longer with us. But these two ladies got up early in the morning in Flushing, New York, had some help in getting dressed, getting into a chair, being taken to the airport, being put on a plane, being taken off the plane, being put back in wheelchairs, coming to the Capitol, going through security and getting to this room.

They are 98 years old. They were alive at the time that this genocide took place and they are here for justice. Ninety-eight years old. How long can they wait? Shall we tell them once again to come back next year? Mr. Chairman, history has to be righted. It has to be confronted. It has to be acknowledged.

I am concerned about the relationship that we have with Turkey, but that is a real relationship and it will endure. I would point out that after the Holocaust in which 12 million people were killed, 6 million of them being Jews killed just because they were Jews, that this problem plagues us still.

This is a matter, Mr. Chairman, that must be dealt with, and this is the day that we are going to deal with it. There is no come back later for people, and there is no putting this vote off for us. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. Who seeks recognition on the minority side? The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

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

Chairman BERMAN. For what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. SMITH. Move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In September 2000 I had the privilege of chairing a hearing on the Armenian Genocide. It was a 4-hour hearing, the first comprehensive hearing this House ever held on the Armenian Genocide.

The testimony we heard that day and the accounts of the atrocities that I have read in articles and books both before and after that hearing, including the book by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who was our Ambassador at the time, deeply saddened me, and I think anyone who was at that hearing or even read some of the articles about the genocide would be moved to tears about what they have read or seen. I would like to extend my condolences to all of those here and others who have lost family members to the genocide.

The existence of an aggressive Turkish Government sponsored campaign of genocidal denial was and is deeply shocking and it is alarming. In fact, the Turkish Government criminally prosecutes people for acknowledging the Armenian Genocide. Congress would certainly speak out if Germany denied the Jewish Holocaust or if the Russian Government put people in jail for mentioning Ukrainian Holodomor.

The Turkish Government's denial of the genocide of 1.5 million Armenians is really an outrage. Unfortunately, some have gotten used to it or perhaps become desensitized to this assault on the

dignity of the Armenian people. The issue behind this resolution, Mr. Chairman, is, when another government denies genocide, whether Congress has a responsibility to insist that our Government at least acknowledge it. I believe that we do.

We have a record of recognizing genocide—the Holocaust, the Ukrainian infamous famine wrought by Stalin, the Cambodian and the Darfur genocides. In 2005, I was the author of H. Res. 199, which recognized the Srebrenica genocide, and which had a very beneficial effect in clearing the political climate in Bosnia.

The Armenian tragedy was by any measure a genocide. In 1915, there were about 2 million Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire. They were living in a region 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. A few of those exiled are here in the audience today.

The Government of the Empire, whose leaders were members of the movement known as the Young Turks, called this campaign against Armenians a mass deportation rather than a mass murder, but 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 a crime against humanity, the first time in history that that charge was ever made by one state against another. Though after World War I the term genocide didn’t exist, the world understood what had been done to the Armenians. The Government of Turkey convicted a number of high-ranking Young Turk officials for their role in what the Turkish Government indictment called “the massacre and destruction of the Armenians.”

Unfortunately, the Turkish Government later changed course. For Armenians everywhere, the Turkish Government’s campaign of genocide denial is a cruel slap in the face. It is not only the genocide of 90 years ago, but also the aggressive, ongoing official denial that brings us here today.

I want to note here that this House, this Congress, the Government of the United States, is a friend to Turkey, but friends don’t let friends commit crimes against humanity or act as accomplices in their denial after they have been committed.

I would recall to you that, in judging the post-World War I case against the prime movers of the genocide, the Turkish President of the court stated, and I quote, “The perpetuation of such atrocities is not only incompatible with Ottoman’s laws and the constitution, but also is contrary to the dictates of the Muslim faith.”

I admire him for saying this. He said this for the good of his country, and his words were truly patriotic. We could take some comfort in the growing willingness of some Turkish citizens, especially scholars, journalists and writers, to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide.

In standing for truth against their government, these brave men and women are standing for Turkey’s real interests and for the Armenian-Turkish reconciliation which can only build on an honest acknowledgement of the past by all sides and by all governments.

Again I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing this resolution to the committee.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman yields back the balance of his time. Who wishes to seek recognition? The gentleman from American Samoa, chairman of the Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment Subcommittee, Mr. Eni Faleomavaega—

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN [continuing]. Is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, this is certainly an important but a sobering occasion for this committee to consider this proposed resolution. This is not the first time that this resolution has been brought before the committee and before the Congress for this institution to determine if there was a genocide committed against some 2 million Armenians in the years past. It might even be said that there is still a debate among historians about the validity of the claim and what has been made.

I recall, Mr. Chairman, a couple years ago that my subcommittee chaired also a similar type resolution where whether or not some 200,000 Asian women were forced into prostitution systematically by the Empire Army of the Japanese during World War II, most of them Koreans, and we even had two Korean women and one from Australia to personally testify to the atrocities and abuses that they received when they were under that kind of a situation under the Japanese Army. In that resolution I recall we wanted the Japanese Government to apologize for this wrong that was committed against some 200,000 Asian women during World War II.

I am terribly torn, Mr. Chairman, by the fact that I have just as many Turkish-American friends as I have Armenian-American friends. I am somewhat reminded of King Solomon's absolute wisdom when the two mothers appeared before him claiming that they owned the child. King Solomon said well, why don't we divide the baby up and maybe that will take care of the situation. But truly the mother who really felt so much love for the child pled with King Solomon and said no, let the other mother. Then knowingly King Solomon said now I know who the real mother of this child belongs to.

Mr. Chairman, this is a very important resolution, as has been said previously by our members. This is not an easy issue, and I just wanted to ask, Mr. Chairman. My understanding is that there is currently an ongoing relationship between Armenia and Turkey and I wanted to ask the chairman.

I believe this is one of the issues that they are trying to resolve in looking into the facts and the history and all of that, and I wanted to ask the chairman if he has any understanding of that latest development between Armenia and Turkey.

Chairman BERMAN. Would the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I gladly yield.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is correct. There are protocols between Armenia and Turkey that, in fact, our Secretary of State is very involved in the diplomatic process that has been entered into. Neither Parliament has ratified those protocols and so currently the corridor is still blockaded. The terms that that protocol

tried to create have not been established, and actually it is my belief that there is no imminent likelihood that those protocols will be ratified any time in the near future.

My basis for saying that is that the Turkish Prime Minister, Prime Minister Erdogan, has said that essentially these protocols will not be put into effect until the Nagorno-Karabakh issue is resolved.

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. I thank the gentleman. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. Who seeks recognition? The gentleman from Indiana, the ranking member of the Middle East and South Asia Subcommittee. For what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. BURTON. I ask to strike the last word, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURTON. My colleague, the chairman of the Middle East Subcommittee, said history must be righted, and I totally agree with that. There were horrible things that happened during this time period on both sides. I have debated this issue in committee and on the floor for many, many years, and I say to the Armenians and the Turks who suffered during this time period we feel the pain that they went through in that time period. We can't really feel the pain, but we understand what went on.

What I would like to do is read a little bit about these protocols because I think it is very, very important. The Turkish Foreign Minister and the Armenian Foreign Minister signed two protocols on the establishment of diplomatic relations announcing their mutual desire to establish good, neighborly relations and to develop bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields for the benefits of their peoples.

These protocols would also reopen the border, as the chairman just said, but he says he doesn't think that is going to happen. The protocols also affirmed the commitment of both countries to condemn all forms of terrorism, violence and extremism irrespective of their cause.

These protocols committed Turkey and Armenia to create an intergovernmental commission within 2 months of the entry into force of such protocols and within 1 month of the establishment of such commission to create a subcommission to implement a dialogue on the historical dimension with the aim to restore mutual competence between the two nations, including an impartial and scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations.

The historic commission structure specifically allowed for the participation of international experts from third parties. This is a fragile process that deserves protection as the protocols now rest with the Armenian and Turkish Parliaments for ratification.

I think that what we are doing today if we pass this jeopardizes that negotiation between the Armenians and the Turks, and it certainly is not going to help our relationship with the Turks as well. We all abhor the horrible tragedies of war and the things that happen on both sides. We get criticized for Hiroshima and Nagasaki and fire burning Dresden, Germany, and Berlin during the Second World War. There is no question horrible things happened and we

need to be aware of that and we need to condemn it, but at the same time we have to look at things as they are today.

Now, right now we have troops in Afghanistan who are fighting on the border in Pakistan. We have troops in Iraq, which is right next to Turkey, and at Incirlik we have a base and that base is in Turkey and that is an ally of ours in the NATO alignment. Now, this isn't going to help the understanding between the United States and Turkey.

As a matter of fact, the last time we went into this I think the Turkish Ambassador went home for some time, and if we pass this resolution I think it is going to jeopardize the relations we have with Turkey. I don't think with our troops in the field and knowing that we may have to take some kind of military action down the road against maybe even Iran, we need to have as many friends in that part of the world as possible, and Turkey has been a friend.

There is no question horrible things happened, and I see these ladies and these gentlemen that are out here who suffered during that time period and I have read in the historical documents about people who suffered on the Turkish side as well. There is no question that these things happened, but the question is, is it the right thing today to pass this kind of resolution? What good is it going to do? I don't see that it is going to help anything.

Now, the two countries in question are trying to negotiate a settlement to bring in international experts to look at all the historical facts and come up with some kind of a conclusion. It seems to me that is the best way to let this thing be solved, but for us today to ram this thing through and jeopardize our relationship with Turkey at a time when our troops are in the field and we are in war makes no sense to me.

I want to say one more time we have sympathy for the people that suffered during that time. We understand tragedies occur. We understand horrible atrocities occurred. There is no question about that. But we are in the twenty-first century. We have troops in the field, and we run the risk of losing a base of operation—

Mr. ACKERMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON. I cannot yield. I am almost out of time. But we run the risk of losing a base of operation in Turkey that I think is vital to the security of the Middle East and the United States, and I think it is also vital to Israel's security as well and so I feel very strongly about this.

Mr. Ackerman, you and I work together and we are very close, but we just have a little disagreement on this.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Would the gentleman yield for his final 2 seconds?

Mr. BURTON. I am out of time, but I would have yielded had I had the time.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. I ask unanimous consent that the ranking member be allowed to speak out of order in order to clarify a statement that she seeks to clarify.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I just want to rectify my opening statement. I had said that the administration in a rather forceful way had not taken any decision on this resolution, and I have just been handed an AP wire. I will just read the first sentence: "The administration is urging a U.S. congress-

sional committee to hold off on a resolution declaring the Ottoman era killing of Armenians as genocide, a White House spokesman said Thursday," so I stand corrected. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. Who seeks recognition? The gentleman from New Jersey, what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. PAYNE. To strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PAYNE. And I will yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York to respond.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I thank the gentleman. I was listening to my good friend, the ranking member of my subcommittee with whom I agree on so many other issues, that if Iran granted us a base and improved relations would we agree to set up a commission to discuss whether the Holocaust occurred? I yield back my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey controls the time.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Let me say that I have consistently strongly supported the recognition that genocide occurred, and I certainly strongly support H. Res. 252, the Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

As we know, this resolution 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 and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide and the consequences of the failure to recognize a just resolution.

The international community has a terrible record when it comes to stepping up and stopping genocide. We know that Adolf Hitler said in 1939 that when ordering his commanders to go into Poland said who after all speaks today about the annihilation of the Armenians?

And if Adolf Hitler understood that the world never recognized the 1915–1923 genocide, that the world forgot about it even though there had been some people speaking out, countries speaking out during that time, he used that as one of the rationales for going with the Blitzkrieg through Europe.

And so I think that we should certainly remember the past because the time has come for us to recognize it. Even Voltaire said that nothing is as powerful as a dream whose time has come and, to paraphrase, nothing is more powerful as the truth whose time has come. Now is the time.

Dr. King used to say that the arch of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice, and the fact that no lie can live forever when he wrote his letters from the Birmingham Jail. And so I think that it is important that we recognize the truth. The truth crushed to earth will rise again, as has been said.

And so with 42 states in the United States of America, if there was even a constitutional amendment this would have the requisite number of states to have the national record reflect. Eleven NATO countries have acknowledged that this has occurred. The European Parliament, which represents all of Europe, has said it.

And so I think as the United States of America has stood up to the fact that it is even questioning the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, looking at the legacy of enslaved peo-

ple for 400 years in this country where 6 million died in the passage coming from Africa to the Western Hemisphere and we have acknowledged and have made apologies and have attempted to right wrongs.

I think that it is only fitting and proper that we here in the United States Congress should acknowledge. I know that Turkey is a very strong ally. There is no question about it, but South Africa was an ally of the United States too and we looked the other way for a long time as apartheid went on because they were anti Communist.

We have to I think right the wrong, and with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time. I certainly support the resolution.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce, for what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. ROYCE. To strike the last word, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am a co-sponsor of this resolution, and I have worked on this issue since I was in the state senate in California where I authored a resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide, the first of any such state. My resolution passed in California a generation ago. Now it is time for Congress to act.

When I was young, I knew a survivor. He was the sole survivor from his village, and he himself would have been slaughtered had not a Turkish neighbor hid him when he was a child. This resolution focuses singularly on the United States' record of the Armenian Genocide. As the text indicates, our national archives is filled with thousands of pages documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people.

Our own Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, recalled in his memoirs, and he was an eyewitness to history, so this is our Ambassador. He says that the Ottomans never had the slightest idea of reestablishing the Armenians in a new country, he said, knowing that the great majority of those would either in his words die of thirst and starvation or be murdered by the wild Mohammedin desert tribes. Again to use his words as an eyewitness to history, he said it was a campaign of race extermination of the Armenian people.

The United States has been a global leader in promoting human rights around the world. On the issue of the Armenian Genocide, however, we lag behind. The French, Swiss, Swedish, Russians, Germans, those 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.

This resolution does not reference the Government of Turkey. It references the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Government was not involved in this. The Ottoman Empire was. It is important that this committee doesn't lose sight of truth versus propaganda, right versus wrong.

While the Armenian Genocide was the first of the twentieth century, the blind eye cast to the slaughter of Armenians was a point,

as Mr. Payne pointed out, used by Hitler who asked who after all speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians. He pointed this out when he was being internally challenged on his policies.

The lesson of the genocide is an argument I first learned from my father, who served with General Patton's Third Army and later the Seventh when they cut through Germany and finally liberated the concentration camps at Dachau. He had his brother's camera, and he documented on film the ovens with bodies stacked like cordwood, the rail cars, the trenches filled with the dead in the Holocaust, and still he finds the need to use those photographs even today as he confronts those who deny that genocide.

So history is a continuum. Yesterday impacts today, which impacts 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. It is weakened by denial of accountability of past acts.

Not recognizing the Armenian Genocide as such weakens us. For the sake of genocides past and present, I urge the passage of this bipartisan resolution. 1.5 million Armenians were murdered. Five hundred thousand were removed from their homeland. Passing this resolution will be a victory for human rights. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The chair intends to recognize one more speaker before we recess for three votes. It is the chair's intention to reconvene when we come back and proceed through the debate and to a vote without any break for lunch, and the chair does not intend to buy lunch for the members who are here.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. McMahan. Do you seek recognition?

Mr. MCMAHON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I seek recognition to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCMAHON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My district of Staten Island and Brooklyn in New York is a deeply diverse district, and it is my own belief that to represent people from all over the world it is important to bring different communities together and to encourage dialogue.

I take great pride in representing families that have broken free from the centuries of nationalist rhetoric and oppression of the old to now pursue peaceful lives in multi-ethnic communities throughout our great nation. I have often sought to encourage communications between Greeks, Cypriots, Turks and Armenians in my district and around the world, and in particular I am very supportive of the efforts of Secretary Clinton to help normalize relations between Armenia and Turkey.

I continue to advocate for an occupation free, bizonal and bicomunal Cyprus Federation. I am a proud and active member of the Hellenic Caucus. It is the first caucus that I joined when I came to Congress last year. But I see my job as one to build bridges and so I have also joined the Turkish Caucus as well. I am in favor of resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and look forward to the day when a wave of prosperity and security sweeps over the Mediterranean and the Caucasus.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am not naive to think that there aren't some memories and some experiences that are too painful to ever move away from or ever be forgotten. For this reason, I have deep respect and admiration for the efforts of many in this room to address the horrible tragedies and loss of life that occurred during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

The turbulent years that ended the Ottoman Empire need to be revisited and the record of atrocities committed during that time and the wounds that were open that continue to this day need to be addressed. But it is hard to heal those wounds and repair the damage if we continue to look back instead of moving forward. No matter how I vote today, history will not be changed.

But, Mr. Chairman, unfortunately if passed House Resolution 252 would undermine many of these initiatives and also threaten U.S. efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. This legislation would torpedo rather than help efforts to resolve modern day international conflicts and negotiations involving Turkey, particularly the Turkish-Armenian protocols which Armenian President Serge Sarkisian referred to as the greatest input of the recent decades in achieving peace and stability in the South Caucasus.

Yet instead of opening up the market between Turkey and Armenia, passage of this resolution will all but ensure that Armenia will remain economically frozen for the near future.

Turkey is also a friend in a tough neighborhood. The advice of Turkish officials is well-respected and greatly sought after in areas where American ideals are rejected, but most importantly to my decision today Turkey, being one of a handful of secular Muslim U.S. allies, is also the crucial passageway for our troops in Iraq and a crucial NATO ally.

Like many, if not most, of my colleagues, I am a strong supporter of removing U.S. troops from Iraq. In order to do so we need close cooperation with Turkey to transit troops and equipment across their border. If H. Res. 252 is passed and Turkey closes the Incirlik base and its border to our troops, our armed forces will be forced to take longer, more dangerous routes, exposing them to a greater possibility of attack and longer deployments.

In addition, Turkey is a partner with the United States and Afghanistan. Armenia is as well. Turkey currently has 1,755 troops deployed. Currently Armenia has zero troops deployed. My commitment to the troops is reaffirmed each time I visit a critically wounded young man or woman at Walter Reed Hospital. I would never compromise their sacrifice or risk their lives through an unsuspecting committee vote.

Ninety years ago my vote may have been different, but in 2010 much has changed and there is far too much at risk for our own national security. I urge my colleagues to realize the complexities of this legislation and vote against House Resolution 252. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back his time. The committee shall stand in recess subject to call of the chair. I request members return immediately after the last vote is completed so that we can resume debate on the Schiff resolution.

[Recess.]

Chairman BERMAN. We will resume the markup. Is the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Pence, within hearing range of my voice? Apparently he is. For what purpose does the gentleman from Indiana seek recognition?

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PENCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Today's markup of H. Res. 252, a resolution that would affirm the Armenian Genocide in the United States record, I know is a sincere effort by the leadership of this committee and many members of this committee to mark a dark chapter in history.

Let me say without ambiguity and with a heavy heart for the families that would be looking in and who join us today. I believe a genocide was committed against the Armenian people in the early part of the last century and it should never be forgotten.

The Bible tells me as a Christian to mourn with those who mourn and grieve with those who grieve and so we do today in recognizing that fact. The families and the loved ones of victims of those terrible events that began more than 90 years ago have my heartfelt condolences. I do not minimize or deny the horror of what took place. Neither do I accept the contention that those who were lost were collateral damage. The fact that more than 1 million Christians were killed makes the loss even more personal to me.

In recent times, U.S. Presidents have annually remembered the Armenian Genocide. President Obama noted last April that it was "one of the great atrocities of the twentieth century," and I associate myself with those comments. While we should never forget this genocide and the lives that were lost and the lives that are still marred to this day, I sadly cannot support this resolution.

The old book also tells us that there is a time for every purpose under heaven, and I would submit with great humility that now is not the time for this committee or the American Congress to take up the measure that is before us. As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, more well aware than I am from your experience, as the ranking member has said, Turkey is a strategic partner in our ongoing efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. They share our interest in defeating international terrorism and seeing secure and free nations emerge after many years of war.

Currently Turkey has more than 1,700 troops in Afghanistan, and their efforts certainly have been noticed by al-Qaeda. Last month Osama bin Laden's chief lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri, specifically cited the role of Turkey's forces operating in Afghanistan as being a problem for al-Qaeda.

The basing and logistical support that Turkey also provides is quite simply vital to our efforts in the Middle East. Incirlik air base, for example, has been a staple of American power projection for decades. For the continued use of Incirlik base, our lease must be renewed with the Turkish Parliament on an annual basis for our continued partnership with Turkey and Afghanistan. Our relationship must also be renewed and respected. I believe we should not at a time of war take that relationship in any means for granted.

Mr. Chairman, given the fact that American troops are at this very hour in harm's way in Iraq and Afghanistan where they de-

pend on supply routes available through this important relationship that we enjoy with the nation and with the people of Turkey, I believe it would be unwise for the United States Congress to choose this moment to speak on this undeniable dark chapter of human history.

Before the committee took up the last resolution in 2007 we heard from every living former Secretary of State and Defense, each of whom stated that this resolution would be unwise during a time of war in our nation's history. I associated myself with that position then and I do so today.

We must proceed in a manner that is compassionate toward those Armenian families who were affected by this genocide so many years ago, but we must also remember the families of those who serve in harm's way on behalf of our nation and on behalf of freedom in the war on terror today, and so I rise today in respectful opposition to this resolution, but I do so with deep respect for those on this committee and those who would be looking on that would have the American people be heard on this point.

While I cannot support this resolution, let them at least note that this American identifies with their loss, acknowledges those tragic events of so many years ago and offers my condolences to the families who still bear the burden of what was in fact a genocide. I urge my colleagues to oppose this resolution and yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back the balance of his time. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Connolly, is recognized for 5 minutes if he moves to strike the last word.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I move to strike the last word, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank the chair. Mr. Chairman, if this were a symbolic vote in which this committee were being asked to provide a rendering of history this would be an easy vote.

There is no question about what happened 95 years in Ottoman, Turkey, against the Armenian people, but it is 95 years later. We have a modern, constitutional, secular, democratic government in Turkey. It is arguably the model, the secular alternative model from the Muslim world about which the United States cares deeply.

It is a strong United States ally that has helped us in NATO, has helped us in the Middle East peace process historically, has a base on its own soil and, as Mr. Pence indicated just now, has actually troops in Afghanistan side-by-side with American troops.

The United States has a great deal at stake in the Turkish relationship, and I believe that if we pass this resolution today we jeopardize that strategic relationship in little and big ways, and I for one do not want to take responsibility for such action. I think, questioning no one's motives, it would constitute an irresponsible action by this committee given the importance of this bilateral relationship.

I also think at some point we have to recognize that we cannot be passing resolutions judging modern day governments for the actions of previous generations, however horrible they may be. St. Patrick's Day is coming up. I would love to have a resolution condemning the British Government for the potato famine that killed

over a third of the population of Ireland. That was genocide against my people.

Or we could talk about condemning today's contemporary Russian Government about the depredations of the Stalinist past in the 1920s and 1930s. Why not do that? Or the Spanish Government for the genocide that occurred with indigenous populations throughout the Americas and especially in the Caribbean where they were fully wiped out.

We could go on and on under this logic and with this justification and all of it would be true. We have to look at the consequences of our actions. We have to at some point as Americans who are concerned with American diplomacy and American interests to move on.

I want to see reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey. I want to see us close this tragic chapter in the past, but I don't want to do it this way and I am not sure at all—in fact, I am sure that the wrong way to do it is for Congress frankly to pontificate on this issue and act as if there will be no consequences when we do.

I hate having this vote because it implies that one is unconcerned about what did happen in the past and about history, and nothing could be further from the truth. This vote is not about the past. This vote is about the future, the future of our relationship with a strong ally. That is how I frame this issue and I hope that is how my colleagues do, and that is why I will be voting no in this resolution. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back the balance of his time. The chair notes that there will be votes most likely at 1 o'clock.

It would be for the chair's purposes ideal if we could vote before we go for those votes, so I would just remind members that, number one, their statements can be put into the record in full and, second, to the extent that they can shorten their remarks—it is their decision—as the gentleman from Virginia just did, it would help make that possible.

The gentleman from California, ranking member of the International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight Subcommittee, Mr. Rohrabacher?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Let me disagree respectfully with my colleague. This is about the past. It is not about the future. It is about the past. Let me note that I personally would have preferred that this resolution not be brought up. It is about events that took place almost 100 years ago.

It is about a crime committed by a government of a country, the Ottoman Empire, that hasn't existed for nearly 100 years. It is about a crime in which the perpetrators and the victims are all dead with a few rare exceptions, three of whom are with us today. Furthermore, it is an issue that has little or nothing to do with the United States.

With that said, this legislation before us, I have looked into the history of this legislation and the historic events that it comments upon, and let us note there was an Armenian uprising in an attempt to gain independence from the Ottoman rule. In that upris-

ing there was widespread killing of civilians, both Turks and Armenians. The Ottoman troops suppressed the uprising, and had it ended there this resolution would not be before us today.

The Ottoman Government, after putting down the uprising, decided to put an end to what they saw as the Armenian problem. The slaughter that followed, the slaughter of defeated and unarmed people, mostly noncombatants, was a crime not just against Armenians, but against humanity.

So because I am now confronted with voting for a resolution about this many decades old issue, but I am confronted with a resolution that is basically truthful, I cannot vote against truth. I would add this, though, that this resolution is being supported based on the belief that it will at long last close the book on an issue that should have been resolved long ago. My vote and the vote of my colleagues is not intended to create more conflict, but instead to resolve it.

Specifically, this is a vote to set the record straight and to get the issue resolved and behind us. This is not an endorsement of reparations and a demand for which will not bring about healing, but will open the door to new and unending conflict. This is about the truth. It is not about reparations, which will not right a wrong of 100 years ago, but instead will create more conflict today. Let us resolve this issue, not open up new conflict.

With that said, I will vote for this resolution because it is truthful, and the truth is also that Turkey is a friend and has been a good and reliable ally, a nation of Muslims who represent a democratic and moderate force in the Islamic world, but because they are a positive and important force in the world and a friend and have proven their friendship does not mean that we should refrain from acknowledging the truth when we are confronted with it, especially if it is a truth about a crime long ago.

But to basically refrain from acknowledging the truth when it is there, you have to make that decision because it will upset a friend is not a reasonable supposition. If Germany, which was so important to us during the Cold War, would have been upset that we acknowledged the Holocaust and it was suggested that I should vote against a resolution acknowledging the Holocaust to spare Germany's feelings I would have rejected that notion and I would have voted to acknowledge the Holocaust.

Today we reconfirm our commitment to truth, the truth of history, and we offer a sincere hope as well that our friendship with Turkey is strong enough to withstand the acknowledgement of a darker moment in that country's history. We have darker moments in our history as well, as do every country. You get past those darker moments and you shut the book by acknowledging the truth of what wrongs were committed in the past.

America has committed wrongs in the past. That doesn't mean we need to dwell on it, but they need to be acknowledged in order to correct it. So with that said I will be voting for this resolution, and now that I have gotten both sides of this issue mad at me I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman yields back the balance of his time. The gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Tanner, for what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. TANNER. Move to strike the last word, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. You are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TANNER. I ask unanimous consent to submit my statement for the record, but before so doing—

Chairman BERMAN. Without objection, your statement will be entered into the record.

Mr. TANNER [continuing]. Let me make one observation. A lot has been said, but it is my view that the timing of this resolution is not in the best interest of the Turkish Government and Armenian Government or the United States Government right now.

These governments are in consultation, and the timing of this is not in the interest of furthering what I view to be a disposition of this matter. Thank you.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. McCaul, for what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. MCCAUL. I seek recognition to move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCAUL. I thank the chairman. It is a very difficult vote. I in the past have supported this resolution. I do think that the historical truth is that genocide took place, and the record is replete with that evidence.

Ambassador Morgenthau, who we have mentioned before, talked about a campaign of race extermination that was taking place under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion. We had the full cable from the American Embassy in Constantinople that talked about protecting Armenians from violence at the hands of those of other religions and to prevent the massacre of noncombatant Armenians in Turkish territory.

John Paul II stated the Armenian Genocide which began the century was a prologue to horrors that would follow. This Congress has already passed this resolution 25 years ago. And then of course we have Adolf Hitler's famous line, the words when he said in defense of invading Poland who after all speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?

I see that as truth, as my colleague from California. I don't question the truth here. I think we all see it for what it is. I wish the Government of Turkey would recognize it for what it is as well. What I do question here is the timing.

Secretary Clinton testified before this committee just last week, and she said on this very issue that it is our position that the normalization process that Turkey and Armenia have undertaken carries important benefits for both sides and should take place without preconditions and within a reasonable timeframe.

And then she says but the best way to do that with all respect is for the Armenian and Turkish people themselves to address the facts of their past as part of their efforts to move forward, and in that spirit we are working very hard to assist Armenia and Turkey in their efforts and we would like to continue to support that effort, and then lastly she says and not be diverted.

She is referring to this resolution as a diversion from the process. The documents I read, some sensitive, said that this resolution as we have a protocol, the two governments who I think are in the best position to carry this out, the documents I have read said that this resolution will derail the process. Derail the process. A histor-

ical commission has been formed to get to the truth of this, but derail the process.

This resolution, I don't question the truth again, Mr. Chairman. I question the timing of the resolution because I see it harming Armenians and the Government of Armenia more than helping. I see the border with Turkey not being open and commerce not taking place. Lastly, I see it harming something near and dear to my district, and that is the troops.

As the ranking member mentioned, I was given a classified briefing. I read documents on this very issue. It is my opinion that this resolution will put our troops in harm's way, could potentially endanger our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. What do I say to the mothers and fathers in my district whose sons and daughters are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan? What do I say to them? Yes, I voted for this resolution which puts your son or your daughter in harm's way. How do I explain that? No. This is not the right timing for this resolution.

I would ask or urge the chairman, particularly in light of the administration coming out just recently asking, begging the Congress to hold off until this normalization process and reconciliation process can go forward and let the two respective governments handle this issue rather than the United States meddling in this overseas.

We know from the last time what the reaction is going to be, and I don't want it on my head if, God forbid, action was taken to endanger our troops serving in Afghanistan and Iraq. I would not want that on my head.

Chairman BERMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. MCCAUL. I would be happy to yield.

Chairman BERMAN. I appreciate that, and I have great respect for the gentleman's efforts to look into this and for his consideration and the seriousness of the issue he raised, but I do have to say that I have been in this Congress for 27 years—some people think all or some of that has been too long—but 27 years, and I have never seen a time when it was the right time to take up this resolution in 27 years.

[Applause.]

Chairman BERMAN. I yield back.

Mr. MCCAUL. And I appreciate the chairman's remarks. I think, however, the difference between now and the last time this matter was voted upon is the fact that there is this protocol established. There is a reconciliation process established.

It is my view that it would be better if Turkey and Armenia can work this problem out, and my hope would be that Turkey would acknowledge the wrongdoing and let us all move on. Let us move forward with this process because ultimately it is up to those two governments to work out this issue.

Again, I want to be clear on the record that I believe that this was genocide, but I question the timing of the resolution.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Massachusetts, the chairman of the Europe Subcommittee, Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you.

Chairman BERMAN. For what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I move to strike.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DELAHUNT. You know, I would echo the final sentiments expressed by my friend from Texas. You know, this is a historical agreement between Turkey and Armenia, and I believe it represents something that is a watershed moment in the relationship between those two nations. It has the potential to stabilize an entire region, a region where we have substantial national security interests.

The protocols include a timetable, and they call for the development and normalization of relations between these two countries and they are currently, as I am sure has been stated, under consideration by the legislative bodies of both Turkey and Armenia.

If they are ratified, they would open the last closed European border and establish a road map for normalized relations at long last. They would obviously have significant benefits for Armenia, increasing its political and economic and cultural links with Europe and in opening up the possibility of Armenia to join the European Union.

Let us remember that this agreement was negotiated and signed by the Armenian Government. In fact, after the agreement was announced the President of Armenia, President Sarkisian, went on a diaspora tour, including stops in Paris, New York and Los Angeles, to persuade diaspora Armenians that the protocols, and now I am quoting him, "do not harm Armenia's state and national interests, but on the contrary," and this is the critical language, "open new opportunities for resolving the centuries old feud between these countries."

Reconciliation between the Governments of Armenia and Turkey would certainly benefit our own national interest. Passage of today's resolution undoubtedly is going to provoke a highly negative reaction within Turkey across the entire political spectrum and could sidetrack the normalization process between Armenia and Turkey. That does nothing for Armenia, does nothing for Turkey and it does nothing for the United States.

Yesterday I had an opportunity to meet with the chair of the Turkish Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Murat Mercan. This is what he stated to me. If the House Foreign Affairs Committee passes H. Res. 252, it will imperil the normalization process and could become a permanent impediment toward passing the protocols in Turkey that everyone on this committee I daresay supports and embraces.

Most importantly, and this is what my friend, Mr. McCaul, alluded to. The issue which is the subject of this resolution is one that Armenia and Turkey have agreed to deal with. This is the pertinent language. There is a determination to implement a dialogue in the historical dimension with the aim to restore mutual covenants between the two nations, including an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations.

Let us not put that process at risk by passing this resolution. I am very concerned that passage of this resolution, as I said, will undoubtedly hinder and might very well terminate the possibility of success so that the Armenian people and the Turkish people can address this issue and move forward.

We, as the Foreign Affairs Committee, may well be seen as knowingly sidetracking a peaceful and prosperous future for both peoples, and I urge and I intend to vote no. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The chair is prepared to propose that by unanimous consent we take the vote on this resolution at 2:15. We will seek to get as many people as recognized as possible between now and then. Is there any objection to that proposal?

Mr. BURTON. Reserving the right to object.

Chairman BERMAN. Part of my consideration was, I was told, you would be back by 2:15.

Mr. BURTON. Reserving the right to object.

Chairman BERMAN. I take it that is an objection.

Mr. BURTON. We are reserving. Did you hear an objection?

Chairman BERMAN. I heard a complaint that constituted an objection.

Mr. BURTON. What does that mean, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. It meant that the gentlelady has asked—

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to—

Mr. BURTON. Just a minute there, Mr. Massachusetts. Reserving the right to object.

Chairman BERMAN. On your reservation.

Mr. BURTON. The problem is there are a number of other committee meetings and things going on, and we really need to make sure that everybody is here to vote because this is so controversial.

Chairman BERMAN. That is why I am proposing to announce at 12:27 that at 2:15, or if the gentlelady thinks 2:30—

Ms. WOOLSEY. Sorry, Mr. Chairman. I have no idea. It depends on when we vote on the floor. Then we go after that.

Chairman BERMAN. All right. I will withdraw my unanimous consent request without prejudice to making another one.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. For what purpose?

Ms. WOOLSEY. Would it be possible for us to vote when we are finished with this and vote when we should on committee?

Chairman BERMAN. What if we are finished when you are at the White House?

Ms. WOOLSEY. Well, I mean right now. I mean, we could all finish and bring everybody in here and vote.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. From your lips to—

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. One thing I know is we will not finish now if we keep talking about my silly request.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. BURTON. What I might suggest is that since there are a number of us that have various committee assignments and things that may take us away from here, maybe we could have a timeframe within which we would have the votes so we know that we could come back during that timeframe to vote. In other words, you say 2:15. From 2:15 to 2:45 or something like that.

Chairman BERMAN. In other words, essentially call the roll at 2:15 and keep the roll open until 2:45. Is there any objection to that suggestion?

[No response.]

Chairman BERMAN. Without objection, that will be the order, Mr. Henry Clay. You didn't hear me, or I am doing something I am not allowed to do? You are saying I am doing something I am not allowed to do. I am willing to take any embarrassment. Why don't you tell us what you are thinking here?

Ms. RUSH. I would defer to the chief counsel, but I believe unless we spoke slowly for ½ hour to take the vote. I guess that would be okay, but we can't—

Chairman BERMAN. If I get unanimous consent to schedule a vote where the roll will be called in a regular order at 2:15, but that roll will not close until 2:45, there is something in the House rules that keeps me from doing that?

Ms. RUSH. Well, normally we would just—

Chairman BERMAN. Let us leave that as the decision now. I have received unanimous consent to call the roll at 2:15 and keep that roll open until 2:45, and if I am advised that that is not the proper way to do it we will come back with another suggestion.

Ms. RUSH. Okay.

Chairman BERMAN. Okay. All right. The gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Inglis, is recognized.

Mr. INGLIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. Move to strike the last word. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. INGLIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just would associate myself with the comments by Mr. Delahunt and Mr. McCaul. It is a very difficult question.

If the atrocities were ongoing then it seems to me the United States would have an obligation to act, but these are historical facts and the current parties, which are different governments, are trying to work out that history and to come to some reconciliation.

And so for us to enter that seems ill-advised because while I would agree with what has been said here, that we see the facts of the genocide, we see the horrors, and the United States has already spoken on this, to enter now and to potentially disrupt the process, the reconciliation process, I think is ill-advised.

Also I think the thing that affects me is I have some information that it may in fact harm Armenians and so to have our entrance into this actually harm people who are trying to seek reconciliation now seems like not a terribly good way to proceed.

All countries have to deal with their past, and we all have things that we must work through about our past. Several things about our past have been mentioned here—our treatment of Native Americans, our treatment of slaves in America. We are still dealing with the scourges of those sins, but to have other countries entering and trying to urge us along to award some resolution when in fact the resolution is going to come in the hearts of Americans and working through those things will take time.

I think this is probably the same case with the Armenians and the Turks. So with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has been yielded back. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Woolsey, moves to strike the last word. The gentlelady is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry. Mr. Chairman, thank you for the time. I am proud to be a co-sponsor of this legislation and I urge my colleagues to support it now. There will never be a perfect time, that is clear. I have been here 18 years and I have been waiting to be able to vote on this and on the floor particularly. All too often the world has stood by while genocide rages. We saw it happen throughout Europe during World War II, and we saw it in Rwanda and Bosnia during the 1990s.

We cannot undo the atrocities of the past, but we can acknowledge the actions and we can give the victims and their families their rightful place in history. While they were in Congress, President Obama as a Senator, Vice President Biden as a Senator, and Secretary of State Clinton as a Senator, urged Congress to adopt the Armenian Genocide Resolution. Both President Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush recognized the horrific acts that lead to the deportation of nearly 2 million Armenians, of whom 1.5 million men, women, and children were killed. Five hundred thousand survivors were expelled from their homes, and it succeeded in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland.

These events cannot be categorized as anything other than genocide. To deny that would be to deny the lives of those who perished. Ours will not be a lone voice. Today we will join with 42 States of the United States, 11 NATO allies, and the European Parliament if we vote for this resolution. And those who say it is not the right time, I will repeat it again, that this will upset international alliances, I have this to ask you. If not now, when?

When will the victims and their families get their day of recognition, when will it be convenient? When will it not be an excuse to not go forward with friendship between Turkey and Armenia because they want to have genocide proclaimed so they can go forward? I urge my colleagues to take a stand against genocide, to stand up for human rights, to stand up for justice, vote in favor of this resolution, and encourage our leadership to bring it up for a vote on the floor. I yield back.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. If the gentlelady would yield?

Ms. WOOLSEY. Yes.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Just because you started it we have to continue, or let us not do that. I would like to make sure that our colleagues understand that was then, this is now. Senator Clinton might have given that response as a Senator from New York, but when Secretary Clinton appeared before us last week in a response to Congressman Boozman's questions, and I quote, "Well, Congressman, on Turkey Armenia relations, it is our position that the normalization process that Turkey and Armenia have undertaken carries important benefits for both sides and it should take place without preconditions and within a reasonable time frame."

Ms. WOOLSEY. Well, if the gentlelady would yield back?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, it is your time.

Ms. WOOLSEY. I would just like to say, I referred to the fact that this was when Secretary Clinton was a Senator. That was then and this is now. She was also representing the people of her state, and as I represent the people of my district, and now she has, you know, risen to higher status, strata.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And is now opposed to this resolution.

Ms. WOOLSEY. But I am only saying she supported it when she was a Senator, supporting those in her state. And I do yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentlelady has yielded back the balance of her time. And the gentleman from Texas, Judge Poe, moves to strike the last word?

Mr. POE. I move to strike the——

Chairman BERMAN. Recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. POE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is an interesting debate we are having today. Some say it is a hard decision. Hard decisions are what we are supposed to do. My background I made hard decisions for 22 years. I look at this several ways. Armenians say one thing, and they are very passionate about it, and good for them. But the Turks say something different. You know, to the Turks the Armenians don't come to the table with necessarily clean hands. So there is the dispute between the two groups of people about something in our past or in the past.

Resolutions haven't changed anything. Nations have, 20 nations have adopted resolutions, and we are still talking about resolutions. Why would another resolution make a difference on this issue? I don't know that it would. So maybe we have to think of it and approach it from a different point of view. There are talks going on with Armenians and Turks, NGOs are talking, protocols are being developed on talking this through and solving the problem. I believe that an ultimate decision must be solved by these two peoples, and it will be.

So what is the United States' position, should we take sides so to speak? Well maybe we should take the third side, which is the American side. What is in the best interest of the United States? Is it in the best interest of Americans to sign this resolution or adopt this resolution? I think not. And the reason being because of the situation we have with our own military, with our troops that are in harm's way, as my friend from Texas, Mr. McCaul, has pointed out, and also that there are talks that are going on.

I personally think that if we adopt the resolution, these negotiations, these talks between the Turks and the Armenians, that will not be encouraged by our resolution, in fact it may harm those talks, because I firmly believe this must be and will be resolved by these two groups of people who both are very strongly positioned to resolve this conflict once and for all. So I think it is in our best interest as a nation to not adopt this resolution, and I will vote no on the resolution. And I will yield back the remainder of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back the remainder of his time. And does the gentleman from Georgia seek recognition?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

Chairman BERMAN. Does the gentleman from California seek recognition?

Mr. COSTA. Yes.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from California moves to strike the last word, Mr. Costa, and he is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COSTA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for allowing us the opportunity to debate this important resolution. As we approach the 95th anniversary of the start of the Armenian Genocide I would call on my colleagues, notwithstanding all the issues that are before us, that we pass this resolution. I think by any reasonable standard, established history shows that between 1915 and 1923 the Ottoman Empire—the Ottoman Empire, not the present-day Turkish Government—but the Ottoman Empire systematically killed an estimated 1.5 million Armenians and drove hundreds of thousands of others into exile from their ancestral homeland.

This atrocity is well documented in the United States Archives, it has been universally accepted in the International Association of Genocide Scholars and broader academic communities. Now, as members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, we all approach this issue from different perspectives. One can debate specific historical instances, but I can tell you from my own personal experiences, having grown up in Fresno, California, the land of William Saroyan, that I heard stories as a young man from my grandparents and from grandparents of my neighbors and friends of Armenian families about being forced to leave their homes, the stories of long marches and horrific murders, systematically.

Clearly they believed this was a systematic approach to eliminate the Armenian communities in places that had been their home and farms for centuries. My Armenian friends in the neighborhoods that I grew up in believed this was a systematic approach among the first genocides of the twentieth century, and so do I. The Armenian Genocide created a framework of genocide as we consider similar atrocities that continue to occur not only in the twentieth century but in the twenty-first century.

It has been noted before, the Holocaust, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and now Darfur. As leaders we must not allow Turkey, with all due respect, to ask us to believe that the Armenian Genocide was not a genocide or that it did not occur. In standing up to this policy of denial, we honor the martyrs of the genocide and encourage our Turkish allies, our friends of modern day Turkey, to come to terms with this past. Three years ago I, as a part of this committee, visited Turkey. I met with the Foreign Minister. He is now the President of Turkey. I raised this issue.

I talked about the fact that countries, including ours, have part of our pasts, as was noted here earlier, that we are not proud of. Certainly slavery was a part of our past that we were not proud of. But we have acknowledged that and we have moved on. I suggested to then the Foreign Minister who is now President that Turkey work its way through this, because no one holds modern day Turkey responsible for what took place 95 years ago.

So in a very powerful significant way, we reinforce our own vital role as Americans in leading the international community toward unconditional opposition to all instances of genocide. Supporters of this resolution are constantly told, and it has been said here today, that this is not the right time. Well, let me add my voice to those who have also indicated that if this is not the right time, please tell me when the right time will be. Genocide must never be some-

thing that is glossed over or forgotten. As world leaders, the United States must recognize this genocide and continue to strongly condemn any genocide around the world as we stand up for human rights and American values.

We simply cannot continue our policy of denial regarding the Armenian Genocide, the first in the twentieth century that was recognized. So I encourage all of my members, all the members of this committee to support House Resolution 252 to recognize the Armenian Genocide as a matter of fact by this Congress. So I proudly today, in honor of those who I grew up with, the Kazarians, the Kollegians, the Bakers, the Abrahamians, the Karabians, and the Kashians, that listening to those stories as a young man I never ever forgot, and this vote today that I will cast is in honor of their families who did suffer as a result of the Armenian Genocide. I lend back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Flake, for what purpose do you seek recognition?

Mr. FLAKE. To strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. Recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FLAKE. I thank the chairman. I won't take the full 5 minutes. I just want to say that I don't intend to minimize the horrific events that happened so many years ago. I am not a historian but to me it sure looked like a genocide. But I don't have so much a problem with the timing as I do the venue. We are not the arbiters of history here, and I don't think that we ought to assume or pretend that the rest of the world and all the historians hang on our every word.

And I think that going down this road here assumes that, and it will open up other issues that we may not want to address, and it certainly opens up a lot of our own history that we would rather, as has been said, move on from having acknowledged it. But I don't think that we would want other countries digging back into our own history as well. So as I said, I have more of a problem with the venue than the timing. I simply don't think that it is our proper role to take this up at this time. So I will be voting no. And I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back his time. Let me just tell people where we are now. We have a unanimous consent adopted that calls the roll at 2:15. We will need people here for that roll call. That roll will stay open until 2:45, and that is the situation. I know there are White House schedules that change all the time in terms of everybody and I understand that, but this is the window we have. We will have the last votes sometime between 2:30 and 3 o'clock, 3:15. So this roll call is called at 2:15. The gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Ellison?

Mr. ELLISON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ELLISON. Mr. Chairman, it is not an overstatement to say that one of the reasons I went to Congress was to fight for human rights. It is one of the reasons I am here at all. And therefore I must speak out for justice and oppose atrocities wherever they might be committed. And in recognizing the Armenian Genocide we remember and honor not only those who died in that tragic event,

but we also renew our commitment to address calamities that are happening around our world today.

To the Armenian people I extend my condolences for their families of those who were killed and displaced. As Members of Congress we cannot change their past, but we can give comfort to those who survived and acknowledge the memories of those who perished. We can stand vigilant for human rights in this hour and in this time. To the Turkish people, I respect and admire your great contributions to diplomacy, peace, and cooperation. My vote for this resolution is not a vote against the Turkish Government. This resolution is not aimed at the Turkish Government.

This resolution addresses a prior government. However, I still know that the vote today may hurt and cause hurt for many, and I am sorry for that. To my colleagues in Congress, we must reflect on our own past and acknowledge that the United States has committed grave injustices to Native Americans, African Americans, and others, and consider it may be well considered a genocide, and yet there has never been a resolution in the United States Congress calling actions against Native Americans or African Americans genocide.

If we are willing to acknowledge a tragedy that happened nearly 100 years ago half way across the world, then we should at least look into our own history and heal the wounds caused by our past. And that is why I have asked my staff to begin such a resolution, which I hope people will support. Finally, we must ensure that this resolution does not impair the efforts to normalize relations between Armenia and Turkey.

There might be some who would use this resolution to undermine the progress that has been made, but we must remain committed to the people of Turkey and Armenia and support them in their protocols toward greater cooperation. Let us remind ourselves that remembering the past offenses must not deflect our attention from the current needs of the Armenian and Turkish peoples. The best way to honor the dead is to show support for the living, and we should pledge our support and our continued assistance to Armenia and Turkey and the people who live there. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back the balance of his time. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. Moves to strike the last word. Recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. I appreciate the opportunity to make a statement on this meaningful resolution. H. Res. 252 recognizing a genocide, the massacre of 1.5 million innocent Armenian men, women, and children at the hands of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923. History can't be denied. The proof is irrefutable on the Armenian Genocide. Genocides wherever and whenever they occur cannot be ignored whether they took place in the twentieth century by the Ottomans or mid-twentieth century by the Third Reich or currently in Darfur. Genocide must be acknowledged for what it is, a scourge on the human race.

In keeping with the humanitarian spirit of America and this legislative body, we must, we should be the global leaders in recognizing and condemning all genocides past and present. Why is this important now? Because denying genocide sets a dangerous precedent that makes future genocides more likely. As such, I support the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

The Armenian Genocide must not be put on the backburner 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 final passage on the floor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. Gentleman yields back. The gentleman from Missouri, the chair of the International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight Subcommittee, Mr. Carnahan, seeks recognition?

Mr. CARNAHAN. I move to strike the last word.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Chairman, and all those here today, there is a great respect for this debate and the strong feelings on all sides. But today this committee has convened to consider H. Res. 252, a nonbinding resolution calling on the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide related to the Armenian Genocide.

As we prepare to make this important decision, it is equally important to recall that United States foreign policy has very long reflected these sensitivities. The historic facts are undeniable, and we share and will continue to share with the Armenian people, and all people, the solemn remembrance of the terrible atrocities of 1915. In 1999, President Clinton urged Americans to learn from the past while looking to the future and "recommit themselves to building a world where such events never occur again."

In 2008, President Obama also acknowledged the importance of addressing the past while working for the future. President Obama affirmed, "It is really about how the Turkish and Armenian people deal with the past, and the best way forward for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process, a process that works through the past in a way that is honest, open and constructive." Accordingly, it is important that the United States support the efforts that have been already initiated to open a process of discussion based on mutual respect and sensitivity, aimed at reaching a bilateral consensus on the historical atrocities committed in the final years of the Ottoman Empire.

This process will have to be serious, sober, and deeply reflective for both the Armenian and Turkish people working together for a strong future. Last year we saw brave historic steps taken by both sides to improve bilateral relations and usher in a new era of peaceful coexistence and mutual prosperity. The United States has supported these normalization efforts and I believe we must continue to do so, especially within the context of the struggles we still face combating terrorism, securing peace in the Middle East, as

well as our critical cooperation on Iran with our allies on the U.N. Security Council.

We must allow, encourage and commend the progress made between Armenia and Turkey to continue as their governments work to ratify the protocols of their historic accord. These include a process of historic review that will allow Armenia and Turkey to deal with their past together. We must also remember the whole of our foreign policy objectives, including our responsibility to our citizens, our troops, for our national security, to stabilize Iraq and Afghanistan, and to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, as well as to promote ongoing reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey. Turkey is a longtime friend and ally on a number of key issues. In this context, I believe it is an inappropriate time for this resolution. I must vote no on the resolution at this time.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman has yielded back his time. And the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Paul, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PAUL. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I find this vote difficult because voting yes or no would not represent my position. It has been mentioned by other speakers already that this does not serve American interests to even bring this subject up, and that would be what I would consider the best position is by not having issues like this come up. But those who spoke against it spoke eloquently about why neutrality on this issue serves American interests the best.

I only wish that that same principle would be applied to our foreign policy. It is almost a compulsion on our part to always be involved in the internal affairs and the conflicts of other nations when it is not necessary for us to do this, and this is more or less a reflection of this. So I don't see there is going to be any advantage to us to pass this, as a matter of fact I see a lot of disadvantages. It won't resolve anything.

There were a lot of tragedies in the twentieth century. There were 262 million people killed by their own governments in the twentieth century. There were 34 million people killed in armed conflict. That is so much tragedy, and to iron that out and solve these problems and decide who is to get the most blame from governments that don't exist any longer, I see no purpose in that, it doesn't serve our benefit.

But it is also disappointing to me about how these issues come up and the conflicts come. One of my goals, long term goals, has always been to strive for eliminating hyphenated Americans. I don't like the idea that we have so many groups that are hyphenated, so they have lobbyist groups to serve the interests of this group of Americans against another group of Americans. And then you have foreign lobbyists come in and foreign governments that represents one government over the other.

Truly if we had a republic we wouldn't be dealing with this kind of a problem being brought up constantly over many, many years. Decades we have been dealing with this. The purpose that I see for this is that the consequence will be nothing more than just stirring the pot. We are going to stir the pot and nothing is going to be settled and it will come up again. And yet, the evidence is rather

clear, so many have spoken already that the two countries that are involved have been working and trying to work this out.

And that is the way it should be, and my argument for less intervention around the world really fits into this argument. But those who are arguing for the nonintervention and staying out of this and see so clearly how this does not serve our special interest, I would just suggest to them to look at our foreign policy as well. Because getting involved in the military conflicts of the world have an immediate consequence much worse than us getting involved in this.

Circumstances like this, I think we as Congressmen have a perfect right to have personal opinions and historic opinions. But to try to solve the emotional conflicts that have gone on by legislation in taking one side over another and having one hyphenated American group against another hyphenated American group, one country against another country, this does not serve our interest, it doesn't serve the cause of peace, and it would be much better if we look forward rather than backwards.

I think a resolution like this looks backwards, so I will be voting no, not because I am taking a position but precisely because my position is hopefully some day in the future we will have a lot less of this discussion and these resolutions coming up not only dealing with the past but also the current events that we have today as well as our future around the world. I think the position that we look after our own interests and follow a policy where we don't get involved in the internal affairs of other nations or the conflicts of other nations would serve our interests well.

And that is not dropping out, that is not ignoring the world, because there is no reason why we can't pursue a foreign policy where we talk with people, have diplomacy with people, trade with people, and friendship with people, without picking sides. The squabbles should be dealt with by governments themselves or the people themselves within a country. At the same time if there are border disputes or disputes between countries, it should involve them rather than us believing that we can come in and settle the dispute and make the world better. I think if we take a position of more of neutrality and independence away from making these decisions, the better off the world would be. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. Time of the gentleman has expired. The gentlelady from California seeks recognition?

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and let me thank you and Ranking Member Ros-Lehtinen for bringing this bill, H. Res. 252 for consideration before the committee. I am one of those who will be at the White House, and I just want to register my support for the bill. I am going to try to get back before the vote, Mr. Chairman, but I join my colleagues today in recognition of one of the greatest tragedies of the twentieth century, the Armenian Genocide.

The Armenian Genocide, of course, began in 1915 when Armenian leaders were rounded up, deported, and killed. One-and-a-half million Armenians were murdered, and countless others displaced and deported. The world must not forget the Armenian Genocide nor the lives that this event claimed. We should never ever forget this, and this resolution I think is extremely important in this day

and time. Many political leaders, scholars, and professional organizations have worked tirelessly to acknowledge this devastating event to the Armenian people.

And there are still a number of survivors of the genocide here in our own country, many of their children and grandchildren who reside throughout our country. We must never forget the heinous acts that victimized their families. If we let such atrocities be forgotten then we are in danger of letting them be repeated, and I have to thank my colleague Congressman Adam Schiff who has for so long tried to get this Congress to do the right thing, so thank you, Congressman Schiff, for your leadership and for staying strong in spite of the oppositions that you are faced with.

Even now, in the twenty-first century, we have watched for years as genocide has ravaged Darfur. The Holocaust, slavery. I am an African-American, descendant of slaves. These horrific events of our time must always be remembered. Since the Darfur genocide, for example, it began in 2003, hundreds of villages have been destroyed, an estimated 2.7 million people have been displaced and more than 400,000 people have died.

So this resolution again reminds us that we must do everything within our power to ensure atrocities like these never happen again or risk condemning our children to a world caught in a cycle of hate and bloodshed. And so with that in mind I urge my colleagues on this committee to support this resolution. We have no option but to do that. Thank you again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Congressman Schiff, for your leadership.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentlelady has expired. The gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Fortenberry, moves to strike the last word and is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FORTENBERRY. I move to strike the last word. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be fairly brief. Mr. Chairman, the tragedy of the Armenian Genocide clearly is a very powerful and painful memory in the collective conscience of the region of Turkey as well as Armenia, and it is understandable. America can recognize this and work for reconciliation as may be appropriate, given our leadership in the world. But, Mr. Chairman, I am very concerned that this resolution before this committee may not actually be a force for reconciliation. It may complicate reconciliation in the area where it matters most, and where it matters most is not this committee. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. Time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from California, the chair of the Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade Subcommittee, Mr. Sherman, seeks to strike the last word and is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, thank you. I want to acknowledge our two colleagues and their leadership, Adam Schiff and Frank Pallone, who have been here throughout. I want to acknowledge the Ambassador of Armenia who is in the audience, Mr. Tatoul Markarian, and I want to thank him for the detachment of Armenian soldiers who fought for 4 years alongside Americans in Iraq and for the detachment that was sent 2 months ago to fight alongside Americans in Afghanistan.

And I want to apologize for the fact that this Ambassador had to sit here while an opponent of this resolution falsely stated that

Armenians have not fought alongside Americans in these recent conflicts. I want to also acknowledge the survivors who are here. If someone has to ask, "Why do it now; why not put it off?" How long are you asking these survivors to wait, and shouldn't we do it while they are here to see it?

We have seen many people come here and say, "Shouldn't we have both sides reconcile?" We all long for that. We have seen in many parts of the world truth and reconciliation commissions, a truth and reconciliation process, and it has worked. I have not seen falsehood and cover up commissions lead to reconciliation. Now, one side in the protocols, the Armenian side, supports this resolution, the same President of Armenia who signed the protocol, supports this resolution and believes that it will help lead to the reconciliation that those protocols envision.

The other side has basically thrown away the protocols. When the Prime Minister of Turkey says that another issue not germane to the protocols, that of Nagorno-Karabakh, will hold them up forever, that he will not ratify those protocols until the people of Armenia abandon the people of Nagorno Karabakh, what he is basically doing is saying, thanks for signing the protocols, now I am throwing them away.

So those protocols are dead unless we do something to shake things up, and nothing would do more than to show the people of Turkey that we cannot be cowed into denying the first genocide of the twentieth century. Because genocide denial is not just the last step of the genocide, it is the first step in the next genocide. And that is why Hitler when faced with some wavering compatriots was able to say, we can get away with the Holocaust, after all who today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?

We are told that somehow this will hurt our relationship with Turkey. Long term we will not have a good relationship with Turkey until Turkey abandons this effort to deny the past and engage in genocide denial. Would we have a good relationship with a German Government that was denying the Holocaust? And who would have a good relationship with us if we were denying slavery and so many other things of our past? And as the gentleman from American Samoa pointed out, the Comfort Woman Resolution passed this committee even over the objection of our good friends in Japan.

Now, it is unseemly for this, the greatest Parliament in the world, to be cowed into not recognizing what the opponents of the resolution, so many of them, describe as the truth because we are afraid of Turkish retaliation. But it is particularly unseemly in light of the fact that Turkey has proven that these threats are false, that we are cowering in the face of a paper tiger. Let us go through the record.

Turkey threatened harsh retribution to countries that recognized the genocide, and then took only token diplomatic steps or no steps at all against Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Argentina, and 10 other countries. Forty American states have recognized the Armenian Genocide and our trade relations between those states and Turkey have only grown. The greatest attempt outside the United States was an attempt to try to prevent France from recognizing the genocide.

In 2001, France passed a law recognizing the Armenian Genocide. In the subsequent 6 years, exports from France to Turkey went up four fold, even after France had been threatened with a boycott. And in fact there have been massive increases in exports by Belgium, Canada, Italy, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, and Russia. Perhaps the key to getting Turkey on our side is to pass this resolution. That is not what they say, but that is what seems to happen when you look at the recent past.

Turkey should acknowledge. We have provided them with \$23 billion in aid. We saved them from Communism, we helped build the pipeline that brings them oil today, we prevented an independent Kurdish state in Iraq, and we are the loudest voice for helping Turkey enter the European Union. With all that, they shouldn't also ask us to act like cowards and deny the truth. I yield back.

Chairman BERMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. We have only a few minutes left for a vote. After consultations with the ranking member, it is the intention of the chair to recess this committee until 2:10, allow Ambassador Watson and Mr. Boozman to have their time to speak, and then go to the roll call at 2:15. We need to have a working quorum for the start of that roll call vote, and that roll call will continue until 5 minutes after the last vote in the next round of votes closes. In other words—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman BERMAN. Yes?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We will begin voting at 2:15 or as soon as those two members finish their remarks, Mr. Boozman and Ambassador Watson? And any others who may—

Chairman BERMAN. Well, let us not say any others.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Okay, that is why I want to make sure. So we have these two speakers and then we will commence voting, so we can tell everybody on our side, 2:15 more or less.

Chairman BERMAN. We will need a working quorum to commence the roll call.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, sir.

Chairman BERMAN. And I expect that to be right around 2:15 under this outline. So the committee is now recessed until 2:10, at which time I will recognize Mr. Boozman and expect the roll call to start at 2:15.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And it will end?

Chairman BERMAN. 5 minutes after the next round of votes after this one, on the floor, ends.

[Recess.]

Chairman BERMAN. The committee shall come to order. The markup is reconvened. It is now my pleasure to recognize Ambassador Watson for a statement. She moves to strike the last word, and she is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WATSON. Thank you. I am striking the last word, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for bringing House Resolution 252, which is the Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide, to the committee for markup.

As a previous supporter of this significant legislation in 2007, I have once again, along with 160 of our colleagues, join in co-sponsoring the bipartisan resolution. Today's proposed bill calls upon

President Obama to ensure United States foreign policy accurately reflects our Nation's historical record relating to the mass atrocities and killings of more than 1½ Armenians from 1915 to 1923, as well as the displacement of over 500,000 Armenian men, women, and children, from their homeland.

As a Member of Congress, whose district includes a growing Armenian constituency, as well as Turkish residents, I have listened carefully and caringly to passionate voices on both sides, and believe that even though currently there is no yet a common understanding recognized by the Governments of Armenia and Turkey, the United States must make a good faith effort to reflect in our foreign policy a perspective that allows all to move forward.

While the United States continues its active engagement to encourage diplomatic talks between the President of Armenia and the President of Turkey to normalize relations and move the peace process forward, it is important that we not lose sight of the humanitarian role that America plays acting in the time of great need on behalf of a nation's people in distress.

So, Mr. Chairman, the United States record on human rights remains strong, and I believe the time has come to acknowledge straightforwardly our Nation's experience of this matter. So I thank you and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman BERMAN. I think all the people who are seeking recognition to strike the last word have been recognized, and pursuant to the unanimous consent that was accorded recently, and hearing no amendments, I move that the resolution be reported favorably to the House. All those in favor say aye.

[Ayes.]

Chairman BERMAN. All opposed say no.

[No.]

Chairman BERMAN. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman BERMAN. Yes?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Is this the correct moment to ask for a recorded vote?

Chairman BERMAN. It is a very good one. A recorded vote has been requested. The clerk will call the roll, moderately slowly, and this roll will remain open until 5 minutes after the last vote. We will obviously at some point recess, since I have to vote, but I will be back right after that vote, and 5 minutes after the last vote is gavelled down the roll here will close. The clerk will call the roll.

Ms. RUSH. Chairman Berman?

Chairman BERMAN. Aye.

Ms. RUSH. Chairman Berman votes yes. Mr. Ackerman?

Mr. ACKERMAN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ackerman votes yes. Mr. Faleomavaega?

[No response.]

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne?

[No response.]

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sherman?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sherman votes yes. Mr. Engel?

[No response.]

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Delahunt?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson?
Ms. WATSON. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Watson votes yes. Mr. Carnahan?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Sires?
Mr. SHIRES. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Shires votes yes. Mr. Connolly?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. McMahan?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tanner?
Mr. TANNER. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Tanner votes no. Mr. Green.
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Woolsey?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Jackson Lee?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Lee?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Berkley?
Mr. BERKLEY. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Berkley votes yes. Mr. Crowley?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ross?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Miller?
Mr. MILLER. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Miller votes no. Mr. Scott?
Mr. SCOTT. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Scott votes no. Mr. Costa?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ellison?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Giffords?
Ms. GIFFORDS. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Giffords votes yes. Mr. Klein?
[No Response.]
Ms. RUSH. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen?
Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. No.
Chairman BERMAN. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen votes no. Mr. Smith?
Mr. SMITH. Yes.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Smith votes yes. Mr. Burton?
Mr. BURTON. No.
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Burton votes no. Mr. Gallegly?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Rohrabacher?
[No response.]
Ms. RUSH. Mr. Manzullo?
Mr. MANZULLO. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Manzullo votes yes. Mr. Royce?
 Mr. ROYCE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Royce votes yes. Mr. Paul?
 Mr. PAUL. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Paul votes no. Mr. Flake?
 Mr. FLAKE. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Flake votes no. Mr. Pence?
 Mr. PENCE. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Pence votes no. Mr. Wilson?
 Mr. WILSON. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Wilson votes no. Mr. Boozman?
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Barrett?
 Mr. BARRETT. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Barrett votes no. Mr. Mack?
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortenberry?
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. McCaul?
 Mr. McCAUL. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. McCaul votes no. Mr. Poe?
 [No response.]
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Inglis?
 Mr. INGLIS. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Inglis votes no. Mr. Bilirakis?
 [No response.]
 Chairman BERMAN. Does any member wish to add their vote?
 The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Delahunt.
 Mr. DELAHUNT. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Delahunt votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentlemen from Florida, Mr. Mack.
 Mr. MACK. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Mack votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Carnahan.
 Mr. CARNAHAN. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Carnahan votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Texas, Judge Poe.
 Mr. POE. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Poe votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas.
 Mr. BOOZMAN. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Boozman votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis.
 Mr. BILIRAKIS. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Bilirakis votes yes.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Payne.
 Mr. PAYNE. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Payne votes yes.
 Chairman BERMAN. And now we sit and wait, or at least I sit and wait.
 [Pause.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Ross.
 Mr. ROSS. No.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ross votes no.
 [Pause.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from California, Mr. Gallegly.
 Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Chairman, I vote aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Gallegly votes yes.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Fortenberry.
 Mr. FORTENBERRY. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Fortenberry votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Connolly.
 Mr. CONNOLLY. Mr. Chairman, I vote nay.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Connolly votes no.
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from New York, Mr. McMahon.
 Mr. MCMAHON. Mr. Chairman, I vote no.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. McMahon votes no.
 [Pause.]
 Chairman BERMAN. Mr. Costa.
 Ms. RUSH. You are not recorded.
 Mr. COSTA. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Costa votes yes.
 [Pause.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from American Samoa, Mr. Faleomavaega.
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, how am I recorded?
 Ms. RUSH. You are not recorded.
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I vote yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Faleomavaega votes yes.
 [Pause.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Engel.
 [No response.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from California, Mr. Rohrabacher.
 Mr. ENGEL. Yes.
 Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Engel votes yes. Mr. Rohrabacher votes yes.
 [Recess.]
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA [presiding]. The gentleman from Florida.
 Mr. KLEIN. Yes.
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. The gentleman from Florida votes yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Klein votes yes.
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Meeks.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks is not recorded.
 Mr. MEEKS. No.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Meeks votes no.
 [Recess.]
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Congressman Ellison. Congressman Keith Ellison.
 Mr. ELLISON. Yes.
 Ms. RUSH. Mr. Ellison votes yes.
 [Recess.]
 Chairman BERMAN. The gentlelady from California, Ms. Lee.
 Ms. LEE. Aye.
 Ms. RUSH. Ms. Lee votes yes.

[Recess.]

Mr. SHERMAN [presiding]. A quick announcement. Chairman Berman has asked me to sit in the chair until he can return from two votes. We are waiting, I believe, for four members, and I will ask the clerk to read the names of those members who have not yet voted.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green, Ms. Woolsey, Ms. Jackson Lee, and Mr. Crowley.

Mr. SHERMAN. So that is Mr. Green of Texas, Ms. Woolsey of California, Ms. Jackson Lee of Texas, and Mr. Crowley of New York. If they have staff here, or friends here, who can remind them to be here as soon as possible, that will allow us to complete the committee's business.

I will be sitting here until Chairman Berman returns. I will then scamper out of the room so that I can cast the final vote of the day on the floor. It is not because I am disinterested in the result that will occur in this room shortly after Chairman Berman returns.

[Recess.]

Mr. SHERMAN. I am going to ask people to take their seats. The House of Representatives floor is now in session, and 1 minute ago, they began voting on the last vote of the day, which is a motion to suspend the rules and applaud the Saints of New Orleans.

That means that some of our colleagues may have cast this vote and may be walking here right now. So I feel that when they come here, they should see an orderly committee room. I would expect Chairman Berman to be here in another couple 3 minutes, and we have four of our colleagues who have not voted.

This screen here shows what is going on now on the House floor. Under the unanimous consent request, 5 minutes after the conclusion of the vote now in progress on the House floor, will be the conclusion of our proceedings here.

While there are officially 3 more minutes to cast votes on the House floor, House tradition would dictate that the gavel will probably not occur for 6, 7, 8 minutes from now. So, I expect these proceedings to be over in roughly 13 to 15 minutes. We don't need absolute silence, but we do need some reasonable degree of order, and I would not be surprised if one of our four remaining colleagues comes into the room within the next minute.

[Recess.]

Chairman BERMAN. The gentlelady from California.

Ms. RUSH. You are not recorded.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Ms. Woolsey votes yes.

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from New York.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Crowley is not recorded.

Mr. CROWLEY. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Crowley votes yes.

[Recess.]

Chairman BERMAN. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Green.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green is not recorded.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Ms. RUSH. Mr. Green votes yes.

[Recess.]

Chairman BERMAN. Under the unanimous consent request the 5 minutes after the last vote has elapsed. If the clerk could tabulate the vote.

Ms. RUSH. On this vote there are 23 ayes and 22 nos.

Chairman BERMAN. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to. Without objection, members will have 5 legislative days to enter their statement into the record. The staff is authorized to make technical conforming changes. Since there is no further business, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:45 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X



MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP NOTICE
Committee on Foreign Affairs
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0128

Howard L. Berman (D-CA), Chairman

February 24, 2010

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN markup of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held in **Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building**, for the purpose of mark up of the following legislation:

DATE: Thursday, March 4, 2010

TIME: 10:00 a.m.

MARKUP OF: H. Res. 252, Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day Thursday Date 3/4/10 Room 2172 RHOBStarting Time 10:10 A.M. Ending Time 3:45 P.M.Recesses 2 (10:58 to 11:59) (1:12 to 2:15)

Presiding Member(s)

Howard L. Berman (CA), Chairman; Eni F.H. Faleomavaega (AS);
and Brad Sherman (CA)

CHECK ALL OF THE FOLLOWING THAT APPLY:

Open Session	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Electronically Recorded (taped)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Executive (closed) Session		Stenographic Record	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Televised	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

TITLE OF HEARING or BILLS FOR MARKUP: (Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation.)

H. Res. 252, Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

See attached

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes No
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record.)

ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE MARKUP: (Attach copies of legislation and amendments.)

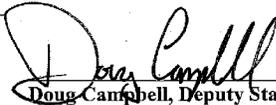
Motion to report favorably H. Res. 252, Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution, was agreed by a recorded vote of 23-22.

RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR MARKUP): (Attach final vote tally sheet listing each member.)

Subject	Yeas	Nays	Present	Not Voting
	23	22		1

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE

or

TIME ADJOURNED 3:45 P.M.


Doug Campbell, Deputy Staff Director

**Attendance - HCFA Full Committee MARKUP:
Thursday, March 4, 2010 @ 10:00 a.m. , 2172 RHOB**

Howard L. Berman (CA)	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, (FL)
Gary Ackerman (NY)	Christopher H. Smith (NJ)
Eni F.H. Faleomavaega (AS)	Dan Burton (IN)
Donald Payne (NJ)	Elton Gallegly (CA)
Brad Sherman (CA)	Dana Rohrabacher (CA)
Eliot L. Engel (NY)	Donald A. Manzullo (IL)
William D. Delahunt (MA)	Edward R. Royce (CA)
Gregory W. Meeks (NY)	Ron Paul (TX)
Diane E. Watson (CA)	Jeff Flake (AZ)
Russ Carnahan (MO)	Mike Pence (IN)
Albio Sires (NJ)	Joe Wilson (SC)
Gerald E. Connolly (VA)	John Boozman (AR)
Michael E. McMahon (NY)	J. Gresham Barrett (SC)
John S. Tanner (TN)	Connie Mack (FL)
Gene Green (TX)	Jeff Fortenberry (NE)
Lynn C. Woolsey (CA)	Michael T. McCaul (TX)
Sheila Jackson-Lee (TX)	Ted Poe (TX)
Barbara Lee (CA)	Bob Inglis (SC)
Shelley Berkley (NV)	Gus Bilirakis (FL)
Joseph Crowley (NY)	
Mike Ross (AR)	
Brad Miller (NC)	
David Scott (GA)	
Jim Costa (CA)	
Keith Ellison (MN)	
Gabrielle Giffords (AZ)	
Ron Klein (FL)	

**Committee on Foreign Affairs
U.S. House of Representatives
111th Congress**

Date: 3/4/10

Record Vote Description:

*Motion to report favorably H. Res. 252,
Affirmation of the United States Record on
the Armenian Genocide Resolution*

Member	Aye	No	Present
Howard L. Berman, Chair	✓		
Gary L. Ackerman, D-NY	✓		
Eni F. H. Faleomavaega, D-AS	✓		
Donald M. Payne, D-NJ	✓		
Brad Sherman, D-CA	✓		
Eliot L. Engel, D-NY	✓		
Bill DeJahunt, D-MA		✓	
Gregory W. Meeks, D-NY		✓	
Diane E. Watson, D-CA	✓		
Russ Carnahan, D-MO		✓	
Albio Sires, D-NJ	✓		
Gerald E. Connolly, D-VA		✓	
Michael E. McMahon, D-NY		✓	
John S. Tanner, D-TN		✓	
Gene Green, D-TX	✓		
Lynn Woolsey, D-CA	✓		
Sheila Jackson Lee, D-TX			
Barbara Lee, D-CA	✓		
Shelley Berkley, D-NV	✓		
Joseph Crowley, D-NY	✓		
Mike Ross, D-AR		✓	
Brad Miller, D-NC		✓	
David Scott, D-GA		✓	
Jim Costa, D-CA	✓		
Keith Ellison, D-MN	✓		
Gabriella Giffords, D-AZ	✓		
Ron Klein, D-FL	✓		
Vacant			
SUBTOTAL 1	17	9	

Member	Aye	No	Present
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-FL		✓	
Christopher H. Smith, R-NJ	✓		
Dan Burton, R-IN		✓	
Eltou Gallegly, R-CA	✓		
Dana Rohrabacher, R-CA	✓		
Donald A. Manzullo, R-IL	✓		
Edward R. Royce, R-CA	✓		
Ron Paul, R-TX		✓	
Jeff Flake, R-AZ		✓	
Mike Pence, R-IN		✓	
Joe Wilson, R-SC		✓	
John Boozman, R-AR		✓	
J. Gresham Barrett, R-SC		✓	
Cannia Mack, R-FL		✓	
Jeff Fortenberry, R-NE		✓	
Michael T. McCaul, R-TX		✓	
Ted Poe, R-TX		✓	
Bob Inglis, R-SC		✓	
Gus Bilirakis, R-FL	✓		
SUBTOTAL 2	6	13	

	Aye	No	Present
SUBTOTAL 1	17	9	
SUBTOTAL 2	6	13	
TOTAL	23	22	0

CR
Clerk's Initials

March 4, 2010

Verbatim, as delivered

Chairman Berman's opening remarks at markup of the Armenian Genocide resolution, H. Res. 252

Turkey is a vital and, in most respects, a loyal ally of the United States in a volatile region. We have also been a loyal ally to Turkey, and should continue to be so.

Be that as it may, nothing justifies Turkey's turning a blind eye to the reality of the Armenian Genocide. It is regrettable, for example, that Turkey's Nobel-Prize-winning novelist, Orhan Pamuk, was essentially hounded out of his native country for speaking out on this subject.

Now I don't pretend to be a professional historian. I haven't scoured the archives in Istanbul looking for original documents.

But the vast majority of experts – the vast majority – academics, authorities in international law, and others who have looked at this issue for years, agree that the tragic massacres of the Armenians constitute genocide.

In a letter to members of congress two years ago, 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 1918-1920, and by decades of scholarship.”
- “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.”

The Genocide Scholars urged the House to pass a resolution acknowledging the Armenian Genocide because, they said, it would constitute – and I quote again -- “recognition of a historical turning point in the twentieth 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 the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has written that the Armenian Genocide is, in his words, "the closest parallel to the Holocaust."

In a 1985 report, a subcommission of the UN Commission on Human Rights found that the massacres of the Armenians qualified as genocide.

And Raphael Lemkin, the Polish lawyer who coined the word "genocide" and drafted the international genocide convention, told an interviewer that, quote "I became interested in genocide because it happened to the Armenians."

Nearly two dozen other countries – including France, Canada, Russia, Switzerland and Chile – have formally recognized the Armenian Genocide. So has the European Parliament.

As the world leader in promoting human rights, the United States has a moral responsibility to join them.

The Turks say passing this resolution could have terrible consequences for our bilateral relationship, and indeed perhaps there will be some consequences. But I believe that Turkey values its relations with the United States at least as much as we value our relations with Turkey.

And I believe the Turks, however deep their dismay today, fundamentally agree that the U.S.-Turkish alliance is simply too important to get sidetracked by a non-binding resolution passed by the House of Representatives.

At some point, every nation must come to terms with its own history. And that is all we ask of Turkey.

Germany has accepted responsibility for the Holocaust. South Africa set up a Truth Commission to look at Apartheid. And here at home, we continue to grapple with the legacies of slavery and our horrendous treatment of Native Americans.

It is now time for Turkey to accept the reality of the Armenian Genocide.

This will most likely be a difficult and painful process for the Turkish people, but at the end of the day, it will strengthen Turkish democracy and put the U.S.-Turkey relationship on a better footing.

I urge my colleagues to support this important resolution.

Opening Statement
Congressman Dan Burton
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Markup of: H. Res. 252, Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian
Genocide Resolution
March 4, 2010

I strongly urge the Committee to reject the ill-conceived Resolution before us which calls on President Obama to recognize the so-called "Armenian Genocide."

My position on this issue is not a secret to anyone on this Committee. I believe that the Armenians suffered a grave loss of life almost a century ago. I do not minimize or deny the enormous significance of the horrible tragedy suffered by ethnic Armenians in the Post World War One period. But I believe this is not our fight, and we should stay out of it.

In the past I have talked about the damage resolutions like this can and will do to our bilateral relationship with Turkey – a key NATO ally and indispensable partner in our efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. This was evident in past protests to similar Congressional actions by eight former Secretaries of State, three former Secretaries of Defense, and former Secretaries Rice and Gates, and those concerns are still relevant today. I would respectfully remind my colleagues that Turkey recalled its Ambassador to the United States in 2007 after this Committee passed a similar Armenian resolution. The Ambassador was only reappointed this year. In fact, he presented his credentials to the President only last week. I hope he hasn't unpacked yet.

In addition, I have talked about the damage a resolution like this can do to our economy. Last year alone, American companies did more than \$14 Billion worth of business in Turkey. If we pass this resolution, American commercial interests and jobs will be in jeopardy. Several high profile contracts, worth in excess of \$10 Billion and employing several thousand American workers, are at stake. These represent actual American exports and thousands of American jobs. Considering our ballooning deficit, national debt and soaring unemployment rate, we should be protecting and promoting American commerce and jobs, not throwing them away.

However, even if you want to put aside the economic and national security implications of this resolution, I believe there is an even stronger reason why we should not pass this resolution at this time. In October 2009, in Zurich, Switzerland, with the strong support of the United States, the foreign ministers of Turkey and Armenia took an unprecedented step forward in their efforts to overcome decades of animosity and distrust between their two countries. The two protocols, still awaiting ratification by both the Turkish and Armenian parliaments, would establish diplomatic relations, improve bilateral relations in all aspects, open their border, and create an independent commission of experts to determine their shared history.

In other words, Turkey and Armenia are moving responsibly to resolve this dispute themselves. Unfortunately, almost before the ink was dry, special interest groups in both countries, and abroad, who profit from the status quo were attacking the deal, which underscores how fragile the process of reconciliation and normalization of relations really is. Yet instead of encouraging reconciliation, we are meddling; and meddling in such a way that it will enflame passions on both sides of this issue and destroy the historic progress that has been made. I don't understand this.

Although the White House has been distressingly silent on this resolution, last week in this very room and before this Committee, Secretary Clinton said that the best course of action is to let the Armenians and the Turks address this issue, their issue, themselves, and that the United States' strong support of these efforts should "not be diverted in any way at all." Later that same day, Secretary Clinton reiterated that the most prudent role of the United States is "to continue to urge the ratification of these protocols."

Instead, we are preparing to move in the opposite direction. The unwanted and uninvited intervention by this Committee at this delicate stage of ratification is highly likely to disrupt, delay, and perhaps even derail entirely the ongoing parliamentary process currently underway in both Turkey and Armenia.

Members of the Committee should be under no illusions going into this vote: If you want to see the reconciliation process successfully carried out and an eventual peace between Turkey and Armenia; if you want to defend American National security and commercial interests in the region, please join me in defeating this resolution. If you want to see the bitterness and hatred between Turks and Armenians continue for another generation, if you want to see our efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and our efforts to stop Iran's nuclear weapons program undermined, then vote for this resolution.

The Honorable Gerald E. Connolly (VA-11)

**HCFA Full Committee Hearing: Mark-up of H. Res. 252
Thursday, March 4, 2010
10am**

A man should not be held responsible for the sins of his father. Similarly, a modern-day government should not be punished for what its antecedent did 95 years ago. House Resolution 252 will pave the way for Turkey to face the consequences of a reprehensible event that took place 95 years ago under the Ottoman Empire. If this Committee votes to report out H. Res. 252, we will cause irreparable harm to our relationship with Turkey—a country that is not only our ally in two theaters of war, but is consistently held as an example of a secular, modern, moderate Muslim state.

In 2007, against the suggestion of Defense Secretary Robert Gates, this Committee passed a similar Resolution. Turkish streets erupted in protest, and the government of Turkey recalled then Ambassador Nabi Sensoy back to Turkey and issued a statement in protest. But this resolution will affect more than the US-Turkey bilateral relationship—it will also harm the burgeoning relationship between Turkey and Armenia.

Just five months ago, the governments of Turkey and Armenia signed two historic protocols, paving the way to reestablish diplomatic relations. The protocols now await approval before the parliaments of both countries. A yes vote on this Resolution—even in Committee—will divert the current diplomatic trajectory that Turkey and Armenia are following. I am not advocating that we or anyone “sweep under the rug” what happened in 1915. In fact, the protocols call for the creation of an historical commission to review the events of 1915-23. Let this historical commission play its part in the Turkey-Armenia relationship.

As Secretary Clinton recently said before this Committee, the normalization process carries benefits, and it should take place. The U.S. ought to acknowledge and assist Turkey and Armenia's efforts and these efforts should not be diverted in any way at all. Passing this Resolution will ultimately harm the relationship between Turkey and Armenia and will divert the diplomatic process that the two countries are undertaking.

Supporters of the Resolution may say that the Resolution doesn't directly condemn modern day Turkey. But there is already a precedent for the House to directly punish modern day Turkey for what the Ottoman Empire did in 1915. In fact, one of the findings of this resolution mentions such an instance. In a 1996 amendment to a House Appropriations bill, the House "reduce[d] aid to Turkey by \$3,000,000" until the modern day "Turkish Government" changed its views. This Resolution will likely further this precedent of placing the onus on Turkey. It is a not a fair consequence, but given the past, it's a likely consequence that should be taken seriously. If House Resolution 252 gets voted out of Committee, modern-day Turkey will receive the diplomatic scrutiny for what occurred under the Ottoman Empire.

It is not the practice of the United States to condemn modern-day nations for what their antecedents did. If this were the case, we would be debating resolutions blaming modern-day Russia for Stalin's purges, modern-day Cambodia for the Khmer Rouge, and modern day England for the Star Chamber.

If we vote H. Res. 252 out of Committee, the consequences will be apparent throughout Turkey and will harm both the US-Turkey and Turkey-Armenia relationships. This resolution takes the actions of the Ottoman Empire of 1915 and places the moral, diplomatic, and potentially financial consequences on modern day Turkey, an ally that has been vital to U.S. diplomatic and military operations in recent years. I urge my colleagues to consider every consequence of voting this Resolution out of Committee.

Congressman John Boozman (AR-03)
Statement for the Record: Markup of H.Res.252

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. While I understand the sensitivity and passion on both sides of this issue, I must remain opposed to the passage of this resolution. I believe that the U.S.-Turkey relationship plays an integral role in our success and well being as a nation. While the Obama Administration has declined to take a formal position on H.Res.252 at this time, I believe President Obama agrees with this sentiment. The President visited Turkey on his FIRST bilateral overseas European trip and described the U.S.-Turkey relationship as a "Model Partnership." In addition, just last week Secretary Clinton testified before this committee and I asked her to comment on the fact that this Committee planned on moving this resolution. She responded, and I quote, "It is our position that the normalization process that Turkey and Armenia have undertaken carries important benefits for both sides and it should take place without preconditions. Last year in his Remembrance Day statement, President Obama made clear that our interest remains a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts related to the historical event. But the best way to do that, with all respect, is for the Armenian and Turkish people themselves to address the facts of their past as part of their efforts to move forward. And, in that spirit, we are working very hard to assist Armenia and Turkey in their efforts and we would like to continue to support that effort and not be diverted in any way at all." END QUOTE. Unfortunately, it is clear that passage of this resolution by this Committee would, in fact, divert and be a detriment to this process.

In addition, passage could negatively impact a multitude of economies and businesses, especially in the U.S. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, trade with Turkey last year was valued at more than \$10 billion, and several high-profile contracts and bids valued at more than

\$10 billion are pending. Our economic engagement with Turkey supports thousands of jobs, and some of these may be placed at risk if the resolution is approved. At a time when unemployment is at record levels, we should not be putting further jobs in peril. Therefore, I respectfully urge my colleagues to oppose H.Res.252 today.

Statement by Rep. John Tanner Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs During Markup of H. Res. 252
March 4, 2010

There is no denying that ethnic Armenians suffered horribly from 1915 to 1923, and the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians during this period should never be forgotten. I strongly encourage continued discussions between Turkey and Armenia to jointly resolve this issue.

While it is important that Turkey come to terms with its history, I truly do not feel that passing a resolution will help accomplish this goal. Nearly every country or civilization has dark spots in its history. As Americans, we have struggled to officially recognize our own mistakes, including slavery, mistreatment of the Native Americans and internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Again, I do not seek to rationalize or deny the heinous crimes committed against the Armenians during World War I, but I strongly believe that passage of this resolution will have unintended consequences on the current status of peace negotiations between Armenia and Turkey, and their attempt to reconcile the past.

For some time, the United States, Switzerland, and other members of the international community have actively been supporting the normalization process between Turkey and Armenia. Those efforts have produced significant positive movement over the last ten months. The governments of Turkey and Armenia signed two historic protocols in October 2009 that will reestablish diplomatic relations. These protocols are presently before both parliaments for ratification, so this process is at a sensitive stage. Once ratified, these protocols will establish diplomatic relations, open common borders, and foster commerce between these neighbors. The protocols also create the framework for a joint historical commission on the tragic events that occurred in the early portion of the twentieth century. It would not serve U.S. interests to take action at a time when doing so could jeopardize these positive developments.

House passage of H. Res. 252 will take a heavy toll on our strategic relationship with Turkey, a long-time NATO ally and an invaluable player in our ongoing efforts against global terrorism. Turkey is a majority Muslim pro-Western democracy that sits between Europe and the Middle East. Since 1952 Turkey has been a member of the NATO Alliance and has provided an important passageway for fuel and supplies for our troops in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In Afghanistan, Turkey has provided hundreds of millions of dollars for reconstruction efforts and humanitarian aid, and operates hospitals and schools that serve hundreds of thousands of individuals. Turkey also has helped train members of the Afghan National Police and the National Army, a vital task that will help transfer sole security responsibilities to the Afghan government.

In 2007, after passage of the Armenian Genocide Resolution by this very committee, Turkey temporarily recalled its Ambassador to the United States. For the very real security and diplomatic consequences associated with the Resolution, all living former Secretaries of State expressed their strong opposition to this resolution, including Henry Kissinger, Madeleine Albright, and James Baker. Therefore, as Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, the civilian branch of the NATO Alliance, I feel compelled not to support such resolution that could be counter-productive to our security and diplomatic goals.

**Statement of Congressman Gene Green
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Markup of House Resolution 252
March 4, 2010**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There are strong feelings on both sides of this issue and you can see it reflected even in this committee.

It is not debated that a large number of Armenians were killed and exiled by the Ottoman Empire, but the numbers and whether or not it was a systematic killing have been the contested issues.

H. Res. 252 re-affirms the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide by calling on 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.

20 other countries, including 11 NATO allies have officially recognized these events and our committee favorably reported out a similar resolution last Congress.

However, before we consider H. Res. 252 this morning, I think it's important that we recognize the positive developments that have taken place since we took up this issue last Congress.

Last October, the governments of Turkey and Armenia signed two historic protocols that will reestablish diplomatic relations between the two countries, commit to the acceptance and opening of existing borders, and enhance economic opportunities for both countries.

Importantly, though, these protocols will also provide for establishing a framework for joint study of the shared history of both countries and to reach a just memory.

Currently, these protocols are before both of their parliaments for ratification and it is my hope that both parliaments will ratify them.

And again, I commend both Turkey and Armenia for taking these important steps.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back the balance of my time.

CONGRESSWOMAN SHEILA JACKSON LEE, OF TEXAS

STATEMENT BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MARK UP ON:

H.RES. 252: "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."

MARCH 4, 2010

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As you know, I supported this resolution in 2007. I believe now, as I believed then, that the Ottoman Empire's actions against the Armenian people were atrocious and should be recognized as genocide. However, over the past three years, my perspective has changed, and I now believe that this resolution does not work towards bring Turkey and Armenia closer together. It is true that relations between Turkey and Armenia will never be fully normalized so long as Turkey denies the genocide, but I strongly believe that this resolution will not bring Turkey any closer to acknowledging the past. On the contrary, passing or even considering this bill will only polarized both sides and move them further apart.

I remain unwavering in my support for human rights, and the importance of preventing genocide. In 1939, before Adolf Hitler attacked Poland, he is reported to have overridden objections to his policies by stating "who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" If the past is not discussed, in an honest and straightforward manner, it has a greater chance of being repeated in the years to come.

Mr. Chairman, there is a difference between warfare and genocide. Though human rights abuses often occur during armed conflict, and genocide is many times perpetrated under the cover of war, there is a specific definition of genocide, which involves the "intent to destroy" a

national, ethnical, racial or religious group. This involves a systematic, organized, directed campaign. Though the term “genocide” was not coined until long after the events of 1915-23, the Armenian massacres were not far from the mind of Raphael Lempkin, who explicitly used the Armenian case as an example of 20th century genocide. As we move into a new era of humanitarian intervention, international criminal justice, and attention on human rights, I believe it is increasingly important that we recognize the crime of genocide if and when we see it.

The Armenian Genocide, conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1923, is officially recognized by 40 U.S. states and more than 20 nations, including 11 of our NATO allies. During this time, the Ottoman Empire killed an estimated 1.5 million Armenians and deported an additional 2 million Armenians.

This legislation before us today has been endorsed by the International Association of Genocide Scholars, who’s President, Dr. Gregory Stanton, writes, “In passing this resolution the U.S. Congress would not be adjudicating history but instead would be affirming the truth about a genocide that has been overwhelmingly established by decades of documentation and scholarship.”

I do not debate that history is complex, and that situations are frequently far more ambiguous than politicians would like to make them out to be. However, the historical record of the Armenian Genocide has been borne out by official diplomatic records of the United States, France, Great Britain, and Russia, the latter three which, in May 1915, jointly issued a statement condemning another government, for the first time, of “a crime against humanity.” Perhaps even more important is the confirmation of this historical record by official archives of the Ottoman Empire’s World War I allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. In addition, the records of the Ottoman Courts-Martial of 1918-1920 bear witness to this historical reality, with the post-World

War I Turkish Government indicting top leaders involved in the “organization and execution” of the genocide.

Nearly a century has passed since the beginning of the genocide in Armenia, and, in the intervening years, we have witnessed genocide across the globe, in Germany, in Rwanda, in Yugoslavia, and now in Darfur. As we continue to debate the events of the past, similar abuses are occurring across the globe. This resolution stresses the importance of remembering and learning the lessons of past crimes against humanity in an effort to stop future atrocities. Denial, silence, and indifference only encourage those who would commit these crimes in the future.

Mr. Chairman, denial is the last stage of genocide. If we are ever to build an international regime of human rights norms and laws that will be successful in preventing future genocides, it will only be through the acknowledgement, recognition, and remembrance of the times and places where these crimes have been committed.

Yet, although I respect the Members of this Committee who support this resolution, and join them in condemning genocide, I respectfully disagree that this will bring the two sides closer together. That is why I have decided to abstain from voting on this legislation. I hope that, no matter the outcome of the vote, Turkey and Armenia will reach out to each other to normalize relations and build lasting partnerships.

Mr. Chairman, I recognize and highly value the friendship of the Turkish government and people. Turkey is a nation with a proud and noble history, and in recent years it has proven a valuable ally in the war on terror. I am anxious to continue this relationship, as we work together to bring peace and stability to the troubled Middle East region.

Throughout this debate, Turkey has maintained that it seeks reconciliation and historical truth-finding. As a friend of Turkey, I say that, if these commitments are to be believed, now is

the time for Turkey to take meaningful steps forward. At the same time, Turkey and Armenia must work together to eliminate the climate of mistrust that is impeding normalization.

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

