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H. RES. 398, THE UNITED STATES TRAINING ON AND COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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H. RES. 398, THE UNITED STATES TRAINING ON AND COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:19 p.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith, (Chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. The Subcommittee will come to order.

Let me apologize to our witnesses and to our friends who have joined us today. Obviously the intervening vote put us behind schedule a little bit, but we will start and this hearing will stay in session so that everyone will be heard and can ask the maximum number of questions. So I hope nobody is under any time constraints, because it is important that we have a thorough hearing on this very important issue.

I am pleased to convene this hearing of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. Today we will hear testimony on House Resolution 398, calling upon the President to provide appropriate training and materials to the Foreign Service officers, State Department officials, and other appropriate executive branch officials on the Armenian genocide.

In 1915, there were about 2 million Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire. They were living in a region that they 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.

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 charge was ever made by one state against another, and even the government of the Republic of Turkey, the successor state to the Ottoman Empire, tried and convicted a number of high ranking Young Turk officials for their role in what the

Turkish government then called "the massacre and destruction of the Armenians."

When the term genocide was invented in 1944 to describe the systematic destruction of an entire people, its author, Raphael Lemkin, illustrated the term by saying it was "the sort of thing Hitler did to the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians."

Unfortunately, memories seem to have faded. The government of the Republic of Turkey and some of its apologists in the United States now deny that the Armenian genocide ever happened. They do not deny that people died by the hundreds and thousands or even that these deaths were often preceded by mass rape, torture, and other unspeakable atrocities, but they fall back on the standard arguments that have always used to defend the indefensible.

They say it happened during wartime that the Armenians were being deported because many of them were in sympathy with the enemies of the Empire, and that the atrocities were random acts committed by civilians and by soldiers acting without authorization from the central government.

These apologists dismiss contrary statements by representatives of the governments of the United States, France and England by saying that these officials were biased against the Ottoman Empire and against the Turkish people, but this dismissal ignores similar statements by the Ambassadors of Germany and Italy, who were allied with the Empire in the First World War. It also dismisses the undeniable fact that the Armenians were being forcibly relocated to a desert in which even those who were not massacred had no serious chance to survive.

Even among those in this country who do not deny the basic facts of the Armenian genocide, there often seems to be a conspiracy of silence and of obfuscation. Whenever the issue threatens to surface in Congress, we are quietly but firmly reminded by diplomats and other executive branch officials that Turkey is a NATO ally and has assisted us in pursuing important strategic objectives in the Middle East and elsewhere. Yet Germany is also an important ally, and these same diplomats and officials would never dream of denying or ignoring the Holocaust.

Friends do not let friends commit crimes against humanity or refuse to come to terms with them once they have happened. Ironically, the principal effect of this systematic denial of the Armenian genocide is that it forces those who insist on the acknowledgement of the genocide to prove their case over and over and over again in more and more detail. So instead of learning the lessons of the past and applying them to the future, we find ourselves still arguing after 85 years about whether the past really happened.

Finally, in this and every other human rights debate we hear the argument that the United States should mind its own business, that we should worry about our own human rights problems and let other nations worry about theirs. Oddly, this often comes from the same sources that are quick to accuse the United States of isolationism when we fail to surrender our resources or our sovereignty quite as quickly as they would like us to.

The answer is that, of course, we do have human rights violations here. The acknowledgement that we have such domestic problems imposes a responsibility to work diligently to fix them. The

United States has perhaps the world's best developed system for redress and correction of offenses by government officials against private citizens, but it does not absolve us from the responsibility to ensure that the U.S. foreign policy promotes honesty, morality, and justice.

United States foreign policy must be realistic and flexible, but it need not and must not be implicit on a conspiracy of silence about genocide. This resolution takes two important steps toward ending that silence. It urges the President to start calling the Armenian genocide by its right name, and it calls on the Secretary of State to ensure that U.S. diplomatic and other officials be thoroughly familiarized with the facts about the Armenian genocide.

This resolution was first called to my attention by Congressman Jim Rogan and by Congressman George Radanovich. I told them I would take a close look at the resolution and strongly consider scheduling a Subcommittee markup so that the full International Relations Committee can consider it in time for consideration by the whole House in this session of Congress.

I am happy to say that we have tentatively scheduled a markup for next Wednesday, September 20. I expect that there will be different views among the Members of the Subcommittee about the merits of the resolution, but it clearly deserves an up or down vote. My own view is that this resolution deserves to pass because at its core it simply affirms that the United States foreign policy should begin by telling the truth.

I would like to yield to my very good friend, Cynthia McKinney, the Ranking Member of our Subcommittee, the gentlelady from Georgia.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for yielding to me, and thank you for calling this very important hearing. I have another hearing going on right now on the issue of human rights in the United States, so please do not take my early departure as a sign of my not caring about this very important issue, but rather just a sign of the fact that we have a very hectic schedule up here in these waning days of this session.

The legacy of the Armenian genocide and of all genocides must be remembered so that the human tragedy of genocides, which has continued until the present, will not be forgotten. It is important that the truth be told and not politicized. As too many of us do not know, from 1915 to 1923 the Ottoman Government had over 1.5 million Armenians massacred and more than 500,000 survivors forcibly expelled from their historical homeland.

U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during this period, Henry Morgenthau, Sr., in a statement at the time said when Turkish authorities gave the orders for the massive Armenian deportations, they were "merely giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well, and in their conversation with me they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

So horrific were the acts that the Ottoman Government perpetrated on the Armenian people that Ambassador Morgenthau noted, "I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

Well, as we all know, this was not the end of genocide in the twentieth century as the Armenian massacres were used as a blueprint for Hitler's Third Reich and efficient manner of conquest. Recently, the Rwandan and the Yugoslavian genocides used the same efficient methods in order to subjugate and obliterate an entire group of people. Hitler's attitude established a directly historical connection between the Jewish Holocaust and the Armenian genocide, demonstrating that the first genocide of the century was a precursor of worse things to come.

Hitler incredibly referred to the extermination of the Armenians as a laudable event, an example to emulate and a historical model. As for the Nazis' genocide of the Jews, gypsies, Catholics and homosexuals, they even killed their own retarded children.

The Armenian genocide has been called the forgotten genocide, but it is not the only forgotten genocide. The Rwandan genocide in which an estimated 1 million people died was largely ignored by most of the world, and the United States could have prevented it and instead, for political reasons, chose to do nothing. In fact, we now know that the Clinton Administration actively fought to ensure that nothing would be done to protect the innocent Rwandan lives.

The same activism to not be involved occurred in Srebrenica in 1995 when the United Nations surrendered 30,000 Bosnian Muslims to the Serbian army knowing that they would be slaughtered.

Crimes against humanity are being committed as we speak in Tibet, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, and the world does nothing. What right does any one of us have to ignore what happened to the Armenians?

As I look around this room today of different ethnic groups, different religions, different races, I am reminded of the words attributed to Martin Neibhur. In Germany they came first for the Communists, and I did not speak because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I did not speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Ms. McKinney, thank you very much.

The Chair will recognize Members of the Committee going down the line by when they came to the Subcommittee hearing.

Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There is no doubt in my mind that especially the very strong words by Ms. McKinney, the great admonition that she has given us to pay attention to the issues that confront us today around the world, are true, are accurate and are compelling.

We know what is happening. We know that in not only the areas that she has talked about but in other areas, especially on the African continent, places like Sudan, of course, where there are events underway which we can in fact have an impact upon by our decisions we make in this Congress.

I am fully supportive of any attempt that we would have and that we would contemplate to bring an end to the kind of situations

that she has described. You know I have certainly myself acted in whatever capacity I could to ameliorate those conditions.

This particular resolution, however, has a different flavor to it, and I must admit to you, Mr. Chairman, that I am concerned about it today because I do not know and I cannot see as of yet what real purpose it serves, how much benefit it will bring both to the United States, to Turkey, to our ally, or, frankly, to anyone else because in fact what we are talking about here is a situation that you cannot necessarily attribute to the government of Turkey today, a problem directly related to their efforts, their intent, and yet that is exactly, of course, who would be most negatively affected by such a resolution.

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 in response to and in revolt against the Ottoman Empire and thus bears no responsibility for the suffering caused by its predecessor, yet that is, nonetheless, Turkey today would bear the brunt of the recriminations developing out of this resolution.

So I am not convinced yet. Certainly I am here to hear the testimony, and I look forward to that, but I just wanted to indicate my concern on the front end that we may not be accomplishing what we hope would be the outcome of such a decision on our part to pass such a resolution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As always, as I have said, my compliments and personal commendation for your leadership, and I say outstanding leadership, over the years in championing the cause of human rights on behalf of our nation and working toward those nations who honestly are trying to rectify the situation with human rights violations around the world.

I also would like to echo my sentiments in fully agreeing with the statement issued earlier by my colleague, the gentlelady from Georgia, Ms. McKinney, at the same time also tempering my concerns echoed by my good friend from Colorado, Mr. Tancredo, about the substance of this resolution.

As a Member of the Subcommittee, I have always tried to wonder every time we use the word genocide who are we talking about; the torturing and the murdering of some 250,000 people in Yugoslavia under the presidency of Milosevic, or is it the 2 million killings of Pol Pot in Cambodia, or the systematic slaughtering of 25 million people under Stalin's rule, or the exterminating of 6 million Jews under Nazism?

I am trying to earnestly, Mr. Chairman, in giving the word genocide, if it is given in that right format in terms of what happened, I do not know. I am certainly here wanting to learn very much from the testimonies that will be elicited, solicited from our Committee this afternoon.

I want to offer my personal welcome to our colleagues who are here to testify, my good friend from California, Mr. Rogan, and also our distinguished Minority Whip, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Bonior.

Mr. Chairman, I do have some concerns of the resolution. This does not mean in any way that I lessen my concerns of the slaugh-

tering or the killing of the Armenians in that period of time in our world's history.

At the same time also I express my limited knowledge and understanding of how the Ottoman Empire functioned and the rivalries that took place between it and Russia and the fact that there were hundreds and thousands of the Turkish people that were also killed in whatever wars that took place between 1915 and 1923.

There are some expressions of concern, Mr. Chairman. Turkey, in 40 years of the Cold War, has never once flinched in terms of its loyalty and support of the NATO ally system as we were fighting the superpower then, the Soviet Union. I do not know of any country in our NATO relationship than Turkey that has never once faltered in its commitment to our strategic and to our national interest. I think we have to take that in proper perspective.

I realize again I am not trying to paint a picture just favorable to this, but I am just trying to give it perspective, a historical perspective where Turkey was when it was the Ottoman Empire, where Turkey was in 1923 when it was organized again, even today as a democracy.

Mr. Chairman, as we sit here today listening to the substance of the House Resolution and those who are going to testify, American warplanes are taking off from Turkish air bases to patrol the skies over northern Iraq. They cannot be there without the full cooperation of our Turkish ally, an ally whose soldiers have fought side by side with us since the Korean War.

As we sit here today discussing this resolution, our special envoy, Ambassador Al Moses, is working with both the Greek and Turkish Governments to solve one of the most intractable regional problems in that area of the world, the issue of Cyprus.

As we sit here today, American oil companies and the Administration is looking to move ahead on building a new oil pipeline across Turkey to deliver crude oil to America at a time when oil prices are high and likely to go even higher.

As we sit here today, the Administration is seeking to end the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, a war that has caused almost 1 million Azeri to become refugees in their own country.

I raise these points, Mr. Chairman, to remind our colleagues that Turkey, a long-time friend and ally, plays a central role in helping us meet, understand and solve issues that fundamentally affect us in our national interests.

Were this resolution to be adopted, I do not know what the results of the vote are going to be, and I am not going to make a guess out of this, but I will suggest, Mr. Chairman, the resolution as written has severe limitations. It is non-binding. It is unenforceable. There is nothing to compel the Department of State to create the education program referenced, and I suspect, given this Administration's, in fact all previous Administrations', opposition, such a program would never, ever be created.

I am concerned about the substance of the resolution, Mr. Chairman, but I will reserve my judgment until we hear both sides of the issue. Hopefully by then we will make an intelligent decision, but I just wanted to share with my colleagues those concerns.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Mr. Faleomavaega.

I would like to ask Mr. Radanovich, who is the principal sponsor of H. Res. 398, if he has any opening comments?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Smith, for holding this hearing and the subsequent markup next Wednesday. I appreciate your consideration of my bill that I have co-sponsored with the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Bonior, the United States Training on and Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

This bipartisan resolution currently has more than 140 co-sponsors. It calls upon the President to provide for appropriate training and materials to all Foreign Service officers, officials of the Department of State and any other executive branch employee involved in responding to issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide by familiarizing them with the U.S. record relating to the Armenian genocide.

As my colleagues here today are aware, the history of the Armenian government is thoroughly documented. Our own archives hold countless authoritative accounts of these events, as do the archives of many western nations. The most important of these perhaps was authored by the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau.

He wrote, "I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the suffering of the Armenian race in 1915."

The human rights activist, Raphael Lemkin, the man who coined the term genocide, cited the systematic destruction of the Armenians as a clear case of genocide. There is no serious debate over these facts. I believe that this body is obligated to learn from this tragic history and also use this knowledge to inform our foreign policy community and the public about a very proud moment of American history.

Responding to this crime against humanity, our government and people acted together to protest the genocide of the Armenians. This resolution preserves the truth about the Armenian genocide and documents the considerable U.S. response to that crime. We do so in order to empower our future leaders, backed by an informed public, to do everything possible to end the occurrences of genocide.

As we begin this new millennium, genocide and ethnic cleansing continue to plague nations around the world. As Members of Congress and as Members of the International Relations Committee, we have a responsibility to ensure that the legacy of past genocides are remembered so that this human tragedy will not be repeated. Silence in the face of genocide, as we have learned, can only embolden those who would again seek the systematic destruction of an entire race of people.

I am so pleased that Speaker Hastert shares our views about the importance of this resolution. In fact, he recently pledged to schedule H. Res. 398 for a vote on the House floor.

I look forward to an interesting hearing this afternoon and a swift advancement of this bill to the floor. Again, I thank my chairman, Mr. Smith, so much for holding this timely hearing.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Mr. Radanovich.

I would like to ask Mr. Royce if he has any opening statement?

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Chairman Smith. I appreciate very much your holding this hearing, as I do the work that Congressman Radanovich and Congressman Rogan and others have put in to make certain that we do not forget this tragedy.

Let me just say that at the end of this 8-year campaign that began in 1915, the population of western Anatolia and Turkey that had been composed of Armenian people was virtually wiped out, and, as we have heard, the west ignored the words of Ambassador Morgenthau at the time, as he tried to explain to the west that it was ethnic cleansing. It is unfortunate that the Turkish Government to this day does not recognize this. Willful ignorance of the lessons of history do much to repeat them.

My father was with the Seventh Army at Dachau, Germany, when they liberated the camps, and he took pictures that day. To this day, he carries on a war of correspondence with those who claim that that Holocaust never occurred.

I think all of us should ask ourselves if this should not be a bit on our conscious, the fact that Adolf Hitler was able to say "who remembers the Armenians," and I think we should ask ourselves why is it that the world does not own up and does not admit the historical record. I think we have an opportunity today to start to rectify that, and I hope we do. It is important that we learn the lesson from this 85-year-old tragedy.

In my home State of California, the state board of education has incorporated the story of the Armenian genocide in the social studies curriculum there. This is the right thing to do. In my youth, I talked to some who had survived in their villages this genocide; in some cases, the sole survivors. The Turkish army had obliterated those villages, massacred those people.

Now, it is not the same Turkish army of today. We understand this. We understand this is a different government, but again there is no reason not to set the record straight, and this resolution, as stated, will call upon our president to provide for appropriate training and materials on this genocide to all Foreign Service officers and State Department officials and executive branch employees.

It teaches about what? About ethnic cleansing and about human rights. It is an important step to help us better understand genocide whenever it threatens to erupt by recognizing, and learning about this crime against humanity, so we can begin to honor the memory of the victims.

Chairman Smith, I deeply believe that we need to move this bill along, and I respectfully urge you to mark up this bill and send it to the International Relations Committee so we can bring it before the full House for a vote.

I thank you again for holding this hearing.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. The Chair recognizes Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is not a new issue. I can remember debating this 10 to 15 years ago in the U.S. House of Representatives on the floor. We debated it and went into great detail. We had volumes and volumes of books on the Armenian

genocide and on the Turkish loss of life in the battles that took place in the period we are talking about.

There is a great deal of contradiction about what happened, depending on which volume you are looking at. I am sure when we get to the debate, if it gets to the floor, these volumes will be coming out again, and you will see historical differences based upon different writers and different points of view.

However, today I would like to make a couple of points. First of all, there is no question that the Armenian people endured horrible massacres and suffering during the first world war. That is beyond question. I do not think there is anyone in our government who does not believe that innocent Armenians' lives that were lost should be honored and remembered. In fact, on April 24, every year, President Clinton has preserved the tradition of commemorating by having Armenian Remembrance Day. We commend him for that.

So the world has not forgotten the tragedies that occurred during this time period, but let us not forget some other things. During that time period, nearly 3 million Turks and other Muslims lost their lives, and there were some real tragedies and atrocities that took place at the hands of people on the other side that the Turks had to deal with.

Now, this appears to be a broad based bill, but in fact it is very narrowly focused. It provides for training of executive branch employees involved in responding to human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide. However, the resolution singles out only one specification for training of U.S. diplomats, and that is the so-called Armenian genocide.

Why does it not include the Holocaust? Why does it not include the genocides that are taking place today in the Sudan, and I know you worked on that, and other parts between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Africa where millions have died, or the genocide that took place in Ethiopia where millions of people were starved to death while we were giving aid to help the starving masses over there? None of that is mentioned. We are singling out one specific thing that happened over 80 years ago, and I just do not understand why.

Besides that, you know, I often wonder if we ever think about our allies. I think Mr. Faleomavaega touched on that just a minute ago. The Turks have been our friends and our allies in NATO through the entire Cold War. When others fell by the wayside, the Turkish Government, the Turkish people, were with us. They were with us in Somalia. They were with us.

So what do we do? We are going back 82 years, and we are going to give them a slap in the face, and it is going to hurt. Make no mistake about it. If we pass this resolution, it is going to hurt our foreign policy. There is just no question in my mind.

I would also like to ask my colleagues. Does anybody remember what we did to the Indians in America? Does anybody ever remember what we did when whole armies of our soldiers went in and wiped out Indian villages and killed women and children, massacred them? There is nothing about that in here. Was that a genocide? That is part of our history.

We do not hear the Turks saying "hey, why don't you guys, before you start questioning us, pay a little attention to your own history?" That is something I think we should take a hard look at. If you are going to cast stones, get the mote out of your eye first.

Now, there is no question in my mind that atrocities took place over there, and that is why I complimented the President, which I do not do very often. I complimented the President about the Armenian Remembrance Day because it does point out that there were atrocities that took place, but should we single them out 80 some years ago when we have atrocities of our own we have to deal with, when there are atrocities in Africa going on today, when there have been atrocities going on all over the world and not one of them is even mentioned in this resolution?

It should be more broadly based, and it should be fair. Now, if you come up with a resolution like that that goes after all genocides and mentions this then I think I could support it. But to single them out at the expense of one of our best allies in the world, I think makes absolutely no sense. It is a mess as far as our foreign policy is concerned. I just do not understand it.

So let me just say, in case you have not figured it out by now, Mr. Chairman, I oppose this resolution in its present form.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much.

I would like to yield to Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. That will be the final statement by Members of the panel, and then we will go to our two distinguished Members who will present testimony.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank the two distinguished Members who will be testifying for their patience. I do want to respond to the last statement by Mr. Burton. He asked why do we have to do this after 80 years? Why do we have to recognize this particular genocide?

It was the first genocide of the twentieth century. It was a genocide that Hitler could point to and tell those around him that they would face no retribution, for the world had forgotten the Armenians, but it is also important that we recognize this genocide precisely because of the denials.

America has made it very clear. Slavery existed here, and it was cruel. If we endeavor to deny that, it would make us a weaker country. As the gentleman from Indiana points out, America committed genocide against a number of Native American tribes, quite a number. If we were to deny that that would make us a weaker country.

For reasons I have not understood, Turkey believes in denying the history of its predecessor regime. I do not know why, but I do know that as long as there are those who try to deny the Armenian genocide, we have to teach those in our State Department and our entire country that, yes, it did occur. The historical differences are only around the margins. Was it exactly how many more than 1 million people were killed because of their ethnicity? Those are details. This was the first genocide of the twentieth century.

Now, Turkey is indeed a NATO ally of the United States, and it would be a stronger ally if, perhaps prodded by America, it would acknowledge its own history. How strong an ally would Germany be if it denied the Holocaust? How strong an ally would Britain be

if British children were told that its colonial past was nothing but sugar and spice and that all of the nations that Britain ruled were treated always with kindness, generosity and were happy to be ruled as part of a colonial empire?

Of all of our NATO allies, only one insists upon denying its past. Let us help Turkey recognize that past, and let's make sure that those who deny it are defeated by the truth.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Mr. Sherman.

Let me go now to our very distinguished panel, first with Congressman Jim Rogan who is a representative for the 27th District of California. He is a Member of the House Judiciary Committee and the Assistant Majority Whip here in the House, and then David Bonior, who, as Mr. Radanovich pointed out, is the principal co-sponsor of the pending resolution, H. Res. 398. He is a representative from the 10th District of Michigan and the Democratic Whip. We are very happy to have both of you gentlemen here.

Mr. Rogan, if you would begin?

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JAMES E. ROGAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Chairman, first I want to thank you for scheduling this very important hearing today and for giving me the opportunity to come and address this Subcommittee on an issue of great importance to history, but also of great importance to justice.

I want to especially acknowledge and thank my colleague from California, Mr. Radanovich, for his steadfast and unending leadership in the Armenian caucus and on this issue in particular.

Mr. Chairman, this resolution is supported by a bipartisan coalition of over 130 of our colleagues who call upon our body, the U.S. House of Representatives, to recognize what was in fact the first genocide of the twentieth century.

As has been noted in previous comments, when Adolf Hitler prepared to embark upon a horrible Holocaust against the Jews, he scoffed at the notion that the world would rebel in revulsion. His response was, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

Regrettably, in some of our current governmental circles that question could well be asked today. Acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide is not just an Armenian issue. Mr. Chairman, it is a moral issue, and our body, the House of Representatives, should be on the right side of it.

This resolution is not "anti" any other nation, especially a steadfast ally of the United States. It was not crafted as a punitive measure. Rather, it was drafted as an integrity measure. It simply calls on our government to acknowledge the atrocities committed against the Armenian people between 1915 and 1923 and calls for our State Department to have its representatives educated in the same.

In the years during and immediately after the First World War, over 1.5 million Armenians were displaced, deported, tortured and killed at the hands of some associated with the Ottoman Empire. Families that had inhabited their sacred land since the time of Christ were wiped from the face of the earth. Their homes were de-

stroyed. A generation of Armenians watched relatives be taken away from their villages, never to return.

Our colleagues who have joined me as members of the Armenian caucus are not alone in fighting for this resolution. During the thirtieth anniversary of the Scholars Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches held earlier this year, Holocaust survivors publicly called upon the west to affirm and recognize the Armenian atrocities that took place.

In working to recognize the Armenian genocide, a point needs to be reemphasized. We do not seek this action to point any finger of blame, nor do we seek to legislate history. Our intention is merely to recognize this tragedy occurred and publicly affirm its affect on humanity.

It is time for the House of Representatives to answer Adolf Hitler's question of half a century ago—who remembers the Armenians? America does, and our nation will never again turn a blind eye to horror and pretend out of geopolitical convenience that crimes against humanity did not occur.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank also our distinguished colleague and friend, the gentleman from Michigan, for joining me here on the panel today. I thank each of the Members of this Committee for their consideration and for the passion that they bring to this issue, and I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Representative Rogan appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Mr. Rogan, and thank you for the very significant push that you gave to bringing this resolution to the fore. It will be, as I said earlier, marked up we hope on September 20, Wednesday of next week, and for your considerable work that you did to make this hearing possible.

I also want to thank Mr. Bonior in advance for his leadership. This is a bipartisan resolution, and I would like to yield to my good friend from Michigan.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DAVID E. BONIOR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. BONIOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Since we are thanking each other, let me thank you for your steadfastness not only on this, but for what I consider quite a magnificent record your whole career here on human rights issues. You have really stood out on virtually everything that we have had before us that has touched on human rights in this Congress and in previous Congresses, and I thank you for it.

To you, Ms. McKinney, a wonderful statement by Mr. Sherman and the other Members of the Committee. I want to thank you for conducting this hearing today on a bipartisan legislation that was introduced by Representative Radanovich, who has been steadfast and dogged in his determination on this, and me, to recognize the Armenian genocide.

Representative Radanovich and I have worked closely together on this resolution since 1995. My personal involvement with this resolution began in 1987 when I managed the rule for the debate in the House of Representatives on the resolution.

Mr. Chairman, as a student of history, I have always been outraged that this terrible tragedy was not recognized appropriately by the Congress. Only once, in 1996, over the past few decades has the House even indirectly affirmed this recognition. It is time to bring this resolution to the floor of the House, and I am glad to hear of the commitment to do that this afternoon.

Those who deny the Armenian genocide its proper recognition ignore the substantial body of evidence which exists in the United States and internationally. The facts are very, very clear. Beginning on the night of April 24, 1915, the religious and intellectual leaders of the Armenian community of Constantinople were taken from their beds, imprisoned, tortured and killed.

In the days that followed, the remaining males over the age of 15 were gathered in cities and villages and towns throughout the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman, Turkey, roped together, marched to nearby uninhabited areas and killed. Innocent women and children were forced to march through barren wastelands, urged on by whips and clubs, and denied food and water. When they dared to step out of line, they were repeatedly attacked, robbed, raped and ultimately killed. When all was said and done, 1.5 million Armenians lay dead, and a homeland which stood for 3,000 years was nearly completely depopulated.

I believe that those of us who stand for human rights have a responsibility to remember the victims and the survivors. We have a responsibility to speak out and to make sure that tragedies like this are never allowed to happen again.

As I mentioned, Representative Radanovich and I have introduced a resolution, H. Res. 398, sponsored by more than 130 Members of Congress to respond to the issue of genocide and to confirm statements of fact on the Armenian genocide. For much of the twentieth century, the world did not seem to learn the lessons of the past. We must pause today and again say never again.

We cannot forget that in 1939, another leader used the Armenian genocide as justification for his own sick actions. This leader said, and we have heard this quote, and I do not think we can hear it enough, but I will repeat it again. "I have given orders to my death units to exterminate without mercy or pity the men, women and children belonging to the Polish speaking race. After all," Adolf Hitler asked, "who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?"

Mr. Chairman, it is up to all of us to remember. For centuries the Armenian people have shown great courage and strength. The least we can do is match their courage with our commitment because in the end we are their voice, and we must do all that we can to remember. If we do not, nobody else will.

Mr. Chairman, some may say that this resolution will alter our relationship with Turkey, and I agree. It will. It might give the Turkish Government an opportunity to join with us in acknowledging the Armenian genocide. Such an acknowledgement will help open the door to improved relations in the region. We have learned from ethnic conflicts around the world that differences are hard to set aside until history, no matter how tragic, is acknowledged. Only then can the healing process begin.

This Subcommittee and the House should follow the examples of Elie Wiesel, the noted Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Holocaust survivor who said this about the Armenian genocide: "The Turks should have understood the pain and the anger of the Armenians, who are denied the right to remember. The Turks today are not responsible for the bloody events that took place 50 years earlier, but they are responsible for their present attitudes regarding these events."

Mr. Chairman, House Resolution 398 is our opportunity in the Congress to confirm the historical record. This is about human rights. It is also about historical fact. As we enter this new millennium, we cannot allow these tragic events to be erased from our memory.

I am pleased to be joined with my colleague, Mr. Rogan, and appreciate his statement, and I would ask, Mr. Chairman, if it is possible now to show a very short film that I have—it is about 2½ minutes—for our edification?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Without a doubt, Mr. Bonior. We are happy to see the film.

Mr. BONIOR. Thank you.

[Videotape shown.]

[The prepared statement of Representative Bonior appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Bonior, thank you for your testimony, and thank you for providing the Subcommittee that very moving and compelling videotape. Let me just ask a couple of questions and then yield to my colleagues for any questions they may have.

Earlier in some of the opening statements there was some talk about what does genocide actually mean, and I think it is worth noting at the beginning of this hearing that the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which entered into force on January 12, 1951, Article 2 makes it very clear:

> In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such, (A) killing members of the group; (B) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (C) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (D) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and, (E) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

It goes on from there, but that is the basic essence of what genocide means, and it baffles me, frankly, why we are so reluctant to brand this wholesale slaughter of a people a genocide.

The point was made earlier that Turkey has never flinched in its commitment to NATO. Nor has West Germany or now a unified Germany either, but they had the decency, Konrad Adenauer and others, to come forward and lay it bare, and we all remember what Eisenhower said—rather than torching the terrible death camps used in the Holocaust, preserve them because people will in the end say it did not happen, or will try to deny the severity and the egregious nature of the killing.

Now we have film. There is an enormous amount of evidence. I have read then a number of times, but I recently reread the statements by Ambassador Morgenthau. If you read the statements of our Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time, virtually

every one of those aspects of genocide are fulfilled. So I would like to ask our two distinguished Members: Why this denial, and why are we so concerned?

I mean, I do want, as we all do, Turkey to remain a good, staunch ally. But remembering the past hopefully prevents abuses in the future. And this is an important matter for the people who have suffered so much, namely the Armenians, to have an official acknowledgement of this terrible thing.

Mr. Bonior. Mr. Rogan.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Chairman, the right of a people to remember their past is fundamental to recognizing that very people, and to deny a people that basic right of your past is to create enormous problems in international relations for future endeavors.

That is in many ways part of the problem that Mr. Sherman referred to in his comments or someone did up there—I do not know exactly who it was—with respect to moving beyond some of these issues that we are now bogged down on in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh and with the pipeline and all the things that I think Dan Burton related to. We have to get beyond that, and the way you get beyond it is by recognizing the sins of the past.

Mr. Sherman I think eloquently stated that we have done that. The Germans have lived up or owned up to their atrocities. In our own country with respect to Japanese Americans, we took 120,000 of them out of their homes, out of their businesses, and relocated them. We have admitted as a government that that was the wrong thing to do, and we have compensated them for that.

The Turks need to get beyond this. It was not their government that did it. It was, as we clearly stated or as I mentioned in my statement that Elie Wiesel mentioned, it was their predecessors. They have to face up to this.

Why do we not face up to it as a government ourselves? I guess you would have to ask the State Department, who will testify next, but clearly the concerns that were raised by Mr. Burton and Mr. Faleomavaega and others with respect to our relationships with Turkey as an ally are at the forefront of our unwillingness to deal with this question.

That inability hampers us in resolving other problems, whether it is Cyprus, whether it is Nagorno-Karabakh whether it is other concerns in the regions, and it is just an important step to overcome. It is the same step that the Argentinians have to overcome in their historical route to try and reconcile.

The Chileans are going through the same thing today. I mean, it is something that nations have to go through, and Turkey has been unwilling to do it. I hope that this resolution will help them get there.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Rogan.

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Chairman, I think you have answered your own question. Who among us would want to look at films such as what we have just seen and have to know that our ancestors were responsible for that?

Mr. Burton and others are correct in outlining throughout our history the horrible and egregious mistakes that our forefathers made in many areas of human rights. We would love to be able to

erase that past, but we cannot. We must live with it, however uncomfortably.

To deny the existence of our past would not just affect us from a historical perspective. It would affect us from a moral perspective. How other nations decide to deal with their past we cannot legislate from the House of Representatives, but we can go on record for ourselves and for our country in deciding whether we are going to stand on the right of moral correctness.

Who among our predecessors in the Congress 50 years ago, would today be proud to be on record saying back then that the Jewish Holocaust had never happened?

I do not want to see us today be viewed in that capacity in the future. We have an opportunity in this Congress to make a simple statement, a moral statement that this atrocity occurred, that our government recognizes it occurred, and we are not going to pretend it did not occur for geopolitical considerations.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. In the interest of time, I will forego additional questions and ask my fellow panelists if they could at least limit their questions for interests of so we can get to the State Department and our remaining witnesses.

I would like to yield to Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think we as a nation are not proud, but ashamed of slavery, the genocide of many Native American groups, etc., but we can be proud as Americans that we are now part of a country that acknowledges that.

I know that the Turkish Government has sought to deny this genocide. They might in future generations find pride that the Turkish people had reached a point where they could acknowledge their past.

That tape, Mr. Bonior, was very good, and I am glad you brought it to our attention. I also want to praise, for those who are looking for more of the work done by a constituent of mine, Mr. Gopian, who has put together extensive documentary footage of the survivors of this genocide. That has been funded in part by the California legislature.

I do want to point out, and it concerns me as to why Turkey resists this acknowledgement. When the Holocaust was plotted by Germany, Germany was at the height of its power. When America committed its sins in slavery and the treatment of the Native Americans, we were powerful and well organized. When Britain and France launched wars of aggression and imperialism, they were at the height of their power.

That tape brought to mind the fact that this genocide occurred at a time when the Turkish Government was in disarray, chaos and when there was realistic plans by then enemies of Turkey to seize virtually all of its territory or all of it and colonize it, and so one would expect that extremists might take power and might use the instrumentalities of a decaying government to commit genocide at such a time. It is a little bit less to admit the genocide occurred a time of chaos than to admit these other things that I mentioned that occurred when nations were powerful.

The two panelists are advocates of this bill and appear before us in that capacity. We have 2 to 3 more weeks of legislative session. Are you here strongly arguing that we take this matter up and get

it to the floor this session, and, if so, do you have a strong preference as to whether it comes up under a suspension of the rules or in regular order?

Mr. BONIOR. If I might, Jim, having gone through this before in 1987, I do not want it to come up on suspension of the rules. This will be a tough, tough battle, and I know that, but I have heard some eloquent statements from Mr. Royce today and, of course, always Mr. Radanovich and others, so I would hope this would be brought up in regular order.

It is my understanding from what you said, Mr. Chairman, that the Speaker has indicated he will bring it up, and I think it will be wonderful. It will be wonderful to have this debate and to have this on the floor of the House of Representatives so that the world, no matter what happens on the vote, can learn more about this unconscionable tragedy.

Mr. ROGAN. I echo those sentiments. I feel the same way.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I would like to recognize Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. SHERMAN. Do I still have another minute?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. OK.

Mr. SHERMAN. OK. The genocide denial is the last step of a genocide. After killing people, it kills the memory of the killing, and that is why this resolution is so important, and that is why I praise those who are the authors of the resolution.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. The Chair recognizes Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Let me just say, and I will not take the full 5 minutes, that I do not think anyone who watches what we saw in the Peter Jennings report can feel anything but empathy and sympathy and a great deal of sorrow for what happened, and I believe those tragedies did happen.

Fifty million people were killed by Joseph Stalin in forced starvation in the Soviet Union. I do not remember a resolution in the 18 years I have been here on Russia. Mao Tse Tung and the Red Brigade killed 50 million people in China. Fifty million. Fifty million in Russia and in China. I do not remember any resolution. I do not remember any special training that we advocated for the State Department to train people on how to deal with those kinds of human rights atrocities.

I talked about the American Indians, and we have heard about the African-Americans who were victimized here. You can go into what is going on today in Africa. Do not misunderstand. I have been on the Human Rights Subcommittee for a long time, and I have shared with the Committee chairman here a great deal of concern about places like Kashmir and Punjab and India and all over the place, so I do feel empathy and sympathy and sorrow for what happened, and I do not doubt that a lot of that did happen, but 3 million Turks died as well during this tragic time. There were forced marches for them as well. I do not know if we have any movies of them, but that happened as well.

So what I said earlier I stand by, and that is we should have a resolution of this type, but it should be broader based than just the Armenian genocide. We have a remembrance day every year to remember those who tied in the tragedy in 1915 to 1921 or whenever it was—I do not remember the exact dates—but the fact is we do

have a remembrance day. America has not forgotten. The world has not forgotten.

If we are going to go down this path of pointing out genocides then let us not focus it so narrowly on one genocide if that is what you want to call it. Let us look at all of them. Let us put them all in a resolution and let the world see that all of these things should stop, not just one.

Remember, 50 million people died in forced starvation and famine under Stalin. Mao Tse Tung killed 50 million in his country. I mean, it has gone on throughout history. When you have wars, you have atrocities. We had My Lai. Remember that? We had all these things.

You know, I do not want you to think I am unsympathetic about what the Armenians went through. I am very sympathetic, but I think we need to look at this in a broader—with a broader view. If we are going to talk about genocide, let us talk about genocide. Let us condemn it. Let us have the State Department be sensitized to all the genocides so that every aspect of genocide can be remembered and stopped in the future so mankind will never forget, but let us just do not remember one thing.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield briefly?

Mr. BURTON. I would be happy to yield.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. As Chairman of the Subcommittee, it just bears noting that this Subcommittee, as well as the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which I also chair, has had in excess of 100 hearings on human rights issues around the world.

We have had them obviously on Serbia, on Milosevic, on forced abortion and religious persecution in China. We have had them on Sudan. We have had several hearings on the Sudan, as a matter of fact.

Mr. BURTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. On Rwanda, on victims all over the world. This is our first hearing on this genocide that took place 85 years ago or so, and it seems to me that we would be remiss, and we have had legislation passed on a myriad of human rights abuses around the world.

The State Department reauthorization bill, both the last Congress and this, had several pieces of language that I offered condemning certain problems around the world, and I just say this as a matter to give some balance. We are not singling out this issue. We have had hearings on present day Turkey and the use of torture in Turkey as a matter of repression, so we have tried——

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. To be very fair.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I think it is important to point that out.

Mr. BURTON. Let me just respond by saying I admire you, and you know that, and I have been with you on almost everything since we have been on this Committee together, but this is the first time that I recall where we have singled out one particular genocide, if you want to call it that, and asked our State Department

and Foreign Service officers to be sensitized to what happened in this specific event.

We have had a lot of them, thousands of them around the world, and I think if we are going to say the State Department should be trained in this particular area, they should be regarding all of the other atrocities, and that is why I said if this is broader based I will support it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Nothing precludes that, but let me just say this was the first in this century, and it really did, as emphasized by the often quoted statement by Adolf Hitler, leave an opening for those who would commit such atrocities later. Because somehow they felt the world would not stand up and would take notice, and there would be no reprisals against the perpetrators.

Mr. BURTON. I understand that Hitler used this as an example, Mr. Chairman, but let me end up by saying this. If you are going to go back 80 some years, let us go back to what we did to the Indians because if you want to see pictures and reports on that, just go back.

Mr. RADANOVICH. If I may? We would be open, and I cannot speak for Mr. Bonior, but in discussions before the markup we would be open to including other groups.

Mr. BURTON. Then let us work together to see if we cannot work that out.

Mr. RADANOVICH. I would be happy to.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you.

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Chairman, may I just comment for a moment——

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Sure, Mr. Rogan.

Mr. ROGAN [continuing]. If that is within the Committee's protocol?

There is one distinguishing difference between what happened with Stalin's Russia, and Mao's China, and America's slavery and Indian issue. The government of the United States and the House of Representatives does not deny that those things have occurred, but, as Chairman Smith said so eloquently in his opening statement, there has been a conspiracy of silence not just on the part of Turkey, but on the part of our own policymakers to the Armenian Genocide. That is the purpose of this resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you, Mr. Rogan.

Mr. Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am here to listen and learn, and from what I have gathered thus far, and I think this is the first time in my 3 years of Congress I believe that I agree with Mr. Burton.

I think that we have to be more inclusive. We have to condemn genocide wherever we find it. As I sit here as an African-American knowing what happened, and individuals are saying we have acknowledged what happened to African-Americans and Native Americans. I know on the floor of the House not too long ago there was a bill asking the U.S. Congress to apologize—simply to apologize—to African-Americans for what happened to them, and the only co-sponsors on that bill were Members of the congressional black caucus basically. No one else seemed to want to step up and acknowledge what in fact did happen here.

We have to stop genocide wherever we find it. We have to stop genocide. I think that it would be a much stronger message going out if in fact we do that, if we do work together, so that we can make sure that the message is strong saying that wherever we find it, whether it is in Europe, in Asia, in Africa or here on the shores of North America, we will not accept genocide. We can show a great example in this country by leading the way, by first acknowledging that there was in fact slavery on the floor of the House of Representatives, something that we do have control over. That would be to me the first example, which we have failed to do.

We, and I believe that we must and the Armenian people must within their confines have Turkey acknowledge the wrong that they have done as far as the genocide is concerned. However, this is the House of the U.S. Government, and I question even some of the time because I think that what we should be doing is trying to make sure that we act in a manner to create an atmosphere so that genocide could never happen again and hostilities will end.

That matter and I think the timing of all this—as we know, there are delicate negotiations that are ongoing now. We do not want to tip the bow because we do not want any violence any place else and have an outbreak again. I think our role should be that of a mediator.

If we are going to talk about genocide, let us be broad. Let us condemn it wherever we find it. Let us go back throughout the history. Point it out so that no one will ever forget the atrocities that took place to people so it will never happen again in the future. But let us not do this, which seems to me that we are just picking a particular incident, as opposed to one another at a crucial time of negotiation that is going on to try to make a region safer and better for everyone that lives there.

I yield back.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to point out for the record on this issue of whether or not we have condemned genocide elsewhere, very recently working with you, Mr. Chairman, we on the Africa Subcommittee, which I chair, passed a resolution. This House passed a resolution condemning the genocide that occurred in Sudan, recognizing the 2 million people who had perished in the genocide in Sudan, so in point of fact we do take a stand in the Congress on issues like this, and I think it is time we set the historical record straight on what happened in the Armenian genocide.

Let me say it is true that we did not add language that would indicate that the State Department should be directed to teach about human rights and ethnic cleansing, but from what I have seen going on in the world in places like Rwanda, it is pretty clear to me that we should have. I think it is about time we did direct the Foreign Service to have some sensitivity to this issue.

This is very appropriate legislation, and I just for the record want to point out that we have in fact in this Congress passed a resolution condemning genocide in the Sudan, and so I do not think there is anything out of place in this resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you, Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Bonior, you wanted to respond?

Mr. BONIOR. Yes. I would like to respond by saying that I would be happy to join Mr. Meeks and others on this panel to author legislation that deal with some of these other issues. We have done some of them, as Mr. Royce has said.

I am actually a sponsor of the apology that you referred to, Greg, but let us be clear. There are many other nations that have adopted a similar resolution on the Armenian genocide. We will be in the latter half of those who have, you know, the bottom part of the list that have not, so this has been addressed before by parliaments, and they have looked at it, and it was very clear to many of these parliaments what we saw in the film just a while ago, and they have decided to take the position that we are advocating that we take.

So I hope people will come forward and step forward on this genocide, and we will be happy to work with people on other issues, whether it is Rwanda or it is Cambodia—we have spoken on Cambodia as well in this Congress—or other places.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Any other Members of the panel like to pose a question to our colleagues?

Mr. Tancredo. No?

Unless you have any further concluding comments, I want to thank our very distinguished Members for being here and providing very keen insights to the Subcommittee as we move to markup next week. Thank you.

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you once again.

Mr. BONIOR. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I would like invite our second witness to the witness table, Ambassador Marc Grossman, who is the Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources at the U.S. Department of State.

In his previous diplomatic service, he also served as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, the United States Ambassador to Turkey, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

Ambassador Grossman is a graduate of the University of California-Santa Barbara and the London School of Economics. Mr. Ambassador, thank you for being here.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR MARC GROSSMAN, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much, and thank you for that introduction. It is a pleasure to be here today, especially to work again with you and Members of this Subcommittee. I appreciate the chance to have a chance to come and talk about this resolution and this legislation with you.

Mr. Chairman, if I might say first I have had the good fortune here over the last couple of hours to listen to all the testimony, and I really want to say two things before I start.

The first is that over the past several years one of the things that has really come to my good fortune has been to be able to

work with and know many, many of the Armenian-Americans, especially those who are represented here today, and that has been to my great benefit and something that I am very, very thankful for.

That allows me to say, second, that I certainly understand the spirit of this resolution. I understand why people are in favor of this legislation, and I would join with Mr. Burton in saying that I think it is exactly right for President Clinton, as he did on the 24th of April of this year, to say, and I think it is worth quoting, that "I join Armenians around the world, including Armenian-Americans, in mourning the loss of innocent life. I also extend my sympathies to the survivors and their descendants for the hardships that they have suffered." I think as Mr. Burton said, anyone who watched this video would have exactly this same human and sympathetic response.

Mr. Chairman, it is my job today to give you my perspective and the perspective of the Administration on this legislation. As you know from the letters that Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations Barbara Larkin, who I am very glad is here with me today, sent to you last June and to the House, to the International Relations Committee Chairman and to the Ranking Member, the Administration opposes this resolution, just as previous Administrations, Republican and Democrat, have opposed this legislation in the past.

We do this, Mr. Chairman, not out of any lack of sympathy, but because we believe, as President Clinton told Turkish President Sezer in their meeting last week in New York, that we oppose this resolution because he, the President, believes it would be counterproductive, and that is because the Administration believes that passage of H. Res. 398 would not ease our efforts to accomplish our tasks, as many of the Members of the Subcommittee were saying, but would actually make it much more complicated, more complicated in the Caucasus, more complicated to bring peace in Nagorno-Karabakh and I believe also that passage of this legislation would seriously harm U.S. interests in Turkey.

As you were nice enough to say, Mr. Chairman, I have recently become the Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources at the State Department, but I did have previous service in Turkey and as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

I have long valued my relationship with this Subcommittee, and I would like to give you my perspective on this legislation from that view, if that might be possible, because I think my experience in those jobs have given me some perspective on Turkey and on the region.

Let me, first of all, start with the question of our regional interests. I have five things I would like to try to convey today. First, the United States is actively engaged in efforts to bring a resolution to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, something that you and the Members have already discussed today. This peace process received a boost last year when the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan began a direct dialogue. The two Presidents have made progress toward resolving the conflict.

With the active encouragement of the United States, a policy of the President and the Administration and the Congress as well, we have encouraged the two Presidents to continue their talks, most recently on August 19 at Yalta and on September 7 in New York. For our part, we have taken action as one of the co-chairs of the Minsk Group to involve key international agencies like the World Bank and UNHCR so that when there is a peace settlement, reconstruction and resettlement would follow immediately.

As your Members have said, Mr. Chairman, Turkey has a very important role to play in this process, and we want to do everything that we can to encourage Turkey and Armenia to normalize their relations. That is a goal we strongly support. In my view, and I give you my perspective, adoption of this resolution would undermine our efforts to put an end to strife that has plagued this volatile region and ensure future stability and prosperity.

Second, as many of the Members here have talked about, we have a security relationship with Turkey that is good for the United States. It is good for America because it supports our interest in the area. As a number of Members have said, Turkey supported the United States in NATO throughout the Cold War. The United States and Turkish forces have worked together everywhere from Korea to Kosovo, including Desert Shield. Turkey was at the forefront of NATO's operation in Kosovo, and Turkey has now deployed almost 2,000 troops in Bosnia as part of IFOR, KFOR, and SFOR.

Third, Turkey has been a base since 1991 to United States and British aircraft that patrol the no fly zone over northern Iraq. Together we contain the threat that Saddam Hussein poses to our shared interests, and we ensure together that Baghdad cannot again employ its air assets against innocent civilian populations in northern Iraq.

Fourth, as one of your Members said, I think the gentleman from Samoa, Turkey is key to our efforts to encourage the parties to the Cyprus conflict to engage sensibly in the U.N. sponsored proximity talks that resumed just this week in New York.

Fifth, Mr. Chairman, in the Middle East you and I have talked about Turkey's relationship with Israel and the Palestinians, and they have actively supported our mediation efforts before and since Camp David.

So we have these five very important regional security interests, but we have economic interests in Turkey as well. As your Members have said, a critical partner in bringing central Asian energy resources to an energy hungry world, Turkey is one of the Commerce Department's leading emerging markets for United States exports. Turkey spends $6 billion on American goods and services in sectors like agriculture, aerospace, energy and defense.

Mr. Chairman, you very I think rightly mentioned in one of your followup statements the whole question of United States interests in Turkey and United States interests in human rights in Turkey. Since you and I have talked about this a lot, may I say a word about that as well?

I do not want to finish this review of what it is that the United States finds important in Turkey without a word about human rights. I think Turks know that they have much more to do in this

area, and certainly as President Clinton noted in his address before the Turkish National Assembly last November, Turkey is making progress, but, as the President would say, there is still a long way to go.

As in many of these areas, Mr. Chairman, and you and I have talked about this a fair amount, we continue to believe that the best way to seek more progress on human rights in Turkey is to engage the Turkish public, to engage the Turkish Government, to engage Turkish society. So I worry, I really worry, that the passage of this resolution would diminish our standing in Turkey, make it harder for people to listen to our arguments and, therefore, set back our efforts.

I have talked a little bit in this statement so far about the impact of the resolution on Turkey. Let me talk for a moment, if you would allow me, about Armenia. Mr. Chairman, the Administration is committed to helping the Armenian people build a secure, democratic and prosperous nation, fully integrated into the region, into international processes and international institutions, and we think that a lasting peace in the Caucasus and economic cooperation, for example, in the pipeline that will bring oil and gas from the Caucasus with all of the neighbors is essential if Armenian is to achieve the prosperity that its people deserve.

Mr. Chairman, let us talk about the main issue here, what it is that we are talking about historically. It seems to me utterly, totally and completely indisputable that the Armenian people suffered deportations and massacres, but scholars disagree on the nature of the killings and the root causes. As some of your Members have said, many, many Turks and Kurds died as well.

I think this issue should really be in the hands of scholars and historians. I know you will have a panel of them after you are done listening to me, but I think that peace and stability in the region will require Turkey and Armenia, as well as those members of the Armenian diaspora, to jointly—jointly—understand the events of the past, and that is why I have so strongly supported recent work to bring Armenian and Turkish experts together with academics from other countries to explore their common history. There are people in this room who have helped us do that. We have been grateful for that, and we need to do more of it.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, as I was thinking about this statement and how it would seem to you, let me just say that I think in the end that this is not something that can be legislated or can be mandated. Rather, people dealing with history, no matter whose history, is something that has to be done by diplomats, by people to people exchanges, and by Members of this body, all aimed at promoting dialogue and reconciliation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, one sentence about the training of diplomats since that is really part and parcel of this resolution. One of the things I did when I read the resolution was ask: Do we do any of this training? Does anyone at the Foreign Service Institute or the National Foreign Affairs Training Center look into these subjects, because if we do not, we should.

Let me give you a report, Mr. Chairman, on what I found. We have a responsibility to acknowledge the tragedy that occurred and to study its origins and its consequences. In a way, I think we

ought to study this terrible period of history as diplomats, as legislators, really as human beings, no matter what label scholars give it.

It turns out that our diplomats are already exposed very systematically to the lessons of this terrible time. Here is what we do right now at the Foreign Service Institute. The massacres of Armenians is covered in the Caucasus advanced area of studies and in Turkish advanced area of studies courses.

Let me take the Armenian course first. Ambassador Harry Gilmore, who was our distinguished first Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia, teaches the Caucasus advanced course and covers this issue in his session on Armenia and Turkey. Indeed, I understand that Ambassador Gilmore often invites Dr. Reuben Adalian of the Armenian National Institute to be a speaker to our people at this session.

The session discusses the historical circumstances of the massacres, their origins, their results and surveys the different views of historians and others on these events. Ambassador Gilmore makes reference to the massacres in other lectures during this course and indeed is currently updating the entire reader syllabus for this particular course at the Foreign Service Institute.

On the Turkish side, Dr. Sabri Siari, who is the Executive Director of the Institute of Turkish Studies and a professor at Georgetown University, teaches the Turkish advanced area studies, and he also addresses this issue squarely, discusses the massacres as part of a session devoted to Turkish history at the time of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of nationalism.

Mr. Chairman, as Members of the Committee have I think very accurately said, President Clinton has kept the tradition of commemorating Armenian Remembrance Day each April 24 because we must guard against the nightmare that such horrors could be repeated.

Our human rights training, our training at the Foreign Service Institute and really our work for democracy and freedom overseas has that as a key goal. Study of these events will surely lead to the conclusion that the best tribute we can offer to the victims of tragedies is to build peace and stability in the region so that we can truly say never again.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the chance to make that statement.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Grossman appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Grossman, thank you for your statement. As you can probably tell by the bells, the conference report on the legislative branch appropriations is on the floor right now with about 9 minutes remaining, so I will suspend the proceedings just for a couple of minutes. We will return and then go to questions.

Thank you for your patience.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Sure. Thanks a lot.

[Recess.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. The Subcommittee will resume its sitting. I apologize for the inconvenience to witnesses and to those attending the hearing.

Mr. Ambassador, thank you again for your patience. Let me begin with a few opening comments and then ask you a question.

The Subcommittee has received a letter from Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel urging the passage of H. Res. 398. He states that it is crucial that the President provide appropriate materials and training for all foreign service officers, U.S. Department of State officials and any executive branch employees involved with issues of human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Second, we have a letter addressed once again to the Subcommittee by Dr. Deborah Lipstadt, a distinguished academician who successfully secured a libel judgment against Holocaust denier David Ervin, who states in her letter of support for adoption of this resolution, "Denial of genocide, whether that of the Turks against the Armenians or the Nazis against the Jews, is not an act of historical reinterpretation. Rather, the denier's sow confusion by appearing to be engaged in a genuine scholarly effort."

Finally, I share with you the public appeal of 126 Holocaust Judaic and legal scholars that affirm, "The incontestable fact of the Armenian genocide and urge western democracies to officially recognize it."

I assume you and the entire department share my view that these scholars of the Holocaust and genocide are worth listening to on a question of the definition of genocide, and I was wondering if you could tell us do you agree with their judgment? A simple yes or no.

Are we talking about genocide as defined in the convention? Sometimes there has been this reluctance to pronounce the G word, genocide. Are we talking about genocide when it comes to the Armenian situation?

Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Mr. Chairman, first of all let me say that of course we would take seriously the views of the people whose names you read. I mean, how could anyone not take seriously the words of a Nobel Prize winner like Elie Wiesel? Of course we do.

The second thing is that the point you make in your statement is a very important one. You are asking for us to do some training. You are asking for us to train, as you said, all Foreign Service officers, people who serve overseas, all members of the State Department and, very properly so, all of those people who serve overseas for the U.S. Government.

At the end of my testimony, Mr. Chairman, I tried to give you a report on what it is that we do now. Maybe we do not do enough. Maybe we ought to talk to more people. Maybe our civil service colleagues at the State Department ought to get this training, too, but I think it is really very important that we do recognize that the advantages of this legislation already exist, in other words training, already exists.

That is why Ambassador Gilmore worked so hard in the Caucasus area to teach about these terrible tragedies to people who are going to Armenia, and that is why in Turkish area studies Dr. Siari does the very same.

Expand it. Contract it. Do more people. Do less people, absolutely. But I do not want to leave you thinking that we are not

doing this at all, so in a sense we have some of the advantages of this legislation already taking place. What I tried to do is give you my perspective on the disadvantage.

Mr. Chairman, you asked me for a yes or no answer. You know me well enough to know that I am not going to give you one because I really cannot, and that is to say that I do not consider myself to be the "grand judger" of all of history.

I have come to two conclusions, as I say, in thinking a lot about this question. One, we ought to listen to the historical debate, and you are going to have one after me, but, two, and I believe this ever more strongly, Mr. Chairman. I actually think that this issue does not really belong to you or to me or to these scholars any more. It actually belongs to Turkish people and Armenian people, and we ought to be doing all that we can, as we have from the department and as I know you have and Members of Congress, in bringing Turkish people and Armenian people together to talk about these things, to share their history, because that is the way ultimately there is going to be reconciliation.

I know that is not the greatest answer you have ever heard from a witness. It is too long, but I thought a lot about this, and I think that is really what we ought to be doing.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I would strongly disagree with you that we should leave this issue exclusively to the Turkish and the Armenian people. I mean, that is why we have a Country Report on Human Rights Practices.

That is why when we fought so diligently to have enacted the Religious Freedom Act, which initially at least was opposed by many in the department, including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and John Shattuck, then the Assistant Secretary of Human Rights. They made very clear that they thought it would establish a hierarchy of human rights, which did not happen, will not happen, and was never intended to happen. That legislation almost died in its tracks because of opposition by the Administration, yet in a very bipartisan way we were able to pass it.

Last week we had Ambassador Seiple here who made it very clear that this has helped him to mainstream religious freedom issues into the very worthy and laudable work of the State Department. So it seems to me that when we are talking about human rights past, present, and, regrettably, future it is wrong to shy away from using the "G" word, the genocide word, when it seems incontestable, according to the quote I just cited.

As I said earlier to the first panel, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which entered into force January 12, 1951, by the United Nations and countries simply says, "Article 2, In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such," and then it defines killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, and it goes on.

In reading historical documents after historical documents, which both you and I and many others have done, I think the conclusion is inescapable and is not even debatable. That is my opinion, and

it is probably not shared by some, but are you in the Department and the Administration not in the position to call this a genocide?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I might respond. Let me be just as honest as I can. As I have said, my job here is to do three things. First, to tell you that we think that this is an issue that ought to be left to historians. You are going to hear from historians after you listen to me. You can make your own decision. I do not know. You will have to decide what you want to decide.

The second thing is you asked me here, and I am grateful for the invitation, to try to give you my perspective on what might happen if this legislation passed. I tried my very best in my testimony to do that.

If I could, sir, third, just respond for a moment to the argument that you and I were having. I do not mean in saying that ultimately the solution to this problem belongs only to Turks and Armenians that we should not have anything to do with it. On the contrary. I mean, for goodness sakes, we are the people who ought to be facilitating these contacts, and I certainly do not want to be put in a position of saying——

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. No.

Ambassador GROSSMAN [continuing]. That there is an exclusivity here. We ought not to get rid of it. We ought to study these things.

What I was trying to say, Mr. Chairman, perhaps not too well, was that ultimately the solution to this problem seems to me anyway in getting Armenians and Turks together to share their history. You have to ask yourself and I have to ask myself, and you will come to one conclusion and I will come to another, in what way is the best service of creating that shared history?

You would say pass this resolution because it is time that we did so, and I would argue to you that I think it would actually set us back, sir.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. You mentioned let historians handle this. Do you feel likewise with the Holocaust; that that should be their exclusive domain?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. No.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Why? What is the difference?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. The Holocaust is something that there is a lot of experience about, that we have lots of positions, we have positions on it. I think there is a complete difference here.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Other than the number of people killed and murdered, it seems to me, and again the evidence clearly shows the effect of the deportation marches, and again, our own Ambassador Morgenthau pointed it out, particularly in Chapter 24 of his memoirs, "The Murder of a Nation."

Anyone who reads that and any of the other supporting documentation will ask, if this was not a planned genocide that worsened and then resulted in approximately 1.5 million people being butchered and killed and raped then what was it? I do not even want to go through the terrible tortures that he outlines in here, as do others; the beating of the feet, which they call bastinado, until the feet explode, the horrible pain that is suffered there and many other terrible tortures, people being hacked to death, starvation. I mean, we should be willing to call a genocide a genocide. I am just baffled by our inability to do so.

I say that with all due respect because I have a very high regard for you, but let the record show I am truly baffled by our inability to call this a genocide. If it is all about or partially about or in any way about our current day diplomacy with the Republic of Turkey, that would be I think not only shortsighted, but wrong. We should be willing to say exactly what the truth is and let the consequences flow.

We have heard, and respond one way or the other to this if you could, that opponents of this resolution have asserted that its adoption would harm U.S. commercial interests, in particular a pending $4 billion helicopter deal. One of the international competitors for the helicopter deal is a Russian-Israeli consortium.

Is it not true that Russia has affirmed the Armenian genocide and that Israel's Education Minister, later supported by Israel's Justice Minister, supports teaching the Armenian genocide in Israeli public schools? Has the government of Turkey sanctioned Russia, the Israelis, Belgium, France or any other firms whose governments have acknowledged in the same fashion the Armenian genocide, which we are purporting to do with this resolution? If not, why should we expect them to take action against U.S. firms?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Mr. Chairman, let me respond to both of those questions. First let me talk for a minute about the helicopter deal. It is something you and I have discussed publicly and in your office. Where we stand at the moment is the Turks have selected Bell Textron, an American company, to negotiate a contract with for the purchase of these helicopters. We are glad of that, and we want these contract negotiations to go along.

We are not in a position yet of being able to rule one way or another on a license for export because there is no contract yet. As I have reported to you, if we take that decision or when we take that decision, because I would like there to be a contract someday, all of the issues that involve arms sales with the United States, including issues of human rights, will certainly be taken into account.

The second part of your question was about other statements from other countries and would that have some effect. I admit to you first off that I do not have the faintest idea about Russian statements. I had not heard about that, but I do know about some of the others.

For example, I too read and was very interested to read what the Israeli Minister of Education had said, but I think it is interesting and worth pointing out, Mr. Chairman, that right after he said it, if I can just read here, the Israeli Foreign Minister, David Levy, immediately stated that the Ministers spoke only for themselves, and if I could quote, "Levy reiterated the official Israeli position that events must be studied and discussed by historians, not politicians and diplomats."

So I think like in a lot of countries perhaps there are different views on this, but I would imagine if I was a Turkish government official I would be interested in what the Foreign Minister of Israel had said, which is something more or less along the lines of our position.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Frankly, I do not think Elie Wiesel falls into the category of politician or diplomat.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. No. No, but you had quoted to me the Minister of Justice and Minister of Education of Israel.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Right.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I was just trying to respond to you that they had said that. I do not deny it, but I just wanted to give you the information that the Foreign Minister of Israel had had a different view and I think speaks for his country.

The answer to your question about whether Turks would sanction Israel I do not think really comes up because the Israel position in this case, Mr. Chairman, is very close to ours.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Let me just ask you with regard to you mentioned Nagorno-Karabakh and others. When I offered and was prime sponsor of the Humanitarian Corridors Act, which in this room we had a very vigorous debate about. Thankfully it won, although it was vetoed, but did get passed when Congressman Porter put it onto an appropriations bill, and yet it has been waived, to the best of my knowledge, each and every year, even though we are talking about the provision of medicines and other humanitarian articles that could save suffering people and could extend our ability to help because obviously when you take a more circuitous route of getting those materials there, the medicines and the food cost more.

That to me seems to be a profoundly unfair act on the part of the Turkish Government. It is like if an ambulance comes, you just look the other way, and you do not allow it to go through your street. That is what it looks like to me.

I was amazed at the opposition we got from the Administration on that one as well, although eventually it was signed into law as part of the appropriations bill, yet it is being waived every year.

You know, you begin to see a pattern. Now we are just talking about standing up and doing what many other countries have done and suggesting it is time to just call a genocide a genocide. Again, the plain meaning of the U.N. convention seems to clearly indicate that this is nothing other but than a genocide. I am again very disturbed and discouraged by the fact that we are unwilling to call it that.

Mr. Pallone.

Mr. PALLONE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for having this hearing. I have to apologize, Mr. Ambassador. I had an event with the Prime Minister of India, so I could not come until now, but I did read your written statement, and my questions are with regard to your written statement.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Yes, sir?

Mr. PALLONE. I notice that you are very careful in your written statement not to utter the word genocide. You use the word massacre, things of that nature, and are very careful not to use the word genocide.

Two questions on that. I mean, first of all, have you been instructed by the Administration specifically not to use that term? Second, is that a political decision not to use that term?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I am going to try to answer your question the best I can.

Mr. PALLONE. Sure.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I do not think I have been instructed not to use the word genocide. I think, Mr. Pallone, that I know that it is the Administration's policy not to call it genocide and so as an Administration witness and as a representative of the Administration I follow the lead of the President.

I think, sir, as Mr. Burton did and others on the Committee referred to the President's statement on the 24th of April, I think some in this room would say that he was also very careful not to use the word genocide, so I follow the President there, sir.

Second, in terms of whether it is a political decision, I do not know. I suppose in it is the sense that it is a decision that was made by the Administration, and I am a representative of that Administration. I apologize. I know that is not really what you are looking for.

Mr. PALLONE. No, no. That is fine, but I guess the reason I ask the second question about the politics is because in your statement before you get to talk about the genocide or, as you call it, the massacres you go through a litany of several political points about United States relations with Turkey, Turkish economy trade, military security——

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Right.

Mr. PALLONE [continuing]. And all that, and it is hard for me not to come to the conclusion that the reason why the Administration and you as the representative are not using the term genocide is because they are afraid that if they do use it that somehow that is going to jeopardize our relations with Turkey and is somehow going to hurt us economically or from a military point of view. It is not based on the record, but based on the politics. That is what I am asking.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Fair enough. I mean, one of the things in trying to respond to Chairman Smith, and when you say not based on the record, I mean, if you put me in the position of saying that means that I am not going to make a decision about whether this was or was not a genocide and I say that it is something you ought to listen to historians about, yes, that is true. Yes, sir. Absolutely.

Mr. PALLONE. But you see, my problem is that I think that what you are telling us is the reason the Administration does not use the term genocide and the reason we should not use the term genocide by passing this resolution is because you are fearful that it is going to hurt us economically or militarily.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. No. I am not fearful of that. I want to be clear about what we are talking about here. I believe that we have a relationship with Turkey which is good for the United States and the region. We also have some very important interests in Turkey and in the way Turkey is going to change, I hope, as Mr. Smith and I have always worked hard on in terms of human rights.

What I fear, Mr. Pallone, is that if you pass this resolution we will have none of the advantages, since we are already doing the training, and we will have all of the disadvantages in the sense that in the Turkish public, in Turkish economic life, in Turkish security life, the views of the United States will be diminished, and we will not be able to pursue our interests, sir.

Mr. PALLONE. But the problem that I know I have and I know the Chairman has as well is that what we think we are doing here today is basically recognizing a historical fact by passing this resolution.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I understand.

Mr. PALLONE. A fact of, you know, insidious, purposeful genocide and that by our government, our Administration, coming in and saying well, you cannot do that because that is going to hurt our relations with Turkey, then the issue of the genocide, the issue of intentional massacres, the issue, the historical fact of this gross human rights violation, is then put aside because of economic or military considerations, and that bothers me.

I am simply asking you if that is what you want us to do. Are you saying to this Committee look, I know you may want to pass this because you believe this occurred, but do not do it because it is going to have negative impact on our foreign policy. Is that not what you are saying to us?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. That is close. Absolutely.

Mr. PALLONE. OK.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PALLONE. Well, you see, that is the problem because I do not think that is what we are supposed to be doing, in other words.

I have a question, Mr. Chairman, but historically everyone knows that if you deny human rights violations and genocide for geopolitical diplomatic reasons then it will occur, and you only encourage it.

I mean, I do not think there is anybody who would suggest that if this Administration, you know, at the time—I guess it was the Roosevelt Administration during World War II—had intervened and had spoken out about the Holocaust and demanded that Jews not be sent to the gas chambers that we would have had a positive impact on it not happening or not happening as much as it did. The same is true for Bosnia and so many other cases.

So our problem here is that we just find it a terrible policy for the Administration to come in here and tell us that; that if we believe that this truly was genocide that we should not recognize it as a fact because it might harm our relations with Turkey.

I believe the opposite. I do not think any country—you know, I think the opposite would happen. If we demand action and demand recognition, then the Turkish Government, like any government that had to deal with this fact, would ultimately have to deal with this, and it would be a positive thing.

That is all I am saying. If you would like to react to it, that is fine. Obviously you do not agree.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Well, I say with all due respect, Mr. Pallone, I think you have given a very, very eloquent presentation of why people are interested in passing this resolution.

I have not given as eloquent a response, but I was invited here to give you my perspective. My perspective is with great, great respect, sir, that we do have a disagreement here because my view is that if you pass this resolution the consequences actually will be the opposite of what you want.

You will not make Turkish people any more open to dealing with their past. You will not make Turkish people any more open to

their human rights challenges. You will not make Turkish people any more interested in helping the United States.

I mean, you are shaking your head—we just are going to disagree with that, and I just——

Mr. PALLONE. And I am going to stop, Mr. Chairman, because I want to hear the rest of the panel, but I just would say to you in response to that there is no indication historically, and I do not care how far back you go, to ancient times, medieval times, modern times. There is no basis for that.

Every time that a great power has refused to exercise its influence to say to a country that they should not be violating human rights, all that happens is that it just continues and gets worse. Every time you stand up and say no, you should not do it and we know you are doing it and we recognize that you did it, that has had a positive outcome in the long term.

I understand what you are saying, and I appreciate your candor, but I also think that there is just no historical evidence for that.

Thank you.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Ambassador, let me ask one final question.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Yes, sir?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I am sure you have read Ambassador Morgenthau's story and probably read it more than once. Do you believe it is accurate, his detailed explanations or recounting, his knowledge as to what happened?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I certainly believe that Ambassador Morgenthau wrote what he believed, yes.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Was there anything in the State Department's records that would contradict any of the information that we believed to be the truth and reality about the genocide?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I do not know the answer to that question, Mr. Smith. I mean, I should, but I do not.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. OK.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. That is a fair question. I do not know the answer to it.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. If you could get back to us, that would be very helpful——

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I would be glad to try.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. If there was any kind of——

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Sure.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. Contrarian view within the department at the time.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Sure.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Based on what I have looked at, I have not found it, but I have not been able to get into the——

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Fair enough.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. Archives the way you I am sure can.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I just would ask unanimous consent for the record to include Chapter 24 into the record, Ambassador Morgenthau's story, and the subtitle for that chapter is The Mur-

der of a Nation, because certainly it is very, very disturbing reading, as I mentioned earlier before.

As a matter of fact, there were a number of points made that, for example, before the caravan moved the women were sometimes offered the alternative of becoming Muslims. Even though they accepted the new faith, which few of them did, their earthly troubles did not end. The converts were compelled to surrender their children to so-called Muslim orphanages with the agreement that they should be trained as the doubt followers of the prophet. It goes on to say that they obviously had to give up their own husbands in order to take on a new husband.

Every aspect, it would seem, is there. I do not want to belabor this point, but the clear meaning of the definition of genocide as articulated in Article 2 of the Convention seems to have been fulfilled and then some, I say with sadness, by the Armenian genocide. We ran into this problem, as you well know, when I raised very serious questions with regard to the Sudan, with regard to the killing of the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda, why when there was a coordinated, all out effort to exterminate we could not call it a genocide.

Maybe you could answer us. What is the consequence of euphemistically calling this "the tragedy" or some other less than availing term? What is the consequence, legally or otherwise, if we do indeed say this was a genocide?

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I cannot speak certainly to that. I would be glad to help see if I can get some help here. I certainly cannot speak to the question of what the legal implication is. I mean, that is something I think someone else would have to speak to——

But if I could go back to the answer I gave to Mr. Pallone, I think the consequences are, Mr. Smith, that the things that you and I have been working so hard to achieve in Turkey over the years we have been working together become harder to achieve. We will not make the same kind of progress on human rights. We will not make the same kind of progress in opening up Turkey. I do not believe we will make the same kind of progress between Turkey and Armenia.

These are the things that you and I want. As I say, Mr. Pallone, we just have a disagreement here.

Mr. PALLONE. If the gentleman would yield just for a second? You see what you just said? You said that by denying human rights we are going to prevent human rights violations. It is not true. It does not work that way. You cannot say to me OK, by saying that the genocide not occurred or not calling it that, that somehow that is going to improve human rights in Turkey. How can it be? How can it be that by denying the historical past of human rights violations that you encourage the Turkish Government to improve the human rights record? It does not work that way.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I mean, I am glad to continue this.

Mr. PALLONE. Sure.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I lived 6 years in Turkey. I represented the United States of America for 6 years in Turkey in various ways. My perspective on your point, sir, is I would never say that denying human rights will bring you more human rights.

What I am trying to say, not very well, is the following. If we legislate the title, the name, of this terrible tragedy—you have a view and I have a view, but let us leave that aside—if we legislate this, the ability of the United States of America to influence the public in Turkey for more democracy and more freedom goes down. I do not expect——

Mr. PALLONE. I understand what you are saying, but I do not see any reason historically to accept that. It is always the opposite.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Well, I mean, Mr. Smith was nice enough to ask me to give you my perspective.

Mr. PALLONE. No. I appreciate your candor. I think it is important that you state what you are stating, and I appreciate that.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. I am doing the best I can.

Mr. PALLONE. I do not see any basis for it. I never have historically.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. If I could just, Mr. Ambassador, make it very clear that——

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Yes, sir?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. I have great respect for the Turkish people. It is when the dictatorship, past, present and, regrettably, there may be dictatorships or there are likely to be dictatorships into the future denies this genocide.

The people who have the guns and have the secret police and have the torturers, when they commit egregious human rights violations we should be unflinching in our efforts to say that is a crime against humanity. That is a genocide if it rises to that bar, which I think this clearly does.

That means no disrespect to the average Turkish person for whom I have the highest respect. It is their leadership that has committed these atrocities and it was those people who carried guns and bayonetted women and children and left them for dead during these forced marches.

We have obviously a good relationship with Japan, but we make no bones about raising serious human rights abuses that were committed during World War II and to hold those folks accountable. We did the same thing with Germany, and they are perhaps one of our greatest allies in NATO, and yet thankfully they themselves were forthcoming on that as well.

I want this record to be very clear that I have a great respect for the Turkish people, but these atrocities that were committed in the past that were egregious, ongoing, pervasive, well coordinated genocide, we should not shrink from calling them such.

I would hope that the Administration would not oppose this resolution, maybe assert neutrality, but certainly do not oppose it. We need to have honest dialogue. Friends do not let friends commit human rights abuses, past or present. I think we should be willing to say it.

If you have anything further you would like to add, Ambassador? I thank you for coming.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Again, I have deep respect for you as well, and we have worked together on so many human rights issues around the world, particularly in Turkey.

Thank you.

Ambassador GROSSMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I would like to invite to the witness table our third panel.

Dr. Robert Melson is a professor of political science and former acting director of the Jewish studies program at Purdue University. A specialist in ethnic conflict and genocide, Dr. Melson studied at MIT and Yale. He is the author of the award winning book "Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust" published by the University of Chicago Press.

Gündüz Suphi Aktan is presently an instructor of Bilgi University in Istanbul. During his 30-year career in the Turkish Foreign Service, Ambassador Aktan served as the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan and Greece and as a permanent representative of Turkey to the United Nations in Geneva. During his tenure at the United Nations he was also president of the U.N. Trade and Development Board.

We will next hear from Dr. Justin McCarthy, who is a professor of history at the University of Louisville. A specialist in social history and historical demography who concentrates on Middle Eastern and Ottoman history, Dr. McCarthy is the author of the forthcoming book, "The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire."

Finally we have Dr. Roger Smith, who is a professor of government at the College of William and Mary where he teaches the comparative study of genocide. A co-founder and past president of the Association of Genocide Scholars, Dr. Smith recently edited the book "Genocide: Essays Toward Understanding Early Warning and Prevention."

Dr. Melson, if you could begin.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. MELSON, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Mr. MELSON. Chairman Smith and Members of the Committee, when I was 10 years old in 1947——

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Doctor, would you press the button? Thank you.

Mr. MELSON. Is that it? Thanks.

When I was 10 years old in 1947, my family and I immigrated from Poland to America, where we found a home and a sanctuary from the Nazis' attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

In 1965, I did field work for my doctorate in political science in Nigeria the year before that great country disintegrated in civil war, massacre and what the United Nations calls a genocide in part. Some of the people I had interviewed for my thesis were killed in what came to be known as the Biafrin War.

I mention these things not to call attention to myself, but to tell you that I have had some personal experience with genocide. Hence, when I started to research the Armenian genocide in the early 1970's in order to compare the Holocaust to that earlier disaster, I recognized a familiar pattern. The two genocides were, of course, not equivalent, and they differed in significant ways that were also enlightening for our understanding of genocide. I will return to this point presently.

Let me now turn to the business at hand. My reading of Resolution 398 is that it calls on the President, one, to provide Foreign

Service officers and others concerned with American foreign policy with training and materials concerning the Armenian genocide, and, two, it urges the President in his annual message commemorating the Armenian genocide to characterize the disaster frankly and openly as a genocide, not as a massacre or as a tragedy or by any other euphemism.

I firmly support both parts of the resolution on scholarly, moral and strategic grounds. In the time allotted me, I wish to briefly comment on three points. First, the Armenian genocide was the first genocide of the modern era and set a precedent not only for the Holocaust, but for most contemporary genocides, especially in the Third World and in the current post Communist world. Hence, it is essential that it be studied by American Foreign Service officers, as well as others involved in the shaping of American foreign policy.

Second, in order to understand the phenomenon of genocide, members of the Foreign Service community need to study the Armenian genocide and America's reaction to it. One of the best places to start are the records of the State Department itself, especially Ambassador Morgenthau's story. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau was, of course, the American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time of the genocide.

Third, I have often heard it argued that despite the occurrence of the Armenian genocide and the Turkish Government's continued denial of it, the United States should keep a low profile on the subject for fear of hurting Turkish sensibilities and undermining American strategic and economic interests in the area. Hence, neither the President nor any of his representatives should use the term genocide when referring to the mass murder of the Armenians.

Let me start with the first point. When confronted with mass death and forced deportations, the contemporary world community has often reached for the Holocaust as a paradigmatic case of genocide in order both to make sense and to condemn current events. In my longer deposition, I suggest that although the Armenian genocide resembles the Holocaust in significant ways, it is a more accurate model for current ethnic disasters in the Third World and the post Communist world than is the Holocaust.

The Armenian genocide and the Holocaust are the quintessential instances of total genocide in the twentieth century, what the United Nations calls genocide in whole rather than in part. In both instances, a deliberate attempt was made by the government of the day to destroy in part or in whole and ethni-religious community of ancient provenance that had existed as a segment of the government's own society.

In both instances, genocide was perpetrated after the fall of an old regime and during the reign of a revolutionary movement that was motivated by an ideology of social, political and cultural transformation. The old regime for Germany was the German Empire. The old regime for the Ottomans was the regime of Abdul Mohammed II, and in both cases a revolutionary movement, the Nazis in one case and the Young Turks in the other, committed genocide during a world war.

These may be said to account for some of the basic similarities between the two genocides, but there are significant differences as well. The Armenian genocide also differs from the Holocaust in that the Armenians, unlike the Jews, were living on their ancestral lands when they were deported to their deaths, and the ideology motivating the Young Turks, the perpetrators, was not a totalitarian racism, but a version of integral or organic nationalism.

The mix of ethnic conflict over land driven by murderous nationalism should be familiar to any student of the contemporary Third World or post Communist Yugoslavia. Think of Bosnia. Think of Kosovo.

Thus, following the policy recommendation of Resolution 398, State Department offices and others involved with making foreign policy would do well to study the Armenian genocide for lessons bearing both on the Holocaust and on more current disasters.

Turning to the second point, when Turkey entered the first world war on the side of Germany against the Entente, the United States was still neutral, and Henry Morgenthau was the American ambassador during some of the worst moments of the genocide. He received information from American Consuls like Leslie A. Davis from Harput, as well as from missionaries and other American citizens.

On the basis of this information, he concluded that the Ottoman government of the day had decided to exterminate the Armenians, and he tried to intercede on their behalf, but to no avail. At one point he had a discussion with Enver, the Minister of War, and he said to Enver "I know terrible things have been happening. Massacres have been happening all over the Ottoman Empire, and they are probably happening out of your sight. You probably do not know about these things. It is local people who are doing these things."

As he says on pages 351 and 352 of his story, "Enver straightened up, and said, 'nothing that happens in the Ottoman Empire happens without my knowing about it, without the Community of Union and Progress knowing about it.'"

That is the essence of a genocidal situation. Genocide is not simply atrocity. Atrocities happen in every war. Genocide is a state-directed intended policy to exterminate a people. That is what we are talking about, and that is what was happening here.

Having read Ambassador Morgenthau's diary, the Foreign Service officer might want to consult the work of Leslie A. Davis, the American Consul in Harput and a direct witness to the events. For further research and verification, the Foreign Service officer need not look further than the U.S. National Archives and Record Administration where there is extensive documentation on the genocide, especially under Record Group 59 of the U.S. Department of State, Files 867.00 and 867.40.

Turning to the last point, which indirectly answers Mr. Grossman's position, allow me to speak as a proud American citizen, not only as a scholar of genocide. I find it thoroughly dishonorable that knowing what we know about the Armenian genocide we persist in using euphemisms like "tragedy," "catastrophe," and "massacre" when referring to the mass murder for fear of offending Turkish sensibilities.

Would we abide such behavior from a Germany that denied the Holocaust? Indeed, could Germany ever have evolved into the vibrant and powerful democracy she is today without confronting her past? The answers are apparent, and they should be apparent in our relationship to Turkey as well.

Ambassador Grossman suggested that one of the best ways of resolving this issue is for Turkish and Armenian and American people and historians to get together and to discuss this issue. Well, I was one of these people who was involved in an Armenian, Turkish and American conference last March in Chicago.

I had the privilege of participating at a conference on the Armenian genocide at the University of Chicago, which was attended by American, Armenian and Turkish scholars. We discussed the Armenian genocide in open fora with Turkish scholars, not once questioning the facticity of the genocide. These were Turkish scholars who were not evading the issue of the Armenian genocide the way it has been evaded here this afternoon.

Indeed, some of their contributions concerning the ideology of the Young Turks was fresh and to the point. While talking to my Turkish colleagues, it dawned on me that one of the reasons they were openly and courageously researching and discussing the Armenian genocide, despite their government's denial, was because they were Turkish patriots who wished to see Turkey move toward a more modern, more open, more just and more democratic society.

In their view, having Turkey bravely confront her past in a manner that Germany did with the Holocaust, South Africa did with apartheid, and the United States is attempting to do with the legacy of slavery and, I might say the destruction of Native Americans, would be a major step in the healing of the breach and the maturation of Turkey into a democratic civilization.

It is of no help to my Turkish colleagues and to other democratic forces in Turkey nor indeed to the good name and honor of the United States to have the President use half truths and euphemisms when speaking about the Armenian genocide.

Thank you for allowing me to testify, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Melson appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Dr. Melson, thank you very much for your testimony.

Ambassador Aktan.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR GÜNDÜZ SUPHI AKTAN, FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

Mr. AKTAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for inviting me to this hearing. It is a privilege and honor for me to address this Subcommittee in my personal capacity as a private citizen, although the topic is not a pleasant one.

The question before us is too complex to treat in 5 minutes. Therefore, I will not dwell on its historical aspects. Let me stress, however, that the Turkish people firmly believe that what happened to the Armenians was not genocide. It was a relocation to other parts of the Ottoman Empire of only the eastern Anatolian Armenians away from a war zone in which they were collaborating with invading Russian armies with the aim of creating an inde-

pendent state of their own in areas where they were only a minority by ethnically cleansing the majority Turks.

This tragedy occurred during the war between the Ottoman Empire and Tsarist Russia, which was greatly aided by the Armenians, a long inter-communal struggle between Armenian irregulars, revolutionaries, and defending Muslim civilians, as well as a thoroughly disorganized relocation of the Armenian population under the exceptionally difficult conditions of the day. As a result, many Armenians were killed, but many more Muslims and Turks perished as well.

The Turkish people will be deeply offended by this resolution, which practically accuses them of being genocidal. They will also find it disrespectful of their unmentioned millions of dead.

Were it to be adopted, I am afraid, it would have two immediate effects, one on Turco-Armenian relations, the other on Turco-American relations. Under the tremendous pressure of public opinion, the Turkish Government will be compelled to toughen its foreign policy toward Armenia.

Turkey earnestly rejoiced at Armenia's independence after the demise of the Soviet Union. As a token of friendship, the Turkish Government provided wheat to the Armenian people, who were then in dire need. I feel personally gratified to have played a modest part, together with Mr. Libaridan, in accomplishing this Turkish gesture of fellowship.

Turkey integrated Armenia into the Black Sea Corporation Council, although it is not a littoral state. Despite the so-called embargo, Turkish Governments have deliberately turned a blind eye to the porous nature of the common borders through which vital provisions reach the Armenians.

Armenia, however, maintains its occupation of 20 percent of the Azerbaijan—, creating 1 million refugees, with the help of Russian protection purchased at the cost of its newly gained independence.

Now by insisting on the recognition of the genocide, the Armenian leadership and the diaspora will finally silence the few remaining voices favorable to them in Turkey. This would effectively result in sealing the borders. Given the situation in Armenia, this attitude of the Armenian Government is akin to suicide.

However, I am personally more worried about Turkey's relations with the United States. A strategic cooperation has been developed over the decades with great care and patience on the basis of mutual interest. The first casualty of this resolution would be Cyprus, for the United States will immediately lose its honest broker status in the eyes of the Turkish public opinion, and Mr. Moses, the President's special representative, may no longer find any interlocutor.

Turkey and the United States closely cooperate in the Caucasus, especially in the field of energy, which has recently acquired great importance due to the rapidly increasing oil prices. In the region where Armenia is situated, the potential for cooperation with a country that considers Turks genocidal will be bound to remain severely limited.

But above all, our cooperation on Iraq will inevitably suffer. The support for American policy in northern Iraq, already slim, will dwindle immediately for the Turkish people already feel enough ef-

fects of the economic embargo with Iraq which costs them billions of dollars.

Why continue to make this sacrifice? This would mean the military base at Incirlik would no longer be used by United States planes, war planes, to bomb northern Iraq. Without air power to deter Saddam Hussein from regaining the control of the region, this could very well be the end of the INC.

Mr. Chairman, the crucial question is why are the Armenians not content with the word tragedy or catastrophe or disaster and insist on genocide? I am not a jurist, but I served as Ambassador to the United Nations section in Geneva where questions related to humanitarian law or the law of war are also dealt with.

In connection with the former Yugoslavia, we thoroughly discussed the Genocide Convention. What determines genocide is not necessarily the number of casualties or the cruelty of the persecution, but, as you said several times, the intent to destroy a group.

Historically, the intent to destroy a group, a race, has emerged only as the culmination of racism as in the case of anti-semitism and the Shoah. Turks have never harbored any anti-Armenianism. Killing even of civilians in a war waged for territory is not genocide. The victims of genocide must be totally innocent. In other words, they must not fight for something tangible like land, but be killed by the victimizers simply because of their membership in a specific group. Obviously both Turks and Armenians fought for land upon which to build their independent states. I think this dispute may go on forever. We must find a way out.

Therefore, I would propose the following. Since genocide is an imprescriptible crime, the Republic of Armenian can have recourse to the International Court of Justice and may, therefore, ask the Court to determine according to Article 9 of the Convention whether it was genocide. But, I know that they cannot do it. They do not have a legally sustainable case. That is why they seek resolutions which are legally null and void.

One last point, Mr. Chairman. I would humbly suggest that all the references to Great Britain in the text of the resolution be dropped, for in July of this year the British Government declared in the House of Lords that, "In the absence of unequivocable evidence to show that the Ottoman administration took a specific decision to eliminate the Armenians, the British Governments have not recognized the event of 1915 and 1916 as genocide."

Let us not forget that Great Britain was occupying power after the first world war, and the Ottoman archives were at its disposition.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Aktan appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Ambassador, thank you for your testimony.

Let me now ask Dr. McCarthy if he would make his presentation.

STATEMENT OF JUSTIN MCCARTHY, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Mr. MCCARTHY. I do not know if I can be heard or not. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your invitation and the invitation of the Committee, even though I know we have not always agreed on these issues.

I would like to ask if I could address a couple of things that have come up as well as summarize my statements, and if my whole statement could be read into the record.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Without objection. Your statement and that of all of our witnesses will be made a part of the record.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Thank you.

A number of times this afternoon it has been alleged that the Turkish Government should simply accept what has been called the history of genocide. The one thing I wish to say about that is it assumes Turkey is simply a government that has a policy of hiding something; that it is a government that has decided for one reason or another not to admit something that their ancestors have done.

I want to state that there are millions of men and women in Turkey who remember their parents' and grandparents' accounts of the terrible events of World War I. These accounts are very similar to the accounts that are told by Armenians, so similar, in fact, that if you were to change the names you would not be able to tell which was which.

Like the Armenians, Turks were killed by their enemies. In their case, the enemies were often Armenians. Like the Armenians, the Turks suffered forced migration in which great numbers died. The Turks and other Muslims lost nearly 3 million souls, and, like the Armenians, they have not forgotten those losses.

The difference between the Germans and admitting what the Germans have done, and the Americans and admitting what the Americans have done to American Indians and others and the Turkish position is very simply that the Turks do not believe that they had done it.

Not only that, but they primarily remember the evils that were done to their own people, just as the Armenians do, because people have a tendency when they remember the past or when they tell their children about what was done is not to admit what crimes they have committed, but only to talk about the crimes that have been done to them.

I believe that this resolution attacks one of our allies without affording those allies a chance to tell their own side of history. I believe that the Turks will not receive this well, but I do not particularly concern myself with all of the issues of how the Turkish Government would act, although I believe those fears are probably real.

What I am concerned about is the way in which the Turks on the street, the ordinary Turks, as well as the government, will react to this. I am concerned because I do not believe that the statements in the document are historically true.

For example, House Resolution 398 quotes from General Harbord, an American General admittedly, but it does not mention that General Harbord has been proven to have lied and to have

suppressed evidence from his own staff that demonstrated that Armenians had engaged in mass murder of Turks and Kurds.

Adolf Hitler has been quoted numerous times today as if Adolf Hitler needed any help from Middle Eastern history before he could put in place his evil plans. He has been quoted as if there is universal agreement about what he said when in fact there is not. In fact, there is much scholarly debate about what Adolf Hitler supposedly said.

These things have to be debated, but the resolution ignores the need for this debate. The statement that 2 million Armenians were deported and 1.5 million were killed is a bizarre inflation. Immediately after the war, Armenian representatives estimated that approximately 600,000 Armenians died in the period, a number that I for very different reasons agree with. Now, the figure seems to have risen to 1.5 million dead, which is slightly more than the entire Armenian population of Ottoman Anatolia. Where do these figures come from? They are surely not the result of historical inquiry.

The Turkish courts martial that convicted members of wartime governments of the Ottoman Empire are quoted. In fact, they were not, as was stated earlier, courts martial convened by the Turkish Republic and government. They were convened by a quisling government set up under the watchful eye of the British and other allies who occupied Istanbul and that were interested in only making them happy. This was not a Turkish Republican court, unlike what was said. They were the enemies of the Turkish Republic. Indeed, the witnesses had no right to defend themselves. There was no evidence taken. We could go into this for quite some time, but I will not go into the details because it is a historically contentious area, but I will say this. If the resolution was going to quote this court that was trying to make the British happy, at least it could, also state that the British themselves, who had control of the archives, control of the government, and sent their people in to search through everything they could find for evidence of an Ottoman force against the Armenians, for evidence of an Ottoman order to kill the Armenians, the British could find nothing and had to admit that they could not do so.

Now, when these things are not stated this gives a more than one sided story. The resolution states that the national archives of Turkey contain records about these courts martial, which is true, but the resolution might also add that these same archives contain voluminous evidence of Armenian actions against Muslims. You cannot quote from the archives in one place and not mention other documents in the archives.

Also, it is very difficult to accept statements such as those of the allied governments of 1915. If you say those things, you should also mention that these governments were at war with the Ottoman Empire. You should mention that allied propaganda bureaus deliberately created a damning image of Turks to counter anti-Russian propaganda from the Central Powers. It was well known in the United States that Russia was persecuting its Jews, and this was reported in American newspapers against the Allies, of whom the Russian monarchy, or the Russian czardom, were members. The British Propaganda Bureau came up with the Armenian horrors as

a job that could be used against the central powers, and they did their propaganda very well.

Now, I cannot doubt, and all can accept, that the concept of an Armenian genocide has been widely accepted. The various statements of political leaders listed in the resolution demonstrate this. This is partly due to the fact that in Europe and in the United States there were very few Turks, very few people to defend their ancestors. Religious and ethnic prejudice played their part, as they most definitely did in examples of Ambassador Morgenthau's activities, which I would be glad to quote at some point.

I cannot doubt that that is the case, that people do accept this. Obviously there are many who do, but in America it is only in our lifetime that there have even been scholars who have had the capability of using Ottoman sources to study Ottoman history. It is no accident that the denial of the Armenian genocide has come when those scholars commenced their work.

The Turkish Government has only recently done what it could to defend its own history. Actually, the Turkish Government did its best not to bring up these matters because they were afraid of the tremendous animosity among their own people who had lost their land, whose parents were killed, whose animosity was exactly the same as the animosity we see among Americans.

The Turkish Government did not want continued wars. So, unfortunately for the cause of history, it kept very quiet about this, and only recently has it begun to open archives. That is partly what has caused the new resurgence in the study of this subject.

Do I expect that the Subcommittee and the Congress will accept my word on historical events? I do not, nor should they accept the word of others. Such matters should be considered by historians who marshal facts, analyze sources and engage in scholarly debate, historians who do not put forth only one side of the argument.

Congress, with limited time to consider the pressing problems of our country, cannot be expected to read all the literature, then come to conclusions on historical events. Yet in fairness that is exactly what must be done before historical judgments are made.

I agree completely with those who have stated that it would be good if, rather than simply putting Turkey forth as an example of genocide, that all of the genocides that have taken place in history also be taught to our Foreign Service. I hope that they are.

The Irish potato famine, Rwanda, the murder and starvation of Ukrainians by Stalin, Serbian death camps—all of these events should be mentioned. If you only mention what happened to Armenians in Turkey, what are the Turks to think? They are being singled out for condemnation, unjustly censored for something they believe they did not do, when those whose guilt is agreed upon goes unmentioned.

If the Foreign Service of the United States is to be instructed on man's inhumanity to man, would it not be better to instruct in all of the many examples of inhumanity? If this were to be done, justice would demand that the curricula include not only the sufferings of the Armenians, but also the sufferings of the Turks.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McCarthy appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Dr. McCarthy, thank you for your testimony.

Dr. Smith.

STATEMENT OF ROGER W. SMITH, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT, COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. It is a privilege to be here with you.

Let me begin by putting a human face on the issues we have been asked to discuss. Did the killing of the Armenians beginning in 1915 constitute genocide, and what suggestions can be made to increase awareness among American Foreign Service officers and others of the continuing significance of the Armenian genocide?

I count among my friends a retired career U.S. Ambassador. He was an ambassador to two African states. When he heard about an Armenian genocide resolution in Congress, he asked me what was the point. The events had happened a long time ago, he said. In the 19th century, he asked? What happened may not have been genocide anyway. In any case, it was time to forget the events and move on.

I cannot think of a better example of why the training that the resolution envisages is so important. He is an astute man, yet he had no inkling that it was with the Armenian genocide that the international law of crimes against humanity began, that the subsequent failure to carry through with the domestic and international trials contributed to the culture of impunity that made genocide feasible, nor did he have any understanding of the costs that denial of genocide by Turkey since 1915 has inflicted upon the world.

Lack of respect for the victims, sending signals to would be perpetrators that they can commit genocide, then deny it and get away with it and cutting us off because these things that are denied get consigned to oblivion, cutting us off from knowledge that might help prevent future genocides.

Nor do I think that my friend realized the extent to which giving in to Turkey's denial out of political expediency prevents Turkey from assuming responsibility for its own history, making it difficult for that nation to transcend its past, yet we have seen as recently as the Rwandan genocide that there has been much confusion about how to describe the clearest case of genocide since the Holocaust.

Therefore, I would suggest that officials dealing with human rights issues and genocide should receive training in the nature and history of genocide, become aware of the means of prevention and the opportunities that have been lost and be exposed to the arguments and logic of genocide denial.

They would need, as many of the speakers have said, to consider a range of cases, but prominent among them would be the Armenian genocide. The Armenian case I think, as Professor Melson has also suggested, is the prototype for much of the genocide that we have seen since 1945. It was territorial, driven by nationalism and carried out with a relative low level of technology.

There are also powerful resources for the study of the Armenian genocide and the reports of the American officials at the time, nota-

bly Ambassador Henry Morgenthau and Consulate Leslie Davis, who made it quite clear that the Young Turk Government was pursuing a policy not of wartime relocation, but of extermination.

The evidence for this being a centrally planned, systematic genocide comes from many sources and consists of different types of evidence which converge in a single direction. The evidence of intent is backed by explicit Ottoman documents.

One of the leaders, for example, of the special organization that carried out the genocide sent a telegram to a regional official, "Are the Armenians who are being dispatched from there being liquidated? Are those harmful persons whom you inform us you are exiling and banishing being exterminated, or are they being merely dispatched and exiled? Answer explicitly."

Intent is also backed by the outcome of the actions against the Armenians. It is hardly conceivable that over a million persons could have died due to even a badly flawed effort at resettlement. Moreover, the pattern of destruction was repeated over and over in different parts of Turkey, many of them far from any war zone. Some of you may know the story of Musadalh. It was along the Mediterranean, not along the Russian front. Such repetition could only have come from a central design.

Further, the reward structure was geared toward destruction of the Christian minority. Provincial Governors and officials who refuse to carry orders to annihilate the Armenians were summarily replaced. Armenian men were drafted into the Army, set to work as pack animals and subsequently killed. Leaders were arrested and executed. Then the deportations of women, children and the elderly into the deserts of Syria and Iraq began.

The American Ambassador Morgenthau immediately recognized that the forced marches into the desert and the atrocities that accompanied them were a new form a massacre. "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were simply giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well, and in their conversations with me they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

We have heard, for example, that the reports from the British and the Russians and the Americans and so on were prejudiced, but let us look then at the testimony of the Ambassadors to Germany and Austria, representatives of governments allied with Turkey, who also quickly realized what was taking place.

As early as July 1915, the German Ambassador Wangenheim reported to Berlin, "Turks began deportations from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out demonstrate that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey."

By January 1917, his successor reported, "The policy of extermination has largely been achieved. The current leaders of Turkey fully subscribe to this policy."

Mr. Chairman, I would conclude that the charge of genocide is certainly sustained. There is ample evidence of it. The intent is indicated by a number of different forms of evidence coming from different sources, and it is high time that the President, the State De-

partment and other officials in the American Government use the word genocide because that is truly what it was.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you very much, Dr. Smith.

Let me ask, Dr. Melson. You made reference to some Turkish academic scholars who seem to agree that this was a genocide. Are you at liberty to discuss who they were and what their findings were?

Mr. MELSON. Mr. Chairman, I would prefer not to name names. I do not know enough about the current situation in Turkey, and I am not sure how safe they would be if I mentioned these names.

However, you might want to contact Professor Ronald Suny of the University of Chicago, who organized this conference, and he could give you more specifics than I can.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I appreciate that.

A thread running through your response is something that I certainly glean from Ambassador Aktan. In all candor, Ambassador, your testimony was a threat, and I say that with all due respect.

You have come to this Subcommittee, and we appreciate your being here, but you have laid out a number of areas where you assert there would be a deleterious effect on U.S. foreign policy and what I would perceive to be a joint foreign policy objective that inures to the benefit of Turkey as well, with regard to Cyprus, the Caucasus, and Iraq.

Let me say that that, frankly, makes me more suspicious of the government's efforts to suppress this information, the fact that you, a very, very distinguished diplomat, would come here and threaten the Congress and the U.S. Government, that if we pass this resolution that simply states something that we truly believe to be true based on information from a variety of sources, one big, fat threat just hangs over the horizon.

You know, the U.S. Government and I, too, have been very supportive of Turkey. And I also believe that human rights abuses, including current abuses of torture, should never be swept under the table because we do not want them to get in the way of the relationship.

Turkey has been a friend and ally and a very important part in the underbelly of NATO, but that does not and should not create a prior restraint or in any way to mitigate our efforts to speak in support of people in Turkey today who are being tortured, many of whom are Turkish people, journalists who have spoken out and have written what they believe to be the truth about the current regime. I mean, you even spoke of retaliation—suicide I think was the word you used—vis-a-vis the Armenian people.

OK. You have been blunt, but let me be equally blunt. We may not get this resolution passed, but I think it is certainly a clear indication of your government's view, or if you are not representing the government, of your view as an individual. Threats are not helpful in this dialogue.

This is being put forward. I am not beholden to either the Turks or the Armenians. I look at the facts of the case, the fact that it was, in my view, the first major genocide of this century and the fact that the information overwhelmingly points to it.

I mean, I would ask you, Mr. Ambassador. Do you believe that Ambassador Morgenthau's story is accurate? Inaccurate? Hyperbole? Lies? What is your view of it? I am sure you have read it.

Mr. AKTAN. First of all, I wish to thank you once again for inviting me to this hearing. Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to threaten anybody. If you go through the——

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Would the gentleman suspend? Retaliation and the negative consequences in a whole host of areas was cited.

Mr. AKTAN. But if you go through the text carefully, and I am sure that you will do it in the future, you will see that under the pressure, tremendous pressure of the Turkish public opinion, the government will feel compelled to do this, to do that. That is not a threat.

I am trying to explain the mood in Turkey, the atmosphere in Turkey, the political atmosphere. Turkish people cannot accept it, and the governments, whether we like it or not, the Turkish Government is a democratic government. It is under the pressure of the Turkish public opinion. It cannot do anything against the Turkish public opinion, and it is not a threat. It will feel forced to do it. That is very unfortunate, but that is—I mean, the frankness requires me to say it.

Now regarding Mr. Morgenthau. Well, I read several things about his book, and one monograph prepared by scholars says that he has never written a book, that there was a ghost writer who had very little knowledge about Turkey. I am not a historian. I cannot say anything authoritative on this topic. Therefore, perhaps the historians can indicate it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Let me ask Dr. Melson or Dr. Smith, and then Dr. McCarthy. What is your view of Ambassador Morgenthau? Do you believe his book was ghost written? Even if he had a ghost writer, does it not embody his beliefs as to what he observed as U.S. Ambassador to Turkey at the time?

Mr. SMITH. The work and the historian that the Ambassador referred to was Dr. Heath Lowry, whom I exposed as ghost writing letters for the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, trying to discredit and decrease information about the Armenian genocide.

Lowry, in that book called "The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," argues that it really is a pack of lies from beginning to end, and as far as a ghost writer, I mean, many prominent people write books with others, and Morgenthau did dictate it. It was edited, but he approved what was said there in sum.

I think that the other thing that we can say about it is that much of what Morgenthau reports is reported by Leslie Davis and other American Consulates. It is confirmed by many missionaries, some of them German, some of them American, and so there is a great deal of evidence there in sum, so whether it was edited and helped along by a professional writer, I think that is not really the essential issue. It is the truthfulness of the text, and I think the text is essential truthful.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Dr. McCarthy.

Mr. MCCARTHY. I do not think there is any doubt that the book was ghost written. They have the checks that were written and

things like that to the ghost writer, so I do not think anyone doubts that it was ghost written.

I agree completely with Dr. Smith that this does not cast particular doubt one way or the other on the book. It would have been nice if he had said "as told to" or something like that, which he did not do. He did not try to hide it, but again the problems that I have with Ambassador Morgenthau are two.

One is that many of the things that Ambassador Morgenthau reported, for instance, conversations he had with Talat Pasha, the Minister in charge of what he called—well, was later called the genocide. These things were not reported to State at the time. When he had conversations with the Prime Minister, which he found out years later he remembered having had, he did not report them to State at the time.

This seems to me highly unusual and makes me question what he said. Usually, when an ambassador meets with a prime minister or minister of the interior, he will report it to his government and report what was said.

Undoubtedly, many of the things that Ambassador Morgenthau reported were completely accurate. Many of the murders that took place that he reported were accurate, although they were reported much better by others, since Morgenthau was a rather florid stylist.

He did exaggerate. He did primarily because, I am sorry to say, the man was definitely a racist. If you have read his book, as you have indicated you have, then you read the section on "good blood" and "bad blood" and superior types of humanity and inferior types. This is something that is very distasteful to a modern reader, but perhaps more acceptable in his time.

I find that the main problem is, to recapitulate, not that what he writes is completely wrong, but simply that he never mentions the other side of the story. For instance, we know that in the city of Van when the Armenians took the city that they killed every single Muslim man, woman and child in that city. We know that Kurdish people from outside the city were rounded up in a giant bowl outside of Zeve, which is a village outside of there. They were surrounded by sharpshooters and machine gunners, and were all killed except for one small boy.

We can see the monuments. The people remember the stories. I have spoken to that boy. He now unfortunately is dead, but many years ago I spoke with him. We know all these things took place, and we know that Ambassador Morgenthau somehow only noticed dead Christians. Only Christians counted, even though he himself was not one.

It is fascinating that he failed to report what was happening to the Jews in the area. I am afraid we have to keep in mind, too, Ambassador Morgenthau deeply wished to be Secretary of State, had been thwarted once in that. He did not feel he could succeed by advancing a position that was not popular in America.

Mr. MELSON. If I may just add to the conversation, Ambassador Morgenthau based much of his testimony on consular reports and missionary reports directed to him, but there is a larger issue that has been raised by my colleague, Professor McCarthy, and also by

Ambassador Aktan, and that is the suffering of the Turkey population.

Here you might be surprised or they might be surprised to discover that those of us who studied the Armenian genocide recognize the suffering of the Turkish population. There is no question of denying the sufferings of the Turkish population, and indeed the Turks were massacred and were ethnically cleansed before the Armenian genocide, and here I am talking about the Caucasus, and I am talking about the Balkans, where hundreds of thousands of Turkish refugees were driven out of those areas as they became independent and fell out of the Ottoman Empire.

This raises a larger issue, and the issue is this. We are asking the Turkish Government and through the Turkish Government the Turkish people to do something indeed very, very difficult, and it is this. This is a government and a people that have a history of victimization. People who themselves have been victimized and who trace their identity to the Young Turks, to the period of 1908 to 1923, have a great difficulty in facing up to the possibility that the Young Turks themselves were able to be victimizers.

There is a psychological issue involved here. There is a moral and psychological issue. We are asking for the Turkish Government and for the Turkish people to look back with a certain amount of courage through their past.

We know that the Germans were able to do that. Now, the Germans were able to do that, of course, after thorough occupation by the allies after the Second World War. I suspect if not for that occupation, the Germans may not have been able to do that, and so we are asking something extraordinary of the Turks, but what we are asking is the truth.

We are asking them to face up to the truth, to face up to their own history, so that the relationships between the Armenians and the Turks can move on to a different footing and for the Turks themselves and for Turkey itself to join the family of democratic nations, and there might even be practical consequences. There were discussions of practical consequences before.

I suspect that one of the reasons the Turks are having so much trouble getting into the European community, the European Union, is precisely because of the human rights issues and especially their denial of the Armenian genocide.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I would like to ask your response then, Dr. Melson, to the question raised by Professor McCarthy about how many Turks died at the hands of Armenians and whether it is a distortion of history to single out one side as guilty of genocide. Were the scale and the severity of atrocities on both sides equal?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I think one needs to make a distinction here. First of all, the policy of the government. It was a policy of the Ottoman government. The Armenians, they had local head men and things of the sort and sum, but did not really have the power of the state behind them in sum.

Various writers, including some of them from the German diplomats, talk about a defensive violence, that if the Armenians were attacked they did defend themselves in sum, so one has to look at that sort of violence in sum.

There is also often a commingling there between the Armenians, who were with the Russian Empire and who were, of course, waging war against the Ottoman Empire in sum, so it is hard sometimes to distinguish between which group of Armenians we are talking about, those in Turkey or those in Russia in sum, but I think the other issue that has been raised, and a number of speakers have made this point as well, a lot of Muslims died.

Now, there is a big difference between dying and being killed, being intentionally killed, and people say, revisionists of the Holocaust say, more Germans died in World War II than Jews did. If that is true, we still have to say but what is the difference there in sum.

So I think that there undoubtedly were some Armenian revolutionaries. There were some who went over to the side of the Russians. There were killings at the local level. Some of it was defensive. Some of it was not in sum, but I would not see what any Armenian violence did as constituting a kind of genocide. It was not the scale. It was sporadic, and most of it was defensive.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Dr. McCarthy, I would like to ask you a question. You heard Dr. Smith testify a moment ago that the Ambassadors of Germany and Austria and representatives of governments aligned with Turkey also quickly realized what was taking place.

As early as July 1915, the German ambassador reported to Berlin, "Turks began deportations from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out demonstrate that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey." That is the German ambassador.

By January 1917, his successor reported, and I quote from Dr. Smith's testimony quoting the Ambassador, "The policy of extermination has largely been achieved. The current leaders of Turkey fully subscribe to this policy."

If it was just a matter of British or American propaganda, why would the allies of Turkey, Germany and Austria make such statements?

Mr. MCCARTHY. Well, I hope I have made it plain that it was not purely a matter of British and other propaganda; that there was, indeed, tremendous loss of life among the Armenians.

With all of these things——

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. If I could just interrupt, and then I will yield right back to you.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Of course.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. It makes the statement. Do you have any reason to believe these statements are inaccurate from the——

Mr. MCCARTHY. That the statements were not made? I believe the first one was slightly different than what you quoted. I may be mistaken. I believe he did not—well, again, the general tenor of the statements I am sure was made by Wangenheim especially.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. But, "The government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey." That is from an ambassador aligned with——

Mr. MCCARTHY. I do not believe that is. Is that how the quote reads?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. I mean, I do not have the documentation with me . Well, I actually do have the reference here. The quotation is drawn from the German archives. This is not from Morgenthau, but the German archives.

Mr. MCCARTHY. I believe the concept, and again unfortunately this is why I say historians have to argue these things, because we are not sitting here with our documents, and we are not trying to translate from German written in fraktur script.

I believe what he was talking about eradicating the Armenian presence in Turkey. I may be mistaken. I believe that that is the structure of the German, which is quite a different thing than saying killing. There is quite a different concept behind the words, but again I do not have them in front of me.

I think if you are going to say these things you have to take into consideration all sorts of prejudices. You also have to quote the entire area of what the Germans have written, not simply small quotes. You have to address where they talk about what happened with the invasion by the Russians, what happened with the Armenians taking Van where they more or less support the Turkish case. You cannot just take a couple things out of quotes.

When you talk about the deportations, we have to mention the fact that hundreds of thousands of Armenians who were deported did survive. We have to mention the fact that they did not go to the desert, as is always stated, but they went into the areas primarily in northern Syria. Also, that Cemal Pasha, who ended up being killed by Armenians in the end, actually fed people with military stores.

From Armenian sources there are, if I remember right, and I am not sure I do remember the numbers right, 250,000 who survived. We have to keep that in mind. We also have to keep in mind many things that have been said today.

Most of the Armenians who died were not deported. Of the Armenians who died, at least as many ran from the Ottoman armies into the Caucasus as the Muslims ran from the Russian armies. We act as if these people were all deported by Ottoman columns. They were not. They died in much greater numbers by simply running from armies. They did not go the way the Ottoman sent them. They went the opposite way to the north. This has not been mentioned.

We talked about Musa Dagi. Musa Dagi was undoubtedly a case of Armenian rebellion against the Ottomans that the Ottomans tried to put down. Surely, not even after reading Franz Werfel's very fanciful book on the subject can one deny these things.

The problem is these are extensive problems. They need tremendous documentation. They need an incredible amount of work. We have to sit down. We have to work on it, so I suggest that what the Congress might consider is exactly the kind of thing that Dr. Melson was alluding to. Turks, Americans, Armenians of various kinds from all over the world, we should be getting together in a great Congress. We should get together over a long period of time and look over all these things and argue them in a scholarly way.

If our government or any other government was to support something, it should be that. We should be working to try to examine these issues in ways that are impartial or at least two sided.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Let me just respond very briefly. Destroy or eradicate. I mean, "eradicate the Armenian race." If that is the actual word as translated, that certainly suggests a genocide.

I mean, you say survived. Survived what, a campaign or a reign of terror? I mean, why were they making——

Mr. MCCARTHY. They lived under—they were taken to Syria under horrible conditions. I do not doubt this for a moment. It is hard to tell, but approximately half of those who were deported lived through the war, and they lived under Ottoman control. They were not under the control of the British or anyone else. Once they got to where they were taking them, they survived.

I am not saying they were happy, and I am completely opposed to this as government policy. It was a bad thing to do, but to say that these people were involved in genocide, you have to ignore the fact that they were completely under Ottoman control, alongside Ottoman soldiers, and nobody shot them. Nobody killed them. They lived through the war. All the Armenians in Istanbul and Izmir and Edirne and many other cities completely under the control of the government lived throughout the war.

The equivalent in the Holocaust would be to say that the Germans killed none of the Jews in Berlin. This is ridiculous. It could not have been called a genocide because if those that were most under Ottoman control were not killed, how can it conceivably be a genocide?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. As we all know, genocides often unfold over time. Even those who are killed in the Warsaw ghetto at first thought that they were going to be spared, and then they were being told when they were put onto cattle cars that they were being taken to new jobs elsewhere, only to find over time that it was a systematic extermination.

I just want to ask my final question, Dr. Smith. Is it your testimony that your quotes regarding those Ambassadors is in context? Out of context? Is it accurate?

Mr. SMITH. I think it is in context, and I think it is accurate. The translations to English were done by a person who speaks and writes German. It is possible to check the accuracy of those, by getting the copies of the original.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. If you could get back to us with the copies, we will take it to the Library of Congress. They have an expert translation service.

Mr. SMITH. Of course.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Because I think when questions are raised along the lines of well, that is not accurate, or that was ghost written, or this, that and the other thing, it creates a certain impression——

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey [continuing]. Which is unfair, if, especially in your case, you believe this to be true and accurate.

I would like to yield to Mr. Sherman for any questions he might have.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would point out that Ambassador Aktan has pointed out that there could be some practical disadvantages from passing this resolution.

I have sat with Chris Smith and this Committee for almost 4 years, and again and again he has urged upon us that we respect human rights, that we call them as we see them and that we give a recognition of human rights a high priority in our foreign policy.

I would be very surprised if this Committee would back down and not recognize the Armenian genocide simply because there might be some practical disadvantage for recognizing the truth.

There are in fact very powerful economic forces operating on the U.S. Congress that have prevented the recognition of the Armenian genocide until perhaps this year, and it may be fortuitous for a number of reasons that we are able to get the support of House leadership to bring this to the floor in the ordinary course of business and pass it this year.

I am a little concerned about the Ambassador's comments first about the friendship of the Turkish Government to the newly independent Armenia. Blockade comes to mind as not a synonym of friendship. I am also—well, my people have a term, chutzpa. Now with Leiberman becoming famous it is getting a lot of use. It is defined as the Menendez brothers asking for mercy from the court because, after all, they are orphans. That is to say they killed their parents, so now they are orphans.

Ambassador, you do indicate that the Turkish cause in the United States is put at a disadvantage because there are many Armenian Americans. The Armenian Americans I grew up with were in the United States because their parents and grandparents had fled this genocide, so it is not a coincidence that there are many Armenian Americans living amongst us today. It is in the case of many families a direct result of the genocide against them.

Professor McCarthy or Dr. McCarthy, I think you are right to say that in designing a training program for our State Department we should not only focus on this genocide, but on so many others. It is necessary that we bring up this one in large part because of the denial, but we already have a policy at the State Department of testing those who apply for their college and grad school educations.

I think that any competent grad school or even college program in the United States for Foreign Service officers would include a knowledge of these other genocides, but I would happily work with and I think the authors of this resolution would happily work with those who would want to lengthen it by identifying other genocides in the history of this planet that should also be part of State Department staff education.

Ambassador, I am still struggling to understand why the Turkish Government has such great difficulty in recognizing this genocide. You captured it a bit in your presentation where you said the people of today's modern Turkey do not want to view themselves as being genocidal.

I would ask you. Do you think that today's Germans or today's Americans should be regarded as genocidal people when in fact the ancestors of both did commit genocide, in one case against the Jewish people and another case against many identified North American tribes?

Mr. AKTAN. Thank you. You see, Mr. Congressman, you believe that it is genocide, and I believe that it is not a genocide, so there is disagreement between us.

Mr. SHERMAN. But it would——

Mr. AKTAN. What we can do is as I suggested. In fact, it is not a suggestion. I challenge the Armenian Government to take the issue to the International Court of Justice at the Hague because according to the Convention the only competent body is the International Court of Justice at the Hague. Let us see whether it is genocide or not. Then it will be easier for us to accept it because the competent body can pass a judgment on this historical fact. It is an imprescriptible crime. That is to say whenever it has been committed, it can be tried.

Let us have the International Court of Justice to interpret the treaty; that is to say the treaty of genocide, and come up with its own view because I know that I cannot convince you, but be sure that you cannot convince me. I mean, when you talk about denial of genocide I would reciprocate there is a denial of a genocide of the Muslim population there, and no one mentions it.

I mean, I very carefully followed the film. There was one word, pushing the Turks from the Balkan Peninsula. The word is "pushing." My family is one of those people which has been pushed. As a result, two-thirds of the family has been massacred.

If the Armenian question were genocide then Turks must have been subjected to various genocides in the Balkans and in the Caucasus or in Russia. No one mentions that.

Mr. SHERMAN. Well, there is no doubt——

Mr. AKTAN. Can I make one more point?

Mr. SHERMAN. Well, I think you misinterpreted my point. I was not trying to engage you in a debate did the genocide occur or did it not occur, but rather to understand what would be the implication for today's modern Turkish nation if, as I am sure you do not think it would occur, either this Congress or the International Court at the Hague were to determine that what happened to the Armenian people was indeed genocide.

Putting aside, you know, what the historical facts are, do you think, because we agree on the historical facts in North America. We agree on the historical facts in the Third Reich. Do you think it is appropriate to refer to today's modern Germans or modern Americans as genocidal?

Mr. AKTAN. I cannot answer. I mean, it is against my profession to talk about other people.

Now, if there is anti-semitism for one millennium in a country as a result of which a genocide is committed and accepted—committed before the eyes of the world and accepted by the country in question—it is all right, but in our case there has never been anti-Armenian feeling, hatred or anything. We lived together peacefully for 800 years. This was the reason why they were called loyal subjects, not the others. I mean, the Greeks were different, but Armenians were the loyal subjects.

Now, what you think is very interesting because you say that there are facts and I have to accept them, but there is disagreement over these facts.

Mr. SHERMAN. I asked you a simple question about Germans and Americans, and I guess you have declined to answer.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I thank my good friend for yielding.

Mr. Ambassador, let me ask you a question. Many United Nations conventions, and perhaps all of them, only create jurisdiction when a convention enters into force and a particular country ratifies that convention and becomes a party to it.

For example, just recently when Mr. Pinochet was held to account for the torture convention, it was only for those tortures that occurred after Chile became part of that torture convention.

Perhaps any of the panelists will want to comment, and I think this is something we need to get to the bottom of. Article 9 of the genocide convention talks about disputes between contracting parties and the like, but again the convention on the crime of genocide only came into effect in 1951.

I do not know—and perhaps we can seek further elaboration on this from the proper authorities—whether or not there is any jurisdiction, whether or not this is just a nice statement that if they make a declaration you are willing to live with it. But again the crimes occurred before the convention and the statute was in effect.

You know, a similar issue is being raised with the World Court, the Rome statute, about whether or not countries that do not become a part of it will be held to account under its jurisdiction. It is a very, very bitter dispute with the United States saying that unless we are a party to it we cannot be held to account.

It seems to me that, in the case of the genocide convention, you have a 1951 convention long after the events in question—as a matter of fact, part of the genesis of the convention itself was the Armenian genocide and, of course, the Holocaust committed against the Jews.

Do you know definitively whether or not the jurisdiction exists?

Mr. AKTAN. You see, Mr. Chairman, what is the meaning of imprescriptibility of a crime? What is the meaning of imprescriptibility of a crime? Imprescriptible means that whenever it has been committed it is a crime. It should be followed up, tried and condemned.

You see, genocide is different. It is not any kind of homicide. This is a different thing. You cannot compare it with the 3,000 men killed by the Chilean regime. This is something entirely different. Therefore, one has to try it. Let us try it. Let us check with the jurists. Let us check with the academics, and let us see it. I believe that it is possible.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Since you have recommended it, do you know if it is possible?

Mr. AKTAN. You see, no knowledge. I think, I believe it is possible.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Ambassador, I think your suggestion is quite interesting. Obviously the Court would have to either assert its jurisdiction, or perhaps there could be some agreement to jurisdiction, an agreement to apply the Court's attention to events that occurred long before it was created.

I do not see a reason for this Congress to wait for that action. You yourself pointed out with great satisfaction a decision by the British House of Lords. If the British House of Lords can speak to this issue years ago or months ago, certainly Congress can act in the next few weeks, but just because Congress provides some guidance to our State Department and also announces the policy of this Congress, at least the House of Representatives, that does not mean that the International Court at the Hague could focus on this issue.

Perhaps the other panelists could comment on that, but it would seem to be a useful exercise. Do you have any indication that the Turkish Government would cooperate with such a trial?

Mr. AKTAN. If you go through the text of Article 9, the Turkish Government or any other government has no choice but to cooperate because here there is no option of——

Mr. SHERMAN. Excuse me. Excuse me. Are you saying as the Chairman pointed out, the Court was created in the 1950's. These events occurred many years before. Do you have any indication that the Turkish Government would waive that issue and say——

Mr. AKTAN. I cannot, sir.

Mr. SHERMAN [continuing]. We are happy to have an inquiry into our policies nearly 40 years before the Court was created?

Mr. AKTAN. I cannot talk for the Turkish Government, but my understanding of this article is that Turkish Government cannot do otherwise but accept the case.

Mr. SHERMAN. Well, the Turkish Government could indeed argue jurisdiction. If the Chairman is correct, that would be a very strong argument. It is possible to waive jurisdiction.

I am much more conversant with private law than I am public international law, but a person who is wanted for a crime in a jurisdiction can voluntarily walk in and say here I am. You did not have jurisdiction over me, but I want my case tried. Likewise, the Turkish Government could consent to whatever modifications of the treaty that brought the Court into existence, could consent to those modifications to give the Court jurisdiction over events that occurred early in the twentieth century.

Is there any statement of leading circles in Turkey that indicates that the Turkish Government would be willing to have whatever changes are necessary made so that the Court would have jurisdiction?

Mr. AKTAN. Mr. Congressman, I retired about 3 years ago, so I have no idea what the government thinks about it. In fact, for the first time—I am making this proposal for the first time in my life, and the Turkish Government is not aware of it, so I cannot really engage the Turkish Government.

Mr. SHERMAN. So your suggestion is novel and personal and does not——

Mr. AKTAN. Exactly.

Mr. SHERMAN. And is not mirrored in scholarly or political articles appearing in Turkey?

Mr. AKTAN. No.

Mr. SHERMAN. Then you are to be commended for novel and creative thinking. I am just going to guess that there will be some in Turkey who take notice of your suggestion, and I hope they will

also take notice of at least one Member's belief that it is a suggestion that ought to be pursued and let us give the Court the jurisdiction, let all sides come forward with all evidence that they have, and I see at least three scholarly Americans here that could probably be of assistance to such a Court.

Mr. McCarthy, I see you have a comment.

Mr. MCCARTHY. I just want to say I think that even if the World Court or the Hague would not hear this case, or did not feel it should, I could see why it might think that they were not the responsible party.

I think that the idea that has come forward is a very good one. These things should be collected and researched. There should be a body. I myself would prefer a scholarly body, but I see that a legal body is perfectly acceptable as well. We are willing to accept that lawyers can be scholars.

That being the case, it seems to me that one of the things that this Congress or another body could do, and perhaps should do, is to call on the governments of the area. Not simply the government of Turkey, but also the government of Armenia, and hopefully the government of Russia, which is very involved in this as well, to provide scholars and hopefully some financing to attend these meetings. Also, open all archives that have not been opened, and provide translators for these meetings.

For instance, I can think of some areas of the Turkish archives that are not yet perfectly opened that should be, although it is much better than it was. The Russian archives have definitely many areas that are not open. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation archives are extremely important and are completely closed, to my knowledge.

All of these things be called for. Anyone who says they will not provide these things is making a statement about what they think really happened. All parties should be willing, if they are honest and if they are honorable about this. They should be willing to state yes, we wish to have this investigation take place. We wish it to be as public as possible, and we wish to open all archival materials to all scholars so that it can take place.

Mr. SHERMAN. I know that I do want to hear from Dr. Melson in a second, but I know that whether or not this resolution passes is not yet determined; that it may need to be modified a bit to get the support it needs to pass the House, and an amendment that called upon every entity to open its archives from Russia to the ARF, from Istanbul to Uravan, and that also called upon such actions to be taken by governments and by the court perhaps needing even treaty modifications to clearly grant jurisdiction to the International Court and the Hague over this matter and to call upon that court to investigate and try this matter.

If those additions to this resolution would secure its passage, I think the authors might very well appreciate that as an approach, but it would be helpful, of course, to have the slightest indication from the Turkish Government that it would go forward because——

Mr. MCCARTHY. Or the ARF, right?

Mr. SHERMAN. And the ARF as well. I would, frankly, be surprised if those on the Armenian side would not welcome an oppor-

tunity. I mean, they have worked very hard to get the U.S. Congress to recognize the genocide, and if we are successful in passing this resolution that will mean a lot, but nothing would—what would mean even more would be an adjudication after evidence, after open archives and with the participation of the Turkish Government, any decision by the International Court.

With all due respect to the House of Representatives, that would achieve the Armenian side's purpose of international recognition to a greater degree than even a resolution supported by the distinguished Chairman and even a resolution that is passed by this House.

Dr. Melson, did you have a comment?

Mr. MELSON. Yes, Mr. Sherman and Chairman Smith. I must say I am sitting here feeling somewhat frustrated and impatient. The reason is that of course we should not avoid any court looking at the evidence, and we can delay this issue for a world court or any other court to look at, but the point is that the evidence is in and has been in for many, many years.

In fact, some of the discussion that I am hearing now reminds me a little bit of the kind of trap that Holocaust deniers lay. They want a debate. They want further evidence. They want further discussion, as if the issue is open to further discussion, further evidence and so on.

We have tons of evidence. We have evidence in the American archives. We have evidence from Germany. We have evidence from France. We have evidence from the Vatican. We now have fresh evidence. Dr. Yair Auron has done work on evidence from the Israeli archives, from the Zionist agency at the time. Jamal Pasha was getting ready to deport the Armenians from Palestine and so on.

The issue of Van that Professor McCarthy raises, for me Van always stood as the Warsaw ghetto of the Armenian genocide. The people of Van were surrounded and were waiting to be massacred because they knew that the rest of the Armenian people were being massacred, and for a time they resisted, and they resisted successfully. Then the Russians came in, and there were atrocities committed by the Russians, and then the Turks returned, and they massacred the people of Van.

We do not really need a world court or any other court to look at these issues. The verdict is in. There was an Armenian genocide. Those of us who have studied it, who came to it without being Armenian chauvinists or Turkish chauvinists, who simply looked at it, at least I did, as a way of trying to shed some light on the Holocaust, are convinced that a genocide occurred, and we simply think that the truth needs to be told, period.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes. Doctor, if I could comment? As far as I am concerned, the evidence is in. As far as I am concerned, we should pass this resolution. I am not talking about delaying for a day the recognition by the House of Representatives that a genocide of the Armenian people occurred.

If, however, the International Court of Justice at the Hague can also review these matters and I believe reach the same conclusion, that would be even more authoritative. You cannot ask the International Court to render a verdict just because the evidence is in,

just because you have seen the evidence and I have seen the evidence.

A verdict from that court would require the procedure that Dr. McCarthy outlined and that I may have added a little bit to, and that is you would need a grant of jurisdiction to the court and an instruction to the court that it should focus on this issue. You would need open archives, and in order to have the effect that I would like to see in Turkey you would need the participation of the Turkish Government because I think to have the full effect I would like to see on the Turkish people you would need a process in which their government presented its side of the case to the International Court.

I frankly doubt that the Ambassador's proposal will get very much support in Turkey, but he would know better than I. I am not talking about us hiding from the evidence. I am not talking about delay or waiting for another process before the House of Representatives acts, but if we want the International Court at the Hague to act it would have to go through a procedure that some would say you should not even have to go through because the evidence is in.

The evidence is in to this Congress. The evidence is in to you and I. The evidence is not in to the docket of the International Court in part because it may very well lack jurisdiction without the modifications that would be necessary for the Ambassador's challenge to be effectuated.

I have taken more than the traditional 5 minutes, but, Ambassador, we have talked about your proposal for a while. I ought to let you comment on the commentary. I do not know if you have any further comment or not.

Mr. AKTAN. I do not think I have much to add to what I have said.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Pallone?

Oh, I thought you were done.

Mr. AKTAN. Sorry. You have been waiting for the last 85 years, and I understand that you are running out of patience. You cannot wait for another couple of years, and you want to pass this resolution in the House. Certainly it is up to you to adopt this resolution.

There will be enormous difficulties in Turkey, in Turkish public opinion, in government circles, and personally I do not think that the Turkish Government, the present one or any other one in the future, can cooperate with a country whose legislative body passed a resolution which is almost diametrically opposite to the Turkish position, to the feelings of the Turkish people, neglecting the disaster which befell the Turks and the Kurds and the Muslims during this period, without even mentioning any massacre of the Turks.

You are in a hurry. Well, I understand, Mr. Congressman, that you are decided. Your decision has been already taken, and whatever I say would not affect your position, so I stop here.

Mr. SHERMAN. I would point out that you have not affected my view as to what historically happened, but I would say that people will listen to the International Court far more than they will listen to Brad Sherman, and I think that a—I am not saying—I do not think it would affect my vote, but I think if your government were

to issue a proclamation tomorrow that it wants this matter resolved at the International Court and it will do everything possible to have that court convene and that it will insist on open archives and if those archives, including those of the ARF, are opened up that it will consent to jurisdiction.

If a declaration like that were to come from Ankara, those of us who support the resolution would probably be unsuccessful, so your proposal is an intriguing one. It is not one of the Turkish Government. It is only your personal proposal, but if the Turkish Government were to adopt it it could probably prevent this resolution from being passed and change the focus of American attention to this from a U.S. Congress that you do not have a lot of faith in to a judicial process that you yourself have proposed.

So I do not know if anybody—I suspect there are people in Ankara listening, and I will check the worldwide web tomorrow morning and see if there is a statement by the Foreign Ministry of Turkey announcing at least a tentative acceptance of this idea.

You know, I want to see this resolution pass, but if it does not pass because the Turkish Government has consented to the jurisdiction of the International Court, that would be the best of all reasons not to pass it.

Mr. AKTAN. May I make one very short comment?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. AKTAN. Well, let us try it. Let the Armenian Government have a recourse to the court and see the outcome.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Chairman is correct, the Turkish Government would have to consent to a jurisdiction that the court currently does not have, and I would say this. If the Foreign Ministry of Turkey issues a release tomorrow consenting to the International Court's jurisdiction calling upon it to study these facts, opening its archives and the ARF for the government in Uravan does not immediately agree then this resolution is not going to do too well on the floor.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Could I suggest just one thing?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Since we are talking about a government, you might want to give it a week or so. It might take a little longer for them to make up their mind.

Mr. SHERMAN. OK. No, no, no, no. I said I would start checking the web tomorrow. We are not going to vote on this on the floor for about a week, maybe 2 weeks.

So, yes. I would say that if the Turkish Government does not want this resolution passed, its consent to the process that the Ambassador laid out would probably lead to the legislative result, would prevent the adverse bilateral consequences that he predicts from occurring. I hope they would not occur anyway, but it would defuse a difficult circumstance that we are all aware of.

So, no. I will start checking the web tomorrow just in case something happens at lightning speed, but even in a week or two this would be of tremendous significance. I will say this. If the Turkish Government consents to this jurisdiction and we do not hear from the two archives—you know, you have asked that the Armenian Government and that the ARF indicate their willingness to open their archives. If we heard a positive response from Turkey and a

lack of positive response from the Armenian side, that would also make it difficult for this resolution to pass.

Ambassador, I think that your government should listen to you very carefully. You have come up with a very novel and creative idea, and if your government will embrace your idea they may defeat us on the floor.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Pallone?

Mr. PALLONE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wanted to ask the Ambassador and Dr. McCarthy some questions, but I just wanted you to understand where I am coming from and why I have the same sense of frustration that Dr. Melson expressed before.

First of all, let me say I do not want to wait to pass this resolution for anything, and the reason is because I do not want the genocide to happen again. I do not look at this hearing as just a historical exercise. I am very fearful that if we do not send a message to the Turkish Government and to the world that the Armenian genocide occurred that somehow it could be repeated.

That is the reason why when I was talking, commenting about, you know, with Ambassador Grossman that I think that the whole American policy which I basically see as one of appeasement is a very dangerous thing.

I was very concerned about what Ambassador Grossman said because I think it is a policy of appeasement that says that if you deny the genocide or somehow do not acknowledge it that that will help human rights. I think the opposite is true. I think that if you deny it you hurt the cause of human rights, and if you do not pass a resolution forthwith it may happen again.

Now let me just explain. You know, Ambassador Aktan made a statement about how there are good relations between the Armenian and the Turkish people, and I believe that. I do not believe that Turks are anti-Armenian. I think that both yesterday in 1915 and today that the anti-Armenian attitude comes from above, comes from the government and is imposed by the government; that essentially the Turkish people like Armenians, but they are told by the government not to.

You know, you have to understand that Armenian Government is not in a position, in my opinion, to take action the way that this government is. You will remember that Armenia is a very small country. It is being blockaded on most sides, most of its borders or at least 50 percent of its border by, you know, Turkish nations, either Turkey or Azerbaijan.

I am not really sure if they are going to be in a position, you know, to take something to the Hague or to challenge Turkey because they may be fearful of it, of the consequences, the way you have described, because of the Turkish Government's attitude.

I really think that it is incumbent upon this body. You know, this is the United States. This is a powerful country. We do not have to worry about whether someone likes it or not or what the consequences are going to be. We represent the Armenian diaspora, and it is our obligation to pass this resolution regardless of what happens in the Hague or regardless of whether the Turkish Government or the Armenian Government wants to bring this to the Hague. I mean, to me it is a totally separate issue.

Let me ask my question of Ambassador Aktan because I said that part of my fear is that the genocide not happen again. There is a blockade of Armenian by Turkey and Azerbaijan. Every effort that I see that is made by the Turkish people to interact with Armenians is stopped by the Turkish Government.

I will give you an example. When I was in Armenia the last time and then in Azerbaijan, we went up to Gumry, and we were told by the mayor of Gumry and the chamber of commerce there that they had worked out a relationship with the Carz region in Turkey and the government, the local officials there, the mayor and chamber of commerce, that they wanted to have an exchange of the government. They wanted to have economic relations. They wanted to cross the border and have trade.

Then I read I think in July or August that even though that was happening and when the mayor of Gumry and some of the local officials went over to Carz they were told and forced by the Turkish Government to turn back and to go back to Armenia.

I see repeated efforts by the Turkish Government from above to stop interaction between the two peoples, to stop commerce, to stop trade. I am just very fearful that if we do not send a message that this type of activity, you know, what happened in the case of the genocide was wrong and that the government intentionally did it, which I believe they did, that the government will continue a policy that is anti-Armenian with its blockade or some of the other things that you mentioned in your statement, Mr. Ambassador.

Let me ask the question. You say in your statement that by insisting of the recognition of the genocide, the Armenian leadership in the diaspora will finally silence the few remaining voices favorable to them in Turkey. This will effectively result in sealing the border. Given the situation in Armenia, this attitude of the Armenian Government is akin to suicide.

Now, what reason do you have to believe that somehow the Turkish people would rise up and demand that the government seal the border, which is really effectively already sealed, or somehow, you know, cause some kind of, you know,—I do not know—military action or whatever that, you know, would be akin to suicide on behalf of the Armenian Government? I do not see anything.

When I talk to people who are Turkish or when I read the papers and I see what is put out by the Turkish press, I do not see any reason to believe that whatsoever. My view is just the opposite of what you and Dr. McCarthy have said, and that is that it is the Turkish people that want the blockade lifted, that would like to see the genocide recognized, and it is the government which is, you know, still primarily influenced by the military, in my opinion, that imposes this as a matter of policy in order to somehow, you know, create an atmosphere that is anti-Armenian.

See, I think opposite of what you think in terms of what the effect of this genocide resolution would do.

Mr. AKTAN. Mr. Congressman, first of all, I do not agree that there is so much difference between the attitude of the Turkish Government and the Turkish people. I think you did not take into account the occupation by the Armenian Republic of 20 percent of Azerbaijan's territory. That is extremely important and very sen-

sitive in Turkish public opinion, and that is the reason why the government sealed this frontier.

We say the government sealed, but the government overlooked that there is cross border trade between the two sides. In fact, in reality there is a kind of ambivalence in the attitude of the government to Armenia. When Armenia became independent, Turkey was very happy, but all of a sudden this Nagorno-Karabagh crisis broke out, and we have to take into account the regional balance in that region. It is extremely important. We have certainly obligations toward Azerbaijan. We cannot accept the occupation by a country of a very large territory creating 1 million refugees. That is the reason.

But the Turkish public opinion, including Turkish press and media, criticized the attitude of the government when the government, one branch of the government, without instructions, I mean, according to the news, turned back a delegation from Armenia.

You know, despite the fact that we do not have any diplomatic relations, all the governmental officials, including the Prime Minister, pay an official visit to Turkey. We are always on talking terms with them. We discuss our problems, and we told them several times that what we are expecting is a gesture toward Azerbaijan so that we can establish our diplomatic relations.

If you ask my personal view, I say it was a mistake not to establish diplomatic relations soon after Armenia became independent.

Mr. PALLONE. But is your view that the reason we are not establishing—the Turkish Government is not establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia because the Turkish people would not accept it?

Mr. AKTAN. No. Because of the situation, the war situation, between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Turkish people have a great sympathy for the Azeri people because there is a very large Azeri population in Turkey.

Mr. PALLONE. I understand that, but, you see, my whole premise here, and again I want to issue a question. My whole premise here is that by having this resolution passed the U.S. Government will be saying to the Turkish Government we do not like—this genocide occurred. We want you to recognize it, too, or at least we are putting ourselves on record, you know, as an ally of Turkey to say that that is our view.

Your whole response to that and Ambassador Grossman's response was oh, that is going to create a catastrophe between our two states. It is going to be sour relations terribly. I just do not agree with that. I mean, I do not see it.

You know, when I was in Gumry, for example, and, you know, you talk to people there. You talk to Turkish Americans here in the United States as well. In I guess it is the eastern part of Turkey, in that region that is west of Armenia, the Carz region, there is a tremendous interest on the behalf of the business community and the people for trade and lifting the embargo so that they can go back and forth because they are naturally one region.

The Turkish Government then steps in and says no, we do not want that to happen. Is that not something that is being imposed from above rather than from the people?

Mr. AKTAN. No, I do not think so, Mr. Congressman. As I said, the reason is quite simple; because of Armenia's relations with Azerbaijan. It is as simple as that. No Turkish Government can change this position. That is very unfortunate, but this is the situation.

Can I go back to one of your statements because you said that you do not want similar genocides.

Mr. PALLONE. Let me explain what I meant by that because I do not want you to misunderstand me.

I know that Armenia is a very small country by contrast to Turkey, OK, militarily, economically, whatever, very small. I think that the Armenian Government is very concerned about it certainly would not want a war with Turkey because they would assume that they would lose it, OK, so I do not think they are in a position to be, you know, going to the Hague and asking, you know, for some action with regard to the genocide.

You know, we are the powerful ones here in the United States. We are in the position to say this happened, you know, recognize it and do something about it; not the Armenian Government. They do not have that. You know, whether they do it or not I do not know, but I think it would be very difficult for them because of their situation there as a very small country.

I worry that if the Turkish Government does not—you know, if the Turkish Government continues the position that it has, which is, you know, blockade, no interaction, whatever, that what that does is create a sort of an anti-Armenian hatred that does not already exist, and so, you know, I am fearful that there could be another war. I am fearful that——

Mr. AKTAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PALLONE [continuing]. Turkey and Armenia could come to a war and that the consequences of it could be that the Armenian population and the Republic of Armenia is wiped out because it is so much a bigger country.

Mr. AKTAN. There is no such chance.

Mr. PALLONE. Hopefully that never happens, but I just want you to understand where I am coming from. I think it is incumbent upon the Turkish Government, which is not even here represented today, that if they are going to create a better atmosphere between the two countries that they recognize the genocide, just like Germany did, you know, the Nazi Holocaust. Now they have good relations with Israel.

There are so many examples like that. I just do not believe that the consequence of this Congress taking this action is anything but helpful in terms of the relations between these Caucasus nations and the United States.

It worries me when you say in your statement that, you know, this is akin to a suicide or there is going to be sealing of the borders or, you know, these other things about, you know, you have the same line essentially that Ambassador Grossman has and even Dr. McCarthy.

I will ask him. He said the same thing. He says I do not believe that the Turkish Government is staying quiet because—no. He says that he believes the Turkish Government is fearful of its own people, the Turkish people.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Excuse me? Surely that could not have been what I meant.

Mr. PALLONE. I know, but you gave me the same impression, Dr. McCarthy, that somehow if we pass this resolution the reaction in Turkey would be such that the government would have to take, you know, extraordinary measures.

Mr. MCCARTHY. I believe that all governments should be responsive to what their people want. The area that we disagree on, first of all, is whether there was a genocide. You say it should be admitted because it happened. I say it should not be admitted because it did not happen.

Mr. PALLONE. But you did say——

Mr. MCCARTHY. The other matter——

Mr. PALLONE [continuing]. That you felt that if we passed this, regardless of the history, that it would have a negative impact on the relationship.

Mr. MCCARTHY. And where our disagreement lies very much is how we view what the Turks really think about this.

I think I can honestly say that I have some reason to speak on the issue. I first went to Turkey in 1967 for 2 years as a Peace Corps volunteer, and I have been back many, many times over the following years. I have studied the language of the area. I speak Turkish, and I make a point of talking to cab drivers, not just university professors.

It is my opinion that the Turkish people, if one can use such a phrase, are overwhelmingly against the sentiment in this resolution. You said you have spoken to Turkish Americans on this. Well, I see a number of Turkish Americans in the audience, and they are not wearing "Yes" buttons.

I think if this is passed you will see overwhelming Turkish newspaper coverage. You will see people on radio, on television, in newspapers, and what they will say is, I think, basically what I told you. They will say these people are lying about our forefathers. They will say these people are forgetting about the dead Turks because all they care about are the dead Armenians.

If we were in the same position and if you believed the same thing someone said about your father and grandfather and great-grandfather, you would feel the same way.

Mr. PALLONE. But there is a difference, and I do not want to keep dwelling on the point because I think Ambassador Aktan referenced it. The difference is that this historical record, in my opinion, is such that it was the action was taken by the state. It was intentional action taken by the state, and that is the definition of genocide, and that is what I do not want to be repeated. That is all I am saying.

Mr. MCCARTHY. If I could just say one thing about that? It should be at least understood that this is another area in which there is intense disagreement. It is my opinion, and that of a number of other historians, that the majority of murders, the majority of actual deaths that took place on both Armenians and Muslims, was not the action of any of the states, but was the action of small bands and individuals.

Mr. PALLONE. Well, let me just say——

Mr. MCCARTHY. The villagers have killed each other.

Mr. PALLONE. All right. Let me ask you this.

Mr. MCCARTHY. That is the primary reason.

Mr. PALLONE. I am not going to keep asking because I want to get on to the next panel, too, but I do not know what you said, but I will ask you again.

In the resolution it specifically makes reference to the trials that took place I think after the first world war where the leaders of Turkey were indicted and tried and convicted of having conducted these massacres, OK, which I take to be genocide. If you say that a person who is in charge as an elected official or a government official was intentionally doing this and tried for it, then that is genocide.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Well, but that is not what the trials actually were.

Mr. PALLONE. All right. How do you explain these trials? You say that they were just——

Mr. MCCARTHY. Yes?

Mr. PALLONE [continuing]. Bogus or what?

Mr. MCCARTHY. It was not an elective Turkish Government. It was not anything like that. What it was——

Mr. PALLONE. But the leaders were tried?

Mr. MCCARTHY. No. The leaders were tried, but it is as if—I do not know how to put it. If you picked six of your friends as a jury and decided to hold a trial.

These are people who lost the war. The government that was elected, which is a government that you do not approve of, was thrown out of office by military action by the allies and others. They were afraid for their lives, and they ran, ultimately to be killed by Armenians.

An unelected government was put into power. This unelected government called a quisling court. They called a court of people that were traitors to their own country.

Mr. PALLONE. How is it any different from the Nuremberg trials——

Mr. MCCARTHY. Oh, completely different.

Mr. PALLONE [continuing]. Or the trials that took place in Tokyo?

Mr. MCCARTHY. Completely different in every way.

Mr. PALLONE. How so? How so?

Mr. MCCARTHY. Because the British and the Americans at the Nuremberg trials called trials in which absolute standards of evidence were kept and in which people were allowed to defend themselves.

In this case, the British did no such thing. The allies did no such thing. What they did was they said to their friends in this quisling government, "Look, could you take care of this for us?" The British themselves, when they realized that that was not working, tried to find the evidence to do it themselves and failed miserably. If it had been brought to a real court the court would have voted it down immediately.

Not even the people in favor of it could find the evidence, and they had all the archives in their hands. Everything was there, and they could not find it.

Mr. PALLONE. It seems to me——

Mr. MCCARTHY. Now, that is absurd.

Mr. PALLONE. It seems to me that the only difference is that in the case of what happened in Japan and at Nuremberg the allies completely, you know, took over the country and occupied the country and stayed there for long enough so that the convictions held sway, whereas in the case of Turkey or the Ottoman Empire the allies quickly pulled out and, therefore, no one ever—the convictions were never enforced.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Are you in favor of—I am sorry to ask this in this way, but are you in favor of politically appointed juries that are taken from one's enemies, from one's political opponents, by an unelected government, and then saying that this is a rational decision?

Mr. PALLONE. I do not see any difference.

Mr. MCCARTHY. This is exactly what we have to stand against.

Mr. PALLONE. Well, I am asking the questions, so it is unfair of me to keep insisting on my point, but I do not really see any difference between what happened in Turkey, Germany or Japan other than that in the case of Turkey the allies quickly got out of there, and as a result these convictions were never enforced.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Well, I would suggest that you should read the transcripts of these trials. If you did, I think you would find great differences. Again, I cannot believe that you think that is the way a court should be constituted.

Mr. PALLONE. I just wanted you to answer the question, and I appreciate your answer. I mainly was concerned about what the Ambassador said in terms of his feeling about the consequence of this resolution because I think it is just the opposite, but, you know, we are not going to agree, and I suppose that is why we are here because of the disagreements.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you, Mr. Pallone.

I would like to thank our very distinguished panel. While there is a huge gulf and a very significant disagreement, I think the dialogue and the debating was very enlightening.

I do thank you for taking time out of your busy schedules to be here and look forward to being in further contact with each and every one of you.

Mr. MCCARTHY. And could we thank you and the Committee for the kindness you have shown us? Thank you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you, Dr. McCarthy.

Mr. MELSON. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Yes, Doctor?

Mr. MELSON. I have some documents which I would like to leave for you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Without objection, those documents will be made a part of the record, as well as the document that has been given to me by Congressman John Porter asking that that be made a part of the record. Without objection, so ordered.

[The above-mentioned documents appear in the appendix.]

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 6:38 p.m. the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X

SEPTEMBER 24, 1999

Statement of Representative Chris Smith
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights

I am pleased to convene this hearing of the Subcommittee on International Operations and HumanRights. Today we will hear testimony on House Resolution 398, calling upon the President to provide appropriate training and materials to Foreign Service Officers, State Department officials, and other appropriate executive branch officials on the Armenian 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 2500 years. By 1923 well over 90 percent of these Armenians had disappeared. Most of them, as many as one and one-half million, were dead. The remainder had been forced into exile. The government of the Empire, whose leaders were members of the movement known as the Young Turks, called its campaign against the 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 charge was ever made by one state against another --- and even the government of

the Republic of Turkey, the successor state to the Ottoman Empire, tried and convicted a number of high-ranking Young Turk officials for their role in what the Turkish government then called the "massacre and destruction of the Armenians." When the term "genocide" was invented in 1944 to describe the systematic destruction of an entire people, its author, Raphael Lemkin, illustrated the term by saying it was "the sort of thing Hitler did to the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians."

Unfortunately, memories seem to have faded. The Government of the Republic of Turkey and some of its apologists in the United States now deny that the Armenian Genocide ever happened. They do not deny that people died by the hundreds and thousands, or even that these deaths were often preceded by mass rape, torture, and other unspeakable atrocities --- but they fall back on the standard arguments that have always been used to defend the indefensible. They say it happened during wartime, that the Armenians were being deported because many of them were in sympathy with the enemies of the Empire, and that the atrocities were random acts committed by civilians and by soldiers acting without authorization from the central government. These apologists dismiss contrary statements by representatives of the U.S., France, and England by saying these

officials were biased against the Ottoman Empire and against the Turkish people. But this dismissal ignores similar statements by the ambassadors of Germany and Italy, who were allied with the Empire in the First World War. It also dismisses the undeniable fact that the Armenians were being forcibly relocated to a desert, in which even those who were not massacred had no serious chance to survive.

Even among those in this country who do not deny the basic facts of the Armenian Genocide, there often seems to be a conspiracy of silence and of obfuscation. Whenever the issue threatens to surface in Congress, we are quietly but firmly reminded by diplomats and other executive branch officials that Turkey is a NATO ally and has assisted us in pursuing important strategic objectives in the Middle East and elsewhere. Yet Germany is also an important ally, and these same diplomats and officials would never dream of denying or ignoring the Holocaust. Friends don't let friends commit crimes against humanity, or refuse to come to terms with them once they have happened. Ironically, the principal effect of the systematic denial of the Armenian Genocide is that it forces those who insist on acknowledgement of the genocide to prove their case over and over again, in more and more detail. So instead of learning the lessons of the past and

applying them to the future, we find ourselves still arguing after 85 years about whether the past really happened.

Finally, in this and every other human rights debate we hear the argument that the United States should mind its own business --- that we should worry about our own human rights problems and let other nations worry about theirs. Oddly, this often comes from the same sources that are quick to accuse the United States of "isolationism" when we fail to surrender our resources or our sovereignty quite as quickly as they would like us to. The answer is that of course we do have human rights violations here. The acknowledgement that we have such domestic problems imposes a responsibility to work diligently to fix them --- and the United States has perhaps the world's best-developed system for the redress and correction of offenses by government officials against private citizens --- but it does not absolve us from a responsibility to ensure that United States foreign policy promotes honesty, morality, and justice.

United States foreign policy must be realistic and flexible, but it need not and must not be complicit on a conspiracy of silence about genocide. This resolution takes two important steps toward an end to the silence. It urges the

President to start calling the Armenian genocide by its right name. And it calls on the Secretary of State to ensure that U.S. diplomats and other officials be thoroughly familiarized with the facts about the Armenian genocide.

This resolution was first called to my attention by Congressman Jim Rogan and by Congressman George Radanovich. I told them I would take a close look at the resolution and strongly consider scheduling a Subcommittee markup so that the full International Relations Committee could consider it in time for consideration by the whole House in this session of Congress. I am now happy to say that we have tentatively scheduled a markup for next Wednesday, September 20. I expect there will be different views among the members of the Subcommittee about the merits of the resolution, but it clearly deserves an up-or-down vote. My own view is that this resolution deserves to pass, because at its core it simply reaffirms that United States foreign policy should begin by telling the truth.

I look forward to the testimony of our distinguished witnesses.

George Radanovich

www.house.gov/radanovich

News Advisory
September 14, 2000

Contact: Brian Kennedy
(202) 225-4540

Radanovich Statement on Armenian Genocide Resolution Hearing

Washington, D.C. - Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for holding this important hearing on the resolution that I have sponsored along with Mr. Bonior, H. Res. 398, the "United States Training on and Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide Resolution."

This bipartisan resolution currently has more than 140 cosponsors. It calls upon the President to provide for appropriate training and materials to all Foreign Service officers, officials of the Department of State, and any other Executive Branch employee involved in responding to issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide by familiarizing them with the U.S. record relating to the Armenian Genocide.

As my colleagues here today are aware, the history of the Armenian Genocide is thoroughly documented. Our own archives hold countless authoritative accounts of these events, as do the archives of many Western nations. The most important of these, perhaps, was authored by the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau. He wrote, "I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915." The human rights activist Raphael Lemkin - the man who coined the term "genocide" - cited the systematic destruction of the Armenians as a clear case of genocide. There is no serious debate over these facts.

I believe that this body is obligated to learn from this tragic history and also to use this knowledge to inform our foreign policy community and the public about a very proud moment of American history. By responding to this crime against humanity, our government and people acted together to protest the genocide of the Armenians. This resolution preserves the truth about the Armenian Genocide and documents the considerable U.S. response to that crime. We do so in order to empower our future leaders, backed by an informed public, to do everything possible to end the occurrences of genocide.

As we begin a new millennium, genocide and ethnic cleansing continue to plague nations around the world. As Members of Congress and as members of the International Relations Committee, we have a responsibility to ensure that the legacy of past genocides are remembered so that this human tragedy will not be repeated. Silence in the face of genocide, as we have learned, can only embolden those who would again seek the systematic destruction of an entire people.

I am also pleased that Speaker Hastert shares our view about the importance of this resolution. In fact, he recently pledged to schedule H.Res.398 for a vote on the House floor. So I look forward to an interesting hearing this afternoon and the swift advancement of this bill to the floor.

Radanovich represents the 19th District of California, which includes all or parts of Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, and Tulare Counties. He serves on the International Relations Committee, as well as its Subcommittees on Africa and International Economic Policy and Trade.

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Statement of Rep. David E. Bonior (D-MI)
before the
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights
Hearing on H. Res. 398
September 14, 2000

Mr. Chairman, Ms. McKinney and members of the subcommittee, thank you for conducting this hearing today on bipartisan legislation authored by Rep. Radanovich and me to recognize the Armenian Genocide.

Rep. Radanovich and I have worked closely together on the resolution and since 1995. I have personally been involved with the Genocide Resolution beginning in 1987, when I managed the rule for debate in the House of Representatives on the resolution.

As a student of history, I've always been outraged that this terrible tragedy was not recognized appropriately by Congress. Only once, in 1996, over the past few decades, has the House even indirectly affirmed this recognition. It's time to bring this resolution to the floor of the House.

Those who deny the Armenian genocide its proper recognition ignore the substantial body of evidence which exists in the United States and internationally. The facts are very clear.

Beginning on the night of April 24 in 1915, the religious and intellectual leaders of the Armenian community of Constantinople were taken from their beds, imprisoned, tortured and killed.

In the days that followed, the remaining males over the age of 15 were gathered in cities, towns and villages throughout Ottoman Turkey, roped together, marched to nearby uninhabited areas, and killed.

Innocent women and children were forced to march through barren wastelands – urged on by whips and clubs – and denied food and water.

And when they dared to step out of line, they were repeatedly attacked, robbed, raped and ultimately killed.

When all was said and done, one and a half million Armenians lay dead, and a homeland which had stood for 3,000 years was nearly completely depopulated.

I believe that those of us who stand for human rights and dignity have a responsibility to remember the victims and the survivors. We have a responsibility to speak out and to make sure that tragedies like this are never allowed to happen again.

As I mentioned, Representative Radanovich and I have introduced a resolution, H.Res. 398, sponsored by more than 130 Members of Congress, to respond to the issue of genocide and to confirm statements of fact on the Armenian genocide.

For much of the 20th Century, the world did not seem to learn the lessons of the past.

We must pause today and say, "Never again."

We can't forget that in 1939, another leader used the Armenian genocide as a justification for his own sick actions.

This leader said, and I quote,

"I have given orders to my death units to exterminate without mercy or pity, men, women, and children belonging to the Polish-speaking race."

"After all," Adolph Hitler asked, "Who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?"

Mr. Chairman, it is up to all of us to remember.

For centuries, the Armenian people have shown great courage and strength. The least we can do is match their courage with our commitment.

Because in the end, we are their voice and we must do all we can to remember.

If we don't, nobody else will.

Mr. Chairman, some may say this resolution will alter our relationship with Turkey, and I agree – it will.

It might give the Turkish government an opportunity to join with us in acknowledging the Armenian Genocide.

Such an acknowledgment will help open the door to improved relations in the region.

We have learned from ethnic conflicts around the world that differences are hard to set aside until history, no matter how tragic, is acknowledged. Only then can the healing process begin.

This subcommittee and the House should follow the example of Elie Wiesel, the noted Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and Holocaust survivor, who said this about the Armenian genocide:

"...the Turks should have understood the pain and the anger of the Armenians who are denied the right to remember...the Turks today are not responsible for the bloody events that took place 50 years earlier, but they are responsible for their present attitudes regarding these events."

Mr. Chairman, H.Res. 398 is our opportunity in the Congress to confirm the historical record. This is about human rights. It's also about historical fact. As we enter this new millennium, we cannot allow these tragic events to be erased from our memory.

REP. FRANK PALLONE, JR.
STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMITTEE REGARDING ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by thanking you for holding this hearing today on a bipartisan resolution that I hope can be passed by the House of Representatives before we adjourn in a couple of weeks. Today's hearing, combined with assurances from Speaker Denny Hastert that the Armenian Genocide Resolution will come to the floor during this session, are encouraging signs that we will finally pay tribute to the victims of one of history's worst crimes against humanity: the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923.

As you will hear from others, the Armenian Genocide was the systematic extermination of one-and-half million Armenian men, women and children during the final years of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. This was the first genocide of the 20th century, but sadly not the last.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, I regret to say that the United States still does not officially recognize the Armenian Genocide. Bowing to strong pressure from Turkey, the U.S. State Department has for more than 15 years shied away from referring to the tragic events of 1915-23 by the word "genocide." President Clinton and his recent predecessors have annually issued proclamations on the anniversary of the Genocide, expressing sorrow for the massacres and solidarity with the victims and survivors, but always stopping short of using the word "genocide," thus minimizing and not accurately conveying what really happened, beginning 83 years ago.

In an effort to address this shameful lapse in our own nation's record as a champion of human rights, a bipartisan coalition of Members of Congress have been working to enact legislation affirming the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide. I applaud the work of the Gentleman from California (Mr. Radanovich) and the Gentleman from Michigan, the Democratic Whip (Mr. Bonior), for their strong leadership on creating this legislation. The legislation calls on the President to collect all U.S. records on the Armenian Genocide and provide them to the House International Relations Committee, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia.

Many countries, as well as states and provinces and local governments, have adopted resolutions or taken other steps to officially recognize the Armenian Genocide. From Europe to Australia, to many states in the U.S., elected governments are going on record on the side of truth. Regrettably, the Republic of Turkey and their various agents of influence in this country and in other countries has fought tooth and nail to block these efforts.

The United States, usually at the forefront of defending human rights, should be in the lead in calling for recognition. Our failure to go on record proclaiming the truth about the Armenian Genocide must not continue. The U.S. should go on record clearly and unambiguously recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

It is nothing short of a crime against memory and human decency that the Republic of Turkey denies that the Genocide ever took place, and has even mounted an aggressive effort to try to present an alternative and false version of history, using its extensive financial and lobbying resources in this country. The Turkish Government has embarked on a strategy of endowing "Turkish Studies" programs at various universities around the U.S., including a program at Princeton University in my home state of New Jersey.

Mr. Chairman, the Armenian Genocide is a painful subject to discuss. Yet we must never forget what happened, and never cease speaking out. We must overcome the denials and the indifference, and keep alive the memory and the truth of what happened to the Armenian people in the past -- as we work together to see to it that this tragic history is never repeated.

In the early 1980s, the U.S. House passed a Resolution officially recognizing the Genocide, but it did not become law. Three years ago, during debate on the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, the House passed (by more than 300 votes in favor) an amendment withholding economic assistance to Turkey until and unless that country acknowledged the Genocide, but that provision was removed in Conference. So there has been some effort in this Body, the U.S. House of Representatives, to recognize the Genocide, I'm proud to say.

Early in 1995, the Gentleman from Illinois, Congressmen Porter, and I founded the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues, to be a voice for a stronger U.S.-Armenia partnership and to better represent the interests of the Armenian-American community. We now have 73 members, from both parties and all regions of the country. There is a lot of sympathy and moral support for Armenia in the Congress, in the Administration, among state legislators around the country, and among the American people in general. But we should not kid ourselves: we are up against very strong forces, in the State Department and the Pentagon, who believe we must continue to appease Turkey, and among U.S. and international business interests whose concerns with exploiting the oil resources off Azerbaijan in the Caspian Sea far outweigh their concerns for the people of Armenia.

Again, Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing on the Armenian Genocide Resolution. It is my hope that your subcommittee will quickly approve this resolution so that we can finally recognize this horrible crime.

Statement of Ambassador Marc Grossman
Director General of the Foreign Service
House International Relations Subcommittee on
International Organizations and Human Rights
September 14, 2000

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate the chance to appear today to present the Administration's view on H. Res. 398.

I have had the good fortune to work closely with Armenian Americans in the past few years and know of their strong feelings. We understand the spirit behind this resolution. As President Clinton said in his statement on Armenian Remembrance Day, April 24, 2000, "I join Armenians around the world, including the Armenian-American community, in mourning the loss of those innocent lives. I also extend my sympathy to the survivors and their descendants for the hardships they suffered."

As you know from the letters Assistant Secretary Larkin sent last June to the House International Relations Committee Chairman and to the ranking member, the Administration opposes this resolution, just as previous Administrations -- Republican and Democrat -- have opposed similar legislation in years past. President Clinton told Turkish President Sezer in their meeting in New York on September 7 that he opposes the resolution because he believes it would be counter-productive. The Administration believes that passage of H. Res. 398 would complicate our efforts to bring peace and stability in the Caucasus. Passage could harm important U.S. interests in Turkey.

Although I recently assumed the duties of Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources at the State Department, I served as Deputy Chief of Mission and, subsequently, Ambassador to Turkey. I also had the privilege of serving as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. I have long valued my relationship with many in this Committee.

My experience in each of these jobs has given me a perspective on our relations with Turkey, and on our interests in the region. It is from those perspectives that I wish to offer you the Administration's views on the resolution that is under consideration by this Subcommittee.

Let me talk about our regional interests first. First, the United States is actively engaged in efforts to bring to resolution the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Nagorno-Karabakh peace process received a boost last year when the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan began a direct dialogue. The two presidents made progress toward resolving the conflict. The assassinations in October 1999 of the Prime Minister and Speaker of the Parliament, both of whom were supporters of President

Kocharian's efforts, were an unfortunate setback to the peace process. With our active encouragement the presidents have continued their talks, most recently on August 19 at Yalta and on September 7 in New York. For our part, we have taken the necessary steps -- along with the other Minsk Group Co-Chairs -- to involve key international agencies, such as the World Bank and UNHCR, so that reconstruction and resettlement of refugees would follow a settlement.

Turkey has an important role to play in this process, and Turkey and Armenia are slowly working to normalize their relations -- a goal the United States strongly supports. Adoption of H. Res. 398 would undermine our efforts to help put an end to the strife that has plagued this volatile region and to ensure its future stability and prosperity.

Second, we have a security relationship with Turkey which is good for America because it supports our interests in the region. Throughout the Cold War, the Turkish military was on the front lines of NATO's confrontation with the Soviet Union and Turkey's importance grew after the fall of the Berlin Wall. U.S. and Turkish forces have worked together from Korea to Kosovo, including Desert Storm. Turkey was at the forefront of NATO's operations during the Kosovo crisis, and Turkey has now deployed over 2,000 troops to the Balkan region as a member of IFOR, SFOR and KFOR.

Third, Turkey has been a base since 1991 to the U.S. and British aircraft that patrol the no-fly zone over northern Iraq. Together we contain the threat that Saddam Hussein poses to our shared interests and ensure the Baghdad regime cannot again employ its air assets against the innocent civilian population of northern Iraq.

Fourth, Turkey is key to our efforts to encourage the parties to the Cyprus conflict to engage in the UN-sponsored proximity talks that resumed on September 12 in New York. And we have all welcomed the significant progress that has been achieved in Greek-Turkish relations in the aftermath of last year's tragic earthquakes.

Fifth, in the Middle East, Turkey has relations with both Israel and the Palestinians, and has actively supported our mediation efforts both before and since Camp David.

There are also potential economic costs to eroding America's image in Turkey. Turkey is a critical partner in bringing Central Asian energy resources to the energy-hungry world. U.S. efforts to promote the construction of a new oil pipeline from Baku, Azerbaijan to Ceyhan on the Mediterranean coast by 2004 are moving ahead; we need Turkey's cooperation to complete this project. We also support initiatives to integrate Armenia into this pipeline.

Turkey is one of the Commerce Department's major emerging markets for U.S. exporters. Turkey currently buys $6 billion a year in American goods and services in key sectors like agriculture, aerospace, energy and defense. Turkey's best interests would surely be served by buying American, but it is no secret that foreign competitors would be only too happy to step in behind these U.S. firms.

Mr. Chairman, I don't want to finish this review of U.S. interests in Turkey without a word about human rights. Turks know that they have more to do in this area. There are still unacceptable limits on freedom of expression and the media. Torture must stop. Certainly, as President Clinton noted during his address before the Turkish National Assembly last November, Turkey is making progress. But as the President went on to say, "there is still far more to be done to realize the promise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." We continue to believe the best way to push for improvement is through engagement. Anything that might diminish our standing in Turkey will set back our efforts.

I have focused so far in this statement on the impact of this resolution on Turkey, and on the likely consequences of this resolution's adoption on our interests. Let talk about Armenia.

Mr. Chairman, this Administration is committed to helping the Armenian people build a secure, democratic, and prosperous nation, fully integrated into its region and international processes and institutions. A lasting peace in the Caucasus and economic cooperation with all of its neighbors is essential if Armenia is to achieve the prosperity that its people deserve.

Mr. Chairman, while it is indisputable that the Armenian people suffered deportations and massacres, scholars disagree on the nature of the killings and the root causes. And many, many Turks and Kurds died as well. This issue should be in the hands of scholars and historians. I strongly support recent work to bring Armenian and Turkish experts together with academics from other countries to explore their common history.

Peace and stability in the region will require that Turkey and Armenia, as well as the Armenian Diaspora, jointly understand the events of the past. This is not something that can be legislated, or mandated. Rather, it is something that calls for quiet contacts — by diplomats, by people-to-people exchanges, and by Members of this body — aimed at promoting dialogue and reconciliation. In our judgement, this resolution will detract from, rather than promote, those objectives.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, training diplomats. We have a responsibility to acknowledge the tragedy that occurred and remember its consequences. We ought to study this terrible period of history -- as diplomats, as legislators, as people -- no matter the label scholars give it. Our diplomats are already exposed to the lessons of that terrible time.

Here is what we do now at the Foreign Service Institute: The massacres of Armenians is covered in the Caucasus Advanced Area Studies and the Turkey Advanced Area Studies courses. Ambassador Harry Gilmore, the first U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia, teaches the Caucasus Advanced course, and covers this issue in his session on "Armenia and Turkey." Ambassador Gilmore often invites Dr. Rouben

Adalian, of the Armenian National Institute, to be a speaker at this session. Ambassador Gilmore's session discusses the historical circumstances of the massacres, their origins and results, and surveys the differing views of historians and others on the events. Ambassador Gilmore also makes references to the massacres in other lectures and is currently updating the readers' guide on the entire Caucasus course. Dr. Sabri Sayari, Executive Director of the Institute of Turkish Studies and a Research Professor at Georgetown University, teaches the Turkey Advanced Area Studies course and also addresses this issue. Dr. Sayari discusses the massacres as part of a session devoted to Turkish history at the time of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of nationalism.

President Clinton has preserved the tradition of commemorating Armenian Remembrance Day each April 24th because we must guard against the nightmare that such horrors could be repeated. Our human rights training, and our work for democracy and freedom overseas, has that as a key goal.

Study of these events will surely lead to the conclusion that the best tribute we can offer to the victims of these tragedies is to build peace and stability in this region, so that we can truly say "never again".

TESTIMONY CONCERNING H.RES.398
TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
BY PROFESSOR ROBERT MELSON
PURDUE UNIVERSITY
SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

Mr. Chairman Smith, and members of the committee. When I was ten years old in 1947, my family and I immigrated from Poland to America where we found a home and a sanctuary from the Nazis' attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe. In 1965 I did field work for my doctorate in Political Science in Nigeria a year before that great country disintegrated in civil war, massacre, and what the UN calls a "genocide-in-part."[1] Some of the people I had interviewed for my thesis were killed in what came to be known as the Biafran war. I mention these things not to call attention to myself but to tell you that I have had some personal experience with genocide. Hence when I started to research the Armenian Genocide in the early 1970s, in order to compare the Holocaust to that earlier disaster, I recognized a familiar pattern. The two genocides were of course not equivalent, and they differed in significant ways that were also enlightening for our understanding of genocide. I shall return to this point presently.

Let me now turn to the business at hand. My reading of H.Res. 398 is that it calls on the President 1) to provide Foreign Service Officers and others concerned with American foreign policy with training and materials concerning the Armenian Genocide; and 2) it urges the President in his annual message commemorating the Armenian Genocide to characterize that disaster frankly and openly as a "genocide," not as a "massacre" or as a "tragedy" or by another euphemism.

I firmly support both parts of the resolution on scholarly, moral, and strategic grounds. In the time allotted me I wish to briefly comment on three points:

1. The Armenian genocide was the first genocide of the modern era and set a precedent not only for the Holocaust but for most contemporary genocides especially in the Third World and in the current post communist world. Hence it is essential that it be studied by American Foreign Service Officers as well as others involved in the shaping of foreign policy.

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[1] On the basis of the United Nations definition, it is possible to distinguish between "genocide-in-whole," and "genocide-in-part." In this essay a "total domestic genocide" is a genocide-in-whole directed against a group of a state's own society, while a "partial" genocide is a "genocide-in-part." Total genocide implies extermination and/or massive death of such order that a group ceases to continue as a distinct culture. Partial genocide stops at extermination and the annihilation of culture. For further discussion of these distinctions see Robert F. Melson, Revolution and Genocide; On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 22-30.

2. In order to understand the phenomenon of genocide members of the Foreign Service community need to study the Armenian Genocide and America's reaction to it. And one of the best places to start are the records of the State Department itself, especially Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau was, of course, the American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time of the genocide.

3. I have often heard it argued that despite the occurrence of the Armenian Genocide and the Turkish government's continued denial of it, the United States should keep a low profile on the subject for fear of hurting Turkish sensibilities and undermining American strategic and economic interests in the area. Hence neither the President nor any of his representative should use the term "genocide" when referring to the mass-murder of the Armenians.

Let me start with the first point. When confronted with mass death and forced deportations, the contemporary world community has often reached for the Holocaust as a paradigmatic case of genocide, in order both to make sense of and to condemn current events. In my longer deposition, I suggest that although the Armenian Genocide resembles the Holocaust in significant ways, it is a more accurate model for current ethnic disasters in the Third World and the post-communist world.

The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust are the quintessential instances of total genocide in the 20th century. In both instances a deliberate attempt was made by the government of the day to destroy in part or in whole an ethno-religious community of ancient provenance that had existed as a segment of the government's own society. In both instances genocide was perpetrated after the fall of an old regime and during the reign of a revolutionary movement that was motivated by an ideology of social, political, and cultural transformation. And in both cases genocides occurred in the midst of world wars. These may be said to account for some of the basic similarities betweeen the two genocides, but there were significant differences as well.

The Armenian Genocide also differs from the Holocaust in that the Armenians, unlike the Jews, were living on their ancestral lands when they were deported to their deaths, and the ideology motivating the Young Turks, the perpetrators, was not a totalitarian racism but a version of integral or organic nationalism. The mix of ethnic conflict over land driven by a murderous nationalism should be familiar to any student of the contemporary Third World or post-communist Yugoslavia.

Thus following the policy recommendations of H. Res. 398, State Department Officers and others involved with making foreign policy would do well to study the Armenian Genocide for lessons

bearing both on the Holocaust and more current disasters.

Turning to the second point, when Turkey entered the First World War on the side of Germany against the Entente, the United States was still neutral and Henry Morgenthau was the American ambassador during some of the worst momements of the genocide. He received information from American consuls like Leslie A. Davis in Harpout, as well as from missionaries and other American citizens. On the basis of this information he concluded that the Ottoman government of the day had decided to exterminate the Armenians, and he tried to intercede on their behalf but to not avail. (see his attempt to intercede with Enver, p. 351-352). Having read Ambassador Morgenthau's diary, the foreign service officer might want to consult the work of Leslie A. Davis, the American consul in Harput, and a direct witness to the events. See his The Slaughterhouse Province (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide Caratzas, 1989). For further research and verification the Foreign Service Officer need not look further than the United Stats National Archives and Record Administration, where there is extensive documentation on the genocide especially under Record Group 59 of the United States Department of State, files 867.00 and 867.40.

Turning to the last point allow me to speak as a proud American citizen, not only as a scholar of genocide. I find it thoroughly dishonorable that knowing what we know about the Armenian Genocide, we persist in using euphemisms like "tragedy," "catastrophe," and "massacre" when referring to the mass-murder for fear of offending Turkish sensibilities. Would we abide such behavior from a Germany that denied the Holocaust? Indeed, could Germany ever have evolved into the vibrant and powerful democracy she is today without confronting her past? The answers are apparent, and they should be apparent in our relationship to Turkey as well.

Last March I had the privilege of participating at a conference on the Armenian Genocide at the University of Chicago, which was attended by American, Armenian, and Turkish scholars. We discussed the Armenian Genocide in open fora, with Turkish scholars not once questioning the facticity of the genocide. Indeed, some of their contributions concerning the ideology of the Young Turks was fresh and to the point. While talking to my Turkish colleagues it dawned on me that one of the reasons they were openly and courageously researching and discussing the Armenian Genocide, despite their government's denial, was because they were Turkish patriots who wished to see Turkey move towards a more modern, more open, more just, and more democratic society. In their view having Turkey bravely confront her past in the manner that Germany did with the Holocaust, South Africa did with apartheid, and the United States is attempting to do with the legacy of slavery would be a major step in the healing of the breach, the maturation of Turkey into a democratic civilization. It is of no help to my Turkish colleagues and to other democratic forces in Turkey, nor indeed to the good name and honor of the United States, to have the President use half-truths and euphemisms when speaking about the Armenian Genocide.

Thank you for allowing me to testify Mr. Chairman and members of the committee.

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PARADIGMS OF GENOCIDE:[1]

The Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide as Precedents for Contemporary Mass Destructions

Professor Robert Melson

Purdue University

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I. Introduction

When confronted with mass death and forced deportations, the contemporary world community has often reached for the Holocaust as a paradigmatic case of genocide, in order both to make sense of and to condemn current events. This essay suggests that it is the Armenian Genocide, not the Holocaust, that sets a more accurate precedent for current ethnic disasters, especially those as in the post-communist and Third Worlds, that are the products of nationalism. By the same token the Holocaust is a prototype for genocidal movements that transcend nationalism and are motivated by ideologies that have global scope.

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In this century the world has experienced four tidal waves of national and ethnic conlict and genocide in the wake of crumbling states and empires. These waves were punctuated by the First and Second World Wars and by the post-colonial, and post-communist eras. During the First World War and its aftermath, as the Ottoman Empire collapsed it committed genocide against its Armenian minority. In the same period, the disintegration of the German and Austro-Hungarian empires set off Volkisch, nationalist and fascist movements that repressed minorities and precipitated the Second World War. In the context of that war, the Nazis attempted to exterminate the Jews and Gypsies and committed partial genocide against other peoples. Following the Second World War, as former European colonial empires, notably Britain and France, withdrew

from their posessions, they left behind fragile regimes that lacked legitimacy. Such "Third World" governments frequently ruled over culturally plural societies and tried to impose the hegemony of one ethnic group over the rest. In reaction, minorities rebelled and sought self determination. This led to ethnic wars and genocide in places like Indonesia, Burundi, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Iraq. In the wake of the recent collapse of communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, we are experiencing the fourth wave of nationalist upsurge, ethnic conflicts, and genocide. Meanwhile, as in contemporary Rwanda, it should be noted, the third wave of post-colonial genocide has not yet spent its force.

The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust are the quintessential instances of total genocide in the 20th century. In both instances a deliberate attempt was made by the government of the day to destroy in part or in whole an ethno-religious community of ancient provenance that had existed as a segment of the government's own society.[2] In both instances genocide was perpetrated after the fall of an old regime and during the reign of a revolutionary movement that was motivated by an ideology of social, political, and cultural transformation. And in both cases genocides occurred in the midst of world wars. These may be said to account for some of the basic similarities betweeen the two genocides, but there were significant differences as well.

The perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide were motivated by a variant of nationalist ideology, the victims were a territorial

ethnic group that had sought autonomy, and the methods of destruction included massacre, forced deportations, and starvation. In contrast, the perpetrators of the Holocaust were motivated by racism and antisemitism, ideologies of global scope, the victims were not a territorial group and so for the most part they had sought integration and assimilation instead of autonomy, and the death camp was the characteristic method of destruction.

Though in some essential ways the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust resemble each other, the point of this essay is that contemporary instances of partial genocide such as ocurred for instance in a Third World Country like Nigeria in 1966-70 and in post-communist Yugoslavia in 1991-1999, have more in common with the Armenian Genocide than they do with the Holocaust. This stems from the character of the victim groups compared, from the ideology of the perpetrators, and from the methods of destruction. As in Armenia and unlike the Holocaust, in Nigeria and Yugoslavia, the groups singled out were territorial and had sought self-determination, the ideology of the perpetrators was a variant of nationalism, and the method of destruction was forced deportation, starvation, and massacre.

This analysis will start by briefly laying out some essential similarities and differences between the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust. It will then show how the former bears more of a resemblance to contemporary partial genocides such as have occurred in Nigeria and Yugoslavia than does the Holocaust.

II. Similarities

The similarities between the course of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust may be briefly noted. These include the low social status and rapid ascent of the two minorities in the Ottoman Empire and Imperial Germany respectively; the revolutionary transformations of both empires and the coming to power of revolutionary vanguards like the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and the Nazis; the redefinition and recasting of the identities of the majority and minority communities, Turks and Armenians, on the one hand, and Germans and Jews, on the other; and the implementation of genocide following the revolutionary state's engagement in international war.

The Armenian Genocide

In traditional Ottoman society Armenians, like other Christians and Jews, were defined as a dhimmi millet, a non-Muslim religious community of the Empire. Their actual treatment by the state varied to some extent with the military fortunes of the empire, with the religious passions of its elites, and with the encroachment upon their land of Muslim refugees from the Balkans and the Caucuses, and of Kurdish pastoralists.

Although by and large dhimmis were free to practice their religion, they were considered to be distinctively inferior to Muslims in status.[3] However, in the 19th century the Armenians

challenged the traditional hierarchy of Ottoman society, as they became better educated, wealthier, and more urban. In response, despite attempts at reforms, the empire became more represssive, and Armenians, more than any other Christian minority, bore the brunt of persecution.[4]

Throughout the 19th century the Ottoman sultans were caught in the vise between great power pressures on the one hand and the demand for self determination among their minorities on the other. By the time Abdul Hamid II came to power in 1876, he had set a course of political and social repression and technological modernization. Nevertheless, he could not halt the military and political disintegration of his regime, and he was replaced in 1908 by a political revolution of Young Turks with new and radical ideas of how to address the Ottoman crisis.

In the first instance, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the political organization formed by the Young Turks, attempted radically to transform the regime following liberal and democratic principles that had been embodied in the earlier constitution of 1876. They hoped for the support of the Great Powers for their reforms, but neither the European powers nor the minorities reduced their pressures. On the contrary, they took the opportunity of internal Ottoman disarray and revolutionary transformation to press their demands, and betwen 1908 and 1912 they succeeded in reducing the size of Ottoman territory by forty percent and its population by twenty percent.[5]

Concluding that their liberal experiment had been a failure,

the CUP leaders turned to Pan-Turkism, a xenophobic and chauvinistic brand of nationalism that sought to create a new empire based on Islam and Turkish ethnicity. This new empire, stretching from Anatolia to western China would exclude minorities or grant them nominal rights unless they became Turks by nationality and Muslim by religion.

This dramatic shift in ideology and identity, from Ottoman pluralism to an integral form of Turkish nationalism, had profound implications for the emergence of modern Turkey.[6] At the same time Pan-Turkism had tragic consequences for Ottoman minorities, most of all for the Armenians. From being once viewed as a constituent millet of the Ottoman regime, they suddenly were stereotyped as an alien nationality. Their situation became especially dangerous because of their terriorial concentration in eastern Anatolia on the border with Russia, Turkey's traditional enemy. Thus the Armenians, at one and the same time, were accused of being in league with Russia against Turkey and of claiming Anatolia, the heartland of the projected Pan-Turkic state.

This was the situation even before the First World War. When war broke out, however, the Young Turks led especially by Enver joined the German side in an anti-Russian alliance that would allow the Pan-Turkists to build their state at Russia's expense. It was in this context of revolutionary and ideological transformation and war that the fateful decision to destroy the Armenians was taken.

By February 1915 Armenians serving in the Ottoman army were turned into labor battalions and either worked to death or killed.

By April that same year the remaining civilians were deported from eastern Anatolia and Cilicia, in an early form of "ethnic cleansing," toward the deserts near Aleppo. The lines of Armenian deportees were set upon again and again by Turkish and Kurdish villagers who were often incited and led by specially designated killing squads, Teshkilat-i Makhsusiye, that had been organized by members of the CUP.[7] Those who escaped massacre were very likely to perish of famine on the way. In this manner, between 1915 and the armistice in 1918, some one million people, out of a population of two million, were killed. Later a half million more Armenians perished as Turkey sought to free herself of foreign occupation and to expel minorities. Thus between 1915 and 1923, approximately three quarters of the Armenian population was destroyed in the Ottoman Empire.

The Holocaust

The Holocaust had similar origins, albeit with significant variations. Jews were a traditional pariah caste in Europe that in the 19th century began to advance in social, economic, cultural, and political spheres. It is in this context that the antisemitic movement got its start. Initially it was dedicated to revoke Jewish emancipation and to undermine Jewish progress. Later it spawned an ideology that identified the Jews as a biologically alien tribe that was part of a world wide conspiracy to control the world. In Imperial Germany, however, antisemitic political parties failed to

make significant inroads, and on the eve of the Great War, the movement was marginalized and in retreat.[8]

Like the Young Turks, the Nazis came to power after the collapse of an old regime. The German state experienced defeat in the First World War, a failed revolt from the left, inflation, depression, and the collapse of the democratic Weimar Republic. It was this revolutionary interregnum, starting with the fall of Imperial Germany, that enabled the Nazis to come to power.

Led by Hitler, whose charismatic persona and ideology united them, the Nazis were a movement centered on a cult of the fuhrer and racialist antisemitism. Once in power the Nazis sought to recast Germany as an "Aryan" nation from which they would eradicate Jews and banish what they called the "Jewish spirit." Between 1933 and 1945 Germans scrambled to prove to themselves and to each other that their lineage had not been "polluted" by the infusion of Jewish "blood" and that their character had not been shaped by Jewish, or even Christian, values.

Indeed, the higher one went in the Nazi hierarchy the "purer" and more brutal one was expected to be. This attempt to recast one's identity in opposition to a mythical "Jew" and his Weltanschauung accounts in part for the growing radicalization of Nazi policy. In order to please Hitler and the Nazi elite, various spheres of the party and state began to compete with each other over Jewish policy and over the mantle of who was most radical on the "Jewish Question."

The Holocaust was implemented in three overlapping stages.

Thus between 1933 and 1939 Jews were defined, expropriated, and expelled from Germany. Between 1939 and 1941, as the Germans invaded Poland and set off the Second World War, Jews were concentrated in ghettos near railroad transit centers, especially in Poland and the other occupied countries of eastern Europe. Between 1941 and 1945, as Germany invaded Russia, the seat of the suppposed "Jewish World Conspiracy," Jews were first massacred by shooting squads, and later, for the sake of efficiency and secrecy, they were deported to killing centers where they were gassed and cremated.[9]

III. Differences

Like their similarities, the differences between the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust may be plotted along the same dimensions: Jews and Armenians differed in status in the two empires; Nazi racist antisemitism differed significantly from the Pan-Turkist nationalism of the Young Turks; and the killing of the Armenians relied mostly on massacre and starvation rather than the death camps.

Like the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Jews were an ethnoreligious community of low status in Christian Europe. Unlike the Armenians, however, who were the subject of contempt for being non-Muslims, the Jews of feudal Europe became a pariah caste stigmatized as "killers of the Son of God." Thus Jews were not only despised in most parts of Europe, they were also hated and feared

in a manner that the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were not.

In the 19th century, to the extent that the state became bureaucratic, society meritocratic, and the economy capitalistic, Armenians and Jews began to advance in status and wealth. Indeed, it has been suggested that Armenian and Jewish progress was viewed as illegitimate and subversive, which precipitated antagonistic reactions both in the Ottoman Empire and in Imperial Germany, respectively.[10]

Here at least two variations may be noted. Whereas Armenians were a territorial group that increasingly made known its demands for greater autonomy and self-administration within the Ottoman system, Jews were geographically dispersed, and thus, with the exception of the Zionists who sought a Jewish state in Palestine, most made no territorial demands on the larger societies in which they lived.[11] Instead, to the extent that they accepted the modern world, most Jews sought assimilation to the culture and integration into the wider society.

The reaction against Jewish progress, assimilation, and attempts at integration became a European-wide movement of antisemitism, a form of racism that setup unbridgeable obstacles to Jewish inclusion. According to antisemites, like Duhring for example, not even conversion would allow Jews to become the equals of Germans or other Europeans. Already in 1881, he wrote:

> A Jewish question would still exist, even if every Jew were to turn his back on his religion and join one of our major churches.

> Yes, I maintain that in that case, the struggle between us and the Jews would make itself felt as ever more urgent.... It is precisely the baptized Jews who infiltrate furthest, unhindered in all sectors of society and political life.[12]

According to Wilhelm Marr, for example, Jews were not only an alien race, they also constituted an international conspiracy whose aim was the domination of Germany, Europe, indeed the whole world. Thus antisemites founded not only a movement that opposed Jewish progress and assimilation, they also formulated a far reaching ideology that helped them to explain the vacillations and crises of the modern world. It was an ideology that came to rival liberalism and socialism in its mass appeal.

By way of contrast no such ideology of anti-Armenianism developed in the Ottoman Empire. Armenians may have been popularly despised for being dhimmis, or Gavur, and later under the Young Turks they may have been feared as an alien nation supposedly making claims to Anatolia, the heartland of the newly valued "Turkey." However, even Pan-Turkism left the door open to conversion and assimilation of minorities, something that racism and antisemitism explicitly rejected.

Moreover, though the Young Turks may have claimed that the Armenians were in league with their international enemies, especially the Russians, their nationalism never led them to the bizzare excesses which later became Nazi antisemitism. There was

no equivalent in the Pan-Turkish view of Armenians to the Nazis' hysterical struggle against the "Jewish spirit" which was said to linger in Germany and Europe even afer most of the Jews had been murdered.

Finally it should be noted that the death camp, a conception of the Nazi state, was an extraordinary organization, not seen before or since. It was a factory managed by the SS but staffed at all levels by the inmates themselves. Its primary aim was to dehumanize and kill its prisoners after confiscating their property and making use of their labor. Although Jews like Armenians perished in massacres and by starvation, the use of the death camp as a method of extermination differentiated the Holocaust from the Aremenian Genocide.

It will readily be seen that partial genocide in Nigeria and other culturally plural societies in the Third World, as well as genocide in post-communist states like Yugoslavia bear closer resemblance to the Armenian Genocide than they do to the Holocaust.

IV. Nigeria

Genocide has been committed throughout the Third World. Here are a few examples: Indonesia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, East Pakistan, and Iraq. In all of these instances a shaky and hardly legitimate post-colonial state ruling over a culturally plural society attempted to establish the hegemony of a leading ethnic group over other ethnic segments of society. This attempt at

domination provoked movements of resistance and self-determination, which the post-colonial state then tried to halt by force, including massacre and partial genocide.

Nigeria gained her independence from Great Britain in 1960. It was organized as a federation of three states, each centering on a major ethnic group. The Northern state was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, the Western by the Yoruba, and the Eastern by the Ibo. The major ethnic groups jockeyed for power at the federal level, while each had its "minorities" that felt discriminated against at the state level of the federation.

The post-independence government, dominated by Hausa-Fulani Muslims, was resisted by southern largely non-Muslim groups, especially the Ibos. In 1966, after a failed military coup the thousands of Ibos were massacred in Northern Nigeria. In 1967, a year after the massacres, the Ibos tried to secede. They called Eastern Nigeria, "Biafra," and fought a war of self-determination until 1970, when their secession collapsed.

During the war over a million Biafrans starved to death as a result of the deliberate Nigerian policy of blockade and disruption of agricultural life. Thus, between 1966 and 1970, a "genocide-in-part" occurred in Nigeria, following the UN definition. It is important, however, to recall that what happened in Biafra differed from the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide in that the policies of the Nigerian Federal Militarly Goverment (FGM) did not include extermination of the Ibos.

V. Yugoslavia

A definitive history of the recent and current conflict in former Yugoslavia does not yet exist, but it is possible to render a provisional sketch. The Yugoslav disaster stems from the failure of the communist regime to establish legitimate politial institutions, a viable economy, and a compelling political culture. After Tito's death in 1980, ethnically based nationalist movements started to mobilize and to demand greater autonomy, if not yet self-determination. The process of dissolution and disintegration was drastically accelerated with the rise of Milosevic who articulated an integral form of Serbian nationalism and irredentism that called for the creation of a Yugoslavia dominated by Serbia, such as had existed after the First World War. This frightened the other nationalities and encouraged intransigent elements.

Milosevic's integral Serbian nationalism in a context of Yugoslav and communist institutional decay and insecurity, helped to sharpen ethnic enmities, to strenghten centrifugal forces throughout the federation and to accelerate the processes of disintegration. Thus on September 27, 1989, the parliament of Slovenia adopted amendments to its constitution giving the republic the right to secede from Yugoslavia. Thousands of Serbs demonstrated in Novi Sad, fearing for their status in an independent Slovenia. On July 3, 1990 the Parliament of Slovenia declared that the laws of the republic took precedence over those of Yugoslavia, on December 22, 1990 Slovenia reported that 95

percent of the voters supported a plebiscite on independence, and on June 25, 1991 Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia.

A similar march of events occurred in Croatia, which also declared its independence on June 25, 1991. The big differnce between Slovenia and Croatia, however, was the presence of a large Serbian minority in the latter. Moreover, no sooner was independence declared in Croatia, that the Tudjman regime launched an anti-Serb campaign that would have alarmed the Serbs, even if nationalist elements among them had not been earlier mobilized by Milosevic. Now that their kin were being threatened in Croatia, Milosevic and other Serbian nationalists could call forth the terrible history of the Ustasha genocide of the Second World War to mobilize the Serbs against Croatian independence and in support of Serbian irredenta.

After June 25, 1991, when Slovenia and Croatia declared their idependence, thereby creating Serbian minorities, especially in Croatia, the Serb radicals, using the cover of the Yugoslav army, launched an attack whose main intent was to incorporate Serbian populated Croatian territory. To this end Serbian forces not only initiated hostilities but set out on a path of terrorism and massacre in order to drive Croats out of areas that they desired to incorporate into Greater Serbia.

This policy of terrorism and "ethnic cleansing" was set in motion with even greater ferocity against Bosnia when it declared its independence on March 3, 1992. Indeed, in time both Serb and

Croat forces descended on Bosnia with the clear intention of carving up and destroying a state that initially had tried to stand aside from ethnic nationalism and had opted for a pluralist society. But both Serb and Croat nationalists were intent on either carving up and destroying Bosnia or making of it a rump state that would in time collapse. To this end, especially the Serbs, led by Karadzic in Bosnia practiced massacre, "ethnic cleansing," and cultural destruction against those they called the "Turks." A few years later the pattern of ethnic cleansing and genocide was repeated in Kosovo. Taken together such policies of destruction on a wide scale are called genocide.[13]

Keeping Nigeria and Yugoslavia in mind, however, it is also important to note the great fear and insecurity that posesses everyone when a government is challenged and a state begins to disintegrate. This great fear, especially in culturally plural societies, leads people to seek the shelter of their families and kin and persuades various groups to band for protection and to view each other as potential enemies.

Indeed, before the culturally plural state like Nigeria or Yugoslavia disintegrates its politics may revolve about various ethnic issues of group status and the distribution of scarce goods, but once a state crashes, for whatever reasons, ethnic groups begin to fear for their lives, as well they should. Once a political order disintegrates who can guarantee an ethnic group that its mortal enemies won't come to power and won't destroy it? It is this great fear that has seized all the groups in Yugoslavia, including

those Serbs who are the main perpetrators of partial genocide.

VI. The Armenian and Biafran Genocides

In both the Nigerian and Bosnian cases we can see some parallels to the Armenian Genocide. A dominant ethnic group in a culturally plural society attempted to establish its hegemony. It was resisted by minorities that attempted some form of autonomy or self determination. In reaction, the dominant group perpetrated repression and genocide. There are significant differences as well that may be even more instructive, since it is the differences that tell us how genocide varies under different conditions.

The crucial difference between a total domestic genocide as occurred in the Armenian case and a partial one, as occurred in Nigeria can also be seen by comparing the two. Unlike the Armenians, once Biafra was defeated and the danger of secession passed, the Ibos were not massacred or further expelled from Nigeria. On the contrary, there was a genuine attempt to reintegrate the Ibo population into Nigeria when the war ended.

This difference may be due to two reasons. First, although the Federal Military Government was dominated by Hausa-Fulani elements, it included minorities in its leadership, indeed General Gowon its commander was a Christian from the north. Thus the FMG never developed an ideology of "Northernization" or "Muslimization" the way the Young Turks relied on Turkification and sought to create an ethnically homogeneous Turkey.

Second, the territorial issue, a crucial element in the Armenian case, was missing. The Ibos of the North were "strangers" and not "sons-of-the-soil," thus they could not make a legitimate claim to Northern territory.[14] Moreover, it is significant that the Ibos had their own area, which, except for its oil, the North did not covet. Once the Ibos were driven from the North back into their space, and the Biafran secession was defeated, the Northern elements in the army and elsewhere had succeeded in their major aims. Further massacre and starvation of the Ibos was unnecessary for ideological, territorial, or any other reasons and the partial genocide ceased.

The Biafran state was never claimed as the "homeland" of the Hausa-Fulani in the manner that Anatolia had been staked out by the Turks. Thus a federal solution to ethnic conflict could be implemented in Nigeria, the way it could not in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians could not be driven back to "their" lands, since their lands were claimed to be the "heartland" of Turkey. Indeed, it may be suggested that this Turkish claim to Armenian lands was a major reason why the Armenian Genocide, unlike the mass death of Biafra, became total in the manner of the Holocaust.

VII. The Armenian and Bosnian Genocides

Two major similarities between the Armenian Genocide and the partial genocide that occurred in Bosnia should be apparent. Like the Young Turks, the Serbian, and to some extent the Croat,

nationalists aspired to a large state that would include their peoples and exclude other ethnic and national groups. Like the Armenians, the Muslims, an ethnoreligous community making claims to land, was massacred and driven out by Serb and Croat nationalist movements that sought to incorporate their lands and "cleanse" the area of their presence and to destroy their culture.

However, the status of Bosnia as an independent state recognized by the international community marks a significant difference between the situations of Ibos in Nigeria and of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Neither Armenians nor Biafrans were widely recognized as members of independent states while their destructions were in process.[15]

Some major similarities and differences in comparison between the Armenian Genocide and the current wave of mass murder, may be the role of the international community. The Armenians were largely abandoned to their fate, in part because the genocide occurred in the midst of a world war. During the cold war, both the Eastern and the Western blocks discouraged movements of self-determination, fearing super power involvement; and the African states did the same, fearing their own disintegration along ethnic lines. This explains in part, why Ibos like Armenians were also abandoned, except for some humanitarian relief.

In the current period following the Cold War, the international community is giving mixed signals about how it will react to partial genocide. On the one hand it acted forcefully to limit the Iraqi attack on the Kurds; on the other hand, it delayed

its intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo, despite the apparent massacres that were perpetrated by the Milosevic regime. It seems that the international community intervened rapidly and with force in Iraq because some member states saw their national interests threatened by Iraqi aggression. Since no such clear interests seemed to lie in Bosnia and Kosovo, interevention was long delayed beyond the time that massacres and even genocide were perpetrated.[16]

VIII. Conclusion

The Armenian Genocide is a more accurate archetype than is the Holocaust for current mass murders in the post-colonial "Third World," and in the contemporary post-communist world. In Nigeria and Yugoslavia, for example, as in the Armenian case, and unlike the Holocaust, minorities were territorial ethnic groups, aiming at some form of autonomy or self-determination while the perpetrators were driven by a variant of nationalism, and the methods of destruction involved massacre and starvation. In the Holocaust the victims were not a territorial group, the ideology was a variant of a global racism and antisemitism, not nationalism, and the characteristic method of destruction was the death camp.[17]

Thus in being a total genocide rather than a partial destruction the Armenian Genocide was a precursor of the Holocaust. Moreover, because the perpetrators were intent not only in

destroying a minority but also in seizing its lands, the Armenian Genocide was a prototype of contemporary nationalist genocides. In both ways the Armenian Genocide set a terrible precedent for our century.

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Endnotes

1.This testimony is based on an article of the same title that appeared in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 548 (November 1996):156-168.

2. On the basis of the United Nations definition, it is possible to distinguish between "genocide-in-whole," and "genocide-in-part." In this essay a "total domestic genocide" is a genocide-in-whole directed against a group of a state's own society, while a "partial" genocide is a "genocide-in-part." Total genocide implies extermination and/or massive death of such order that a group ceases to continue as a distinct culture. Partial genocide stops at extermination and the annihilation of culture. For further discussion of these distinctions see Robert F. Melson, Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 22-30.

3. See Roderic H.Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," American Historical Review 4, 1954, pp. 844-64.

4. See Melson, pp. 43-69.

5. See Feroz Ahmad, The Young Turks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.153.

6. See Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

7. See Vahakan. N. Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and its Contemporary Legal Ramifications." Yale Journal of International Law 2, Summer 1989, pp. 221-334.

8. See Richard S. Levy, The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).

9. See Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967; new ed. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985).

10. See Melson, p. 137.

11. See Jonathan Frankel, Prophesy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862-1917 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1981) and Ezra Mendelsohn, The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) for discussions of the ideological cross currents that affected Jews in this period.

12. Cited in Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, The Jews in the Modern World: A Documentary History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 273.

13. According to Helsinki watch, genocide is taking place in Bosnia and other former areas of Yugoslavia. Although all sides have been accused of atrocities, it is the Serbian side, especially in Bosnia that is charged with genocide. See War Crimes in Bosnia-Hercegovina (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992), p. 1.

14. See Donald L. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985) for discussions how groups validate their claims to status and power. A basic distinction lies between those who have historically dominated an area and migrants who are new arrivals. The first, the "sons-of-the-soil" make their claims on the basis of ancestral privilege, the second cannot. Thus Armenians in Anatolia could make a claim to the land, the way Ibos in the North could not.

15. See Richard G. Hovannisian, Armenia on the Road to Independence (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), and John J. Stremlau, The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

16. Delay and indifference also characterized the response of the international community to the Rwanda genocide of 1994--with even more serious consequences. See Alison Des Forges, Leave None to Tell the Story (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999).

17. In the contemporary world the Cambodian genocide resembles the Holocaust in that the urban middle classes slated for destruction, like the Jews in Europe, were not a territorial group but an ideological category. On seizing power on April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge set about destroying various strata and segments of Cambodian society. These included the urban upper and middle classes and various ethnic communities like the Vietnamese, the Chams, and the Overseas Chinese. The killing of ethnic communities was based on Cambodian racism and paranoia--the fear that if such communities were not destroyed the indigenous Khmers would be submerged by aliens, especially the Vietnamese.

The parallel to the Nazi case becomes more apparent in the Khmer Rouge attack on the urban middle and upper classes. Here they were motivated by a global ideology--a perverted form of Marxism--in which such classes played the role of the "compradore Bourgeoisie" that was allied to imperialism and capitalism. Unlike the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, these classes were not a territorial group making claims to the heartland of the Khmers. Like the Jews under the Nazis, according to the Khmer Rouge, these urban classes were an ideological category that had to be killed in order to destroy imperialism and to usher in a more perfect world.

Prepared Statement of Ambassador Gündüz Suphi Aktan

Mr. Chairman,

I thank you very much for inviting me to this hearing. It is a privilege and honor for me to address this sub-committee in my personal capacity as a private citizen, although the topic is not a pleasant one.

The question before us is too complex to treat in five minutes. Therefore, I will not dwell on it's historical aspects.

Let me stress, however, that the Turkish people firmly believe that what happened to the Armenians was not genocide.

It was a relocation to other parts of the Ottoman Empire of only the eastern Anatolian Armenians, away from a war zone in which they were collaborating with invading Russian armies with the aim of creating an independent state of their own in areas where they were only a minority by ethnically 'cleansing' the majority Turks.

This tragedy occurred during the war between the Ottoman Empire and Tsarist Russia, which was greatly aided by the Armenians, a long inter-communal struggle between Armenian irregulars and defending Muslim civilians as well as a thoroughly disorganized relocation of the Armenian population under the exceptionally difficult conditions of the day.

As a result many Armenians were killed. But many more Muslims and Turks perished as well.

The Turkish people will be deeply offended by this resolution which practically accuses them of being genocidal. They will also find it disrespectful of their unmentioned millions of dead.

Were it to be adopted, I am afraid, it would have two immediate effects: one on Turco-Armenian relations, the other on Turco-American relations.

Under the tremendous pressure of public opinion, the Turkish government will be compelled to toughen its foreign policy towards Armenia.

Turkey earnestly rejoiced at Armenia's independence after the demise of the Soviet Union. As a token of friendship the Turkish government provided wheat to the Armenian people who were then in dire need. I feel personally gratified to have played a part, together with Mr. G. Libaridian, in accomplishing this Turkish gesture of fellowship.

Turkey integrated Armenia into the Black Sea Cooperation Council, although it is not a littoral state.

Despite the so-called embargo, Turkish governments have deliberately turned a blind eye to the porous nature of the common border through which vital provisions reach the Armenians.

Armenia, however, maintains its occupation of 20 % of Azerbaijani territory, creating one million refugees with the help of Russian protection purchased at the cost of its newly gained independence.

Now, by insisting on the recognition of the genocide, the Armenian leadership and the diaspora will finally silence the few remaining voices favorable to them in Turkey. This will effectively result in sealing the border. Given the situation in Armenia this attitude of the Armenian government is akin to suicide.

However, I am personally more worried about Turkey's relations with the U.S. A strategic cooperation has been developed over the decades with great care and patience on the basis of mutual interest.

The first casualty of this resolution would be Cyprus, for the U.S. will immediately lose its honest broker status in the eyes of Turkish public opinion. Mr. Moses, the President's special representative, may no longer find any interlocutor.

Turkey and the U.S. closely cooperate in the Caucasus, especially in the field of energy, which has recently acquired great importance due to the rapidly increasing oil prices. In the region where Armenia is situated, the potential for cooperation with a country that considers Turks genocidal will be bound to remain severely limited.

But above all our cooperation on Iraq will inevitably suffer. The support for the American policy in northern Iraq, already slim, will dwindle immediately, for the Turkish people already feel enough of effects of the economic embargo with Iraq, which costs them billions of dollars. Why to continue to make this sacrifice?

This would mean the military base at Incirlik would no longer be used by U.S. war planes to bomb northern Iraq. Without air power to deter Saddam Huseyn from regaining the control of the region,this could very well be the end of the INC.

The crucial question is why the Armenians, not content with the word "tragedy" or "catastrophe", insist on genocide.

I am not a jurist. But I served as ambassador to the UN section in Geneva where questions related to humanitarian law (or the law of war) are also dealt with. In connection with the former Yugoslavia we thoroughly discussed the genocide convention.

What determines genocide is not necessarily the number of casualties or the cruelty of the persecution but the "intent to destroy' a group. Historically the "intent to destroy a race" has emerged only as the culmination of racism, as in the case of anti-Semitism and the Shoah. Turks have never harbored any anti-Armenianism.

Killing, even of civilians, in a war waged for territory, is not genocide. The victims of genocide must be totally innocent. In other words, they must not fight for something tangible like land, but be killed by the victimizer simply because of their membership in a specific group.

Obviously, both Turks and Armenians fought for land upon which to build their independent states.

Since genocide is an imprescriptable crime, Armenia has recourse to the International Court of Justice at the Hague and may therefore ask the court to determine, according to article IX of the Convention, whether it was genocide.

But I know they cannot do it. They do not have a legally sustainable case. That is why they seek legislative resolutions which are legally null and void.

One last point: I would humbly suggest that all the references to Great Britain in the text of the resolution be dropped, for in July of this year the British Government declared in the House of Lords that "in the absence of unequivocal evidence to show that the Ottoman administration took a specific decision to eliminate the Armenians, the British Governments have not recognized the events of 1915-16 as genocide".

Let us not forget that Great Britain was the occupying power after the First World War and the Ottoman archives were at its disposition.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JUSTIN MCCARTHY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

In Turkey today there are millions of men and women who remember their parents and grandparents' accounts of the terrible events of World War I. Their stories tell of murders, rapes, and forced exile from their homes. Turks do not dwell on these things, but they remember. When asked, they tell their family histories in sorrow and anger. The stories are so similar to those told by Armenians that only the names of the victims separate them. Like the Armenians, the Turks and other Muslims suffered horribly in one of the most perilous times in human history. Like the Armenians, Turks were killed by their enemies; in their case the enemies were often Armenians. Like the Armenians, the Turks suffered forced migrations in which great numbers died. Like the Armenians, the Turks died from disease and starvation. In the wartime period, Turks and other Muslims lost nearly 3 million souls. Like the Armenians, they have not forgotten their losses. Turks tell their children stories of those times. Like the Armenians, they dwell on the suffering of their own. Turkish scholars and the Turkish government have begun to recognize and to deplore the suffering of both sides, but it is naturally the sufferings of their own people that are most remembered.

I have come here to oppose a House resolution that ignores the suffering of the Turks, a resolution that declares that mutual inhumanity in an inter-communal war was genocide. I am naturally troubled by the inaccurate assertions in the resolution. Yet I am most troubled that the United States Congress might promulgate a version of history that attacks one of our allies without affording those allies a chance to tell their own side of history. Turks will not receive this resolution well, nor should they. Those who remember the past suffering of their own people cannot be expected to accept unjust attacks on their forefathers, not even when the attacks come from those whom the Turks have rightly considered to be their best friends in the world.

The historical assertions in House Resolution 398 are more than questionable. Within the resolution is a long list of accusations, quotes, and justifications--carefully selected and with no mention of opposing positions. This is the equivalent of a trial in which the judge hears only the prosecution, then issues a verdict.

House Resolution 398 quotes from General Harbord, without mentioning that General Harbord has been proven to have lied and to have suppressed evidence from his own staff that demonstrated that Armenians had engaged in mass murder of Turks and Kurds. The Resolution selectively recalls one American Ambassador of the war period, Morgenthau, who agreed with the Armenian Cause, but makes no mention of the American ambassador, Bristol, who disagreed with that cause. Morgenthau's political motivations, racist views, and patent inventions of events go unmentioned.

Adolf Hitler's supposed views on Armenian history are quoted, as if the Nazis needed to learn from Middle Eastern history before they could put their evil plans into effect. Whether Adolf Hitler ever said those words has been fiercely debated. Scholars have examined German archives and reports of eye-witnesses and newspaper reporters from the time. Some scholars believe the quote was the product of the imagination of a reporter for the Associated Press. Others believe it was simply omitted from the official record. Such disagreements are only truly resolved by study and academic debate. Yet House Resolution 398 declares with confidence that Hitler said it.

The statement that 2,000,000 Armenians were deported, 1.5 million were killed, and 500,000 were survivors is a bizarre increase of both the number of Armenians and the number of deaths. Immediately after the war, Armenian representatives estimated that approximately 600,000 Anatolian Armenians had died, a number with which I agree. Now the figure seems to have risen to 1.5 million dead--slightly more than the entire Armenian population of Anatolia. Contemporary figures from the League of Nations and those of Armenian scholars (not figures from Turks) indicate that nearly 900,000 Armenians survived the war, not the 500,000 stated in the resolution. Which leaves the question, where did these figures come from? They are not the result of historical inquiry.

Turkish courts-martial that convicted members of the Committee of Union and Progress Government of the Ottoman Empire are reported, but not described. Had they been portrayed in any detail, the character of the tribunals would have been apparent. They were quisling courts, convened by an unelected government under the watchful eyes of the British and other Allies. The accused could not defend themselves at these mock courts. The resolution does not mention that the courts also found the government guilty of all sorts of preposterous crimes, everything the courts could invent that would discredit the previous government and please the Allies. The resolution does not relate that the British themselves admitted that they could find no evidence that the Ottoman government was guilty of planned extermination of the Armenians, although they tried very hard to do so. The British at the time were in control of Istanbul. Archives and government records were in their hands. Yet they could not find the evidence. Facts such as this are essential to an understanding of the Armenian-Turkish conflict; they are omitted from House Resolution 398.

The resolution states that the national archives of Turkey contain records of these courts-martial, which is true. What is not stated is that these same archives also contain voluminous evidence of Armenian actions against the Muslims. This evidence would call into question the entire basis of House Resolution 398. It is also not included in the resolution.

Statements of the Allied governments in 1915 are included, but no mention is made of the fact that those Allies were at the time at war with the Ottoman Empire. It is well known that Allied propaganda bureaus deliberately fostered a damning image of the Turks to counter effective anti-Russian propaganda from the Central Powers. At the time, Russian persecution of the Jews was much publicized in America. The Allies needed something to counter it in the American mind, something to blame on the Central Powers. They selected the Armenian Horrors, and did their job of propaganda very well. Documents invented by the British Propaganda Bureau during World War I are still being reprinted today as if they were true.

There can be no question that the concept of an Armenian Genocide has been widely accepted. The various statements of political leaders listed in the resolution demonstrate this. This is partly due to the fact that in Europe and the United States there were very few Turks. No one was there to defend the memory of the Turks, and there was no incentive for Americans or Western Europeans to delve deeper into the subject. Religious and ethnic prejudice played their part. Indeed, anyone who did advance arguments against the conventional wisdom risked

vilification and loss of position. It must also be said that America was remarkably lacking in scholars who studied the Ottoman Empire at all. Not until well into our lifetimes was this situation corrected. It was when scholars began to study Ottoman history from Ottoman sources that they began to question the Armenian Genocide.

The Turks themselves bear responsibility for not opposing those who distorted their history. After the terrible wars of 1912 to 1922, Turkey was largely in ruins. One-fourth of the population was dead. Cities had been destroyed, farm animals killed, trees and crops burned with no seed to replace them. Yet there were some who called for the wars to go on. Lands that had been Turkish were still in the hands of enemies. Revenge lived in the minds of those who had lost all in the wars. If these sentiments were to rule the new Turkish Republic, more deaths would have resulted. The government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk therefore set a policy of ignoring past losses and making peace with old enemies. The Turkish government felt that pressing the Turkish case against Armenians and others would rekindle old hatreds and invite war, so the Turks said nothing of their grievances. This was the right decision for the time. The unfortunate result was that no one spoke for the Turks.

Not until Armenian terrorists began to kill Turkish diplomats did the Turks change their policy. They opened their archives and began to publish documents of the wartime period. These became a part of a scholarly reexamination that will continue for many years.

Do I expect that the Sub-Committee and the Congress will accept my word on historical events? No. Nor should they accept the word of others. Such matters should be considered by historians who marshall facts, analyze sources, and engage in scholarly debate--historians who do not only put forth one side of the argument. Congress, with limited time to consider the pressing problems of our country, cannot be expected to read all the literature, then come to conclusions on historical events. Yet, in fairness, that is exactly what must be done before historical judgements are made.

Finally, it must be asked why the Foreign Service of the United States should be instructed to teach this one version of history. Why this particular example of man's inhumanity to man? Why pick one example that is debated by scholars, instead of the many examples of inhumanity that are agreed by all? Why not the Irish potato famine, the murder and starvation of Ukrainians by Stalin, the Serbian death camps in Bosnia? Incredibly, I understand that no House resolution has been passed requiring Foreign Service instruction on the Holocaust! What are the Turks to think, but that they are being singled out for condemnation, unjustly censured for something they believe they did not do, when those whose guilt is agreed upon by all go unmentioned, unblamed?

If the Foreign Service of the United States is to be instructed in man's inhumanity to man, would it not be better to instruct in all of the many examples of inhumanity? If this were to be done, justice would demand that the curricula include not only the sufferings of the Armenians, but also the sufferings of the Turks.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROGER W. SMITH BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY TO DISCUSS "H. RESOLUTION 398, THE UNITED STATES TRAINING ON AND COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION."

LET ME BEGIN BY PUTTING A HUMAN FACE ON THE ISSUES WE HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DISCUSS: DID THE KILLING OF THE ARMENIANS BEGINNING IN 1915 CONSTITUTE GENOCIDE? and WHAT SUGGESTIONS CAN BE MADE TO INCREASE AWARENESS AMONG AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AND OTHERS OF THE CONTINUING SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE?

I COUNT AMONG MY FRIENDS A RETIRED CAREER U.S. AMBASSADOR -- HE WAS AN AMBASSDOR TO TWO AFRICAN STATES. WHEN HE HEARD ABOUT AN ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS, HE ASKED ME WHAT WAS THE POINT: THE EVENTS HAD HAPPENED LONG AGO (IN THE 19TH CENTURY, HE ASKED?), WHAT HAPPENED MAY NOT HAVE BEEN GENOCIDE ANYWAY, AND IN ANY CASE, IT WAS TIME TO FORGET THE EVENTS AND MOVE ON. I CAN'T THINK OF A BETTER EXAMPLE OF WHY THE TRAINING THAT THE RESOLUTION ENVISAGES IS SO IMPORTANT. HE IS AN ASTUTE MAN, YET HE HAD NO INKLING THAT IT WAS WITH THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ON "CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY" BEGAN, THAT THE SUBSEQUENT FAILURE TO CARRY THROUGH WITH THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL TRIALS CONTRIBUTED TO THE CULTURE OF IMPUNITY

THAT MADE GENOCIDE FEASIBLE. NOR DID HE HAVE ANY UNDERSTANDING OF THE COSTS THAT DENIAL OF GENOCIDE BY TURKEY SINCE 1915 HAS INFLICTED UPON THE WORLD: 1. LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE VICTIMS; 2. SENDING SIGNALS TO WOULD-BE PERPETRATORS THAT THEY CAN COMMIT GENOCIDE, THEN DENY IT, AND GET AWAY WITH IT; AND 3. CUTTING US OFF FROM KNOWLEDGE THAT MIGHT HELP PREVENT FUTURE GENOCIDES.

NOR DO I THINK THAT MY FRIEND REALIZED THE EXTENT TO WHICH GIVING IN TO TURKISH DENIAL OUT OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY PREVENTS TURKEY FROM ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS OWN HISTORY, MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR THAT NATION TO TRANSCEND ITS PAST.

YET WE HAVE SEEN AS RECENTLY AS THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH CONFUSION ABOUT HOW TO DESCRIBE THE CLEAREST CASE OF GENOCIDE SINCE THE HOLOCAUST. THEREFORE, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT OFFICIALS DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND GENOCIDE SHOULD RECEIVE TRAINING IN THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF GENOCIDE, BECOME AWARE OF THE MEANS OF PREVENTION, AND OPPORTUNITIES LOST, AND BE EXPOSED TO THE ARGUMENTS AND LOGIC OF GENOCIDE DENIAL. THEY WOULD NEED TO CONSIDER A RANGE OF CASES, BUT PROMINENT AMONG THEM WOULD BE THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE. THE ARMENIAN CASE IS THE PROTOTYPE FOR MUCH OF THE GENOCIDE THAT WE HAVE SEEN SINCE 1945: IT WAS TERRITORIAL, DRIVEN BY NATIONALISM, AND CARRIED OUT WITH A RELATIVELY LOW LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY. THERE ARE ALSO POWERFUL RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE ARMENIAN

GENOCIDE IN THE REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN OFFICIALS AT THE TIME, NOTABLY AMBASSADOR HENRY MORGENTHAU AND CONSUL LESLIE DAVIS, WHO MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE YOUNG TURK GOVERNMENT WAS PURSUING A POLICY, NOT OF WARTIME RELOCATION, BUT OF EXTERMINATION.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THIS BEING A CENTRALLY PLANNED, SYSTEMATIC GENOCIDE COMES FROM MANY SOURCES AND CONSISTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF EVIDENCE, WHICH CONVERGE IN A SINGLE DIRECTION. THE EVIDENCE OF INTENT IS BACKED BY EXPLICIT OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS: "ARE THE ARMENIANS, WHO ARE BEING DISPATCHED FROM THERE, BEING LIQUIDATED? ARE THOSE HARMFUL PERSONS WHOM YOU INFORM US YOU ARE EXILING AND BANISHING, BEING EXTERMINATED, OR ARE THEY BEING MERELY DISPATCHED AND EXILED? ANSWER EXPLICITLY...".

INTENT IS ALSO BACKED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE ACTIONS AGAINST THE ARMENIANS: IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT OVER A MILLION PERSONS COULD HAVE DIED DUE TO EVEN A BADLY FLAWED EFFORT AT RESETTLEMENT. MOREOVER, THE PATTERN OF DESTRUCTION WAS REPEATED OVER AND OVER IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF TUEKY, MANY OF THEM FAR FROM ANY WAR ZONE; SUCH REPETITION COULD ONLY HAVE COME FROM A CENTRAL DESIGN. FURTHER, THE REWARD STRUCTURE WAS GEARED TOWARD DESTRUCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN MINORITY: PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS AND OFFICIALS WHO REFUSED TO CARRY OUT ORDERS TO ANNIHILATE THE ARMENIANS WERE SUMMARILY REPLACED.

ARMENIAN MEN WERE DRAFTED INTO THE ARMY, SET TO WORK AS PACK ANIMALS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY KILLED. LEADERS WERE ARRESTED AND EXECUTED. THEN THE DEPORTATIONS OF WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE ELDERLY INTO THE DESERTS OF SYRIA AND IRAQ BEGAN. THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, HENRY MORGENTHAU, IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZED THAT THE FORCED MARCHES INTO THE DESERT, AND THE ATROCITIES THAT ACCOMPANIED THEM, WERE A NEW FORM OF MASSACRE. "WHEN THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES GAVE THE ORDERS FOR THESE DEPORTATIONS, THEY WERE SIMPLY GIVING THE DEATH WARRANT TO A WHOLE RACE; THEY UNDERSTOOD THIS WELL, AND IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH ME, THEY MADE NO PARTICULAR ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL THE FACT."

THE AMBASSADORS OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTS ALLIED WITH TURKEY, ALSO QUICKLY REALIZED WHAT WAS TAKING PLACE. AS EARLY AS JULY 1915, THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR REPORTED TO BERLIN: "TURKS BEGAN DEPORTATIONS FROM AREAS NOW NOT THREATENED BY INVASION. THIS FACT AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE RELOCATION IS BEING CARRIED OUT DEMONSTRATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS REALLY PURSUING THE AIM OF DESTROYING THE ARMENIAN RACE IN TURKEY." AND BY JANUARY 1917 HIS SUCCESSOR REPORTED: "THE POLICY OF EXTERMINATION HAS LARGELY BEEN ACHIEVED; THE CURRENT LEADERS OF TURKEY FULLY SUBSCRIBE TO THIS POLICY."

MR.CHAIRMAN, I CONCLUDE WITH A BRIEF CNN FILM CLIP ON CONTINUING ATTEMPTS BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO DENY THE HISTORICAL REALITY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE.

IV

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 398

Calling upon the President to provide for appropriate training and materials to all Foreign Service officers, United States Department of State officials, and any other executive branch employee involved in responding to issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 18, 1999

Mr. RADANOVICH (for himself and Mr. BONIOR) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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RESOLUTION

Calling upon the President to provide for appropriate training and materials to all Foreign Service officers, United States Department of State officials, and any other executive branch employee involved in responding to issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, and for other purposes.

1 *Resolved*,

2 **SECTION. 1. SHORT TITLE.**

3 This resolution may be cited as the "United States
4 Training on and Commemoration of the Armenian Geno-
5 cide Resolution".

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 The House of Representatives finds the following:

3 (1) The Armenian Genocide was conceived and
4 carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to
5 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly
6 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men,
7 women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors
8 were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded
9 in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of
10 Armenians in their historic homeland.

11 (2) On May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers, Eng-
12 land, France, and Russia, jointly issued a statement
13 explicitly charging for the first time ever another
14 government of committing "a crime against human-
15 ity".

16 (3) This joint statement stated "[i]n view of
17 these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and
18 civilization, the Allied Governments announce pub-
19 licly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold person-
20 ally responsible for these crimes all members of the
21 Ottoman Government, as well as those of their
22 agents who are implicated in such massacres".

23 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government
24 indicted the top leaders involved in the "organization
25 and execution" of the Armenian Genocide and in the
26 "massacre and destruction of the Armenians".

1 (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the
2 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as
3 charged, for organizing and executing massacres
4 against the Armenian people.
5 (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Geno-
6 cide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior
7 Talaat, and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all
8 condemned to death for their crimes, however, the
9 verdicts of the courts were not enforced.
10 (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic
11 judicial failures are documented with overwhelming
12 evidence in the national archives of Austria, France,
13 Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States,
14 the Vatican and many other countries, and this vast
15 body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same
16 events, and the same consequences.
17 (8) The United States National Archives and
18 Record Administration holds extensive and thorough
19 documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially
20 in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the United
21 States Department of State, files 867.00 and
22 867.40, which are open and widely available to the
23 public and interested institutions.
24 (9) The national archives of Turkey should also
25 include all of the records pertaining to the indict-

1 ment, trial, and conviction of the Ottoman authori-
2 ties responsible for the Armenian Genocide.
3 (10) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United
4 States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from
5 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials
6 of many countries, among them the allies of the
7 Ottoman Empire, against the Armenian Genocide.
8 (11) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly de-
9 scribed to the United States Department of State
10 the policy of the Young Turk government as "a cam-
11 paign of race extermination", and was instructed on
12 July 16, 1915, by United States Secretary of State
13 Robert Lansing that the "Department approves your
14 procedure . . . to stop Armenian persecution".
15 (12) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of Feb-
16 ruary 9, 1916, resolved that "the President of the
17 United States be respectfully asked to designate a
18 day on which the citizens of this country may give
19 expression to their sympathy by contributing funds
20 now being raised for the relief of the Armenians",
21 who at the time were enduring "starvation, disease,
22 and untold suffering".
23 (13) President Wilson concurred and also en-
24 couraged the formation of the organization known as
25 Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress,

1 which contributed some $116,000,000 from 1915 to
2 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors, in-
3 cluding 132,000 orphans who became foster children
4 of the American people.

5 (14) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11,
6 1920, stated in part, "the testimony adduced at the
7 hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Sen-
8 ate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly es-
9 tablished the truth of the reported massacres and
10 other atrocities from which the Armenian people
11 have suffered".

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

20 (16) Setting the stage for the Holocaust, Adolf
21 Hitler, on ordering his military commanders to at-
22 tack Poland without provocation in 1939, dismissed
23 objections by saying "[w]ho, after all, speaks today
24 of the annihilation of the Armenians?".

1 (17) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term
2 "genocide" in 1944, and who was the earliest pro-
3 ponent of the Genocide Convention, invoked the Ar-
4 menian case as a definitive example of genocide in
5 the 20th century.
6 (18) Raphael Lemkin described the crime as
7 "the systematic destruction of whole national, racial
8 or religious groups. The sort of thing Hitler did to
9 the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians".
10 (19) The first resolution on genocide adopted
11 by the United Nations at Lemkin's urging, the De-
12 cember 11, 1946, United Nations General Assembly
13 Resolution 96(1) and the United Nations Genocide
14 Convention itself recognized the Armenian Genocide
15 as the type of crime the United Nations intended to
16 prevent by codifying existing standards.
17 (20) In 1948 the United Nations War Crimes
18 Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide "pre-
19 cisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern
20 term 'crimes against humanity' is intended to cover"
21 as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals.
22 (21) The Commission stated that "[t]he provi-
23 sions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres
24 were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with
25 the Allied note of 1915 . . ., offenses which had been

1 committed on Turkish territory against persons of
2 Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek
3 race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent
4 for Article 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo
5 Charters, and offers an example of one of the cat-
6 egories of 'crimes against humanity' as understood
7 by these enactments".

8 (22) The United Nations Commission on
9 Human Rights adopted in 1985 a report entitled
10 "Study of the Question of the Prevention and Pun-
11 ishment of the Crime of Genocide", which stated
12 "[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been
13 the only case of genocide in the twentieth century.
14 Among other examples which can be cited as quali-
15 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians
16 in 1915-1916".

17 (23) This report also explained that "[a]t least
18 1 million, and possibly well over half of the Arme-
19 nian population, are reliably estimated to have been
20 killed or death marched by independent authorities
21 and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in
22 United States, German and British archives and of
23 contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, in-
24 cluding those of its ally Germany".

(24) The tragedy of the Armenian Genocide has been acknowledged by countries and international bodies such as Argentina, Belgium, Canada, the Council of Europe, Cyprus, the European Parliament, France, Great Britain, Greece, Lebanon, Russia, the United Nations, the United States, and Uruguay.

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

(26) President Reagan in proclamation number 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part "like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians, which followed it—and like too many other persecutions of too many other people—the lessons of the holocaust must never be forgotten".

(27) President Bush, in 1988, speaking of the Armenian Genocide, stated "we must consciously and conscientiously recognize the genocides of the past—the enormous tragedies that have darkened this century and that haunt us still. We must not

1 only commemorate the courage of the victims and of
2 their survivors, but we must also remind ourselves
3 that civilization cannot be taken for granted. . . . We
4 must all be vigilant against this most heinous crime
5 against humanity".
6 (28) President Bush, in 1988, stated further
7 "[t]he United States must acknowledge the at-
8 tempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last
9 years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testi-
10 mony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own rep-
11 resentatives at the time, if we are to insure that
12 such horrors are not repeated".
13 (29) President Clinton, on August 13, 1992,
14 stated "[t]he Genocide of 1915, years of communist
15 dictatorship, and the devastating earthquake of
16 1988 have caused great suffering in Armenia during
17 this century".
18 (30) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression
19 (later retracted) by the United States Department of
20 State asserting that the facts of the Armenian Geno-
21 cide may be ambiguous, the United States Court of
22 Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after
23 a review of documents pertaining to the policy
24 record of the United States, noted that the assertion
25 on ambiguity in the United States record about the

1 Armenian Genocide "contradicted longstanding
2 United States policy and was eventually retracted".
3 (31) Despite the international recognition and
4 affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of
5 the domestic and international authorities to punish
6 those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a
7 reason why similar genocides have recurred and may
8 recur in the future, and that a proper judicial and
9 firm response, holding the guilty accountable and re-
10 quiring the prompt enforcement of verdicts would
11 have spared humanity needless suffering.
12 (32) In a commendable letter on April 9, 1999,
13 Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, then Under Secretary
14 of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural
15 Affairs, pledged that the administration would raise
16 with the Republic of Turkey the issue of the recov-
17 ery of Armenian assets from the genocide period
18 held by the Imperial Ottoman Bank.
19 (33) It is important that all Foreign Service of-
20 ficers, officials of the United States Department of
21 State, and any other executive branch employee in-
22 volved in responding to issues related to human
23 rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide are made fa-
24 miliar with the United States record relating to the
25 Armenian Genocide and the consequences of the fail-

1 ure to enforce the judgments of the Turkish courts
2 against the responsible officials.

3 **SEC. 3. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

4 The House of Representatives—

5 (1) calls upon the President to provide for ap-
6 propriate training and materials to all Foreign Serv-
7 ice officers, officials of the United States Depart-
8 ment of State, and any other executive branch em-
9 ployee involved in responding to issues related to
10 human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide by fa-
11 miliarizing them with the United States record relat-
12 ing to the Armenian Genocide and the consequences
13 of the failure to enforce the judgments of the Turk-
14 ish courts against the responsible officials; and

15 (2) calls upon the President in the President's
16 annual message commemorating the Armenian
17 Genocide issued on or about April 24 to characterize
18 the systematic and deliberate annihilation of
19 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to recall the
20 proud history of United States intervention in oppo-
21 sition to the Armenian Genocide.

○

Follow-Up Question to the
September 14, 2000 HIRC
International Operations and
Human Rights Subcommittee Hearing
Page 81, Lines 1926-48

Q: Was there anything in the State Department's records that would contradict any of the information that we believed to be the truth and reality about the genocide?

A. The Historian of the Department of State has not found anything of this nature in the published record. However, the National Archives are reviewing all of the available information from that time. The Archives have not yet completed a full search of the records, but we will provide the results of their investigations as soon as available.

All of the National Archives' documents related to the events in Eastern Anatolia during this period have been available to the public since 1975. The Department does not have any kind of privileged access to information not also accessible by the general public.

Boston University

ELIE WIESEL
University Professor and
Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities

745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
617/353-4566

September 12, 2000

TO: The Honorable Chris Smith, Chair
And Members of the House International Operations Subcommittee

FAX: (202) 225-7768

FROM: Professor Elie Wiesel

RE: Armenian Genocide Resolution (H. Res. 398)

I am writing to urge you, Chairman Smith, and the members of the International Operations Subcommittee to speak and vote in favor of the Armenian Genocide Resolution (H. Res, 398). This legislation is to come before you on Thursday, September 14, 2000. It is my hope that the House will go on record calling upon the President to make sure that all U.S. officials dealing with human rights are educated about the memory of the Armenian Genocide and also urging the President to incorporate into his April 24th address a statement calling on our nation to remember the Armenian massacres.

It is crucial that the President provide appropriate materials and training for all Foreign Service officers, U.S. Department of State officials and any executive branch employees involved with issues of human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.

Thank you for your consideration.

Elie Wiesel

ELIE WIESEL

EMORY UNIVERSITY
Institute for Jewish Studies

S203 Callaway Center
Atlanta, Georgia 30322
Phone: 404/727-6301
Fax: 404/727-3297

September 12, 2000

Honorable Chris Smith
House International Operations Subcommittee,
US House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515--
Fax: 202-225-7768

To the Honorable Chris Smith:

Denial of genocide whether that of the Turks against the Armenians, or the Nazis against the Jews is not an act of historical reinterpretation. Rather, the deniers sow confusion by appearing to be engaged in a genuine scholarly effort. The abundance of documents and testimonies that confirm the genocide are dismissed as contrived, coerced, or forgeries and falsehoods.

The deniers aim at convincing innocent third parities that there is 'another side of the story.' Free speech does not guarantee the deniers the right to be treated as the 'other side of a legitimate debate,' when there is no credible 'other side'; nor does it guarantee the deniers space in the classroom or curriculum, or in any other forum. Genocide denial is an insidious form of intellectual and moral degradation.

Denial of genocide strives to reshape history in order to demonize the victims and rehabilitate the perpetrators. Denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide; it is what Elie Wiesel has called "a double killing." Denial murders the dignity of the survivors and seeks to destroy the remembrance of the crime.

That is why I recently undertook a five year battle as a defendant in a libel action brought against me by Holocaust denier David Irving. Not to have fought would have been to grant a victory to David Irving as well as a posthumous victory to those who actually committed the murders. And that is why I urge you to support a resolution affirming the role played by the United States on behalf of the Armenian people during the Armenian Genocide

Sincerely yours,

Deborah E. Lipstadt, Ph.D.
Director, Institute for Jewish Studies
Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies
Member, United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Chair, Academic Committee, United States Holocaust Museum

The College Of
WILLIAM&MARY

Department of Government

P.O. Box 8795
Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8795
757/221-3020, Fax 757/221-1868

September 20, 2000

The Honorable Chris Smith
House International Relations Subcommittee
on International Operations and Human Rights
United States House of Representatives
B358 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

At the hearing on September 14, 2000 on H. Res. 398, I presented testimony that included a quotation from the German ambassdor to the Ottoman Empire that showed intent to commit genocide against the Armenians by the Young Turk government. The quotation was: As early as July 1915, the German ambassador reported to Berlin: "Turks began deportations from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out demonstrate that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey." Dr. McCarthy stated that the translation might not be accurate; you asked that I send a copy of the original German text to the subcommittee so that an expert in the Library of Congress could provide you with its own translation.

The German text, with identifying citations, is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Roger W. Smith
Professor

For Peter Suciu

Wolfgang Gust (Hg.): Revidierte Ausgabe der von Johannes Lepsius 1919 unter dem Titel "Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918" herausgegebenen Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke.

You find this document in Lepsius, doc. no 106, p. 94

1915-07-07-DE-001

Quelle: DE/PA-AA/R14086/MF7122/60-62
Abdruck: DuA Dok. 106 (gk.)

old registration no: Türkei 183/34, A21257

Der Botschafter in Konstantinopel (Wangenheim) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg)

Nr. 433

Pera, den 7. Juli 1915

1 Anlage

Die Austreibung und Umsiedelung der armenischen Bevölkerung beschränkte sich bis vor etwa 14 Tagen auf die dem östlichen Kriegsschauplatze benachbarten Provinzen und auf einige Bezirke der Provinz Adana; seitdem hat die Pforte beschlossen, diese Maßregel auch auf die Provinzen Trapezunt, Mamuret-ul-Aziz und Siwas auszudehnen, und mit der Ausführung begonnen, obwohl diese Landesteile vorläufig von keiner feindlichen Invasion bedroht sind.

Dieser Umstand und die Art, wie die Umsiedelung durchgeführt wird, zeigen, daß die Regierung tatsächlich den Zweck verfolgt, die armenische Rasse im türkischen Reiche zu vernichten.

In dieser Beziehung darf ich meinen früheren Berichten noch Folgendes hinzufügen:

Am 26. Juni wurden, wie der Kaiserliche Konsul in Trapezunt meldet, die dortigen Armenier angewiesen, binnen fünf Tagen abzureisen; ihr Hab und Gut sollte unter der Obhut der Behörden zurückbleiben. Nur Kranke waren ausgenommen; hinterher wurde noch eine Ausnahme für Witwen, Waisen, Greise und Kinder unter fünf Jahren, ferner für Kranke und für die katholischen Armenier zugelassen. Nach neuerer Meldung sind aber die meisten Ausnahmen wieder aufgehoben, und es bleiben nur Kinder und Transportunfähige zurück, welch' Letztere in Hospitäler gebracht werden.

Im Ganzen werden allein im Vilajet Trapezunt rund 30000 Personen betroffen, die über Erzindschan nach Mesopotamien abgeschoben werden sollen. Ein solcher Massentransport nach einem viele hunderte Kilometer entfernten Bestimmungsorte, ohne genügende Transportmittel, durch Gegenden, die weder Unterkunft noch Nahrung bieten und von epidemischen Krankheiten, namentlich vom Flecktyphus, verseucht sind, dürfte besonders unter Frauen und Kindern zahlreiche Opfer fordern. Außerdem führt der Weg der Umgesiedelten durch die kurdischen Distrikte von Dersim, und der Vali von Trapezunt erklärte offen dem Konsul, der ihm auf diesseitige Weisung hin darüber Vorstellungen machte, daß er nur bis Erzindschan für die Sicherheit des Transportes garantieren könnte. Von da ab läßt man die Auswanderer durch die Banden der Kurden und anderer Wegelagerer förmlich Spießruten laufen. So sind zum Beispiel die aus der Ebene von Erzerum ausgetriebenen Armenier auf dem Wege nach Charput angefallen worden, wobei die Männer und Kinder niedergemacht und die Frauen geraubt wurden. Der Kaiserliche Konsul in Erzerum gibt die Zahl der bei dieser Gelegenheit umgekommenen Armenier auf 3000 an.

In Trapezunt sind die Armenier massenhaft zum Islam übergetreten, um sich der drohenden Deportation zu entziehen und Leben wie Hab und Gut zu retten.

Abgesehen von dem materiellen Schaden, der dem türkischen Staate durch die Depossedierung und Vernichtung eines arbeitsamen und intelligenten Bevölkerungselementes erwächst – für das [illegible] nennenswerten Ersatz bieten

Congressional Research Service . The Library of Congress . Washington, D.C. 20540-7000

Translation-German

Wolfgang Gusi (ed.): revised edition of a collection of diplomatic dossiers published by Johannes Lepsius in 1919 under the title *Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918.*

1915-07-07-DE-001

The Ambassador to Constantinople (Wangenheim) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg)

No. 433

Pera, July 7, 1915

Enclosure 1

Up until about 14 days ago, the expulsion and resettlement of the Armenian population was limited to those provinces bordering on the eastern theater of war and to some areas of the province of Adana; since then, the [Sublime] Porte has decided to extend these measures to the Provinces of Trebizond, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, and has begun to carry them out, although these regions are not currently under threat of enemy invasion. This circumstance and the way in which resettlement is being carried out show that the government actually is pursuing the goal of annihilating the Armenian race within the Turkish empire.

I would like to add the following to my earlier reports on this:

On June 26, as was reported to the Imperial Consul in Trebizond, the Armenians there had been instructed to leave within five days: their goods and possessions were to remain behind under the protection of the authorities. Only the physically ill were excepted, but later an exception was made for widows, orphans, the elderly, children under the age of 5, also for the physically ill and for Catholic Armenians. According to recent reports, however, most of these exceptions have been withdrawn and only children and those unable to be transported have been left behind, the latter being taken to hospitals.

In the Vilayet [province] Trebizond alone, about 30,000 persons have been affected -- they have been deported via Erzincan to Mesopotamia. A mass transport of this magnitude to a destination lying many hundreds of kilometers away, with insufficient means of transport, through regions where there is neither lodging nor food and which are infected with epidemic diseases, especially typhus, will doubtless claim many victims from among the women and children. In addition, the path of those being resettled leads through the Kurdish districts of Dersim, and the Vali [Turkish provincial official) of Trebizond told the consul quite frankly that he had been instructed to guarantee the safety of the transports only as far as Erzincan. From that point on, the emigrants will have to literally run a gauntlet through bands of Kurds and other highwaymen. So, for example, the Armenians who'd been driven out of the plain of Erzincan on their way to Kharput were attacked, the men and children slaughtered and the women carried off. The Imperial Consul in Erzincan gives the number of Armenians killed on this occasion at 3,000.

CRS-2

In Trebizond the Armenians have converted to Islam in droves in order to escape threatened deportation, as well as to save their lives and their worldly goods.

Translated by – David Skelly – Language Services CRS/FDT, November 2, 2000

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MURDER OF A NATION

The destruction of the Armenian race in 1915 involved certain difficulties that had not impeded the operations of the Turks in the massacres of 1895 and other years. In these earlier periods the Armenian men had possessed little power or means of resistance. In those days Armenians had not been permitted to have military training, to serve in the Turkish army, or to possess arms. As I have already said, these discriminations were withdrawn when the revolutionists obtained the upper hand in 1908. Not only were the Christians now permitted to bear arms, but the authorities, in the full flush of their enthusiasm for freedom and equality, encouraged them to do so. In the early part of 1915, therefore, every Turkish city contained thousands of Armenians who had been trained as soldiers and who were supplied with rifles, pistols, and other weapons of defense. The operations at Van once more disclosed that these men could use their weapons to good advantage. It was thus apparent that an Armenian massacre this time would generally assume more the character of warfare than those wholesale butcheries of defenseless men and women which the Turks had always found so congenial. If this plan of murdering a race were to succeed, two preliminary steps would therefore have to be taken: it would be necessary to render all Armenian soldiers powerless and to deprive of their arms the Armenians in every city and town. Before Armenia could be slaughtered, Armenia must be made defenseless.

In the early part of 1915, the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were reduced to a new status. Up to that time most of them had been combatants, but now they were all stripped of their arms and transformed into workmen. Instead of serving their country as artillerymen and cavalrymen, these former soldiers now discovered that they had been transformed into road labourers and pack animals. Army supplies of all kinds were loaded on their backs, and, stumbling under the burdens and driven by the whips and bayonets of the Turks, they were forced to drag their weary bodies into the mountains of the Caucasus. Sometimes they would have to plough their way, burdened in this fashion, almost waist high through snow. They had to spend practically all their time in the open, sleeping on the bare ground---whenever the ceaseless prodding of their taskmasters gave them an occasional opportunity to sleep. They were given only scraps of food; if they fell sick they were left where they had dropped, their Turkish oppressors perhaps stopping long enough to rob them of all their possessions---even of their clothes. If any stragglers succeeded in reaching their destinations, they were not infrequently massacred. In many instances Armenian soldiers were disposed of in even more summary fashion, for it now became almost the general practice to shoot them in cold blood. In almost all cases the procedure was the same. Here and there squads of 50 or 100 men would be taken, bound together in groups of four, and then marched out to a secluded spot a short distance from the village. Suddenly the sound of rifle shots would fill the air, and the Turkish soldiers who had acted as the escort would sullenly return to camp. Those sent to bury the bodies would find them almost invariably stark naked, for, as usual, the Turks had stolen all their clothes. In cases that came to my attention, the murderers had added a refinement to their victims' sufferings by compelling them to dig their graves before being shot.

Let me relate a single episode which is contained in one of the reports of our consuls and which now forms

part of the records of the American State Department. Early in July, 2,000 Armenian "amélés"---such is the Turkish word for soldiers who have been reduced to workmen---were sent from Harpoot to build roads. The Armenians in that town understood what this meant and pleaded with the Governor for mercy. But this official insisted that the men were not to be harmed, and he even called upon the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, to quiet the panic, giving that gentleman his word of honour that the ex-soldiers would be protected. Mr. Ehemann believed the Governor and assuaged the popular fear. Yet practically every man of these 2,000 was massacred, and his body thrown into a cave. A few escaped, and it was from these that news of the massacre reached the world. A few days afterward another 2,000 soldiers were sent to Diarbekir. The only purpose of sending these men out in the open country was that they might be massacred. In order that they might have no strength to resist or to escape by flight, these poor creatures were systematically starved. Government agents went ahead on the road, notifying the Kurds that the caravan was approaching and ordering them to do their congenial duty. Not only did the Kurdish tribesmen pour down from the mountains upon this starved and weakened regiment, but the Kurdish women came with butcher's knives in order that they might gain that merit in Allah's eyes that comes from killing a Christian. These massacres were not isolated happenings; I could detail many more episodes just as horrible as the one related above; throughout the Turkish Empire a systematic attempt was made to kill all able-bodied men, not only for the purpose of removing all males who might propagate a new generation of Armenians, but for the purpose of rendering the weaker part of the population an easy prey.

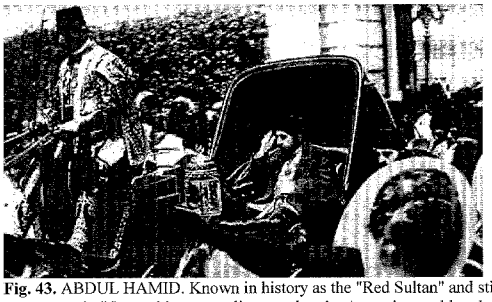


Fig. 43. ABDUL HAMID. Known in history as the "Red Sultan" and stigmatized by Gladstone as "the great assassin." It was his state policy to solve the Armenian problem by murdering the entire race. The fear of England, France, Russia, and America, was the only thing that restrained him from accomplishing this task. His successors, Talaat and Enver, no longer fearing these nations, have more successfully carried out his programme

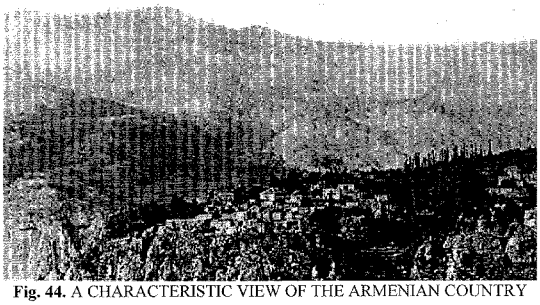


Fig. 44. A CHARACTERISTIC VIEW OF THE ARMENIAN COUNTRY

Dreadful as were these massacres of unarmed soldiers, they were mercy and justice themselves when compared with the treatment which was now visited upon those Armenians who were suspected of concealing arms. Naturally the Christians became alarmed when placards were posted in the villages and cities ordering everybody to bring their arms to headquarters. Although this order applied to all citizens, the Armenians well understood what the result would be, should they be left defenseless while their Moslem neighbours were permitted to retain their arms. In many cases, however, the persecuted people patiently obeyed the command; and then the Turkish officials almost joyfully seized their rifles as evidence that a "revolution" was being planned and threw their victims into prison on a charge of treason. Thousands failed to deliver arms simply because they had none to deliver, while an even greater number tenaciously refused to give them up, not because they were plotting an uprising, but because they proposed to defend their own lives and their women's honour against the outrages which they knew were being planned. The punishment inflicted upon these recalcitrants forms one of the most hideous chapters of modern history. Most of us believe that torture has long ceased to be an administrative and judicial measure, yet I do not believe that the darkest ages ever presented scenes more horrible than those which now took place all over Turkey. Nothing was sacred to the Turkish gendarmes; under the plea of searching for hidden arms, they ransacked churches, treated the altars and sacred utensils with the utmost indignity, and even held mock ceremonies in imitation of the Christian sacraments. They would beat the priests into insensibility, under the pretense that they were the centres of sedition. When they could discover no weapons in the churches, they would sometimes arm the bishops and priests with guns, pistols, and swords, then try them before courts-martial for possessing weapons against the law, and march them in this condition through the streets, merely to arouse the fanatical wrath of the mobs. The gendarmes treated women with the same cruelty and indecency as the men. There are cases on record in which women accused of concealing weapons were stripped naked and whipped with branches freshly cut from trees, and these beatings were even inflicted on women who were with child. Violations so commonly accompanied these searches that Armenian women and girls, on the approach of the gendarmes, would flee to the woods, the hills, or to mountain eaves.

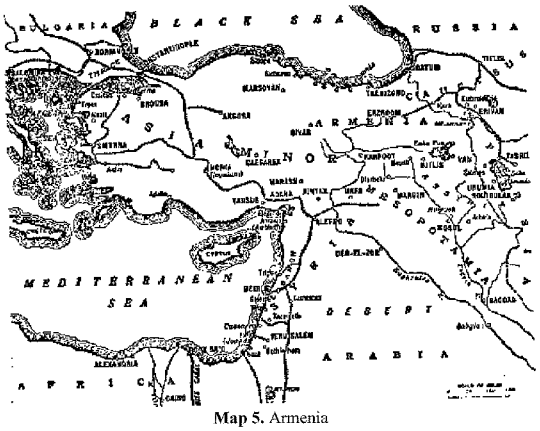
As a preliminary to the searches everywhere, the strong men of the villages and towns were arrested and taken to prison. Their tormentors here would exercise the most diabolical ingenuity in their attempt to make their victims declare themselves to be "revolutionists" and to tell the hiding places of their arms. A common practice was to place the prisoner in a room, with two Turks stationed at each end and each side. The examination would then begin with the bastinado. This is a form of torture not uncommon in the Orient; it consists of beating the soles of the feet with a thin rod. At first the pain is not marked; but as the

process goes slowly on, it develops into the most terrible agony, the feet swell and burst, and not infrequently, after being submitted to this treatment, they have to be amputated. The gendarmes would bastinado their Armenian victim until he fainted; they would then revive him by sprinkling water on his face and begin again. If this did not succeed in bringing their victim to terms, they had numerous other methods of persuasion. They would pull out his eyebrows and beard almost hair by hair; they would extract his finger nails and toe nails; they would apply red-hot irons to his breast, tear off his flesh with red-hot pincers, and then pour boiled butter into the wounds. In some cases the gendarmes would nail hands and feet to pieces of wood---evidently in imitation of the Crucifixion, and then, while the sufferer writhed in his agony, they would cry: " Now let your Christ come and help you!

These cruelties---and many others which I forbear to describe---were usually inflicted in the night time. Turks would be stationed around the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles, so that the screams of the sufferers would not reach the villagers.

In thousands of cases the Armenians endured these agonies and refused to surrender their arms simply because they had none to surrender. However, they could not persuade their tormentors that this was the case. It therefore became customary, when news was received that the searchers were approaching, for Armenians to purchase arms from their Turkish neighbours so that they might be able to give them up and escape these frightful punishments.

One day I was discussing these proceedings with a responsible Turkish official, who was describing the tortures inflicted. He made no secret of the fact that the Government had instigated them, and, like an Turks of the official classes, he enthusiastically approved this treatment of the detested race. This official told me that all these details were matters of nightly discussion at the headquarters of the Union and Progress Committee. Each new method of inflicting pain was hailed as a splendid discovery, and the regular attendants were constantly ransacking their brains in the effort to devise some new torment. He told me that they even delved into the records of the Spanish Inquisition and other historic institutions of torture and adopted all the suggestions found there. He did not tell me who carried off the prize in this gruesome competition, but common reputation throughout Armenia gave a preeminent infamy to Djevdet Bey, the Vali of Van, whose activities in that section I have already described. All through this country Djevdet was generally known as the "horseshoer of Bashkale" for this connoisseur in torture had invented what was perhaps the masterpiece of all---that of nailing horseshoes to the feet of his Armenian victims.



Map 5. Armenia

Yet these happenings did not constitute what the newspapers of the time commonly referred to as the Armenian atrocities; they were merely the preparatory steps in the destruction of the race. The Young Turks displayed greater ingenuity than their predecessor, Abdul Hamid. The injunction of the deposed Sultan was merely "to kill, kill", whereas the Turkish democracy hit upon an entirely new plan. Instead of massacring outright the Armenian race, they now decided to deport it. In the south and southeastern section of the Ottoman Empire lie the Syrian desert and the Mesopotamian valley. Though part of this area was once the scene of a flourishing civilization, for the last five centuries it has suffered the blight that becomes the lot of any country that is subjected to Turkish rule; and it is now a dreary, desolate waste, without cities and towns or life of any kind, populated only by a few wild and fanatical Bedouin tribes. Only the most industrious labour, expended through many years, could transform this desert into the abiding place of any considerable population. The Central Government now announced its intention of gathering the two million or more Armenians living in the several sections of the empire and transporting them to this desolate and inhospitable region. Had they undertaken such a deportation in good faith it would have represented the height of cruelty and injustice. As a matter of fact, the Turks never had the slightest idea of reestablishing the Armenians in this new country. They knew that the great majority would never reach their destination and that those who did would either die of thirst and starvation, or be murdered by the wild Mohammedan desert tribes. The real purpose of the deportation was robbery and destruction; it really represented a new method of massacre. When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.

All through the spring and summer of 1915 the deportations took place. Of the larger cities, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo were spared; practically all other places where a single Armenian family lived now became the scenes of these unspeakable tragedies. Scarcely a single Armenian, whatever his education or wealth, or whatever the social class to which he belonged, was exempted from the order. In some villages placards were posted ordering the whole Armenian population to present itself in a public place at an appointed time-usually a day or two ahead, and in other places the town crier would go through

the streets delivering the order vocally. In still others not the slightest warning was given. The gendarmes would appear before an Armenian. house and order all the inmates to follow them. They would take women engaged in their domestic tasks without giving them the chance to change their clothes. The police fell upon them just as the eruption of Vesuvius fell upon Pompeii; women were taken from the washtubs, children were snatched out of bed, the bread was left half baked in the oven, the family meal was abandoned partly eaten, the children were taken from the schoolroom, leaving their books open at the daily task, and the men were forced to abandon their ploughs in the fields and their cattle on the mountain side. Even women who had just given birth to children would be forced to leave their beds and join the panic-stricken throng, their sleeping babies in their arms. Such things as they hurriedly snatched up---a shawl, a blanket, perhaps a few scraps of food---were all that they could take of their household belongings. To their frantic questions " Where are we going? " the gendarmes would vouchsafe only one reply: "To the interior."

In some cases the refugees were given a few hours, in exceptional instances a few days, to dispose of their property and household effects. But the proceeding, of course, amounted simply to robbery. They could sell only to Turks, and since both buyers and sellers knew that they had only a day or two to market the accumulations of a lifetime, the prices obtained represented a small fraction of their value. Sewing machines would bring one or two dollars---a cow would go for a dollar, a houseful of furniture would be sold for a pittance. In many cases Armenians were prohibited from selling or Turks from buying even at these ridiculous prices; under pretense that the Government intended to sell their effects to pay the creditors whom they would inevitably leave behind, their household furniture would be placed in stores or heaped up in public places, where it was usually pillaged by Turkish men and women. The government officials would also inform the Armenians that, since their deportation was only temporary, the intention being to bring them back after the war was over, they would not be permitted to sell their houses. Scarcely had the former possessors left the village, when Mohammedan *mohadjirs*---immigrants from other parts of Turkey---would be moved into the Armenian quarters. Similarly all their valuables---money, rings, watches, and jewellery---would be taken to the police stations for "safe keeping, pending their return, and then parcelled out among the Turks. Yet these robberies gave the refugees little anguish, for far more terrible and agonizing scenes were taking place under their eyes. The systematic extermination of the men continued; such males as the persecutions which I have already described had left were now violently dealt with. Before the caravans were started, it became the regular practice to separate the young men from the families, tie them together in groups of four, lead them to the outskirts, and shoot them. Public hangings without trial---the only offense being that the victims were Armenians---were taking place constantly. The gendarmes showed a particular desire to annihilate the educated and the influential. From American consuls and missionaries I was constantly receiving reports of such executions, and many of the events which they described will never fade from my memory. At Angora all Armenian men from fifteen to seventy were arrested, bound together in groups of four, and sent on the road in the direction of Caesarea. When they had travelled five or six hours and had reached a secluded valley, a mob of Turkish peasants fell upon them with clubs, hammers, axes, scythes, spades, and saws. Such instruments not only caused more agonizing deaths than guns and pistols, but, as the Turks themselves boasted, they were more economical, since they did not involve the waste of powder and shell. In this way they exterminated the whole male population of Angora, including all its men of wealth and breeding, and their bodies, horribly mutilated, were left in the valley, where they were devoured by wild beasts. After completing this destruction, the peasants and gendarmes gathered in the local tavern, comparing notes and boasting of the number of "'giaours" that each had slain. In Trebizond the men were placed in boats and sent out on the Black Sea; gendarmes would follow them in boats, shoot them down, and throw their bodies into the water.

When the signal was given for the caravans to move, therefore, they almost invariably consisted of women, children, and old men. Any one who could possibly have protected them from the fate that awaited them had been destroyed. Not infrequently the prefect of the city, as the mass started on its way, would wish

them a derisive "pleasant journey." Before the caravan moved the women were sometimes offered the alternative of becoming Mohammedans. Even though they accepted the new faith, which few of them did, their earthly troubles did not end. The converts were compelled to surrender their children to a so-called "Moslem Orphanage," with the agreement that they should be trained as devout followers of the Prophet, They themselves must then show the sincerity of their conversion by abandoning their Christian husbands and marrying Moslems. If no good Mohammedan offered himself as a husband, then the new convert was deported, however strongly she might protest her devotion to Islam.

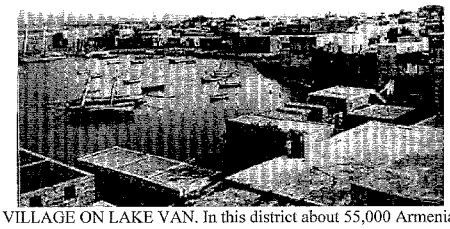


Fig. 45. FISHING VILLAGE ON LAKE VAN. In this district about 55,000 Armenians were massacred.

Fig. 46. REFUGEES AT VAN CROWDING AROUND A PUBLIC OVEN, HOPING TO GET BREAD. These people were torn from their homes almost without warning, and started toward the desert. Thousands of children and women as well as men died on these forced journeys, not only from hunger and exposure, but also from the inhuman cruelty of their guards

At first the Government showed some inclination to protect these departing throngs. The officers usually divided them into convoys, in some cases numbering several hundred, in others several thousand. The civil authorities occasionally furnished ox-carts which carried such household furniture as the exiles had succeeded in scrambling together. A guard of gendarmerie accompanied each convoy, ostensibly to guide and protect it. Women, scantily clad, carrying babies in their arms or on their backs, marched side by side with old men hobbling along with canes. Children would run along, evidently regarding the procedure, in the early stages, as some new lark. A more prosperous member would perhaps have a horse or a donkey, occasionally a farmer had rescued a cow or a sheep, which would trudge along at his side, and the usual assortment of family pets---dogs, cats, and birds---became parts of the variegated procession. From

thousands of Armenian cities and villages these despairing caravans now set forth; they filled all the roads leading southward; everywhere, as they moved on, they raised a huge dust, and abandoned débris, chairs, blankets, bedclothes, household utensils, and other impedimenta, marked the course of the processions. When the caravans first started, the individuals bore some resemblance to human beings; in a few hours, however, the dust of the road plastered their faces and clothes, the mud caked their lower members, and the slowly advancing mobs, frequently bent with fatigue and crazed by the brutality of their "protectors," resembled some new .and strange animal species. Yet for the better part of six months, from April to October, 1915, practically all the highways in Asia Minor were crowded with these unearthly bands of exiles. They could be seen winding in and out of every valley and climbing up the sides of nearly every mountain---moving on and on, they scarcely knew whither, except that every road led to death. Village after village and town after town was evacuated of its Armenian population, under the distressing circumstances already detailed. In these six months, as far as can be ascertained, about 1,200,000 people started on this journey to the Syrian desert.

"Pray for us," they would say as they left their homes---the homes in which their ancestors had lived for 2,500 years. "We shall not see you in this world again, but sometime we shall meet. Pray for us!"

The Armenians had hardly left their native villages when the persecutions began. The roads over which they travelled were little more than donkey paths; and what had started a few hours before as an orderly procession soon became a dishevelled and scrambling mob. Women were separated from their children and husbands from their wives. The old people soon lost contact with their families and became exhausted and footsore. The Turkish drivers of the ox-carts, after extorting the last coin from their charges, would suddenly dump them and their belongings into the road, turn around, and return to the village for other victims. Thus in a short time practically everybody, young and old, was compelled to travel on foot. The gendarmes whom the Government had sent, supposedly to protect the exiles, in a very few hours became their tormentors. They followed their charges with fixed bayonets, prodding any one who showed any tendency to slacken the pace. Those who attempted to stop for rest, or who fell exhausted on the road, were compelled, with the utmost brutality, to rejoin the moving throng. They even prodded pregnant women with bayonets; if one,. as frequently happened, gave birth along the road, she was immediately forced to get up and rejoin the marchers. The whole course of the journey became a perpetual struggle with the Moslem inhabitants. Detachments of gendarmes would go ahead, notifying the Kurdish tribes that their victims were approaching, and Turkish peasants were also informed that their long-waited opportunity had arrived. The Government even opened the prisons and set free the convicts, on the understanding that they should behave like good Moslems to the approaching Armenians. Thus every caravan had a continuous battle for existence with several classes of enemies---their accompanying gendarmes, the Turkish peasants and villagers, the Kurdish tribes and bands of Chétés or brigands. And we must always keep in mind that the men who might have defended these wayfarers had nearly all been killed or forced into the army as workmen, and that the exiles themselves had been systematically deprived of all weapons before the journey began.

When the victims had travelled a few hours from their starting place, the Kurds would sweep down from their mountain homes. Rushing up to the young girls, they would lift their veils and carry the pretty ones off to the hills. They would steal such children as pleased their fancy and mercilessly rob all the rest of the throng. If the exiles had started with any money or food, their assailants would appropriate it, thus leaving them a hopeless prey to starvation. They would steal their clothing, and sometimes even leave both men and women in a state of complete nudity. All the time that they were committing these depradations the Kurds would freely massacre, and the screams of women and old men would add to the general horror. Such as escaped these attacks in the open would find new terrors awaiting them in the Moslem villages. Here the Turkish roughs would fall upon the women, leaving them sometimes dead from their experiences or sometimes ravingly insane. After spending a night in a hideous encampment of this kind, the exiles, or

such as had survived, would start again the next morning. The ferocity of the gendarmes apparently increased as the journey lengthened, for they seemed almost to resent the fact that part of their charges continued to live. Frequently any one who dropped on the road was bayoneted on the spot. The Armenians began to die by hundreds from hunger and thirst. Even when they came to rivers, the gendarmes, merely to torment them, would sometimes not let them drink. The hot sun of the desert burned their scantily clothed bodies, and their bare feet, treading the hot sand of the desert, became so sore that thousands fell and died or were killed where they lay. Thus, in a few days, what had been a procession of normal human beings became a stumbling horde of dust-covered skeletons, ravenously looking for scraps of food, eating any offal that came their way, crazed by the hideous sights that filled every hour of their existence, sick with all the diseases that accompany such hardships and privations, but still prodded on and on by the whips and clubs and bayonets of their executioners.

And thus, as the exiles moved, they left behind them another caravan---that of dead and unburied bodies, of old men and of women dying in the last stages of typhus, dysentery, and cholera, of little children lying on their backs and setting up their last piteous wails for food and water. There were women who held up their babies to strangers, begging them to take them and save them from their tormentors, and failing this, they would throw them into wells or leave them behind bushes., that at least they might die undisturbed. Behind was left a small army of girls who had been sold as slaves---frequently for a *medjidie*, or about eighty cents---and who, after serving the brutal purposes of their purchasers, were forced to lead lives of prostitution. A string of encampments, filled by the sick and the dying, mingled with the unburied or half-buried bodies of the dead, marked the course of the advancing throngs. Flocks of vultures followed them in the air, and ravenous dogs, fighting one another for the bodies of the dead, constantly pursued them. The most terrible scenes took place at the rivers, especially the Euphrates. Sometimes, when crossing this stream, the gendarmes would push the women into the water, shooting all who attempted to save themselves by swimming. Frequently the women themselves would save their honour by jumping into the river, their children in their arms.

"In the last week in June," I quote from a consular report, "several parties of Erzeroum Armenians were deported on successive days and most of them massacred on the way, either by shooting or drowning. One, Madame Zarouhi, an elderly lady of means, who was thrown into the Euphrates, saved herself by clinging to a boulder in the river. She succeeded in approaching the bank and returned to Erzeroum. to hide herself in a Turkish friend's house. She told Prince Argoutinsky, the representative of the 'All-Russian Urban Union' in Erzeroum, that she shuddered to recall how hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates, and how men and women were stripped naked, tied together in hundreds, shot, and then hurled into the river. In a loop of the river near Erzinghan, she said, the thousands of dead bodies created such a barrage that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards."

It is absurd for the Turkish Government to assert that it ever seriously intended to "deport the Armenians to new homes"; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat. How many exiled to the south under these revolting conditions ever reached their destinations? The experiences of a single caravan show how completely this plan of deportation developed into one of annihilation. The details in question were furnished me directly by the American Consul at Aleppo, and are now on file in the State Department at Washington. On the first of June a convoy of three thousand Armenians, mostly women, girls, and children, left Harpoot. Following the usual custom the Government provided them an escort of seventy gendarmes, under the command of a Turkish leader, a Bey. In accordance with the common experience these gendarmes proved to be not their protectors, but their tormentors and their executioners. Hardly had they got well started on the road when Bey took 400 liras from the caravan, on the plea that he was keeping it safely until their arrival at Malatia; no sooner had he robbed them of the only thing that might have provided them with food than he ran away, leaving them all to the tender mercies of the gendarmes.

All the way to Ras-ul-Ain, the first station on the Bagdad line, the existence of these wretched travellers was one prolonged horror. The gendarmes went ahead, informing the half-savage tribes of the mountains that several thousand Armenian women and girls were approaching. The Arabs and Kurds began to carry off the girls, the mountaineers fell upon them repeatedly, violating and killing the women, and the gendarmes themselves joined in the orgy. One by one the few men who accompanied the convoy were killed. The women had succeeded in secreting money from their persecutors, keeping it in their mouths and hair; with this they would buy horses, only to have them repeatedly stolen by the Kurdish tribesmen. Finally the gendarmes, having robbed and beaten and violated and killed their charges for thirteen days, abandoned them altogether. Two days afterward the Kurds went through the party and rounded up all the males who still remained alive. They found about 150, their ages varying from 15 to 90 years, and these, they promptly took away and butchered to the last man. But that same day another convoy from Sivas joined---this one from Harpoot, increasing the numbers of the whole caravan to 18,000 people.

Another Kurdish Bey now took command, and to him, as to all men placed in the same position, the opportunity was regarded merely as one for pillage, outrage, and murder. This chieftain summoned all his followers from the mountains and invited them to work their complete will upon this great mass of Armenians. Day after day and night after night the prettiest girls were carried away; sometimes they returned in a pitiable condition that told the full story of their sufferings. Any stragglers, those who were so old and infirm and sick that they could not keep up with the marchers, were promptly killed. Whenever they reached a Turkish village all the local vagabonds were permitted to prey upon the Armenian girls. When the diminishing band reached the Euphrates they saw the bodies of 200 men floating upon the surface. By this time they had all been so repeatedly robbed that they had practically nothing left except a few ragged clothes, and even these the Kurds now took; and the larger part of the convoy marched for five days almost completely naked under the scorching desert sun. For another five days they did not have a morsel of bread or a drop of water. "Hundreds fell dead on the way," the report reads, "their tongues were turned to charcoal., and when, at the end of five days, they reached a fountain, the whole convoy naturally rushed toward it. But here the policemen barred the way and forebade them to take a single drop of water. Their purpose was to sell it at from one to three liras a cup and sometimes they actually withheld the water after getting the money. At another place, where there were wells, some women threw themselves into them, as there was no rope or pail to draw up the water. These women were drowned and, in spite of that, the rest of the people drank from that well, the dead bodies still remaining there and polluting the water. Sometimes, when the wells were shallow and the women could go down into them and come out again, the other people would rush to lick or suck their wet, dirty clothes, in the effort to quench their thirst. When they passed an Arab village in their naked condition the Arabs pitied them and gave them old pieces of cloth to cover themselves with. Some of the exiles who still had money bought some clothes; but some still remained who travelled thus naked all the way to the city of Aleppo. The poor women could hardly walk for shame; they all walked bent double.

On the seventieth day a few creatures reached Aleppo. Out of the combined convoy of 18,000 souls just 150 women and children reached their destination. A few of the rest, the most attractive, were still living as captives of the Kurds and Turks; all the rest were dead.

My only reason for relating such dreadful things as this is that, without the details, the English-speaking public cannot understand precisely what this nation is which we call Turkey. I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication . Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecution and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great

massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared with the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915. The slaughter of the Albigenses in the early part of the thirteenth century has always been regarded as one of the most pitiful events in history. In these outbursts of fanaticism about 60,000 people were killed. In the massacre of St. Bartholomew about 30,000 human beings lost their lives. The Sicilian Vespers, which has always figured as one of the most fiendish outbursts of this kind, caused the destruction of 8,000. Volumes have been written about the Spanish Inquisition under Torquemada, yet in the eighteen years of his administration only a little more than 8,000 heretics were done to death. Perhaps the one event in history that most resembles the Armenian deportations was the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. According to Prescott 160,000 were uprooted from their homes and scattered broadcast over Africa and Europe. Yet all these previous persecutions seem almost trivial when we compare them with the sufferings of the Armenians, in which at least 600,000 people were destroyed and perhaps as many as 1,000,000. And these earlier massacres, when we compare them with the spirit that directed the Armenian atrocities, have one feature that we can almost describe as an excuse: they were the product of religious fanaticism and most of the men and women who instigated them sincerely believed that they were devoutly serving their Maker. Undoubtedly religious fanaticism was an 'Impelling motive with the Turkish and Kurdish rabble who slew Armenians as a service to Allah, but the men who really conceived the crime had no such motive. Practically all of them were atheists, with no more respect for Mohammedanism than for Christianity, and with them the one motive was cold-blooded, calculating state policy.

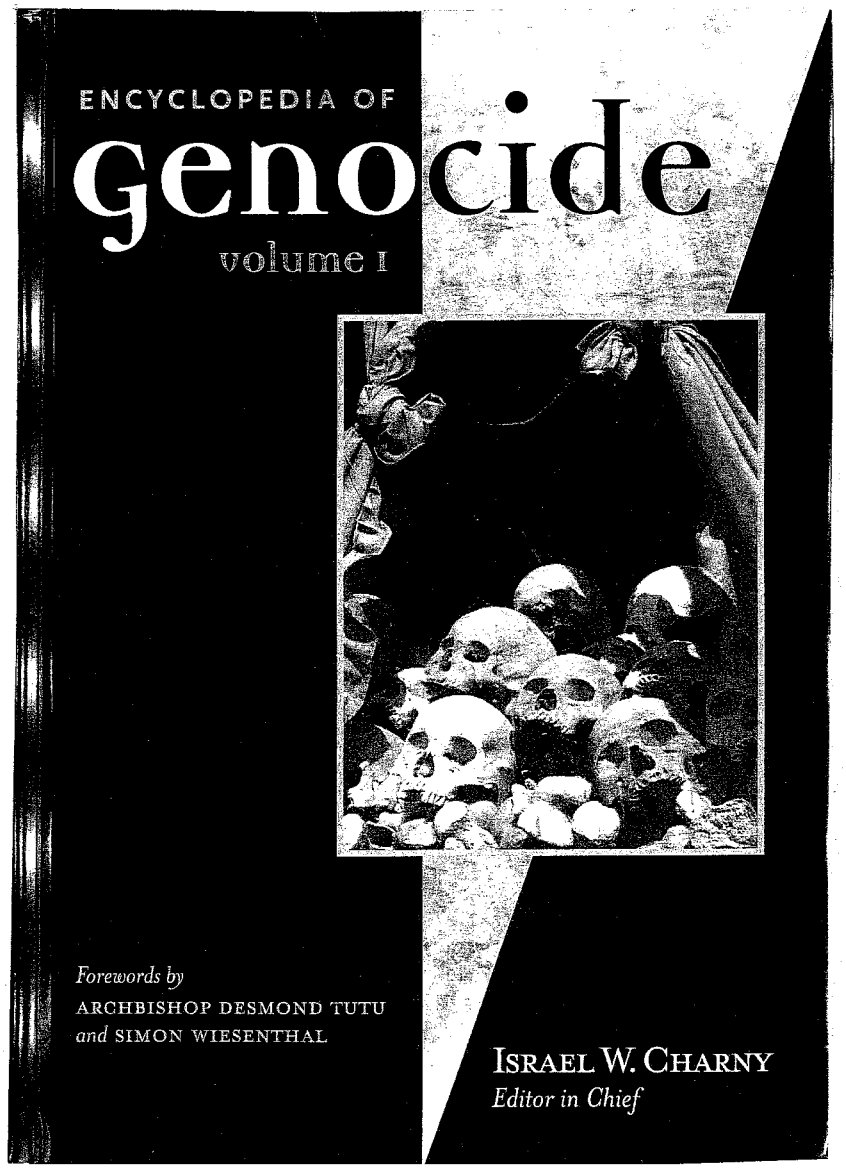
The Armenians are not the only subject people in Turkey which have suffered from this policy of making Turkey exclusively the country of the Turks. The story which I have told about the Armenians I could also tell with certain modifications about the Greeks and the Syrians. Indeed the Greeks were the first victims of this nationalizing idea. I have already described how, in the few months preceding the European War, the Ottoman Government began deporting its Greek subjects along the coast of Asia Minor. These outrages aroused little interest in Europe or the United States, yet in the space of three or four months more than 100,000 Greeks were taken from their age-long homes in the Mediterranean littoral and removed to the Greek Islands and the interior. For the larger part these were bona-fide deportations; that is, the Greek inhabitants were actually removed to new places and were not subjected to wholesale massacre. it was probably for the reason that the civilized world did not protest against these deportations that the Turks afterward decided to apply the same methods on a larger scale not only to the Greeks but to the Armenians, Syrians, Nestorians, and others of its subject peoples. In fact, Bedri Bey, the Prefect of Police at Constantinople, himself told one of my secretaries that the Turks had expelled the Greeks so successfully that they had decided to apply the same method to all the other races in the empire.

The martyrdom of the Greeks, therefore, comprised two periods: that antedating the war, and that which began in the early part of 1915. The first affected chiefly the Greeks on the seacoast of Asia Minor. The second affected those living in Thrace and in the territories surrounding the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, and the coast of the Black Sea. These latter, to the extent of several hundred thousand, were sent to the interior of Asia Minor. The Turks adopted almost identically the same procedure against the Greeks as that which they had adopted against the Armenians. They began by incorporating the Greeks into the Ottoman army and then transforming them into labour battalions, using them to build roads in the Caucasus and other scenes of action. These Greek soldiers, just like the Armenians, died by thousands from cold, hunger, and other privations. The same house-to-house searches for hidden weapons took place in the Greek villages, and Greek men and women were beaten and tortured just as were their fellow Armenians. The Greeks had to submit to the same forced requisitions, which amounted in their case, as in the case of the Armenians, merely to plundering on a wholesale scale. The Turks attempted to force the Greek subjects to become Mohammedans; Greek girls, just like Armenian girls, were stolen and taken to Turkish harems and Greek boys were kidnapped and placed in Moslem households. The Greeks, just like the Armenians, were accused of disloyalty to the Ottoman Government; the Turks accused them of

furnishing supplies to the English submarines in the Marmora and also of acting as spies. The Turks also declared that the Greeks were not loyal to the Ottoman Government, and that they also looked forward to the day when the Greeks inside of Turkey would become part of Greece. These latter charges were unquestionably true; that the Greeks, after suffering for five centuries the most unspeakable outrages at the hands of the Turks, should look longingly to the day when their territory should be part of the fatherland, was to be expected. The Turks, as in the case of the Armenians, seized upon this as an excuse for a violent onslaught on the whole race. Everywhere the Greeks were gathered in groups and, under the so-called protection of Turkish gendarmes, they were transported, the larger part on foot, into the interior. Just how many were scattered in this fashion is not definitely known, the estimates varying anywhere from 200,000 up to 1,000,000. These caravans suffered great privations, but they were not submitted to general massacre as were the Armenians, and this is probably the reason why the outside world has not heard so much about them. The Turks showed them this greater consideration not from any motive of pity. The Greeks, unlike the Armenians, had a government which was vitally interested in their welfare. At this time there was a general apprehension among the Teutonic Allies that Greece would enter the war on the side of the Entente, and a wholesale massacre of Greeks in Asia Minor would unquestionably have produced such a state of mind in Greece that its pro-German king would have been unable longer to keep his country out of the war. It was only a matter of state policy, therefore, that saved these Greek subjects of Turkey from all the horrors that befell the Armenians. But their sufferings are still terrible, and constitute another chapter in the long story of crimes for which civilization will hold the Turk responsible.

Chapter Twenty-Five: Talaat tells why he deports the Armenians

Contents


ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
genocide
volume I
Forewords by
ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU
and SIMON WIESENTHAL
ISRAEL W. CHARNY
Editor in Chief

DOCUMENTATION OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN US ARCHIVES

The United States National Archives and Library of Congress contain a microfiche set of 37,000 pages of documentation on the Armenian Genocide. It is accompanied by a 476-page *Guide*. The project was completed and edited by historian Rouben Paul Adalian, who is Director of the Armenian National Institute in Washington, DC.

The collection includes some 4,500 documents found in official US archives, thousands of which are previously unexamined and unpublished. All of the records in the publication are copies of the original documents written contemporaneously to the events described in them. The materials cover every aspect of the genocide process.

The United States National Archives holds the most comprehensive documentation in the world on the Armenian Genocide. After war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies in November 1914, the United States was left as the sole major neutral Western state with official representation at the court of the sultan. A US presence continued throughout most of the war, and Americans were on site for relief efforts afterward. A complete picture can thus be found in these documents from the Department of State and other government agencies [which] relate in chilling detail the entire process by which the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was made the subject of a racial policy aimed at destroying all vestiges of its existence in Armenia and Anatolia.

The *Guide* contains a complete list of documents, a Names Index and a Subject Index. Among the many key subjects covered by the documents are: methods of deportation; deportation policy; mistreatment of women and children; use of slave labor; malnutrition; forced conversions; confiscation of property; cases of resistance; and, of course, massacres. Major players are identified within the categories: Young Turk government; Young Turk officials; German officials; and others. The aftermath of the genocide is also recorded under topics such as: orphanages; refugee camps; resettlement of survivors; and humanitarian intervention.

These documents also preserve a piece of American history. They tell of valiant diplomats, like Ambassador Morgenthau, who did everything within their personal and professional means to end the carnage. Up to 1914, Great Britain, France, and Russia had been the states most involved with the question of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire. After war broke out between the Ottomans and the Allies in November 1914, the United States, which remained neutral until 1917, was left as the sole major Western state with official representation in the Ottoman capital of Constantinople still interested in the fate of the Armenians. In 1915, the Ottoman government, under the control of the Young Turk Committee, began implementing a policy to annihilate the Armenians of the empire through deportations and massacres. The United States Embassy in Constantinople immediately became the focal point for those reporting on the escalating violence directed against the Armenian population of the Ottoman state.

Apart from the Embassy in the capital, the United States maintained consular posts in a number of cities in Turkey, including Smyrna (present-day Izmir), Trebizond, Mersin, Harput (or Kharpert), Aleppo, Beirut, and Jerusalem. The presence of American consuls at two of these sites proved crucial for

closely monitoring developments in the spring and summer of 1915 when the Ottoman government proceeded to expel the Armenians from their homes and to deport them toward the Syrian Desert. Masses of Armenians were moved through the Harput region on the Euphrates as the point of exit for the population of Armenia proper and their exodus to the south. But as was the case at Harput, where the vast majority of the deportees were destroyed within the confines of the province itself, large-scale massacres at isolated spots en route to the desert often decimated the victim population considerably. Many convoys of deportees from Armenia and Anatolia were sent on to Aleppo. From there and other collection centers further east, they were marched into the desert and left to die of thirst and exposure. Others were sent to specific killing sites, such as Ras-ul-Ain and Deir-el-Zor. On a regular basis, the American consuls at Harput and Aleppo kept the United States Embassy in Constantinople informed of the arrival of the exhausted refugees from the interior and the departure of the condemned toward the desert.

The interest of Americans in the condition of the Armenian people in Turkey grew largely out of a near century-long association between American missionaries and Armenians of the Middle East. The missionaries had established a vast network of institutions (schools, hospitals, churches) throughout the Ottoman Empire, which serviced mainly the Armenian population. American missions were located in some of the major cities of Anatolia—Sivas, Kayseri, Marash, Hadjin, Adana, Aintab, Urfa—and further east in historic Armenia—Harput, Bitlis, Erzerum, and Van. Thousands of Armenian survivors of earlier massacres had become wards of the American mission orphanages. The missionaries witnessed the daily tribulations of Armenians living under Turkish rule and, when the deportations began, became an additional source of direct information on the fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

Independent of the consuls and the missionaries, the United States Embassy also received reports from citizens of other neutral countries, such as Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, and heard directly from Armenians who had survived their own particular ordeals. Alarmed at the increasing frequency of the reports of mistreatment, deportation and massacres, Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey, reached the conclusion that a systematic effort was under way to liquidate the Armenian population. In a series of reports, Ambassador Morgenthau relayed his findings to the Secretary of State in Washington. His cables included the consular reports substantiating the rumors in circulation that the Armenians in Turkey were in the throes of a state-organized campaign aimed at their wholesale annihilation under the guise of a resettlement policy. In addition, the Department of State received correspondence from diplomatic sources outside the Ottoman Empire who had obtained evidence further substantiating the charge that a policy of genocide was in progress in the Ottoman Empire.

Persuaded of the gravity of the danger faced by the Armenian population, the Department of State authorized Ambassador Morgenthau to submit formal protests to the appropriate Ottoman officials. It instructed him also to warn the representatives of Germany, Turkey's ally in World War I, that, under the circumstances, their government too would be held accountable for failing to intervene in order to stop the indiscriminate killings. At the same time, Congress gave its approval for setting up a private agency, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (better known as Near East Relief) to raise funds in the

United States for aid to the Armenian deportees. The ambassadors, consuls, and missionaries, in addition to the relief workers who arrived mainly after the end of the war, played key roles in disbursing aid to the Armenians in spite of regular interference from Ottoman officials, and, for some, at risk to their own lives.

Formal relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire were severed in April 1917 after Congress declared war on Germany. However, the United States never declared war on Germany's ally, the Ottoman Empire, nor did it engage in hostilities against the Ottoman Empire. United States personnel returned to Constantinople upon the signing of the Mudros Armistice, which brought an end to the war in the Middle East in October 1918. After the war, Near East Relief was instrumental in providing shelter for thousands of orphans, rescuing hundreds of women from their abductors, and feeding and clothing tens of thousands of survivors. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, with its pronounced commitment to the principle of self-determination for the oppressed peoples of the Ottoman Empire, kept the United States all the more involved in Middle Eastern affairs after the end of the Great War. Hence, throughout most of the critical years from 1915, when the extermination of the Armenians began, to 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was established and the era of deportations and massacres ended, Americans were on site in the region. They reported in detail from direct observation and through eyewitness accounts the entire course of events that enveloped the Armenian people.

Because of the multiplicity of places from which these reports originated, and their wide geographic distribution, a fairly complete picture of the Armenian Genocide can be formed with the documentation in the United States Archives.

At the local level, Consul Leslie Davis in Harput and, most exceptionally, Consul Jesse Jackson in Aleppo proved to be men of extraordinary fortitude and industry; other consuls who were equally steadfast in their duties, G. Bie Ravndal in Constantinople and W. Stanley Hollis in Jerusalem might be mentioned. The names of the ambassadors are better known, and Abram Elkus, who succeeded Henry Morgenthau, appears to have altered none of the procedures introduced during Morgenthau's tenure in transmitting all the evidence that found its way to the United States Embassy in Constantinople. For Henry Morgenthau, saving the Armenian population became a cause that he championed in and out of office. His sense of alarm as he grew aware of the scale of the campaign to eradicate the Armenians was conveyed to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, and his successor, Robert Lansing, in no uncertain words. They resonate to this day as the most riveting pronouncements on the fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The unfolding tragedy made no less an impression on President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson's policies, during and after the war, were in part formed by his sympathies for populations particularly victimized by German and Turkish militarism.

What makes these reports, cables, communiques, and even simple receipts exceptional is the fact they were handled as routine business in uncommon circumstances. Only in retrospect does the full evidence begin to shed light on the magnitude of the Armenian catastrophe.

—Rouben Paul Adalian

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The Power of Acknowledgment Op-Ed draft by Peter Balakian, copyright by Peter Balakian, 1998-2000.

In the last decade of the century we have witnessed what seems to be an important, historic phenomenon. Nations, institutions, and citizens have affirmed the importance of acknowledging the past. With the power of acknowledgement, the apologizers affirm a gesture of repentance for past crimes--for severe injustice committed against others. Not only do these expressions of apology affirm the importance of a society's capacity for self-examination and a corresponding ability to judge right from wrong, they help bring the unspeakable sufferings of mass murder, oppression, and injustice to a place might be thought of some healing for both victims and perpetrators alike; acknowedgement creates a bridge to the possibility of a humane future.

To note some of these occasions of apology reminds us of the ecumenical and international scope of this phenomenon.

In the 90s President Clinton has apologized to the Black families involved in the medical experiments at Tuskegee, and on his recent trip to Africa apologized for slavery; the Japanese government has apologized and made at least token reparations to the "comfort women" of World War 2; the Catholic Church of France has asked God's forgiveness for its silence during the Holocaust, and the Vatican has begun its process of atonement for its silence during the Holocaust; the Canadian government has formally apologized to its 1.3 million indigenous people for 150 years of racism and paternalism; Russians are acknowledging the crime of Soviet silence during the Nazi massacres and Stalin's purges; the Austrians are returning artworks that were pillaged by the

Nazis from Jewish families; Swiss banks are agreeing to settle with the descendants of Holocaust victims.

In the past year, President Clinton has announced a $30 million program to put those responsible for the genocide in Rwanda on trial. Recently, major international corporations like General Motors, Bertelsmann, and Ford have aggresivly hired Holocaust scholars to do thorough research about their possible wartime collusions with the Nazis; their moral aim to open up their records to the world and to let the truth be known. Boris Yeltsin's eloquent statement about the importance to addressing the past on the occassion of the internment of the ashes of the Czar's family in July of 1998 is a model. quote. One might add that even George Steinbrenner humbly knocked on Yogi Berra's door last year and said the fundamental words: "I'm sorry." Only last week, (September, 2000) our own Bureau of Indian Affairs marked its 175th anniversary by apologizing to the Native Americans for its history of ethnic cleansing.

For all these narratives of moral recognition that are ribboning the planet, the absence of apology or bare acknowledgement for the century's first genocide is a cruel reminder that the Armenian and Turkish past remains for the perpetrators unresolved and for the victims an open wound. Since 1995 a petition continues to travel around the world: " We Commemorate The Armenian Genocide of 1915 and Condemn The Turkish Government's Denial of This Crime Against Humanity" and has been singed by intellectuals and Nobel Laureates including Wole Soyinka, Seamus Heaney, Arthur Miller, Harold Pinter, Derek Walcott, Susan Sontag, Grace Paley, Cornel West, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Anthony Appiah, Yehuda Bauer, Raul Hilberg, Israel Charny, and many others.

That the government of Ottoman Turkey committed genocide against its Armenian population in 1915 is an undebatable fact. The Ittihadist government,

known as the Young Turks, systematically slaughtered about a million and a half men, women, and children; they razed a 3,000 year old culture and destroyed the unique and historically important churches, buildings, and art of this earliest of Christian nations, and they silenced an entire generation of Armenia's writers and intellectuals by arresting 250 of them on the night of April 24, 1915 and executing them--an act that remains among the most extraordinarly self-conscious plots to wipe out a people by expunging their culture and those who create it.

In coining the term "genocide," in 1943, Raphael Lemkin pointed to the extermination of the Armenians as a seminal example of what he meant by that word. Recently, the Association of Genocide Scholars--the definitive scholarly organization for the study of Genocide--passed a resolution adamantly affirming that the Armenian Genocide conforms with every aspect of the UN Genocide Convention of 1948.

Given the attention to the recent arrest of Abdullah Ocalan, the Kurdish human rights leader, or terrorist depending on your moral perspective on power and who wields it, it seems more important than ever to understand that the present Turkish human rights problem is inseparable from the Armenian past and Turkey's refusal to come to terms with that past. According to PEN International, Turkey has more writers in jail or pending trial than any country in the world; it is cited by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch year in and year out for its practices of torture, for torturing children; for raping women in prison. The number of publications seized or censored has more than doubled in the past year according to Reporters Without Borders, and the Turkish government even refused to let the brave, independent publisher, Aysanour Zaraklou, who has dedicated her life to publishing outlawed book, to

come to the Frankfort Book Fair to receive the publishing award the Fair had bestowed on her.

In the United States, the Armenian Genocide is taught in high schools and universities in courses on history, literature, genocide, Holocaust, and ethics. Despite Turkey's public relations efforts to keep it out of the American curriculum, the Armenian Genocide is fast becoming part of our common discourse.

It would be particularly fitting with American policy for Congress to declare April 24 a permanent day of remembrance of this universal human rights tragedy. And, it would be particularly fitting for the United States to aid the healing of the open wound of the Armenian Genocide, because from the beginning, when Abdul Hamid II began the infamous Armenian massacres of 1894-96, right down through the 1915 genocide, the plight of Armenia became the first major international human rights issue in which modern America became passionately involved. From Julia Ward Howe and Clara Barton, to John D. Rockfeller, to Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, Americans worked week in and week out for over three decades witness and tried to save Armenia. In an age when a loaf of bread cost a nickel, Americans sent over twenty-two million dollars to help save Armenian Genocide survivors.

That morality, passion, and commitment should not be lost in this year of the 50th anniversary of the UN Genocide Convention, a charter which Turkey too has signed. Turkey too would benefit. Acknowledging its early-century crimes against its Armenian minority would help Turkey to begin a process of self-examination, and this also would aid Turkey's efforts at making bridges with the European community and the United States.

The United States can no longer turn a blind eye to the immorality of the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide. Now at the end of the century, that

denial stands out as unique in its viciousness. Denial of genocide is, as Elie Weisel has said, a "double killing." In denying genocide, perpetrator governments and their legacies demonize the victims and attempt to rehabilitate themselves. Denial encourages further acts of genocide and paves the road for more denial, after generations of the victims has passed. Hitler's statement of August 22, 1939, "Who today speaks, after all, of the annihilation of the Armenians?" makes that point clear. **Peter Balakian is Professor of English Colgate University, Hamilton, NY ; and the author of many books including Black Dog of Fate, a memoir about growing up Armenian-American which was a New York Times Notable Book and the winner of the 1998 PEN/Albrand Prize.**
ph: 315-824-1237; fax: 824-6145

Statement about the Armenian Genocide by American diplomats on site in Turkey

from Consul Jesse Jackson in Aleppo

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, Syria, September 29, 1915.

(Source: U.S. State Department Record Group 59, 867.4016/219)

SIR:

I have the honor to report as follows regarding the deportation of Armenians, supplementary to my dispatch to the Embassy No. 546 of August 19 last:

The deportation of Armenians from their homes by the Turkish Government has continued with a persistence and perfection of plan that it is impossible to conceive in those directly carrying it out, as indicated by the accompanying tables of "Movement by Railway", showing the number arriving by rail from interior stations up to and including August 31 last to be 32,751 . In addition thereto it is estimated that at least 100,000 others have arrived afoot. And such a condition as these unfortunates are in, especially those coming afoot, many having left their homes before Easter, deprived of all of their worldly

possessions, without money and all sparsely clad and some naked from the treatment by their escorts and the despoiling depopulation en route. It is extremely rare to find a family intact that has come any considerable distance, invariably all having lost members from disease and fatigue, young girls and boys carried off by hostile tribesmen, and about all the men having been separated from the families and suffered fates that had best be left unmentioned, many being done away with in atrocious manners before the eyes of their relatives and friends. So severe has been the treatment that careful estimates place the number of survivors at only 15 per cent. of those originally deported. On this basis the number of those surviving even this far being less than 150,000 up to September 21, there seems to have been about 1,000,000 persons lost up to this date."

No. 464
AMERICAN CONSULATE
Mersina, Turkey, July 26, 1915.
THE HONORABLE
HENRY MORGENTHAU,
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
CONSTANTINOPLE. TURKEY.
SIR:-

I have the honor to inform you that deportation measures on a large scale are apparently to be carried out against Armenians in the cities of Adana, Tarsus and Mersina. In Adana over two hundred and fifty families have been ordered to be ready to leave. From Tarsus a number of families have already been sent and

many others ordered to leave on short notice. All their real estate titles must be deposited with the local authorities and such personal effects as cannot be taken on the journey are inventoried and taken possession of by the Government. In Mersina about two hundred Armenians have been noted for deportation. Most of these are of the poorer classes but I am informed that the order is for the deportation of the entire Armenian population of Mersina and will be gradually executed. A member of the Special Commission on Deportations is here to superintend the matter. The President of the Commission went to Hadjin to complete the deportations from there. About one hundred Armenians deported from Caesarea to Syria passed through here last week. It is stated that no Armenian male adult is left at liberty in that city. Those who have not been deported from there have been imprisoned according to reports which reach here.

Apart from the misery and distress to the deported persons the effect of these measures on the province is incalculable. The loss of the best commercial element and the principal handicraftsmen is bound to injure local economic conditions. Special pleas on this basis have been made to the Government by various interests and even German financial and commercial interests notably those of the various agricultural machine companies which do business as well as the Singer Manufacturing Company as well as the petroleum companies will be affected. . . . "

Signed Edward I. Nathan, American Consul

From, Oscar S. Heizer

American Consulate

Bagdad, Mesopotamia, April 11th, 1919

Subject: Crimes of Nael Bey, representative of Committee of Union and Progress at Trebizond

The Honorable
Secretary of State
Washington

Sir:

"I have the honor to report to the Department that while stationed at Trebizond in 1915, the Armenian population was entirely deported and en route toward El-Jezireh was mostly massacred. A certain Nael Bey of Shehir was sent to Trebizone as the representative of the Committee of Union and Progress to see to the faithful carrying out of the deportation and extermination of the Armenians." Etc.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Signed, Oscar S. Heizer
Consul

From Consul Leslie Davis, Harpert, Turkey

American consulate

Mamouret-ul-Aziz (Harput)
June 30, 1915

Honorable Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador
Constantinople

Sir: I have the honor to report to the Embassy about one of the severest measures ever taken by a government and one of the greatest tragedies in all history. If the Embassy had not already learned about it from other sources, my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and my brief dispatch of June 29th will have brought the matter to the attention of the Embassy."

"Another method was found, however, to destroy the Armenian race. This is no less than the deportation of the entire Armenian population, not only from this Volayet, bit, I understand, from all six Vilayets comprising Armenia. . . All of these are to be sent into exile; an undertaking greater, probably, than anything of the kind in all history."

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant
Signed: Leslie A. Davis,
Consul

From Consul Leslie Davis, Harpert Turkey

--Leslie A. Davis, Report on the Work of the American Consulate, prepared for the U.S. Department of State, 1918

" Who could have then foreseen, amid those peaceful surroundings, that the following year there was to be enacted in this region what is probably the most terrible tragedy that has ever befallen any people in the history of the world?"

"Few localities could be better suited to the fiendish purposes of the Turks in their plan to exterminate the Armenian population than this peaceful lake in the interior of A Turkey, with its precipitous banks and pocket-like valleys, surrounded by villages of savage Kurds and far removed from sight of civilized man. This, perhaps, was the reason why so many exiles from distant vilayets were brought in safety as far as Mamouret-ul-Aziz and then massacred in the "Slaughterhouse Vilayet" of Turkey. That which took place around beautiful Lake Goeljuk in the summer of 1915 is almost inconceivable. Thousands and thousands of Armenians, mostly innocent and helpless women and children, were butchered on its shores and barbarously mutilated. It is hard for one living in a civilized country to believe that such things are possible; yet, as Lord Bryce has said, "Things which we find scarcely credible excite little surprise in Turkey." These two rides that I took to Lake Goeljuk in the fall of 1915 confirmed many of the rumors we had heard about the fate of the Armenians who had been taken in that direction and showed us that our worst fears for all who were deported were not groundless. We arrived home safely and as far as I know the officials never heard of either of these rides."

From Henry Morgenthau United States Ambassador to Turkey, 1913-16; Ambassador Morgenthau's Story, (New York: Doubleday, 1918)

"And thus, as the exiles moved, they left behind them another caravan–that of the dead and unburied bodies, of old men and of women dying in the last stages of typhus, dysentery, and cholera, of little children lying on their backs and setting up their last piteous wails for food and water. . . .

" The most terrible scenes took place at the rivers, especially the Euphrates. Sometimes, when crossing this stream, the gendarmes would push the women into the water, shooting all who attempted to save themselves by swimming. Frequently the women themselves would save their honour by jumping into the river, their children in their arms. . . . In a loop of the river near Erzinghann . . . the thousands of dead bodies created such a barge that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards.

"At another place, where there were wells, some women threw themselves into them, as there was no rope or pail to draw up the water. These women were drowned and, in spite of that, the rest of the people drank from that well, the dead bodies still remaining there and polluting the water. Sometimes, when the wells were shallow and the women could go down into them and come out again, the other people would run to lick or suck their wet, dirty clothes, in the effort to quench their thirst."

Of one particular death march, Morgenthau wrote, "On the seventieth day a few creatures reached Aleppo. Out of the consigned convoy of 18,000 souls just 150 women and children reached their destination. A few of the rest, the most attractive, were still living as captives of the Kurds and Turks; all the rest were dead.

"I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecution and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this."

Essential facts about the systematic, state-planning of the Armenian Genocide by the Iddihadist government of Turkey in 1915

The sources for the following are from the Official gazette of the Ottoman Parliament publishing the proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal Courts Martial (*Takvimi Vekayi*); from official German and Austrian diplomatic documents; from the memoirs of Turkish Iddihadist members. see Vahakn Dadrian, *The History of The Armenian Genocide;* "The Role of the Special Organization in the Armenian Genocide during the First World War,"in *Minorities in Wartime*, ed. Panayi. and "The Determinants of the Armenian Genocide," Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1998); also see 4 page bibliography attached.

Dadrian focuses on 1) leadership; 2) ideology, structure, and 3)inner workings

1. After the failed Hamidian Counter Revolution of 1909, the Iddihhatist party, known as The Young Turks declared a state of siege and **suspended normal constitutional rights for the next four years**; this created a state of martial law.

2. Advocacy of race-pure ideology and Turkification: Pan-Turkism. In this created atmosphere of crisis, the Iddihadist party more was shaped by the new Turkification program promulgated by Central Committee member Zia Gokalp. Gokalp was instrumental in shaping the vision of Armenian extermination articulated by Dr. Behaeddin Shakir and Dr. Nazim. Gokalp, like Shakir and Nazim was a member of the party's radical xenophobic wing of the Central Committee.

3. Special Organization (*Teskilat-i Mahsusa)* formed in 1914 by Ittihadist government; the internal affairs office of the **SO,** by spring of 1915, was focused on the Armenian Question. its main project was to do away with the Armenian Question by exterminating the Armenian population.

Turkish government planning of the Armenian Genocide, 2

4. Armenian Genocide program was refined when Dr. Shakir returned from the eastern provinces to began to make plans with Talaat for the Special Organization-to focus on the Armenian Question. its first use against the Armenians was in Zeitoun in April;

5. The **Special Organization and Ministry of War** were connected; and field units in the Armenian provinces were organized for the purposes of networking the arrests, deportations, and mass-killings of the Armenians.

6. The **Special Organization** was composed of a hierarchy of bureaucrats, most of whom were military officers who had resigned for the purpose of engaging in the Armenian extermination plan. a) **Responsible Secretaries (*Katibi Mesul*);** b) **Delegates (*Murahhas*),** and c) **General Inspectors (*Umumi Mufettis*).** This hierarchy of bureaucrats supervised provincial governors in the Armenian genocide program.

7. The mass killing network was set up in a chain of command between these bureaucrats of the SO, the gendarmes or provincial police, and the killing units often made up of irregulars, many of whom were ex-convicts. Recruitment of convicts was undertaken on many level in the Ottoman capital and the provinces, and was supervised by Dr. Nazim-- **by 1916 legislation was passed** enabling prisoners to be released for "patriotic duty"--which meant to serve in the SO

8. Two key acts of emergency legislation were central to the genocide process and enabled the government to label in a pseudo legal way Armenians, as well as other Christians, as seditious.

Turkish government planning of the Armenian Genocide, 3

a) **Temporary Law of Deportation, May 1915:** which without referring to the Armenians by name authorized the military and gendarmes to order deportations if they had a feeling or sense--that is the key phrase: "hissetmek" sense--that a citizen might be dangerous." this law was repealed in 1918
b)Temporary Law of Expropriation and Confiscation, September, 1915: gave the Turkish army and people the right to appropriate Armenian possessions and real estate.

9. The General Police Directorate and the Police Section *(Kismi Siyasi)* engaged in espionage and surveillance in the organization of the Armenian genocide; in --April, May, and June of 1915;

10. The General Police Directorate and the ***Kismi Siyasi*** was essential to the arresting, deporting, and killing of the 250 Armenian leaders and intellectuals on April 24, 1915 in the Ottoman capital, Constantinople (now Istanbul) ; in the following months that number in Istanbul rose to 2,345. (E. Uras, *The Armenians in History and the Armenian Question,* Istanbul, 1988, p. 872). **April 24, 1915 arrest, deportation, torture, and execution of all Armenian leaders and intellectuals in Constantinople underscores** the comprehensive government plan to exterminate the Armenians and their culture; destruction of culture an important dimension of the genocide process.

Read from Krikoris, Armenian Golgotha

11. British historian **Arnold Tonybee** describes the extermination process in ***The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire;*** a town crier would appear, public announcements would be made; posting of bulletins in towns would force

Armenians to assemble; 1) gendarmes--provisional police took them out of the towns; 2) then the irregular forces made-up of ex-cons were waiting for the caravans of deported Armenians in order to kill them; 3) the ex-cons were organized by the Special Organization; they carried out much of this phase of the killing. Killing was also done by army officers who were Ittihidatist members and were organized by Dr. Nazim; Secret Police had a political office and a public security office and they did the arresting and killing of the leaders and intellectuals in April 1915.

12. The Turkish army participated directly in the Armenian killing process. Between 60,000 to 100,000 Armenian men conscripted into the Turkish army during World War I were all killed by Turkish soldiers.

Elie Wiesel Speaks Out Against Turkish-American Community's Efforts to Distort History By Denying The Armenian Genocide

In a recent letter to Massachusetts Governor Paul Celucci, Elie Wiesel criticized the Turkish-American community and the Turkish Government's propaganda campaign of denying the Armenian Genocide. Wiesel urged the Governor and the Massachussetts Boad of Education to remove Turkish Web Sites from the *Massachusetts Guide to Choosing and Using Curricular Materials on Genocide and Human Rights Issues* . Weisel wrote to the Governor: "No human rights curriculum sponsored by the state should be teaching the untruths put forth by the perpetrator. Our dignity as human beings is at stake." The Massachussetts Board of Education subsequently removed the Turkish Web Sites from the Genocide and Human Rights Curriculum, affirming that Turkish acts of denial violate ethics, morality, and are attempt to censor the truth.

In his recent memoir *And The Sea Is Never Full* , Wiesel also recounts his own encounter with the Turkish government's tactics of blackmail in its efforts to censor scholarship and intellectual discussion about the Armenian Genocide at a scholarly conference on genocide organized by Israeli scholars in Tel Aviv in 1982. In reflecting on the injustice of Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide, Wiesel writes "I am haunted by the tragedy of the Armenians."

SUBMISSION FOR THE RECORD --- HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS, HEARING ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 398

FACTS RELATED TO FAMILY OF GREG BEDIAN, RESIDENT OF DISTRICT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN PORTER:

Many Armenian-Americans came to the United States as a direct result of the Armenian Genocide. The story of Greg Bedian, who resides in Arlington Heights, in the 10th congressional district of Illinois, is typical. Greg's maternal and paternal grandparents were survivors of the genocide. Greg's paternal grandmother, Elizabeth Bedian, was born and raised in Bursa, in Western Turkey. In 1915, she and her family were driven from their home and marched over 700 hundred miles into the deserts of Dier El-Zor, now in Syria. Only Elizabeth and her two sisters survived. In the desert Elizabeth became separated from her sisters and ended up in an orphanage in Istanbul. In 1921 she came to Illinois and married Asadour Bedian. Her sisters' fate remained unknown until 1957, when Elizabeth's sister in Lebanon happened across an Armenian-American newspaper containing Elizabeth's name. Although they exchanged letters and photographs, Elizabeth never got to see her sisters and died in 1976.