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## DOLE ON ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: SENATE'S JOB IS TO MAKE THE TOUGH CALLS TIME TO MAKE THE RIGHT CALL ON ARMENIAN MASSACRE

EARLIER TODAY, I MADE SOME COMMENTS ON VARIOUS ARGUMENTS RAISED AGAINST S.J. RES. 212; AND I ALSO PUT INTO THE RECORD A VARIETY OF DOCUMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.

I JUST WANT TO SAY A FEW MORE WORDS THIS EVENING ON THIS MATTER, AND PUT SOME ADDITIONAL MATERIAL IN THE RECORD. TOMORROW, I WILL HAVE SOME MORE TO SAY.

EVERY ONE OF THE OPPONENTS OF THE RESOLUTION WHO HAVE SPOKEN HAVE MADE THE ARGUMENT: WHY ARE WE, IN THE SENATE, JUDGING HISTORY? SHOULDN'T WE LEAVE IT TO HISTORIANS?

WELL, WE DON'T LEAVE ECONOMICS TO THE ECONOMISTS. WE MAKE DECISIONS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES EVERY DAY. WE'RE NOT ECONOMISTS. BUT WE ARE, HOPEFULLY, SENSIBLE AND AT LEAST HALF-WAY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE. WE CAN READ, AND LISTEN, AND LEARN.

WE ARE NOT ECONOMISTS -- BUT WE CAN GRASP, AND ANALYZE, ECONOMIC INFORMATION. AND, ON THE BASIS OF THAT INFORMATION, WE CAN; WE SHOULD; WE MUST -- MAKE ECONOMIC DECISIONS.

WE ARE NOT PH.D.'S IN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC AFFAIRS. BUT WE CAN, SHOULD, AND MUST MAKE DECISIONS ON STRATEGIC ISSUES -- ON THE BASIS OF THE AVAILABLE FACTS; ON THE BASIS OF OUR ABILITY TO GRASP AND ANALYZE THOSE FACTS.

WE DECLARE WAR. WE DECIDE ISSUES OF LIFE AND DEATH. WE DEBATE ABORTION, AND THE DEATH PENALTY.

WE AREN'T GOD -- BUT WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES THAT, IN SOME WAYS, ARE IN GOD'S DOMAIN.

WHY? BECAUSE WE ARE ON THIS EARTH, AS HUMAN BEINGS, TO DO OUR BEST, TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT.

WE ARE IN THIS SENATE TO DO OUR BEST, TO MAKE THE RIGHT CALLS.
THERE ARE LOTS AND LOTS OF SUBJECTS ON WHICH NONE OR FEW OF
US ARE EXPERTS -- BUT WE DO, WE SHOULD, WE MUST MAKE THESE CALLS.
THAT'S CALLED BEING IN THE KITCHEN AND TAKING THE HEAT. THAT'S
WHAT WE'RE PAID FOR.

LOOK AT THE FACTS. LOOK AT THE RECORD. MAKE THE CALL.

SO THAT IS ALL WE ASK IN THIS CASE. NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY. JUST WHAT WE DO EVERY DAY, IN VIRTUALLY EVERY DISCIPLINE KNOWN TO MAN.

MAKE THE CALL.

AND WHEN PEOPLE SAY: LET HISTORY MAKE THE CALL -- I SAY:

- -- THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THERE WAS AN ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.
- -- THE CREATOR OF THE WORD "GENOCIDE" -- THE PERSON WHO COINED THE TERM, AND DID THE RESEARCH ON WHICH THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION IS BASED -- HE WROTE THAT THERE WAS AN ARMENIAN GENOCIDE. I ASK TO PUT IN THE RECORD A REVIEW OF HIS DETERMINATION IN THIS CASE.
- -- ELIE WIESEL -- WHO MANY BELIEVE TO BE THE MOST PROMINENT AND AUTHORITATIVE VOICE OF THE VICTIMS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST -- HE HAS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.
- -- THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE GENOCIDE.
  - -- THE E.E.C. HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE GENOCIDE.
  - -- THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THERE WAS AN ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.

(MORE)

-- THE SENATE IN 1920 -- BEFORE THERE WAS A WORD, "GENOCIDE," BUT AFTER HEARINGS -- DECIDED THERE WAS WHAT AMOUNTED TO A GENOCIDE, AND STATED THAT CONCLUSION IN A RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY. I ASK CONSENT TO INCLUDE IN THE RECORD A SHORT PAPER ON THAT ISSUE. AND I WOULD QUOTE FROM THE RESOLUTION: "WHEREAS THE TESTIMONY ADDUCED AT THE HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HAVE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED THE TRUTH OF THE REPORTED MASSACRES AND OTHER ATROCITIES FROM WHICH THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED ... ETC."

THAT IS WHAT THE U.S. SENATE, IN 1920, DECLARED. I HOPE THAT HISTORY WILL NOT SHOW THAT THIS SENATE IS LESS COURAGEOUS THAN THAT ONE WAS.

-- AND MANY SENATORS OVER THE YEARS -- INCLUDING SOME WHO NOW OPPOSE S.J. RES. 212 -- HAVE STATED THERE WAS AN ARMENIAN GENOCIDE, AND SPOKEN ELOQUENTLY ABOUT IT.

WHO HAS QUOTE, OFFICIALLY, UNQUOTE, DECIDED THERE WAS A GENOCIDE IN CAMBODIA'S KILLING FIELDS? NO ONE. THERE IS NO OFFICIAL BODY TO MAKE THAT CALL.

BUT DO THE OPPONENTS OF S.J. RES. 212 WANT TO STAND UP AND DECLARE: I HAVEN'T MADE UP MY MIND ON THAT GENOCIDE? LET'S GIVE HISTORIANS 75 OR MORE YEARS BEFORE I DECIDE?

IF THAT IS ANYONE'S VIEW, I URGE THEM TO STATE THAT VIEW.

WHAT ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST -- THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE JEWS IN WORLD WAR II? WHO DECIDED THAT?

SOME WILL SAY THE NUREMBERG WAR CRIMES TRIAL MADE THAT CALL. FAIR ENOUGH.

BUT THERE WERE WAR CRIMES TRIALS IN TURKEY; OTTOMAN OFFICIALS WERE TRIED, AND FOUND GUILTY OF "EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIAN NATION." IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THE WORD "GENOCIDE" WAS EVEN COINED, THAT IS SYNONYMOUS WITH THE WORD ITSELF.

I DIDN'T MAKE THAT JUDGMENT. IT WAS THE SERIES OF COURT-MARTIALS WHICH THE OTTOMAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF CONVENED.

I WANT TO INCLUDE IN THE RECORD AT THIS POINT A PAPER REVIEWING THOSE TRIBUNALS.

NOW LET ME ADD AN IMPORTANT POINT: THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO RELEASE THE EXHIBITS AND THE TESTIMONY FROM THOSE TRIALS. WHY? IF THE ARCHIVES -- ALL THE ARCHIVES SUPPOSEDLY OPEN, WHY AREN'T THOSE RECORDS AVAILABLE?

PERHAPS THOSE WHO WANT TO LEAVE THIS QUESTION TO ANOTHER 75, OR 100, OR 200, OR 300 YEARS OF HISTORICAL CONSIDERATION -- PERHAPS THEY WILL WANT TO ADDRESS THAT QUESTION TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT?

OPPONENTS OF S.J. RES. 212 SAY -- LEAVE THIS QUESTION TO HISTORY. IT'S ALREADY HISTORY. IT'S ALREADY 75 YEARS.

WE'VE PUT PAGE AFTER PAGE OF DOCUMENTS IN THE RECORD. DOCUMENTS WHICH DEMONSTRATE -- PROVE -- THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE WIPED OUT.

I ADD ANOTHER PIECE OF EVIDENCE NOW. A DOCUMENT COMPARING AND ANALYZING ARMENIAN POPULATION FIGURES IN THE YEARS 1912 AND 1923 -- THE YEARS IMMEDIATE BEFORE AND AFTER THE GENOCIDE. THE BEST ESTIMATE OF POPULATION BEFORE 1912 WAS 2.1 MILLION PEOPLE. BY 1923, THERE WERE WELL UNDER ONE MILLION ARMENIANS LEFT.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THOSE ONE-PLUS MILLION ARMENIANS?

WHAT DO YOU CALL IT WHEN MORE THAN A MILLION PEOPLE ARE WIPED OUT IN A FEW YEARS, DUE TO THE CONSCIOUS POLICIES OF A HOSTILE GOVERNMENT?

I CALL IT GENOCIDE.

MANY, MANY PEOPLE -- MANY SCHOLARS, MANY HISTORIANS, MANY DIPLOMATS, MANY OFFICIAL AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES, MANY PRESIDENTS, MANY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- MANY, MANY, MANY PEOPLE HAVE LOOKED AT THE EVIDENCE; HAVE DECIDED THERE WAS A GENOCIDE.

MANY, MANY PEOPLE HAVE COME TO THIS SOUND, WELL-FOUNDED

CONCLUSION.

IT IS TIME FOR THE SENATE, AT LEAST, TO JOIN WITH THE CHILDREN AND THE GRANDCHILDREN OF THE 1.5 MILLION ARMENIANS SLAUGHTERED BY THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE -- TO JOIN WITH THEM IN THE COMMEMORATION OF APRIL 24 AS ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY.

#### S. J. RES. 212

Designating April 24, 1990, as "National Day of Remembrance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923".

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES September 29 (legislative day, September 18), 1989

Mr. Dole (for himself, Mr. Pressler, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Simon, Mr. Levin, Mr. Kasten, Mr. Reid, Mr. Bradley, Mr. Boschwitz, Mr. Chafee, Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Gore, Mr. McClure, Mr. Domenici, Mr. Helms, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Ford, Mr. Nickles, Mr. Shelby, Mr. Riegle, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Heinz, Mr. Breaux, Mr. Pryor, Mr. Coats, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Biden, Mr. Burns, Mr. Armstrong, Mrs. Kassebaum, Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Burdick, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Bond, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Durenberger, Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Pell, Mr. Metzenbaum, Mr. Sasser, Mr. Mr. Thurmond, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Pell, Mr. Metzenbaum, Mr. Sasser, Mr. Bingaman, Mr. Murkowski, Mr. Rudman, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Glenn, Mr. Bentsen, Mr. Graham, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Bryan, and Mr. Bumpers) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

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Designating April 24, 1990, as "National Day of Remembrance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923".

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 24, 1990, is designated as "National Day of Remembrance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923", and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe this date as a day of remembrance for the 1,500,000 people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated by the governments of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and in their memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world.

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That April 24, 1990, is designated as "Armenian Martyrs' Day," commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the systematic destruction of the Armenian people in the period from 1915 to 1923. Congress calls on the people of the United States to join the millions of Armenian and other people around the world who commemorate every April 24th as the anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, a day of rememberance of the one-and-one-half million Armenian people who were the victims of the Government of the Ottoman Empire of that period. These events occurred prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, which was in no way involved in any of the activities of that period.