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other country who were in transit, or, as a courtesy, to the highest officials of a foreign government, which Captain Boerenveen does not appear to be.

The surprise appearance of a new country, Surinam, on the list of South American drug connections reminds us once again of how difficult it is to staunch the flow of drugs into the United States. If the authorities crack down in one producing area, like Colombia, production picks up elsewhere. If a transiting network in the Bahamas is unearthed, another pops up in Surinam.

This is not at all to argue for the futility of our efforts against the flow of illegal drugs. We must continue to fight on all fronts against not only the supply but also the domestic demand for drugs. That is where promising new initiatives like drug testing in the workplace can be of special help.

Once we are able to cut the huge market for illegal drugs in the United States down to manageable size, the Surinams of the world will no longer hold their attraction as a yet unthought of transit area for drug traffickers.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I will reserve the remainder of the leader's time and yield to my friend from California, the Democratic whip.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STAFFORD). The Chair recognizes the acting minority leader.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I reserve the time of the minority leader. I will speak in a moment on my own order but I suggest the absence of a quorum for a moment so I can confer with the acting majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOROCCO

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, of all the values that America stands for, respect for the rights of the individual is one of the most significant. U.S. foreign policy cannot disassociate itself from the values we as a nation uphold. We must continue to reaffirm this most basic American value and make it a cornerstone of our foreign policy.

In 1975, I joined with the late Senator Hubert Humphrey to author and gain enactment of legislation that linked continued U.S. military and economic assistance to a foreign government's human rights record. Since 1975, Congress has taken many important initiatives in the area of human rights which have improved countless lives abroad. We should continue our efforts on behalf of individuals who are denied these basic rights.

Most fundamental among these basic human rights is freedom from the cruel, inhuman, and degrading

practice of torture. This year, Amnesty International USA has chosen Morocco as the focus of its campaign to abolish torture. Since the 1970's, Amnesty International has received widespread reports about the systematic use of torture by Moroccan authorities to extract information and forced confessions from prisoners. These reports come from former political prisoners and their relatives and human rights organizations.

One such case is that of Mohammed Amin Mechbal. Mr. Mechbal was arrested in 1975 or 1976—the time is unclear because he was held in incommunicado detention for an indefinite period. According to the Moroccan Code of Criminal Procedure, detainees can be held for limited periods of incommunicado detention following arrest. In reality, this pretrial period is often repeatedly extended without legal justification or hearing, and it is during this period that most instances of torture reportedly have taken place. The police have sole custody of citizens held in incommunicado detention, and no authority monitors the behavior of the police.

In 1977 Mr. Mechbal was tried with 100 other Moroccans for antistate activities for his involvement in a leftist student organization. The proceedings were marred by many irregularities—the defense counsel received death threats, files were stolen, and testimony in Mr. Mechbal's defense was suppressed. Mechbal was sentenced to 20 years in prison. He was 21 at the time.

During the past 9 years Mr. Mechbal has been incarcerated in Kenitra Prison—a prison known for its overcrowding and harsh conditions. Amnesty International reports that he has been physically mistreated and tortured by police and security guards, both in the pretrial period and since he was sentenced.

Despite these hardships, Mr. Mechbal has managed to earn a degree in sociology while in prison, and has taught himself English and Spanish. Subsequently, the authorities have revoked his correspondence course study privileges.

Father Timothy S. Healy, president of Georgetown University, has informed the Moroccan Ambassador that Mr. Mechbal would be granted a full scholarship at Georgetown if released from prison. Father Healy has repeated his appeal directly to Moroccan authorities and through State Department contacts. There has been no response from the Moroccan Government.

There have been other documented cases of abuse. Many detainees have died as a result of torture and mistreatment. In November 1985, Tahane Amine, a 29-year-old engineer, died of heart failure after suffering torture during incommunicado detention. A number of the 36 other people who were arrested by the Moroccan Government along with Tahane alleged that they had been tortured during

the pretrial period. The charges levied against Tahane and his codefendants by the public prosecutor were membership in an illegal organization, threatening public order, and distribution of illegal tracts.

In another instance, over 2,000 people were arrested in late 1983 and 1984 during a series of strikes and demonstrations. Many claimed they were subjected to torture. These numerous allegations of torture have apparently never been investigated by Moroccan courts. Moroccan Government officials have also failed to respond adequately to questioning by the U.N. Human Rights Committee and Amnesty International about specific reports of torture.

The United States and Morocco share a long history. In 1777, Morocco became the first nation to recognize the independence of the United States, and our two nations have enjoyed friendly relations over the intervening decades. Despite this long friendship, however, we cannot ignore and must protest the consistent reports of human rights abuses in that country.

Last month marked the 25th anniversary of the enthronement of King Hassan II in Morocco. The United States has extended its help and support throughout the King's reign and the Moroccan-American relationship in these years has been marked by cooperation and friendship. His Majesty's support in investigating these reports of abuse and torture, and his assistance in resolving the case of Mohammed Mechbal would be a most welcome step in reaffirming Morocco's commitment to our common goals of justice, democracy, and human rights.

Mr. President, I hope that the U.S. Government will do what it can to cope with these very unfortunate events in Morocco, and I hope that Morocco will respond with recognition of human rights and what they truly mean.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR LEVIN

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

COMMEMORATION OF ARMENIAN MARTYRS' DAY

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I am pleased to once again participate in the Senate's commemoration of Armenian Martyrs' Day.

Every April 24, Armenians all over the world pause to honor the memory of the 1.5 million Armenians massacred between 1915 and 1923 in the Turkish Ottoman Empire. This tragic event is recorded by eyewitness accounts in historical archives throughout the world. The historical record documents the crime perpetrated

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against the Armenian nation and people by the Ottoman Government as the first genocide of the 20th century.

This year's commemoration of the Armenian genocide is particularly significant in light of the Senate's ratification earlier this year of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The Armenian-American community strongly supported U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention as a statement of purpose—a statement of our country's commitment to combat genocide directed against any people. Armenians realize that future genocides can only be prevented if we recognize that genocide is a crime against all of humanity, not just against the national, ethnic, racial, or religious group directly affected. And Armenians also realize that the prevention of future genocides will only be possible if we remember the genocides of the past. Adolf Hitler recognized this fact when, on the eve of his invasion of Poland, as he plotted the destruction of what he called the "subhuman" peoples of Europe, he remarked, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Sadly, the world did not learn a lesson from the Armenian genocide. By honoring the memory of the victims of that genocide, we can try to prevent history from again repeating itself.

Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to once again express my profound disappointment at the continuing effort by the Government of Turkey to rewrite history by denying that the Armenian genocide ever took place. A similar effort has been made in recent years by those who would deny the attempted destruction of European Jewry during World War II. They speak of "the hoax of the 6 million," and claim that documentary evidence of the Holocaust was doctored or fabricated. These historical revisionists claim that Jews have exaggerated the extent of their suffering in order to gain the world's sympathy.

I am afraid that I hear echoes of these arguments in the campaign of denial being waged by the Turkish Government. They, too, claim that the historical record is ambiguous, that the Armenians were not singled out for persecution, that the extent of Armenian suffering has been exaggerated, and that the Armenian people was merely one of many peoples who suffered as a result of wartime conditions.

The difference between the two campaigns of denial is that those who deny the Jewish genocide are widely viewed as part of the lunatic fringe—charlatans from the academic world or members of political groups on the extreme edges of the political spectrum. The campaign to deny the Armenian genocide, on the other hand, is encouraged and actively participated in by the government of a sovereign state

and one of our NATO allies, the Government of Turkey. Unfortunately, this unprecedented situation has made it difficult for Congress to consider this issue, even in the context of resolutions recognizing the victims of all genocides.

The current Turkish Government should acknowledge the role of its predecessor government—the Ottoman Turkish Government—in the Armenian genocide, just as the present West German Government has acknowledged the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. Has the West German Government's acknowledgment of the Holocaust strained its relations with the United States or diminished West Germany's role as a vital strategic ally? To the contrary, our country's relationship with the Germans remains warm and close, and West Germany remains an integral part of our NATO alliance. The argument that recognizing and commemorating the Armenian genocide endangers our strategic interests is a specious one, and should be rejected by this body.

The historical evidence that the Armenian people were the victims of a genocide is unambiguous. Indeed, the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, recognized the crimes committed by his predecessor regime, the Ottoman Empire. In a 1926 interview, he stated that his party "should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred."

Let those who deny this genocide tell the men and women who survived—people in their seventies, eighties, nineties, and even one-hundreds—that there was no genocide. The survivors should not have to respond to such a charge and to such a shameful campaign of denial.

We owe it to the victims of the Armenian genocide to perpetuate the story of what happened to them and to share its lessons with all the people of the world. Only in that way can some of the suffering of the genocide be redeemed, and future genocides avoided.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a fact sheet regarding the recognition of the Armenian genocide by various U.S. Presidents and by the Congress. This fact sheet was prepared by the Armenian Assembly, a national nonprofit organization representing the Armenian-American community.

There being no objection, the fact sheet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Fact Sheet No. 2—Armenian Assembly of America]

U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian population of the Ottoman Turkish Empire became the target of heightened persecution by the Ottoman government. These persecutions culminated in a three-decade period during which the

Armenians were systematically uprooted from their homeland of 3,000 years and eliminated through massacres or exile.

Few events have evoked American sympathy and concern as did the Armenian genocide in Ottoman Turkey. Eight U.S. Presidents spoke out against the treatment of the Armenians, and the 54th and 66th Congresses adopted resolutions deploring the massacres. In recent years, President Reagan, President Carter, the House of Representatives, and other officials reaffirmed American recognition of this tragedy.

U.S. REAFFIRMATION

President Ronald Reagan:

Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust;

Proclamation 4838;

April 22, 1981: "Like the Genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it—and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples—the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten."

President Jimmy Carter:

White House Ceremony;

May 16, 1987: "... it is generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't Nuremberg trials."

President Herbert Hoover:

The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, 1952: "The association of Mount Ararat and Noah, the staunch Christians who were massacred periodically by the Mohammedan Turks, and the Sunday collections over fifty years for alleviating their miseries—all cumulate to impress the name Armenia on the front of the American mind."

President Warren G. Harding:

Letter to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes;

November 22, 1921:

"If it is believed that a warship can be sent to an Armenian port on the Mediterranean I should have very little hesitancy in making such a suggestion on behalf of these stricken people. Surely there must be some way in which to utter the admonition of the five great powers to restrain the hands of assassins in that unfortunate land."

President Woodrow Wilson:

Letter to Acting Secretary of State William Phillips;

September 18, 1919: "... get into communication with ... the appropriate committees of Congress with regard to our being authorized to send troops to Armenia. I am heartily in favor of such a course if the Congress will authorize it ..."

President William Howard Taft:

Taft Papers on the League of Nations, 1920: "On the whole, it is not too much to say that the people of the Jewish race have suffered more in this war, as noncombatants, than any other people, unless it be the Serbians and the Armenians."

President Theodore Roosevelt:

Letter to Cleveland Hoadley Dodge;

May 11, 1918: "... the Armenian massacre was the greatest crime of the war, and failure to act against Turkey is to condone it ... the failure to deal radically with the Turkish horror means that all talk of guaranteeing the future peace of the world is mischievous nonsense ..."

Annual Message of the President:

December 8, 1904: "... it is inevitable that [the United States] should desire eagerly to give expression to its horror on an occasion like ... such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression as the cruelty and oppression of which the Armenians

have been the victims, and which have won for them the indignant pity of the civilized world."

President William McKinley:
Annual Message of the President:
December 5, 1898: "... press for a just settlement of our claims ... during the Armenian troubles of 1895 ..."

President Grover Cleveland:
Annual Message of the President:
December 7, 1896: "... it would afford me satisfaction if I could assure the Congress that the disturbed condition in Asiatic Turkey had during the past year assumed a less hideous and bloody aspect and that ... as a consequence of the awakening of the Turkish Government to the demands of humane civilization ... the shocking features of the situation had been mitigated. Instead, however ... we have been inflicted by continued and not uninfrequent reports of the wanton destruction of homes and the bloody butchery of men, women, and children, made martyrs to their profession of Christian faith."

Annual Message of the President:
December 2, 1895: "Occurrences in Turkey have continued to excite concern. The reported massacres of Christians in Armenia and the development there and in other districts of a spirit of fanatic hostility to Christian influences naturally excited apprehension ..."

President Benjamin Harrison:
Letter to Robert J. Thompson, Esquire:
December 14, 1894: "My indignation and sympathy have been greatly roused by the press reports of the fearful outrages practised on the Armenians."

House Joint Resolution 247:
September 10, 1984: "... April 24, 1985 is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man' ... for all victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923 ..."

House Resolution 148:
April 8, 1975: "... April 24, 1975 is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man' ... for all victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915 ..."

Senate Resolution 359:
May 13, 1920: "... the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered."

Concurrent Resolution of Congress: "Armenian Outrages":
January 27, 1896: "Whereas the American people, in common with all Christian people everywhere, have beheld with horror the recent appalling outrages and massacres of which the Christian population of Turkey have been made the victims ..."

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council Chairman Elie Wiesel:
Days of Remembrance Commemoration, Capitol Rotunda;

April 30, 1981: "Before the planning of the final solution, Hitler asked, 'Who remembered the Armenians?' He was right. No one remembers them, as no one remembers the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history."

U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Henry Morgenthau:
Telegram to the Secretary of State:
July 16, 1915: "Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye

witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion."

ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I stand before this body to give recognition to April 24 as Armenian Martyrs Day.

April 24 is a significant day for all Armenians and those of Armenian descent. Each year, this community remembers and mourns the loss of more than 1.5 million men, women, and children slaughtered by the Ottoman Turks in the early 1900's. You will not meet an Armenian today who has not lost at least one close relative in this genocide. In addition, Armenians throughout the world also remember the half million survivors, many of whom came to this country to seek refuge and to build a better life. Yet it is through these people that this significant act of history is remembered. We are fortunate that there are still survivors of this ordeal living today and it is through their personal experiences that this event is remembered and preserved.

While the magnitude of the pain and suffering that occurred is real, what has been equally as disturbing are the attempts to simply rewrite this history. Even through this was the first mass organized slaughter in this century, this atrocity has been largely ignored in history books. This is a great danger and we must make every effort to insure that we learn and remember the Armenian massacre.

This year, the United States has made a great stride by ratifying the Genocide Convention. This action puts the United States on record as opposing genocide and insures that this country will take the necessary steps to insure that all acts of genocide will be remembered. For many years, the United States refused to ratify this convention due to the legal ambiguities that are encompassed in such a treaty. However, after clarifying the intentions of the convention, I, along with 84 of my colleagues, voted to ratify the convention. This is a demonstration of United States resolve to learn from the past to insure that such actions will never happen again.

Mr. President, Armenians today have set aside April 24 as a day of remembrance. The world would do well to follow the example of their devotion. We must pledge the United States to remembrance of the Armenian genocide. We must do this for the sake of their victims and survivors; for their counterparts in Nazi Germany, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. And for ourselves.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE DAY

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, on April 3, we celebrated Armenian Appreciation Day, a day to commemorate the Armenian people who have struggled for freedom throughout their history. Today, April 22, we pay tribute to the estimated 1.5 million Armenians who were massacred at the hands of the Ottoman Turkish troops. The Armeni-

an people were virtually eliminated from their homeland as a result of a carefully planned act of genocide by the Ottoman Turks.

Today, on this 71st anniversary of this tragedy, it is important to call this massacre what it was—genocide. By publicly acknowledging this, we Americans can hope to prevent any future attempts of annihilation of a people on the basis of their race or beliefs.

In February, the Senate ratified the Genocide Treaty, a vote that was long overdue. With passage of the treaty, I believe we have demonstrated our desire to prevent any further acts of genocide upon an innocent group of people. The Armenians have suffered greatly because of this brutal series of massacres.

The sons and daughters and grandchildren of the victims of this genocide have gone on to contribute much to those societies in which they now live, including our own country. We can only hope that the international community has learned from this experience and will come together to prevent such tragedies from ever happening again.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in honoring Armenian-Americans as they mourn the genocide of their ancestors. Between 1915 and 1923, over 1.5 million Armenians were slaughtered by the Turkish Ottoman Empire and 500,000 survivors were forced from their homeland. There are some who ignore extensive historical documentation and insist that these events never occurred. Others argue that tragedies are best forgotten. I disagree. We need to remember these events so that history does not repeat itself.

There is a great need to educate Americans and the rest of the world about the horrors of genocide. During this century alone we have witnessed the massacre of the Armenians, the Holocaust of the Jewish people in World War II, and the mass murders in Cambodia. Even today, Soviet forces in Afghanistan are attempting to systematically annihilate the Afghan people and their culture.

Today, as we acknowledge the 70th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, many Armenian-Americans are haunted by the memory of their own experiences or the suffering inflicted upon their families. At this time of sorrow we can all be proud that the U.S. Senate recently ended nearly four decades of delay and ratified the U.N. Genocide Convention. I was pleased to vote for ratification. Our action sends a clear message to all nations of the world that the United States is willing to take action on the matter of genocide.

Americans must never forget the Armenian martyrs. I am pleased to join my colleagues today to pay tribute to those who died and those who survived this tragic event.

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Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, I am pleased today to join with my colleague from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] in paying tribute to the 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children who were the victims of the first genocide of the 20th century.

Just 2 months ago, the Senate voted overwhelmingly to ratify the Genocide Treaty, thus ending a 38-year effort to place the United States on record with 96 other nations of the world in declaring the use of genocide as an instrument of national policy—against any people, by any nation, at any time—a crime against all of humanity.

Despite the Senate's condemnation of the crime of genocide, and the specific citing, during Senate floor debate, of the Armenian tragedy, the world has still not fully acknowledged the suffering inflicted on the Armenians by the Turkish Ottoman Empire 71 years ago.

And so, we are here today to retell the story and to recount the facts relating to the Armenian genocide. We do so in order to make the historical record clear and to challenge the claim that this genocide never occurred.

The Government of the Republic of Turkey today continues to deny the facts in this case. In a letter to me dated February 28, 1986, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States stated that "no reliable evidence exists to justify the allegation that the Ottoman Empire either planned or carried out a systematic massacre of its Armenian population."

Our own Government has recently cautioned the Congress against making too big an issue out of the fact that millions of Armenians were murdered or forced to leave their homeland because of the brutal policies of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. To do so, it is argued, risks harming U.S. relations with an important ally, Turkey.

What we are being asked to do, it seems to me, is close our eyes to a genocide because of other policy considerations; to, basically, set new conditions which tell us when it is acceptable to acknowledge that a genocide occurred and when it is not.

This is intolerable. Not to fully acknowledge the full extent of the suffering of the Armenian people is an offense not only to the victims of that genocide, but also to those who survived and the generations of Armenians that follow.

It also raises a question as to how committed our Nation is to fulfilling the mandate of the recently approved Genocide Treaty, to tell the story of man's inhumanity to man so that future generations might learn from past mistakes.

And so we must restate the facts as we know them.

First, we know that 1.5 million Armenians perished following systematic persecution and massacre by the Ottoman Turkish Government during 1915-23.

The full horror of the massacres began on the night of April 14, 1915, when the Turkish police rounded up all of the Armenian intellectuals from their homes in Constantinople, effectively silencing the voice of a generation. In the villages, Turkish soldiers gathered the unarmed Armenian men into the village square, and executed them.

The approximately 250,000 Armenians serving in the Ottoman Army during World War I were disarmed and placed in forced labor battalions where they were either starved or executed. The Armenian people, deprived of their leadership and young able-bodied men, were disarmed under threat of severe punishment, and then deported from every city, town and village of Asia minor and Turkish minor. The majority of the deportees died on the marches from starvation, disease, and massacre. Some 500,000 refugees escaped to the north across the Russian border, south into Arab countries, or to Europe and the United States.

Second, we know that our own State Department and the United States Ambassador to Ottoman, Turkey, Henry Morgenthau, led the outcry against the atrocities at the time.

For years, Morgenthau tried to alert our Government to the tragedy. In one message he wrote:

When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race.

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. . . . 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.

On several other occasions, Ambassador Morgenthau wired the U.S. State Department with the facts. In a "confidential" telegram of July 16, 1915, he stated:

Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion. . . . Protests as well as threats are unavailing. . . .

Morgenthau, in his published memoirs, tells of these confrontations with Talaat Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of the Interior. One was as follows:

Americans are outraged by your persecutions of the Armenians. You must base your principles on humanitarianism, not on racial discrimination, or the United States will not regard you as a friend and an equal. You say that, if victorious, you can defy the world, but you are wrong. You will have to meet public opinion everywhere, especially in the United States. Our people will never forget these massacres.

Third, we know that Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey, condemned the genocide. In a 1926 article, he wrote of those Turkish rulers "Who

should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred."

Fourth, we know that American newspapers printed hundreds of articles about the massacres. Stories of the suffering of the Armenians appeared in the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor and dozens of American newspapers. The American public was alerted to the tragedy through coverage provided in literary journals and magazines, and through sermons which were delivered in Protestant and Catholic churches as well as Jewish synagogues at the time.

The terrible suffering of the Armenians during the period 1915-23 must not be denied.

To believe the Turkish claim that the world is misinformed and that the genocide never really occurred flies in the face of the facts as recounted by American missionaries, the American consular officials, the American Ambassador, past American Presidents, and the American people.

Beyond all of the Turkish and foreign witnesses to the Armenians' genocide—which include Americans, Russians, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, Greeks, and Arabs—we have the testimony of the Armenian eyewitness survivors themselves. The facts, as recounted by the survivors, provide the most compelling evidence of the tragedy which occurred.

To the Armenians who survived and their families, the facts are indisputable. For they still carry with them the painful memories of this tragedy. Indeed, every Armenian family has been scarred by the events of the past about which we speak today.

The few survivors and their descendants have been struggling with this memory for too long. The world has refused to recognize the Ottoman action as genocide. Turkey has orchestrated a vocal, bitter campaign to deny these million and a half murders, and has gone to great lengths to muzzle any recognition or criticism of the Armenian genocide in this country.

We owe it to every victim of genocide to remember the horrible events of the past, to better understand and appreciate the magnitude of suffering involved, and to educate our children so that these terrible acts will not be repeated.

The Armenian-American community is recognizing the importance of public education to their struggle to achieve world recognition of the atrocities that befell 1.5 million of their people.

With the hope that a better understanding of the Armenians will ultimately result in a more positive, sympathetic acceptance of the Armenian tragedy, efforts to share the riches of the Armenian civilization and the tragedies of the Armenian experience are moving ahead.

The opening of the Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn next month will facilitate important research and study into the Armenian question and the history of the Armenian people.

Central to the operation of the research center is the establishment of a computer data base which will enable the center to store in the computer all the relevant information contained in print on Armenian history and culture as well as the Armenian genocide. The center can then be a major resource center for schools, colleges and organizations interested in the story of the Armenians. It can also help to balance, with objective scholarship, the efforts of those who seek to alter history by denying the significance of the Armenian genocide.

Another critically important project undertaken in conjunction with the center for Armenian research at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, is the production of the film "The Witnesses." This film, which records the accounts of 28 eyewitness survivors of the Armenian genocide provides important insights into this chapter of history.

Mr. President, nothing so clearly threatens our future than the refusal to recognize the mistakes of the past. The scories of the survivors can help us come to terms with those facts, and, in so doing, bring justice to the Armenian people.

We still do not have justice. We still have a situation in which an accounting has not been made, and we must maintain the pressure until it is made.

Until justice is done, neither the victims of genocide nor the conscience of our Nation can rest.

When it was suggested to Hitler that world public opinion would be hostile if he proceeded with his so-called final solution of the Jewish problem, he retorted: "Who remembers the Armenians?"

Perhaps he thought no one would remember his crimes. We must show that we do remember, and that we do care. For ignorance of history is an invitation to repeat it.

And so today we pledge to work with Armenian-Americans and other concerned citizens to illuminate this issue, to remind ourselves about it, to dedicate ourselves to making sure not only that history is clear about what has happened, but also to put ourselves in a stronger position to resist the evil forces that bring about events such as this.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, today we commemorate the 71st anniversary of the beginning of the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman empire. It is a day set aside for remembrance of the victims of all genocides, but especially for those 1.5 million Armenians who were brutally persecuted from 1915 to 1923. The senseless persecution and slaughter of Armenians during the outbreak of World War I resulted in the banishment of Armeni-

ans into a fragmented and scattered people.

The displacement and death that resulted from this persecution have left thousands without a homeland. It is the responsibility of everyone in the world community never to forget these horrible atrocities. This genocide was the first of a long line of sadistic attempts to annihilate an entire race due to prejudice and unfounded hatred.

As Americans, it is important to recognize the moral obligation we have to aid any group of peoples who are being persecuted and to defend them against any further attempt of genocide. We have learned that evil does not stop its terrible yet persistent spread when ignored, and that its reassuring lies are able to lull nations into ignoring the plights of unprotected peoples. We can only look back now at the undeniable truth of the attempted genocides of other peoples: Jews, Russians, and Cambodians. To remember these victims is to ensure that history will not repeat itself and that men will never again stand idly by to watch the decimation of fellow humans.

The approval of the Genocide Convention this year by this esteemed body represents the commitment Americans have to recognizing and ending past and present genocides. While I commend and applaud this success, I am concerned with the future. We must periodically pause and reflect to move toward a better future for the generations to come. We recognize Armenian Martyrs' Day in somber salute to persecuted peoples everywhere. And, to answer Hitler when he asked, "Who remembers the Armenians?" Today, we remember them. I pledge that we will never forget.

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, on this 71st anniversary of the Armenian genocide, we recall with sorrow the 1.5 million men, women, and children who died in the first genocide of the 20th century.

Between 1915 and 1918, over 1½ million Armenians perished of starvation and butchery at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. The genocide involved not only the killing of innocents but their forcible deportation across Asia Minor. They were persecuted, banished, and slaughtered while much of Europe was engaged in World War I.

Acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide is particularly fitting since this year the Senate at long last has ratified the Genocide Treaty. It was Prof. Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer who escaped Poland during the Nazi invasion of 1939, who first coined the world genocide in 1944. After designating the term "genocide" to describe the deliberate destruction of a people, Lemkin became the first person to characterize the atrocities of 1915-23 as the "Armenian genocide." In his tireless work for the ratification of the

Genocide Convention, he repeatedly referred to the Armenian genocide, together with Holocaust, as a prototype of the crime of genocide.

We must be ever vigilant against those who would deny the truth or downgrade the horror of the Armenian genocide. It is our responsibility to help keep its memory alive for future generations. So, for the past 16 years, on or around April 22, Members of Congress have set aside a day to commemorate and reflect upon this timeless tragedy.

Remembering is a way to serve notice on those who would perpetrate future genocides that we will not forget, nor permit it to happen again. Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians? Hitler asked his top commanders on August 22, 1939, as they prepared for the invasion of Poland. Let us make sure he would not ask such a question today.

THE 71ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, the passing of seven decades has not lessened the tragedy of the Armenian genocide. The death of over 1½ million Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman empire is a crime of such magnitude, and of such profound historical significance, that the commemoration of this event is essential. Genocide was unheard of until the suffering of the Armenian people helped force the coining of that term. To remain vigilant against the recurrence of such a crime, we must never lose sight of the events 71 years past.

THE 71ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in this special order to commemorate one of the darkest events in 20th century history, the genocide against the Armenian people that started 71 years ago.

The fact that after 37 years of unnecessary delay the Senate in February gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the Genocide Convention gives a particular poignancy to this commemoration. Many of us, who consistently supported the convention throughout the years had used the example of the Armenian genocide over and over to warn about the consequences of indifference to and ignorance about such horrible crimes against humanity.

Remembering the Armenian genocide does not mean engaging in pointless recriminations or rekindling ancient hatreds. It means setting the historical record straight and learning from that record. The massacre of the Armenians was followed by the Nazi Holocaust against the Jewish people. More recently genocide was arguably committed in Cambodia and is being committed in Iran against the adherents of the Baha'i faith. The historical lesson of the Armenian genocide, if recognized and utilized in time, could have prevented or at least mitigated

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these later tragedies. As it were, the lesson was ignored the world remained indifferent and silent to the plight of the Armenians and, as a consequence, other millions paid with their lives.

Today, when we remember the 1.5 million Armenian victims, we have to rededicate ourselves to assuring that genocide will disappear as a tool of statecraft even for the most extreme regimes. Let us remember, for instance, that our responsibility with respect to the Genocide Convention has not been discharged yet. The enacting of the implementing legislation is still ahead of us. To go ahead speedily with that task would pay a more meaningful tribute to the memory of the victims of past genocides than the most eloquent speeches we may deliver here today.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR PROXMIRE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

WHY THE COST OF BUILDING STAR WARS WILL EXCEED A TRILLION—TOTAL COST TWO TRILLION, PLUS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, what will it cost the United States to build the strategic defense initiative [SDI] or star wars? Now, notice Mr. President, I do not ask how much this country must spend to transport this hardware into space. I do not include in this speech the cost of maintaining the star wars system once we have it fully deployed. In this speech I include nothing for modernizing star wars to keep it ahead of the inevitable advance of Soviet offensive nuclear weapons. I include nothing for the cost of research on star wars.

That research is just beginning. It is expanding very rapidly. It has, in fact, tripled in the last 3 years. It will quadruple in 1987 if the administration has its way. It is expected to reach \$50 billion before deployment gets underway. And, of course, it must go on, probably at an increasing pace even after the system is deployed, if we are to keep star wars modernized and effective. But for the purposes of this speech I am ignoring the cost of research, the cost of transporting the hardware into space, the cost of maintenance of the system in space, and the cost of modernizing and constantly improving the star wars deployment. For purposes of

this speech I am talking only and exclusively about the cost of building the hardware.

In this speech, of course, I am not using classified material. My estimates are strictly estimates, not official data. They are based on commonsense, educated guesses. I have discussed these costs with highly competent and informed persons. These persons disagree among themselves about the precise cost of each of these weapons or sensors. In each case I have tried to arrive at reasonable estimates by approximating a median or consensus among the differing experts. The estimates are strictly unofficial, and unclassified. They are probably at least as accurate as classified estimates because they come from independent scientists who have no axe to grind, and no special contract interest to serve.

Of all the weapons we need for star wars, the space-based kinetic kill vehicle will be the most costly. These vehicles provide the firepower heart of the antimissile defense. They are not uniform. They vary in size and capability. They also vary in cost. In general the cost would average about \$500 million more or less per vehicle; that is, for each of them. How many do we need? Probably thousands. Two thousand would cost \$1 trillion. Why do we need so many. We need them because each vehicle can only fire during a very limited fraction of its Earth orbit. That orbit must be relatively low so that it can be near enough to its target to initiate an effective strike. Because each vehicle has such a limited effective firing period and because the system must maintain the capacity to strike the adversary targets at all times we will need 2,000, 3,000, or 4,000. Why the huge cost? Because each must be hardened—able to stand a hit from the adversary. They must be maneuverable to avoid hostile fire. They should be capable of firing back to fend off concentrated attack.

While the space-based kinetic kill vehicle is the fundamental crux of the system, it cannot function effectively without the following supplementary weapons or sensors: First, ground-based lasers; cost per sensor, \$2.5 billion; estimated number required, 15; aggregate cost, \$37.5 billion. Second, boost surveillance and tracking systems; cost per sensor, \$750 million; number required, 10; aggregate cost, \$7.5 billion. Third, interactive discrimination lasers or particle beams; cost per weapon, \$1 billion; number required, 10; aggregate cost, \$10 billion. Fourth, space surveillance and tracking system; cost per sensor, \$750 million; aggregate cost, \$56¼ billion. Fifth, endo- and exo-atmospheric interceptor missiles; cost per weapon, \$5 million; number required, 7,500; aggregate cost, \$37.5 billion. Sixth, ground-based terminal imaging radar; cost per sensor, \$250 million; number needed, 12; aggregate cost, \$3 billion. Seventh, airborne optical adjunct planes; cost per weapon, \$200 million; number

needed, 12; aggregate cost, \$2.5 billion. Eighth, battle management center, \$1 billion; number needed, three; aggregate cost, \$3 billion.

Mr. President, that means the total cost of building the hardware excluding, omitting, leaving out research cost, transportation into space cost, maintenance cost and modernization cost will very likely exceed \$1 trillion. The space-based kinetic kill vehicle alone will cost a trillion or more by itself. Additional essential weapons would add, on the basis of the calculations I have made in this speech, an additional \$156.75 billion.

Physics Today has estimated the cost of star wars at roughly \$2 trillion. As I have indicated in other speeches, because of the grossly underestimated cost of transporting this hardware into space and of maintaining and modernizing it, this \$2 trillion estimate is more likely to be an underestimate rather than an overestimate.

Maintaining and modernizing the star wars system once it is in space will, in my judgment, cost between \$200 billion and \$300 billion a year. In other words, it will come close to doubling the cost of our defense.

TRIBUTE TO ARMENIAN GENOCIDE VICTIMS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President today we pay tribute to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished after a systematic persecution and massacre during the period of 1915-23. This year being the 71st anniversary of the Armenian genocide, we recognize this tragedy as one of the darkest episodes in recorded history.

The Armenian persecution began in 1894, when, in the 2-year period leading up to 1896, 300,000 were killed under the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Thirteen years later, another 21,000 Armenians were massacred in Cilicia, Turkey.

While the preceding events seemed horrendous in themselves, the most brutal physical destruction of Armenians began in 1915.

Many of the victims were put into labor camps and worked to their death during the Turkish preparation for World War I. The majority, however, died while marching across the Syrian Desert after being denied food and water for days at a time.

Apart from the 1.5 million who perished between 1915 and 1923, another 500,000 refugees escaped north to Russia or fled elsewhere in Europe, the United States, and the Arab countries. The Armenians were, therefore, essentially eliminated from their native homeland.

Many would like to forget that such atrocities ever occurred. We must, however, remember them to deter men such as Hitler, who scoffed at the idea that the extermination of the Armenians would be remembered for what it was—a mass annihilation of innocent