H. RES. 596, H. CON. RES. 404, H. RES. 577, H. CON. RES. 397, S. 2682, S. 1453, H. CON. RES. 414, H. CON. RES. 382, H. RES. 588, H. CON. RES. 361, H. CON. RES. 410

MARKUPS

BEFORE THE

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SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 28 AND OCTOBER 3, 2000

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H. RES. 596, AFFIRMATION OF THE UNITED STATES RECORD ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 2000

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a.m., in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee on International Relations meets today in open session.

H. RES. 596—AFFIRMATION OF U.S. RECORD ON ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTION

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee is meeting today pursuant to notice, to take up several legislative items. We will first consider H. Res. 596, relating to the way the foreign policy of our Nation reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity relating to the Armenian Genocide.

Chair lays the resolution before the Committee.

Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

[A copy of the resolution appears in the appendix.]

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Res. 596, a resolution calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, a first reading of the resolution will be dispensed with. Without objection, the Clerk will read the text of the resolution for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Resolved, Section. 1. Short Title. This resolution may be cited as the 'Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution'."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Radanovich, as the sponsor of the resolution, to introduce it to the Committee.

Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I do have a 4-minute video I would like to play before the hearing if there is no objection.

Chairman GILMAN. Is there objection?

It will be part of the gentleman's time.

Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. I was in consultation with my staff. What was the——

Chairman GILMAN. Would the gentleman repeat his request?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Yes. I requested that I play a 4-minute video before the markup, if I may.

Mr. BURTON. I have no objection.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has made a unanimous consent request. Is there any objection?

If not, the gentleman may proceed, but bear in mind it is going to be taken from your time.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Would the gentleman like to speak on the measure while we are waiting for the equipment to be put in place?

Mr. RADANOVICH. I would be happy to.

Mr. Chairman, today I am introducing a new bill regarding the affirmation of the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide. As the sponsor of this resolution, I have carefully followed all of the testimony and communications from proponents and opponents. I note that some Members——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman will withhold while the video is being shown at the present time.

[video shown.]

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Chairman, might we have an opportunity to see the video from the beginning?

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's requested that the video be replayed from the beginning.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Please proceed with the video.

[video shown.]

Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I thank you so much for bringing up this bill today. I am introducing a new bill regarding the affirmation of the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide.

As the sponsor of this resolution, I have carefully followed all of the testimony and communications from proponents and opponents, and I note that some Members have expressed concern with the training component of this former bill, H. Res. 398—specifically the complexity of implementing the clause.

I also note that during the Subcommittee hearing Ambassador Grossman testified that the Foreign Service Institute already includes the Armenian Genocide in its training program. This was later confirmed by a State Department spokesman.

Therefore, taking into account the concerns of some of my colleagues and the statements of the Department, and with the support of Chairman Smith, I submit this new bill. All references to training have been removed, and I trust that this change will enjoy the support of this Committee and will also make expedited floor consideration possible.

H. Res. 398 enjoyed the bipartisan support of more than 140 Members, and I rest assured that H. Res. 596 maintains the intent of my original bill. The new resolution also enjoys the support of

the Speaker, the House Minority Whip, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of this Committee, as well as the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee.

I thank all for their support and cooperation.

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired. I am going to have to keep a tight time control, since we have 10 measures and we will be interrupted by the proceedings on the floor.

Mr. RADANOVICH. I would request that my statement be——

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the full statement will be made part of the record.

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

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Before recognizing Mr. Burton, Mr. Gejdenson will be recognized.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I join with, I think, the majority of my colleagues in urging support for this resolution. It is clear that these kinds of acts didn't end in the early 1900's or in the 1940's, but we face them today in many places in the world. Not but a few days ago in this hearing room Mr. Royce had a hearing on what was happening in West Africa in seeing children with their arms cut off and legs cut off and ears cut off, and many others killed.

I think that our action here today has to speak very directly on this outrage against humanity that occurred so long ago, but is still not recognized by all too many. It is clear that this is not directed against the modern Turkish Government, except the modern Turkish Government makes the mistake that it feels it needs to defend the actions of a predecessor regime.

I would suggest to the Turkish Government that they take their lesson from the German Government. They would recognize the mistakes of the past and follow Germany, which now moves forward and holds its head high among the civilized nations of the world who participate in trying to make this a world with less barbarism in it.

The vote here today is not a vote against Turkey. It is a vote to recognize history and to clearly state that this Congress and these American people that we represent will not let history be forgotten. So many have warned us about forgetting history and the consequences of that. What we have just seen on television has been told to us by many survivors and their families.

There are always debates about the complexities of an issue, but what is clear here is that innocent civilians in large numbers were massacred and starved to death. Our own officials at the time recognized this. The historic evidence is clear; we need to move forward and pass this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I have watched that Peter Jennings report before, and I think anybody that sees it would say that their hearts go out to the people who suffered those kinds of atrocities.

But I would hate to think that the Congress of the United States is going to be swayed in any way by watching—violins in the background when somebody talks. I mean, the lady who was talking,

could you hear the violins in the background? That was designed, that is what we call "advocacy journalism," where they are trying to put forth a position on an issue by swaying the audience with what they see.

Now, there is no question that genocides occurred and there is no question that a lot of people died in that conflict. But the fact is, I hope nobody is swayed just by that report.

Now, let me just say this: Three million Turks, three million Turks died, many of them in what is called a genocide during the conflict we are talking about back in 1915 through 1920. There is no question that Armenians died as well, but the fact is, this happened 85 years ago.

There is a divergence of opinion. I have debated this issue over the past 18 years. We have gone to the floor with huge copies of books, volumes of books on both sides that explain what happened; and there is a divergence of opinion among historians about what actually happened back then and whether or not there was an Armenian Genocide or a Turkish Genocide. And the fact is, because of the difference of opinion, the Turks have never said that this actually happened. They haven't owned up to it, and I don't think they should.

Now, the second thing I would like to say is this: Turkey has been an ally of ours through thick and thin. During the Iraqi war we used their bases to stop Saddam Hussein. We might not have been successful had it not been for their very help. They lost billions of dollars by cutting off the oil supplies that were coming from Iraq into the coffers of the rest of the world, into the tanks of the rest of the world, and they lost billions that they have never recovered. They have been ally of ours time and time again.

This is a major issue. It is all over the front pages over there in Turkey, and what are we going to do today, we are going to kick our friends right in the teeth one more time about something that allegedly happened 85 years ago.

In war, horrible things happen.

I am going to talk about the amendment in a minute, Mr. Chairman, which talks about the Armenian forces and what they have done in the last 10 years to the Azerbaijanis. They forced people out of their villages. There have been massacres, but nobody's talking about that. We are going back 85 years.

The only thing I want to say is that I protest this, and the other thing I want to say is that this bill was going to be jointly referred to my committee. I went to the Parliamentarian and asked, because of the retraining mechanism in this bill, if I had jurisdiction. They said, yes, and it was going to be referred to my Committee.

So what happens after it goes through the Subcommittee? They changed the bill in the middle of the night with the help of the leaders on both sides of the aisle, and now they are taking that section out so I won't have joint referral.

So I want to tell you, this thing is on rails. I think everybody knows it is on rails. It is going to fly through this Committee, and it is going to go to the floor; but I want you to know, I object strenuously to the tactics that are being used and for kicking our friend for years and years right in the teeth when they have been with us day in and day out, year in and year out.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you Mr. Burton.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, as the only Member of Congress ever elected who is a survivor of a holocaust, I yield to no one in my concern for human rights, past and present, but I think it is appropriate to ask, as we deal with this issue in the waning hours of this congressional session, as to why this issue is before us today.

We all know why this issue is before us. It is before us because a Member of Congress who is in a very close congressional race persuaded the Speaker to put this on the agenda for political reasons. We are not dealing with a human rights issue. We are dealing with a partisan political issue which has been defused by the fact that the Democrat in that race also supports this legislation, which enables us now to deal with the merits of the issue rather than with the politics of the case.

This is not a partisan issue anymore, so we can deal with the merits.

Now, there is little doubt of the incredible amount of suffering of the Armenian people during this period, and in recognition of that suffering, the President of the United States annually issues a powerful statement recognizing that suffering and paying tribute to the victims. This is as it should be. But of course, serious statesmanship always compels us to look at all the ramifications of legislative measures, and one of the ramifications is, of course, the U.S. national interests—not 84 years ago, but in the year 2000.

It is self-evident to every single Member of this Committee and of the whole Congress that U.S. national interest compels us to vote against this measure at this time. There is a long list of reasons why our NATO ally at this point should not be humiliated. It will be counterproductive to Turkish-Armenian relations. It will be counterproductive to Turkish-Greek relations. It certainly will be counterproductive to Turkish-U.S. relations.

It will be welcomed by Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein will be the prime beneficiary of this legislation. Before my colleagues take the politically easy road, they should ask themselves whether, in fact, by taking the politically convenient road they really want to benefit Saddam Hussein, against whom our policies could not be pursued with anywhere near its effectiveness without Turkish support.

My feeling is, Mr. Chairman, that there is always room for honoring and recognizing past tragedies, but the manner and the mechanism need to be cast in the context of U.S. current national interests. This piece of legislation at this moment in U.S.-Turkish relations is singularly counterproductive to our national interest.

I am all in favor of the President's annual declaration. I have spoken on countless occasions, memorializing this tragedy. I will not be party to diminishing U.S. national interests to participate in what was intended to be a political ploy in a congressional district in California. That political ploy has now been defused by both the Democrat and the Republican favoring this legislation.

Therefore, the merit of the legislation is now before us. On the merits, I urge my colleagues to vote against this legislation.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you Mr. Lantos.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, on September 12th, I received a letter and I will just quote it briefly:

> "I am writing you to urge you, Chairman Smith and Members of the International Operations Subcommittee, to speak and vote in favor of the Armenian Genocide Resolution. This resolution is to come on Thursday September 14th," which it did.
>
> "It is my hope," the author writes, "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 he goes on.

That was signed by Elie Wiesel, the quintessential humanitarian and a Holocaust survivor, asking that this legislation be passed into law or be approved by the House of Representatives as quickly as possible.

I don't know if Elie Wiesel is a Democrat or a Republican. I have no idea. But he is a humanitarian who I think speaks with incredible, impeccable standing and has said, pass this resolution, which has been introduced by Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Rogan and Mr. Bonior, the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. Chairman, in 1915 there were about two million Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire, a region they had inhabited for 2,500 years. By 1923, well over 90 percent of these Armenians had disappeared. Most of them, as many as one and a half million, were dead. The remainder had been forced into exile.

The United States Ambassador to Turkey at the time, Henry Morgenthau, accused the government of the Empire of a case of "race extermination." The British, French and Russian Governments accused the young Turk Government of "a crime against humanity." Even the government of the Republic of Turkey, the successor state, tried and convicted a number of high-ranking young Turk officials for what the Turkish Government called the "massacre and destruction of the Armenians."

When the term "genocide" was invented in 1944, 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 those who apologize for it, or at least try to downgrade the idea that it was a genocide, suggest that it never even happened. I would just point out—when we held our hearing just a few days ago—Ambassador Aktan made the point—and I think this doesn't pass the straight-face test—that Turks have never harbored any anti-Armenianism.

I have held four hearings and briefings in the Commission on Security and Cooperation on current use of torture in Turkey. Every time we wanted to schedule a hearing and talk about what was going on in Turkey, there was an enormous amount of protest

about even having the hearing because it might injure this delicate balance between ourselves and Turkey. But we need to speak the truth to power.

You know, you look at the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices today, not 1984 or 1985 or years ago, and human rights monitors say that security officials increasingly use methods of torture that do not leave physical traces. This is talk about torture, such as beating with weighted bags instead of clubs and fists. Commonly employed methods of torture reported by Human Rights Foundation treatment centers include systematic beatings, stripping and blindfolding, exposure to extreme cold or high pressure, cold water hoses, electric shocks, beating on the soles of the feet and genitalia, hanging by the arms, lack of food and sleep; and you get the idea, and it goes on and on.

That is current and that is today. Yes, and thank God, some in Turkey have spoken out against that kind of abuse.

In this case, we have a situation where the overwhelming body of evidence clearly points to a genocide. And I remind Members, read the Genocide Convention, which defines the term as the extermination of a group of people whole or in part. This clearly is what has happened, and I would hope that we would be very clear in our statement and not shrink from calling genocide a genocide.

At our hearing, Dr. Melson from Purdue University testified, and I quote, "The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust are the quintessential instances of total genocide in the 20th century." He testified,

> "In both instances, a deliberate attempt was made by the government of the day to destroy in part or in whole an ethnoreligious community, an ancient group 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 genocide occurred."

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. SMITH. I urge support of this resolution, and I do have several other instances backing this up, and I hope Members will back Mr. Radanovich in his resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This resolution is supported by 126 Holocaust scholars, including Elie Wiesel. The facts are obvious if you just look at current demographics. For 2,500 years Armenians lived in eastern Anatolia, and now they are gone. Are we to assume that they just vanished?

The fact is that over a million, million-and-a-half were killed in the first genocide of the 20th century. No wonder our Subcommittee passed this resolution, and this Full Committee should do so as well.

But let me confront what I think is the most repeated and least acceptable argument against the resolution, and that is that it is inconsistent with America's current geopolitical convenience. Yes, Turkey is a NATO ally and a powerful one at that; and yes, it played a role in Desert Storm and Desert Shield. But let us look

at how powerful Germany is, a NATO ally that has play ed a critical role in winning the Cold War and in winning Desert Storm and Desert Shield.

Today, the German Government recognizes the Holocaust, but what about 10 or 20 or 30 years from now? A new government may rise in Germany that demand s for U.S.-German relations we march down from this hall and dismantle the Holocaust Museum brick by brick. If we are going to ignore the Armenian Genocide because it meets our geopolitical needs today, then we will tear down the Holocaust Museum tomorrow because some future German Government or some future Austrian Government insists upon it.

I think the power of America is not in whether it moves pawns and pieces on the chessboard of the world, but whether we are respected for our commitment to human rights and our commitment to ideals. And if we reject this resolution because it is bad for basing rights, then what credibility do we have in the world? And if those who say it is important to our geopolitical convenience that we ignore this genocide, vote against this resolution, then are we also prepared to whitewash the Holocaust if, in some future decade, that becomes politically convenient or helpful for basing rights or for our relationship with some NATO country.

I think that history speaks for itself, and we do America proud if we stand up for human rights and for what really happened.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sherman.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Colleagues, we see the emergence of the Armenian Genocide resolution from time to time, and in part—and I emphasize "In part"—it is driven by California politics. Over the last 20 years, this Committee unfortunately has evolved to the point where we focus an extraordinary amount of our time and effort on condemning and commending by resolution instead of being focused on our authorizing responsibilities.

I don't think that much that will be said here today by Members will influence this vote one way or another. Hope springs eternal that it might, but I don't think that will be the case. I am fortunate to follow our colleague from California, Mr. Lantos, who speaks with tragic, cogent authority on a subject like this.

Few people who argue against this resolution argue that there was no genocidal action. The only question is who and how much and which sides and who was responsible.

I think we need to be reminded always about what our responsibilities are to our national interest. I am sure all of you have been contacted by people from the State Department, the Defense Department, the National Security Adviser, not only of this Administration but the Carter Administration, the Bush Administration, and the Reagan Administration saying that the passage of this resolution is very much contrary to our national interest. The gentleman from California, Mr. Lantos, has explained very eloquently some of the many reasons why that is the case.

Sometimes I think there should be a big banner across the back of this room reminding us to ask the question, "What is our national interest?" so that we are focused on it time and again.

This is not a matter of geopolitical convenience, I would say to the gentleman from California, Mr. Sherman. This is a matter of our national interest. We are being advised by the best minds that have served this country over the last 20-plus years that the passage of this resolution is not in our national interest. Therefore, I will not vote for it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. Rothman.

Mr. ROTHMAN. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and the Ranking Member for bringing this measure before our Committee today.

This is not an easy decision we make today. I am extraordinarily mindful of the role that Turkey plays in securing America's interests around the world, and I want to begin my remarks by thanking the Republic of Turkey for all that they do for our country and for all of our allies around the world. There is no question that Turkey is an important friend of the United States and a strategic partner in NATO. But we are here today not to talk about modern Turkey. We are not here to talk about the importance of Turkey to our military alliance. We are asked a question today, do we acknowledge the truth or not. Do we acknowledge the truth or not?

Now, maybe many of us would rather have not had that question asked of us, but we now confronted with it and certainly when it comes to the issue of genocide, the question becomes probably a little easier, certainly for those of us who remember our history and who have perhaps a personal stake in never forgetting history.

We are here today to mark up a resolution that honors the memory of 1½ million human beings. Should we do that? Should we recognize the truth of their slaughter or should we say it didn't happen? I would like to read from a letter that Robert Jay Lifton wrote to Congressman Smith on September 13th, my colleague from New Jersey, who I am proud to sit with.

And by the way, let me say this, I have read everything submitted to me from every side from the Turkish Government, those who support the Turkish Government and all those who support this resolution.

Dr. Lifton wrote, "Genocide is ignored at a terrible peril. Whether in the case of Nazi genocide of Jews during the 1940, the Cambodian genocide of the late 1970's or the Turkish genocide of the Armenians in 1915, confronting the causes and human effects of such systematic mass killing is crucial to the world at large. The failure to confront these events contributes to a false consciousness to the effect that murderers did not really murder, victims were not really killed and all evidence of such killing should be ignored, glossed over. This kind of psychic numbing encourages, indeed invites, repetitions of the original crime."

When Hitler asked the rhetorical question to his SS generals, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" he was invoking a deadly dynamic in which unimposed genocide begets new genocide.

Resolution 398 interrupts that dangerous dynamic and asks instead that we and our diplomatic representatives acknowledge and learn from the events of history, however painful. In this way we

serve the historical truth, our own integrity as a Nation and the overall human future.

If we believe that unrecognized genocide contributes to future genocides, don't we have an obligation to assure that our diplomatic staff and those who advise our leaders learn about this history, learn about this genocide?

This is an excruciatingly difficult choice that we are asked to make today. I understand that, my friends and colleagues. Turkey is an extremely important ally and friend of the United States. But this has nothing to do with the whether we acknowledge that fact. It has to do with whether we will speak the truth or say the truth, say that these events never occurred.

I am not prepared to deny the truth, certainly not to deny the truth of this slaughter of 1½ million people, and I will be supporting this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you Mr. Rothman.

Mr. Ballenger.

Mr. BALLENGER. Mr. Chairman, I think everybody in this room recognizes that there probably was a genocide that occurred according to this resolution we have here, but let me ask a question. How many genocides do we—how many resolutions do we need in this Committee to go back over genocides?

I mean Rwanda, Tibet under Red China, Russia and the gulags, Cambodia, Iraq under Saddam Hussein. In each of these is something that most people would recognize, and I have one that actually occurred in my own home State of North Carolina.

I don't know how many of you remember the Trail of Tears where the Cherokees were forced by Andrew Jackson with an Army to move all the way, the ones that could move alive, all the way from North Carolina to Oklahoma.

Genocides are horrible, and I realize that basically nobody wants to recognize that we did all these various and sundry things, but we have done them many times, and I think we have been somewhat hypocritical to pick out one amongst many.

In my own considered opinion, the Turks are our friends. They have been our allies through the years, and in my considered opinion, we need at least to avoid embarrassing this government, which was not even in existence when this occurred, and so I plan on voting against the resolution.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BALLENGER. Sure, fire away.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Ballenger. I just wanted to state that during the Subcommittee hearing of H. Res. 398, the offer was made to those who had opposed the bill to not only include the Armenian Genocide, but to include other genocides that had happened throughout history, and no one took me up on that offer. So we were open to including that type of language in the bill, but nothing came forth.

I yield back.

Mr. BALLENGER. Nobody asked me. I will be glad to.

Mr. BURTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BALLENGER. Sure.

Mr. BURTON. I did talk about that. I talked about a number of genocides, and I have some amendments today which will go to

that issue, and I know the gentleman and everybody else will support those as an addition to the bill.

I thank the gentleman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Ballenger.

Mr. Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to express some concerns about the resolution and also offer them in the form of questions to those Members of this Committee that are trying to encourage those who have not made up our minds to vote for the resolution.

The first, very basic question in my mind in this resolution is, what are we intending to accomplish by adopting this resolution. I think it is fair to say that every Member of this Committee stipulates that what occurred in history was a terrible thing for which the Turkish Government and its leaders share immense culpability. It seems to me today that a lot of the debate centers over the choice of words and the label "genocide." The only specific references in the bill as to what we intend to accomplish are contained in the declaration of policy, and I haven't heard anything to convince me that this is not already the policy of the United States Government as far as the President's decision to speak on April 24th to condemn what occurred, as far as the information that is provided to our Foreign Service about what occurred.

I know there is legislation pending in the California legislature that is intended to set up a compensation system, and perhaps that is what ultimately we are debating here today, and if that is the case, let us go ahead and discuss it openly and honestly.

But I would just conclude by saying, I join those Members who support and oppose the resolution in condemning what occurred. But I remain perplexed about exactly what we are trying to accomplish today; and without a clear and convincing answer to that, I do not intend for vote for this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to express my strong support for this resolution, and I want to commend its author, Mr. Radanovich.

I want to address one objection in particular that we have heard and that is the issue of will this undermine our strategic interests. It has been said that passing this resolution could hurt our relationship with our good ally Turkey. Turkey is an important ally, there is no doubt about that, and is strategic in terms of that alliance, and I am glad that Turkey has taken the action it has to support America. But I think we need to think about what it means to be an ally.

Underlining some of the statements that we have heard is the notion that Turkey is America's ally, and it has taken these actions out of some sense of gratitude. Well, the fact is that nations are in NATO or are otherwise allies with the United States for one reason and one reason alone, because it suits their interests. International politics runs deeper than flattery. It is about nations acting on their own interests, and we are fortunate enough to share strategic interests with Turkey. That is why Turkey is an ally.

Now it has been suggested that the Turkish government will have a harder time managing public opinion and maintaining its commitment to NATO if we pass this resolution. So a sense of the House resolution on a genocide committed 85 years ago by a previous government—we don't even mention Turkey in this resolution, we say the Ottoman Empire—is going to undermine the strategic interests we have—that we have with Turkey and have had for 50 years, I don't think that is true. I am confident that Turkey and our security relationship is stronger than that. And for those Members who may wonder, why risk it, why pass this resolution if there is the slightest risk of undermining our relations with Turkey, I would say because there is genocide denial in Turkey. That is what this is about.

There is another reason. We have heard it suggested that the extremists in Turkey, who would use this resolution to attack Turkey's relationship with the United States should we pass it, might do so, but there is another way of looking at it. If the extremists who are the biggest deniers of the Armenian Genocide defeat this resolution, then we are siding with them.

Now, for some years German Americans have kept a running dialogue with my father because, unfortunately, he was at Dachau and took photographs which, frankly, are the most horrific pictures I have ever seen in my life of people dead and half dead. They continue to insist that the Holocaust never occurred, and every year there is a new book out about how it never occurred. Unfortunately for them, there are many people around just as there are Armenians around who I am sure have talked to some of you about how they survived this genocide, how perhaps they were the only one in their village, out of a village of 1,000 people, to have survived.

For us to aid those who deny a genocide is a mistake, my colleagues. You know, 3 years ago during debates on the Foreign Ops Appropriations bill, more than 300 Members voted to withhold economic assistance to Turkey until it acknowledged the genocide, but that provision was removed in conference. That was 300 of us. We are not talking about withholding economic aid here. We don't want to do that. We are not even talking about Turkey. We are talking about a fact that occurred in the Ottoman Empire, and we should go forward and for the record be prepared to say it.

That is my feeling, and I hope I have conveyed——

Mr. SMITH. Will you yield?

Mr. ROYCE. I will certainly yield.

Mr. SMITH. I thank my good friend for yielding; and I think you have answered in part, maybe in whole, Mr. Davis' question, a very legitimate question.

You know at our hearing Ambassador Aktan from Turkey said the crucial question is why the Armenians are not content with the word tragedy or catastrophe, and insist on genocide. It is because of this aggressive, persistent, pervasive effort over the years to deny that a holocaust actually occurred. And if you apply that, just lift it and apply it to the Nazi Holocaust that occurred in the Second World War, while this was in the First, you get the same kind of reaction. We need to call a holocaust a holocaust.

If you read the U.N. Genocide Convention, it defines the term as "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

One of our witnesses—if the gentleman would continue yielding—Dr. Smith, the Professor of Government from William and Mary, pointed out that as early as July 1915 the German ambassador reported to Berlin—the Germans were obviously allied with the Ottoman Empire—and I quote, "Turks began deportations from the areas which were now not threatened——"

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Pomeroy.

Mr. POMEROY. I commend my colleagues for their speeches. I think there have been some very interesting comments made in the course of this hearing, and you might think that we get together every week and try and unravel tragedies of the 20th century, evaluate carefully and consider these matters. In fact, we don't operate like that at all. This is a highly unusual forum that we are having today; and I think it behooves us to ask what is going on here, why are we doing this.

Well, I looked for some answer to that question in a memo written by the Center for Security Policy. Now the Center for Security Policy is a Republican-leaning think tank in town. Among others included in this outfit are former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, and they write as follows—and I am going to offer this into the record of this hearing this morning. I quote, and I am going to quote for the next few minutes, reading from it:

> "It is no secret that control of the 107th Congress hangs in the balance since the days before the November election slips away . . . Speaker Dennis Hastert and his colleagues have been in the unenviable position of having to accept terms from raising the minimum wage to new entitlement programs to busting the budget caps that would have been unthinkable under other circumstances. Whether their constituents welcome the November reward or punish legislators at the polls for such behavior remains to be unseen.
>
> "What is far less predictable, however, are the repercussions of allowing this strategy to leech into the foreign policy arena. If the full House of Representatives approves an Armenian Genocide resolution scheduled to be marked up today by the House International Relations Committee, U.S. relations with Turkey will suffer serious and possibly irreparable harm."

I quote, continued from the memo,

> "There is little doubt that among the repercussions will be the alienation of the pro U.S. Government in Turkey, undermining its support at home for its policies, and a shot-in-the-arm for Turkey's anti-Western Islamic opposition. This is all the more regrettable because it should not fall to the Congress to adjudicate the arcane and bitterly debated question of whether the undisputed murder of hundreds of thousands of Armenians was a centrally planned and systematic act of the Ottoman Turk government that would, therefore, meet the definition of genocide or, alternatively, was it the result of widespread but uncoordinated ethnic warfare. It is hard to believe

any of those legislators who will shortly be asked to render judgment on this matter have done their homework.

"The Speaker feels impelled to take such a course out of an understandable desire to help a valued and endangered colleague, Jim Rogan of California, whose role as an impeachment manager has made his defeat this November a priority for the Clinton team and its allies. Saving Mr. Rogan takes on an additional importance as the two parties battle for every single seat in the hotly contested and increasingly desperate struggle for control of Congress . . . As compelling as Speaker Hastert's considerations are for pursuing this Armenian Genocide initiative, they risk a potentially serious, if gratuitous and unnecessary, rupture with one of its most important strategic partners, Turkey.

"A stable, secure Turkey closely tied to the West is an indispensable counterweight to these and a number of other worrisome developments. It behooves the House Republican leadership, therefore, to find ways to secure a renewed mandate without jeopardizing vital national interests."

Now, if this is not in our national interests, as some experts again from a Republican-based think tank would have us understand, then let us consider whether it is in the interest of the parties themselves, the parties in the region that live together, that live side by side and face the ongoing risk from inflamed circumstances.

Speaking to this point is the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul, virtually the spiritual leader of the Armenian community continuing to reside in Turkey. Some would say he is essentially a captive in Turkey and, therefore, not to be trusted. Others would say he is a critical figure representing one of the leaders of the minority, Armenian minority in Turkey today.

He writes, it is unhelpful to see resolutions affecting Armenian and Turkish relations adopted by third party parliaments—it can be no doubt he is talking about us here. However, it is our expectation that this sort of interference will be sustained as long as the current unsatisfactory status quo prevails and the two parties do not engage in fruitful dialogue to resolve significant issues. Good point.

We do not think that the third party parliament action is a positive substitute for dialogue. Above all, utmost caution should be exercised so that this issue is not exploited for the benefit of a variety of political interests. Nor do we think the present situation is helpful at all. On the contrary, it is harmful to Turkish and Armenian relations. Any undertaking which hinders dialogue, peace and friendship is regrettable. We pray for the Armenian——

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Brady.

Mr. BRADY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, let me, in regard to Mr. Pomeroy's remarks, my Democratic colleague's complaining about election year politics is like Madonna complaining about promiscuity. There is not much substance there.

Secondly, let me tell you, while I oppose this resolution, I greatly respect Mr. Radanovich and I believe this is something he feels

strongly about in his heart. The Republic of Turkey has been one of our strongest allies. They have fought with us in every major challenge. They are the only Muslim secular democracy with a free market economy. They have an excellent relationship with Israel in which it has overlapping security, economic and political interests.

Here the question is not do we acknowledge the truth but which historic version do we endorse. In reading the materials and listening to the disputed testimony and recognizing that the archives of Russia, France and Armenia remain closed to date, I don't feel qualified as a Member of this Committee to endorse a version. This is an issue that the historians should address, not Members of Congress.

As to Mr. Bereuter's question, is this in the U.S. interests, is this in America's interest, he is correct. This does not contribute to peace and stability in that region. On the contrary, it harms us. As the Armenian patriarch said, this is harmful to Turkish and Armenian relationships. This does not make this region more stable, and it is not a positive substitute for dialogue between the two nations.

Finally, recent news stories have alerted us that the tension between Iraq and Kuwait is increasing once again. I think it important to remember the last time a similar resolution was considered in Congress it was in February, 1990. Senator Byrd strongly opposed it on the grounds it would damage our relationship with Turkey and U.S. security interests. Several months later, Iraq invaded Kuwait; and we relied on the Turkish government to cut off the Iraqi oil pipeline, station Turkish groups on the border with Iraq and to permit the use of their bases. Had the resolution passed in the Senate, no Turkish government would have been able to be as forthcoming as it was in 1990. None of us know the security threats we will face in the future.

I recognize this resolution is important to our Armenian friends, but this is not the American interests which is our job and obligation as a Committee, and I yield the balance of my time.

Mr. BURTON. Would the gentleman yield real briefly?

Mr. BRADY. Yes.

Mr. BURTON. I would just like the say, Mr. Chairman, we have the new U.S. ambassador to Turkey here with us today; and I would urge the Chairman to allow Mr. Robert Pearson to address the Committee because he is very much aware of being on the scene of the problems that this might create.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Brady has the time.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Brady, would you yield?

Mr. BRADY. Yes, I would be happy to yield.

Mr. SHERMAN. I just want to comment on this idea that only those who are in support of the resolution are benefiting from any political impetus. Let us remember the power of the oil companies that are pushing against this resolution, the defense contractors that have been lobbying against this resolution, and let us realize that if any votes are swayed on this resolution to vote in favor of it, because of the input of Armenian Americans in California and throughout this country, that is I think at least as legitimate, I would say more legitimate than those votes that are swayed by oil cuts.

Mr. BRADY. Reclaiming my time, if I may, Mr. Chairman, let me just commend my friend from California on the record amount of soft money contributions and PAC contributions he received this year and give him that praise.

I yield the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Let me remind our Members before we go to vote that there will be a number of amendments. There will be rollcalls. We have a number of measures to be taken up when we return.

We have had a request by Mr. Burton to have the ambassador speak, which we will do when we get back, by unanimous consent.

The Committee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order.

Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, before the break I referred to our new ambassador to Turkey and asked that Mr. Pearson be allowed to address the Committee, and so I ask unanimous consent that he be allowed to address the Committee at this time.

Chairman GILMAN. By unanimous consent. Any objection?

Mr. LANTOS. Reserving the right to object, and I will not object.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. I think Mr. Burton's suggestion is an excellent one. No one is more qualified to discuss more authoritatively U.S. national interests vis-a-vis Turkey than our ambassador, and I join Mr. Burton in——

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

I will now request Ambassador Robert Pearson to come up to the Committee table to speak. Ambassador Pearson was very recently sworn in as our representative in Ankara. I might note that before becoming U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, Ambassador Pearson served as Deputy Chief of Mission at NATO.

We appreciate your willingness to make yourself available to the Committee as we debate the measure. Mr. Ambassador, I now give you the floor.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT PEARSON, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY

Ambassador PEARSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am very happy to be here and very happy to answer questions from the Committee.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Ambassador, the question has arisen with regard to the Armenian resolution. We would welcome any comments you may have on it.

Ambassador PEARSON. I have just come from Ankara, Mr. Chairman. I flew in last night, had a chance over the last week to talk to a number of Turkish officials about this issue.

I think if you look at a map of Turkey you see on its frontiers are countries like Syria, Iraq, Iran. Of course, Armenia is a neighbor of Turkey, the Black Sea, the countries bordering the Black Sea, all of southeast Europe, Greece, the issue of Cyprus.

I think that I can state authoritatively to you, Mr. Chairman, that if a vote is taken in the Committee and this resolution passes

and if it passes the floor of the House there will be a strong Turkish reaction to it.

The Turks provide the base from which we fly over northern Iraq. That permission to perform that monitoring exercise under U.N. Resolutions comes up for debate in the Turkish Parliament every 6 months, and the next debate will be in December of this year.

We are, of course, very much involved and have been for years with the Turks concerning—trying to find a resolution to the issue of Nagorno-Karbakh. Relations between Turkey and Armenia are very important to finding a peaceful solution to that issue. I think that passage of this resolution could affect that process harmfully.

The Turks have been working with us, of course, on the issue of Cyprus. Turkey and Greece have been very heavily involved in a joint exercise to lower tensions and to build stronger relations between those two countries and also, of course, concerning issues in the Aegean.

Turkey provided the bases for us in the Kosovo campaign. They took in 19,000 refugees during that period of time. It is ironic that they were there just last year to help all of us in a campaign against ethnic cleansing to face a resolution like this one today.

There are, I will simply add, something like two-thirds of a billion dollars worth of agricultural trade between the two countries. Before I left, I counted something like 19 major energy projects in which American countries are involved. We have a very large contract for provision of new energy to Turkey through gas pipelines and oil pipelines in the caucuses. So I think my contribution today, Mr. Chairman, will simply be to say that there is a lot on the table.

Thank you very much.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Pearson, thank you.

Beyond that, I have understood that Turkey is playing a more positive role now in the Caucasus region, even informally with Armenia, and I wonder if you could address its role in the Caucasus country.

Ambassador PEARSON. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

They are playing a more active role in the Caucasus. Former President Demirel made a number of trips to the Caucasus. The new President, President Sezer, is planning a major trip to the Caucasus at the end of October.

We have been working very closely with Turkey, as I mentioned, on oil and gas energy in the Caspian region. Turkey is a partner in the process called the Minsk process to try to find a resolution to the Nagorno-Karbakh issue between Armenia and Azerbaijan; and, of course, Turkey is in favor of improved relations with Armenia.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Ambassador, can you respond to the Radanovich resolution, section three, declaration of policy? Do you agree or disagree with the second clause which says, "calls upon the President in the President's annual message commemorating the Armenian Genocide issued on or about April 24th to characterize the system-

atic and deliberate annihilation of 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to recall the proud history of the United States' intervention in opposition to the Armenian Genocide." Is that an accurate or an inaccurate characterization?

Ambassador PEARSON. Mr. Smith, I, of course, am here to talk principally about my perspective on the relationship from Ankara and not to characterize the events in the resolution. I think the Administration has stated its position on that point.

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

I am going to ask unanimous consent that the Ambassador be granted an additional 5 minutes for questions for the Ambassador.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, I would like to explore with you the internal ramifications of the possible passage of this resolution. Those of us who have followed developments in Turkey closely for a long time know that there are strong pro-U.S. elements and strong anti-U.S. elements within the political firmament of Turkey. Which of these elements would be aided by the passage of this resolution, the pro-U.S. forces or the anti-U.S. forces?

Ambassador PEARSON. Mr. Lantos, one of the last things a senior Turkish official told me before I left Ankara was that one of their chief concerns was that people who wanted to drive a wedge between American and Turkish relations would use this issue specifically to that effect.

There is a lively debate in Turkey about how to deal with this issue. One can look at the press even over the last 3 weeks and see that there is a great deal of open debate, but I think that the general feeling there is clear that this is designed to make Turkish-American relations and the working out of the issues we are both trying to work on more difficult.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may follow up, there is a strong Islamic fundamentalist force within Turkey and there is a powerful secular force in Turkey. The passage of this resolution, in my judgment, would powerfully assist Islamic fundamentalist forces and diminish the influence of the secular forces. Do you agree with my assessment?

Ambassador PEARSON. Well, Mr. Lantos, rather than try to specifically characterize individual groups inside Turkey, I would just say that people who are committed to the long-term benefits of this relationship would suffer as a result of the passage of this resolution in the Committee and in the House.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, this has been a very, very difficult issue for many of us for a lot of reasons. I think one of the rhetorical questions that has been asked today is why are we doing this now. I love to study history. In my bachelor's and my master's degree I did quite a bit of studying of history and world religion history. I have always been fascinated by it, and I think that if there is a reason for addressing a resolution and if the reason is to affect the here and now, then it is a good point, but some have raised the specter of why here and now.

We talk about the atrocities that man has committed against man over the ages. I look at the Spanish Inquisition, and yet I don't see us sponsoring some resolution to condemn the Catholic Church or the Roman crucifixion of Jesus Christ. We don't have a denunciation of the Romans right now. And in more recent history, just over a hundred years ago in our own country, my people, the Mormons, were chased out of Missouri; and the governor signed an extermination order that they could be killed if they didn't leave. Yet I have never seen a resolution denouncing Missouri.

I do believe that history is valuable as long as we are using it at this present time for some great good, and so my question would be, after all is said and done, obviously, the motive must be to impact current relations between Armenia and Turkey, what will passage of this resolution do to the relationship between Armenia and Turkey? What is your opinion?

Ambassador PEARSON. Thank you, Congressman.

Of course, I understand the sentiment in the resolution. I think all Americans understand the sentiment in the resolution. The passage of this resolution, however, would make Armenian-Turkish relations more difficult.

There is a closed border today between Armenia and Turkey, and there have been efforts, as I have recounted, in the past few years to try to improve those relations. Turkey has, in an attempt to further this process, opened an air corridor, a limited air corridor. I think there are some limited visa provisions that have been put into effect that are helpful. There is a common—let me say there has been a common commitment to try to work toward a resolution. When I talked with Turkish officials prior to coming here yesterday they all repeated their desire to find a way to work more effectively with Armenia. So I believe that this would specifically set back or risk setting back a lot of hard work that the United States has engaged in for a number of years and, frankly, not just us but a number of other countries in the region as well.

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired.

I am going to ask consent to extend the time for Mr. Gejdenson's question, and then we will close the opportunity for the Ambassador.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to briefly state that I think it is a mistake to place this as either you tell the truth or you attack the present Turkish government. The reality is that the present Turkish government is an important partner in the region. The present Turkish government is one that is not just serving American's interests in the region. We have mutual concerns in the region where our own individual national interests coincide.

Turkey and the United States work together on a regular basis. I have worked with the Turkish government on a number of issues that are important to both of us. This Turkish government is making important efforts in the relationship with Greece, starting to address issues on Cyprus. There are lots of things we agree with them on. I don't think it is acceptable that we simply say, because of these things, we are not able to recognize an outrage in history;and I think it is important to look at the German experience.

You know, if you look at the German experience, my father's family, without exception, was exterminated in World War II. He is the only member of his family to survive. My mother lost most of her family. We have dealt with that. The German government has recognized what happened. Israel and Germany have a very positive relationship. We deal with the German government because of our mutual national interests as a democracy.

So I think there may be people that vote on different sides of this issue today for lots of reasons, but I don't think anybody who plans to vote for this resolution does so thinking that we should in any way diminish our relationship with the Turkish government.

It is an easy thing to argue against recognizing history. Turkey is an important ally. Turkey does cooperate with us because it is in our interest, it is in their interest. We need to work more with the Turkish government. They have got to work toward democratizing their society. It is the only course for all of us.

So it seems to me, Mr. Ambassador, with the greatest respect for the present Turkish government and the Turkish people, for the many great things they have done throughout history and the contributions they have made to civilization, there is this issue that needs to be addressed. This is all this is about, not to condemn the present Turkish government, not to insult the present Turkish people. We don't insult the German people when we recognize what happened in World War II.

Chairman GILMAN. We now conclude the Ambassador's time. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Ms. Lee.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman; and I want to thank you and Mr. Gejdenson for bringing this resolution to the Committee for full discussion and debate. We are here participating in, it could be said, a history lesson, but that history also is, as we have heard, highly contested terrain.

During the First World War, millions of people were killed or made homeless, and the deaths of some one and a half million Armenians must be viewed within the context of this larger human tragedy. I would certainly support efforts to educate Americans, especially our diplomatic representatives, about the complex events that occurred during this tragic period in world history, including the losses suffered by the Turks and others in the Ottoman Empire.

It is not the intention of this resolution to offend the government of Turkey or damage an important international relationship which I believe our Ranking Member just laid out very eloquently. Nor is it the intent to minimize the heavy losses suffered by other groups during the Ottoman Empire during World War I or, for that matter, those in Russia, France, Germany, Japan or any other country.

It is my belief that Americans will benefit from learning more about this period and the tremendous loss of life on all sides and that such education will help all of us avoid such conflicts in the future, and I agree that such education efforts should be framed within their full historical context rather than in isolation.

This resolution does not preclude such an approach. As we seek to confront the violence and tragedy of our own country's past, we

must also seek to more fully understand international events as well. History lessons are neither easy nor painless, and it is imperative that they be looked at from all sides, but we all benefit from looking at the past.

When I was in the California legislature, I cosponsored legislation to require that our schools' curriculum reflect courses that reflected a study of the deplorable institution of slavery in our own country, which our own country still has yet to apologize for. We also required that this curriculum study the inhumanity of the Holocaust and the horrible inhumane treatment of our Native Americans. Awareness and education regarding crimes against humanity must always be remembered so that they will never happen again.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Ms. Lee.

Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I yield to Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding. I would like to take a moment to address an argument that persistently comes up regarding this resolution.

Each time this body attempts to come to closure on this subject, opponents usually ask, why now? They may even say that the interests—the intent of the resolution is commendable, but the timing is inopportune. Mr. Chairman, unless the Turkish government ends its ongoing campaign to deny the facts of the Armenian Genocide, the only time acceptable to our ally is never; and I regret to say that our State Department readily concurs with Turkey.

Why now? Because later accomplishes nothing. Turkey remains adamant in its denial, and its reprehensible tactics of threats and coercion are rewarded. Why now? Because the passage of this resolution today by this Committee and subsequently on the House floor will end denial which, expressed differently, is the killing of truth. At least one branch of my government will say categorically to all deniers that they have failed.

I implore my colleagues here today to understand that this resolution is a Sense of the House resolution regarding the United States' record. Despite all the threats emanating from Turkey regarding U.S. bases, U.S. contracts, jobs, et cetera, this resolution is not an assault on the Republic of Turkey. Furthermore, I reject Turkey's presumption that it can impose its views regarding the American response to the Armenian Genocide on this Committee. If we bow to Turkish pressure over a House-only resolution regarding our record, there is no telling what else the U.S. will be called upon to give in to the next time Turkey threatens a dooms day scenario.

I believe that this is a matter of principle. Congress must not let any foreign government dictate what legislation, especially legislation affirming America's record, it can or cannot adopt.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. King's time.

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman I just wanted to ask the Ambassador one question if I could.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Ambassador, would you take the witness table again?

Mr. ROYCE. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, one of your tasks as ambassador is explaining American perspectives. This is a House Resolution with over 100 cosponsors, and I am sure you have anticipated that it may pass. How have you been explaining to Turkish authorities that this is not about the government of Turkey today, this is about the Ottoman Empire which you know committed a genocide but did expire in 1918? How have you done that, if I could ask?

Ambassador PEARSON. Thank you, Congressman. I think that is an excellent question.

I have tried and explained in great detail what this resolution says and its terms and so on. I have to tell you quite honestly that people in Turkey regard this as directed against them. They understand that this has in it the words referring to the Ottoman Empire, but it looks to them as if it is referring to them.

Mr. ROYCE. And you have explained to them, though, that this is about something in history, that this is not about the Turkish government, this is about a genocide that occurred under a prior regime?

Ambassador PEARSON. I have.

Mr. ROYCE. And that this is part of our democratic process here of passing resolutions in the House.

Ambassador PEARSON. I have indeed, Congressman, but they firmly see this as directed against the current state of Turkey, and they see it in the context of a firm alliance, and that is why they find it so difficult to comprehend. But I absolutely have explained this resolution in detail to them.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. King.

Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Chairman, thank you for permitting me to take a moment to address the Armenian Genocide resolution before us.

I commend Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Bonior for bringing this matter before the Congress. The tragic occurrence perpetrated against the Armenian people between 1915 and 1925 by the Ottoman Turkish Empire is of great concern to me and to members of my constituency. During this relatively brief time frame, over 1.5 million Armenians were massacred and thousands more were forced into exile. Unfortunately, the Turkish government of today has not recognized these brutal acts of genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire, nor is it willing to come to terms with its participation in many of these horrific events.

Prior to the Armenian Genocide these brave people with a history of over 2,500 years in the region were subject to numerous indignities and periodic massacres by the sultans of the Ottoman Empire. The worst of these massacres prior to 1915 occurred in 1895, when as many as 300,000 Armenian people were murdered, and those who survived were left completely destitute.

Despite these events, Armenians have survived as a people and culture throughout Europe and the United States as well. The present Turkish government needs to come to terms with the past and work toward improving the future.

I have taken the time to hear the perspective of Turkish groups who remain strongly opposed to this resolution. Their contention is that the historic account of these events is flawed and inaccurate. They suggest that since Turks were also killed at the time, it should not be considered a genocide. Obviously, there is some conflict as to the definition of genocide.

I want to make sure we are all talking about the same thing. Genocide, as was mentioned by Mr. Smith, it is a systematic planned annihilation of a racial, political or cultural group. Did it happen to the Jews and others in Germany? Yes. Did it happen to the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire? It certainly did.

I am well aware of the importance of Turkey as an ally in an unstable region and a front line NATO State. While we do not hold the current citizens of Turkey accountable for what their grandparents and ancestors did, that does not mean we should not commemorate and honor those who are slaughtered during this campaign. A vote against this measure will send the measure to Ankara that the U.S. is willing to look the other way as long as those who have committed acts of genocide hold a strategic position in our foreign policy.

I believe by failing to recognize such barbaric acts, one becomes complicit in them. For that reason, I must vote and urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this resolution that is before us today. I too have concerns about our national interests and the message we send with this Committee. What message will we send to those victims, the human rights victims if this measure is defeated.

Was it in the national interest of the United States to involve itself in the affairs of the Irish people in northern Ireland? I don't think there was any national interest at stake, at least not by definition that has been brought out today. To involve ourselves in the affairs of our greatest ally, Great Britain—and by the way, I believe the State Department also opposed our involvement in that affair as well. But even Great Britain's leader, Tony Blair, saw that he had to recognize the abuses of the British people by its past government, although the exact same government in terms of tradition exists today in Britain, to recognize the ills perpetrated on the Irish people before they can move forward with their peace process and come to terms with their own past.

So, Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly endorse and support this measure, and I will be voting in the affirmative. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Crowley.

Mr. Wexler.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, I would very much like to associate myself with the remarks of Mr. Bereuter and Mr. Lantos and Mr. Davis.

Heaven forbid anybody on this Committee or any American, in any respect, ignore or minimize or deny the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Armenians during the period of World War I. That would be an extraordinary tragedy. We in this country, each and

every year at this point on April 24th, commemorate Armenian Remembrance Day, which allows the President and other officials and all Americans to pay proper tribute to the graveness of the tragedy that occurred some 90 years ago.

It seems to me, in light of what Mr. Bereuter said, in terms of what is our national interest and ought to be our guiding principle, the question we must ask, not of just this resolution, but any resolution, is what is the specific purpose of the resolution? What does it accomplish? And it seems to me, although in some ways not particularly specific in terms of why this resolution would, in any way, change America's foreign policy, it is essentially a very basic goal that our foreign policy reflect appropriate understanding of the sensitivity of the issue concerned.

It would seem to me if we were debating today whether or not America should build a museum or a place of learning regarding this tragedy, that would be a very appropriate debate. If we were debating whether or not America has any role to play with respect to reparations of the families who were the victims of this tragedy, that to me would be a very appropriate debate; but to debate whether or not our foreign policy should reflect a sensitivity related to the human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, I would respectfully suggest I see nothing in our own foreign policy behavior to suggest that we don't already do that.

With an issue that seems to have presented so much controversy, and like our ambassador says, with so much on the table, it is almost unfathomable to me that with so much controversy, that almost in the uniform position the best experts from the Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administrations all agree that this is not in the best security interests of the United States uniformly, from a variety of different political perspectives.

So what are we gaining if we pass this resolution? It seems to me we are gaining language that doesn't, in any significant way, affect the current Administration in Turkey. So what are we losing potentially? That argument has been made over and over again, and whether or not you think it is a justifiable loss or not is almost irrelevant. I think it can be uniformly concluded that there will be a grave result in terms of U.S. and Turkish relations, Turkish and Armenian relations, and what have the Armenian people in America gained by this? Do they have a museum so that hundreds of thousands of people can march through it and learn and children can learn of the tragedy? No. Do Armenian families in America get paid reparations for their grave losses? No. They get fluff language, and I don't mean to denigrate it. It is extremely important. But we are not changing our economic relationship with Turkey on paper. We are not creating museums. We are not creating learning. We have a day of commemoration.

So it seems to me it is, in fact, an appropriate analysis to ask what do we potentially lose and what do we potentially gain? Going back to Mr. Bereuter's original comments, what is in the national interests of the United States? It seems that those that I will defer to in term of their extraordinary expertise in both the Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administrations all agree that the equity is in

the side of not passing the resolution, and Mr. Chairman, that is why I will choose to stick with that position.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Wexler.

Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will try to be brief. I just want to pick up on a point made earlier, I think, by my colleague from California, Mr. Royce. I am a supporter of this resolution and intend to vote for it. This resolution creates a problem for our executive branch, I recognize, but in and of itself, that does not justify opposing the resolution.

Nations, as people, work themselves into curious states of mind about different actions. Entirely different kinds of issues have come up recently, which have resonance with me in terms of the Administration's response on this issue.

China has a view of Taiwan. China is very important to us. China's view on Taiwan is so deeply felt that, because of China's importance to us, we here do not do what seems like common sense things with respect to Taiwan. If the duly-elected democratic leader of Taiwan is coming to the United States and wants to talk to a Congressman, we will be massively undermining U.S.-China relationships by doing this. China's position is fundamentally irrational. It is not based on policy. It is deeply felt. It is understandable, but in the end, it can't sustain itself.

And while I recognize that support for this resolution puts a special burden on the executive branch, the State Department and our diplomats in particular, it is going to have to be your job to communicate to these people the reality of what we are saying rather than the atmospherics and the hysterics that they have come to believe.

I heard a quote from the gentleman from North Dakota about the patriarch of the Armenian Church, saying that third party resolutions are a poor substitute for dialogue. That is true. But in the end, sometimes third party resolutions, after a period of anger and reaction, become the basis for the dialogue. That dialogue has not taken place. The denial is not being confronted, and sometimes we have to do things which other people perceive in a certain way that we do not intend. But once the acceptance of that becomes a move forward and a move up, I urge my colleagues to support the resolution. It is historically valid, it is true. It is not an effort to destroy or undermine our relationship with Turkey or a slap at modern day Turkey in any way; and because they feel it is, does not make it so.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Berman. I appreciate your being brief.

We now recognize Mr. Sanford.

Mr. SANFORD. I would just like to associate my words with the words of Mr. Ackerman in that I basically put myself in the same camp because——

Mr. ACKERMAN. I have not spoken. I think you mean Mr. Berman.

Mr. SANFORD. I apologize. Thank you very much.

Mr. ACKERMAN. But I will, if the Chairman recognizes me.

Mr. SANFORD. But I think you get to the very valid point, which is, a lot of us have struggled on what to do on this thing. I am just

most pleased that the Committee took out the proactive language asking State Department to do certain things, because I think we have a real problem in this country with foreign policy by congressional district; and my concern overall with this original amendment when it came up was that we would, once again, have foreign policy driven by a given congressional district.

Now that that language has come out and now that, as I understand, Tancredo is going to offer an amendment that would further make clear this is not a slight against present day folks in Turkey, but simply recognition of something that happened in history, I am going to be able to support, and again, I would associate my words with Mr. Berman, my colleague.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sanford.

Mr. Meeks. Mr. Meeks is not present.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you and Ranking Member Gejdenson for bringing this resolution before us, and Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Ms. McKinney for favorably reporting it out of their Subcommittee, and of course Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Bonior for their authorship.

This moment is a long time coming, not only for myself but for the 139 other cosponsors of the resolution. Many of us have worked on this issue for years and years. It is a long time coming for the 3½ million citizens of Armenia and the millions of Americans of Armenian descent here in this country. It comes too late for the 1½ million Armenians killed in the genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire. It comes too late, too, for the 6 million Jews murdered in the Holocaust.

I won't spend time making the case that we are indeed talking about a genocide. The resolution, through its numerous findings, does that admirably and convincingly. I implore anyone who still has a doubt to read the findings of the resolution and check their original source or go back to the New York Times pages of 1915 and 1916 as I have. Though it is never too early, it is also not too late to educate ourselves about the Armenian Genocide, and that is what this bill aims to do.

As with the Holocaust, we have a responsibility to society to recount for history of the Armenian Genocide so that we do not forget its victims and so that we remember man's capacity to destroy others who differ in their opinions based on race, religion or ethnicity. Genocide is the most egregious crime. It is not a crime of passion or revenge, but rather of hate. Its innocent victims are guilty of only being born to a different mother.

To those who continue to resist the truth, I say shame on you, and I can only believe that those who have chosen to ignore the cold, hard facts have done so in order to indulge their shame. Denying the genocide, like denying the occurrence of a holocaust, does not erase the tragedy, restore the lives lost or compensate those driven from their homeland. Indeed, it makes reconciliation harder, longer and more costly.

Look at our relationship with Germany. In pressing the Germans, we strengthened their commitment to ensure that another holocaust would never occur again, and we strengthened, not weakened, our relationship with Germany, a significant NATO ally.

Yes, Turkey has been an important ally. We recognize that. But that does not mean that Turkey has been an unconditional ally, and it must prove its commitment to the principles of international law, democracy and human rights. I believe the United States must be willing to stand up even to our closest allies when they are wrong and when, as in this particular case, we are not saying that modern Turkey, in fact, is responsible. What we are saying is that this time in history needs to be remembered because what has passed is often prologue, and failure to remember, failure to recognize, sweeping under the carpet of history is a mistake that ultimately we are doomed to repeat time and time again.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Menendez.

Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I had not originally intended to speak on this resolution, but I feel moved to do so by some of the questions that have been raised by our colleagues during this discussion, which I find important as well as intriguing, questions such as what do we lose and what do we gain and what is in our national interest?

It seems to me when we talk about genocides or holocausts, that even the survivors do not completely survive, that those of us who, either ourselves or our parents have gone through such a thing, feel and understand it ever so deeply. Some of us should also note that when we as well as others said things like never again, we should not only be talking about the future, but we should not be pressed by historical revisionists to also say never before.

The question of what is in our national interest, I think it is in our national interest to speak the truth. I think it is in our national interest to do what is right. I think it is in our national interest to lead by example. And I think it is in our national interest to be or become the moral leaders that we think we are. I think it is also unfair to say that victims who fight back because they fight back should also be counted as aggressors.

As to what we gain and what we lose by doing this today, by speaking the truth to our friends, I think we strengthen them and prove our friendship. I think we make them better for it. I think when they confront the realities and admit that things happen that were not within their immediate historical control and can also express their regrets about it that we can all move on. And what do we as a Congress stand to gain, or what we might stand to lose by either doing or not doing this today, I think the answer might be our integrity.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me just pick up on that last word that Mr. Ackerman just spoke on integrity, which to me becomes tremendously important. I don't know, even as I sit here at this late hour, which way I am going to vote on this bill, but integrity is tremendously important, and integrity to me also starts at home.

When I think of a bill that recently was circulating in this Congress, just asking this Congress to apologize to African Americans

for slavery, and when I looked at the number of individuals who signed up on that bill, it was minuscule.

Integrity. Integrity starts at home. When I think of what has happened to the native Americans in this land, and yet we do not teach it in the manner that it should be taught. When I look at my children's classes and my young daughter, who is now 16 years of age, and every year in this country they have what we call Black History Month, and during that month, she has come and said, Dad, I am tired of learning the same thing over and over again about black history, and the only thing that they teach me, and I know, I respect his role in history, is Dr. King and the civil rights movement, but they never acknowledge and teach me about the middle passage and what happened to millions of Africans being brought over here in chains in the hulls of slave ships.

Integrity. Integrity is when, in New York City, from which I come, we try to have a curriculum of inclusion to include everyone and that was denied. Integrity. So it gives me a problem and I understand history, and we have got to make sure that history is known so that it never repeats itself. And so, it should be that I should have no hesitation in regard to this bill, but the hesitation is because of the credibility or the integrity of the body that is trying to say it to another body, when yet we don't do it at home to ourselves. If we did it to ourselves, then it is easy to say we have and stand on the moral ground to do it for someone else.

And so I don't know which way I am going to vote, Mr. Chairman. I know that we do and we must acknowledge genocide wherever it is so that it never repeats itself, but I also know that we as a body, and sometimes we—and this is a moral issue in my opinion—have to forget politics. Politics is playing a role in this because I don't know how we got where we are today, other than it has to be politics, but we have to, as a body at some time, decide that we are going to do the right thing ourselves and acknowledge the wrongs that we have committed to other people. Then I think we can stand on the high moral ground to tell everyone else that you have to acknowledge the wrong that you have done.

I yield back.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Meeks. We will now proceed with the amendments. I recognize Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will read the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Tancredo, page eleven, line 17, strike 'and.' Page 11, line 24, strike the period and insert 'and.' Page eleven, after line 24, insert the following, three, 'calls upon—'."

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. The amendment will be considered as having been read. Without objection. Mr. Tancredo is now recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't think I will take that much time. The purpose of my amendment is to simply help clarify the intent of the resolution. If the purpose of the resolution is, as has been expressed often, to identify the sense of the Congress regarding the horrendous events taking place in this area

of the world 84 years ago, then it seems to me that we should do just that. If we are not intent upon assessing blame to the present government of Turkey which has been a statement uttered several times by many Members of this Committee, then I think it behooves us to also state that very clearly and in as unambiguous manner as possible. That is the purpose of my amendment.

It is a short one, and I think nothing more needs to really be said, at least by me, and I will just ask for its adoption.

Chairman GILMAN. Is anyone seeking time? Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend my friend, Congressman Tancredo, for his amendment, and I will support his amendment.

I think it is important to realize that while his amendment is a constructive one, and I trust all of my colleagues will vote for it, it does not solve the underlying—Mr. Chairman, the Committee is not in order.

Chairman GILMAN. Committee will come to order. The gentleman should be heard. You may proceed Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. While Mr. Tancredo's amendment is a constructive amendment, which I will support and I hope all of my colleagues will, it does not address the underlying issue. The underlying issue is a very simple one.

The government of Turkey and the Turkish people do not view the House International Relations Committee or indeed the Congress as a whole as a pedagogic instrument. That is not our role in their eyes. And I think it takes an enormous degree of unrealistic self-image to pretend that although our intentions are noble and we clearly talk about events in the past, and while, if we adopt this amendment, we again underscore that we do not wish to criticize the current government of Turkey, that is not how the underlying resolution is perceived. And I think it is sort of important for all of us to be very conscious of this.

Mr. Tancredo's amendment improves the underlying piece of legislation, but it does not address the fundamental issue of the underlying legislation, as I believe several earlier comments did not.

Now, one of my colleagues referred to Elie Wiesel, and I think several referred to scores of Holocaust specialists. I am probably as close to Elie Wiesel as anybody in the Congress of the United States. I have untold admiration and respect, friendship and affection for him. We are friends. But I do not view Elie Wiesel as an expert on U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century. Elie Wiesel is an expert on the Holocaust in Europe in the 1930's and 1940's. He does not claim expertise beyond that. I am as annoyed, as I take it everybody in this room is, when Michael Jordan tells me what telephone to use. That is not his field of expertise. And to drag Elie Wiesel and other Holocaust scholars into a debate on U.S. national interests in a critical region of the world in the 21st century, with all due respect, is an absurdity. These would be the first people to claim that they have no expertise in this field.

Our job domestically and internationally is to promote the national interests of the United States, not to listen to Holocaust scholars on what they think about resolutions which have a national foreign policy impact, about which they have no expertise.

So Mr. Chairman, I strongly support Mr. Tancredo's amendment and urge all of my colleagues to vote for it. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos. Are any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I agree with my colleague that this is a worthwhile amendment, but I also agree with what he said, this doesn't change the underlying problem.

I think we have a bad case of what we call selective righteousness, which is being expressed today, and the reason I say that is because of the following, and Mr. Meeks hit right on it. I don't know how he is going to vote but I think he hit right on it.

We have not passed a resolution on African slave trade involving the United States, but 18 million Africans were carried into slavery, 18 million were stuffed into boats and brought over to the United States, and I don't recall ever seeing a resolution passed by the Congress condemning our forefathers for allowing us to involve ourselves in the slave trade. Why don't we do that?

Let us talk about the decimation of American Indians. When we first came to this country there were about 7 million Indians in this country. In 1890, that was reduced to 300,000. Went from 7 million to 300,000. What do you think happened to all those people? They were murdered. They were run off their property and put into reservations. My colleague from North Carolina talked about the trail of tears where Indians were taken by the hundreds and thousands to Oklahoma and many, many dying, starved to death because of that forced migration.

The Congo Free State, we haven't heard anything about that. The Congo Free State—10 million, 10 million indigenous Congolese died at the hands of the Belgians. Where's the resolution on that? Ten million. That was the first one in the 20th century. Now we are going back 85 years. Why don't we go back another 7 years to 1908 when 10 million Congolese were massacred.

How about in the 20th century with Joseph Stalin? Where is the resolution on Russia before the Soviet Union? Stalin killed 50 million. I don't hear anything about that. I haven't seen a resolution like that.

Mao Tse-Tung, oh, we are really buddies with China right now. They are still a Communist State. Killed 50 million. How come we don't have a resolution on that?

Religious minorities in India. India is one of our friends and allies. I never hear any criticism about them, but the fact of the matter is the Sikhs, the Christians in Nagaland, the Sikhs in Punjab, the Muslims in Kashmir by the hundreds of thousands, have been killed and persecuted.

In Cambodia, there was a resolution on Cambodia, but it did not deal with the massacre and the intentional killing of anybody who wore glasses because they could read, and anybody who was educated—millions died there.

The Sudan, the Sudan, what about the millions that have died there just recently?

In Rwanda, 800,000 to 1½ million people were murdered. Another two million fled to neighboring countries since 1994.

And I could go on if you want to to Australia, the Aborigines and how they have been mistreated by the Australians over the years, if you want to do that.

China, the treatment of Tibet; France, the Calvinist executions of the Christians. We haven't talked about that. Spain—the Spanish inquisition. You know, we can go on and on and on, and you can go right up to the present day where these things are going on between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Africa, and yet we are being very selective in saying, oh my gosh, we have got to do something about the so-called Armenian Genocide. Today, the Armenians are taking their wrath out on the Azerbaijanies. Are we going to have a resolution on that? I mean, how far do we go?

The point I am trying to make is, we could go on ad infinitum condemning people for atrocities that have taken place. There is no question about it, but the thing we ought to consider today is what is the national interest of the United States? The Turks, if you look at their papers and their television today, they are extremely upset. Our ambassador just told you that this could upset the entire relationship we have with them over there, our bases, Iraq, Iran, Syria, the entire Middle East.

We don't know what could happen, but I could tell you this kind of thing is full of mischief, and if we are going to do it, if you are going to condemn all these atrocities that have taken place in history, then let us do it right. Let us make a bill that covers as many of them as possible, and if we find more, bring up another bill to do it, but let us not have selective righteousness today, especially when we killed 7 or 8 million Indians to take over this country. This was theirs. They are living on reservations today. Now I am not saying that I want to go back to the situation we had, but the fact is that did take place, and I have never heard one resolution condemning that.

Chairman GILMAN. Gentleman's time has expired. Mr. Radanovich—I am sorry.

Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The argument is we can't pass this resolution because it doesn't deal with every problem. Look at all the other resolutions we are going to deal with today. Look at what this Committee does day after day, week after week. We have a resolution coming up on Sudan. Are we going to be told we can't pass a resolution about Sudan because it doesn't mention Rwanda or Cambodia or East Timor?

We have a resolution coming up about Afghanistan. Are we going to be told we can't pass that resolution because it doesn't deal with atrocities in Colombia or that we can't pass a resolution, the next one coming up on Kenya, because it doesn't deal with some of the most frightful things that have happened in other places? The resolution on Kenya deals with assassination. Are we going to be told we can't pass that resolution because we have had terrible assassinations here in the United States, some of which remain unsolved?

Each resolution stands on its own. Each resolution is part of a brick wall where we try to build an edifice dedicated to human rights, and if we are told that no brick can be put in place because it does not encompass everything, then we will never build the

wall. Of course, we should often recognize the horrors of slavery and the genocide of America against so many American Indian tribes or native American tribes. But is that a reason that we would not pass a resolution about Cambodia or Afghanistan or Rwanda or Sudan or Armenia?

Second, we are told that we are unworthy of passing a resolution judging others. Yet we pass resolutions every day or every week praising Benin or some other country for successfully completing its democratic elections. Are we going to halt all resolutions praising the successful democratic elections in other countries because there are flaws in our own democracy? We have got to deal with this resolution as an individual resolution.

I would point out that the European Parliament, the Russian Duma, the Canadian House of Commons, the Belgian senate and the French national assembly, not to mention the parliaments of Sweden and Lebanon, have all passed resolutions along the same lines in the last 15 years. Are we to say that they are worthy to pass resolutions, ignoring, as the gentleman points out, what happened in the Belgian Congo? I don't think that we should ignore human rights or history simply because we ourselves are guilty of terrible abuses or simply because no one resolution can encompass all of these facts.

We are told that our national interest requires us to ignore the Armenian Genocide. I will repeat again. If in 20 years it becomes, in the short term, alleged national interest of this country to march down and tear down the Holocaust Museum because a new powerful German government insists upon it or requests it, is there anyone here willing to march down with picks and blowtorches ready to destroy the Holocaust Museum, should some powerful ally of the United States request that in some subsequent decade? I don't think we are willing to ignore the Holocaust, no matter what the short term political international exigencies, nor do I think that we can ignore the Armenian Genocide for the same reason.

Our strength comes from integrity, as the gentleman from New York said, and if we think that a few months of bad press in Ankara is more important than the integrity and the image of the United States for caring about human rights and caring about integrity and caring about the historical record, then I don't think that the rest of the world will judge us as fit to be the world's only superpower, a role that we hold in large part because of the respect that we have around the world.

So I look forward to the passage of this resolution. I think the amendment strengthens the resolution and demonstrates to the people of Turkey that we regard these as important historical facts committed by another government.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sherman. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, we are running out of time here. I just ask unanimous consent that we move the amendment at this time.

Mr. BURTON. Reserving the right to object.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton reserves the right to object.

Mr. BURTON. I believe that each one of these—I am going to support this amendment, but I believe that every Member ought to have a right to, because of the significance of this legislation, every Member ought to have right to express themselves on these amendments. Therefore, if there are other Members who want to express their views on this amendment, then I think that they should. And so pending finding out if other Members want to speak on this, I object.

Chairman GILMAN. We have a request by Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Royce to speak. Do these gentlemen object to our taking up the amendment at this time?

Mr. RADANOVICH. I do not.

Mr. ROYCE. I do not object.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Radanovich?

Mr. RADANOVICH. I support the amendment and do not object.

Chairman GILMAN. All right. Then at this time without objection, the question is on the amendment. All in favor signify in the usual manner. Opposed? The amendment is carried. Are there any further amendments? Well, let me say this, that since we have a vote—are there any further amendments?

Mr. LANTOS. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment at the desk which I think will entail considerable debate. I would suggest we take a break and then return.

Chairman GILMAN. Let us report the amendment, at least, and then we will take a break and come back after the vote.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, on this amendment I reserve a point of order.

Chairman GILMAN. Well, we haven't heard the amendment yet. The Clerk will report the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Lantos, strike all that follows——

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, further reading of the amendment is dispensed with. Mr. Radanovich reserves a point of order. We are now on the Lantos amendment. You reserved a point of order.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, may I reserve a point of order, please.

Chairman GILMAN. Yes, you have reserved a point of order. We resume proceedings at 1. The Committee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order.

Mr. Lantos is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, let me first commend all of my colleagues on all sides of this issue, because they have brought valuable insights to what is a very complex problem.

My substitute, I believe, takes care of most of the concerns, objections, and goals of all of my colleagues. Before presenting the amendment, let me just state a few facts.

During the course of the last 20 years, every single American President, every single American Secretary of State, every single American Secretary of Defense, every single American National Se-

curity Adviser deemed this resolution that was originally introduced—not my substitute, the original resolution—contrary to U.S. National interests.

From Ronald Reagan to George Bush to William Clinton, from George Shultz to Madeleine Albright, from Colin Powell to you name it, all of our top officials in the foreign policy and the national security field have deemed my colleague's amendment, my colleague's resolution, severely damaging to U.S. National interests.

Nothing has changed. Some of my colleagues raised the issue earlier that occasionally we deal with other specific issues, and there is no objection. Well, sure, when there are no heavy national security interests adversely affected, we pass resolutions perhaps without the necessary scrutiny and without the necessary debate.

I am delighted we have had this debate.

I want to deal for a moment, Mr. Chairman, with the German case. Several of my colleagues indicated, well, why can't the Turkish Government take the same position the German Government does?

Well, I wish they did. I think the German Government's approach, beginning with the regime of Conrad Adenauer and all through the decades, has been a very farsighted, very mature, very judicious, and very intelligent approach. Our job would be a great deal more manageable if the Government of Turkey would have the same farsighted approach, saying mea culpa, mea maxima culpa, and we move on from there.

Those are not the facts. It is regrettable that those are not the facts, but American national security and foreign policy interests must take precedent over satisfying any lobby, any lobby in this country.

We have also heard some comments about unintended consequences. Well, there are unintended consequences in two ways. There are unintended consequences which are not pointed out, and there are unintended consequences which are highlighted. I am trying to highlight the unintended consequences of this well-intentioned resolution of my colleague. Those consequences will be devastating, they will be devastating across the board with respect to all of the issues in which Turkey is involved, including Turkish-Armenian relations.

Mr. Meeks and others have indicated the tremendous range of human rights violations over the years. My resolution deals with all of them, without singling out any of them.

If I may just deal with one paragraph in this resolution:

> "Despite the best efforts of democratic nations and the ameliorating influence of the universal religious and humanist traditions, the 20th century was the bloodiest in history, with an estimated 175 million people worldwide having lost their lives because of politically motivated violations, genocide, ethnic cleansing, planned starvation, and other forms of exploitation and basic cruelty."

My substitute, Mr. Chairman, deals with the tragedy of Armenia. It fully recognizes the horrendous human suffering, anguish, and devastation that unfolded in the case of Armenia, but it does not

single out Turkey, an important NATO ally, where current and future U.S. National security interests and foreign policy interests are so important.

I strongly urge the adoption of the substitute, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I would urge my colleagues to reject this amendment. I would simply say that again I think Mr. Lantos—I think many of us—are concerned about the impact on Turkish-American relations. I believe Turkish-American relations are based on mutual interest. They are strong allies in the region. They share many of our same concerns for security and stability in the region. That should continue.

I do think that the authors of this resolution deserve to have an up-and-down vote on the resolution, that there is a process whereby one has to confront the horrors of the past.

I do think the original text does that. It does so especially with the amendment that I worked on with Mr. Tancredo—that the resolution is not intended in any way to be an affront to the modern Turkish Government—that this is a recognition of a horror that happened in history, and we should simply vote our conscience on that, up or down.

The gentleman's amendment might be a nice and worthy resolution, but it does not meet the needs of what we are discussing today.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I would just point out, we do speak out on genocide; we do speak out to condemn other governments. As a matter of fact, we have agreed to bring up a resolution by Mr. Lantos criticizing Kenya, and yet Mombasa is a strategic port.

Earlier this year we brought up the resolution to condemn Sudan's government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan. I will remind the Members that that vote on the House floor passed by 416 to 1. In doing so, that resolution found that the Sudanese Government is deliberately and systematically committing genocide in southern Sudan.

Mr. LANTOS. Will my colleague yield for a moment?

Mr. ROYCE. I will yield.

Mr. LANTOS. There are two profound differences in the example my good friend raises. The first one is that the Sudanese Government, the current Sudanese Government, is currently engaged in human rights violations of the most egregious types. Number two, Sudan is not a major NATO ally.

So with all due respect to my colleague, to lump this resolution together with a long overdue denunciation of the dictatorial regime in the Sudan which is, as we sit here, killing people for religious and other reasons, I don't think is a very accurate comparison.

Mr. ROYCE. It is not the only comparison I made, if I could reclaim my time. I also pointed out your resolution, that we have agreed to bring up criticizing the Government of Kenya, despite the fact that we have a strategic port there.

My point is that regardless of whether Sudan was an ally or not an ally, I am glad we have spoken out on the Sudan. I wish the U.S. Congress had spoken out at the time of the Armenian genocide. What we can do now is move to set this record straight. I suggest we do.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to take a brief moment to rise in opposition to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to point out that the language is certainly not objectionable. As a matter of fact, it is laudable language.

But the fact that it is being offered in lieu of the pending resolution, as a way of not getting to the underlying issue, is a problem. As a free-standing vehicle, perhaps as an introduced bill referred to the appropriate committee, which obviously would be the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, it would be a fine resolution. But I think we need to realize that this would take the place of the very substantive language that Mr. Radanovich has offered.

Let me just say to my good friend, previously he was talking about Elie Wiesel, and questioned whether he is an expert on the genocide that has gone on, or went on, in Armenia by the Ottoman Empire. I happen to believe that he is an expert with enormous standing when he speaks of terrible and despicable crimes. When he stood at the Holocaust Museum with the President of the United States and turned to Mr. Clinton and said, "Do something, Mr. President," it was with the weight of a man who has lived through atrocities, and his words need to be listened to very carefully.

When we juxtapose that with the scholars who have come forward, as was noted earlier in the debate, if we are still talking about findings of fact, those who have been in denial have won. They have gotten us to delay, to suggest that there are some holes in the argument. That is not the case.

As my good friend, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Menendez, said earlier, look at the record. It is replete. It is filled with factual documentation about this despicable crime.

When it comes to chastising other despicable crimes, I take a second place to nobody. As a Member for the last 20 years, I have spoken out against crimes against humanity in China, twice got the whole House of Representatives to go on record decrying forced abortion in China as a crime against humanity. I have offered resolutions time and again regarding virtually every part of the world.

When I joined Mr. Lantos and many others and took the lead in Romania, we were told by the State Department, don't ruffle the feathers. That was a Reagan and Bush State Department; yet, we stood up against Nicholas Ceausescu and talked about his crimes.

The point is, we have before us a very well-crafted resolution by Mr. Radanovich, Mr. Rogan, and the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Bonior, and 100-plus other cosponsors. We need to deal with that language and not try to supplant it with what is otherwise very laudable language.

Mr. LANTOS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH. I yield to my friend.

Mr. LANTOS. As the gentleman knows, I have the utmost regard for my good friend. I stood with him or he stood with me on human rights issues for 20 years.

There are profound differences between both the Communist regime of Ceausescu in Romania and the despicable Communist dictatorship in Beijing. You and I have stood together denouncing Ceausescu and denouncing the rulers in Beijing.

Turkey happens to be a major NATO ally. China is not a major NATO ally. Ceausescu's Romania was not a NATO ally. To draw these analogies, with all due respect, I believe confuses the issue. The issue is, do we deliberately wish to insult, to humiliate, a major NATO ally in the most strategic location of the Middle East and the edge of Europe?

My judgment is that, on balance, it is contrary to our national interest to do so. That is why I offer my substitute, which denounces all of the actions that the original resolution denounces, but does so in a nonhumiliating fashion.

Mr. SMITH. Reclaiming my time, Conrad Adenauer in the current, as well as the post-Nazi, government in Germany made it very clear that that which went on, the Holocaust and the terrible behavior of the Nazis, was something that they would not countenance, and they denounced it. Constantinescu, the President of Romania, will tell you any day he has no problem, as do any democrats in Romania, of denouncing the egregious behavior of the Ceausescu regime.

The problem with the gentleman from Turkey is the denial issue. I believe the beginning of healing, rather than the continuing festering of the problem, is an honest assessment of what happened. Admit it and move on. Why deny it? It only brings more scrutiny.

Again, the pending resolution is fine in and of its own right. When it is done in lieu of the amendment, that is not so.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Lantos a question. I don't have the text of the gentleman's amendment. Does his amendment condemn the atrocities committed by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenian people?

Mr. LANTOS. It does not set out any specific set of atrocities. It deals with these outrageous human rights violations which resulted in 175 million innocent people being killed during the last century.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. It does not mention any country in particular?

Mr. LANTOS. It does not mention any country.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Let me just suggest, if your amendment would be amended to include a list of countries that included the Ottoman Empire, so that it would be specifically mentioning the genocide that this whole debate is about, I would be inclined to support your amendment.

If it does not, I think those of us who are inclined to support the Radanovich proposal here cannot come over and say that this is an adequate substitute. But if you would include the names of the Ottoman Empire and several other countries who have committed atrocities, I think that would be adequate to accomplish what this Committee is trying to do here today.

Mr. LANTOS. Will my friend yield?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I certainly would.

Mr. LANTOS. I think his suggestion is a very constructive one. I take it seriously. If we can defer action on this matter, I will proceed in developing such a comprehensive list and bring it back at the next meeting of the Committee. I will be most happy to do so.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I am afraid that we are probably going to have votes on this issue before you would have that chance. If your staff or someone could put together that amendment to your amendment, as we speak now, I would then be inclined to support your proposal. Otherwise, I could not do that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I yield.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to respond to the question asked by our friend, Chairman Burton, and now Mr. Lantos, why some and not others.

I think one distinction that might be borne in mind is, as long as there is a victim who is still alive—you cannot bring back everything, but maybe there is something that a resolution can do. That, it seems to me, is one distinction we have not spent time with.

I remember voting in favor of the Japanese-American apology when our good friend, Norm Mineta, proposed it. That is a distinction between some of the questions that our good friend, Chairman Burton, raised about other atrocities, including slavery and including the Trail of Tears that our friend, Mr. Ballenger, raised. It is not a perfect rule, but I think it is one that might give us a little guidance at present.

What we do should be more than a debating society. We all grant that we are at risk of being characterized as such if all we do is make pronouncements. But if there is a victim today, still alive, whose pain can be somewhat alleviated, even in a minor degree, by a resolution that shows some people in the world recognize the validity of their suffering, that it did happen, I think it separates it from all the other cases.

The only exemption, I suppose—the only remaining question, one Mr. Meeks raised, is perhaps we ought to be very careful about being introspective about our own country.

I yield back.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Reclaiming my time, I would just say that we are also here—and as Mr. Lantos and others have reminded us—engaged in making American foreign policy that will determine the peace of this world, as well as the well-being of our country.

We must, when dealing with a country like Turkey, remember that Turkey has not just been a friend, it has been a good friend to the United States. In the Korean War and in Vietnam, the Turks were there at our side. In the battle against drugs, Turkey was almost overrun with drug dealers 50 years ago. They fought against them and they have succeeded. Now they are playing a very important, positive role in Central Asia.

If there is a way for us to deal with this crime of the Ottoman Empire and not at the same time going out of the way to hurt Turkey—which is, after all, not the government and not the same people who committed this crime—let us do this.

But as someone who believes that human rights have to play an important role in American policy, I think at least putting it on the record has to be part of any amendment.

Mr. LANTOS. If my friend will yield, I have prepared his list. If I may read that list, I would appreciate his support.

The list I am proposing is: China, the Soviet Union, South Africa, the Ottoman Empire, Iraq, Iran, and Sudan, among others.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Burton.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

Has the Chair ruled on the point of order that was observed at the beginning of the debate?

Chairman GILMAN. Let me respond to the gentleman.

Mr. Radanovich has made a point of order, but he has reserved his point of order.

Mr. RADANOVICH. I raise that point of order now.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, you recognized me, I believe.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Point of order as to the germaneness.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Normally I know the answer to my questions, but in this case, I don't.

If the gentleman is pressing his point of order at this stage and he is no longer reserving it, do you have to rule on his point of order before Mr. Burton speaks?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Yes.

Chairman GILMAN. In response to the gentleman's inquiry, Mr. Burton had been recognized and I cannot take him off his feet, but I will then recognize the objection that has been raised right after Mr. Burton.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Parliamentary inquiry.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. LANTOS. I think Mr. Burton's point and all other points should be deliberately listened to by all of us. We have a live vote. I would like to request that we recess, and when we return Mr. Burton should be given the floor.

But I don't think we can operate this with the bells ringing. This is an important issue. It deserves the attention we are all giving to it.

I am asking unanimous consent that we now recess until after the vote.

Chairman GILMAN. In response to your request, Mr. Lantos, this I understand is the last vote of the day. I fear we won't have enough Members here to continue our business. It is our intention, the intention of the Chair, to move our entire agenda over until next week, but we will try to conclude on this amendment if we can. If we cannot, we will have to put that over, as well.

Mr. Burton?

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I will try not to take the full 5 minutes so we can reach the floor.

I appreciate Mr. Lantos' remarks. First of all, let me say, I think Mr. Lantos' suggestion and his amendment in the nature of a substitute is far preferable to what we have before us.

I also think that what he has suggested as a list of nations that have committed acts, atrocities and other acts of genocide, should be incorporated into that. Then I would be happy to support that.

Let me just read real briefly to you something that has been omitted. This occurred February 23, 1995. I hope every Member will listen to this, because we are talking about so-called Armenian genocide—and there were atrocities that took place, there is no question about that. This is in 1995.

> "Armenian forces," Armenian forces, "often with the direct military support of the Republic of Armenia, were responsible for the majority of violations of the laws of war and fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1993 and 1994, according to Human Rights Watch/Helsinki.
>
> "In its 136-page report, 'Azerbaijan's Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh,' released today, Human Rights Watch/Helsinki documents hostage taking and holding, violent forced displacement of civilians, mistreatment and likely execution of prisoners, indiscriminate fire, and looting and burning of civilian homes in 1993 and 1995 by Armenian forces, often supported militarily by the Republic of Armenia."

Here is another forced replacement by the people that we are supposed to be recognizing today as victims of genocide.

If we are going to be talking about this kind of a resolution, let's don't be selective. Let's make sure that we include as many as possible of those who perpetrated acts of genocide upon humanity or upon their own people.

I think that is what Mr. Lantos is trying to say and trying to do. We don't always agree on everything, but I will tell you, I think he is right on the money today. For us to do less is to be very selective. Why pick out one when there are so many others, including the Armenians?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON. I am happy to yield.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I raise my point of order as to germaneness.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Radanovich raises his point of order.

Mr. RADANOVICH. As to germaneness.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton has 2 more minutes.

Mr. BURTON. Let me just say that I think we need to get to the floor and vote. He is going to raise the point of order anyhow.

I have concluded my remarks. I yield.

Chairman GILMAN. I will now take up Mr. Radanovich's point.

Will the gentleman make his statement on his point of order?

Mr. RADANOVICH. I might be willing to consider an amendment like this, and with all due respect to the author of the amendment, if there was language in it that also struck every reference to the Jewish Holocaust and replaced it with this watered-down piece of nothing.

Congress has historically in the past, and in this Committee, dealt with specific genocides—Sudan, Yugoslavia, and Rwanda, as examples. This amendment does not deal with the issue of the Ar-

menian genocide. To my knowledge, the Ottoman Empire is not a member of NATO.

I would request that this Committee reject this. It is not germane to the bill. The bill is specific to the Armenian genocide. That is why I raise the issue of germaneness.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman. The Chair is prepared to rule on the germaneness:

The Lantos amendment deals with a matter other than the central subject of the pending resolution, the Armenian genocide. In fact, it removes all reference to the Armenian genocide.

Accordingly, the point of order is well taken. Under clause 7 of rule XVI, the amendment is ruled out of order.

Mr. LANTOS. I challenge the ruling of the Chair.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the ruling of the Chair.

Will the ruling of the Chair stand as a ruling of the Committee?

Mr. Radanovich is recognized to offer a motion to table.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I offer a motion to lay the appeal on the table.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on tabling the motion to appeal the ruling of the Chair.

All in favor, signify in the usual manner.

Opposed, no.

The ayes have it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I request a rollcall, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Is there a sufficient second for the rollcall?

Mr. BURTON. Second.

Chairman GILMAN. The Chair will count. An insufficient number is present for the rollcall.

Mr. LANTOS. Could you specify what you mean by "an insufficient number for the rollcall?"

Chairman GILMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded. One-fifth of those present, if a quorum is present.

Accordingly, there is no——

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman GILMAN. Who is asking for recognition?

Mr. BURTON. Congressman Burton.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

Chairman GILMAN. The Chair will count.

A quorum is present. Since there is a vote on now and since the amendment has been declared nongermane, we will now recess until next week, at which time proper notice will be sent to all of the Members of the Committee, which will conclude with our resolutions.

The Committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:38 p.m., the Committee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

H. CON. RES. 596; H. RES. 577; H. CON. RES. 397; S. 2682; H. CON. RES. 404; S. 1453; H. RES. 588; H. CON. RES. 414; H. CON. RES. 410; H. CON. RES. 361; AND H. CON. RES. 382

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 2001

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m. in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order.

The Committee on International Relations meets today in open session to continue its markup of several matters which began on Thursday, September 28.

H. CON. RES. 404—CALLING FOR RELEASE OF MR. EDMOND POPE

Chairman GILMAN. We will now consider H. Con. Res. 404 relating to Edmund Pope, which is a critical measure, and we want to get it done before we get into the remainder of our agenda today.

The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 404, calls for the immediate release of Mr. Edmond Pope from prison in the Russian Federation for humanitarian reasons and for other purposes."

Chairman GILMAN. This resolution is referred to the Committee by the Speaker and, in addition, to the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

Without objection, the preamble and text of the resolution will be read in that order for amendment. The Clerk will read.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas Mr. Edmund Pope of State College, Pennsylvania——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read, and is open to amendment at any point.

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. This measure was introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Peterson.

This House concurrent resolution introduced by Congressman Peterson of Pennsylvania, puts on record a defense of Edmund Pope, an American citizen who has been jailed by the Russian government for several months, now on a charge of espionage that, by all accounts, is based on extremely dubious evidence. The resolution calls on the Russian government to immediately release Mr. Pope and to make certain that he is provided proper medical attention for the rare form of cancer with which he is afflicted.

Let me note to my colleagues that Mr. Pope is a businessman, that he has been to Russia many times over the past few years on business trips. We simply do not believe that the Russian government has proved its case, particularly in light of the fact that a

Russian citizen who supposedly worked with Mr. Pope in the alleged espionage case has already been released by the Russian government.

This resolution makes it clear that if Mr. Pope is not released, the President of the United States should continue to seek his release and should consider terminating all assistance that our Nation provides to the Russian government under our Foreign Assistance Act for purposes of preparing Russia to enter the World Trade Organization. It also calls on our President to refuse further debt relief to the Russian government if it does not release Mr. Pope.

My colleagues, the actions of the Russian government in this case do not appear to be those of a country interested in proper treatment of businessmen and investors. I believe it is, therefore, appropriate to send this message in the form of a nonbinding resolution that we expect a Nation that wants to be part of international trade organizations and that wants wishes for more American investment to treat our American businessmen appropriately.

I would further point out to my colleagues that over the past few years, our government has reportedly arrested several Russian spies here in the United States; some under diplomatic cover and others operating without it. We are all aware of the reports that Russian spying conducted here in the United States from espionage facilities such as the one in Lourdes, Cuba is today at record levels. It is ironic that Russia would arrest and imprison for months an American businessman who very well may be innocent, all the while conducting espionage against us at records that exceed those of the Cold War.

I support this nonbinding resolution, and I urge my colleagues to adopt it.

Is there any other Member seeking recognition?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, let me first associate myself with all of your comments and add my own. I think the time has come for Mr. Putin to decide whether he wishes to have constructive relations with the United States, whether he wishes to be part of the G–8 democratic industrial nations, or whether he chooses to go down the path of his own KGB history.

The continued incarceration of Mr. Pope is an outrage. This gentleman is suffering from bone cancer, Graves Disease, and melanoma. Is he palpably not a spy, and Mr. Putin and his regime must be put on notice that further hostile actions against the United States will evoke an appropriate response.

I would like to advise my colleagues that I am working with some Republican colleagues to introduce a resolution removing Russia from the G–8. The G–8 was an accommodation to Boris Yeltsin during the high point of Yeltsin's democratic performance. It is self-evident that Russia is not one of the great industrial nations of the world today; its economy is no greater than that of the tiny west European country of Belgium. It has been an accommodation that the G–7 have provided the Russians in an attempt to cement their relationship with the democratic world. It was always a fiction, but it is becoming increasingly an obscene fiction as the free press is suppressed in Russia, and as an American citizen is held on trumped-up spy charges.

I strongly urge my colleagues to support this resolution. It is unconscionable that a gravely ill American citizen should be allowed to remain in Soviet prison, while Russia continues to conduct business with Iran, Iraq and others, attempting to break the flight embargo to Iraq, and is displaying a wide range of hostile acts. The incarceration of individuals associated with the free media was an ominous sign. There are now new signs of new mock trials being prepared by the Putin regime, and the massage of this resolution calling for the immediate release of Edmund Pope is a useful signal as to the views of the Congress of the United States.

I strongly urge the adoption of the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I join my colleagues. The Russia in this case really seems more like the old Russia than any new possible Russia that we had hoped for. I am someone who believes strongly in a close relationship and working with the Russians to develop a modern democratic society, a civil society with democratic, free market institutions. Not letting this gentleman see a western oncologist and keeping him incarcerated in his present condition is simply an outrage that no government should exercise, especially one that is trying to convince the world that it has chosen a new course and is moving away from its old, repressive past.

So, Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of the legislation.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gejdenson.

I would like to note that in the rear of the room we have Mrs. Pope, who we welcome to our Committee today, and we hope that your husband will soon have an early release. Welcome, Mrs. Pope.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher.

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

I would like to associate myself with the sentiments of Mr. Lantos. We are doing that more often these days. This is a case where an American citizen has been unjustly and brutally treated by the Russian government, and it is reminiscent of days gone by.

I am assured by my contacts in the intelligence community that Mr. Pope was not and is not, in any way, an intelligence operative for the United States Government. The material he was supposedly looking at, which caused the Russians so much trouble, was material that was shown to many businessmen and many U.S. Government officials at various weapons shows and military shows and things such as that.

If Mr. Pope continues to be treated the way he is being treated and is not released, there will be consequences. We have already heard from Mr. Lantos some of the ideas and some of the things that he is doing that would be impacted by the treatment of Mr. Pope. I have a resolution on the floor today in the House asking that the Russian debt not be restructured because of their sending missiles to the Communist Chinese. I would draw attention to that of our Russian friends, that there will be more resolutions like this resolution, and we will consider Russia a hostile rather than a friendly government if they treat our citizens as such.

We want to be friends with Russia. We want to be friends, we want to have a new relationship that is totally different than the relationship we had during the Cold War. But they cannot have

that type of relationship and the benefits of that type of goodwill if they treat citizens like Edmund Pope the way they are, so I strongly support this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher. Does any other Member seek recognition?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and express my support for this resolution and thank you for bringing it before the Committee today. This resolution calls for the immediate release of Mr. Pope, an American citizen allegedly arrested for spying in Russia and imprisoned in Moscow since early April of this year. Mr. Pope has been arrested for allegedly trying to purchase secret technology that had been advertised commercially for sale. When you consider that the Russian government has released the alleged co-conspirator in this case, it is difficult to understand why Mr. Pope is considered such a dangerous criminal. Moreover, Mr. Pope is seriously ill, and the Russian government has not permitted an American physician to visit, which one might expect simply for humanitarian considerations.

When we look at the long, drawn out case of Alexander Nikitin, for whom it took 4½ years to prove his innocence on trumped-up charges of espionage, I believe it is unlikely that Mr. Pope would survive a lengthy judicial process. As we all know, the Secretary of State has expressed her concern about this case at our hearing last week, and I think it is an important and timely resolution. I thank you for bringing it before the Committee.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Is any other Member seeking recognition? If not, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Chairman be requested to seek consideration of the pending resolution on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith. All those in favor of the motion signify in the usual manner. All those opposed, say no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the Chairman is authorized to make motions under rule 20 relating to a conference on this bill or a counterpart from the Senate. Further proceedings on this measure are postponed.

H. RES. 596—RELATING TO THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO ISSUES RAISED IN THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will now resume its consideration of H. Res. 596.

The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Res. 596, a resolution calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide documents in the United States record relating to the Armenian genocide, and for other purposes."

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. When the Committee adjourned on Thursday, H. Res. 596, had been read for amendment and was deemed open to amendment at any point. Amendments offered by Mr. Tancredo and Mr. Lantos had been disposed of.

As we now resume our consideration of House concurrent resolution 596, I want to recognize our Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Mr. Goss, who has requested consent to address the Committee very briefly. Regrettably, Mr. Goss will not be able to answer questions due to the sensitive nature of his jurisdiction.

Mr. Goss.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. LANTOS. Would it be reasonable to ask Mr. Goss questions which do not relate to sensitive intelligence matters? I find it, Mr. Chairman, unacceptable that the universally respected Chairman of the Intelligence Committee should not be able to use his own judgment as to what questions he is prepared to answer and not to answer. I would like to ask him some questions. I presume other Members of this Committee will want to ask him questions, and I don't think it is appropriate for you to foreclose the possibility——

Chairman GILMAN. Well, Mr. Lantos, if you will yield, we don't intend to foreclose. We will leave that entirely to the discretion of Mr. Goss on any questions that he may wish to answer.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Goss.

Mr. GOSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a privilege and a pleasure to be back in this room working with this Committee. I came this morning not to participate in a policy debate at all, that is your prerogative and the business of this Committee. I came to state that I have some very serious reservations about the consequences of the timing in the matter that is before your Committee and how they might impact our national security. It is my view that they would impact our national security negatively at this time. I say that based not only on the information I have coming from my Committee and working from members of the intelligence community that are concerned about this, but I also say that having been contacted by members of the Administration who have underscored to me that our thinking is correct, that there are serious negative consequences should this pass.

I will be opposing this legislation should it come to the floor and urging colleagues to oppose it on those grounds, and I wanted the Committee to understand that.

Again, I am not taking a policy position on it; I am taking a position that there are serious consequences to our national security which are adverse at an extremely sensitive time in a region where I think we could have some of those dreaded, unintended, negative consequences that we all worry about when we pass legislation. That is what I wanted to say to the Committee. I thank you for allowing me to say it. I will certainly say that I have been to Turkey recently, I have also been in the area. I understand firsthand and in firsthand conversations some of the equities that are involved, and I think I would be very upset, and I think we all would be very upset if some of those equities were no longer available to

this Nation in its effort to protect the national security of Americans at home and abroad.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be happy to answer any questions, but I do not presume to participate in your policy debate.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Goss, we thank you for appearing today, and there probably are some questions.

Mr. Lantos.

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

Chairman Goss, how long have you served in the Congress?

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Lantos, I am in my 12th year.

Mr. LANTOS. How long have you been Chairman of the Intelligence Committee.

Mr. GOSS. This is my 4th year.

Mr. LANTOS. Have you ever requested to speak on an issue before the International Relations Committee?

Mr. GOSS. I have several times been invited back to the Committee to discuss matters where capability and policy seemed to come together overseas. I have always had extremely generous treatment from Chairman Gilman and I am grateful for that. I believe this is the first time I have ever come forward in a manner such as I have today.

Mr. LANTOS. Is it reasonable to assume that your judgment of the national security implications of this proposed resolution is so severe that it prompted you to appear before this Committee?

Mr. GOSS. That is reasonable. I can assure you that I was aware of this matter previously, I have talked to a number of people on my own initiative about it, and I felt it was important, after the conversations I have had in the past few weeks on this matter, to share my concern that it is so great that I will be taking a position on the floor in strong opposition, should this matter come to the floor.

Mr. LANTOS. Chairman Goss, have you seen a copy of the letter sent to Chairman Gilman and signed by a large number of former secretaries of State and chairmen of the joint chiefs?

Mr. GOSS. I am aware of its presence; I have not read it.

Mr. LANTOS. Allow me, Mr. Goss, to read a small portion of this and ask for your view of this letter sent by a most distinguished array of defense officials in both Republican and Democratic Administrations.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos, would you refer to the date of that letter?

Mr. LANTOS. I will be happy to, Mr. Chairman. This letter is dated October 2, 2000, addressed to you, Mr. Chairman, and I think we all received a copy.

The letter reads as follows:

> "Dear Mr. Chairman:
>
> "We urge opposition to House Resolution 596 recently passed by the Subcommittee on International Operation and Human Rights concerning the attention which should be given by the President to the Armenian Genocide and American Foreign Policy.
>
> "Whatever you or others may feel about the merits of this resolution, it is important to understand the real world consequences of its adoption. The potential for damage to U.S. in-

terests in a vital region dramatically outweighs," dramatically outweighs, "in our judgment, any acknowledgment of past atrocities during World War I and its aftermath.

"Turkey's strategic location at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Balkans, as well as its unique position as the only Muslim democratic country with a vigorous market economy, places it at the center of U.S. short- and long-term strategic interests.

"Now is not the time to test the will of an indispensable ally which, for over 40 years, has proven its loyalty and strategic importance. A staunch ally during the Cold War, Turkey will be even more crucial to U.S. security interests in the 21st century in a region plagued by new security challenges, including political instability, Islamic extremism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and narcotics trafficking.

"Turkey's cooperation is essential to promote U.S. strategic interests in the region. Yet, with the adoption of this resolution, no Turkish Government will be able to be as forthcoming as in the past, given its public's strong sensitivities to events clouded by history."

I won't read the rest of the letter, but I want to read, Mr. Chairman, some of the signatories of this letter. Our most recent Secretary of Defense, William J. Perry; the former Secretary of Defense, Frank Carlucci; General Alexander Haig, former Secretary of State and former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe; Admiral William J. Crowe, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; General Wesley K. Clark, recently retired Supreme Allied Commander for Europe; General George Joulwan, former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe; General John Shalikashveli, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe; General Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Adviser; Mr. James Woolsey, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; General John W. Vessey, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the list goes on.

Now, I would like to ask Mr. Goss, first of all, whether he agrees with the substance of the letter?

Mr. GOSS. I do.

Mr. LANTOS. Secondly, if I may ask you, Mr. Goss, do you think that you and I and the other 433 Members of Congress should give some weight to the powerfully expressed views of secretaries of defense, chairmen of Joint Chiefs of Staff, under both Democratic and Republican Administrations who rarely produce a document as powerful and as carefully reasoned as this one?

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Lantos, I very strongly believe in the democratic process and representative government, and I think that part of that process is that Members bring here to this wonderful forum in the people's House many views across America of things that are important on the minds of many Americans. But I also feel that there is a requirement beyond just that individual participation to protect our national security, and I think this is a rare instance where the national security and the views of those involved with the discharge of our national security responsibly should be taken into consideration.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Goss, I would now like to ask your view concerning the official position of the Department of State, which, in part, reads as follows:

> Over the years, the Department of State has set forth its objections in detail to previous congressional resolutions on this issue. These objections remain no less valid today. In essence, the Administration believes that the resolution would complicate its efforts to build a peaceful, prosperous and stable future for the people of the region. The Administration opposes legislative measures to deal with the sensitive issues raised in the resolution. That the Armenian people endured horrible massacres and suffering during the first World War is beyond doubt, that the peoples of Turkey and Armenia must find a way to come to terms with their shared history is a principle we strongly support. But we also agree with the position adopted by other friends of both Armenia and Turkey that the question of how these massacres are characterized is best left to historians and cannot be legislated from the outside.
>
> The President and the Secretary of State ascribe great importance to the process of building peace, stability, and mutual confidence in the Caucasus region. Normalization of the Turkish-Armenian relationship is a vital element of any Nagorno-Karabakh settlement, and thus the future of Armenia.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

You may put the letter in the record at this point.

[The letter appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Do any other Members——

Mr. LANTOS. I would like unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 3 minutes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has already exceeded his time by 7 minutes. Our time is running——

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I will be happy to yield to my colleague, Mr. Lantos, part of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos may proceed on Mr. Burton's time.

Mr. LANTOS. I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy.

I will not read the rest of the letter from the State Department. I would like to ask Chairman Goss to comment on whether the Secretary of State's position on this matter is relevant in making our determination?

Mr. GOSS. Certainly, the Secretary of State's view is very relevant. It always is. I don't always agree with it, but it should always be carefully considered.

In this case, I do agree with it. I think it is part of a larger compendium of opinion and judgment that comes from experience, not only from our diplomats, but from our warfighters and some of our other interests in the area. When you add it all up, we are talking about long-term and short-term consequences, both of which are seriously negative for the United States of America.

Curiously enough, we are debating the price of gasoline these days at the pump. It is hard to believe that this particular resolution could have any relationship to it, but in fact, it does.

Mr. LANTOS. My final question to Mr. Goss, Mr. Chairman, is have you read the statement of the President of the United States on this issue?

Mr. GOSS. I have read a statement, I am not sure which statement you are referring to.

Mr. LANTOS. Allow me to read a small portion of it. This is a statement by the President——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time is more than exceeded. You have already consumed——

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I have 5 minutes, as I understand it, and I yield it to Mr. Lantos.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton, you don't have any time. You have been recognized, so at this point——

Mr. BURTON. I thought you did recognize me, Mr. Chairman. Did you not recognize me?

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Goss had been recognized.

Go ahead on Mr. Burton's time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, why are you so afraid of Members of this Committee expressing their——

Chairman GILMAN. That is an unfair comment, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Are we adhering to the gag rule?

Chairman GILMAN. It is not a gag rule. We have a time limitation. We have about 10 more measures to consider in addition to this measure, and I am trying to keep us within our time frame. The time has expired.

Do any other Members seek recognition? Mr. Campbell.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, point of order. Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Yes, state it.

Mr. BURTON. My point of order is I thought the time that each Member was allotted was 5 minutes. I watched my watch, I got about 2 minutes and I yielded to Mr. Lantos. That is 5 minutes. Now, if we are changing the time, I wish the Chairman would recognize us and tell us how much time.

Chairman GILMAN. Each Member has 5 minutes.

Mr. BURTON. I did not use my time. I yielded to Mr. Lantos and he used 2 minutes.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos has exceeded the 5 minutes that he was allotted.

Mr. BURTON. That was his time. My time is 5 minutes.

Chairman GILMAN. He has already utilized that time.

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I have an observation on which I would welcome Chairman Goss's response. The division between the functions of the Intelligence Committee, the foreign relations or the International Relations Committee and the Speaker's office seems to me quite relevant to our discussion here today. Here is how I look at it.

A question of policy as to whether an Armenian genocide occurred is something that is the relevant subject matter for our Committee. I don't believe there is a doubt that the Armenian

genocide did occur, and in hearing my colleagues' arguments against this resolution, no one has really debated that it did occur. Instead, what we have heard is, we have an important ally, Turkey, who would be offended by this resolution. That is what we have heard. That is the argument.

It seems to me that you have access to information, Chairman Goss, and the Speaker does, too. I think the Speaker gets the national intelligence briefing like the President and the Vice President, so the very top information about the United States strategic and tactical vulnerabilities around the world would be shared with the Speaker. They are not shared with me, and that is fine, that is as it should be. I am not on the Intelligence Committee. It is my privilege every year to take a visit up to your office and read the budget which I try to do every year, and in fact, I have done every year, but I don't get the briefing, nor, to the best of my knowledge, do the other Members on this Committee get the briefings, although they might before they go off on a foreign trip or something of that nature.

So when you come before us, for which I am grateful and I have been your admirer for 12 years, for as long as I have known you, but when you come before us and give us information but you can't give us all of the information, it puts me in a bit of a spot, because I don't know what you know.

Here is what seems to me the correct way to solve this problem. We do our job here, which is on the policy. Was there an Armenian genocide, yes, there was an Armenian genocide. The question of whether it then goes to the floor is a question for the Speaker of the House who controls the floor and always has under the Rules of the House, and it could well be that the Speaker of the House decides not to bring it to the floor because of the very factors to which you allude. The result of which if that occurs would be, the Speaker makes his judgment based on all the information available to him, I make my judgment on the basis of all the information available to me. The only possible harm it seems to me from that approach would be if the concerns to which you allude but which you cannot identify in all detail would somehow be jeopardized by the Committee's action, just by this Committee's action.

I guess it is possible, but I really don't find it compelling that that would be the case. So that is my proposal, that we proceed today, we vote our conscience on this resolution, and then you weigh in with the Speaker who has got the fundamental judgment to balance on whether we bring it to the floor.

I will be pleased to yield to my friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think that is a very good suggestion, but I would even amend that, if the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee, of whom I also share your respect, if he is privy to information that he feels impacts vitally our national interests, if he could provide us in a closed session with as much information as he can, that might be appropriate. But simply his presence here today I think causes unease and uncertainty as to what information is available. I support this resolution, for the same reasons that you do. But I would like to obviously know more. I yield back my time.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I ask the Chairman's indulgence to allow Chairman Goss to advise me on my suggestion.

Mr. GOSS. Let me say that I believe the Speaker is regularly briefed; I am not sure to what degree he has been briefed on the matters that have been brought to my specific attention by the intelligence community as recently as yesterday afternoon and their concern on this matter, but I think the Speaker is generally well aware of it, and certainly I will be talking to the Speaker about this on behalf of concern about the capabilities question, which is what I have spoken to this morning, the capabilities question. I do not wish our country to lose any capability, particularly in that region, and that is why I have come down today, is to raise a warning flag.

Of course, it is the Speaker's decision and leadership's decision, and I am not in that circle. I will do what the intelligence community does, which is say this is what we think the facts are, these are what the capabilities are, and the policymakers will debate it and do what they will do. I have specifically said at the beginning of my comments here today that I, even though I value my absentee seat on the Committee greatly and look forward to returning some day to this Committee, which I respect very greatly, I do not wish to inject myself in the policy debate. That is very much your task. I am concerned about maintaining maximum equities in the area, and I felt it important that people debating policy in the area that could affect those equities understood that there will be people who are worried about what the capabilities question should be should this matter come to the floor, we will be taking a strong position in opposition.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. Mr. Delahunt.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I yield to Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you.

Just to follow up, Chairman Goss, I thank you for that answer. As always, you are responsive, I don't mean to say you are not, but my question was, do any of your concerns get triggered by this Committee's action if it doesn't get to the floor, because that was the way I saw it dividing this up. Let the Speaker make the judgment as to whether it is right for our country for this to come to the floor, but let us go ahead today. Are your concerns triggered by this Committee's actions?

Mr. GOSS. I guess my concerns were triggered by when this came up and was starting to be discussed publicly, it caused considerable uproar and caused people's anxiety levels to go up. You are asking me to make a judgment as to whether, if people's anxiety levels will tip over, the answer is I have no way of knowing that. Frankly, I wish the whole thing would go away. At what stage we deal with it and how we dispose of it will have consequences. Whether they are favorable consequences or negative consequences I think will depend on the leadership's decision on this. I can't answer your question.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I would like to ask the Chairman a question and then I will yield back my time. Do you believe that you have information, specific information that is available to you that you could share with Members of this Committee that would impact our deliberations?

Mr. GOSS. I believe that the intelligence community has promised—in fact, has stated that I would have written material suitable for Members to look at in the Intelligence Committee spaces. I was promised that last evening. I cannot verify that that material has actually arrived. I know what the material talks about, but I haven't seen it myself.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I yield back my time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to remind the Members that this House went on record to cut aid to Turkey 4 years ago over this very issue. As a matter of fact, this was supported by 268 Members of this Congress, and I will just share with you the vote on the House floor to limit to $22 million the amount of funds to be appropriated to Turkey under the Economic Support Fund until such time as that country acknowledges the atrocity committed against the Armenian population by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923.

Now, this was supported by 268 Members, including Mr. Lantos at the time, and the question I would ask of Mr. Goss is this: Four years ago, we were talking about real money. Today we are just talking about a resolution. Four years ago, 1996, Saddam was a threat; 2000, today, Saddam is a threat, but are conditions that different from 1996 when the House went on record that—I guess I should ask this question, Mr. Goss. Was the House wrong in 1996 when we passed this so overwhelmingly?

Mr. GOSS. I think I should let that vote speak for itself. I don't think the House is right or wrong. The House did what it did. The issue today is would something that the House do today affect capabilities in the area, and based on information that has come in to me from warfighters, people who are concerned about our security, our diplomats and our intelligence community, the answer to that question would be yes. Is that sufficient to outweigh the message that this Committee is debating? I don't know the answer to that. That will depend on the collective wisdom of the Members of the House should it go to the House floor, and I would certainly not want to prejudge that.

Mr. ROYCE. I would just point out that when this resolution was passed 4 years ago by an overwhelming vote, the Congress went on record as cutting aid to Turkey over this issue. Now, that was reversed in the Senate, but I would like to remind my colleagues of their vote at that time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Goss, do you argue with the historical facts involved in this case?

Mr. GOSS. Certainly not. I am not taking any position on the matter before us except the consequences of the debate.

Mr. GEJDENSON. So you don't argue that the genocide occurred?

Mr. GOSS. I am not arguing or addressing the substance of the matter before the Committee.

Mr. GEJDENSON. You are avoiding the substance?

Mr. GOSS. I am totally avoiding it, as I said in the beginning.

Mr. GEJDENSON. So let me ask you this. In dealing with Russia and China, should we avoid responding today to human rights outrages because of the considerations of building a relationship with Russia and China and because it may complicate other foreign policy issues?

Mr. GOSS. Obviously, human rights are a critical factor in all decisions made by the United States Government on behalf of United States citizens and should be, and we come to different conclusions in different areas under certain times. We certainly addressed human rights violations in different ways, whether it is Russia, China, Colombia or any other place you want to speak of. I am not, in any way, trying to deemphasize human rights violations, I am merely trying to flag, as I said at the beginning, that those of us dealing with the capabilities question find that there may be adverse consequences of significance here.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I guess my problem is this, that what we are being asked to do is to ignore a historical fact; and I have come to the conclusion, and I think most historians have, because it complicates our present foreign policy. I think that is a very dangerous message. I think that what societies have to do is confront history honestly as best we can. I think that if you see instances where there has been disintegration; you know, for a long time, American policy ignored the problems in Iran under the Shah, because he seemed to be the better choice over what was coming. The alternative finally came, and we have now lived with it for a long period of time.

I think that we have to differentiate the recognition of this historical fact from our present relations with the country of Turkey. I think, frankly, the Turkish Government has to accept that. I can tell you that at least for this Member, I think there is a hopeful future for Turkey, and I think that it is an important country in the region for the United States. I think Turkey will function better internally with its present issues, with the Kurds and others within its borders, if it honestly addresses its history in the same way, as I said the other day, that the German government of today, while accepting the historical responsibility of what happened during the Holocaust, was among our closest allies and partners throughout the Cold War, and it continues today that we work with the German government.

I think for the United States to say well, here we have important assets, and so in this case we are going to have to not recognize the historical outrage. This sends a very dangerous message to the future, that if you are important enough to the United States, if you happen to have the right landing strip or geographic position, then we may not be as serious about how you treat your people or your neighbors. Frankly, I think that has happened, at times. I think that resolving this issue is something not just the United States needs to do, I think the Turkish government needs to do it as well. I think the Turkish Government needs to address it historically and find a way to move forward. I think that would be best for all of us.

To argue that American Members of Congress should sweep this under the rug to me is unacceptable. We need to reach out to the present Turkish Government; we need to try to help them develop

a civil society and deal with the ethnic differences in their country, to include them more in Western European, pro-democratic civil society. I don't think we do that by saying, okay, you are important enough where we are going to ignore these historical facts. Because in this case, you have decided it is problematic. The same arguments could have been made in dealing with the German government on issues surrounding the Holocaust.

Gee, this is difficult for you to deal with. It is even more recent than what happened to the Armenians. But in the case of Germany, we said no, Germany is an ally, Germany is a country we want to be friends with. The German people today have a civil society that recognizes its international responsibility, and we are moving forward. I think we have to do the same thing here. There may be hurdles in the interim, but over the long haul, recognizing the honest verdict of history is the only way to proceed.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. I would like to—the Chair recognizes himself on this issue. I would like to take this time to thank Chairman Goss for coming to the Committee and expressing himself with regard to this important issue.

We thank you, Mr. Goss, for being here today.

Mr. GOSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. I would like to take this time to recognize a distinguished delegation from the Turkish Grand National Assembly who is with us in our audience today. These parliamentarians who represent Turkey's five major political parties have come to Washington because of the importance that they find with regard to the measure before us. They include the Honorable Tayyibe Gulek, the Honorable Ayfer Yilmaz—please forgive the pronunciation—the Honorable Mehmet Ali Irtemcelik, the Honorable Metin Ergun, and the Honorable Temel Karamollaoglu.

I am informed that the mission of this delegation is connected to the measure before our Committee, and it is an unprecedented opportunity for the Grand National Assembly of Turkey to come to Congress, and we welcome you.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. LANTOS. Would it be appropriate to invite one of the members of the Turkish Parliament to express the views of their membership concerning the issue raised by Congressman Campbell; namely, would action by this Committee have any impact on U.S.-Turkish relations? I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that one of the members be given the opportunity to speak to us.

Chairman GILMAN. That would be appropriate if some Member will yield his time.

At this time I yield the balance of my time to Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, yes, I will be happy to yield to one of the members of the Turkish Parliament if they would like to come forward and give us their views.

Chairman GILMAN. Would the chairman of the Turkish Parliament come forward if he so desires?

Mr. BURTON. While he is doing that, Mr. Chairman, I would urge that the letter that was sent to you be distributed to all Members

of the Committee. I think it is so relevant that every Member ought to read it and see who the signatories are to that letter. It is at the desk, and I would urge the Chair to have that passed out.

Chairman GILMAN. Are you referring to the letter by the Secretaries, the former Secretaries of Defense?

Mr. BURTON. Yes, sir, the one that Mr. Lantos——

Chairman GILMAN. I had not seen it until Mr. Lantos read it. We will have it distributed, Mr. Burton.

Mr. Burton, are you yielding your time now?

Mr. BURTON. It is my time, and you said I could yield to the member of the parliament and I have so done.

Chairman GILMAN. Would the chairman of the parliamentary delegation please identify himself.

Mr. IRTEMCELIK[1]. Thank you so very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much for this opportunity as well. We salute all of the Members of this distinguished Committee. My name is Mehmet Ali Irtemcelik. I am, as you indicated, the spokesperson of the Turkish parliamentary delegation. We are an all-party delegation. In other words, all the parties represented at the Turkish National Assembly have one member in this delegation, and we have come here to express the feelings of the Turkish nation in the face of this attempt, I do not know how much time I have, if you could kindly tell me, I will organize my statement accordingly.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has 5 minutes.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Chairman, I would certainly yield him my 5 minutes as well.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman now has 7 minutes, because you have already utilized 2 minutes.

Mr. LANTOS. Five and five is not seven, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you; a mathematician.

Mr. LANTOS. I am delighted to assist you any time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has already utilized 2 minutes of his time.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Chairman, I have a unanimous consent request.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I would request that this distinguished chairman be allowed to speak as long as he wants, as long as he should need.

Chairman GILMAN. Is there any objection?

If there is no objection, please proceed.

Mr. IRTEMCELIK. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, once again. We take very seriously the resolution which is before this Committee at the present time. This issue has a past in this House. Many attempts have been made before, it has come, it has gone. We want our being here to be understood properly. This is the first time the Turkish Parliament has taken the initiative to send an all-party delegation to the Hill to express the views and the feelings of the Turkish nation.

There are two aspects to the issue. One concerns the historical facts which the gentleman, Mr. Gejdenson, I understand referred to, historical facts. It is indisputable, Mr. Chairman, that most re-

[1] Mr. Mehmet Ali Irtemcelik, leader of the parliamentary delegation from the Turkish National Assembly

grettable tragic events, mass killings, atrocities happened in Ottoman times during the first World War in what is Eastern Turkey today, and nobody denies it. No historian. But what you are talking about here and what certain circles want people to talk about elsewhere in other parliaments is a very, very serious issue. You are talking about genocide.

Genocide is a word, is a concept, is a fact which cannot be taken lightly. There is a huge price tag which comes with it, and there must be a price tag that should come with it wherever and whenever genocide takes place. One genocide so far has taken place on the face of this planet, and we know which one it was. And history cannot be taken lightly either. History cannot be rewritten for the sake of certain individuals or groups of people.

As I indicated, tens of thousands of people, Armenians and Turks have perished in the hands of one another toward the demise of the Ottoman Empire. And all Members of this Committee, I believe, are familiar with the real facts as well. But I want to insist on one point. Genocide did not happen. And the Turkish nation will never accept the charge because it didn't happen, and history is written on the basis of documents and not on hearsay or allegations. Otherwise, we would have had by now I don't know how many thousands or millions of world history.

The Ottoman government then at its weakest point in its 600 years history did not make the decision to exterminate systematically, and that is what genocide is about, to exterminate systematically any segment of its subjects. No genocide was carried out. There is not a single document, and I insist, and whoever wishes to do so could accept it as a challenge, there is not a single respectable, not forged, historical document that indicates that the Ottoman government had indeed taken the decision to perpetrate that crime against a portion of its population. You all know that some of the Armenians in Ottoman times, those who were residing in Eastern Anatolia rebelled against the empire, against the Ottoman government in the hope to have a homeland in that part of the Ottoman Empire after the demise of the Ottoman Empire, with the help of the invading Russian forces.

They were duped, and as any self-respecting government would have done, would do, the Ottoman government has taken the decision to relocate these people in other parts, in other regions of the empire. In that case it was what is Syria today. And that decision was carried out. In the process, and before, there have been clashes, and very bloody ones, between Armenian and Turkish irregulars, and I haven't even referred to the fact that some of the Armenian gangs had been shooting at Ottoman armies and remember, they were then subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

I am not referring to the fact that the Ottoman armies, fighting against invading Russian forces, have been caught between two fires. But anyhow, during the process, yes, I will repeat it again, tens of thousands of Armenians have perished, and at least some historians fully agree that a greater number of Turks had perished during the same events at the hands of Armenians. Atrocities have happened. That is a fact. Nobody denies that. But no one, no historian is in the position of accusing the Ottoman government then of having committed the crime of genocide, and I repeat it again. His-

tory cannot be written on hearsay to fit the petty or other needs or purposes of any person.

I should like to add several facts since I said that history can be written, should be written on documents. The Ottoman archives are open. We have opened the Ottoman archives. But you may find it interesting to note perhaps that the Armenian archives are not open, not to mention the archives of the Dashnak party.

So my first point is that what is before this Committee is fundamentally wrong, and we don't think it would be befitting any chamber of the legislative body of the greatest country on earth to accept such a resolution. Neither the U.S. Congress or any chamber of it, nor any legislative body on earth should consider itself authorized to codify or rewrite history for whatever purposes they may have. History must be left to historians and, to say the least, to say the least, there is no consensus among respectable or real, I should say perhaps, historians on what really happened then.

There is no agreement on how to characterize those events. Some with political purposes insist that genocide happened; many forcefully disagree. But we all agree, and we cannot do otherwise, that very regrettable, tragic events, massive killings indeed happened in that part of the Ottoman Empire then.

And, referring to genocide, referring to genocide, let me bring to your attention two points. One would be enough, perhaps. As you all know, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were living as loyal subjects of the Ottoman Empire and they have lived for centuries.

Mr. Gejdenson, I think, tried to identify the Holocaust and what is, in his words, the Armenian genocide. So I regret to tell you that there are no parallels whatsoever. Tragic events have happened in what is Eastern Turkey today, that is true, that tens of thousands of Armenians and Turks have perished at the hand of one another is a fact as well. But what kind of a genocide was it? Why didn't anything happen to Armenians living in other regions of the Ottoman Empire? What kind of a systematic genocide was it? So I don't think this body will make the mistake of accepting this resolution, which is, as I indicated earlier, fundamentally wrong.

Chairman GILMAN. Would the gentleman wind up his speech in——

Mr. IRTEMCELIK. The other point, the reason why we are here is because we attach great importance to the relationship we entertain with the United States of America. We cherish, in the words of President Clinton, our strategic relationship. Inevitably, and I don't want to be misunderstood, if this resolution is adopted, it will be impossible for our efforts alone to suffice to have our relations unaffected by it; but we are not here, we are not here to tell you, or else. That is not our view at all, and that is not our purpose. We are here to sensitize you, to tell you that we need your efforts to prevent our relationship from being affected by an issue which we don't need to inject into the relationship.

We value our bilateral relations; we value our alliance, which is also important in, as far as our interests are concerned, as far as the U.S. interests are concerned, concerning various regions surrounding Turkey.

And one last point, one last point, Turkish-Armenian relations. We wish to be able to entertain good relations with Armenia as we

wish to entertain good and healthy relations with all of our neighbors and other countries in the world. I should like to remind this Committee that Turkey was one of the first countries to recognize Armenia today, and Turkey did everything in its power to try to integrate, to try to help integrate Armenia to the community of nations.

In Armenia's most difficult days, we haven't hesitated for a moment to send them humanitarian aid. If need be, we will do it again. But you should consider, Mr. Chairman, that it takes two to tango, and Armenia also should wish seriously to entertain good relations with Turkey. We would expect our goodwill to be reciprocated.

So, to sum up, we wish you, we expect you not to allow this resolution to continue its path, because it is fundamentally wrong and because it wouldn't serve our purposes to further deepen and diversify, which is a very sound and healthy, and mutually beneficial relationship. Once again, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and all of your colleagues on this Committee for providing me with the opportunity to address this Committee.

Chairman GILMAN. We thank you, Mr. Chairman. We thank your delegation for taking the time to come to the House to our International Relations Committee to express your cogent views.

I now recognize the gentleman who sought prior recognition, Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. I want to associate myself with the gentleman from California, Mr. Campbell, regarding the information that was provided by Mr. Goss and by the Turkish Government. [The Speaker is aware of the fact that, because of this resolution, there have been threats made by Turkey that we might lose bases there and that there might be canceled defense contracts. There is even a scenario that Saddam Hussein might do something crazy that would affect relations, and the threat was that perhaps there might not be Turkish bases available in that event.]

The Speaker is aware of all of these things and the Speaker also wants this bill reported out of Committee. It is the Speaker's responsibility to determine whether or not this thing should come to the floor, and if and when, and I suggest that we report to the leader of the United States House of Representatives and fulfill his desire to get this out of Committee, and would respect whatever decision he comes up with as far as the dispensation of this bill.

I would ask the Chairman that we might be able to then move to the business at hand, which is, that we do have more amendments to do and we also need to conclude this and other business as well.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Radanovich. I now recognize Mr. Burton for his previous offer of an amendment.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will distribute and read the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Burton, page 11, after line 6, insert the following: 34, the purposes of this resolution and

the national interests of the United States are likely to be negated without the establishment of a firm foundation——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I think we checked this with the parliamentarian. I think it is in order, but we will wait and see what the ruling of the Chair is.

I offer this amendment as a good faith effort to recognize the fact that our country has important strategic interests in the region where Turkey and Armenia live, Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

I offer it also as a means of injecting some contemporary realism into this debate. You know, this Committee can exhibit a tendency to look at things in the abstract and forget that real human lives and real national interests, our interests, are at stake.

Columnist George Will recently said, "Few things in life are more stimulating than observing the calamities of other people from a safe distance." He was speaking of an altogether different situation, but he could just as easily have been describing this Committee and the attitude that often prevails around here.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment as a way of saying that something has been conspicuously absent throughout this debate, and that is who speaks for the Armenians? I don't mean Armenian Americans. I mean the two and a half or three million Armenians who actually live in Armenia. I mean the people who are struggling to put bread on the table over there.

A little later today the Committee is scheduled to take up a resolution about the problems in Central Asia. Well, let me tell you that the Caucasus is no garden spot either. We all rejoiced 9 or 10 years ago when the Soviet Union disintegrated and the various nationalities and constituent republics who had been oppressed for so long under the Soviet jackboot regained their independence. I remember when Reagan said, tear down this wall. I thought it would never happen, and then it did. What a wonderful day that was.

But the tragic fact is, and this is very tragic, Mr. Chairman and Members, that 9 years after regaining its independence the Republic of Armenia is dangerously close to becoming a failed state.

I have an article from the September 6 edition of *The Washington Post* that I would like to submit for the record which I think is very, very important. I would like for the Members to read that if they can.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Mr. BURTON. This article describes an Armenia from which one-third of the entire population has immigrated since 1991 because the situation there is so hopeless. One-third of the country has immigrated in 9 years. Of the working age population that remains, according to this article, 40 percent are unemployed, and the country is drowning in corruption. Little, if any, effort has been made at enacting any basic reforms that would be necessary to attract foreign investment.

I have seen other articles, and other Members have as well, that describe a country being torn apart by internal violence and political killings. One democratic leader in Armenia, a man who survived the Soviet Gulag, was quoted recently as saying, terrorism has become an integral part of our daily life.

Here is just a short list of high officials in Armenia who have been assassinated in the last several years: the prime minister, the speaker of parliament, the prosecutor general, the chairman of the state security committee, the deputy minister of defense, the deputy minister of internal affairs, the mayor of Yerevan, the capital city, the director general of railroads, the president of the chamber of industry and trade.

Meanwhile, Russia has been muscling in, perhaps it never really left, and has forced the signing of military cooperation agreements, including one this summer that guarantees Russian occupation of certain military bases on Armenian soil for the next 25 years guaranteed.

It is now even being rumored that—we pray that this will not happen—that Armenia may join the treaty of union with Russia and Belarus.

And, all the while, the pro-democracy forces in Armenia find themselves more and more on the defensive as the pro-Russian forces in parliament and the military get stronger.

Mr. Chairman, who speaks for the Armenians? We can disagree about the definition of what happened 85 years ago, but who speaks for the Armenians of today?

The amendment I am offering recognizes the need for Turkey and Armenia to reconcile their differences. Yes, it is an awful history. We all hope that they can come to terms with it. But how does the resolution before us today propose to do that? Why has the plight of the Armenians today been completely ignored during this debate? How does this resolution propose to move one inch toward a solution to Armenia's problems today?

Believe me, those problems can get a lot worse, and I am afraid they will if this resolution passes.

Mr. Chairman, who speaks for the Armenians? We ought to think about that and the ramifications of this resolution if it passes, not only about Iraq and the surrounding countries and what it might do to destabilizing that whole area but also what is it going to do to the Armenians who are suffering already over there? Who speaks for them?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think we ought the get to the point of having an up or down vote on this issue. Not that dealing with other issues aren't important—and there are lots of issues—but I believe that we do have an obligation, at this point, to have a clear decision on whether we are going to proceed with recognizing what is, in my opinion, a fact of history: a million and a half people killed, women and children, intellectuals taken out of every part of Turkey, killed. Then we can get on dealing with our relationship with Turkey and every other issue in the region.

We could offer amendments from now until whenever the session ends—which may never end, apparently—but it is clear what the sides are in this debate. Some people believe, irrespective of the facts of what happened during the Armenian genocide, that the United States' political interests are such that we shouldn't act on the legislation. That is one position that elected Members of Congress have a right to express and vote.

There are some people here who believe that this piece of history needs to be dealt with before we move on. I believe, whatever your position is, we ought to get to a vote and not simply try to undermine the basic debate here by having other issues dealt with.

We could have amendments that deal with every issue in the region from now until the new Congress is here. Let's vote on the Armenian resolution. Let's give it a fair opportunity to make this statement. If it is the collective wisdom of this Committee or the Speaker of the Congress to not move forward, that is fine. I think it is a mistake not to recognize history. I think it damages our present-day actions. I would urge that we defeat Mr. Burton's amendment, we proceed to a vote on the underlying bill up or down, and move on with the other responsibilities of this Committee.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my point of order, but do want to urge my colleagues to vote against this amendment. It opens the door to further amendments that will water down this bill so much so that it will not, in the end, be germane, and that is in dealing with the fact of the Armenian genocide. We as a body vote quite often on specific genocides in violation of human rights from countries varying from Sudan to Rwanda to Iraq. The list is very long.

Again, this amendment opens the door to further watering down and making this amendment useless and nonfunctional, and I would urge my colleagues to vote against this thing. Again, as my friend from Connecticut says, let's deal with the issue at hand and move soon to an up or down vote on the issue. If you don't believe that there was an Armenian genocide, then let's just vote on this bill as it stands and be done with it. But let's not use clever ways to dissolve this thing and turn it into mush and meaningless nothingness and then thereby affect the germaneness of this bill.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I first wish to strongly support Mr. Burton's amendment, and I want to use a portion of my 5 minutes to read a statement of the President of the United States on this issue. Some of my colleagues are under the misapprehension that, unless this Committee now approves this resolution, the United States will have been silent on the tragedies that have been inflicted on the Armenian people 85 years ago.

Let me read the statement of the President of the United States. I quote,

> "Today we remember a great tragedy of the 20th century, the deportations and massacres of roughly one and a half million Armenians in the final years of the Ottoman Empire. 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 have suffered. I call upon all Americans to renew their commitment to build a world where such events are not allowed to happen. The lesson we must learn from the stark annals of history is that we must forge a more humane future for the peoples of all nations.

"Our own society has benefited immeasurably from the contributions of Armenian Americans. They have enriched every aspect of American life, from science to commerce to the arts. For the past 8 and a half years, the Armenian people have been engaged in an historic undertaking to establish democracy and prosperity in the independent Republic of Armenia. Their courage, energy and resourcefulness inspire the admiration of all Americans; and we are proud to extend our assistance to help realize the dream of a vital and vibrant Armenia. The United States fully supports the efforts of Armenia and its neighbors to make lasting peace with one another and to begin an era of security and cooperation in the Caucasus region. We encourage any and all dialogue between citizens of the region that hastens reconciliation and understanding. On behalf of the American people, I extend my best wishes to all Armenians on this solemn day of remembrance."

This statement was issued by the President on April 24, the Armenian Day of Remembrance. I think it is important my colleagues be aware of the fact that the President of the United States, speaking on behalf of the American people, has made this statement. He made this statement on the Armenian Day of Remembrance, the 24th of April, unrelated to the elections which will take place 5 weeks from today.

All of us, Republicans and Democrats, can applaud the President's statement. It is an appropriate statement. It expresses our anguish at the tragedy and suffering of the Armenian people 85 years ago, and we can move on defending our national security interests.

If I have some time left, as I believe I do, Mr. Chairman, the light is still green——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has 1 minute and 20 seconds.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would merely like to remind my colleague—and I am sorry he is not in the room—Mr. Gejdenson, that resolutions concerning human rights in China and resolutions concerning human rights violations in Turkey 85 years ago are not comparable. Resolutions involving human rights abuses in China relate to the ongoing tragedy and suffering of the Chinese and the Tibetan people.

China, the last time I looked, is not a major NATO ally. So to compare human rights resolutions directed at China in the year 2000, when the Falun Gong has again been arrested and beaten on Tiananmen Square, of note, this resolution is an absurdity. There is no parallel between this resolution and our ongoing attempt to improve the human rights conditions in China.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, we have debated this issue long enough, and I move that we table the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion to table the resolution.

Would the gentleman explain his motion?

Mr. LANTOS. I will wait until we deal with the Burton resolution, at which point I will move to table.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman withdraws his motion to table at this point.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I call for a vote.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much.

Chairman GILMAN. Is that a point of order, Mr. Radanovich?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Not a point of order, sir; just a call for a vote.

Chairman GILMAN. Is the gentleman moving the previous question?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman moves the previous question on the amendment.

The gentleman is entitled to move the previous question, but there are some Members who would like to be heard. Does the gentleman want to hold his request?

Mr. RADANOVICH. My only question, Mr. Chairman, is that we have only got 24 hours in this day. For a couple of more speakers, yes, but I think that we sooner or later are going to have to vote on this issue, and I hope that we can do that sooner rather than later.

I withdraw my motion for now.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman withdraws his motion.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes, I would remind my good friend, Mr. Radanovich, that there are very serious consequences to his resolution. I am a supporter of his resolution, but with the serious consequences that means we spend more time on these things, and there are people who have amendments which might be perfecting amendments.

For example, I will be carrying one of Mr. Burton's amendments because, unfortunately, he has to leave at 11:30; but also I have a perfecting amendment. For example, in your resolution, it mentions the young Turk government, and I am going to ask that that be replaced by the, quote, government of the Ottoman Empire, because that is more accurate.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher, would you address yourself to the Burton amendment at this time?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes. I oppose this particular Burton amendment, but I believe that it is important for us to leave the avenue open for other amendments to make this very significant piece of legislation better.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. Sherman, on the Burton amendment.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you. I oppose this amendment, as I oppose other amendments. I would like to move quickly to a vote on the underlying resolution.

Mr. Burton asks, who speaks for the Armenians? I would point out that every voice of the Armenians here, in Armenia, in Lebanon, in Syria and around the world, call out for the recognition of this genocide and call out for us to adopt this resolution before the last survivors of that genocide die.

Mr. Burton points out the difficulties faced by the people of Armenia. I hope that he will join with me in supporting increases in aid to Armenia and to Nagorno-Karabakh.

We are told that this genocide of Armenians was not a genocide because those perpetrating it did not kill every Armenian in every part of the Ottoman Empire. I would point out that even the Holocaust did not lead to the utter destruction of the Jewish community of Bulgaria or Morocco, and in both of those areas the Nazis had some power, just not enough power to complete their genocide. Genocide is genocide, even if it is aimed at wiping out a people from a portion or a region of the area in which they live.

We are told that it is not the purpose of this Committee to deal with history, but I would point out that Chairman Gilman quite wisely in 1996 authored House Resolution 316, which the House and this Committee adopted overwhelmingly, condemning those who deny the Holocaust. And I would say that if this Committee is going to condemn, quite properly, those who deny history then it is time for this Committee to affirm history and to recognize it.

We have had extensive hearings on this issue, both before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Full Committee, and even during this markup we have heard three witnesses, all of them on one side. I would hope that we would move as quickly as possible to a vote. As we do we are told that national security is important; and it is, but I would point out that not only has Speaker Hastert urged that this resolution come before the floor of the House, but Governor George W. Bush has spoken out in recognition of the Armenian genocide. I doubt either of those two individuals would be making statements harmful to American security.

It is true that today's diplomats would find it more convenient if we avoided recognizing an aspect of history that our ally, Turkey, for reasons I have not fully understood, finds it distasteful for us to remember. But let us—and I made this point before—let us imagine that a decade or two from now Germany, a powerful nation, a nation I would say more important to our national security than Turkey, were to have a political change and some new government there were to demand that we as Members of the House march down and physically remove brick by brick the Holocaust Museum. I think that we would say no, that no matter how important an ally Germany was, that if its government insisted that we repudiate history we would refuse.

Likewise, if the government of Austria, which could play a major role, a destructive role, if it choose, in international affairs—it is a highly technological country, capable of exporting some of the most dangerous technology should it choose to do so—if Austria 10 or 20 years from now were to demand that we not recognize the Holocaust, we should say no because, as has been pointed out by other speakers, our credibility in the world depends upon our adherence to the truth.

Let us move forward and recognize the truth and adopt this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sherman. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will take 1 minute.

Nobody on our Committee has denied the existence of the genocide. The only testimony is from the Turkish National Assembly's representative who, of course, I respect and to whom I am grateful that he has come and testified, but no gentleman or gentlelady on this Committee has said that the genocide did not exist.

Mr. BURTON. Would the gentleman yield very quickly?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I only have a minute, and you have spoken often. I am anxious to hear your response.

Mr. BURTON. Well, you are incorrect, Mr. Campbell.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has not yielded his time.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not yield. Assuming I don't take all of my time—I was trying to restrict myself to 1 minute—I would be happy to yield at the end. Then if the Committee is patient and gives you the time, I would be delighted.

The issue comes down to Western Anatolia. I mean, that is the burden of the testimony of the gentleman from Turkey, that how there could be a genocide if there was no extermination in Western Anatolia such as happened in Eastern Anatolia?

This is essential to the heart of the question. If the government policy is to wipe out a people by government design, in a systematic manner, where they have control to do so, that constitutes genocide.

That they did not do it everywhere does not make it less, that they did it where they could or they did it where it was most helpful. The opposite end of the spectrum would be a horrible civil war where you go after the enemy's troops or the people who are supporting the enemy, but you don't go after the race. You don't go after children.

So that is the distinction. And even taking into account the testimony of the gentleman from the Turkish National Assembly, we do not have a rebuttal.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Same condition. We don't have a rebuttal that what happened in Eastern Anatolia was a genocide; what happened in Western Anatolia is a separate issue.

Imagine, in other words, if you had a true genocide but it was limited only to one part of where people lived, would you say, no, it isn't? So it seems to me on those two points—and I would be happy now to go to the various people who have asked to yield—that there is no dispute that what happened in Eastern Anatolia was a genocide; but I would ask for those who still remain in doubt to take a look at the testimony that was adduced at the Subcommittee hearing and is referred to in the resolution itself.

Two things are most telling. One is the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, when it set up the Genocide Convention, explicitly referred to the Armenian genocide. That is in clause 19 of the whereases, and clause 20 of the whereases states that in 1948 the U.N. War Crimes Commission precisely referred to the Armenian

genocide in setting up what a Nuremberg trial would constitute as a crime against humanity.

And lastly, contemporary testimony from our ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Ambassador Morgenthau, which is referenced in Finding 11, referred to a campaign of race extermination by the government at that time.

So because of the nature of our hearing we only heard from one side. The evidence is quite clear from the other side, and we should not lose sight of it.

Now with the Chairman's indulgence, I would yield first to my colleague from Indiana and then to my other colleague.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has 1 minute and 45 seconds remaining.

Mr. BURTON. I will be real quick.

I respect very much Mr. Campbell, and I agree with him on many issues. On the floor of the House of Representatives, for the past 16 years, when this kind of a resolution came up, I have been down there saying that atrocities did take place, horrible things happened, but it was not a genocide, and I maintain that today. So when you say that nobody on the Committee would refute that, I do.

I would like to also say that when the Russians invaded and worked with the Armenians during World War I, three million Ottoman Muslims were killed; and many people called that, the way they were systematically eliminated, a genocide. It wasn't. It was a tragedy, just like the Armenian problem was a tragedy. They also had——

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am going to take my time back.

Mr. BURTON. Let me just say one more thing.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, I am going to take my time back.

Mr. BURTON. They also killed 200,000 Jews.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman is reclaiming his time.

Mr. CAMPBELL. And I yield to my colleague.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Thank you.

It is my inclination to support the resolution and oppose the amendment, but I want to give the full strength to the distinguished gentleman from Turkey's position, which is that a genocide did not occur because in his words, paraphrasing, of course, no systematic order was given to exterminate a people, the entire Armenian people, let alone the entire population of Armenians from that portion of the Ottoman Empire.

So I think that is his strongest case. The problem with that, though, is that certainly then it is a quibble about the definition of—not a quibble—a serious disagreement about the application of—the word genocide to an instance where in the strongest case of the Turkish representative the government ordered the deportation of a people within its empire to another region, where during the course of that deportation the gentleman says tens of thousands—I think the record is clear it is over a million, if not a million and a half——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Can I have unanimous consent to address the body for another 1 minute, please?

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Okay. So that is his best case, and so that it doesn't qualify as a systematic, organized effort to exterminate a particular people, it is just moving them from one part of their empire to another.

What is troubling me, though, is that this movement of these peoples occurred during, I am told, 1915 to 1923. That is 8 years. During this 8-year period one and a half million Armenians happened to be slaughtered or happened to die. Now, one could argue that if this was a deportation order gone awry and these slaughters occurred that would perhaps not qualify for a genocide, but how could the Ottoman Empire not take responsibility for the death of a million and a half people over the course of an 8-year period when they were in total control? That is the problem I have with the Representative's argument.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Ms. Lee is recognized.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to oppose Mr. Burton's amendment and just say that I don't believe this resolution should be watered down at all. You know, last week and now again this week we are having a full discussion of this resolution and why many of us on both sides of the aisle believe that we must acknowledge and set forth in our foreign policy the horrors of the Armenian genocide. These terrible crimes against humanity must never be forgotten.

So as a co-sponsor of this resolution—and many of us have made it perfectly clear that we believe that our country does have a duty and responsibility to acknowledge and condemn this genocide—I urge the Committee to pass this resolution and oppose the Burton amendment. We do not need to pass this resolution encumbered by amendments which will cloud the purpose of the resolution, and that is to acknowledge this horror, to acknowledge the Armenian genocide in our foreign policy.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Ms. Lee.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, let me say that was very enlightening. I do welcome our friend from the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Mr. Irtemcelik, but I think his testimony, frankly, actually made our case, and made it very profoundly.

He told us, and again I say this with all due respect, that the genocide did not happen, when the overwhelming body of evidence clearly points to a genocide, as my good friend from New Jersey just pointed out, as many as 1.5 million people died. As a matter of fact, as you know, Mr. Chairman, we had a lengthy, exhaustive hearing just a couple of weeks ago, where we heard from scholars who made it crystal clear—at least those who presented what I thought what was very tangible evidence—that a genocide did indeed occur.

As a matter of fact, in a letter that was sent to me, Professor Deborah Lipstadt, the director of the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory University, stated, and I quote, "Denial of genocide strives to reshape history in order to demonize the victims and re-

habilitate the perpetrators. Denial of genocide is the final stage of genocide. It is what Elie Wiesel has called double killing. It denies the murders, the dignity of the survivors, and seeks to destroy the remembrance of the crime."

In the testimony, it was pointed out that Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time, said, and I quote, "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"—this is Henry Morgenthau—"they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

As was pointed out in our testimony, the ambassadors of Germany and Austria, representatives of governments allied with Turkey, also quickly realized what was taking place. As early as 1915, the German ambassador reported to Berlin, and I quote, "Turks began deportation from areas now not threatened by invasion. This fact, and the manner in which the relocation is being carried out, demonstrates that the government is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race in Turkey."

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

This is the ambassador from Germany, allied with the Ottoman Empire, making those damning comments. And I would remind my colleagues again that the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the U.N. document, article 2, states very clearly that genocide is defined thusly, "deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

One and one-half million out of two million—that is almost the whole thing. That is almost the whole race, so it is clearly a genocide.

Again, we welcome our friend from the Grand National Assembly, but I think he actually made our case.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

If there is no further debate, the question is now on the amendment. As many as are in favor, signify in the usual manner.

Opposed?

The noes have it.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. I ask for a rollcall vote.

Chairman GILMAN. A rollcall has been requested. Is there a sufficient second for a rollcall, by a show of hands, please?

A sufficient number, the Clerk will call the roll.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman.

Chairman GILMAN. No.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman votes no.

Mr. Goodling.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.

[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter.
Mr. BEREUTER. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter votes yes.
Mr. Smith.
Mr. SMITH. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Smith votes no.
Mr. Burton.
Mr. BURTON. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burton votes yes.
Mr. Gallegly.
Mr. GALLEGLY. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gallegly votes no.
Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger.
Mr. BALLENGER. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger votes yes.
Mr. Rohrabacher.
Mr. ROHRABACHER. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rohrabacher votes no.
Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce.
Mr. ROYCE. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce votes no.
Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.
Mr. CHABOT. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot votes no.
Mr. Sanford.
Mr. SANFORD. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford votes yes.
Mr. Salmon.
Mr. SALMON. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon votes yes.
Mr. Houghton.
Mr. HOUGHTON. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Houghton votes yes.
Mr. Campbell.
Mr. CAMPBELL. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Campbell votes yes.
Mr. McHugh.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brady.
Mr. BRADY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brady votes yes.
Mr. Burr.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gillmor.
Mr. GILLMOR. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gillmor votes yes.
Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Radanovich votes no.
Mr. Cooksey.
Mr. COOKSEY. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Cooksey votes yes.
Mr. Tancredo.
Mr. TANCREDO. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Tancredo votes yes.
Mr. Gejdenson.
Mr. GEJDENSON. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gejdenson votes no.
Mr. Lantos.
Mr. LANTOS. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Lantos votes yes.
Mr. Berman.
Mr. BERMAN. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Berman votes no.
Mr. Ackerman.
Mr. ACKERMAN. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ackerman votes no.
Mr. Faleomavaega.
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Faleomavaega votes yes.
Mr. Payne.
Mr. PAYNE. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Payne votes no.
Mr. Menendez.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brown.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. McKinney.
Ms. MCKINNEY. I vote no.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. McKinney votes no.
Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sherman.
Mr. SHERMAN. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sherman votes no.
Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman.
Mr. ROTHMAN. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman votes no.
Mr. Davis.
Mr. DAVIS. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Davis votes no.
Mr. Pomeroy.
Mr. POMEROY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Pomeroy votes yes.
Mr. Delahunt.

[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee.
Ms. LEE. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee votes no.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. CROWLEY. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Crowley votes no.
Mr. Hoeffel.
Mr. HOEFFEL. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hoeffel votes no.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will call the absentees.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Goodling.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. McHugh.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burr.
Mr. BURR. Votes aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burr votes aye.
Mr. Menendez.
Mr. MENENDEZ. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Menendez votes no.
Mr. Brown.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[No response.]
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the tally.
Ms. BLOOMER. On this vote, there are 15 ayes and 19 noes.
Chairman GILMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.
Mr. Rohrabacher.
Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment. The Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Mr. Rohrabacher is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. The purpose of my amendment——

Chairman GILMAN. Hold just a moment. The Clerk will report the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. Amendment offered by Mr. Rohrabacher, in Section 2, the 11th clause, line 3: replace "Young Turk Government" with "government of the Ottoman Empire."

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, on that I reserve a point of order.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Radanovich reserves a point of order.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. The purpose of my amendment is to get right to the heart of the matter of Mr. Radanovich's bill, and that is that Mr. Radanovich is in no way attempting to put blame on the Turkish government or the current population of Turkey for sins committed by people who lived in Turkey in the past, and especially the government of the Ottoman Empire. The current Turkish government bears no responsibility for the crimes of the Ottoman Empire before Turkey became the government that it is today.

Let me say that I also have an amendment, a resolution, H.R. 606, which amplifies this. Unfortunately, it will not be permitted to be put into the hopper today, or excuse me, brought before the Committee today because there just wasn't enough time to meet the parliamentary requirements.

But H.R. 606, I might add, when it does come to a vote, puts into context what we are saying today, and that is that there were many atrocities, similar atrocities, committed against various populations during the 20th century, and that what happened in the final days of the Ottoman Empire and the slaughter of innocent Armenians is not an aberration of history but instead happened in Cambodia, happened, of course, in occupied Europe by the Germans, by the Nazis, and happened in Soviet Russia. But we do not, for example, condemn the people of Russia today for the crimes committed by Josef Stalin, because Josef Stalin, of course, was a dictator operating totally independently of the will of the Russian people.

With that said, that is the purpose of my amendment, which is changing the words from the "Young Turk Government" to be replaced by the "government of the Ottoman Empire."

I would ask now Mr. Radanovich a question for the record. Mr. Radanovich, as the author of this legislation before us today, is it your intent or is it not your intent that this legislation will lay the foundation for any claim of reparations against Turkey for crimes committed during the time of the Ottoman Empire?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher. No, it is not the intent of this legislation. It strictly deals with genocide recognition.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. Thus, Mr. Chairman, this legislation in no way would justify reparations against the current Turkish

government or Turkish people for crimes that were committed during the Ottoman Empire's time period.

Let me say that the legislation does cover some property disputes that might have arisen from this situation, and I think that is justified for the people whose families lost their property during this time period when we had this killing going on. There has to be some sort of settlement with them, but not reparations. That is not what this is about.

I support Mr. Radanovich's bill and believe my amendment underscores it because of two things. Number one, we are talking about an event in history. I will have to say that I have tried to keep an open mind in this, realizing that Turkey is one of our best friends of the United States of America and during the Cold War we relied so much on that friendship. That does not escape the truth that in the final days of the Ottoman Empire, not only in the Armenian section of that empire but in other sections of that empire as well, there were horrible crimes committed against various populations, crimes against humanity, because the magnitude of the slaughter was that bad.

So we are recognizing that truth that in the final days of the Ottoman Empire these types of things happened, but we are not blaming the current Turkish people.

By the way, let me just add this: The slaughter that took place against the Armenians may be an example of where winners end up slaughtering the losers. That still does not make it justified because much has been said, and our friends from Turkey pointed out, that Armenians during that time period killed some Turkish noncombatants as well.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Rothman.

Mr. ROTHMAN. I thank the Chairman.

As I mentioned earlier, I am going to be voting for the underlying bill, and I will be supporting this amendment as well.

I did want to make this germane perhaps, this comment. I wanted to follow my colleague from California's comments that this in no way reflects this body's or certainly my feelings with regard to the Turkish people of today or the great history of Turkey or of the vital role that Turkey and its people play in the security of freedom in the world today.

We are mindful of your importance to the region and to our national security, and we consider you friends. We hope that you consider that the way we have behaved with regard to your security qualifies us as your friends as well.

My friends from Turkey, for hundreds of years in the United States of America we denied the actual subjugation and destruction of the African slaves we brought by the millions from Africa, who died by the millions at our hands, and the consequences to the African American people once they came here. We denied as Americans the slaughter of millions of Native Americans, denied that for a long time.

Now I have no intention of directing you, my friends from Turkey, to consider or reconsider your view of history. I will just share with you our own years of struggle to deal with our own history and to reiterate the point made by the gentleman from California

that this does not reflect our view about our friends in Turkey today or about our mutual value to one another.

I will be supporting the amendment.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Chabot.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be very brief.

I intend to support Mr. Rohrabacher's amendment. I think it is a helpful amendment, and I think it is consistent with Mr. Tancredo's amendment that was passed last week, that stated in part that in the President's annual message commemorating the Armenian genocide, it should state that the modern-day Republic of Turkey did not conduct the Armenian genocide which was perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire. I think that this is consistent with that; and, therefore, I would encourage my colleagues to support this amendment.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chabot.

Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would first like to offer my appreciation to the distinguished leader from the Turkish Parliament for his observation and his sentiments before the Members of this distinguished Committee.

It is ironic that we have to become experts overnight on the history of this very difficult region of the world. To my good friend, Mr. Campbell from California, I think history is a very funny story. You tend to become subjective. You tend to believe which story you want to believe and who wrote the history of these peoples.

In fairness also to the issue here, I think the bottom line is that where do we go from here, Mr. Chairman? If we are going to pass a resolution on genocide against the Armenian people, let's do it also for the Cambodian government and Pol Pot. Let's do it also for Stalin, who exterminated systematically over 25 million Russians during the Stalin era. Let's also observe the, if we call it genocide, killings of some 250,000 Bosnians due to Milosevic's administration. It goes on and on.

I suppose, ironically, Mr. Chairman, we are dealing with this issue when we are only a couple of months away from the presidential election, as well as gubernatorial and congressional elections. I sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman—and this is something, too, that the fact is that this resolution, a similar resolution, was taken up by the House 4 years ago, and it was killed in the Senate.

In the 12 years that I have served as a Member of this Committee, never have I seen a simple resolution proposed in the House with such tremendous emotion, with such tremendous feelings in terms of how this body or this distinguished Committee ought to take a position or make a decision on this issue. If there were a systematic killing of some 1.5 million Armenians, historians have also said that there were just as many Turkish in the millions also killed in the process.

There was a war against the Russians during World War I where a lot of the patriots among the Armenian people took sides with the Russians. There is nothing wrong with that, being patriots. If you are fighting the opposition, you would also like it to become that.

This happened in World War II when the French patriots decided to repatriate themselves through General de Gaulle and his people.

I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, about where do we go from here if we pass this resolution? Let's propose resolutions about all that I have indicated. What about the systematic killings of hundreds of thousands in Indochina during the French presence there in that part of the world?

So we are opening up, I believe, Mr. Chairman, an issue that is not going to go away. If we are going to make the decision on this, let's do it on an even-handed basis in terms of where genocide occurs in other regions of the world.

I am not trying to defend what our good friend from the Turkish Parliament has stated. But, as I have said before, we have become overnight experts on history in this region of the world which to me is one of the most complicated areas, our understanding of the Balkans in the areas of Ottoman Empire and how that occurred. I feel very, very reluctant, Mr. Chairman, that we are making a decision, but do we have all the facts at hand?

I just wanted to express the concern that my good friend from California, Mr. Lantos, has reiterated earlier. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Radanovich.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I withdraw my point of order and support the amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman withdraws his point of order and supports the amendment.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I support the amendment, of course, but I would like to use my time to summarize basically where we are.

There are basically—the Committee is not in order, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's point is well taken. The Committee will please respect the gentleman's time.

The gentleman may proceed.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have great respect for all of my colleagues on both sides of this issue. I think the time has come to summarize where we are.

There are two items being discussed here seriatim. One relates to the horrendous suffering of a vast number of Armenian men, women and children 85 years ago; and there is unanimity on this Committee in terms of recognizing that tragedy and expressing our sorrow and anguish with respect to it. The President of the United States, on Armenian Remembrance Day, spoke on behalf of all of us.

There is a second issue, and that is the current national security interests of the United States. We have now heard at our last meeting and today from our current ambassador to Turkey. We have heard from the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee. We have heard from, in writing, a vast array of former secretaries of defense and chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I am asking for unanimous consent to place in the record a letter we expect to receive by our current Secretary of State and Sec-

retary of Defense which also strongly opposes passage of this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

[The letter appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. We, in fact, can do both of these things. We can express our support for the President's statement with respect to the tragedy of the Armenian people, for which I am sure there will be a unanimous vote on behalf of every Member of this Committee, but at the same time not impact on our national security, which is clearly involved.

The Chairman of our Intelligence Committee does not come here frivolously. Former secretaries of State and chairmen of the Joint Chiefs don't write us letters frivolously. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense don't write us frivolously. Every single American president in the last quarter century opposed this legislation. Every secretary of state did. Every secretary of defense did. Every chairman of the Joint Chiefs did.

I think it takes an incredible degree of arrogance for us to sweep all of this aside and to move now to approve this resolution. After all, it is important for us to remember that this came to us initially for the purpose of saving a congressional seat in California. The partisan politics——

Mr. ROYCE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANTOS. In a moment.

The partisan politics of that issue have now been diffused because both the Democratic candidate and the Republican candidate in that congressional district, for whatever reasons, strongly support the underlying resolution. So it is no longer a partisan issue.

It allows us to deal with this issue on its merits. On its merits, we are in a position to identify ourselves with the President's statement expressing the anguish of the American people for the tragedy of the Armenians 85 years ago, without adversely impacting our national security.

I yield back the balance of my time. I am happy to yield to my friend.

Mr. ROYCE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I just wanted to point out, because I heard this argument yesterday and last week as well, that I think all of us are aware that Congressman Bonior is the cosponsor of this resolution. As a matter of fact, he wrote to the Speaker and said, "I urge you to schedule this bipartisan legislation for consideration for the floor as soon as possible." And he said, "This resolution has a long history of bipartisan support. I have worked to achieve passage of this for some years, and we believe that now is the time to move forward."

Then I noticed that we have a letter from Minority Leader Richard Gephardt and Sam Gejdenson and Frank Pallone saying, "We are writing to urge that you schedule for immediate floor consideration."

Mr. LANTOS. Reclaiming my time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ROYCE. So I am making that point to you that this is a bipartisan resolution——

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos has the time, and the gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ROYCE [continuing]. Supported by Mr. Gephardt and Mr. Bonior.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to speak briefly in support of this amendment and to stress what I believe to be the importance of it.

Last week, when we passed my amendment, which was referred to by Mr. Chabot, some comments were made about the effect of it and as to whether or not it would really change the course of affairs or the way in which we look at the whole issue. I just want to state very clearly for the record and also for our friends here from Turkey that at least in my mind it is an enormously important distinction we are making here.

Please indulge us, if you will, with regard to our desire to reflect the events of history 85 years ago. Regardless of whether or not you agree with that determination of this Committee, please do not let that encumber your decision about the action we are about to take. Because the action we are about to take, both supporting this amendment and the underlying resolution, is one that I think is extremely important for a variety of reasons, be it political or the heartfelt beliefs of the people, the majority of Members of this Committee.

But it should have absolutely nothing to do with our relationship with the present government of Turkey, and in order to state that clearly and maybe in a redundant fashion, we have another amendment by Mr. Rohrabacher. But that is only to encourage you to understand what we believe to be the case here and that is that the present government of Turkey holds no responsibility for the actions taken in this area of the world 85 years ago.

So, therefore, although others have suggested that this is not really going to solve our problem, I will tell you that, at least for this Member, the only way in which I can support the underlying resolution is with the inclusion of this language. It is extremely important for me and I believe for other Members of the Committee. So I do not want it discounted by the very people we are trying to, in fact, talk to through this resolution, and that is the present government of Turkey.

We value your friendship. We understand your concerns. Please understand on our side what we are trying to do here and how clearly we are attempting to distinguish between those two actions.

Chairman GILMAN. If there is no further debate, the question is now on the amendment by Mr. Rohrabacher. As many as are in favor, signify in the usual manner.

As many as are opposed, say no.

The ayes have it.

The amendment is agreed to.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I request a recorded vote.

Chairman GILMAN. A recorded vote is requested. Is there a show of hands favoring a recorded vote?

A sufficient second, the Clerk will call the roll.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman.

Chairman GILMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman votes yes.
Mr. Goodling.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter.
Mr. BEREUTER. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter votes yes.
Mr. Smith.
Mr. SMITH. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Smith votes yes.
Mr. Burton.
Mr. BURTON. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burton votes yes.
Mr. Gallegly.
Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gallegly votes yes.
Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger.
Mr. BALLENGER. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger votes yes.
Mr. Rohrabacher.
Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rohrabacher votes yes.
Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce.
Mr. ROYCE. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce votes yes.
Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford.
Mr. SANFORD. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford votes yes.
Mr. Salmon.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Houghton.
Mr. HOUGHTON. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Houghton votes yes.
Mr. Campbell.
Mr. CAMPBELL. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Campbell votes yes.
Mr. McHugh.
Mr. MCHUGH. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. McHugh votes yes.
Mr. Brady.
Mr. BRADY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brady votes yes.

Mr. Burr.
Mr. BURR. Votes yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burr votes yes.
Mr. Gillmor.
Mr. GILLMOR. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gillmor votes yes.
Mr. Radanovich.
Mr. RADANOVICH. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Radanovich votes yes.
Mr. Cooksey.
Mr. COOKSEY. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr Cooksey votes yes.
Mr. Tancredo.
Mr. TANCREDO. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Tancredo votes yes.
Mr. Gejdenson.
Mr. GEJDENSON. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gejdenson votes yes.
Mr. Lantos.
Mr. LANTOS. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Lantos votes yes.
Mr. Berman.
Mr. BERMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Berman votes yes.
Mr. Ackerman.
Mr. ACKERMAN. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ackerman votes yes.
Mr. Faleomavaega.
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Faleomavaega votes yes.
Mr. Payne.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Menendez.
Mr. MENENDEZ. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Menendez votes yes.
Mr. Brown.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. McKinney.
Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. McKinney votes yes.
Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard.
Mr. HILLIARD. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard votes yes.
Mr. Sherman.
Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sherman votes yes.
Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman.
Mr. ROTHMAN. Yes.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman votes yes.
Mr. Davis.
Mr. DAVIS. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Davis votes yes.
Mr. Pomeroy.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee.
Ms. LEE. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee votes yes.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. CROWLEY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Crowley votes yes.
Mr. Hoeffel.
Mr. HOEFFEL. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hoeffel votes yes.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will call the absentees.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Goodling.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon.
Mr. SALMON. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon votes yes.
Mr. Payne.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brown.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Pomeroy.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[No response.]
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the tally.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.
Mr. CHABOT. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot votes yes.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the tally.
Ms. BLOOMER. On this vote, there were 34 ayes and zero knows.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will withhold.
Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton. Is Mr. Burton recorded?
Ms. BLOOMER. Yes.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the tally.
Ms. BLOOMER. On this vote, there were 34 ayes and zero knows.
Chairman GILMAN. The amendment is adopted.
Without objection, the previous question is ordered.
The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, is recognized for offer a motion.
Mr. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I move to order the resolution reported to the House with the recommendation that the resolution, H. Res. 596, as amended, be agreed to.
Chairman GILMAN. This motion is not amendable and not debatable.
The question is on the motion. All in favor, signify in the usual manner. Opposed?
The ayes have it.
Mr. BURTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a rollcall vote.
Chairman GILMAN. A rollcall vote is requested. Is there a sufficient second by a show of hands?
There is a sufficient second. The Clerk will call the roll.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman.
Chairman GILMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman votes aye.
Mr. Goodling.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter.
Mr. BEREUTER. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter votes no.
Mr. Smith.
Mr. SMITH. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Smith votes aye.
Mr. Burton.
Mr. BURTON. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burton votes no.
Mr. Gallegly.
Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gallegly votes aye.
Chairman GILMAN. Let me interrupt the Clerk. To those Members leaving, after this vote we will be recessing until 1 o'clock to come back to complete the rest of our agenda. We will stand in recess until 1 after the Clerk completes the rollcall.
Please proceed.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger.
Mr. BALLENGER. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger votes no.
Mr. Rohrabacher.
Mr. ROHRABACHER. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rohrabacher votes aye.
Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce.
Mr. ROYCE. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce votes aye.
Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.
Mr. CHABOT. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
Mr. Sanford.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon.
Mr. SALMON. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon votes no.
Mr. Houghton.
Mr. HOUGHTON. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Houghton votes no.
Mr. Campbell.
Mr. CAMPBELL. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Campbell votes aye.
Mr. McHugh.
Mr. MCHUGH. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. McHugh votes aye.
Mr. Brady.
Mr. BRADY. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brady votes no.
Mr. Burr.
Mr. BURR. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burr votes no.
Mr. Gillmor.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Radanovich.
Mr. RADANOVICH. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Radanovich votes aye.
Mr. Cooksey.
Mr. COOKSEY. I vote present.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Cooksey votes present.
Mr. Tancredo.
Mr. TANCREDO. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Tancredo votes aye.
Mr. Gejdenson.
Mr. GEJDENSON. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gejdenson votes aye.
Mr. Lantos.
Mr. LANTOS. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Lantos votes no.
Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Berman votes aye.
Mr. Ackerman.
Mr. ACKERMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ackerman votes aye.
Mr. Faleomavaega.
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Faleomavaega votes no.
Mr. Payne.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Menendez.
Mr. MENENDEZ. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Menendez votes aye.
Mr. Brown.
Mr. BROWN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Brown votes aye.
Ms. McKinney.
Ms. MCKINNEY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. McKinney votes aye.
Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will withhold.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner.
Ms. DANNER. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Danner votes no.
Mr. Hilliard.
Mr. HILLIARD. No.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hilliard votes no.
Mr. Sherman.
Mr. SHERMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sherman votes aye.
Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman.
Mr. ROTHMAN. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rothman votes aye.
Mr. Davis.
Mr. DAVIS. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Davis votes aye.
Mr. Pomeroy.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee.
Ms. LEE. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Lee votes aye.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. CROWLEY. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Crowley votes aye.

Mr. Hoeffel.
Mr. HOEFFEL. Aye.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hoeffel votes aye.
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will call the absentees.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Goodling.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.
Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes.
Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen votes aye.
Mr. Manzullo.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. King.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford.
Mr. SANFORD. Present.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford votes present.
Mr. Gillmor.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Payne.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hastings.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Wexler.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Pomeroy.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Meeks.
[no response.]
Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will call Mr. Delahunt.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Delahunt.
Mr. DELAHUNT. Aye.
Chairman GILMAN. Any other Member wishing to change their vote or any Member not recorded?
The Clerk will report the tally.
Ms. BLOOMER. On this vote, there were 24 ayes, 11 noes, and 2 present.
Chairman GILMAN. The motion is agreed to.
A motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.
The Committee now stands in recess until 1:30 p.m..
[Recess.]
Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order.

H.R. 577—TO HONOR THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

Chairman GILMAN. We will now consider H.R. 577 relating to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Res. 577, a resolution to honor the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for its role as a protector of the world's refugees, to celebrate UNHCR's 50th anniversary, and to praise the High Commissioner Sadako Ogata for her work with the UNHCR for the past 10 years."

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. This resolution was considered by the Subcommittee on International Relations and Human Rights and reported with an amendment. Without objection, the language recommended by the Subcommittee on International Relations and Human Rights which is before the Members will be considered as original text for the purpose of an amendment.

Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble and operative language of the Subcommittee recommendation, so ordered.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas, since the founding of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in December 1950——"

[The amended resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Subcommittee's amendment is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, the Chairman of the Subcommittee, to introduce the resolution.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am very proud to be a cosponsor of this resolution introduced by my friend and colleague, Tony Hall, whose commitment to human rights and humanitarian principles is well-known.

The resolution celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the UNHCR; it commends the UNHCR for its good work over the years, and congratulates the present high commissioner, Dr. Ogata, who will be retiring in December.

The Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights made minor technical changes to the bill when we considered it and reported it favorably to the Full Committee. As the resolution points out, it is important that UNHCR never forgets that at the heart of its mandate is protection. Donor countries like the United States often forget this. Our own contribution to refugee protection around the world is about 20 percent lower than it was just 5 years ago and most other countries have done even worse. Countries of first asylum to which refugees have fled from persecution or from the fear of persecution often wish they would just go away, and sometimes the brutal regimes from which they fled are all only too happy to have them back.

So there is always pressure on the UNHCR to pretend that mass repatriation would be safe when it, in fact, is very dangerous; or to pretend that repatriation is voluntary when, in fact, the refugees and asylum seekers are given no choice.

Occasionally, as in the so-called Comprehensive Plan of Action for asylum seekers from Indochina, the UNHCR has yielded to this pressure. On these occasions, I and other Members of Congress have been among UNHCR's strongest critics. On many other occasions, the UNHCR has stood up for the principle of protection, even at great risk to its own institutional interests.

This resolution celebrates those instances of courage and compassion over the last 50 years and particularly during the stewardship of Dr. Ogata. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend my colleagues for their work on this resolution and just say that while the High Commissioner's office is 50 years old, the predecessor organization, UNRA, ran the camp where I was born in Germany at the end of World War II, and I know what it meant to my family and thousands and thousands of others who survived that horror, and the U.N. Commissioner's offices around the world continue to do work for refugees that really is irreplaceable.

When I have been to places in this hemisphere and others, it is clear they are doing the same jobs, the same training, education, health. All of us here also remember that 3 workers were recently killed in West Timor, that doing some of the most humanitarian work on the planet doesn't protect you from the kind of violence that goes on in the world. I urge passage of the legislation.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gejdenson. Anyone else seeking recognition?

If not, H. Res. 577, in observation of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, honors the outstanding service that the UNHCR has provided the international community since 1950. This small agency of the U.N., since its inception, has helped ameliorate, and in many instances resolve the plights of hundreds of millions of victims of persecution and abuse.

I would like to commend our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Hall, for his diligence in making certain that the Congress is able to record its immense respect for the UNHCR on the occasion of this important milestone.

We should also note that measure pays fitting tribute to our current high commissioner, Dr. Sadako Ogata, who we met with on a number of occasions and who is stepping down after completing her 10-year tour of duty in this vital international post.

During her tenure, Mrs. Ogata has seen the caseload of refugees and persons of concern coming to her office rise to a total of some 22 million people. This number is indicative of the increase in wars, internal conflicts, and natural disasters. It has produced a tide of human suffering that has only been paralleled in the past by our most serious global conflicts.

The UNHCR has also had to exceed the terms of its own mandate as laid out in the statutes that created the Office of High Commissioner some 50 years ago, by providing invaluable assistance to those vulnerable individuals who were internally displaced within the borders of their home countries, and who are also the victims of persecution or human rights abuses.

As global events have become even more complex, the UNHCR has been able to adapt itself to meeting the new challenges and complexities presented, and I hope that this resolution, by calling attention to the good work performed by the UNHCR and its staff,

will increase the support by American citizens and others around the world of the efforts spearheaded by the UNHCR.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues on our Committee to support H. Res. 577.

Are any other Members seeking recognition?

If not, if there are no further amendments, the question is on agreeing to the Subcommittee recommendation. As many as are in favor of the amendment signify in the usual manner; those opposed say no. The amendment is agreed to.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

The gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move the Chairman be requested to seek consideration of the pending resolution on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. As many as are in favor signify in the usual manner; opposed no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Further proceedings on this measure are postponed.

H. CON. RES. 397—ABOUT SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Chairman GILMAN. We will now consider H. Con. Res. 397 relating to the situation in central Asia. The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 397, a resolution voicing concern about serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in most States of central Asia, including substantial noncompliance with their organization for security and cooperation in Europe commitments on democratization and the holding of free and fair elections."

[The concurrent resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. This resolution was introduced on September 12, 2000, referred to the Subcommittees on Asia and the Pacific and on International Operations and Human Rights. It was considered September 13 in the Asia Pacific Subcommittee, forwarded without amendment to the Full Committee. The Operations Subcommittee has waived consideration.

Without objection, the preamble text of the resolution will be read in that order for amendment.

The Clerk will read.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas the States of central Asia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open to amendment at any point. The measure was introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific. I now recognize the gentleman for 5 minutes to introduce the resolution to the Committee.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am an original cosponsor, but the primary author is, in fact, Mr. Smith, the gentleman from New Jersey.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the five independent States of Central Asia came into being: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The deserts, mountains, steppes, and river valleys in this region are home to 50 million people. State borders, which were imposed by Stalin, artificially partition and breed resentments among various large ethnic groups, principally Russians, Uzbeks, and Tajiks.

Since achieving their independence, the Central Asian Republics have operated with little or no international scrutiny. In effect, Central Asia has been relegated to an international policy backwater. However, given the geo-strategic significance of the region and given the region's vast wealth of natural resources, such an oversight is risky. We ignore the region at some peril.

Regrettably, the nations of Central Asia appear to be moving along the path of authoritarianism. In recent months, each of the five countries has conducted general elections. These elections varied in the degree of electoral freedom. However, in no case did any of the elections meet internationally-accepted norms. Indeed, most remain reminiscent of Soviet-style elections. There has been decertification of opposition parties and, in some cases, the apprehension of opposition leaders. The State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1999 concludes that the presidential power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan overshadows legislative and judicial power and that Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan have lost ground in democratization and respect for human rights. This continual decline is very disturbing and raises questions about the ability of the United States and other democracies to successfully encourage true democratic institutions and the rule of law.

In some ways, this is a difficult resolution. There are five countries in Central Asia. Each has unique characteristics. Some enjoy certain socioeconomic advantages over the others. Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan allow a relatively greater, but still very limited, degree of political participation. The ruler in Turkmenistan has developed cult of personalities so deep that he has changed his name so that he is, quite literally, the "Father of the Turkmen," Turkmen-bashi. Tajikistan has suffered from a severe civil war through the 1990's, but the common theme throughout central Asia is governmental abuse of basic human rights. Opposition leaders who appear to be gaining influence are dealt with in a decisive, antidemocratic manner, sometimes brutally.

Now it is certainly true that most, if not all, of these countries face armed insurgencies. There are all-powerful tribal warlords in Tajikistan. In Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, there are armed religious extremists. Indeed, as we meet, there are Taliban-backed insurgents fighting Uzbek military forces, and Islamic militants are decidedly antidemocratic. In Kazakhstan, there have been efforts by pro-Moscow elements to overthrow the government. It is entirely appropriate that the governments of the region deal with such threats. However, it is one thing to campaign against armed insurgents; it is quite another to use the insurgency as an excuse to suspend international law and to crack down on the legal political opposition. Unfortunately, in some instances, that is what has been done and is going on today.

H. Con. Res. 397 speaks to the very real abuses that have occurred in each of the Central Asian Republics and puts these nations on alert that the U.S. House of Representatives is deeply concerned about the ongoing abuses of power. The resolution urges the nations to come into compliance with their OSCE commitments and calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to raise human rights concerns when meeting with representatives of these governments, even more energetically than I assume they have been.

I congratulate the resolution's primary author, Mr. Smith, for introducing the resolution. The language he has crafted accurately reflects the serious democratic shortcomings throughout the region. I am pleased to be a cosponsor along with several other Members, and I appreciate the willingness of his staff to work with the Asia Pacific Subcommittee to craft a resolution that I think we can all energetically and emphatically support.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for H. Con. Res. 397. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment at the desk.

I will withhold.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much. I thank my friend for withholding momentarily.

Mr. Chairman, I introduced this resolution last October because of the serious concerns about the general trends in central Asia. Since then, we have held 3 hearings, one on Kazakhstan in 1999, Uzbekistan in 1999, and Turkmenistan in the year 2000. They were very comprehensive hearings. We heard from all sides. We heard from human rights advocates, we heard from a number of diplomats and, unfortunately, the trend is a very negative one. Since then, the situation has deteriorated even further from the date of the original introduction of the resolution. The updated and newly introduced resolution is H. Con. Res. 397, and I am grateful to my good friend, the Chairman of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee, for moving this resolution so that we can consider it in this timely fashion.

Throughout the region, Mr. Chairman, strongman regimes have emerged where presidents have contrived to control or co-opt the political systems and the sources of wealth. It is clear that these leaders intend to stay in power indefinitely, and are prepared to manipulate constitutions, elections, and legislative and judicial systems to do so. Their desire to remain in power requires repressive political systems so as to stifle criticism to prevent exposure of high-level corruption and to intimidate politicians and the public.

In the last year, the leaders of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan have made their privileges permanent. President Niyazov of Turkmenistan had himself coronated as "President for life" last December, and in June, Kazakhstan's President, Nazarbaev, arranged for parliament to grant him certain prerequisites and powers for life.

It is quite possible that some of these leaders plan to create family dynasties. Kyrgyzstan, for example, which used to be considered the most reformist Central Asian country, held scandalously flawed parliamentary elections in February and March, and President Akaev is now preparing to have himself reelected to his third term in October by excluding any serious challengers.

While the leaders and their families and supporters live in luxury, the great bulk of the population in these countries has suffered a devastating drop in living standards, and discontent is growing.

Radical elements in Central Asia, which may be linked to international terrorist centers, have called for overthrowing these regimes and introducing theocracies. These elements are currently mounting military campaigns against Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

While it is possible that nothing could have stopped or dissuaded the most radical and determined groups from pursuing this goal, the domestic policies of Central Asian leaders have aggravated the situation by depriving the public of an opportunity to express grievances or otherwise participate legally in the political process, or to enjoy a share of the pie.

While we reject and condemn any attempts to create or impose a political system by force, especially by elements that are anti-American, we cannot remain silent about the deeply harmful consequences of the domestic policies of Central Asian leaders which violate their OSCE commitments on democratization, human rights, and the rule of law. I hope that all Members will support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have an amendment at the desk that I think is agreeable to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment and the Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Gejdenson. After the 5th clause of the preamble, insert the following——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Gejdenson is recognized on the amendment.

Mr. GEJDENSON. The intention of the amendment is simply to point out that in Kazakhstan, there has been some progress. Obviously there is a long way to go in all of these countries. There is absolutely no historic tradition of democracy. It is a critical area in the world for us when we look at the surrounding countries in this region: Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, China, all touching this area. Obviously I applaud what the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Mr. Smith, has done here; it is an important statement. I just wanted to give a little bit of applause to Kazakhstan for beginning some process, but obviously all of these countries have a long way to go. I am happy to see this little bit of progress in Kazakhstan. I would offer the amendment at this time.

Chairman GILMAN. The amendment has been offered by Mr. Gejdenson. Is there any discussion? Mr. Bereuter.

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

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BEREUTER. I want to establish a little legislative record here, and I would hope to have the gentleman from Connecticut's attention on this issue.

Mr. GEJDENSON. The gentleman from Nebraska always has my attention.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you. I know that is the case.

I want to make sure that the amendment is not misinterpreted in Kazakhstan or by President Nazarbayev.

Unfortunately, no one from the opposition parties was a part of the process for organizing the roundtables or in setting the agenda of such roundtable. I think, in fact, the roundtable was conceived as a substitute to the national dialogue that is favored by the major opposition party and other groups. I think it is important that Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev not be allowed to twist this amendment and the approval thereof, which I hope to support, as a congressional endorsement for his very limited approach to discussions with the opposition——

Mr. GEJDENSON. If the gentleman will yield——

Mr. BEREUTER. I will yield in just a second. As a rejection favored by most of the opposition, I think we should not give any message whatsoever that we are giving an aura of legitimacy to a regime that has been corrupt and has dealt harshly and undemocratically with the opposition.

I think that a more comprehensive and high-level national dialogue, similar to ones held some years ago in Poland and South Africa, for example, are much better ways to proceed than is the roundtable that is proposed. I am hoping the gentleman may agree that we do not want to send a message that we are satisfied or that the oppositions' concerns are satisfied by the roundtable. I yield to the gentleman for any comments he might make in response.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I agree with the gentleman. I point to two areas in my amendment. One is at the end of the second "whereas" clause: "now should increase the input in those discussions by opposition parties, public organizations that favor a more comprehensive national dialogue." Additionally, in lines 3 and 4 I emphasize the need "to engage in a serious comprehensive national dialogue on an equal footing."

I think the gentleman is absolutely correct. My goal here was simply to say, they have taken a small step, which is important, but the gentleman is absolutely correct that there needs to be a lot more done. I guess what I am trying to say is once in a while you need a little bit of an "atta boy," but they have a long way to go. We need to make sure that they recognize that America is not going to be happy, that they are not going to get the kind of reception here that they hope to get until they have real democratic institutions, real respect for opposition, respect for a free press, independent parties. I agree with the gentleman completely.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you. Reclaiming my time for just a second, I want to say I appreciate the gentleman's words. The emphasis he

has given I think is appropriate, and I wanted that to be part of the hearing record here today.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, let me associate myself with the remarks of Mr. Bereuter. I think he very accurately described what I think all of our hope is in not conveying a misinterpretation of the intent of the gentleman from Connecticut's amendment. Kazakhstan, as we know, has participated in a series of roundtable discussions between the government and opposition and independent forces. The first roundtable took place in September, on September 2nd, and more are scheduled. The next one is expected in January.

The purpose of these talks is to come to an agreement about ways to eliminate the very severe defects in election legislation, which the OSCE and ODA criticized in the past and to improve the election process. It is very important to stress that the roundtable discussions must be genuine, they must be serious. As I think Members know, the opposition and independent forces have to be able to sit at that table and take a part in those on an equal basis. We do not want to, in any way, endorse a farce that is done for international consumption. We want these to be real and genuine, and I think that, Mr. Bereuter, in raising some of these concerns, has precluded the President from misapplying the intent of what we are trying to do here.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Any other Members seeking recognition? If there is no other Member seeking recognition, the amendment is now before the Committee. All in favor signify by saying aye; opposed; the amendment is agreed to.

I just I just want to state my strong support for the resolution. Along with our colleague from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, I have shared an interest to underline to the Congress and the American people the importance of the States of Central Asia and the future stability of all Eurasia and the future expansion of global energy.

I am going to ask that my full statement be made a part of the record. I think our Nation makes it clear that we expect and support true democracy and will not tie our policies in Central Asia to leaders bent on condemning their peoples to a future of repression, corruption and poverty. I support the amended resolution.

[The Chairman's statement appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. On the resolution, I recognize the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move the Chairman be requested to seek consideration of the pending resolution, as amended, on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. All those in favor say aye, opposed no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

S. 2682—REGARDING MAKING AVAILABLE CERTAIN MATERIALS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

Chairman GILMAN. A noncontroversial measure is next on the Voice of America. We will now consider S. 2682 relating to making

certain Voice of America materials available. The Chair lays the bill before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

Ms. BLOOMER. "S. 2682, to authorize the Broadcasting Board of Governors to make available to the Institute for Media Development certain materials of the Voice of America."

[The bill appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the bill is dispensed with.

The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, Section 1."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the bill is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

The bill was referred to the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, which has not acted on it.

I now recognize the gentlewoman from Georgia, Mrs. McKinney, to introduce the bill.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have a statement that I would like to submit for the record. I would just like to add that this is a noncontroversial bill that allows the Board of Governors of the Voice of America to enter into a contract with UCLA to digitize the analogue material and to allow access to the material to selected scholars for research.

This bill is not precedent-setting, inasmuch as it has been done before with the University of Pennsylvania.

This bill has been passed by the Senate, and I urge my colleagues to support it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney. Are any other Members seeking recognition?

If not, the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move the Chairman request and seek consideration of the pending bill on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. All those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye, those opposed, no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the Chairman is authorized to make motions under rule 22 relating to a conference on the bill. Further proceedings on the bill are postponed.

We will now recess and come back right after the last vote, and hopefully we will be able to wind up our agenda. There is a series of votes on the floor. The Committee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order. Members please take their seats.

S. 1453—THE SUDAN PEACE ACT

Chairman GILMAN. The Chair lays a bill before the Committee, Senate 1453, the Sudan Peace Act.

The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

Ms. BLOOMER. "S. 1453, an act to facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan."

[The bill appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the bill is dispensed with.

This bill was considered by the Subcommittee on Africa and by the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. The Subcommittees recommended amendments. Without objection, the Subcommittee recommendation in the nature of a substitute which is before the Members and marked Committee Print will be considered as the base text for the purpose of amendment. The Clerk will read the Subcommittee amendment for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Committee print. Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following: Section 1, short title."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Subcommittee recommendation is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

[The Subcommittee print of S. 1453 appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. I now recognize the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, for 5 minutes to introduce the bill.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the government of Sudan's genocidal religious war against the non-Muslim peoples of southern Sudan have turned the south into, in the words of one Sudanese priest, "the hell of the earth." Enslavement, calculated starvation, forced conversion, and the bombardment of civilian targets, such as schools, churches, and hospitals, are still methods of terror favored by the National Islamic Front government.

Unfortunately, Khartoum has also begun generating the revenue it needs to extend its self-described jihad by developing Sudanese oil resources. S. 1453, the Sudan Peace Act, is an important first step toward addressing the crisis in that war-torn region. Among other things, the bill condemns slavery and other human rights violations perpetrated by the Khartoum regime. I would note parenthetically that we held the first hearing on slavery in the Sudan in my Subcommittee, Mr. Chairman, back some 4½ or so years ago. We have had a number of followup meetings to that. We had actual survivors of slavery who testified, who talked about the gross indignities that they suffered as a result of slavery. Slavery in the year 2000 continues to exist. This resolution condemns it.

It expresses support for the IGAD-sponsored peace process. It expresses a sense of Congress on several objectives relating to improvement of relief services to the south of Sudan. It authorizes an additional $16 million for rehabilitation assistance to areas of Sudan not controlled by the government in the north, and it requires the President to report to Congress on several aspects of the conflict as well as options available to the United States for providing nonlethal assistance to members of the National Democratic Alliance.

These are all very good things, Mr. Chairman, but the horrors of Sudan, which have already claimed more than 2 million lives, demand more than expressions of concern and new reporting requirements. They require concrete action.

For this reason, at our markup, the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights reinstated portions of sanctions-related language that was present in both the House and the Senate—introduced versions of the Act. Unless the President can certify that Khartoum has made significant progress toward peace and respect for human rights, the restored language would impose certain trade and financial sanctions intended to keep the government of Sudan from raising funds in the U.S. capital markets. The robust U.S. economy should not be used to underwrite this ongoing genocide.

I urge Members to support the bill. I know there will be some amendments, but I do hope that in its current form, Members will support it.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Menendez, for general debate.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to start from the outset saying that I fully support this bill and all that it tries to do, and if I could have signed my name on to it as a cosponsor, I would have. Since it is a Senate bill, I can only commend the authors and the original cosponsors in the Senate, Senators Frist, Feingold, Brownback and Joe Lieberman.

I am a cosponsor of a similar bill in the House, H.R. 2906, sponsored by Congressman Watts, Frank Wolf, who has done much to expose the barbarities of the Sudanese government; Ed Markey and, on this Committee, Mr. Tancredo, Mr. Payne, Ms. McKinney and Mr. Smith, all who have worked tirelessly on this issue.

Mr. Chairman, I abhor the Sudanese slave trade and the Khartoum regime that perpetrates it as much as anyone in Congress. Even before the current sanctions were imposed on the Sudanese government, I am on the record as the former Ranking Member of the Africa Subcommittee as being critical of Sudan's despicable human rights abuses and its perpetuation of the country's brutal Civil War. The list of wholly condemnable practices then, as now, includes the abduction of children and the use of selective starvation as a weapon of war.

This bill makes a case for sanctions against the Sudanese government. It makes clear that those sanctions will continue until the regime in Khartoum changes its ways.

What I hope it will work toward, Mr. Chairman, however, is full enforcement, not a fig leaf. If, for example, you allow gum arabic to come into the United States through the Europeans instead of directly, all you do is give the Sudanese higher prices and more money and, therefore, undermine the very nature of the sanctions you seek to create. That should not stand.

I will have two amendments aimed at strengthening the bill by broadening sanctions provisions and calling on the United States Government to do everything possible to bring Sudan's trading partners, which are our allies in Europe, into line on the sanctions.

I thank you for the opportunity, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Menendez.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Africa Subcommittee marked this legislation up in July. I am glad to see that the Full Committee is paving the way for this

bill to come on to the House floor. Let me say you have all heard the arguments about the full measure of the tragedy we are dealing with here, and I would hope that the Members of this Committee would all support the legislation. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Are any other Members seeking time?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. At the right moment, I would have an amendment, but this is general debate I assume, so I am happy to wait until later.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I too want to commend the Chairman for bringing this up, and the Chairmen of the Subcommittees for their work on this particular issue.

As has been noted, it is one that has come before this Committee several times in the past, and I am pleased that it has finally developed into this particular piece of legislation that includes the issue of sanctions. We have been told, and we were told in the Subcommittees, that we should shy away from that, because it may cause the bill to be reconsidered and have to go back to the Senate. That argument, of course, I think is much less important in light of the fact that we know that the Sudanese government is making use of the economic forces—the economic resources available to them for the most nefarious of purposes; and that recently, as a matter of fact, the World Net Daily learned that the African Nation of Sudan has acquired 34 new jet fighters from China, doubling the size of the country's Air Force, further escalating the Muslim government's war against Christians in southern Sudan.

Records show the Sudan Air Force is now equipped with $100 million worth of brand new Shangyen jet fighters built in China. A recent U.N. Report accused the Sudan government of using an airfield built with Chinese assistance to bomb schools and hospitals in its war against the south.

Every increase in available resources to the northern government—to the government of Sudan and Khartoum—is used to propagate their war against the south. That is why sanctions are so important. Without sanctions, this bill is truly just a resolution, not a bill.

I noted with interest that not too long ago, the Government of the United States, the State Department, and the President of the United States, threatened economic sanctions against the Nation of Peru, and they did so because they were concerned about the electoral process and whether there was validity in their electoral process, whether the election for President was being carried out accurately. The fact is that if we can threaten sanctions against Peru, for heaven's sake, because of their electoral process, why fear using this particular mechanism against a government who has propagated far more heinous crimes against its population than any other in the region or around the world in recent history.

So it is a bogus idea, I think, to suggest that this is not an appropriate measure for us to take. I recognize we may be debating this further as this bill goes along, the idea of sanctions, but I just wanted to say on the front end that I think it is an enormously im-

portant part of the bill. Without it, we really don't have anything more than the kind of thing we have had in front of us time after time after time and that is rhetoric. They should do it. We hope they will do it. But, in fact, this gives them consequences for not moving in the direction of peace.

So I sincerely hope that the Committee will support the bill in its entirety and that we will not change it, not water it down. I commend it to my colleagues for their approval.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Tancredo. Is any other Member seeking recognition?

I support this measure, which passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously in November of last year.

Sudan has been independent for some 44 years. For 34 of those years, it has been engaged in civil war. Entire generations of Sudanese in both the north and south have grown up with war as a regular fact of life. Several national governments, military and civilian, have come and gone. Some, like the current regime, have been militant Islamists. Others have been moderate, the historical norm for Islam in Sudan. All, however, have attempted, without much success, to subdue the rebellious south with military force.

The cost in human life has been enormous; about 2 million dead in the past 17 years. Two million have perished. There is no way to estimate the death toll of the first 17 years of the war, from 1956 to 1973.

Last year, high level State Department and National Security Council officials asked Members of Congress to remove restrictions in the law that would prevent food aid from going to the rebel forces. We did so in the mistaken belief that they had decided upon a course of action and were planning to do something with that authorization.

But as soon as some NGOs and other officials within their own Administration publicly criticized the action, the Administration turned tail and ducked for cover. Current State Department guidance reads as follows, and I quote: "The Administration has not made a decision to use previous authorization to provide direct food aid to Sudan's opposition forces, but the issue remains under review."

It is now going on a year that this has been under review. Perhaps the Administration should be reminded that time is running out. Their indecision has had real consequences and they have managed to achieve the worst of all worlds.

The militant government in Khartoum spreads the word that the U.S. is actively supporting the rebels, and this mobilizes real support from its extremist allies in the Arab world. Meanwhile, the rebels actually receive nothing but rhetoric from our Nation. Although the State Department says it supports this bill in large measure, it bristles at reporting requirements that it describes as onerous. It objects to anything that might restrict the Administration's exercise of its authority with respect to economic sanctions. They have been arguing—the argument is not to tie the President's hands. These arguments would be more persuasive if the Administration could point to a consistent and effective policy of measures of its own during its 8-year tenure. Indeed, we would be less willing to tie the Administration's hands if it were not so painfully ob-

vious that at least on Sudan policy, one hand often has not known what the other was doing. Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an amendment at the desk, number 34.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment, and the Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Menendez, page 11, after line 15, insert the following: (D), The importation to the United States of gum arabic, in raw or processed form——"

Chairman GILMAN. The amendment is considered as having been read.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

Chairman GILMAN. A point of order is reserved.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My purpose in offering this amendment, which is one small paragraph but I think very powerful in terms of what we are trying to accomplish, is that one of the products that Sudan produces, not its major one, but one of the major ones, gum arabic, which is needed here in the United States. If we are going to cut it off, and I am willing to support such a sanction, it should be in its totality, which means that whether it be in raw or processed form, if it is originating from the Sudan, whether imported directly from Sudan or from a third country, we are going to say no.

If we do not do that, then all we are accomplishing in this one instance is having the Sudanese make more money because the Europeans are cornering the market, they are making more money; we are not hurting them, and we are still going to get a gum arabic product into the United States and pay higher prices for it and shut down companies that import directly.

So I think most of us here today agree that sanctions against the Sudanese government are the right thing to do. I have supported and will support them. However, our European allies do not agree. Their policy of engagement and continued unfettered trade with Sudan is both undermining our policy and hurting American companies. This is particularly true with regard to one product, gum arabic, which is not Sudan's largest export, but it is an important one.

Their ability to sell gum arabic to the world has not been stopped by our sanction. In fact, a top State Department official in testimony to the Congress more than a year ago said, "Economically, the Sudanese regime has not been adversely affected at all by the U.S. ban. Sudan is exporting more gum arabic than ever before. American gum arabic refiners, on the other hand, may soon be forced to shut down, and American companies that use refined gum arabic could wind up paying higher prices to overseas competitors who are acquiring a monopoly on this necessary substance."

Unfortunately, his prophecy is now fact.

So the Sudanese are making more money, the Europeans are making more money, and American companies are being unfairly hurt.

Now, we all know that sanctions are going to hurt U.S. firms. There are some in my own district. I stand ready to have them face the consequences. But, if we are going to hurt them, let's at least be sure we are achieving our goals at the same time. Our goal is to hurt the Sudanese regime economically so that these killers and slave traders are forced to change. We will not do that if we allow them an open door to bring their product in through the Europeans, most particularly the French, who seem to be unwilling to work with us in order to achieve it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Menendez. Does anyone wish to be heard?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Smith, just so I understand exactly what is going on here, in the past it has been my understanding that the gentleman from New Jersey, my good friend, Mr. Menendez, while he was supportive of overall sanctions was actually in favor of carving out a protection for gum arabic, a position which I did not like, but unfortunately it is the position that prevailed.

But it is my understanding that if this amendment were to be added to this bill, there would be a referral made or a demand for a referral by the Ways and Means Committee, which would make this legislation a dead letter. It would not be reported out of the Ways and Means Committee. We would be talking about, like I said, a piece of legislation that would be dead as a door nail.

So I will insist on my point of order and obviously leave it up to the Chair, but it seems to me that the double-edged sword here is that this would be a killer amendment for the entirety of this legislation, because of the Ways and Means Committee. We all know that the Ways and Means Committee would be the final repository of what otherwise would be a good bill. We have carefully crafted the sanctions language in this. I give high marks to my Chief Counsel, Grover Joseph Rees, who wrote it in such a way that would preclude a referral to the Ways and Means Committee. I am absolutely transparent about that. We didn't want it to go there for one simple solitary reason: it would be a dead letter. This amendment makes the bill a dead letter.

Chairman GILMAN. If the gentleman will withhold his point of order, I think there is some other discussion.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, it is my time or the gentleman's time?

If it is on my time, my point, and I do not intend to insist on the amendment; but my point, however, is to say let's be honest and not hypocritical. The fact of the matter is, if we want to hurt the Sudanese, what we must do is shut down the avenue of any product that we seek to sanction from coming to the United States. Otherwise, all we do is give the Sudanese a greater market price, the Europeans are paying top euro for them because they want to corner the market; so we give the Sudanese more money and, therefore, allow them to have more resources to conduct the type of activity they have been conducting. That is not something we want to do.

I am going to seek to withdraw, but I wanted to make the point to my colleague from New Jersey that I support what he wants to

do and I don't want it to be referred anywhere else. But I hope we will work toward, if we are going to make this meaningful, locking down sanctions that ensure that we, in fact, don't just have American companies get hurt and end up giving the Sudanese more money at the end of the day.

Mr. SMITH. I thank the gentleman for that explanation. I don't think the word "hypocritical" would apply, though, because I and Mr. Tancredo, Mr. Royce, and so many others, have tried very hard to be as expansive as humanly possible in applying the sanctions. Many of our efforts were joint hearings with my good friend, Mr. Royce. We held the landmark hearings on the forgotten war against the 2 million people who so far have perished under unspeakable conditions. "Crimes Against Humanity in the Sudan," was the title of our hearing on May 27 of 1999. As I said, we had the first hearing ever that was held on that issue——

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, reclaiming my time, my point is, when I say "hypocritical," I am saying our policy, not my colleagues here.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I appreciate that.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Our policy, that if we are going to have sanctions, and I have had this policy worldwide, if we are going to have sanctions, the way to ensure it is that we don't provide open doors that ultimately allow back room entrances, so we can say that we are doing something, but in reality we are doing very little to effect a sanction in a way in which we want.

I know that my colleagues who have pursued this are very sincere in their effort. I am talking about governmentally, ultimately in the Administration's policy, if we are not going to close down all access of this or any other product from the Sudan, then ultimately, we are not being true to our ultimate goal, and that is the context in which I meant it. I thank the gentleman.

Chairman GILMAN. Does the gentleman seek to withdraw?

Mr. MENENDEZ. I seek to withdraw, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's amendment is withdrawn. Mr. Menendez, do you have an additional amendment?

Mr. MENENDEZ. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman. I have two amendments, 35 and 36, which I would ask unanimous consent to offer en bloc.

Chairman GILMAN. Two amendments offered en bloc by Mr. Menendez.

The Clerk will read the amendments.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendments offered by Mr. Menendez. Page 2, after line 5, insert the following: And redesignate subsequent paragraphs accordingly."

[The amendments, offered en bloc, appear in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendments are considered as having been read.

Mr. Menendez is recognized for 5 minutes on this amendment.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the merger of these two amendments basically goes toward an expansion of language which I think is appropriate. It speaks, as I have already made the case that if sanctions against the regime are going to be effective, we must convince our trading partners to join us in attempts to hurt Sudan economically. Unfortunately, our European allies today have not been cooperative. This

has meant that the sanctions have not hurt Sudan, but have hurt American companies and their employees, while European firms are reaping the benefit. Sudan is making more money than ever before on gum arabic, for example, as the Europeans are willing to pay top euro for the product in the hope that they can corner the market. They are cornering the market right now, buying all the stocks of gum arabic and selling to American firms who rely on it through European companies.

Until we secure European cooperation on the sanctions, U.S. companies will bear an unfair burden and the Sudanese despots won't be persuaded in the least to change their ways. Those of us around the world who are disgusted by any forms of slavery in this day and age, as in any day and age, must work together politically and economically to send a message to the Sudanese government.

So what we seek to do in this amendment is to strengthen by recognizing the refusal of those countries specifically that do not seek to join us but are, nonetheless, purchasing from the Sudanese and giving them higher prices, ensuring that we use any and all unilateral and multilateral economic and diplomatic tools to compel Sudan's trading partners to join us in this effort, and also to ensure that all of the other entities are engaged. I have taken out as well those references that would have created a referral; so to my colleague from New Jersey who has legitimate concerns about that, we took those references out to ensure that it wouldn't produce a referral to another Committee, but in essence, to strengthen our call for unilateral sanctions.

Lastly, to suggest as a sense of the Congress that if we can close down all of the efforts to have any Sudanese imports come into the United States, either directly or indirectly through third countries, that we should seek to provide some relief to those companies, in whole or in part, who are affected. This falls in line also with our views on some of the trade sanctions we have had with reference to banana and hormone beef; and saying small businesses should not be the focus of those trade sanctions, we should give relief to those small businesses.

I urge adoption of the amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. Any Members seeking recognition?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, we are on both amendments at the same time, just in terms of parliamentary procedure?

Chairman GILMAN. They are en bloc.

Mr. SMITH. I would hope the sense of the Congress might be separated, just because I have some questions about how much money we are indeed talking about and to whom the money would go. Are we talking about Coca Cola, a large, multinational, rather cash-rich corporation, who would be compensated? I am just not sure who he is talking about, so if the gentleman could explain that.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I would be happy to explain that to the gentleman if he will yield.

Current sanctions only deal with the refiners, so I think there are only two companies, small companies in the whole United States that import and refine gum arabic, and those are the only people to whom the sanctions apply, and those are the only people who, in fact, I am talking about.

Mr. SMITH. And about how much would we be talking about?

Mr. MENENDEZ. I can't quantify for the gentleman that amount, but I would be happy to try to get that information. I would just say to the gentleman, there are about 150 to 200 employees in two very small companies that are the only ones that I know of in the entire country that import this, and they are the only ones affected by the sanctions.

Of course, the sense of the Congress doesn't say we are going to do that, it just says we should look toward the possibility that if we can enforce such sanctions successfully, that we should look at giving some relief. The gentleman would find legislation that I have offered with many other Members of the House to give such relief to other small companies in similar circumstances where, in the context of trade disputes, we are affecting those small companies.

Chairman GILMAN. Is there any other Member seeking recognition?

Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you.

As you know, this has been an ongoing debate for some time. I certainly appreciate my colleague from New Jersey having concerns, as he ought to, regarding businesses in his district which are affected, and I can understand the legislation that he is introducing. However, I think that somewhat of a precedent may be set by us attempting to hold harmless, although very small businesses, the businesses that are involved. You know, this question of gum arabic has been debated now for several years, 5 or 6. I know myself, because I attempted to have previous legislation passed to have sanctions on gum arabic.

The thing that I find difficult to understand is that if a product is necessary for the final conclusion or the final making of some other product, then it would appear to me that a responsible company would look for alternatives, alternative places that this particular product could be grown, knowing there is a certain amount of time that it takes before the fruits can bear and become productive. But we have been discussing this question of gum arabic for some time now.

I don't blame the refineries or the companies that are in the business of converting this into whatever the substance that is necessary for candy and sodas and all of the rest; but it seems to me that those large companies, multinational corporations who must depend on gum arabic, would at least have had some foresight to say well, let's move to Nigeria or let's go to Ethiopia, let's grow it in Eritria. I mentioned that 3 or 4 years ago.

Certainly, if you have a supply and you have everything in place, it is a lot easier simply to continue to draw from that place that you are drawing from.

So it appears to me that the corporations that depend on gum arabic have not taken initiatives to try to prevent the eventuality that perhaps sanctions will be brought upon a country like Sudan. For those reasons, I have very little sympathy because it is not something that has come out of the blue; it is something that we have talked about; we have urged them to look at other sites, we have suggested that they find the topography that is similar to that in the Sudan where this product is grown, and that they, as any

progressive company would be forward-thinking, would then move and start that product in that area.

So I just have a concern about precedent-setting. In the past, as a matter of fact, with South African sanctions, there were many South Africans who were hurt and they said they supported the sanctions anyway because they knew it was the right thing to do.

So I do certainly appreciate not offering the other amendment would have sent it to the Ways and Means Committee, which would have definitely killed any kind of sanctions. But in due respect, I cannot support these amendments.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Are any other Members seeking recognition? If not, the question is on the amendments en bloc. All in favor signify in the usual manner. Opposed, no.

The ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would ask for a recorded vote.

Chairman GILMAN. A show of hands, would that be acceptable?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Chairman GILMAN. All in favor of the amendment signify by a show of hands; opposed.

Chairman GILMAN. The amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I have two amendments at the desk. One is very quick. The shorter one to strike section 5 B. I discussed it with the author.

Chairman GILMAN. Are they en bloc or separate amendments?

Mr. CAMPBELL. They are separate, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendments.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Campbell, pages 7, 8, strike section 5b, renumber all succeeding sections."

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Campbell is recognized on his amendment for 5 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, 5b refers to the IGAD process as the only one the United States ought to be pursuing. That is a dated reference. Since the time that was drafted, there have been prospects of alternative routes that are positive, not involving Libya. I understand that that was a concern. I understand there has been some progress in Asmira; there has been some progress in some other opportunities perhaps involving Egypt.

So I am asking that we drop five, which says that it is the sense of Congress that the best route is through the IGAD process in Nairobi and that the President should not create any process or diplomatic facility or office which could be viewed as a parallel or competing diplomatic track, because it may not be in the best interests of peace and settlement that we solely support IGAD. I leave in 5a and C, having consulted with Chairman Smith, because I don't wish to say there is anything wrong with IGAD, it just shouldn't be exclusive.

I yield to my friend from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. I thank my friend for giving us advance notice about his intentions and for narrowing it to just section B. Because IGAD is certainly one viable route, but as he has pointed out, events have

overtaken the text of the resolution. So I think it is a very timely deletion from the underlying resolution, and I thank him for it.

Mr. BEREUTER. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I yield.

Mr. BEREUTER. I just wonder if you could tell me if the Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee has had a chance to see this and has an opinion about it?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have expressed it to him and I am confident that he will support it, but I cannot put words in his mouth.

Mr. BEREUTER. Is the gentleman in the anteroom?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee on the question of my amendment where I am attempting to strike the reference to IGAD as the only peace process to be followed.

Mr. ROYCE. I am in concurrence. As originally marked up in our Subcommittee, we did not have that narrowly constricted language, and I agree with the gentleman from California.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Are any other Members seeking recognition on the Campbell amendment?

Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes. I will note and support that. Of course perhaps IGAD was put in because currently IGAD is the only official organization that was dealing, specifically over the last 3 or 4 years, with the process of attempting to come up with a solution. But I would accept the amendment of the gentleman from California.

Chairman GILMAN. Is any other Member seeking recognition?

If not, the question is on the amendment. All in favor signify in the usual manner, opposed. The amendment is agreed to.

I recognize Mr. Campbell on his second amendment.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I have one other amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will distribute the amendment, and the Clerk will read the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment to S. 1453 offered by Mr. Campbell. Strike all and insert the following:"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Campbell is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, in respect of the hour and the fact that so many have already heard the debate here, I will just summarize in less than I think a minute.

This simply goes back to the Senate version, and the reason why is that only the Senate version has a chance of passage, because we will not have time for a conference in this Congress. So if we are interested in having a bill pass, only the Senate version will.

Good people disagree. I heard my good friend from Colorado's point of view earlier. The difference, of course, is with sanctions. The Senate version does not involve sanctions.

I have expressed my concern in the Subcommittee as to the effectiveness of sanctions in general and in this case specifically, but I leave the fundamental argument simply as this: If you wish a resolution to pass out of the Congress, then we really don't have much

choice this year except to adopt the Senate language, which is what this amendment does. It is not my intention, Mr. Chairman, to call for a rollcall on this. With that, I yield back.

Chairman GILMAN. Is any other Member seeking recognition?

If not, all in favor of the Campbell amendment signify by saying aye; opposed, no.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, if you would yield, I was really trying to get your attention and wanted to say that if we go back to the Senate language in which the sanctions were gutted and taken out, then for all intents and purposes, we have a very diluted bill. I mean, that was why I even opposed my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Menendez, who I think perhaps was disturbed. But then if I knew that this was going to be the case, I wouldn't have been silent with my good friend.

So this simply gives us a bill with no sanctions. I can understand maybe the difficulty of getting the bill through, but I don't know where this leads us at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Just for the record, I offered the amendment to reinsert these sanctions during a markup in the Subcommittee on International Operations. I think it is absolutely vital that we stand in this case shoulder to shoulder with the Administration, suggesting that there is going to be absolutely no diminution of our resolve. The peace sanctions are necessary. Sanctions never work in a day, but we have a genocide going on, as you know, and have spoken out so eloquently about. We need to state clearly and unambiguously our support for this. I would hope that Members would vote down the amendment of my good friend, Mr. Campbell, well intentioned though he always is.

Mr. TANCREDO. Will the gentleman yield? Taking the sanctions out of this bill is providing false hope, which is worse than doing nothing at all. We have done that to the Sudanese time after time after time. Do not pretend that something has happened if we pass a piece of legislation without the teeth of sanctions, because we all know it will be status quo. That is worse than this government taking no action. It is worse to create false hope. And I certainly oppose the amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. The Chair is in doubt on the rollcall, on the last vote on the amendment. Can we have a vote by a show of hands? All in favor of the amendment signify by a show of hands. Please raise your hands. All opposed please raise your hands.

The noes have it..

The Chair will entertain a motion by the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. If there are no further amendments, then I move that the Chairman request to seek consideration of the pending measure on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska.

Those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye, those opposed, say no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the Chair or his designee is authorized to make motions under rule 22 with respect to a conference on the bill, the counterpart for the Senate.

I understand we have one vote on the floor, which will be the last vote of the day. Please return and we will try to conclude our agenda as rapidly as possible. The Committee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman GILMAN. The Committee will come to order.

H. CON. RES. 414—RELATING TO REESTABLISHMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

Chairman GILMAN. While we are waiting for Members to return, we will take up one of our quicker resolutions. We will now consider H. Con. Res. 411, which is now renumbered H. Con. Res. 414, relating to Afghanistan. The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution and distribute the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 414, a resolution relating to the reestablishment of representative government in Afghanistan."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the resolution will be dispensed with.

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble text of the resolution in that order for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas Afghanistan has existed as a sovereign nation since 1747, maintaining its independence, neutrality and dignity."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Campbell, the sponsor of the resolution, to introduce it to the Committee. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, thank you so much for your accommodation. The bill is sponsored by myself and Members of this Committee, including Mr. Lantos, Mr. Rohrabacher, Mr. Royce, Mr. Bereuter.

It simply calls to attention the efforts by the former king of Afghanistan to convene an emergency Loya Jirgah, which is a traditional Afghanistan assembly for the sake of possibly adding to the resolution of the war and difficulties in that country. The Administration has informed me of their support, and I read Mr. Inderferth's testimony before our Committee to say we are encouraged by the efforts of the Afghans around the world to contribute to the search for peace in group meetings in Rome, Cypress, Bonn and elsewhere. Many advocate the convening of a Loya Jirgah or grand council of Afghan leaders to forge a new national accord.

There is nothing further in that resolution, and I urge its support.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Campbell. Any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I want to speak in support of it. There is much that can be said about the terrible situation in Afghanistan. I think all of my colleagues are generally or very specifi-

cally aware of it. But the terrorism that is generated from that country and the haven for terrorists that it has become, including Osama bin Ladin, certainly should catch our attention.

A number of Afghans around the world have looked to Afghanistan's history, and they seek the king to convene the grand council or the Loya Jirgah. This is a forum whereby leaders from around Afghanistan would be allowed to air their views and resolve their differences.

I don't know whether this effort is going to succeed. The odds are against it. Secretary Inderfurth has spoken, as mentioned by Mr. Campbell, in support of it. The Administration supports it. I am pleased to be cosponsoring this initiative by our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from California. I think it is worth trying. I am pleased about the initiative, and I commend the gentleman for pursuing this effort.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

Are any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. Before that, let me speak on the general debate.

I want to commend Mr. Campbell for crafting this important initiative, and I strongly endorse H. Con. Res. 414, legislation expressing the sense of Congress that the United States supports the former Afghan king Mohammed Zahir Shah's initiative to convene an emergency Loya Jirgha or Grand Assembly to establish a democratic government in Afghanistan. I also want to praise Congressman Rohrabacher, the gentleman from California, for his expertise regarding Afghanistan and the Loya Jirgah process.

During times of Afghan national crises, it is traditional to hold a Grand Assembly to democratically consider means and methods to tackle significant problems. The power behind the Loya Jirgah is its assurance that all groups within Afghanistan will be equally represented in an historic effort to resolve the crises at hand. Our nation should be actively supporting that effort in every way possible.

The Taliban, which currently rules over much of Afghanistan, has turned that nation into a major worldwide supplier of heroin. It also exports terrorism and religious extremism.

As the Taliban has extended its hold over Afghanistan, it has grown increasingly extremist and anti-Western, its leaders proclaiming that virtually every aspect of western culture violates their version of Islam.

In addition to restrictions against women, such as barring them from holding jobs or traveling unaccompanied by a male relative, ancient and cruel forms of punishment, such as stoning, have been revived. There are reports of massive ethnic killings and starvation.

The evolution of the Taliban bears a fearsome resemblance to the murderously fanatical and purist Pol Pot regime in Cambodia.

The Taliban also continues to give refuge to Osama bin Ladin, the Saudi terrorist who plots against American citizens.

Distressingly, Taliban leaders who have made narcotics the economic base of their regime view the drug trade itself as a potential weapon. Views of the West and many pro-Western countries by the

Muslim world as being corrupt, the Taliban have no compunction about trafficking in narcotics.

Our government must get firmly behind the Grand Assembly process so that Afghanistan can begin again to play a constructive role in the world and the Afghan people can once again live in peace.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues on the Committee to support H. Con. Res. 414.

Is any Member seeking recognition? Mr. Rohrabacher, for an amendment.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment, and the Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Rohrabacher, on page 2, in the Resolved section, replace Clause (1) with: (1) supports democratic efforts that respect the human and political rights of all——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Rohrabacher is recognized for 5 minutes on the amendment.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. This amendment does not in any way alter the fundamental purpose of Mr. Campbell's bill. In fact, Mr. Campbell, I think I can say supports the changes. It does nothing but strengthen them, and what, in essence, the changes this amendment would bring about actually add just the concept that the Loya Jirgah is not an end in itself. The Loya Jirgah would lead to a democratic process that would permit the people of Afghanistan eventually to determine their own destiny through a free and democratic electoral process. This is what, in the end, will actually change the situation in Afghanistan. The king, and I know the king very well—I have met him on many occasions—is not seeking a Loya Jirgah in order to reestablish monarchy in Afghanistan. If that were the case, I am sure Mr. Campbell, being a Republican and not a monarchist, would not be supporting this bill. But the fact is the king agrees that the Loya Jirgah should be the process in which a transition government is established, which will then lead to a democratic process of elections in Afghanistan.

One last thought, Mr. Chairman, and that is, I am sorry to have to assert this, and I will assert this on the floor of the House as well. I am sorry, but I have made it my life to know what is going on in Afghanistan, and after years of trying to talk to this Administration about our policy, as an honest person and one with some expertise in this area, I have to tell you that I have concluded that this government of ours, that this Administration, has been covertly supporting the Taliban for years. I make that charge not with glee, but with, just with sadness in my heart.

After 2½ years of trying to get documents from the State Department, and 2 years after the Secretary of State promised us personally in this room to have the documentation of the fundamentals of American policy toward Afghanistan made available to us, those documents have still not been made available to us, 2 years after

she made the commitment, 2½ years after us trying to assert our rightful claim to have an oversight authority in this area. This, plus many other things, especially the Taliban offensives that have accompanied Mr. Inderfurth's trips to south Asia and to that area of the world and the advances that have been made by the Taliban after each and every trip Mr. Inderfurth made to Pakistan, leads me to conclude that this Administration has been supporting this despicable, antiwoman, antihuman regime that harbors terrorism and is again involved with drugs and repression.

This amendment today, Mr. Campbell's underlying bill and this amendment, put us on record as taking the higher road and that Congress believes that the people of Afghanistan have a right to control their destiny through free elections and need some peace in this world after 20 years of turmoil. Thank you very much.

Chairman GILMAN. Are there any other Members seeking recognition?

If not, the consideration before us is the Rohrabacher amendment. All in favor signify in the usual manner by saying aye; opposed, no.

The amendment is agreed to.

Are there any other further amendments?

If there are no further amendments, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

Without objection, the gentleman from Nebraska is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move the Chair may request and seek consideration of the pending measure, as amended, on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. All those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; those opposed say no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to. Further proceedings on this matter are postponed.

We will now take up another measure out of order at the request of Mr. Smith, who has to leave.

H. CON. RES. 382—CALLING ON AZERBAIJAN TO HOLD FREE AND FAIR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Chairman GILMAN. We will now take up H. Con. Res. 382, calling on the government of Azerbaijan to hold free and fair parliamentary elections in November 2000.

The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 382, a resolution calling on the government of Azerbaijan to hold free and fair parliamentary elections in November 2000."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the resolution will be dispensed with.

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble and text of the resolution in that order for that amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas Azerbaijan has been a participating state——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize Mr. Smith, the gentleman from New Jersey, to introduce it to the Committee. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I do have an amendment at the desk in the nature of a substitute.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment. The Clerk will the read the amendment. The Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "An Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Smith. Strike the preamble and insert the following:"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

[The substitute amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Smith is recognized on his amendment.

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

This amendment in the nature of a substitute is being offered for one reason: to urge the government of Azerbaijan to hold free and fair parliamentary elections on November 5th, less than 5 weeks away.

President Aliev has often pledged to hold free and fair elections, but Azerbaijan's record is poor. In fact, the Helsinki Commission, which I chair, conducted a hearing on May 25 concerning the upcoming elections, and the progress, or more accurately stated, the lack of progress in building a democratic environment, and the violation of human rights in Azerbaijan.

The three elections, Mr. Chairman, that have been held since 1995 have not met OSCE standards. These flawed elections have deepened the distrust between the government and the opposition, undermining prospects for establishing democratic institutions and resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and promoting peaceful, predictable transfers of power.

The parliamentary elections due to be held next week offer the opportunity to demonstrate the Azerbaijani government's commitment to democracy and to overcome tension between the government and the opposition and within Azerbaijani society. Unfortunately, Azerbaijan has refused to incorporate substantive suggestions made by the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights into its election law, which do not correspond to the OSCE standards. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, when we held this hearing on the upcoming elections, many of us were cautiously optimistic that there might be some progress. Regrettably, that progress has failed to materialize.

Azerbaijan's Central Election Commission has recently excluded several parties, including major opposition parties, claiming signatures were falsified or otherwise invalid. This claim is based on the same flawed methodology employed in the 1995 parliamentary election. The OSCE and the U.S. Government have criticized the exclusion of these parties and repeatedly has called upon Azerbaijan to bring its election law into correspondence with internationally recognized OSCE norms. The exclusion of major opposition parties will clearly undermine confidence in the election results in Azerbaijan and the international community, and threatens to continue the pattern of flawed elections in Azerbaijan.

This resolution again calls on the government and the parliament of Azerbaijan to bring its legislative framework up to the OSCE standards, not to exclude opposition parties on the basis of flawed methodologies without giving them a chance to prove the veracity of their signatures and to create an environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections.

Mr. Chairman, the Helsinki Commission will hold additional hearings. This hearing that we held, as I mentioned earlier, had a varied cross-section of panelists, including Ambassador Daniel Fried, who represented the Administration very ably; Clifford Bond; and we even had the Azerbaijani Ambassador, Ambassador Pashayev, who gave the government's point of view; and then we heard from several of the opposition party spokesmen who gave us, again, some very, very compelling testimony.

So I do hope that the Committee will pass this resolution so that they know exactly where we are coming from in our hopes that there will be a free and fair election.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Are any other Members seeking recognition on this resolution?

If not, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The United States has a growing relationship with the Republic of Azerbaijan, one of the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. That relationship obviously has a great deal to do with Azerbaijan's geopolitical position, given its location between Russia, Iran and Turkey, and also has much to do with its potentially huge energy reserves.

But that relationship also has to focus on the expansion of a truly democratic government with Azerbaijan if it is to prove enduring and if it is in the benefit of the Azeri people over the long term.

Much has been accomplished over the past 9 years in building a new independent state in Azerbaijan.

This resolution introduced by my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, points out those things that the Azeri leadership has recently done that conflict with the need to move toward truly democratic government, and points out the steps it needs to take to get back on the real road to democracy.

The parliamentary elections to be held in Azerbaijan next month are an important milestone on the road to democracy in that country. I support the passage of this resolution, making it clear that our Nation expects the Azeri leadership to ensure that they are truly free and fair.

I ask that my full statement be made a part of the record.

[The prepared statement appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Is there any other Member seeking recognition?

If not, the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Chair may request to seek consideration of the pending measure, as amended, on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. As many as are in favor of the motion sig-

nify in the usual manner. Opposed, no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

The Chair is deemed to be instructed to make motions under rule 22 of this measure, a companion from the Senate. Further proceedings on this measure are postponed.

H. RES. 588—CONCERNING VIOLATIONS OF PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT

Chairman GILMAN. We will now take up resolution H. Res. 588, expressing the sense of the House with respect to violations in Western Europe of provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Res. 588, a resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to violations in Western Europe of provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements relating to the freedom of individuals to profess and practice religion or belief."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the resolution will be dispensed with.

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble and the text of the resolution in that order for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas under article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to freedom——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Salmon, the sponsor of the resolution, who has an amendment.

Mr. SALMON. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. The Clerk will read the amendment. The Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Salmon. Amend the preamble to read as follows."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. I now recognize the gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Salmon, to speak on his amendment for 5 minutes.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the opportunity to talk on this measure. First I might say that I appreciate the Democrats working with me to craft this substitute motion. I believe that this piece of legislation is fair, it is responsible, it covers a broad range of problems in terms of religious freedom and the persecution of certain religious minority groups, and I know that is one of the things that has stirred up some controversy in the past.

At the outset, I would like to thank Karen Lord of the Helsinki Commission, and Hillel Weinberg of the Full Committee for their hard work in helping to draft this resolution for markup today.

Unfortunately, government discrimination against minority groups and individuals in Western Europe based on religion or belief continues to persist. Such discrimination has been documented in several State Department human rights reports and U.N. reports. This discrimination takes place at the national and local levels of government and has included the denial of business licenses, the exclusion from government employment and political parties, and the prevention of performances or exhibitions by minority religions. Religious and minority discrimination appears to be permeating in European countries like France, Belgium, Austria and Germany.

For example, in Belgium, the most recent international Helsinki federation report mentions that religious minorities in Belgium have been subjected to various forms of harassment and other human rights violations, such as slander, anonymous threats, loss of jobs, bomb threats, and denial of room rental for religious ceremonies.

In France, the French National Assembly passed a bill that would restrict the free expression, growth and development of 173 "blacklisted" religious groups including, but not limited to, Jehovah's Witnesses, Scientologists, Opus Dei, Muslims, Unificationists, and certain denominations of Orthodox Judaism. Furthermore, this bill would imprison religious proselytizers for up to 2 years for mental manipulation of the public.

Another example took place in Austria. The 1999 U.S. Department of State Annual Report on International Religious Freedom stated that the conservative Austrian people's party formally accepted a decision that the party membership is incompatible with membership in a sect. This policy led to the resignation of a local party official.

Lastly, Germany continues to engage in discriminatory trade practices by using a sect filter to ensure that a firm is not affiliated with a certain religion or belief before granting a contract to them. We heard testimony in this Committee a couple of months ago regarding a certain vendor that provides services to Microsoft, and we remember the problems that we are having there.

It is time that this blatant discrimination came to a stop. I, along with my colleagues, Mr. Payne and Mr. Gilman, have introduced resolution 588, which expresses the sense of the House relating to the freedom to profess and practice religion or belief in Western Europe. The resolution also documents several of the examples I have just discussed.

I urge my colleagues to vote yes on Resolution 588, and I would like to also call to your attention letters sent to Chairman Gilman by several religious leaders supporting my resolution and urging its adoption. If I could, without objection, I would like to enter them into the record.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

Mr. SALMON. These letters encourage the passage of this resolution, because these religious leaders recognize, as we have, that this is a serious problem. As you can see, there are all kinds of organizations from those that represent the Catholic religion to the Jewish religion to the family research council. So there are many, many groups that have recognized the problem.

I have another letter from a group called the Religious Action Center of Reformed Judaism which also supports the passage of this resolution.

[These letters appear in the appendix.]

Mr. SALMON. I would like to close by quoting a very, very profound and moving quote that is inscribed on the second floor at the end of the permanent exhibit in the Holocaust Museum.

> "First, they came for the socialists. I was not a socialist. I did not speak out. Then they came for the trade unionists. I was not a trade unionist, so I did not speak out. Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew. Then they came for me, and there was no one left to speak for me."

That is pastor Martin Nemor.

I know that some have said, why in the world would we want to say something about problems with our friends. We should only be beating up on our so-called enemies. But let me quote to you in the letter that was sent to Chairman Gilman by these religious leaders, a quote that I think is very, very appropriate.

> "If we do not halt this antireligion movement in Eastern Europe, particularly in liberal democratic states like France, what right do we have to criticize nonwestern countries whose policies do not measure up to our own standards of religious freedom? Should the American community of faith not be concerned that the government of France, like that of Communist China, will not discuss issues of religious liberty with the United States Government. If we can't talk to our friends, who can we talk to?"

Mr. Chairman, I encourage the adoption of this measure. It is something that has been debated over the last 3 years. I know because I have been involved in all of those debates. I know when I have gone to OSCE meetings to the various participating countries it is an issue that we have constantly brought up, yet the problems still persist. If we truly are about religious freedom in this country and we serve as a beacon for the rest of the world, if we are that light on the Hill that President Reagan once talked about, then let's be the light on the Hill. Let us stand up for religious liberty throughout the entire world.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would say to the gentleman from Arizona, I was relieved to find when I first began to examine your bill that this was not a traditional scientology resolution with all of its defects and inaccuracies. I want to ask you to make sure I am addressing the right one. Are we talking now about H. Res. 588? Is that the one we have before us?

Mr. SALMON. Yes.

Mr. BEREUTER. I have a number of specific questions, if I could just go over them line by line with you, and these are reports from various people, mostly international representatives from some of the European countries involved here.

On page 3, the whereas clause that begins about 10 lines down, with respect to the French National Assembly, we were told by State just as a matter of accuracy that the National Assembly has not yet passed the bill and they would say it is under consideration. I wonder if you know if, in fact, that is accurate?

Mr. SALMON. My understanding—yes, it did pass the House, and it is under consideration in the Senate, so it has not passed both bodies.

Mr. BEREUTER. But it has passed the assembly?

Mr. SALMON. Right.

Mr. BEREUTER. That is your understanding?

Mr. SALMON. Correct.

Mr. BEREUTER. Well, then, perhaps State is wrong or that is now out of date.

Also on that same page, with respect to the French National Assembly, the State Department indicates that the Seventh Day Adventists should not be on that list. I don't have any knowledge one way or another.

Mr. SALMON. Could you repeat the question?

Mr. BEREUTER. That on the list on the last whereas clause on number 3, our State Department says that Seventh Day Adventists should not be listed there.

Mr. SALMON. They are not on the list. They are not on the list of the 173. If you read the statement as it is written, it does not say they are part of that list. It says that—let me see, "whereas in 1996, French National Assembly report listed 173 organizations as suspect, including," and it goes through and lists those groups. And then it says, "and official entities harass, intimidate, deny employment." That is not continuing with the list.

Mr. BEREUTER. I see your point. So you believe that the second reference is accurate?

Mr. SALMON. That is correct.

Mr. BEREUTER. Okay. On page 5, the whereas clause that begins "whereas Scientologists"—this is a matter of interpretation and I would just like your clarification. At least the German Government suggests that the German Government is not orchestrating boycotts in Germany. Now, your legislation does not say that, although they are concerned about the implications, so I would just like your clarification. There may well be orchestrated boycotts. But you are saying the German Government is, in no way, involved in orchestrating such boycotts? Is that consistent——

Mr. SALMON. Yes, it does not refer to a boycott perpetrated by the German Government. It simply says boycotts. And to my knowledge, that is the same information that we have gotten as well, that there is no governmental entity that is actually overtly instigating any kind of boycotts.

Mr. BEREUTER. On the top of page 4, Mr. Salmon, this could be clarified, just a minor point. The Austrian law, somehow we believe it was enacted in 1998, but that is just a minor point. That can be collected, I gather. You may be right.

I thank the gentleman for his responses to these questions. One of the concerns that I have had—and I know various governments in Europe have had—is related to their subsidy of church bodies and the treatment by the State or various levels of their govern-

ment with respect to subsidies paid to the churches. They are particularly concerned in some cases, for example, in Germany, since they do subsidize the recognized churches, that subsidies do not flow to churches that they do not recognize as religions, but contend that they do not, thereby, justify, or in any way condone discrimination against it.

Is there anything in your legislation that you think is addressing the tax issue appropriately or inappropriately?

Mr. SALMON. This legislation is silent on any recommendations as far as tax policy of other countries. It is not our intent to step in and tell these countries who they are to give the subsidy to or who they are not. There is no language on that.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Salmon, thank you very much for your responses. I yield back.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Let me commend Mr. Salmon for the outstanding job that he did, of course, as a cosponsor. We worked diligently on this legislation. I am glad that it is broadened enough so that those who had specific problems with the fact that we talk about religious persecution and have included Scientologists, that now seems to be put down further in the resolution, and therefore, finds less objection. I thought that the resolution, as it stood for the last 4 or 5 years, should have been passed, but I was in the minority, and of course it was not.

So I am pleased that with this broadening and widening and including of 189 groups, we could finally get some resolution passed. We should certainly, though, seriously be against intolerance everywhere, and we are finding that there is more and more of it growing in the world. It seems like as the world moves to sort of a one-body, one-Europe, you know, almost one North America with NAFTA and all that, we are finding that intolerance is on the increase and it doesn't make sense—not religious intolerance, racial intolerance, intolerance for sexual preference.

So I hope that this resolution passes. I think that it certainly expresses the sense of the House with respect to the violations in Western Europe. We certainly have been critical of ourselves and we still need legislation here in the United States to protect minorities and others also. So we are not doing something that we are looking over there and not over here. So once again, I would like to commend Mr. Salmon and I strongly support the resolution, I support the broadening of it, I support the inclusiveness of it, and I would hope that we would be able to have this resolution passed.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Dr. Cooksey.

Mr. COOKSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have some concerns about a trend that I have seen on this Committee. It seems that every week, we spend an inordinate amount of time on another resolution going over something that maybe makes everyone on the Committee feel good about themselves and the greater worth about what they are doing; but at the same time, we are ignoring present day problems—the history of the 20th century. In the 20th century, apparently there was geno-

cide by the Ottoman Turkish Empire, and we have spent 10 hours discussing that.

The history of the Nazis and the Holocaust is well-known. Stalin killed 11 million Ukrainians, or some large number. We have our Trail of Tears in the United States that we seem to ignore, and Congress existed when this occurred and Congress participated in it. And this Congress, in this Administration, sat by on our hands when hundreds of thousands of people were killed in Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo, and more recently in Sierra Leone.

So today, we are telling four European countries, Austria, Belgium, France, and Germany how to run their government, how to treat their religions. At the same time, if they were to tell us how to run our government, how to run our Congress, how to manage our relations with religion, I am sure we would resent it, and properly so.

I am convinced that God will indeed judge us by our deeds as individuals, and I don't think God is going to judge us on our mixing politics and religions. That was one of the foundations of this country. So I am opposed to this piece of legislation. I don't really think it serves any purpose.

I would point out in relation to Scientology, which has been a nagging problem for this Congress every year and it is always defeated, this Administration, once they came into office in 1993, was the first time Scientology had ever been recognized. That was in 1993. So how can we criticize Germany for not recognizing Scientology when our Administration made probably a political decision on a group that I know has a history of preying on elderly, perceived wealthy little widows, and apparently preys on some people in the entertainment industry that are not smart enough to do anything else but be entertainers.

So I really am opposed to this and do not think it serves any useful purpose. I think that if we are going to do something useful or meaningful, we need to address some of the problems of infectious disease around the world, some of the problems of current day human rights abuses. Because I don't really think anyone is suffering in Austria or Belgium or France or Germany to the extent that it has been brought up today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Dr. Cooksey. Are any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Very briefly, to my good friend from Louisiana in particular, I read the resolution and I think it is a correct statement of the Rules of the House that we do not enact the whereas clauses. That is to say the whereas clauses, they are not numbered, they don't become part of law, and I tell you why I say that, because the resolution starting at page 6 with the lines that are numbered do not, in my judgment, carry any of the dangers that the gentleman from Louisiana observed, which are entirely contained in the whereas clauses.

Now, that is not to say that a friend looking at our actions overseas will treat that difference with the same respect that a student of statutory construction would here in the United States. But I don't find anything objectionable in the enacting clauses, the there-

fore clauses, and I would yield to my good friend from Louisiana, if there is any aspect there that you would like to identify, and then would I yield whatever time I have back to the author of the resolution as well. But just for a second, if there is anything that you see on page 6 or 7 that you would like to draw attention to, I would be pleased to yield, and if not, I don't want to put you on the spot. I yield to you.

Mr. COOKSEY. I would ask the author if he would be willing to withdraw the whereas for the Scientology group.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I yield to Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. I respectfully would decline to the gentleman. This is about religious inclusion for all of these various groups, and I don't want to diminish the bill in any way. I might also thank the gentleman for yielding. Every one of these countries, these 4 countries that are noted in this resolution cite international covenants in which they willingly signed and agreed to these international covenants. We are simply trying to put their feet to the fire and make sure that they adhere to them.

I must respectfully disagree, if the gentleman from Louisiana does not agree that religious freedom is a human right. You stated that we should spend our time dealing with human rights issues. This country was founded on religious freedom. That is what we are about. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is about religious freedom. That is why we came here. That is why the pilgrims originally came to this country, to escape religious discrimination. People of my faith have endured religious discrimination even in this country.

Maybe the gentleman has never had to encounter that, but I have sat through hearing after hearing after hearing, and I have heard of multiple problems right now in Europe. It is a serious problem, and if we don't stand in this Congress for defending religious liberty, we have no right to speak on other things.

In China, where we have had the PNTR vote, every year it comes up, we talk about the religious freedom issues in China. I do not think the gentleman from Louisiana believes that those are not very serious issues. They are very serious. To me, this is very, very important. I am sorry that you don't agree that it is an important issue to try to defend religious liberty worldwide, but I believe that that is a very fundamental part of what we are about here.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I will reclaim my time. My attempt to pour oil on troubled waters has failed. The whole idea of my intervention was to say, hey, nothing to disagree about on the enacting clauses, and instead, I am afraid I have made things worse; so I am going to withdraw, unless my friend from Louisiana wants to use the rest of my time.

Mr. COOKSEY. Why don't we drop the whereas on all of the different religions, all of them, without singling out any one.

I am for religious freedom, but my point is, we are dwelling on this issue in these four European countries, and we are sitting on our hands while people are dying in Sierra Leone. I was there 2 months saying I saw it. You saw the abuses that have gone on there, that have gone on all over west Africa because we have one group that does not have the courage to do the right thing in west Africa and a group in our party that does not care, it seems. And

this is true with the Kurds, in Iran, Turkey, Iraq. There are a lot of groups—I mean, what greater human right is there than the right to life?

Mr. SALMON. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I reluctantly yield.

Mr. SALMON. I do not disagree whatsoever. I think we are singing from the same sheet of music. I would be happy to work with the gentleman on any legislation that he would like to put forward on Sierra Leone or talk to the Administration, but I don't understand why it is not possible to do two goods. I am not responsible for the fact that we haven't taken up any legislation or any issues regarding Sierra Leone or defending life. I certainly agree with that. I don't oppose the gentleman. I simply am asking you to work with me on this one and I would be happy to work with you on the other. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

I support the pending resolution. It is unfortunate that countries like those named in the preamble, which are so important as allies, and where liberty is, in general, so highly regarded, seem to have a blind spot when it comes to religious liberty.

This is a carefully drafted resolution dealing with a problem that is widely recognized in the community of observers of religious liberty in this country. It is supported by representatives of diverse religious groups from southern Baptists to Sikhs. I have received letters in support of it signed by personalities ranging from the Interim Dean of the Catholic University Law School to Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute.

Accordingly, I believe this measure deserves the support of all Members of the Committee and I urge its adoption. I ask unanimous consent to insert my full statement into the record.

[The prepared statement appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Are there any other Members seeking recognition or seeking to offer amendments?

If there are no further amendments, the previous question is ordered on the——

Mr. COOKSEY. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Cooksey.

Mr. COOKSEY. I would like to request a recorded vote and I notice there is not a quorum here right now.

Chairman GILMAN. Are you making a point of order with regard to a quorum?

Mr. COOKSEY. Yes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Could I make a unanimous consent that we suspend further discussion on this bill until we complete the rest of the calendar and take this one up at the end?

Chairman GILMAN. A motion has been made to—a unanimous consent has been made. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request?

Dr. Cooksey.

Mr. COOKSEY. Mr. Chairman, I would object.

Chairman GILMAN. Dr. Cooksey objects.

Mr. COOKSEY. I object to the unanimous consent request.

Chairman GILMAN. There is an objection to the unanimous consent request.

The Chair will now——

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Yes, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I make a motion to table the request of Mr. Cooksey.

Chairman GILMAN. A motion has been made to table the request.

Mr. BEREUTER. Could we have a clarification of parliamentary situation?

Chairman GILMAN. I am going to ask our counsel to set forth the parliamentary situation.

Mr. WEINBERG. Mr. Chairman, my understanding is that a point of order of no quorum was made by Dr. Cooksey, and I believe that there is no higher motion available such as a motion to table at this point. The Chairman would be obliged, I would advise the Chairman that he ought to count for a quorum and then we would establish whether or not we had a quorum present, following the normal procedure.

Chairman GILMAN. The Chair will count for a quorum.

The Clerk will call the roll.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman.

Chairman GILMAN. Aye , present.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gilman votes aye.

Mr. Goodling.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Leach.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Hyde.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Present.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Bereuter votes present.

Mr. Smith.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Burton.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Gallegly.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Ballenger.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Rohrabacher.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Manzullo.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Present.

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Royce votes present.

Mr. King.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Chabot.

[No response.]

Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Sanford.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Salmon.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Houghton.
[No response.]
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Campbell.
Mr. CAMPBELL. Present.
Ms. BLOOMER. Mr. Campbell votes present.
Mr. McHugh.
[No response.]
Mr. COOKSEY. Mr. Chairman.
Chairman GILMAN. Dr. Cooksey.
Mr. COOKSEY. I would like to interrupt the quorum call for a second and yield to Mr.——
Chairman GILMAN. It is not in order, but are you withdrawing your request?
Mr. COOKSEY. I want to yield to Mr. Campbell, and then I want to make one more statement after his statement.
Chairman GILMAN. Well, it is not in order unless you want to withdraw the request for a quorum and then we can recognize you.
Mr. COOKSEY. Okay. I will withdraw my request for a quorum.
Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has withdrawn his request for a quorum. I now recognize Dr. Cooksey.
Mr. COOKSEY. I ask unanimous consent to speak.
Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.
Mr. COOKSEY. Mr. Chairman, I want to go back and make the same point I made earlier. This Committee is spending too much time on resolutions like this, and I am not sure that we really help anyone out. I am sitting here right now with a news release about 5 Catholic priests that have died in Kenya, and I worked in Kenya off and on for 6 years. Why haven't we condemned the government of Kenya, why haven't we taken decisive action there? Taking someone's right to life, someone's life is a far greater human rights violation than what we have seen in these four European countries. I am convinced that we are not doing enough along these lines, and I think that we need to reconsider what we are doing——
Mr. ACKERMAN. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. COOKSEY. I would hope that next year when this Congress reconvenes and this Committee reconvenes, we will spend more time on worrying about people that have either lost their lives or are currently under the threat of losing their lives.
I yield.
Mr. ACKERMAN. I would just like to remind the gentleman that the Committee's intent to take up the resolution on Kenya doing exactly what you just said if we are allowed to continue without having a disruption of disbanding because of the possible suggestion of the lack of a quorum.
Chairman GILMAN. We will continue——
Mr. COOKSEY. Well, I have withdrawn my quorum call.
Mr. BEREUTER. Would the gentleman from Louisiana yield?
Mr. COOKSEY. Yes, I yield.
Mr. BEREUTER. I want to clarify my own position. I intend to vote for this resolution, and in fact will be voting to move it forward be-

cause of the work that Mr. Salmon has done. My concern is that this Member does not want to do anything to suggest that Scientology is a religion. But I look at the language here and it does say religion or belief. Certainly, people who are engaged in Scientology have a belief, and that gives me an opportunity to express my view without being opposed to the resolution. But I want it particularly clear that I do not consider this vote to be a concession on my part that Scientology is a religion. I thank the gentleman for yielding for that clarification for the record and to make myself feel comfortable about it.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter. Are there any other Members seeking recognition? If not, if there are no further amendments and no further requests, I recognize the gentleman from Nebraska for a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Chairman be requested to seek consideration of the pending resolution as amended on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is now on the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska. All those in favor signify in the usual manner; opposed. The ayes have it. And the resolution is agreed to.

H. CON. RES. 361—COMMENDING THE REPUBLIC OF BENIN

Chairman GILMAN. We now move to H. Con. Res. 361 relating to Benin.

The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 361, a resolution commending the Republic of Benin."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the first reading of the resolution will be dispensed with.

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble and the text of the resolution in that order for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas in 1990 the Republic of Benin made a smooth transition from Marxist rule to constitutional democracy."

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from New York, Mr. Ackerman, the sponsor of the resolution to introduce it to the Committee. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you as well as Chairman Royce and Mr. Gejdenson and Mr. Payne for agreeing to consider this resolution.

Too often, Mr. Chairman, the news we hear from west Africa is bad news. Civil unrest, human rights abuses, refugees, are the usual images that we see of Africa. So I am pleased that with this resolution, we can support a good news story in west Africa.

Under the leadership of President Mathieu Kerekou, Benin has successfully transitioned into a vibrant constitutional democracy. As a result of the legislative elections in March 1999, there are opposing parties controlling the executive and legislative branches of the government. Benin stands out as a true example of political pluralism, religious tolerance and respect for human rights. In fact,

according to the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights, Benin has no political prisoners and the government generally respects the human rights of its citizens.

Last January, I had the opportunity to travel to Benin and meet with President Kerekou. He impressed me with his pro-American attitude, his commitment to privatization of State-owned enterprises and his willingness to support international law enforcement efforts to stem the tide of narcotics trafficking in west Africa.

Mr. Chairman, this resolution is very straightforward. It simply commends the government and the people of Benin for their commitment to democracy and urges the Administration to enhance its efforts to support democratic consolidation and free enterprise in Benin. I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Ackerman. Is any other Member seeking recognition on the Ackerman resolution?

Mr. ROYCE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. I want to express my support for this resolution and commend its author, Mr. Ackerman. Democratic progress unfortunately has been halting in some of Africa, so we need to take note of where there is progress, and that is what this resolution does. And it deserves our support. I think there is an amendment that Mr. Ackerman was going to offer, and I support the resolution, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Royce.

Are any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, let me also commend Mr. Ackerman for this resolution. I think that the country of Benin, a very small country next to the giant country of Nigeria really, as has been indicated, made a very smooth transition to constitutional democracy.

As you probably know, many of the countries in Africa were pushed into the Warsaw Pact countries because of the refusal of the United States of America to support their independence. Many of the colonial powers were NATO allies and we looked the other way as we sought the support for Mobutu in Zaire and Savambi in Angola, and P.W. Botha in South Africa, and we could go on and on. So we were on the wrong side of conscience.

We are now hopefully trying to redo some of the problems that we have created with the Africa Trade and Opportunities Act, with President Clinton visiting Africa twice, one 12-day, 6 country tour. But I would certainly commend Benin President Soglo, the one who moved it into this new mood. He was defeated, actually, because the World Bank said you had to bring in a lot of reforms, tighten the belts, had to pay back debt, and he did that. That didn't go over well and he lost his office, but he stepped out and the new President moved in with no problem.

I think I really commend Mr. Ackerman for talking about when things happen correctly. We see so many times when they don't happen right, we read about it, we talk about the refugees, we talk about the killings and the maimings and the Sierra Leones and the Congos and so forth. But I certainly commend you for having this resolution.

Secondly, President Kerekou admitted that there was certainly complicity in the slave trade and African leaders worked in tandem with the European slave traders, and that slavery would not have flourished the way that it had if it were not for the concurrence of leaders in Africa at that time. The President of Haiti was there at the conference, and I had an opportunity to meet with him, and he said that the apology that the President of Benin made to the Haitian President was really heartwarming.

So I think that there is a lot more in this, and at the appropriate time I would like to highlight more of what has happened in this little country of Benin. But I commend Mr. Ackerman again for this resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I just would like to associate myself with the comments of my friend, Mr. Payne, and I want to commend Mr. Ackerman for bringing this resolution before us, and I urge its adoption.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

I commend Mr. Ackerman too for this resolution on Benin. In this Committee we regularly call attention to injustice, to war, and the abuse of power wherever they may occur. Witness, for example, our earlier discussion on Sudan.

Occasionally, we must also acknowledge the considerable progress that some nations have made and give credit where it is due. The relationship between our Nation and President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin has not always been smooth. During the Cold War, President Kerekou expressed a Marxist ideology that gave our Nation some cause for concern. In 1990, however, President Kerekou allowed free and fair elections to take place in Benin. Defeated at the polls, he stepped down gracefully. Six years later, he came back into power the same way he left, by the ballot box and the popular will of the citizens of Benin.

In his second administration, President Kerekou has exhibited wisdom, strength and compassion. This resolution commends his leadership and a growing friendship between our two nations.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to join in support of this measure.

Is there any other Member seeking recognition?

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Ackerman has an amendment. The Clerk will read the amendment. The Clerk will distribute the amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Amendment offered by Mr. Ackerman, in the 5th clause of the preamble——"

[The amendment appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the amendment is considered as having been read.

Mr. Ackerman is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The amendment that I offered here reflects changes to the resolution that were suggested to me by Chairman Royce. The amendment makes modest, but important, changes to the 5th, 7th, 8th

and 9th whereas clauses, as well as to the first resolved clause. In addition, the amendment deletes the last resolve clause.

With Mr. Royce's suggestions, I believe the resolution is much improved and I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

Chairman GILMAN. Is any Member seeking recognition on the amendment?

If not, the question is on the amendment. All in favor signify in the usual manner, opposed, no. The amendment is agreed to.

I recognize the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, for a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move the Chairman be requested to seek consideration of the pending resolution as amended on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion by the gentleman from Nebraska. All in favor signify in the usual manner; opposed. The resolution is adopted.

Further proceedings on this matter will be postponed.

H. CON. RES. 410—CONDEMNING THE ASSASSINATION OF FATHER JOHN KAISER

Chairman GILMAN. We now consider H. Con. Res. 410 concerning the assassination of Father John Kaiser and others. The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The Clerk will report the title of the resolution.

Ms. BLOOMER. "H. Con. Res. 410, a resolution condemning the assassination of Father John Kaiser and others who work to promote human rights and justice in the Republic of Kenya."

[The resolution appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the preamble and text of the resolution in that order for amendment.

Ms. BLOOMER. "Whereas Father John Kaiser, a Catholic of the Order——"

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open for amendment at any point.

I now recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Lantos, the sponsor of the resolution, to introduce it to the Committee.

The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

First I would like to thank my friends, Mr. Royce and Mr. Payne, for waiving jurisdiction and allowing the resolution to come before the Full Committee.

Mr. Chairman, I have a lengthy and eloquent prepared statement that was created by my colleague and associate, Mr. Hans Hogrefe. I would like to ask permission that it be placed in the record.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

[The prepared statement appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. I will be very brief.

Those of us who work in the vineyards of human rights occasionally come upon a giant. Father John Kaiser is such a giant. This 68-year-old Catholic priest devoted his life to help the people of Kenya, and as his final reward he was assassinated, probably at the insistence and the urging of the government. There are indications, Mr. Chairman, that other Catholic priests have been singled

out for assassination. So far, we have five Catholic priests whose deaths appear to be a mystery, more likely a government-inspired assassination. Father John Kaiser has displayed a degree of unselfish devotion to human rights, the plight of the poor that moves one to tears. I would strongly urge all of my colleagues to join me in this tribute and in calling upon the government of Kenya to undertake an independent, or to allow to be undertaken an independent inquiry into the circumstances of Father John Kaiser's death.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Very briefly, Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this resolution, and I want to commend its author, Mr. Lantos. I have no doubt that the killing this resolution condemns was a political killing. When democratic supporters who use such peaceful means are struck down, we all lose. Father John Kaiser was an American citizen, he was fighting for human rights, he was fighting for democracy in Kenya. He was revered, in fact, by Kenyans. He was struck down and he deserves this resolution. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Royce. Are any other Members seeking recognition?

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Let me also commend Mr. Lantos, and I associate myself with the remarks of the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Mr. Royce. I think that we should certainly insist that the government of Kenya have an independent investigation as is called for in this resolution. We certainly condemn the violence around Father Kaiser and the others as we try to promote human rights. We should insist that our State Department and our embassy in Kenya personally deliver to the President this resolution, and we demand that there be a thorough investigation.

Let me commend the gentleman again for this resolution. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to commend the gentleman from California, Mr. Lantos, for bringing this measure to our attention at this time.

An outspoken and passionate defender of the poor, the weak and the oppressed, Father John Kaiser was shot and killed just a month ago. His killers still remain at large. Although Father Kaiser knew that he was in danger, his courage and compassion never left him.

He is one of the distressingly long line of clergy who have been murdered in Africa. Eight years ago, 5 American nuns from Illinois were killed by Charles Taylor's NPFL soldiers in Liberia. We are still waiting for their killers to be brought to justice. We must not let 8 years slip by with no resolution of Father Kaiser's case. We owe it to him and to the voiceless on whose behalf he spoke with such energy and commitment. We also owe it to the rule of law in Kenya.

As the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr wrote, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to fully support this measure.

If there are no further requests for time, or any amendments, I recognize the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, for a motion.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, it is a particular pleasure, as this is the last resolution of the day, to move that the Chairman request to seek consideration of the pending resolution on the suspension calendar.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is on the motion. All those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye. All those opposed say no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to. Further proceedings on this matter are postponed.

The Committee stands adjourned, and I thank our colleagues for being here.

[Whereupon, at 5 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE RADANOVICH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

H. RES. 596

Mr. Chairman, today I am introducing a new bill regarding the affirmation of the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide.

As the sponsor of this resolution I have carefully followed all of the testimony and communications from proponents and opponents. I note that some Members have expressed concern with the training component of the former bill —H.Res.398—specifically the complexity of implementing this clause. I also note that during the subcommittee hearing, Ambassador Grossman testified that the Foreign Service Institute already includes the Armenian Genocide in its training program. This was later confirmed by a State Department spokesman. Therefore, taking into account the concerns of some of my colleagues and the statements of the Department, and with the support of Chairman Smith, I submit this new bill. All references to training have been removed. I trust that this change will enjoy the support of this committee and will also make expedited floor consideration possible.

H.Res. 398 enjoyed the bi-partisan support of some 140 members and I rest assured that H. Res. 596 maintains the intent of my original bill. The new resolution also enjoys the support of the Speaker, the House Minority Whip, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of this Committee, as well the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee. I thank all for their support and cooperation.

With the training component removed, what remains in H.Res. 596?

- Affirmation of the US record that fully documents our government's attempt to end the genocide of the Armenians in Turkey at the time of the Genocide and to save those who survived it. In view of the denial literature that we have been bombarded with prior to and since the subcommittee hearing, I believe that affirmation is even more critical. I share with you a portion of the remarks from Professor Deborah Lipstadt to Chairman Smith, and I quote, "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 Eliie Wiesel has called 'double killing'. Denial murders the dignity of the survivors and seeks to destroy the remembrance of the crime."

I would like to commend and fully support the comments of Congresswoman McKinney during the markup of this bill in Subcommittee in response to the "high-priced denial campaign." 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 would also like to address an argument that persistently comes up regarding this resolution. Each time this body attempts to come to closure on this subject, opponents ask *why now?* They may even say, 'the intent of the resolution is commendable, but the timing is inopportune.' Mr. Chairman, unless the Turkish government ends its ongoing campaign to deny the facts of the Armenian Genocide, the only time acceptable to our ally is never. And I regret to say that our State Department readily concurs with Turkey. Why now? Because later accomplishes nothing Turkey remains adamant in its denial and its reprehensible tactics of threats and coercion are rewarded. Why now? Because passage of this resolution today by this Committee and subsequently on the House floor will end denial—which expressed dif-

ferently is the killing of truth. At least one branch of my government will say categorically to all deniers that they have failed.

I implore my colleagues here today to understand that this resolution is a *Sense of the House* resolution regarding the *U.S. record*. Despite all of the threats emanating from Turkey regarding U.S. bases, U.S. contracts, jobs, etc. this resolution is *NOT* an assault on the Republic of Turkey. Furthermore, I reject Turkey's presumption that it can impose its views regarding the *American response* to the Armenian Genocide *on this Committee*. If we bow to Turkish pressure over a House-only resolution regarding our record, there's no telling what else the U.S. will be called upon to give into the next time Turkey threatens a doomsday scenario. I believe that as a matter of principle, Congress must not let any foreign government dictate what legislation it can or cannot adopt.

I thank you Mr. Chairman and I hope this Committee accepts my resolution and does the right thing today.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

H. RES. 596

Mr. Chairman, one of the most important lessons humanity has learned throughout the centuries, is that *we must not forget*. If we fail to *acknowledge* and *condemn* the crimes of the *past*, we are sending a message to those who have little regard for human life, that they can act with impunity in the *present and future*.

This resolution seeks to ensure that this *grim* period in history is not erased or re-written by those who argue that the genocide of over a million Armenians is a mere fabrication.

Failure to act; failure to underscore that this was a systematic effort to *massacre and destroy* the Armenian people, is tantamount to a *denial* and, thus, a further attack on the victims and *an affront to their memory*.

This resolution is about the past, but a past mankind is doomed to repeat unless we state in no uncertain terms that this type of action is not, *nor will it ever*, be tolerated by the United States.

An example of the danger posed by a policy of neglect which ignores the Armenian genocide is outlined in clause (16) of this resolution.

This clause refers to a 1939 letter where Adolf Hitler orders the attack on Poland and dismisses the objections by saying: "who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians."

To reiterate, this measure is a testament to our commitment to human life and focuses on the massacre of the Armenian people to underscore U.S. abhorrence of genocide against any people, anywhere, at any time.

I commend my colleagues, Mr. Radanovich and Mr. Rogan, for introducing this resolution and fighting the good fight. I am proud to be a co-sponsor of the measure and ask the members of this committee to render their support.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM D. DELAHUNT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

H. RES. 596

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding a markup on this legislation. This is a very important topic. It is also a very sensitive one. So it's critical that there be a frank and thoughtful discussion of the matter in Congress.

Genocide is an extremely loaded word. It is not something to be tossed around lightly. Genocide is literally a crime against humanity itself, an attempt to eliminate an entire segment of the human race. And thus it is an attack on us all. Something we must all join together in fighting. And we must be aware of the details of past experiences of genocide. That way we are familiar with the warning signs and can stop a new one before it begins.

That is why I worked successfully last year to change the State Department human rights reporting requirements to take into account instances of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. That is why I supported efforts to stop what could have been a genocide in Kosovo. That is why I still call for more investigation into what happened in Guatemala.

And that is why I believe that the truth about the Armenian Genocide—because that's what it was—should be understood by all and officially acknowledged by the American government—and the Turkish government. By recognizing the Armenian

Genocide, the US government will contribute to the further study of a crime that affects us all and thus help prevent future horrors. I co-sponsored H Res 398, the previous version of this legislation, and I give this resolution my full support as well.

I know that there are objections to this resolution. I understand that there are those who, for a variety of reasons, do not see this as an issue affecting all humanity. Instead, they see it merely as ethnic politics or part of a campaign to discredit Turkey. That is unfortunate.

I believe American recognition of the genocide would encourage the Turkish government, our ally and fellow democracy, to do the same—which would be a good thing for Turkey. Turkey has long been a leader in that part of the world. In fact, the current Turkish government is politically descended from those who overthrew the regime which carried out the genocide. A move by Turkey to acknowledge that the genocide did happen and to seek reconciliation with the past would be just as revolutionary. It would set an admirable precedent for other nations in the region who have refused to deal with their own histories of violence.

Just as Turkey and Greece have begun to take steps towards addressing their differences, moving beyond the debate over whether or not the genocide happened would allow Turks and Armenians to begin doing the same. Such reconciliation would benefit Turks as much as Armenians and would contribute to peace and stability in the region. And peace and stability is *definitely* in the interests of the United States. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM AMERICAN SAMOA

H. RES. 596

Chairman Gilman:

I commend you for your strong leadership of the House International Relations Committee. Over the years, you have earned my deep respect 'and that of our colleagues for your vigorous protection of human rights throughout the world.

Today, our committee considers adoption of House Resolution 596, a measure which seeks official recognition by the United States Congress that, in 1915 to 1923, a genocide was committed by the Turkish Ottoman Empire against the Armenian people.

While I have the greatest respect for our colleagues who support this measure, and I fully sympathize with their position—I must reluctantly disagree for two reasons, and strongly urge that H.Res. 596 be defeated.

First, as our colleagues are aware, the historical accounts of the tragic events of 1915 to 1923 are mixed and filled with inconsistencies. Indeed, historians, scholars, and academia are split as to whether a genocide was committed.

It is my understanding that intercommunal warfare was rampant in this period, with terrible suffering in *both* the Armenian and Turkish communities, and amongst Christians and Muslims alike.

While it is estimated that one-and-a-half million Armenians died or disappeared in the tragic conflict, we must not forget that the invading Russians and their Armenian allies also had blood on their hands. In fact, historical accounts document that upwards of 3 million Ottoman Muslims died in this conflict, along with the decimation of the Jewish population numbering over 200,000. H.Res. 596 one-sidedly fails to mention these atrocities.

From the mixed historical record, Mr. Chairman, I cannot absolutely and conclusively determine that a genocide, rather than wartime casualities, was responsible for the tragic losses suffered by the Armenian people.

Second, I believe it important that we place the consideration of this resolution in perspective.

Were this resolution to be adopted, I firmly believe it would alienate the Republic of Turkey, which for over four decades has been steadfast as one of America's most trusted and loyal allies in NATO during the Cold War.

As we sit here today discussing H.Res. 596 and the events of 85 years ago, American warplanes are taking off from Turkish airbases to patrol the skies over Northern Iraq to contain Saddam Hussein, who is suspected of rebuilding his deadly arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. Our aircraft cannot be there without the full cooperation of our Turkish ally, an ally whose soldiers have fought side by side with ours since Korea.

As we sit here today examining this resolution, our special envoy, Ambassador Al Moses, is working with both the Greek and Turkish governments to solve one of the most intractable problems in the region the issue of Cyprus.

As we sit here today debating H.Res. 596, American oil companies and the Administration are looking to move ahead on building a.new oil pipeline across Turkey to deliver new crude oil to America, at a time when oil prices have skyrocketed with unpredictable instability ahead.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, as we sit here today, the Administration is seeking to end the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, a war that has caused almost I million Azeris to become refugees in their own country.

I raise these points, Mr. Chairman, to remind our colleagues that Turkey—a longtime friend and crucial ally—plays a central role in helping us meet, understand, and solve issues that fundamentally affect us and America's national interest.

Simply put, Mr. Chairman, if this resolution is adopted, I firmly believe it would irreparably damage our strategic partnership with Turkey. As some of our colleagues may be aware, two days ago in Ankara, the President and Parliament of Turkey took action strongly opposing adoption of this resolution—urging it would be perceived as a humiliation of our longtime NATO ally that would jeopardize our friendship and security relationship.

It is a good bet, Mr. Chairman, that if this resolution is adopted, our planes would no longer fly from Turkish airbases; that Ambassador Moses' efforts would be stopped; that the pipeline would never be built; and that the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan would continue. This is clearly *not* in the national interest of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the policy implications of passage of H.Res. 596 are profound—profound enough in my estimation that it should be defeated.

There are better avenues, Mr. Chairman, to express Congress' condemnation of the terrible, tragic losses of life suffered during the late years of the Ottoman Empire, and I urge our colleagues to pursue and support such measures.

Mr. Chairman, all of us are very proud to be Americans and, in that spirit, I urge our colleagues to put politics aside and seek what is truly in the best interests of our great Nation.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

H. CON. RES. 397

I want to state my strong support for this resolution.

I and my colleague from Nebraska, Mr. Bereuter, have shared an interest to underline to the Congress and the American people the importance of the states of Central Asia to the future stability of all of Eurasia and to the future expansion of global energy supplies.

In fact, as Chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Chairman Bereuter took under his wing the "Silk Road Act," a measure which was passed last year as part of our Foreign Assistance Appropriation Act for Fiscal Year 2000.

I commend him for that successful effort, and I want to commend him as well for joining as a sponsor of this measure—House Concurrent Resolution 397—introduced by our colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

The resolution before us today says some very detailed and extremely important things about the very negative trends in Central Asia with regard to respect for democracy and human rights. But this measure makes clear one over-riding fact: democracy is absolutely vital to the future peace and prosperity of the peoples of Central Asia.

My colleagues, I am certain that none of us wants to see the peoples of Central Asia end up in the situation that has come about in other countries that are blessed with tremendous natural resources—in other words, we do not want to see those countries' resources exported and the revenues from their sale stolen by corrupt officials while the peoples of those states sink into poverty.

Democratic government is indeed the best antidote for the kind of corruption that is the cause of such afflictions. For those of us who care about the future of the peoples of Africa, for example, we know that where true democracy has been absent, corruption has flourished and poverty, suffering, and violence have spread.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the states of Central Asia—inherited from the ranks of the "nomenklatura" of the former Soviet Union—is proving itself to be increasingly corrupt and far from democratic.

I fear that the increasing violence we see in some of those countries today is merely a harbinger of things to come, unless the leaders of Central Asia change their ways—and soon.

The United States should make it clear that we expect and support true democracy and will not tie our policies in Central Asia to leaders bent on condemning their peoples to a future of repression, corruption and poverty.

I support adoption of this resolution.

U.S. CONGRESS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, September 28, 2000.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I am writing to ask you to support S. 2682. Senator Joseph Biden and I introduced identical companion legislation on June 6, 2000. S. 2682 passed the Senate on June 23, 2000 under unanimous consent and without amendment.

This non-controversial legislation will enable the Institute for Media Development (IMD) to archive Voice of America's (VOA) Africa Division broadcast materials for scholarly purposes. IMD is a tax-exempt corporation dedicated to promoting the innovative use of the media, particularly in Africa. Currently VOA Africa broadcasts are not being archived, and programming that is rich in interviews of African political and cultural leaders is being lost to posterity. IMD is looking primarily to the private sector to finance the initiative, and this bill will have a zero net effect on spending according to the Congressional Budget Office.

IMD will place the VOA programming in an Africana digital archive. The Africana digital archive will be on-line and accessible by scholars and others around the world. The materials will not be available for commercial broadcast purposes, and any mis-use of the materials may result in the termination of the program. The quality and quantity of information on the Internet about Africans and other people of color is in dire need of improvement, and this project is a significant step in that direction.

The internationally renowned African Studies Center at UCLA is the academic partner in the project, and both the Center and the University Library (ranked 2nd in the nation) have agreed to provide resources to help make the Africana digital archive a reality. Since its establishment in 1959, the UCLA African Studies Center has continued to be one of the leading National Resource Centers on African Studies in the United States. The reputation that it shares with UCLA has been instrumental in winning the confidence and enthusiastic support of both VOA and the Broadcasting Board of Governors for the project.

This legislation will preserve some of the rich culture and politics of modem day Africa. I urge you to support this legislation.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA MCKINNEY, *Member of Congress.*

PREPARED STATEMENTS OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

H. CON. RES. 382

The United States has a growing relationship with the Republic of Azerbaijan, one of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

That relationship obviously has a great deal to do with Azerbaijan's geo-political position, given its location between Russia, Iran and Turkey, and also has much to do with its potentially huge energy reserves. But that relationship also has to focus on the expansion of truly democratic government within Azerbaijan if it is to prove enduring and if it is to benefit the Azeri people over the long term.

Much has been accomplished over the past nine years in building a new, independent state in Azerbaijan. That has not been easy.

Azerbaijan has not only had to deal with the tremendously difficult problems associated with the emergence from communist rule, but has been at war with neighboring Armenia for almost a decade now, a war that has only been suspended by the cease-fire that was negotiated six years ago.

Of the almost eight million people who live in Azerbaijan, one million have become refugees from that fighting, placing an incredible burden on that new state and its depressed economy.

Still, while we can appreciate the tremendous problems the Azeri people confront and the progress they have made in consolidating their new independence, we would be remiss if we did not insist that their leadership respect their right to truly democratic government—and take concrete steps to bring democracy to life in that country.

This resolution, introduced by my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, points out those things that the Azeri leadership has recently done that conflict with the need to move toward truly democratic government—and points out the steps it needs to take to get back on the road to democracy.

The parliamentary elections to be held in Azerbaijan next month are an important milestone on the road to democracy in that country.

I support the passage of this resolution, which makes it clear that the United States expects the Azeri leadership to ensure that they are truly free and fair.

H. RES. 588

I support the pending resolution, H. Res. 588.

We held a hearing on the issue of religious liberty in Western Europe in which we took testimony from independent experts, the Administration, as well as from representatives of persons who were aggrieved by the behavior of certain European governments.

We also invited testimony from foreign Ambassadors; although they did not appear personally, their statements were circulated at the hearing.

It is unfortunate that countries like those named, which are so important as allies, and where liberty is in general so highly regarded, seem to have a blind spot when it comes to religious liberty.

The motivations of these governments are by and large good ones—the protection of individuals from possible harm—but in some cases they are inadmissible—such as the protection of well-established religions or a hostility to religion.

In any event they are simply not compatible with internationally recognized human rights standards. Even worse, they encourage developing democracies to enact similar laws. And so we need to address the problem, respectfully but clearly.

This is a carefully drafted resolution that deals with a problem that is widely recognized in the community of observers of religious liberty in this country. [As you have been told] it is supported by representatives of diverse religious groups, from Southern Baptists to Sikhs. I have received letters in support of it signed by personalities ranging from the Interim Dean of the Catholic University Law School to Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute.

Accordingly, I believe that it deserves the support of all the members of the Committee and I urge its adoption.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. TOM LANTOS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

H. CON. RES. 410

Mr. Chairman, my House concurrent resolution 410 intents to bring attention to the tragic deaths of several human rights defenders in Kenya, and to get Congress on the record as condemning these deaths in the strongest possible way. While H. Con. Res. 410 condemns the assassination of Father John Anthony Kaiser on August 23, 2000, in the Republic of Kenya, it also highlights the general human rights situation in Kenya, and the dangers for those brave enough to work in the defense of human rights in this country.

Mr. Chairman, Father Kaiser's love for the Kenyan people turned him into a relentless activist for human rights and social justice, and an outspoke critic of the Moi government.

Father Kaiser was born in Perham Minnesota in 1932 to a German father and Irish Mother as one of four children. Kaiser attended a one-roomed school for eight years before he went to a Benedictine secondary school. He then joined the U.S. Army Airborne for three years. After his service, he began to pursue his true calling by attending St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota. After two years he transferred to St. Louis University where he got his B.A. in Philosophy. Father Kaiser then crossed the ocean and studied theology in preparation for the priesthood at St., Joseph's Mill Hill College,in London.

In 1964, Father Kaiser was, ordained a Mill Hill Missionary priest. He was sent to Kenya and assigned to the Kisii Catholic Diocese where he served as a pastor for 30 years. Most of these years he lived in Kisliiland, away from any public attention. He had gone to Kenya to build churches and clinics. In the first several years

in Kenya he would travel from Mass to Mass on a motorcycle over dirt roads. Father Kaiser spoke the local languages fluently. In his parish work, Father Kaiser was known as someone who could mediate disputes. Once, during a dispute between Maasai and Luo leaders over an old gold mine, Father Kaiser sat with the adversaries late into the night, patiently and persistently helping them to find common ground.

A conservative Catholic of intense faith, he lived ascetically and what he saw happening to Kenyans turned him into a crusader of social justice. In 1993, Father Kaiser was transferred to Ngong Catholic Diocese. His transformation from remote parish priest to nationally known human rights campaigner began in 1994 when, in his new assignment, he worked in the Maela Displacement Camp. Farmers had taken refuge in Maela after being pushed off their land. He chose to live with the displaced people and saw the disease, despair and hunger in the way they were forced to live. He was moved to stand with people whose only crime was being born into the 'wrong' tribe.

When the government decided to break up the camp by force, Father Kaiser stood in the way. Father Kaiser took all the women and children and put all of them inside the church. He got in a sleeping bag and slept in the entrance of the church so they were unable to forcibly evict them that night. The authorities came back the following night and beat him up. Father Kaiser was placed under house arrest. During Christmas week of 1995, Kaiser was arrested twice for opposing the destruction of the Maela Refugee Camp of which he was the chaplain.

After his experience in Maela Refugee Camp, Father Kaiser was assigned to the Lolgorian Parish in the Trans Mara District, working among the Maasai people who were trying to defend themselves against land invaders. Father Kaiser also helped young Maasai women to pursue rape cases against their attackers. Father Kaiser lived in the Lolgorian Parish until his death.

In 1999, Father Kaiser testified before the Akiwumi Commission, a special government commission set up to investigate the 1992 tribal clashes in Kenya's Great Rift Valley. He told the members of the commission just what he had witnessed. He reported dates, names, places and times. He accused two Cabinet ministers of instigating tribal clashes and seizing land vacated during the fighting, which broke out before the 1992 multiparty elections. In November of 1999, he narrowly escaped deportation when the Kenyan Immigration Department refused to renew his work permit. The government issued the permit renewal only after the Catholic Church and civil rights groups accused it of trying to silence him for his human rights advocacy. Earlier that year, the Kenyan Law Society honored Kaiser with the prestigious 1999 Human Rights Award for his tremendous human rights work.

In a letter to his family and friends, Father Kaiser wrote, "some sage once wrote that to understand African problems you must understand three main causes of all problems here which are: Tribalism, tribalism and tribalism. I would disagree with that and say rather the one main cause of all problems in Africa is bad government leaders who stir up tribal wars for their own political ambitions. That is what is happening in Kenya, and the practice goes back into the history of colonialism."

On August 23, Father Kaiser had been at the Mill Hill House in Nairobi. He was visibly upset and,nervous. He confided to other Mill Hill priests that he feared for his life. He left the Mill Hill House and went to the Bishop's house in Ngong. When he left the bishop's house he did not say where he was going. On August 24 the Bishop of Ngong, Rt. Rev. Colin Davies, received an anonymous call saying that Kaiser was shot dead in Naivasha. His body was found on the side of the road in Naivasha, not far from his own car and with his own gun beside him. Police investigating the scene shortly after his death immediately ruled out suicide.

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission of the Kenya Episcopal Conference stated that "it is no secret that Fr. Kaiser has been a thorn in the flesh of some senior Kenya government officials and Ministers, for his incessant crusade against social injustices." In the same statement the commission remarks "While we cautiously appreciate the on-going joint CID/FBI investigation into the murder, we strongly doubt the seriousness of the Kenyan government, especially in the absence of an official government statement: let.alone a message of condolence to his family and friends. The government's reaction, cover-ups of the past such killings and the reckless utterances by some senior government officials and Ministers, compound our doubts."

Father Kaiser was not an ordinary U.S. citizen; having served in Kenya for 36 years he was also a Kenyan. Therefore, U.S. citizens cannot ignore the Kenyan cry for truth and justice in this case nor in other cases where Kenyan citizens who have championed for the same human rights causes have been mysteriously murdered with no serious investigations.

Mr. Chairman, my resolution calls on the Kenyan Government to allow a truly independent investigation not only into the death of Father Kaiser, but also into the deaths of Father Stallone, Father Graiff, and Father Luigi Andeni, all of the Marsabit Diocese, and the murder of Brother Larry Timons of the Nakuru Diocese and of Father Martin Boyle of the Eldoret Diocese. While I appreciate the fact that FBI officials are currently investigating the death of Father Kaiser, the recent unsatisfactory experiences regarding the investigations into the deaths of other human rights defenders and members of the clergy and the record of impunity clearly show that the Kenyan government needs to go beyond its current efforts.

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(Original Signature of Member)

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 596

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. RADANOVICH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on _____

RESOLUTION

Calling upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide, and for other purposes.

1 *Resolved,*

1 **SECTION. 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This resolution may be cited as the "Affirmation of
3 the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Reso-
4 lution".

5 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

6 The House of Representatives finds the following:

7 (1) The Armenian Genocide was conceived and
8 carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to
9 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly
10 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men,
11 women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors
12 were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded
13 in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of
14 Armenians in their historic homeland.

15 (2) On May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers, Eng-
16 land, France, and Russia, jointly issued a statement
17 explicitly charging for the first time ever another
18 government of committing "a crime against human-
19 ity".

20 (3) This joint statement stated "[i]n view of
21 these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and
22 civilization, the Allied Governments announce pub-
23 licly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold person-
24 ally responsible for these crimes all members of the
25 Ottoman Government, as well as those of their
26 agents who are implicated in such massacres".

1 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government
2 indicted the top leaders involved in the "organization
3 and execution" of the Armenian Genocide and in the
4 "massacre and destruction of the Armenians".
5 (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the
6 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as
7 charged, for organizing and executing massacres
8 against the Armenian people.
9 (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Geno-
10 cide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior
11 Talaat, and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all
12 condemned to death for their crimes, however, the
13 verdicts of the courts were not enforced.
14 (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic
15 judicial failures are documented with overwhelming
16 evidence in the national archives of Austria, France,
17 Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States,
18 the Vatican and many other countries, and this vast
19 body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same
20 events, and the same consequences.
21 (8) The United States National Archives and
22 Record Administration holds extensive and thorough
23 documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially
24 in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the United
25 States Department of State, files 867.00 and

867.40, which are open and widely available to the public and interested institutions.

(9) The national archives of Turkey should also include all of the records pertaining to the indictment, trial, and conviction of the Ottoman authorities responsible for the Armenian Genocide.

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

(11) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to the United States Department of State the policy of the Young Turk government as "a campaign of race extermination", and was instructed on July 16, 1915, by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing that the "Department approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian persecution".

(12) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of February 9, 1916, resolved that "the President of the United States be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citizens of this country may give expression to their sympathy by contributing funds now being raised for the relief of the Armenians",

1 who at the time were enduring "starvation, disease,
2 and untold suffering".
3 (13) President Wilson concurred and also en-
4 couraged the formation of the organization known as
5 Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress,
6 which contributed some $116,000,000 from 1915 to
7 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors, in-
8 cluding 132,000 orphans who became foster children
9 of the American people.
10 (14) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11,
11 1920, stated in part, "the testimony adduced at the
12 hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Sen-
13 ate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly es-
14 tablished the truth of the reported massacres and
15 other atrocities from which the Armenian people
16 have suffered".
17 (15) The resolution followed the April 13, 1920,
18 report to the Senate of the American Military Mis-
19 sion to Armenia led by General James Harbord, that
20 stated "[m]utilation, violation, torture, and death
21 have left their haunting memories in a hundred
22 beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that
23 region is seldom free from the evidence of this most
24 colossal crime of all the ages".

1 (16) Setting the stage for the Holocaust, Adolf
2 Hitler, on ordering his military commanders to at-
3 tack Poland without provocation in 1939, dismissed
4 objections by saying "[w]ho, after all, speaks today
5 of the annihilation of the Armenians?".
6 (17) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term
7 "genocide" in 1944, and who was the earliest pro-
8 ponent of the Genocide Convention, invoked the Ar-
9 menian case as a definitive example of genocide in
10 the 20th century.
11 (18) Raphael Lemkin described the crime as
12 "the systematic destruction of whole national, racial
13 or religious groups. The sort of thing Hitler did to
14 the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians".
15 (19) The first resolution on genocide adopted
16 by the United Nations at Lemkin's urging, the De-
17 cember 11, 1946, United Nations General Assembly
18 Resolution 96(1) and the United Nations Genocide
19 Convention itself recognized the Armenian Genocide
20 as the type of crime the United Nations intended to
21 prevent by codifying existing standards.
22 (20) In 1948 the United Nations War Crimes
23 Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide "pre-
24 cisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern

1 term 'crimes against humanity' is intended to cover"
2 as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals.
3 (21) The Commission stated that "[t]he provi-
4 sions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sévres
5 were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with
6 the Allied note of 1915 . . ., offenses which had been
7 committed on Turkish territory against persons of
8 Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek
9 race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent
10 for Article 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo
11 Charters, and offers an example of one of the cat-
12 egories of 'crimes against humanity' as understood
13 by these enactments".
14 (22) The United Nations Commission on
15 Human Rights adopted in 1985 a report entitled
16 "Study of the Question of the Prevention and Pun-
17 ishment of the Crime of Genocide", which stated
18 "[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been
19 the only case of genocide in the twentieth century.
20 Among other examples which can be cited as quali-
21 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians
22 in 1915-1916".
23 (23) This report also explained that "[a]t least
24 1 million, and possibly well over half of the Arme-
25 nian population, are reliably estimated to have been

killed or death marched by independent authorities and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States, German and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including 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".

1 (27) President Bush, in 1988, speaking of the
2 Armenian Genocide, stated "we must consciously
3 and conscientiously recognize the genocides of the
4 past—the enormous tragedies that have darkened
5 this century and that haunt us still. We must not
6 only commemorate the courage of the victims and of
7 their survivors, but we must also remind ourselves
8 that civilization cannot be taken for granted. . . . We
9 must all be vigilant against this most heinous crime
10 against humanity".
11 (28) President Bush, in 1988, stated further
12 "[t]he United States must acknowledge the at-
13 tempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last
14 years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testi-
15 mony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own rep-
16 resentatives at the time, if we are to insure that
17 such horrors are not repeated".
18 (29) President Clinton, on August 13, 1992,
19 stated "[t]he Genocide of 1915, years of communist
20 dictatorship, and the devastating earthquake of
21 1988 have caused great suffering in Armenia during
22 this century".
23 (30) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression
24 (later retracted) by the United States Department of
25 State asserting that the facts of the Armenian Geno-

1 cide may be ambiguous, the United States Court of
2 Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after
3 a review of documents pertaining to the policy
4 record of the United States, noted that the assertion
5 on ambiguity in the United States record about the
6 Armenian Genocide "contradicted longstanding
7 United States policy and was eventually retracted".
8 (31) Despite the international recognition and
9 affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of
10 the domestic and international authorities to punish
11 those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a
12 reason why similar genocides have recurred and may
13 recur in the future, and that a proper judicial and
14 firm response, holding the guilty accountable and re-
15 quiring the prompt enforcement of verdicts would
16 have spared humanity needless suffering.
17 (32) In a commendable letter on April 9, 1999,
18 Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, then Under Secretary
19 of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural
20 Affairs, pledged that the administration would raise
21 with the Republic of Turkey the issue of the recov-
22 ery of Armenian assets from the genocide period
23 held by the Imperial Ottoman Bank.
24 (33) It is important that the President ensure
25 that the foreign policy of the United States reflects

1 appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning
2 issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and
3 genocide documented in the United States record re-
4 lating to the Armenian Genocide and the con-
5 sequences of the failure to enforce the judgments of
6 the Turkish courts against the responsible officials.

7 **SEC. 3. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

8 The House of Representatives—

9 (1) calls upon the President to ensure that the
10 foreign policy of the United States reflects appro-
11 priate understanding and sensitivity concerning
12 issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and
13 genocide documented in the United States record re-
14 lating to the Armenian Genocide and the con-
15 sequences of the failure to enforce the judgments of
16 the Turkish courts against the responsible officials;
17 and

18 (2) calls upon the President in the President's
19 annual message commemorating the Armenian
20 Genocide issued on or about April 24 to characterize
21 the systematic and deliberate annihilation of
22 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to recall the
23 proud history of United States intervention in oppo-
24 sition to the Armenian Genocide.

AMENDMENT TO H.RES. 596
OFFERED BY MR. TANCREDO OF COLORADO

Page 11, line 17, strike "and".

Page 11, line 24, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 11, after line 24, insert the following:

> (3) calls upon the President in the President's annual message commemorating the Armenian Genocide to state that the modern day Republic of Turkey did not conduct the Armenian Genocide, which was perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire.

Amendment-in-the-nature-of-a-substitute
to H. Res. 596
Offered by Mr. Lantos of California

Strike all that follows after **"RESOLUTION"** and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Calling upon the President to provide for the appropriate training of Foreign Service officers and other executive branch personnel in the primacy of democratic values and internationally-recognized human rights.

SECTION. 1. SHORT TITLE.

This resolution may be cited as the 'United States Training on and Recognition of Man's Inhumanity to Man Resolution.'

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The House of Representatives finds the following:

1) Evidence of man's inhumanity to man has been present since the beginnings of recorded history;

2) The impact of man's inhumanity to man on history and the development of human civilization has been so tragic and devastating as to have called forth numerous responses at different times and in many different cultures to restrain the human appetite for violence, domination, and intolerance;

3) The history of the modern age since the rise of the democratic spirit during the eighteenth century provides evidence that the solution to the dilemma of man's inhumanity to man lies, at least in part, with the establishment of democratic political and social systems that are based on the equality of all citizens before the law, the public accountability of the governors to the governed, and on mutual tolerance;

4) Despite the best efforts of democratic nations and the ameliorating influence of the universal religious and humanist traditions, the twentieth century was the bloodiest in history, with an estimated 175,000,000 people worldwide having lost their lives because of politically-motivated violence, genocide, ethnic cleansing, planned starvation, and other forms of exploitation and basic cruelty;

5) The spread of democratic values and institutional practices, particularly since the recent downfall in numerous countries of ruling regimes based on fascism, communism, and other forms of racial, religious, or national exclusivity offers hope at the dawn of this twenty-first century that humankind may finally find the means effectively to restrain the sinister motivations of which human nature is capable at an organized or institutional level; and

6) The United States of America, by virtue of its experience in the ongoing struggle to redeem the promises of its own founding documents and ideals, is well qualified to provide assistance, as appropriate, to other nations and societies in their struggle to achieve similarly lofty goals.

SEC. 3. DECLARATION OF POLICY.

The House of Representatives ---

Calls upon the President to provide for the appropriate training of Foreign Service officers and other executive branch personnel who have occasion to respond to issues related to man's inhumanity to man, with such training to include an emphasis on the primacy of democratic values and internationally-recognized human rights and the means available to the United States, acting singly or in concert with other nations, to promote and enforce those values and rights.

AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 596
OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Page 11, after line 6, insert the following:

1 (34) The purposes of this resolution and the
2 national interests of the United States ~~in the region~~
3 are likely to be negated without the establishment of
4 a firm foundation for peace, cooperation, and rec-
5 onciliation between and among the several successor
6 states whose peoples and lands, ~~either in whole or in~~
7 ~~part~~, comprised portions of the Ottoman Empire, in-
8 cluding, but not necessarily limited to, the Republic
9 of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia.

Page 11, line 17, strike "and".

Page 11, line 24, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 11, after line 24, add the following:

10 (3) calls upon the President to initiate a policy
11 of active engagement in the region to promote peace,
12 cooperation, and reconciliation between and among
13 the several successor states whose peoples and lands,
14 ~~either in whole or in part~~, comprised portions of the
15 Ottoman Empire, including, but not necessarily lim-

1 ited to, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of
2 Armenia.

CONGRESSMAN ROHRABACHER AMENDMENT TO H.RES. 596

In Section 2, the 11th Clause, line 3:

replace "Young Turk Government" with "government of the Ottoman Empire"

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 404

Calling for the immediate release of Mr. Edmond Pope from prison in the Russian Federation for humanitarian reasons, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 19, 2000

Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania (for himself, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. DEMINT, Ms. DUNN, Mr. FORBES, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. HERGER, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. KLINK, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. SCHAFFER, Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. SHERWOOD, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. SWEENEY, Mr. TERRY, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. WOLF, Mr. ROHRABACHER, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. ROGAN, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. HOEKSTRA, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. THORNBERRY, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BOEHNER, Mrs. BONO, Mr. BRADY of Texas, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CAMP, Mr. CANNON, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. COOK, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. COX, Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. DELAY, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. DICKS, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. DUNCAN, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. EWING, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. GOODE, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. GORDON, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. HOYER, Mr. HULSHOF, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. KIND, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. LATHAM, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. MASCARA, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. MCINTOSH, Mr. MICA, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, Mr. NEY, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. POMBO, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. QUINN, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. RILEY, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. RYUN of Kansas, Mr. SANFORD, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. WALDEN of Oregon, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. WICKER, and Mrs. WILSON) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Calling for the immediate release of Mr. Edmond Pope from prison in the Russian Federation for humanitarian reasons, and for other purposes.

Whereas Mr. Edmond Pope of State College, Pennsylvania, is a husband, father, grandfather, son, and United States businessman;

Whereas Edmond Pope has visited the Russian Federation 27 times in order to foster better business and university-based research relationships;

Whereas Edmond Pope traveled to the Russian Federation in late March 2000 in order to purchase commercially advertised underwater propulsion technology, as stated in his visa approved by the Government of the Russian Federation;

Whereas Edmond Pope was arrested on April 3, 2000, in Moscow, imprisoned in Lefortovo, and charged with espionage;

Whereas the Russian who allegedly committed an act of treason by aiding Edmond Pope was released and has been living with his family;

Whereas Edmond Pope has been treated for hemangiopericytoma, a rare form of cancer, that was in remission prior to his travel;

Whereas Edmond Pope's father is dying of multiple myeloma, a type of bone cancer that can be hereditary;

Whereas Edmond Pope should receive routine medical care by a qualified, trained professional in order to monitor the possibility of a recurrence of cancer due to his high-risk potential;

Whereas Edmond Pope has missed his annual monitoring visit resulting in a 14 month lapse since his last visit;

Whereas Edmond Pope's prison conditions have caused a dramatic loss in weight and his physical stature has deteriorated;

Whereas Edmond Pope has been denied the basic human right of proper medical attention deserving of an individual in his condition;

Whereas two Americans have died in the past few months within prisons in the Russian Federation and another individual has recently died in Lefortovo;

Whereas Edmond Pope has been unjustly arrested and detained for more than 5 months, preventing him from celebrating his 30th wedding anniversary and the marriage of his son, and during which time his mother-in-law passed away;

Whereas recent events have shown that trials in the Russian Federation involving alleged violations in the area of national security can take several years;

Whereas it is unlikely that Edmond Pope would survive a lengthy trial; and

Whereas United States business and academic interests with the Russian Federation are beginning to be detrimentally impacted by this event: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That—
3 (1) the Congress calls on the Russian Federa-
4 tion, under the leadership of President Vladimir
5 Putin, to immediately release Mr. Edmond Pope of

1 State College, Pennsylvania, and to ensure that
2 proper and qualified medical attention is provided to
3 him in order to ensure that another loss of life does
4 not occur in a prison in the Russian Federation;
5 (2) it is the sense of Congress that if Edmond
6 Pope is not released immediately the President
7 should continue all efforts afforded to the adminis-
8 tration to secure his release, including the consider-
9 ation of—
10 (A) terminating all assistance to the Gov-
11 ernment of the Russian Federation under the
12 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the annual
13 Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Re-
14 lated Programs Appropriations Act for purposes
15 of preparing the Russian Federation's entrance
16 or accession to the World Trade Organization
17 (WTO); and
18 (B) opposing any further debt relief of ob-
19 ligations owed to the United States Government
20 from the Government of the Russian Federa-
21 tion; and
22 (3) the President should increase efforts to se-
23 cure appropriate medical attention for Edmond
24 Pope.

○

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 577

To honor the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for its role as a protector of the world's refugees, to celebrate UNHCR's 50th anniversary, and to praise the High Commissioner Sadako Ogata for her work with UNHCR for the past ten years.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

Mr. HALL of Ohio (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. LANTOS) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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RESOLUTION

To honor the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for its role as a protector of the world's refugees, to celebrate UNHCR's 50th anniversary, and to praise the High Commissioner Sadako Ogata for her work with UNHCR for the past ten years.

Whereas since the founding of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in December 1950, it has become one of the world's principal humanitarian agencies with 244 offices in 118 countries and helps nearly 23,000,000 people in more than 140 countries;

Whereas on December 14, 2000, UNHCR marks a half-century of helping millions of the world's most vulnerable and courageous people;

Whereas UNHCR has fulfilled the mandate in Article 22 of the United Nations Charter by assisting states to provide protection and assistance to refugees around the world and seeking durable solutions to their problems;

Whereas UNHCR has worked to ensure respect of refugees basic human rights and adherence to the principle of nonrefoulement, which prohibits the expulsion and return of refugees to countries or territories where their lives or freedom would be threatened;

Whereas the United States and its citizens have long welcomed refugees to our shores;

Whereas, although UNHCR's responsibilities under its original mandate do not include internally displaced persons, it plays a critical role in assisting and protecting internally displaced populations in many situations, particularly where refugees and internally displaced persons are intertwined;

Whereas the heart of UNHCR's mandate is protection, and UNHCR must continue to emphasize protection in choosing durable solutions for refugees, including voluntary return, local integration in countries of first asylum, and resettlement;

Whereas refugee women and children face special protection and assistance needs and UNHCR must continue to emphasize their needs in its policy and program efforts;

Whereas, in collaboration with other international agencies and nongovernmental organizations, UNHCR has shaped policies on which the international community can agree to move forward on peacefully resolving refugee situations;

Whereas under the leadership of High Commissioner Sadako Ogata and her predecessors, UNHCR has made invaluable contributions for humanity by helping to promote peace and respect for human rights for all uprooted peoples; and

Whereas UNHCR has twice been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its service to humanity: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved,* That the United States House of
2 Representatives—

3 (1) recognizes and honors the United Nations
4 High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the
5 occasion of its 50th anniversary for its contributions
6 on behalf of the world's refugees;

7 (2) expresses its support for the continued ef-
8 forts of UNHCR;

9 (3) affirms its support for international protec-
10 tion for the victims of persecution and human rights
11 abuse and durable solutions for refugees; and

12 (4) calls on the international community to
13 work together with UNHCR in efforts to ensure that
14 host countries uphold humanitarian and human
15 rights principles for refugees, to lessen the impact of
16 refugees on host countries, and to promote the safe
17 voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettle-
18 ment of refugees.

○

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

[Showing the text of H. Res. 577, as Reported by the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights on 9/21/00]

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas since the founding of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in December 1950, it has become one of the world's principal humanitarian agencies with 244 offices in 118 countries and helps nearly 22,000,000 people in more than 140 countries;

Whereas on December 14, 2000, UNHCR marks a half-century of helping millions of the world's most vulnerable and courageous people;

Whereas UNHCR continues to fulfill its mandate, as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1950, to provide international protection to refugees and persons seeking asylum and to seek durable solutions to their problems;

Whereas UNHCR has worked to ensure respect of refugees' basic human rights and adherence to the principle of nonrefoulement, which prohibits the expulsion and return of refugees to countries or territories where their lives or freedom would be threatened;

Whereas the United States and its citizens have long welcomed refugees to our shores;

Whereas, although UNHCR's responsibilities under its original mandate do not include internally displaced persons,

it plays a critical role in assisting and protecting internally displaced populations in many situations, particularly where refugee and internally displaced populations are mixed;

Whereas the heart of UNHCR's mandate is protection, and UNHCR must continue to emphasize protection in choosing durable solutions for refugees, including voluntary return, local integration in countries of first asylum, and resettlement;

Whereas vulnerable refugees, particularly women, children, and the elderly, face special protection and assistance needs and UNHCR must continue to emphasize their needs in its policy and program efforts;

Whereas, in collaboration with other international agencies and nongovernmental organizations, UNHCR has shaped policies on which the international community can agree to move forward on peacefully resolving refugee situations;

Whereas under the leadership of High Commissioner Sadako Ogata and her predecessors, UNHCR has made invaluable contributions for humanity by helping to promote peace and respect for human rights for all uprooted peoples; and

Whereas UNHCR has twice been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its service to humanity: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

1 That the United States House of Representatives—

1 (1) recognizes and honors the United Nations
2 High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the
3 occasion of its 50th anniversary for its contributions
4 on behalf of the world's refugees;
5 (2) expresses its support for the continued ef-
6 forts of UNHCR;
7 (3) affirms its support for international protec-
8 tion for the victims of persecution and human rights
9 violations and for the achievement of durable solu-
10 tions for refugees; and
11 (4) calls on the international community to
12 work together with UNHCR in efforts to ensure that
13 host countries uphold humanitarian principles and
14 the human rights of refugees, to lessen the impact
15 of refugees on host countries, and to promote the
16 safe voluntary repatriation, local integration, or re-
17 settlement of refugees.

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 397

Voicing concern about serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in most states of Central Asia, including substantial noncompliance with their Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) commitments on democratization and the holding of free and fair elections.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 12, 2000

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. HOYER, and Mr. FORBES) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Voicing concern about serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in most states of Central Asia, including substantial noncompliance with their Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) commitments on democratization and the holding of free and fair elections.

Whereas the states of Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—have been participating states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 1992 and have freely accepted all OSCE commitments, including those concerning human rights, democracy, and the rule of law;

Whereas the Central Asian states, as OSCE participating states, have affirmed that every individual has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, expression, association, peaceful assembly and movement, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, and if charged with an offense the right to a fair and public trial;

Whereas the Central Asian states, as OSCE participating states, have committed themselves to build, consolidate, and strengthen democracy as the only system of government, and are obligated to hold free elections at reasonable intervals, to respect the right of citizens to seek political or public office without discrimination, to respect the right of individuals and groups to establish in full freedom their own political parties, and to allow parties and individuals wishing to participate in the electoral process access to the media on a nondiscriminatory basis;

Whereas the general trend of political development in Central Asia has been the emergence of presidents far more powerful than other branches of government, all of whom have refused to allow genuine electoral challenges, postponed or canceled elections, excluded serious rivals from participating in elections, or otherwise contrived to control the outcome of elections;

Whereas several leaders and governments in Central Asia have crushed nascent political parties, or refused to register opposition parties, and have imprisoned and used violence against, or exiled, opposition figures;

Whereas Central Asian governments have the right to defend themselves from internal and external threats posed by insurgents, radical religious groups, and other anti-demo-

cratic elements which employ violence as a means of political struggle;

Whereas the actions of the Central Asian governments have tended to exacerbate these internal and external threats by domestic repression, which has left few outlets for individuals and groups to vent grievances or otherwise participate legally in the political process;

Whereas in Kazakhstan, President Nursultan Nazarbaev dissolved parliament in 1993 and again in 1995, when he also annulled scheduled Presidential elections, and extended his tenure in office until 2000 by a deeply flawed referendum;

Whereas on January 10, 1999, President Nazarbaev was reelected in snap Presidential elections from which a leading challenger was excluded for having addressed an unregistered organization, "For Free Elections," and the OSCE assessed the election as falling far short of international standards;

Whereas Kazakhstan's October 1999 parliamentary election, which featured widespread interference in the process by the authorities, fell short of OSCE standards, according to the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR);

Whereas Kazakhstan's parliament on June 22, 2000, approved draft legislation designed to give President Nazarbaev various powers and privileges for the rest of his life;

Whereas independent media in Kazakhstan, which used to be fairly free, have been pressured, co-opted, or crushed, leaving few outlets for the expression of independent or opposition views, thus limiting the press's ability to criti-

cize or comment on the President's campaign to remain in office indefinitely or on high-level corruption;

Whereas opposition parties can function in Kyrgyzstan and parliament has in the past demonstrated some independence from President Askar Akaev and his government;

Whereas 3 opposition parties in Kyrgyzstan were excluded from fielding party lists and serious opposition candidates were not allowed to contest the second round of the February–March 2000 parliamentary election, or were prevented from winning their races by official interference, as cited by the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR);

Whereas a series of flagrantly politicized criminal cases after the election against opposition leaders and the recent exclusion on questionable linguistic grounds of other would-be candidates have raised grave concerns about the fairness of the election process and the prospects for holding a fair Presidential election on October 29, 2000;

Whereas independent and opposition-oriented media in Kyrgyzstan have faced serious constraints, including criminal lawsuits by government officials for alleged defamation;

Whereas in Tajikistan, a civil war in the early 1900's caused an estimated 50,000 people to perish, and a military stalemate forced President Imomaly Rakhmonov in 1997 to come to terms with Islamic and democratic opposition groups and agree to a coalition government;

Whereas free and fair elections and other democratic steps in Tajikistan offer the best hope of reconciling government and opposition forces, overcoming the legacy of the civil war, and establishing the basis for civil society;

Whereas President Rakhmonov was reelected in November 1999 with 96 percent of the vote in an election the OSCE did not observe because of the absence of conditions that would permit a fair contest;

Whereas the first multiparty election in the history of Tajikistan was held in February–March 2000, with the participation of former warring parties, but the election fell short of OSCE commitments and 11 people, including a prominent candidate, were killed;

Whereas in Turkmenistan under the rule of President Saparmurat Niyazov, no internationally recognized human rights are observed, including freedom of speech, assembly, association, religion, and movement, and attempts to exercise these rights are brutally suppressed;

Whereas Turkmenistan has committed political dissidents to psychiatric institutions;

Whereas in Turkmenistan President Niyazov is the object of a cult of personality, all political opposition is banned, all media are tightly censored, and only one political party, the Democratic Party, headed by President Niyazov, has been registered;

Whereas the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), citing the absence of conditions for a free and fair election, refused to send any representatives to the December 1999 parliamentary elections;

Whereas President Niyazov subsequently orchestrated a vote of the People's Council in December 1999 that essentially makes him President for life;

Whereas in Uzbekistan under President Islam Karimov, no opposition parties are registered, and only pro-government parties are represented in parliament;

Whereas in Uzbekistan all opposition political parties and leaders have been forced underground or into exile, all media are censored, and attempts to disseminate opposition newspapers can lead to jail terms;

Whereas Uzbekistan's authorities have laid the primary blame for explosions that took place in Tashkent in February 1999 on an opposition leader and have tried and convicted some of his relatives and others deemed his supports in court proceedings that did not correspond to OSCE standards and in other trials closed to the public and the international community;

Whereas in Uzbekistan police and security forces routinely plant narcotics and other evidence on political opposition figures as well as religious activists, according to Uzbek and international human rights organizations; and

Whereas the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), citing the absence of conditions for a free and fair election, sent no observers except a small group of experts to the December 1999 parliamentary election and refused any involvement in the January 2000 Presidential election: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring),* That the Congress—
3 (1) expresses deep concern about the tendency
4 of Central Asian leaders to seek to remain in power
5 indefinitely and their willingness to manipulate con-

1 stitutions, elections, and legislative and judicial sys-
2 tems, to do so;
3 (2) urges the President, the Secretary of State,
4 the Secretary of Defense, and other United States
5 officials to raise with Central Asian leaders, at every
6 opportunity, the concern about serious violations of
7 human rights, including noncompliance with Organi-
8 zation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
9 (OSCE) commitments on democracy and rule of law;
10 (3) urges Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan,
11 Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to come into compli-
12 ance with OSCE commitments on human rights, de-
13 mocracy, and the rule of law, specifically the holding
14 of free and fair elections that do not exclude genuine
15 challengers, to permit independent and opposition
16 parties and candidates to participate on an equal
17 basis with representation in election commissions at
18 all levels, and to allow domestic nongovernmental
19 and political party observers, as well as international
20 observers;
21 (4) calls on Central Asian leaders to establish
22 conditions for independent and opposition media to
23 function without constraint, limitation, or fear of
24 harassment, to repeal criminal laws which impose
25 prison sentences for alleged defamation of the state

1 or public officials, and to provide access to state
2 media on an equal basis during election campaigns
3 to independent and opposition parties and can-
4 didates;
5 (5) reminds the leaders of Central Asian states
6 that elections cannot be free and fair unless all citi-
7 zens can take part in the political process on an
8 equal basis, without intimidation or fear of reprisal,
9 and with confidence that their human rights and
10 fundamental freedoms will be fully respected;
11 (6) calls on the leaders of Turkmenistan and
12 Uzbekistan to condemn and take effective steps to
13 cease the systematic use of torture and other inhu-
14 man treatment by authorities against political oppo-
15 nents and others, to permit the registration of inde-
16 pendent and opposition parties and candidates, and
17 to register independent human rights monitoring or-
18 ganizations;
19 (7) urges the governments of Central Asia
20 which are engaged in military campaigns against
21 violent insurgents to observe international law regu-
22 lating such actions, to keep civilians and other non-
23 combatants from harm, and not to use such cam-
24 paigns to justify further crackdowns on political op-

1 position or violations of human rights commitments
2 under OSCE;
3 (8) encourages the Administration to raise with
4 the governments of other OSCE participating states
5 the possible implications for OSCE participation of
6 any participating state in the region that engages in
7 clear, gross, and uncorrected violations of its OSCE
8 commitments on human rights, democracy, and the
9 rule of law; and
10 (9) urges the Voice of America and Radio Lib-
11 erty to expand broadcasting to Central Asia, as
12 needed, with a focus on assuring that the peoples of
13 the region have access to unbiased news and pro-
14 grams that support respect for human rights and
15 the establishment of democracy and the rule of law.

○

AMENDMENT TO H. CON. RES. 397
OFFERED BY MR. GEJDENSON

After the 5th clause of the preamble, insert the following:

Whereas in recent weeks fighting has erupted between government troops of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan and members of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan;

After the 12th clause of the preamble, insert the following:

Whereas the Government of Kazakhstan has initiated, under OSCE auspices, roundtable discussions with representatives of some opposition parties and public organizations designed to remedy the defects of electoral legislation and now should increase the input in those discussions from opposition parties and public organizations that favor a more comprehensive national dialogue;

Page 8, after line 10, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent paragraphs accordingly):

1 (6) calls on Central Asian governments that
2 have begun roundtable discussions with opposition
3 and independent forces to engage in a serious and
4 comprehensive national dialogue, on an equal foot-
5 ing, on institutionalizing measures to hold free and
6 fair elections, and urges those governments which
7 have not launched such roundtables to do so;

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 2682

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 26, 2000

Referred to the Committee on International Relations

AN ACT

To authorize the Broadcasting Board of Governors to make available to the Institute for Media Development certain materials of the Voice of America.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. AVAILABILITY OF CERTAIN MATERIALS OF THE**
2 **VOICE OF AMERICA.**
3 (a) AUTHORITY.—
4 (1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the provisions of
5 this Act, the Broadcasting Board of Governors (in
6 this Act referred to as the "Board") is authorized
7 to make available to the Institute for Media Devel-
8 opment (in this Act referred to as the "Institute"),
9 at the request of the Institute, previously broadcast
10 audio and video materials produced by the Africa
11 Division of the Voice of America.
12 (2) DEPOSIT OF MATERIALS.—Upon the re-
13 quest of the Institute and the approval of the Board,
14 materials made available under paragraph (1) may
15 be deposited with the University of California, Los
16 Angeles, or such other appropriate institution of
17 higher education (as defined in section 101(a) of the
18 Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001(a))
19 that is approved by the Board for such purpose.
20 (3) SUPERSEDES EXISTING LAW.—Materials
21 made available under paragraph (1) may be provided
22 notwithstanding section 501 of the United States In-
23 formation and Educational Exchange Act of 1948
24 (22 U.S.C. 1461) and section 208 of the Foreign
25 Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1986 and
26 1987 (22 U.S.C. 1461–1a).

1 (b) LIMITATIONS.—

2 (1) AUTHORIZED PURPOSES.—Materials made
3 available under this Act shall be used only for aca-
4 demic and research purposes and may not be used
5 for public or commercial broadcast purposes.

6 (2) PRIOR AGREEMENT REQUIRED.—Before
7 making available materials under subsection (a)(1),
8 the Board shall enter into an agreement with the In-
9 stitute providing for—

10 (A) reimbursement of the Board for any
11 expenses involved in making such materials
12 available;

13 (B) the establishment of guidelines by the
14 Institute for the archiving and use of the mate-
15 rials to ensure that copyrighted works con-
16 tained in those materials will not be used in a
17 manner that would violate the copyright laws of
18 the United States (including international copy-
19 right conventions to which the United States is
20 a party);

21 (C) the indemnification of the United
22 States by the Institute in the event that any
23 use of the materials results in violation of the
24 copyright laws of the United States (including

1 international copyright conventions to which the
2 United States is a party);
3 (D) the authority of the Board to termi-
4 nate the agreement if the provisions of para-
5 graph (1) are violated; and
6 (E) any other terms and conditions relat-
7 ing to the materials that the Board considers
8 appropriate.
9 (c) CREDITING OF REIMBURSEMENTS TO BOARD AP-
10 PROPRIATIONS ACCOUNT.—Any reimbursement of the
11 Board under subsection (b) shall be deposited as an offset-
12 ting collection to the currently applicable appropriation ac-
13 count of the Board.
14 **SEC. 2. TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.**
15 The authority provided under this Act shall cease to
16 have effect on the date that is 5 years after the date of
17 enactment of this Act.

Passed the Senate June 23, 2000.

Attest: GARY SISCO,
Secretary.

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 1453

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 27, 2000

Referred to the Committee on International Relations

AN ACT

To facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Sudan Peace Act".

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 Congress makes the following findings:

3 (1) With clear indications that the Government
4 of Sudan intends to intensify its prosecution of the
5 war against areas outside of its control, which has
6 already cost nearly 2,000,000 lives and has displaced
7 more than 4,000,000, a sustained and coordinated
8 international effort to pressure combatants to end
9 hostilities and to address the roots of the conflict of-
10 fers the best opportunity for a comprehensive solu-
11 tion to the continuing war in Sudan.

12 (2) A viable, comprehensive, and internationally
13 sponsored peace process, protected from manipula-
14 tion, presents the best chance for a permanent reso-
15 lution of the war, protection of human rights, and
16 a self-sustaining Sudan.

17 (3) Continued strengthening of humanitarian
18 relief operations in Sudan is an essential element in
19 the effort to bring an end to the war.

20 (4) Continued leadership by the United States
21 is critical.

22 (5) Regardless of the future political status of
23 the areas of Sudan outside of the control of the Gov-
24 ernment of Sudan, the absence of credible civil au-
25 thority and institutions is a major impediment to
26 achieving self-sustenance by the Sudanese people

1 and to meaningful progress toward a viable peace
2 process.
3 (6) Through manipulation of traditional rival-
4 ries among peoples in areas outside their full con-
5 trol, the Government of Sudan has effectively used
6 divide and conquer techniques to subjugate their
7 population, and Congress finds that internationally
8 sponsored reconciliation efforts have played a critical
9 role in reducing the tactic's effectiveness and human
10 suffering.
11 (7) The Government of Sudan is increasingly
12 utilizing and organizing militias, Popular Defense
13 Forces, and other irregular troops for raiding and
14 slaving parties in areas outside of the control of the
15 Government of Sudan in an effort to severely disrupt
16 the ability of those populations to sustain them-
17 selves. The tactic is in addition to the overt use of
18 bans on air transport relief flights in prosecuting the
19 war through selective starvation and to minimize the
20 Government of Sudan's accountability internation-
21 ally.
22 (8) The Government of Sudan has repeatedly
23 stated that it intends to use the expected proceeds
24 from future oil sales to increase the tempo and

1 lethality of the war against the areas outside its con-
2 trol.
3 (9) Through its power to veto plans for air
4 transport flights under the United Nations relief op-
5 eration, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), the Gov-
6 ernment of Sudan has been able to manipulate the
7 receipt of food aid by the Sudanese people from the
8 United States and other donor countries as a dev-
9 astating weapon of war in the ongoing effort by the
10 Government of Sudan to subdue areas of Sudan out-
11 side of the Government's control.
12 (10) The efforts of the United States and other
13 donors in delivering relief and assistance through
14 means outside OLS have played a critical role in ad-
15 dressing the deficiencies in OLS and offset the Gov-
16 ernment of Sudan's manipulation of food donations
17 to advantage in the civil war in Sudan.
18 (11) While the immediate needs of selected
19 areas in Sudan facing starvation have been ad-
20 dressed in the near term, the population in areas of
21 Sudan outside of the control of the Government of
22 Sudan are still in danger of extreme disruption of
23 their ability to sustain themselves.
24 (12) The Nuba Mountains and many areas in
25 Bahr al Ghazal, Upper Nile, and Blue Nile regions

1 have been excluded completely from relief distribu-
2 tion by OLS, consequently placing their populations
3 at increased risk of famine.
4 (13) At a cost which can exceed $1,000,000 per
5 day, and with a primary focus on providing only for
6 the immediate food needs of the recipients, the cur-
7 rent international relief operations are neither sus-
8 tainable nor desirable in the long term.
9 (14) The ability of populations to defend them-
10 selves against attack in areas outside the Govern-
11 ment of Sudan's control has been severely com-
12 promised by the disengagement of the front-line
13 sponsor states, fostering the belief within officials of
14 the Government of Sudan that success on the battle-
15 field can be achieved.
16 (15) The United States should use all means of
17 pressure available to facilitate a comprehensive solu-
18 tion to the war, including—
19 (A) the maintenance and
20 multilateralization of sanctions against the Gov-
21 ernment of Sudan with explicit linkage of those
22 sanctions to peace;
23 (B) the support or creation of viable demo-
24 cratic civil authority and institutions in areas of
25 Sudan outside government control;

1 (C) continued active support of people-to-
2 people reconciliation mechanisms and efforts in
3 areas outside of government control;
4 (D) the strengthening of the mechanisms
5 to provide humanitarian relief to those areas;
6 (E) cooperation among the trading part-
7 ners of the United States and within multilat-
8 eral institutions toward those ends; and
9 (F) the use of any and all possible unilat-
10 eral and multilateral economic and diplomatic
11 tools to compel Ethiopia and Eritrea to end
12 their hostilities and again assume a constructive
13 stance toward facilitating a comprehensive solu-
14 tion to the ongoing war in Sudan.
15 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**
16 In this Act:
17 (1) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.—The term "Gov-
18 ernment of Sudan" means the National Islamic
19 Front government in Khartoum, Sudan.
20 (2) IGAD.—The term "IGAD" means the
21 Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.
22 (3) OLS.—The term "OLS" means the United
23 Nations relief operation carried out by UNICEF, the
24 World Food Program, and participating relief orga-
25 nizations known as "Operation Lifeline Sudan".

1 **SEC. 4. CONDEMNATION OF SLAVERY, OTHER HUMAN**
2 **RIGHTS ABUSES, AND NEW TACTICS BY THE**
3 **GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.**

4 Congress hereby—

5 (1) condemns—

6 (A) violations of human rights on all sides
7 of the conflict in Sudan;

8 (B) the Government of Sudan's overall
9 human rights record, with regard to both the
10 prosecution of the war and the denial of basic
11 human and political rights to all Sudanese;

12 (C) the ongoing slave trade in Sudan and
13 the role of the Government of Sudan in abet-
14 ting and tolerating the practice; and

15 (D) the Government of Sudan's increasing
16 use and organization of "murahalliin" or
17 "mujahadeen", Popular Defense Forces (PDF),
18 and regular Sudanese Army units into orga-
19 nized and coordinated raiding and slaving par-
20 ties in Bahr al Ghazal, the Nuba Mountains,
21 Upper Nile, and Blue Nile regions; and

22 (2) recognizes that, along with selective bans on
23 air transport relief flights by the Government of
24 Sudan, the use of raiding and slaving parties is a
25 tool for creating food shortages and is used as a sys-
26 tematic means to destroy the societies, culture, and

1 economies of the Dinka, Nuer, and Nuba peoples in
2 a policy of low-intensity ethnic cleansing.

3 **SEC. 5. SUPPORT FOR THE IGAD PEACE PROCESS.**

4 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—Congress hereby—
5 (1) declares its support for the efforts by execu-
6 tive branch officials of the United States and the
7 President's Special Envoy for Sudan to lead in a re-
8 invigoration of the IGAD-sponsored peace process;
9 (2) calls on IGAD member states, the European
10 Union, the Organization of African Unity, Egypt,
11 and other key states to support the peace process;
12 and
13 (3) urges Kenya's leadership in the implementa-
14 tion of the process.
15 (b) RELATION TO UNITED STATES DIPLOMACY.—It
16 is the sense of Congress that any such diplomatic efforts
17 toward resolution of the conflict in Sudan are best made
18 through a peace process based on the Declaration of Prin-
19 ciples reached in Nairobi, Kenya, on July 20, 1994, and
20 that the President should not create any process or diplo-
21 matic facility or office which could be viewed as a parallel
22 or competing diplomatic track.
23 (c) UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.—The
24 Secretary of State is authorized to utilize the personnel
25 of the Department of State for the support of—

1 (1) the secretariat of IGAD;
2 (2) the ongoing negotiations between the Gov-
3 ernment of Sudan and opposition forces;
4 (3) any peace settlement planning to be carried
5 out by the National Democratic Alliance and IGAD
6 Partners' Forum (IPF); and
7 (4) other United States diplomatic efforts sup-
8 porting a peace process in Sudan.

9 **SEC. 6. INCREASED PRESSURE ON COMBATANTS.**

10 It is the sense of Congress that the President, acting
11 through the United States Permanent Representative to
12 the United Nations, should—
13 (1) sponsor a resolution in the United Nations
14 Security Council to investigate the practice of slav-
15 ery in Sudan and provide recommendations on meas-
16 ures for its eventual elimination;
17 (2) sponsor a condemnation of the human
18 rights practices of the Government of Sudan at the
19 United Nations conference on human rights in Gene-
20 va in 2000;
21 (3) press for implementation of the rec-
22 ommendations of the United Nations Special
23 Rapporteur for Sudan with respect to human rights
24 monitors in areas of conflict in Sudan;

1 (4) press for UNICEF, International Com-
2 mittee of the Red Cross, or the International Fed-
3 eration of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, or
4 other appropriate international organizations or
5 agencies to maintain a registry of those individuals
6 who have been abducted or are otherwise held in
7 bondage or servitude in Sudan;
8 (5) sponsor a condemnation of the Government
9 of Sudan each time it subjects civilian populations to
10 aerial bombardment; and
11 (6) sponsor a resolution in the United Nations
12 General Assembly condemning the human rights
13 practices of the Government of Sudan.
14 **SEC. 7. REPORTING REQUIREMENT.**
15 Beginning 3 months after the date of enactment of
16 this Act, and every 3 months thereafter, the President
17 shall submit a report to Congress on—
18 (1) the specific sources and current status of
19 Sudan's financing and construction of oil exploi-
20 tation infrastructure and pipelines;
21 (2) the extent to which that financing was se-
22 cured in the United States or with involvement of
23 United States citizens;

1 (3) such financing's relation to the sanctions
2 described in subsection (a) and the Executive Order
3 of November 3, 1997;
4 (4) the extent of aerial bombardment by the
5 Government of Sudan forces in areas outside its con-
6 trol, including targets, frequency, and best estimates
7 of damage;
8 (5) the number, duration, and locations of air
9 strips or other humanitarian relief facilities to which
10 access is denied by any party to the conflict; and
11 (6) the status of the IGAD-sponsored peace
12 process and any other ongoing effort to end the con-
13 flict, including the specific and verifiable steps taken
14 by parties to the conflict, the members of the IGAD
15 Partners Forum, and the members of IGAD toward
16 a comprehensive solution to the war.

17 **SEC. 8. REFORM OF OPERATION LIFELINE SUDAN (OLS).**

18 It is the sense of Congress that the President should
19 organize and maintain a formal consultative process with
20 the European Union, its member states, the members of
21 the United Nations Security Council, and other relevant
22 parties on coordinating an effort within the United Na-
23 tions to revise the terms of OLS to end the veto power
24 of the Government of Sudan over the plans by OLS for
25 air transport relief flights.

1 **SEC. 9. CONTINUED USE OF NON-OLS ORGANIZATIONS FOR**
2 **RELIEF EFFORTS.**

3 (a) FINDING.—Congress recognizes the progress
4 made by officials of the executive branch of Government
5 toward greater utilization of non-OLS agencies for more
6 effective distribution of United States relief contributions.

7 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
8 gress that the President should continue to increase the
9 use of non-OLS agencies in the distribution of relief sup-
10 plies in southern Sudan.

11 (c) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
12 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a de-
13 tailed report to Congress describing the progress made to-
14 ward carrying out subsection (b).

15 **SEC. 10. CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR ANY BAN ON AIR TRANS-**
16 **PORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.**

17 (a) PLAN.—The President shall develop a detailed
18 and implementable contingency plan to provide, outside
19 United Nations auspices, the greatest possible amount of
20 United States Government and privately donated relief to
21 all affected areas in Sudan, including the Nuba Moun-
22 tains, Upper Nile, and Blue Nile, in the event the Govern-
23 ment of Sudan imposes a total, partial, or incremental ban
24 on OLS air transport relief flights.

25 (b) ELEMENT OF PLAN.—The plan developed under
26 subsection (a) shall include coordination of other donors

1 in addition to the United States Government and private
2 institutions.

3 (c) REPORT.—Not later than 2 months after the date
4 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a clas-
5 sified report to Congress on the costs and startup time
6 such a plan would require in the event of a total ban on
7 air transport relief flights or in the event of a partial or
8 incremental ban on such flights if the President has made
9 the determination required by subsection (a)(2).

10 (d) REPROGRAMMING AUTHORITY.—Notwith-
11 standing any other provision of law, in carrying out the
12 plan developed under subsection (a), the President may
13 reprogram up to 100 percent of the funds available for
14 support of OLS operations (but for this subsection) for
15 the purposes of the plan.

16 **SEC. 11. NEW AUTHORITY FOR USAID'S SUDAN TRANSITION**
17 **ASSISTANCE FOR REHABILITATION (STAR)**
18 **PROGRAM.**

19 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—Congress hereby ex-
20 presses its support for the President's ongoing efforts to
21 diversify and increase effectiveness of United States as-
22 sistance to populations in areas of Sudan outside of the
23 control of the Government of Sudan, especially the long-
24 term focus shown in the Sudan Transition Assistance for
25 Rehabilitation (STAR) program with its emphasis on pro-

1 moting future democratic governance, rule of law, building
2 indigenous institutional capacity, promoting and enhanc-
3 ing self-reliance, and actively supporting people-to-people
4 reconciliation efforts.

5 (b) ALLOCATION OF FUNDS.—Of the amounts made
6 available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign
7 Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq:, relating
8 to development assistance) for the period beginning on Oc-
9 tober 1, 2000, and ending on September 30, 2003,
10 $16,000,000 shall be available for development of a viable
11 civil authority, and civil and commercial institutions, in
12 Sudan, including the provision of technical assistance, and
13 for people-to-people reconciliation efforts.

14 (c) ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES.—Notwithstanding
15 any other provision of law, the President is granted au-
16 thority to undertake any appropriate programs using Fed-
17 eral agencies, contractual arrangements, or direct support
18 of indigenous groups, agencies, or organizations in areas
19 outside of control of the Government of Sudan in an effort
20 to provide emergency relief, promote economic self-suffi-
21 ciency, build civil authority, provide education, enhance
22 rule of law and the development of judicial and legal
23 frameworks, support people-to-people reconciliation ef-
24 forts, or implementation of any programs in support of

1 any viable peace agreement at the local, regional, or na-
2 tional level.

3 (d) IMPLEMENTATION.—It is the sense of Congress
4 that the President should immediately and to the fullest
5 extent possible utilize the Office of Transition Initiatives
6 at the Agency for International Development in an effort
7 to pursue the type of programs described in subsection
8 (c).

9 (e) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
10 gress that enhancing and supporting education and the
11 development of rule of law are critical elements in the
12 long-term success of United States efforts to promote a
13 viable economic, political, social, and legal basis for devel-
14 opment in Sudan. Congress recognizes that the gap of 13–
15 16 years without secondary educational opportunities in
16 southern Sudan is an especially important problem to ad-
17 dress with respect to rebuilding and sustaining leaders and
18 educators for the next generation of Sudanese. Congress
19 recognizes the unusually important role the secondary
20 school in Rumbek has played in producing the current
21 generation of leaders in southern Sudan, and that priority
22 should be given in current and future development or tran-
23 sition programs undertaken by the United States Govern-
24 ment to rebuilding and supporting the Rumbek Secondary
25 School.

1 (f) PROGRAMS IN AREAS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT
2 CONTROL.—Congress also intends that such programs in-
3 clude cooperation and work with indigenous groups in
4 areas outside of government control in all of Sudan, to
5 include northern, southern, and eastern regions of Sudan.

6 **SEC. 12. ASSESSMENT AND PLANNING FOR NUBA MOUN-**
7 **TAINS AND OTHER AREAS SUBJECT TO BANS**
8 **ON AIR TRANSPORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.**

9 (a) FINDING.—Congress recognizes that civilians in
10 the Nuba Mountains, Red Sea Hills, and Blue Nile regions
11 of Sudan are not receiving assistance through OLS due
12 to restrictions by the Government of Sudan.

13 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
14 gress that the President should—

15 (1) conduct comprehensive assessment of the
16 humanitarian needs in the Nuba Mountains, Red
17 Sea Hills, and Blue Nile regions of Sudan;

18 (2) respond appropriately to those needs based
19 on such assessment; and

20 (3) report to Congress on an annual basis on
21 efforts made under paragraph (2).

1 **SEC. 13. OPTIONS OR PLANS FOR NONLETHAL ASSISTANCE**
2 **FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE PAR-**
3 **TICIPANTS.**

4 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
5 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to
6 the appropriate congressional committees a report, in clas-
7 sified form if necessary, detailing possible options or plans
8 of the United States Government for the provision of non-
9 lethal assistance to participants of the National Demo-
10 cratic Alliance.

11 (b) CONSULTATIONS.—Not later than 30 days after
12 submission of the report required by subsection (a), the
13 President should begin formal consultations with the ap-
14 propriate congressional committees regarding the findings
15 of the report.

16 (c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term "appro-
17 priate congressional committees" means the Committee on
18 Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations
19 of the Senate and the Committee on International Rela-
20 tions and the Committee on Appropriations of the House
21 of Representatives.

Passed the Senate November 19, 1999.

Attest: GARY SISCO,
Secretary.

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

[Showing the text of S. 1453, as Reported by the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights on 9/21/00]

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the "Sudan Peace Act".

3 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

4 Congress makes the following findings:

5 (1) With clear indications that the Government
6 of Sudan intends to intensify its prosecution of the
7 war against areas outside of its control, which has
8 already cost nearly 2,000,000 lives and has displaced
9 more than 4,000,000, a sustained and coordinated
10 international effort to pressure combatants to end
11 hostilities and to address the roots of the conflict of-
12 fers the best opportunity for a comprehensive solu-
13 tion to the continuing war in Sudan.

14 (2) A viable, comprehensive, and internationally
15 sponsored peace process, protected from manipula-
16 tion, presents the best chance for a permanent reso-
17 lution of the war, protection of human rights, and
18 a self-sustaining Sudan.

1 (3) Continued strengthening of humanitarian
2 relief operations in Sudan is an essential element in
3 the effort to bring an end to the war.
4 (4) Continued leadership by the United States
5 is critical.
6 (5) Regardless of the future political status of
7 the areas of Sudan outside of the control of the Gov-
8 ernment of Sudan, the absence of credible civil au-
9 thority and institutions is a major impediment to
10 achieving self-sustenance by the Sudanese people
11 and to meaningful progress toward a viable peace
12 process.
13 (6) Through manipulation of traditional rival-
14 ries among peoples in areas outside their full con-
15 trol, the Government of Sudan has effectively used
16 divide and conquer techniques to subjugate their
17 population, and Congress finds that internationally
18 sponsored reconciliation efforts have played a critical
19 role in reducing the tactic's effectiveness and human
20 suffering.
21 (7) The Government of Sudan is increasingly
22 utilizing and organizing militias, Popular Defense
23 Forces, and other irregular troops for raiding and
24 slaving parties in areas outside of the control of the
25 Government of Sudan in an effort to severely disrupt

1 the ability of those populations to sustain them-
2 selves. The tactic is in addition to the overt use of
3 bans on air transport relief flights in prosecuting the
4 war through selective starvation and to minimize the
5 Government of Sudan's accountability internation-
6 ally.

7 (8) The Government of Sudan has repeatedly
8 stated that it intends to use the expected proceeds
9 from future oil sales to increase the tempo and
10 lethality of the war against the areas outside its con-
11 trol.

12 (9) Through its power to veto plans for air
13 transport flights under the United Nations relief op-
14 eration, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), the Gov-
15 ernment of Sudan has been able to manipulate the
16 receipt of food aid by the Sudanese people from the
17 United States and other donor countries as a dev-
18 astating weapon of war in the ongoing effort by the
19 Government of Sudan to subdue areas of Sudan out-
20 side of the Government's control.

21 (10) The efforts of the United States and other
22 donors in delivering relief and assistance through
23 means outside OLS have played a critical role in ad-
24 dressing the deficiencies in OLS and offset the Gov-

1 ernment of Sudan's manipulation of food donations
2 to advantage in the civil war in Sudan.
3 (11) While the immediate needs of selected
4 areas in Sudan facing starvation have been ad-
5 dressed in the near term, the population in areas of
6 Sudan outside of the control of the Government of
7 Sudan are still in danger of extreme disruption of
8 their ability to sustain themselves.
9 (12) The Nuba Mountains and many areas in
10 Bahr al Ghazal, Upper Nile, and Blue Nile regions
11 have been excluded completely from relief distribu-
12 tion by OLS, consequently placing their populations
13 at increased risk of famine.
14 (13) At a cost which can exceed $1,000,000 per
15 day, and with a primary focus on providing only for
16 the immediate food needs of the recipients, the cur-
17 rent international relief operations are neither sus-
18 tainable nor desirable in the long term.
19 (14) The ability of populations to defend them-
20 selves against attack in areas outside the Govern-
21 ment of Sudan's control has been severely com-
22 promised by the disengagement of the front-line
23 sponsor states, fostering the belief within officials of
24 the Government of Sudan that success on the battle-
25 field can be achieved.

1 (15) The United States should use all means of
2 pressure available to facilitate a comprehensive solu-
3 tion to the war, including—
4 (A) the maintenance and
5 multilateralization of sanctions against the Gov-
6 ernment of Sudan with explicit linkage of those
7 sanctions to peace;
8 (B) the support or creation of viable demo-
9 cratic civil authority and institutions in areas of
10 Sudan outside government control;
11 (C) continued active support of people-to-
12 people reconciliation mechanisms and efforts in
13 areas outside of government control;
14 (D) the strengthening of the mechanisms
15 to provide humanitarian relief to those areas;
16 (E) cooperation among the trading part-
17 ners of the United States and within multilat-
18 eral institutions toward those ends; and
19 (F) the use of any and all possible unilat-
20 eral and multilateral economic and diplomatic
21 tools to compel Ethiopia and Eritrea to end
22 their hostilities and again assume a constructive
23 stance toward facilitating a comprehensive solu-
24 tion to the ongoing war in Sudan.

1 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

2 In this Act:

3 (1) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.—The term "Gov-
4 ernment of Sudan" means the National Islamic
5 Front government in Khartoum, Sudan.

6 (2) IGAD.—The term "IGAD" means the
7 Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.

8 (3) OLS.—The term "OLS" means the United
9 Nations relief operation carried out by UNICEF, the
10 World Food Program, and participating relief orga-
11 nizations known as "Operation Lifeline Sudan".

12 **SEC. 4. CONDEMNATION OF SLAVERY, OTHER HUMAN**
13 **RIGHTS ABUSES, AND NEW TACTICS BY THE**
14 **GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.**

15 Congress hereby—

16 (1) condemns—

17 (A) violations of human rights on all sides
18 of the conflict in Sudan;

19 (B) the Government of Sudan's overall
20 human rights record, with regard to both the
21 prosecution of the war and the denial of basic
22 human and political rights to all Sudanese;

23 (C) the ongoing slave trade in Sudan and
24 the role of the Government of Sudan in abet-
25 ting and tolerating the practice; and

1 (D) the Government of Sudan's increasing
2 use and organization of "murahalliin" or
3 "mujahadeen", Popular Defense Forces (PDF),
4 and regular Sudanese Army units into orga-
5 nized and coordinated raiding and slaving par-
6 ties in Bahr al Ghazal, the Nuba Mountains,
7 Upper Nile, and Blue Nile regions; and
8 (2) recognizes that, along with selective bans on
9 air transport relief flights by the Government of
10 Sudan, the use of raiding and slaving parties is a
11 tool for creating food shortages and is used as a sys-
12 tematic means to destroy the societies, culture, and
13 economies of the Dinka, Nuer, and Nuba peoples in
14 a policy of low-intensity ethnic cleansing.
15 **SEC. 5. SUPPORT FOR THE IGAD PEACE PROCESS.**
16 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—Congress hereby—
17 (1) declares its support for the efforts by execu-
18 tive branch officials of the United States and the
19 President's Special Envoy for Sudan to lead in a re-
20 invigoration of the IGAD-sponsored peace process;
21 (2) calls on IGAD member states, the European
22 Union, the Organization of African Unity, Egypt,
23 and other key states to support the peace process;
24 and

1 (3) urges Kenya's leadership in the implementa-
2 tion of the process.
3 (b) RELATION TO UNITED STATES DIPLOMACY.—It
4 is the sense of Congress that any such diplomatic efforts
5 toward resolution of the conflict in Sudan are best made
6 through a peace process based on the Declaration of Prin-
7 ciples reached in Nairobi, Kenya, on July 20, 1994, and
8 that the President should not create any process or diplo-
9 matic facility or office which could be viewed as a parallel
10 or competing diplomatic track.
11 (c) UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.—The
12 Secretary of State is authorized to utilize the personnel
13 of the Department of State for the support of—
14 (1) the secretariat of IGAD;
15 (2) the ongoing negotiations between the Gov-
16 ernment of Sudan and opposition forces;
17 (3) any peace settlement planning to be carried
18 out by the National Democratic Alliance and IGAD
19 Partners' Forum (IPF); and
20 (4) other United States diplomatic efforts sup-
21 porting a peace process in Sudan.
22 **SEC. 6. INCREASED PRESSURE ON COMBATANTS.**
23 It is the sense of Congress that the President, acting
24 through the United States Permanent Representative to
25 the United Nations, should—

1 (1) sponsor a resolution in the United Nations
2 Security Council to investigate the practice of slav-
3 ery in Sudan and provide recommendations on meas-
4 ures for its eventual elimination;
5 (2) sponsor a condemnation of the human
6 rights practices of the Government of Sudan at the
7 United Nations conference on human rights in Gene-
8 va in 2000;
9 (3) press for implementation of the rec-
10 ommendations of the United Nations Special
11 Rapporteur for Sudan with respect to human rights
12 monitors in areas of conflict in Sudan;
13 (4) press for UNICEF, International Com-
14 mittee of the Red Cross, or the International Fed-
15 eration of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, or
16 other appropriate international organizations or
17 agencies to maintain a registry of those individuals
18 who have been abducted or are otherwise held in
19 bondage or servitude in Sudan;
20 (5) sponsor a condemnation of the Government
21 of Sudan each time it subjects civilian populations to
22 aerial bombardment; and
23 (6) sponsor a resolution in the United Nations
24 General Assembly condemning the human rights
25 practices of the Government of Sudan.

1 **SEC. 7. SUPPORTING SANCTIONS AGAINST SUDAN.**

2 (a) SANCTIONS.—Until the President determines,
3 and so certifies to Congress, that the Government of
4 Sudan has—

5 (1) fully committed to and has made verifiable
6 progress toward a comprehensive, peaceful solution
7 to the war or has otherwise committed to and made
8 verifiable progress in a good faith effort with both
9 northern and southern opposition toward a com-
10 prehensive solution to the conflict based on the Dec-
11 laration of Principles reached in Nairobi Kenya, on
12 July 20, 1994,

13 (2) made substantial and verifiable progress in
14 controlling the raiding and slaving activities of
15 allregular and irregular forces, including Popular
16 Defense Forces and other militias and murahalliin,

17 (3) instituted credible reforms with regard to
18 providing basic human and civil rights to all Suda-
19 nese, and

20 (4) ceased aerial bombardment of civilian tar-
21 gets,

22 the following are prohibited, except to the extent provided
23 in section 203(b) of the International Emergency Eco-
24 nomic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)) and in regulations,
25 orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued pursuant
26 to this section:

1 (A) The facilitation by a United States
2 person, including but not limited to brokering
3 activities of the exportation or reexportation of
4 goods, technology, or services from Sudan to
5 any destination, or to Sudan from any location.
6 (B) The performance by any United States
7 person of any contract, including a financing
8 contract, or use of any other financial instru-
9 ment, in support of an industrial, commercial,
10 public utility, or governmental project in Sudan.
11 (C) Any transaction by any United States
12 person or within the United States that evades
13 or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or
14 avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the pro-
15 hibitions set forth in this section.
16 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
17 gress that the sanctions in subsection (a), and in the
18 President's Executive Order of November 4, 1997, should
19 be applied to include the sale of stocks in the United
20 States or to any United States person, wherever located,
21 or any other form of financial instruments or derivatives,
22 in support of a commercial, industrial, public utility, or
23 government project or transaction in or with Sudan.
24 (c) NATIONAL SECURITY WAIVER.—The President
25 may waive the application of any of the sanctions de-

1 scribed in subsection (a) if he determines and certifies to
2 Congress that it is important to the national security of
3 the United States to do so.
4 (d) REPORT.—Beginning 3 months after the date of
5 enactment of this Act, and every 3 months thereafter, the
6 President shall submit a report to Congress on—
7 (1) the specific sources and current status of
8 Sudan's financing and construction of oil exploi-
9 tation infrastructure and pipelines;
10 (2) the extent to which that financing was se-
11 cured in the United States or with involvement of
12 United States citizens;
13 (3) such financing's relation to the sanctions
14 described in subsection (a) and the Executive Order
15 of November 4, 1997;
16 (4) the extent of aerial bombardment by the
17 Government of Sudan forces in areas outside its con-
18 trol, including targets, frequency, and best estimates
19 of damage;
20 (5) the number, duration, and locations of air
21 strips or other humanitarian relief facilities to which
22 access is denied by any party to the conflict; and
23 (6) the status of the IGAD-sponsored peace
24 process or any other ongoing efforts to end the con-
25 flict, including the specific and verifiable steps taken

1 by parties to the conflict, the members of the IGAD
2 Partners Forum, and the members of IGAD toward
3 a comprehensive solution to the war.
4 (e) STATUTORY CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this
5 section shall prohibit—
6 (1) transactions for the conduct of the official
7 business of the Federal Government or the United
8 Nations by employees thereof;
9 (2) transactions in Sudan for journalistic activ-
10 ity by persons regularly employed in such capacity
11 by a news-gathering organization; or
12 (3) legitimate humanitarian operations.
13 (f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—
14 (1) the term "entity" means a partnership, as-
15 sociation, trust, joint venture, corporation, or other
16 organization;
17 (2) the term "Government of Sudan" includes
18 the Government of Sudan, its agencies, instrumen-
19 talities and controlled entities, and the Central Bank
20 of Sudan;
21 (3) the term "person" means an individual or
22 entity; and
23 (4) the term "United States person" means any
24 United States citizen, permanent resident alien, enti-
25 ty organized under the laws of the United States

1 (including foreign branches), or any person in the
2 United States.

3 **SEC. 8. REFORM OF OPERATION LIFELINE SUDAN (OLS).**

4 It is the sense of Congress that the President should
5 organize and maintain a formal consultative process with
6 the European Union, its member states, the members of
7 the United Nations Security Council, and other relevant
8 parties on coordinating an effort within the United Na-
9 tions to revise the terms of OLS to end the veto power
10 of the Government of Sudan over the plans by OLS for
11 air transport relief flights.

12 **SEC. 9. CONTINUED USE OF NON-OLS ORGANIZATIONS FOR**
13 **RELIEF EFFORTS.**

14 (a) FINDING.—Congress recognizes the progress
15 made by officials of the executive branch of Government
16 toward greater utilization of non-OLS agencies for more
17 effective distribution of United States relief contributions.

18 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
19 gress that the President should continue to increase the
20 use of non-OLS agencies in the distribution of relief sup-
21 plies in southern Sudan.

22 (c) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
23 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a de-
24 tailed report to Congress describing the progress made to-
25 ward carrying out subsection (b).

1 **SEC. 10. CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR ANY BAN ON AIR TRANS-**
2 **PORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.**

3 (a) PLAN.—The President shall develop a detailed
4 and implementable contingency plan to provide, outside
5 United Nations auspices, the greatest possible amount of
6 United States Government and privately donated relief to
7 all affected areas in Sudan, including the Nuba Moun-
8 tains, Upper Nile, and Blue Nile, in the event the Govern-
9 ment of Sudan imposes a total, partial, or incremental ban
10 on OLS air transport relief flights.

11 (b) ELEMENT OF PLAN.—The plan developed under
12 subsection (a) shall include coordination of other donors
13 in addition to the United States Government and private
14 institutions.

15 (c) REPORT.—Not later than 2 months after the date
16 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a clas-
17 sified report to Congress on the costs and startup time
18 such a plan would require in the event of a total ban on
19 air transport relief flights or in the event of a partial or
20 incremental ban on such flights if the President has made
21 the determination required by subsection (a)(2).

22 (d) REPROGRAMMING AUTHORITY.—Notwith-
23 standing any other provision of law, in carrying out the
24 plan developed under subsection (a), the President may
25 reprogram up to 100 percent of the funds available for

1 support of OLS operations (but for this subsection) for
2 the purposes of the plan.

3 **SEC. 11. NEW AUTHORITY FOR USAID'S SUDAN TRANSITION**
4 **ASSISTANCE FOR REHABILITATION (STAR)**
5 **PROGRAM.**

6 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—Congress hereby ex-
7 presses its support for the President's ongoing efforts to
8 diversify and increase effectiveness of United States as-
9 sistance to populations in areas of Sudan outside of the
10 control of the Government of Sudan, especially the long-
11 term focus shown in the Sudan Transition Assistance for
12 Rehabilitation (STAR) program with its emphasis on pro-
13 moting future democratic governance, rule of law, building
14 indigenous institutional capacity, promoting and enhanc-
15 ing self-reliance, and actively supporting people-to-people
16 reconciliation efforts.

17 (b) ALLOCATION OF FUNDS.—Of the amounts made
18 available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign
19 Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq:, relating
20 to development assistance) for the period beginning on Oc-
21 tober 1, 2000, and ending on September 30, 2003,
22 $16,000,000 shall be available for development of a viable
23 civil authority, and civil and commercial institutions, in
24 Sudan, including the provision of technical assistance, and
25 for people-to-people reconciliation efforts.

1 (c) ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES.—Notwithstanding
2 any other provision of law, the President is granted au-
3 thority to undertake any appropriate programs using Fed-
4 eral agencies, contractual arrangements, or direct support
5 of indigenous groups, agencies, or organizations in areas
6 outside of control of the Government of Sudan in an effort
7 to provide emergency relief, promote economic self-suffi-
8 ciency, build civil authority, provide education, enhance
9 rule of law and the development of judicial and legal
10 frameworks, support people-to-people reconciliation ef-
11 forts, or implementation of any programs in support of
12 any viable peace agreement at the local, regional, or na-
13 tional level.
14 (d) IMPLEMENTATION.—It is the sense of Congress
15 that the President should immediately and to the fullest
16 extent possible utilize the Office of Transition Initiatives
17 at the Agency for International Development in an effort
18 to pursue the type of programs described in subsection
19 (c).
20 (e) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
21 gress that enhancing and supporting education and the
22 development of rule of law are critical elements in the
23 long-term success of United States efforts to promote a
24 viable economic, political, social, and legal basis for devel-
25 opment in Sudan. Congress recognizes that the gap of 13–

1 16 years without secondary educational opportunities in
2 southern Sudan is an especially important problem to ad-
3 dress with respect to rebuilding and sustaining leaders and
4 educators for the next generation of Sudanese. Congress
5 recognizes the unusually important role the secondary
6 school in Rumbek has played in producing the current
7 generation of leaders in southern Sudan, and that priority
8 should be given in current and future development or tran-
9 sition programs undertaken by the United States Govern-
10 ment to rebuilding and supporting the Rumbek Secondary
11 School.

12 (f) PROGRAMS IN AREAS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT
13 CONTROL.—Congress also intends that such programs in-
14 clude cooperation and work with indigenous groups in
15 areas outside of government control in all of Sudan, to
16 include northern, southern, and eastern regions of Sudan.

17 **SEC. 12. ASSESSMENT AND PLANNING FOR NUBA MOUN-**
18 **TAINS AND OTHER AREAS SUBJECT TO BANS**
19 **ON AIR TRANSPORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.**

20 (a) FINDING.—Congress recognizes that civilians in
21 the Nuba Mountains, Red Sea Hills, and Blue Nile regions
22 of Sudan are not receiving assistance through OLS due
23 to restrictions by the Government of Sudan.

24 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
25 gress that the President should—

1 (1) conduct comprehensive assessment of the
2 humanitarian needs in the Nuba Mountains, Red
3 Sea Hills, and Blue Nile regions of Sudan;
4 (2) respond appropriately to those needs based
5 on such assessment; and
6 (3) report to Congress on an annual basis on
7 efforts made under paragraph (2).

8 **SEC. 13. OPTIONS OR PLANS FOR NONLETHAL ASSISTANCE**
9 **FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE PAR-**
10 **TICIPANTS.**

11 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
12 of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to
13 the appropriate congressional committees a report, in clas-
14 sified form if necessary, detailing possible options or plans
15 of the United States Government for the provision of non-
16 lethal assistance to participants of the National Demo-
17 cratic Alliance.

18 (b) CONSULTATIONS.—Not later than 30 days after
19 submission of the report required by subsection (a), the
20 President should begin formal consultations with the ap-
21 propriate congressional committees regarding the findings
22 of the report.

23 (c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term "appro-
24 priate congressional committees" means the Committee on
25 Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations

1 of the Senate and the Committee on International Rela-
2 tions and the Committee on Appropriations of the House
3 of Representatives.

AMENDMENT TO S. 1453

OFFERED BY MR. MENENDEZ

(Page & line nos. refer to Committee Print of S. 1453)

Page 11, after line 15, insert the following:

1 (D) The importation to the United States
2 of gum arabic, in raw or processed form, origi-
3 nating from Sudan, whether imported directly
4 from Sudan or from a third country.

AMENDMENT TO S. 1453

OFFERED BY MR. MENENDEZ

(Page & line nos. refer to Committee Print of S. 1453)

Page 2, after line 5, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent paragraphs accordingly):

1 (5) The refusal of European Union member
2 states, particularly France and Britain, to join
3 United States in sanctions against Sudan and the
4 recent moves by such states to pursue a policy of en-
5 gagement with the Government of Sudan both serve
6 to hamper efforts to isolate the regime in Khartoum.

Page 5, strike line 16 and all that follows through line 18 and insert the following:

7 (E) the use of any and all possible unilat-
8 eral and multilateral economic and diplomatic
9 tools to compel Sudan's trading partners, par-
10 ticularly France, to join the United States in
11 imposing sanctions on the Government of
12 Sudan; and

Page 8, strike line 11 and all that follows through line 13 and insert the following:

13 (c) UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.—The
14 Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the

October 3, 2000 (9:41 AM)
F:\V6\100300\100300.015

(over)

1 United States Trade Representative are authorized to uti-
2 lize the personnel of their respective departments and of-
3 fices for the support of—

Page 8, line 21, before the period insert the following: ", including efforts to compel cooperation from United States allies toward multilateral economic sanctions aimed at forging peace and human rights reforms".

Page 12, line 22, strike "and".

Page 13, line 3, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 13, after line 3, insert the following:

4 (7) the status of efforts to compel United
5 States allies to join multilateral economic sanctions
6 against the Government of Sudan.".

AMENDMENT TO S. 1453

OFFERED BY MR. MENENDEZ

(Page & line nos. refer to Committee Print of S. 1453)

Page 11, after line 23, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent subsections accordingly):

1 (c) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
2 gress that United States processors of gum arabic who
3 are adversely affected by sanctions against ~~the importation~~
4 ~~of~~ raw gum arabic should be compensated in whole or in
5 part by the United States Government for their financial
6 losses.

AMENDMENT to S. 1453
by Mr. Campbell

Pages 7 - 8

Strike Section 5 b

Renumber all succeeding sections.

AMENDMENT TO S. 1453 #2
OFFERED BY MR. CAMPBELL

STRIKE ALL:
INSERT THE FOLLOWING:

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1453

AN ACT

To facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Sudan Peace Act".

(SEE TEXT OF ORIGINAL BILL AS PREVIOUSLY SHOWN)

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 414

Relating to the reestablishment of representative government in Afghanistan.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 28, 2000

Mr. CAMPBELL (for himself, Mr. PITTS, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. ROHRABACHER, Mr. ROYCE, and Mr. BEREUTER) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

---

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Relating to the reestablishment of representative government in Afghanistan.

Whereas Afghanistan has existed as a sovereign nation since 1747, maintaining its independence, neutrality, and dignity;

Whereas Afghanistan had maintained its own decisionmaking through a traditional process called a "Loya Jirgah", or Grand Assembly, by selecting, respecting, and following the decisions of their leaders;

Whereas recently warlords, factional leaders, and foreign regimes have laid siege to Afghanistan, leaving the landscape littered with landmines, making the most fundamental activities dangerous;

Whereas in recent years, and especially since the Taliban came to power in 1996, Afghanistan has become a haven for terrorist activity, has produced most of the world's opium supply, and has become infamous for its human rights abuses, particularly abuses against women and children;

Whereas the former King of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shah, ruled the country peacefully for 40 years, and after years in exile retains his popularity and support; and

Whereas former King Mohammed Zahir Shah plans to convene an emergency "Loya Jirgah" to reestablish a stable government, with no desire to regain power or reestablish a monarchy, and the Department of State supports such ongoing efforts: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That the United States—
3 (1) supports the right of the people of Afghani-
4 stan to determine their own destiny through the tra-
5 ditional Afghan "Loya Jirgah" process; and
6 (2) supports the continuing efforts of former
7 King Mohammed Zahir Shah and other responsible
8 parties searching for peace to convene a Loya
9 Jirgah—
10 (A) to reestablish a representative govern-
11 ment in Afghanistan through institution build-
12 ing, increasing the capacity of the people of Af-
13 ghanistan to govern themselves;
14 (B) to bring stability to Afghanistan; and

1 (C) to end terrorist activities and human
2 rights abuses in Afghanistan.

○

ROHRABACHER AMENDMENT TO H.Con.Res. 414

On page 2, in the Resolved section

replace Clause (1) with:

(1) supports democratic efforts that respect the human and political rights of all ethnic and religious groups in Afghanistan, including the effort to establish a Loya Jirga process that would lead to the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny through a democratic process and free and fair elections;

In Clause (2) replace subclause (A) with

(A) to reestablish a representative government in Afghanistan that respects the rights of all ethnic groups, including the right to govern their own affairs through inclusive institutions building and a democratic process;

In Clause (2), after "to bring," add the words
"freedom, peace and"

In Clause (2) subclause (C), after terrorist activities, add the words

"Drug production"

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 382

Calling on the Government of Azerbaijan to hold free and fair parliamentary elections in November 2000.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 26, 2000

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. HOYER, Mr. PITTS, and Mr. CARDIN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

---

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Calling on the Government of Azerbaijan to hold free and fair parliamentary elections in November 2000.

Whereas Azerbaijan has been a participating state of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 1992 and has freely accepted all OSCE commitments, including those concerning democracy, human rights, and the rule of law;

Whereas Azerbaijan, as an OSCE participating state, has committed itself to build, consolidate, and strengthen democracy as the only system of government, and is obligated to hold free elections at reasonable intervals, to respect the right of citizens to seek political or public office without discrimination, to respect the right of individuals and groups to establish in full freedom their own political

parties, and to allow parties and individuals wishing to participate in the electoral process access to the media on a nondiscriminatory basis;

Whereas the development of democracy in Azerbaijan will promote stability in that country and throughout the Caucasus, foster the resolution of regional disputes, especially the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and can positively influence the development of democracy in other regions, especially Central Asia;

Whereas Azerbaijan's parliamentary elections in 1995, presidential elections in 1998, and municipal elections in 1999 have failed to meet international standards, according to the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and other international election observers;

Whereas these flawed elections have aggravated an unfortunate legacy of deep distrust between the government and the opposition, undermining prospects for societal cohesion, the establishment of democratic institutions and peaceful, predictable transfers of power;

Whereas in August 1997, Azerbaijan President Heydar Aliev met with President Clinton at the White House and pledged to hold free and fair elections;

Whereas irregularities leading up to the presidential election the following year caused several opposition political parties to boycott that election;

Whereas the parliamentary election due to be held in November 2000 offers an opportunity to demonstrate the Azerbaijani Government's commitment to democracy and overcome tension between the government and the opposition and within Azerbaijani society;

Whereas Azerbaijan's Government has been negotiating with the ODIHR on the passage of laws governing the conduct of elections and the ODIHR has, in consultation with the authorities and the opposition, made specific recommendations and proposals to craft legislation that, if implemented in good conscience, would produce an election seen as free and fair and a true expression of the will of the people of Azerbaijan;

Whereas the ODIHR considers the law on the Central Election Commission, passed on June 9, 2000, to take into account the interests of both the government and the opposition;

Whereas on June 28, 2000, the Council of Europe approved Azerbaijan's application for membership, calling on the government to hold free and fair elections and release all political prisoners;

Whereas by joining the Council of Europe, Azerbaijan's Government has committed itself to observe the Council's norms and standards for democratic behavior, including the conduct of free and fair elections;

Whereas Azerbaijan's parliament nonetheless passed an election law on July 5, 2000, that did not include recommended amendments by the ODIHR that would bring the legislation into accord with OSCE standards;

Whereas the ODIHR issued a press release on July 7, 2000, "deploring" shortcomings in the election law and voicing the hope that it would yet be amended in line with that Office's recommendations;

Whereas these shortcomings involve, among other things, the exclusion of an opposition party which was registered in February 2000, the formation of territorial and local

election commissions effectively under government control, the restriction of voters' rights to sign petitions nominating more than one candidate or party, and the rights of domestic observers to monitor the election;

Whereas OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Austrian Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner, on July 18, 2000, while visiting Baku, voiced concern about "very serious shortcomings in the Law On Parliamentary Elections and urged Azerbaijan's leadership to take into account recommendations from the ODIHR";

Whereas President Heydar Aliev responded that parliament had not accepted his proposed amendments to the law but work toward that end is still proceeding, and promised the election would be fair and democratic;

Whereas opposition parties refuse to let their representatives participate in meetings of the Central Election Commission until the election law is amended;

Whereas the Speaker of Azerbaijan's parliament on July 19, 2000, convened a meeting of the Central Election Commission without opposition members, substituting for them members of the former Central Election Commission, and approved a list of 100 single-mandate districts for the election;

Whereas the Speaker threatened, unless the opposition agrees to participate in the work of the Central Election Commission, to amend the law so that the Commission's decisions be taken by a majority, rather than a two-thirds vote;

Whereas on July 20, 2000, 12 political parties, including the leading opposition parties, adopted a joint statement condemning the threat to amend the law on the Central

Electoral Commission and countering that if that law is amended and if parliament refuses to amend the election law, they will boycott the November ballot;

Whereas yet another opposition boycott of an election will undermine the Azerbaijani Government's legitimacy;

Whereas an election in Azerbaijan that does not have the confidence of all the country's political forces will not produce credible results, contribute to the consolidation of stability, or promote the development of democratic institutions in the country;

Whereas on July 21, 2000, Azerbaijan's parliament amended the law on the Central Election Commission so as to make decisions by majority vote, thus depriving the opposition of its ability to block decisions; and

Whereas on July 24, 2000, the Department of State issued a statement regretting the recent actions of Azerbaijan's parliament and urging the government and parliament to bring the election law into conformity with international standards: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That the Congress—
3 (1) urges the United States Government to re-
4 mind President Aliev of the commitments he made
5 to President Clinton regarding free and fair elections
6 and to work with President Aliev toward that end;
7 (2) emphasizes the importance of free and fair
8 parliamentary elections as a critical component in
9 the consolidation of democracy in Azerbaijan;

1 (3) urges the Government and Parliament of
2 Azerbaijan to come into compliance with its Organi-
3 zation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
4 (OSCE) commitments on democratization and the
5 holding of free and fair elections by accepting the
6 recommendations and proposed amendments to the
7 law on elections by the OSCE's Office for Demo-
8 cratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR);
9 and
10 (4) calls on the Government and Parliament of
11 Azerbaijan to work with opposition parties and with
12 nongovernmental organizations to create a pre-elec-
13 tion environment that assures equality of conditions,
14 as well as freedom of assembly and expression for all
15 political parties and candidates wishing to partici-
16 pate in the upcoming parliamentary elections.

O

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. CON. RES. 382 OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas Azerbaijan has been a participating state of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 1992 and has freely accepted all OSCE commitments, including those concerning democracy, human rights, and the rule of law;

Whereas Azerbaijan, as an OSCE participating state, has committed itself to build, consolidate, and strengthen democracy as the only system of government, and is obligated to hold free elections at reasonable intervals, to respect the right of citizens to seek political or public office without discrimination, to respect the right of individuals and groups to establish in full freedom their own political parties, and to allow parties and individuals wishing to participate in the electoral process access to the media on a nondiscriminatory basis;

Whereas the development of democracy in Azerbaijan will promote stability in that country and throughout the Caucasus, foster the resolution of regional disputes, especially the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and can positively influence the development of democracy in other regions, especially Central Asia;

Whereas Azerbaijan's parliamentary elections in 1995, presidential elections in 1998, and municipal elections in 1999 have failed to meet international standards, according to the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and

Human Rights (ODIHR) and other international election observers;

Whereas these flawed elections have aggravated an unfortunate legacy of deep distrust between the government and the opposition, undermining prospects for societal cohesion, the establishment of democratic institutions and peaceful, predictable transfers of power;

Whereas in August 1997, Azerbaijan President Heydar Aliev met with President Clinton at the White House and pledged to hold free and fair elections;

Whereas irregularities leading up to the presidential election the following year caused several opposition political parties to boycott that election;

Whereas the parliamentary election due to be held in November 2000 offers an opportunity to demonstrate the Azerbaijani Government's commitment to democracy and overcome tension between the government and the opposition and within Azerbaijani society;

Whereas Azerbaijan's Government has been negotiating with the ODIHR on the passage of laws governing the conduct of elections and the ODIHR has, in consultation with the authorities and the opposition, made specific recommendations and proposals to craft legislation that, if implemented in good conscience, would produce an election seen as free and fair and a true expression of the will of the people of Azerbaijan;

Whereas the ODIHR considers the law on the Central Election Commission, passed on June 9, 2000, to take into account the interests of both the government and the opposition;

Whereas on June 28, 2000, the Council of Europe approved Azerbaijan's application for membership, calling on the government to hold free and fair elections and release all political prisoners;

Whereas by joining the Council of Europe, Azerbaijan's Government has committed itself to observe the Council's norms and standards for democratic behavior, including the conduct of free and fair elections;

Whereas Azerbaijan's parliament nonetheless passed an election law on July 5, 2000, that did not include recommended amendments by the ODIHR that would bring the legislation into accord with OSCE standards;

Whereas the ODIHR issued a press release on July 7, 2000, "deploring" shortcomings in the election law and voicing the hope that it would yet be amended in line with that Office's recommendations;

Whereas these shortcomings involved, among other things, the exclusion of an opposition party which was registered in February 2000, the formation of territorial and local election commissions effectively under government control, the restriction of voters' rights to sign petitions nominating more than one candidate or party, and the rights of domestic observers to monitor the election;

Whereas OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Austrian Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner, on July 18, 2000, while visiting Baku, voiced concern about "very serious shortcomings in the Law On Parliamentary Elections and urged Azerbaijan's leadership to take into account recommendations from the ODIHR";

Whereas President Heydar Aliev responded that parliament had not accepted his proposed amendments to the law

but work toward that end is still proceeding, and promised the election would be fair and democratic;

Whereas a ruling by Azerbaijan's Constitutional Court on August 28, 2000, allowed parties registered six months prior to the announcement of an election to participate in the election;

Whereas the other shortcomings in the election law specified by ODIHR have not been addressed;

Whereas the Central Election Commission in September 2000 had excluded several parties, including major opposition parties, on the grounds that the signatures on their list were allegedly falsified or otherwise invalid;

Whereas Azerbaijan's Central Election Commission used the same methodology in 1995 to exclude a leading opposition party, and the OSCE/UN election observation mission at that time strongly criticized the methodology;

Whereas the ODIHR on September 22, 2000, criticized these latest exclusions and deplored the lack of a mechanism for parties to prove the veracity of signatures and the opportunity to remedy discrepancies before the Central Election Commission makes a final decision;

Whereas the exclusion of opposition parties from the November 2000 election will undermine confidence in the electoral process and the credibility of the official results; and

Whereas an election in Azerbaijan that does not have the confidence of all the country's political forces will not produce credible results, contribute to the consolidation of stability, or promote the development of democratic institutions in the country: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolved clause and insert the following:

1 That the Congress—

2 (1) urges the United States Government to re-
3 mind President Aliev of the commitments he made
4 to President Clinton regarding free and fair elections
5 and to work with President Aliev toward that end;

6 (2) emphasizes the importance of free and fair
7 parliamentary elections as a critical component in
8 the consolidation of democracy in Azerbaijan;

9 (3) urges the Government and Parliament of
10 Azerbaijan to come into compliance with its Organi-
11 zation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
12 (OSCE) commitments on democratization and the
13 holding of free and fair elections by accepting the
14 recommendations and proposed amendments to the
15 law on elections by the OSCE's Office for Demo-
16 cratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR);

17 (4) reminds the Government and Parliament of
18 Azerbaijan that an election from which opposition
19 parties have been excluded will not have the con-
20 fidence of the people of Azerbaijan or the inter-
21 national community; and

22 (5) calls on the Government and Parliament of
23 Azerbaijan to work with opposition parties and with

1 nongovernmental organizations to create a pre-elec-
2 tion environment that assures equality of conditions,
3 as well as freedom of assembly and expression for all
4 political parties and candidates wishing to partici-
5 pate in the upcoming parliamentary elections.

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 588

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to violations in Western Europe of provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements relating to the freedom of individuals to profess and practice religion or belief.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

Mr. SALMON (for himself, Mr. PAYNE, and Mr. GILMAN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to violations in Western Europe of provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements relating to the freedom of individuals to profess and practice religion or belief.

Whereas under Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance";

Whereas under Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, "No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or adopt a religion or belief of his choice";

Whereas the Participating States of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have undertaken a series of specific commitments designed to ensure the freedom of the individual to profess and practice religion or belief, including a commitment by those States to ensure the full and effective exercise of the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, in their laws and regulations;

Whereas Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act commits the OSCE Participating States to "recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience";

Whereas the 1989 Vienna Concluding Document commits the OSCE Participating States to "take effective measures to prevent and eliminate discrimination against individuals or communities on the grounds of religion or belief in the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all fields of civil, political, economic, social and cultural life";

Whereas in the 1991 Moscow Document, the OSCE Participating States "categorically and irrevocably declare that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension . . . are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned";

Whereas freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief is inextricably linked to the exercise of other rights, including the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, the right to freedom of association with others, and the right to freedom of expression, and the recognition that all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law, including in employment;

Whereas the Department of State's annual reports on religious freedom and human rights have documented numerous instances of government discrimination based on religion or belief in Western Europe, including discriminatory acts against American members of several different religious denominations and beliefs;

Whereas the Office of the United States Trade Representative has listed Germany as a country engaged in discriminatory trade practices because of "sect filter" guidelines issued to all federal government ministries and used by German state and local governments, which have the potential to discriminate against United States firms in German procurement decisions by permitting government entities to reject bids and immediately terminate contracts if a firm does not sign a "sect filter" document attesting that the firm and its employees are not affiliated with certain religious beliefs;

Whereas a bill passed by the French National Assembly on June 22, 2000, contains repressive measures which would have a chilling effect on the freedom religion and belief, including the dissolution of targeted religious associations, the imprisonment of members of such groups, and infringement upon freedom of speech, including speech

intended to persuade another person to a particular point of view, whether philosophical or religious;

Whereas a 1996 French National Assembly report listed 173 organizations as suspect, including independent evangelical Christian churches, Scientologists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Unificationists and this report has been used by both private and official entities to harass, intimidate, deny employment, and deny commercial loans to listed groups, and members of other religious groups, such as Southern Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement, Opus Dei, and the Society of Jesus, have also been subject to recent discrimination and harassment at the hands of the French Government;

Whereas the Parliament of Austria passed a law in 1997 which codified a tiered system of government recognition and preferential treatment, including government funding of religious groups, and which requires religious groups seeking recognition to undergo government surveillance for at least 10, or up to 20, years to prove legitimacy to government officials;

Whereas the Austrian law on religion is cited as justification for more repressive laws being proposed in nascent democracies further east, such as Hungary and Romania and has been cited by Russian officials as justification for an oppressive 1997 Russian religion law;

Whereas the Government of Austria has instituted a "sect" office which disseminates official propaganda on religious groups not recognized by the government and leading to a chilling effect on religious liberty;

Whereas the Parliament of Belgium issued a report in 1997 on "sects" with a widely circulated informal appendix listing 189 groups as suspect, including many Protestant and Catholic groups, Quakers, Hasidic Jews, Buddhists, and members of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), based on rumor and speculation found in police files, and implicitly warning the public to avoid such "dangerous" groups;

Whereas the Parliament of Belgium has established a government "Advice and Information Center on Sects" which disseminates official views on groups considered "sects" as defined by the list in the appendix to the 1997 Belgian Parliament report;

Whereas some evangelical and charismatic Christian churches have been targeted in parliamentary investigations in France, Belgium, and Germany;

Whereas Jehovah's Witnesses have been subjected in France to various forms of harassment, including the denial of the freedom to assemble for worship in facilities permitted to be used by other faiths and are the targets of governmental tax audits and punitive tax assessments, continue to suffer religious discrimination and the economic consequences of being categorized as a "dangerous sect" by France's Parliamentary Commission on Sects, have been informed by German tax authorities that the long-standing exemption from property taxation for their houses of worship may be canceled in the near future, have been labeled a "hard core sect" in Belgium by some educators, continue to suffer from employment discrimination in Austria, France, and Germany, and are discriminated against in foster parent proceedings in Germany and in child custody matters in Belgium;

Whereas Muslims have been subjected to harassment, including police brutality and attacks by extremist groups, particularly in Germany and France, and Muslim women are subject to frequent discrimination and other forms of abuse and harassment because they wear a head covering;

Whereas adherents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have been subject to continued acts of harassment, including confiscation of religious materials, and are prevented from freely sharing their beliefs in several OSCE Participating States;

Whereas Scientologists have been subject to pervasive civil, political, and economic discrimination, harassment, surveillance, and orchestrated boycotts in Germany, France, Belgium, and Austria; and

Whereas these actions by Western European governments have contributed to intolerance by public and private actors who have discriminated in hiring practices or terminated employment based on an individual's religious affiliation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) disapproves of the growing intolerance, discrimination, and violence directed against individuals and groups because of their religion or belief, in violation of the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements;

(2) expresses grave concern about the adoption of laws and regulations by Participating States of the Or-

ganization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that—

(A) discriminate against minority or so-called "nontraditional" religions or beliefs; and

(B) limit the freedom of individuals to profess and practice religion or belief, including laws restricting religious speech and assembly; and

(3) calls upon the President and the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom to—

(A) raise violations of the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, at every appropriate level with representatives of countries that have failed to implement their international commitments and obligations in this regard;

(B) ensure that the United States makes full use of existing meetings and structures of international organizations, including meetings of the OSCE Permanent Council as well as periodic implementation review meetings on human dimension issues, to raise violations of Participating States' freely undertaken international commitments both to protect and to provide for the full and effective exercise of the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief under their respective jurisdictions; and

(C) support the inclusion of experts on religious liberty on United States delegations to appropriate meetings of international organizations, including the OSCE.

○

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. RES. 588 OFFERED BY MR. SALMON

Amend the preamble to read as follows:

Whereas under Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance";

Whereas under Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, "No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or adopt a religion or belief of his choice";

Whereas the Participating States of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), have undertaken a series of specific commitments designed to ensure the freedom of the individual to profess and practice religion or belief, including a commitment by those States to ensure the full and effective exercise of the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, in their laws and regulations;

Whereas Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act commits the OSCE Participating States to "recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience";

Whereas the 1989 Vienna Concluding Document commits the OSCE Participating States to "take effective measures to prevent and eliminate discrimination against individuals or communities on the grounds of religion or belief in the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all fields of civil, political, economic, social and cultural life";

Whereas in the 1991 Moscow Document, the OSCE Participating States "categorically and irrevocably declare that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension . . . are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned";

Whereas freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief is inextricably linked to the exercise of other rights, including the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, the right to freedom of association with others, and the right to freedom of expression, and the recognition that all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law, including in employment;

Whereas the Department of State's annual reports on religious freedom and human rights have documented numerous instances of government discrimination based on religion or belief in Western Europe, including discriminatory acts against American members of several different religious denominations and beliefs;

Whereas the Office of the United States Trade Representative has listed Germany as a country engaged

in discriminatory procurement practices because of "sect filter" guidelines issued to all federal government ministries and used by German state and local governments, which have the potential to discriminate against United States firms in German procurement decisions by permitting government entities to reject bids and immediately terminate contracts if a firm does not sign a "sect filter" document attesting that the firm and its employees are not affiliated with certain religious beliefs;

Whereas a bill passed by the French National Assembly on June 22, 2000, and under consideration in the French Senate, contains repressive measures which would have a chilling effect on the freedom religion and belief, including the dissolution of targeted religious associations, the imprisonment of members of such groups, and infringement upon freedom of speech, including speech intended to persuade another person to a particular point of view, whether philosophical or religious;

Whereas a 1996 French National Assembly report listed 173 organizations as suspect, including independent evangelical Christian churches, Scientologists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Unificationists and this report has been used by both private and official entities to harass, intimidate, deny employment, and deny commercial loans to listed groups, and members of other religious groups, such as Southern Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement, Opus Dei, and the Society of Jesus, have also been subject to recent discrimination and harassment at the hands of the French Government;

Whereas the Parliament of Austria passed a law in 1997 which requires religious groups seeking government recognition to have been in existence for at least 20 years and to undergo government observation for at least 10 years to prove legitimacy and obtain certain rights from the government;

Whereas the Austrian law on religion is cited as justification for stricter laws being proposed in newer democracies further east, such as Hungary and Romania, and has been cited by Russian officials as justification for an oppressive 1997 Russian religion law;

Whereas the Government of Austria has instituted a "sect" office which disseminates official propaganda on religious groups not recognized by the government and leading to a chilling effect on religious liberty;

Whereas the Parliament of Belgium issued a report in 1997 on "sects" with a widely circulated informal appendix listing 189 groups as suspect, including many Protestant and Catholic groups, Quakers, Hasidic Jews, Buddhists, and members of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), based on rumor and speculation found in police files, and implicitly warning the public to avoid such "dangerous" groups;

Whereas the Parliament of Belgium has established a government Center for Information and Advice on Harmful Sectarian Organizations which disseminates official views on groups considered "sects" as defined by the list in the appendix to the 1997 Belgian Parliament report;

Whereas some evangelical and charismatic Christian churches have been the subjects of parliamentary investigations in France, Belgium, and Germany;

Whereas Jehovah's Witnesses have been subjected in France to various forms of harassment, have been informed by some German state tax authorities that the long-standing exemption from property taxation for their houses of worship may be canceled in the near future, continue to suffer from employment discrimination in Austria, France, and Germany, and have been discriminated against in foster parent proceedings in Germany and in some child custody matters in Belgium;

Whereas Muslims have been subjected to harassment, including attacks by extremist groups, particularly in Germany and France;

Whereas adherents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have been subject to continued acts of harassment, including confiscation of religious materials, and are prevented from freely sharing their beliefs in several OSCE Participating States;

Whereas Scientologists have been subject to civil, political, and economic discrimination, harassment, surveillance, and orchestrated boycotts in Germany, France, Belgium, and Austria; and

Whereas these actions by Western European governments have contributed to intolerance by public and private actors who have discriminated in hiring practices or terminated employment based on an individual's religious affiliation: Now, therefore, be it

Amend the text after the resolving clause to read as follows:

1 That the House of Representatives—

2 (1) notes with concern the growing intolerance,
3 discrimination, and violence directed against individ-
4 uals and groups because of their religion or belief,
5 in violation of the Helsinki Final Act and other
6 international agreements;

7 (2) expresses concern about the adoption of
8 laws and regulations by Participating States of the
9 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Eu-
10 rope (OSCE) that—

11 (A) discriminate against minority or so-
12 called "nontraditional" religions or beliefs; and

13 (B) limit the freedom of individuals to pro-
14 fess and practice religion or belief, including
15 laws restricting religious speech and assembly;
16 and

17 (3) calls upon the President and the Ambas-
18 sador at Large for International Religious Freedom
19 to—

20 (A) raise violations of the freedom of
21 thought, conscience, religion, or belief, at every
22 appropriate level with representatives of coun-
23 tries that have failed to implement their inter-

1 national commitments and obligations in this
2 regard;
3 (B) ensure that the United States makes
4 full use of existing meetings and structures of
5 international organizations, including meetings
6 of the OSCE Permanent Council as well as
7 periodic implementation review meetings on
8 human dimension issues, to raise violations of
9 Participating States' freely undertaken inter-
10 national commitments both to protect and to
11 provide for the full and effective exercise of the
12 freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or be-
13 lief under their respective jurisdictions; and
14 (C) support the inclusion of experts on re-
15 ligious liberty on United States delegations to
16 appropriate meetings of international organiza-
17 tions, including the OSCE.

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 361

Commending the Republic of Benin.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 22, 2000

Mr. ACKERMAN (for himself, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, and Mr. HALL of Ohio) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Commending the Republic of Benin.

Whereas in 1990 the Republic of Benin made a smooth transition from Marxist rule to a constitutional democracy;

Whereas His Excellency President Mathieu Kerekou established an important precedent and demonstrated his commitment to democracy by relinquishing office after the first democratic elections in the Republic of Benin in 1991;

Whereas President Kerekou regained the Office of the Presidency through free, fair, and democratic elections in 1996;

Whereas on March 30, 1999, the Republic of Benin conducted free, fair, and transparent elections for parliament

which resulted in significant gains for opposition political parties demonstrating Benin's political pluralism;

Whereas over the last decade, the Republic of Benin has become the most stable, democratic nation in West Africa and is committed to promoting democracy throughout Africa;

Whereas the government of President Kerekou demonstrated its commitment to reconciliation between the nations of Africa involved in the slave trade and African-Americans by establishing a Conference on Reconciliation held in Cotonou, Republic of Benin, in December 1999;

Whereas the Republic of Benin is a nation that is truly respectful of human rights and political freedoms and is among the nations in the world not to have a single political prisoner;

Whereas the Republic of Benin is a nation where there is a true commitment to individual liberties, including the freedoms of assembly, association, and of religion;

Whereas the Republic of Benin is committed to improving the life of the people of Benin, as well as the lives of all Africans, by encouraging free markets and privatization of state-owned enterprises, investment, and competition among international business, and by creating a stable and secure environment for international businesses to operate; and

Whereas President Clinton has recognized that the Republic of Benin qualifies for the G–7 debt-relief program, due to its effective management of its limited fiscal resources: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring),* That the Congress—

1 (1) commends President Kerekou for his out-
2 standing leadership and the people of the Republic
3 of Benin for their commitment to democracy;
4 (2) believes that the United States should en-
5 hance its efforts to consolidate democracy and free
6 enterprise in the Republic of Benin;
7 (3) urges the Administration to leverage United
8 States assistance to the Republic of Benin in order
9 to mobilize greater foreign direct investment in
10 Benin; and
11 (4) encourages other nations throughout the de-
12 veloping world to emulate the Republic of Benin's
13 example as a bastion of peace, security, free enter-
14 prise, and religious tolerance.

O

AMENDMENT TO H. CON. RES. 361
OFFERED BY MR. ACKERMAN

In the 5th clause of the preamble—

(1) strike "the most" and insert "a"; and

(2) strike "and" and insert "which".

In the 7th clause of the preamble, strike "truly".

In the 8th clause of the preamble, strike "true".

In the 9th clause of the preamble, strike ", as well as the lives of all Africans,".

Page 3, strike line 1 and all that follows through line 3 and insert the following:

1 (1) commends the government of President
2 Kerekou and the people of the Republic of Benin for
3 their commitment to democracy;

Page 3, line 6, insert "and" after the semicolon.

Page 3, line 10, strike "; and" and insert a period.

Page 3, strike line 11 and all that follows through line 14.

106TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 410

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. LANTOS submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on _____

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Condemning the assassination of Father John Kaiser and others who worked to promote human rights and justice in the Republic of Kenya.

Whereas Father John Kaiser, a Catholic of the Order of the Mill Hill Missionaries and a native of Minnesota who served as a missionary in the Kisii and Ngong Dioceses in the Republic of Kenya for 36 years advocating the rights of all Kenyans, was shot dead on August 23, 2000;

Whereas Father Kaiser was a frequently outspoken advocate on issues of human rights and against the injustice of government corruption in Kenya;

Whereas fellow priests have stated that Father Kaiser had told them the night before he was killed that he feared for his life;

Whereas the brutal murders of Father Stallone, Father Graiff, and Father Luigi Andeni, all of the Marsabit Diocese, and the circumstances of the murder of Brother Larry Timons of the Nakuru Diocese, and that of Father Martin Boyle of the Eldoret Diocese have not yet been satisfactorily investigated nor have the perpetrators of the murders been brought to justice, raising growing concern over the rule of law and the justice system in Kenya;

Whereas Father Kaiser's death is one more example of the hostile actions being directed against Kenyan civil society and in particular human rights groups and advocates;

Whereas the report of a Kenyan governmental commission, known as the Akiwumi Commission, on the investigation into the politically motivated ethnic violence between 1992–1997 in Kenya's Great Rift Valley, has not yet been released, in spite of several requests by numerous church leaders and human rights organizations to have the Commission's findings released to the public;

Whereas documents were found on Father Kaiser's body that he had intended to hand over to the Akiwumi Commission;

Whereas the Kenyan Human Rights Commission has expressed the fear that the progress in the struggle for democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and the basic needs of all Kenyans achieved during the last few years is jeopardized by the current Kenyan Government;

Whereas the Kenyan Human Rights Commission has expressed concern over the continued blatant violations of the rule of law and the constitution, acts of torture, and murder and rape by the Kenyan security forces;

Whereas private armies that work with the police are known to exist in Kenya and the Government of Kenya encourages informal repression as a means of intimidating and denying citizens their rights; and

Whereas the human rights movement in Kenya is in need of international support and solidarity for the important work they are doing: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That the Congress—

3 (1) condemns the violent deaths of Father John
4 Kaiser and others who worked to promote human
5 rights and justice in the Republic of Kenya and ex-
6 presses its outrage with respect to such deaths;

7 (2) calls for an independent investigation of
8 such deaths, in addition to the initiatives of the Gov-
9 ernment of Kenya;

10 (3) calls on the Secretary of State, acting
11 through the Assistant Secretary for Democracy,
12 Human Rights, And Labor, to prepare and submit
13 to the Congress, not later than December 15, 2000,
14 a report on the progress of the independent inves-
15 tigation and initiatives of the Government of Kenya
16 described in paragraph (2);

17 (4) calls for the findings of such independent
18 investigation to be made public; and

19 (5) calls on the President to support such inde-
20 pendent investigation through all diplomatic means.

October 2 , 2000

Honorable Benjamin Gilman
Chairman
Committee on International Relations
U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We urge opposition to House Resolution 596, recently passed by the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the House International Relations Committee, concerning the attention which should be given by the President to the "Armenian genocide" in American foreign policy.

Whatever you or others may feel about the merits of this resolution, it is important to understand the real world consequences of its adoption. The potential for damage to U.S. interests in a vital region dramatically outweighs, in our judgement, any acknowledgement of past atrocities during World War I and its aftermath.

Turkey's strategic location at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and the Balkans, as well as its unique position as the only Muslim democratic country with a vigorous market economy, places it at the center of U.S. short and long term strategic interests.

Now is not the time to test the will of an indispensable ally which, for over forty years, has proven its loyalty and strategic importance. A staunch ally during the Cold War, Turkey will be even more crucial to U.S. security interests in the 21st century in a region plagued by new security challenges, including political instability, Islamic extremism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and narcotics trafficking.

Turkey's cooperation is essential to promote U.S. strategic interests in the region. Yet with the adoption of this resolution, no Turkish government will be able to be as forthcoming as in the past, given its public's strong sensitivities to events clouded by history. Consider the consequences:

- Iraq – Amid recent fears of increased Iraqi pressures on Kuwait reminiscent of the Gulf crisis in 1990, Turkey remains central to U.S.-led efforts to contain Iraqi aggression. Turkey continues to host U.S. and British forces participating in Operation Northern Watch as they enforce the no-fly zone in northern Iraq and protect the people there from Saddam. And it is continuing to impose sanctions against Iraq despite the fact that it has cost the Turkish economy over $35 billion.

- The Newly Independent States – Turkey is a geostrategic bridge between the newly independent states of the Caucasus and Central Asia and the West. An energy transportation corridor through Turkey will prevent Russia or Iran from monopolizing strategic gas and oil reserves in the region.

Hon. Benjamin Gilman-2

- Regional Cooperation – Turkey's great strides in combating indigenous terrorism continue to be a model for other countries. The U.S. State Department has consistently praised Turkey for significant contributions in the fight against terrorism.

- The Balkans – Integral to our efforts to end ethnic bloodshed in the Balkans, Turkey participated in the air war in Kosovo and housed thousands of fleeing refugees. Turkey continues to help NATO secure a lasting peace in Kosovo by maintaining a 1,000-man brigade there and is helping stabilize Bosnia with its 700 man policing force.

- Relations with Israel – Turkey was the first Muslim country to establish relations with Israel over 50 years ago. Over the past ten years, this relationship has matured into a full blown "strategic partnership" that includes joint military exercises.

Passage of the resolution would strengthen the hand of those in Turkey who oppose Turkey's further integration into the West and would deliver a severe blow to U.S interests in the region. We urge you to carefully weigh the implications of this resolution and vote against it wherever it may be considered, either in committee or on the House floor.

Sincerely,

Frank Carlucci
Former Secretary of Defense

William J. Perry
Former Secretary of Defense

Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.
Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

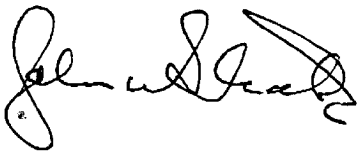
General Alexander Haig
Former Secretary of State and
Former Supreme Allied Commander
for Europe

General Wesley K. Clark
Former Supreme Allied Commander
for Europe

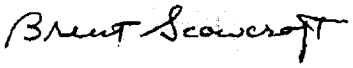
General George Joulwan
Former Supreme Allied Commander
for Europe

Richard Allen
Former National Security Advisor

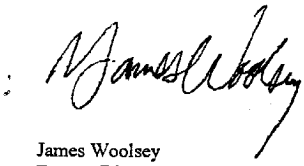
Richard Perle
Former Assistant Secretary of Defense



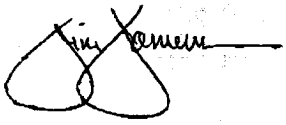
General John Shalikashvili
Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff and former Supreme Allied Commander for Europe



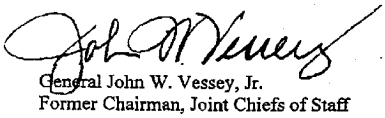
General Brent Scowcroft
Former National Security Advisor



James Woolsey
Former Director of Central Intelligence



General James Jamerson
Former Deputy Commander-in-Chief
United States European Command



General John W. Vessey, Jr.
Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

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Armenia Pins Economic Hopes on Peace

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service
Wednesday, September 6, 2000; Page A13

Armenia's then-prime minister Robert Kocharian in Yerevan on March 30, 1998, a day before he was declared the clear winner in Armenia's presidential election. (AP)

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STEPANAKERT, Azerbaijan — When Armenian separatists seized control of a wide swath of Azerbaijan back in 1992 and declared the independent republic of Nagorno-Karabakh, Rafiq Israelian was euphoric. The decades-old dream of detaching this predominantly Christian region from Muslim Azerbaijan, and reuniting it with Mother Armenia next door, seemed on the verge of becoming reality.

Today, Israelian is a disillusioned man. He spends most of his days standing in the central square of the Karabakh capital, Stepanakert, waiting for work. Occasionally, he earns a couple of dollars at a construction site, barely enough to feed his wife and three children. At other times, his family goes hungry.

"We hoped that life would improve after the war, but it hasn't," said the 42-year-old former soldier, who now pins his hopes on Russian President Vladimir Putin, whom he sees as a modern-day successor to Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. "Putin should bring back the Soviet Union and restore the collective farms. Then we might have a chance of getting out of this mess."

While Israelian's talk about restoring Soviet power may be an idle fantasy, it reflects a very real frustration, both here and in Armenia, with the fruits of independence. Over the past decade, Armenia, an ancient Christian nation, has scored a remarkable series of military victories over its hereditary Muslim enemy, culminating in the seizure of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory. Economically, however, Armenians are reeling.

Western diplomats estimate that a third of Armenia's Soviet-era population of 3.6 million has left the country since independence in search of work and better living conditions. An estimated 40 percent of the remaining population is unemployed. Corruption is rampant. Political killings are commonplace, as illustrated by a terrorist attack on

the Armenian parliament in Yerevan, the capital, last October that resulted in eight deaths, including the prime minister and speaker of parliament.

One of the by-products of the economic chaos has been a renewed interest in peace with Azerbaijan, which is widely seen as an essential first step to the return of economic stability. Over the last year and a half, Armenian President Robert Kocharian has held an extraordinary series of 11 face-to-face meetings with his Azerbaijani counterpart as part of renewed efforts to find a solution to the protracted Karabakh conflict.

"We have both agreed that peace can only come about through compromises, and we are trying to let our publics know that there must be compromise," said Kocharian, a former president of Nagorno-Karabakh who rose to power in 1998 by thwarting the efforts of former Armenian president Levon Ter-Petrossian to strike a peace deal with Azerbaijan.

Once adamantly opposed to any concessions to Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, Kocharian now appears to realize that the only long-term solution to Armenia's terrible economic situation lies in abandoning the siege mentality of the past decade. For his part, 77-year-old Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev is ill with heart problems. U.S. officials believe that he wants to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue once and for all as part of securing a smooth political transition to his son, Ilham.

The conflict was the first of dozens of ethnic disputes to flare up in the Communist world during the waning years of the Cold War, establishing a pattern that would soon become familiar from Bosnia to Moldova to Chechnya. Ethnic Armenians, who accounted for three-quarters of Nagorno-Karabakh's population of 180,000, began demonstrating for secession from Azerbaijan in early 1988, saying government policies favored the Azerbaijani minority. After the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, the protests escalated into all-out war.

By the time a cease-fire was declared in 1994, the Nagorno-Karabakh rebels had overrun hundreds of Azerbaijani villages and towns, with the assistance of the Armenian army, driving out the Azerbaijani inhabitants and creating a huge buffer zone around Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenian officials say they are willing to return much of this land to Azerbaijan as part of an overall peace settlement that recognizes the de facto independence of the Armenian-inhabited areas.

While economic conditions in Armenia are not as bleak as in the early 1990s, when electricity supplies in Yerevan were limited to one hour a day and people cut down trees for heating fuel, there is a widespread sense of hopelessness. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the collapse of most local industries, which were tightly integrated with the rest of the Soviet economy. At the same time, Armenia found itself the target of an economic blockade by Azerbaijan and Turkey, which border

the country on three sides.

Stepanakert is even more cut off from the outside world than Armenia proper. Decades-old communications links with Azerbaijan were destroyed during the war. The region's sole economic lifeline now consists of a little-traveled 44-mile road across the mountainous Lachin corridor to Armenia that was largely financed by the 2 million-strong Armenian diaspora in the United States.

War and isolation have proved an ideal breeding ground for corruption and feuding between rival political clans for control over the remnants of the old Soviet command economy. The in-fighting has been particularly brutal in Nagorno-Karabakh, where in March the president narrowly escaped an assassination attempt allegedly organized by a former defense minister, Samuel Babayan.

"When Babayan and his supporters lost power, they also lost a lot of money," said Prime Minister Anushavan Daniyelyan. "They were able to control half the trade and industry here. This was an attempt to preserve their personal power and wealth."

The seemingly endemic corruption and absence of serious economic reform have scared away foreign investors, without whom there can be no lasting economic recovery. Even Armenian Americans, a political bedrock of support, are showing signs of frustration. "The honeymoon is definitely over," said New Jersey construction magnate Hirair Hovnanian, who has raised millions of dollars for Armenian causes and has built a luxury home for himself overlooking Yerevan.

"Nobody seems to be looking at the long term," complained Anil Sampat, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Armenia and general manager of the city's most prestigious hotel. "There is more to building a market economy than wearing fancy clothes and driving around in a Mercedes."

During a visit to Washington last June, President Kocharian pleaded with leaders of the diaspora to invest more money in Armenia. But, according to participants in the meeting, he got a cool reception. There was a general sense that the country needs to put its own economic house in order before appealing for more funds from outside.

In the absence of large-scale funding from the diaspora, Armenia's only hope of economic salvation lies in an international reconstruction effort tied to a peace settlement. U.S. officials have been attempting to line up promises of assistance from international lending institutions for both Armenia and Azerbaijan as soon as they reach an agreement on Nagorno-Karabakh.

While both sides have expressed an eagerness to reach an agreement, they still seem far apart on the details. Azerbaijan has rejected any settlement that does not formally recognize its sovereignty over

Nagorno-Karabakh. Yerevan has turned down the idea of an exchange of territory that would compensate Azerbaijan with territory in southern Armenia but that would cut Armenia off from Iran, its only truly friendly neighbor.

Armenian officials believe that Aliyev, a former Communist Party boss who became president of Azerbaijan in a 1993 coup, is the key to any deal.

"We must find a solution to this conflict while he is still in power," said Nagorno-Karabakh Foreign Minister Naira Melkunian. "It is not clear what will happen in Azerbaijan after Aliyev." At the same time, given the political risks involved, Aliyev is unlikely to make significant concessions before next November's parliamentary elections.

In the end, any peace settlement is likely to be shrouded in ambiguity. Armenian Foreign Minister Vartan Oskanian says he has proposed a "don't ask, don't tell" approach to Azerbaijan, under which Nagorno-Karabakh's status would be interpreted differently by each side.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 2000

Dear Mr. Speaker:

As Secretaries of State and Defense, we are deeply concerned about the potential damage that adoption of H. Res. 596 could have on a range of American national security interests in the eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia -- areas where our staunch ally Turkey plays a critical role in regional peace and stability. We urge you to oppose this resolution.

It is difficult to overstate Turkey's strategic value. Turkey stands faithfully at the southeast flank of NATO and is one of NATO's most steadfast members. Operation Northern Watch, the enforcement of the northern no-fly zone over Iraq, continues to operate from the Turkish base at Incirlik. This base was also vital to the successful military actions taken by NATO in the Balkans last year. Turkey is a partner in efforts to bring stability to Bosnia. Over 2000 Turkish soldiers are deployed in Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia. Turkish cooperation is indispensable to efforts to find solutions in ongoing negotiations on Cyprus and on Nagorno-Karabakh, and to efforts to reduce tensions in the Aegean. We also need Turkish involvement in trans-Caspian pipeline arrangements, to assure both the independence and prosperity of the Central Asian nations along Russia's southern border, and the diversity of our energy supply.

Armenians suffered greatly at the end of the Ottoman Empire, and it is clearly in the interest of both the Turkish and Armenian peoples that they together come to terms with these events. President Clinton has continued the tradition of commemorating Armenian Remembrance Day each April 24, mourning the loss of innumerable Armenian lives and challenging all Americans to recommit themselves to ensuring that such events never happen again. This is a fitting and appropriate tribute to the victims and a means of fostering awareness of this historic tragedy.

The Honorable
J. Dennis Hastert,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Passing judgment on this history through legislation, as H. Res. 596 does, could only have a severely negative impact on Turkish-Armenian relations. It also would have a negative impact on our security and commercial interests in the region. We urge in the strongest terms that this resolution not be adopted. Thank you for considering our views.

Sincerely,

William S. Cohen
Secretary of Defense

Madeleine K. Albright
Secretary of State

September 27, 2000

Representative Ben Gilman
Chairman, House International Relations Committee
2170 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

RE: House Resolution #588

Dear Chairman Gilman,

As religious leaders, human rights activists, academics, and most importantly, as Americans, we are sadly observing many former havens of freedom and religious expression in Western Europe becoming new and subtle arenas for religious discrimination. The bill passed on 22 June 2000 by the French National Assembly is a perfect example of this new and potentially dangerous trend. Other examples of this trend exist in new laws and expressions of governmental intolerance against minorities in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Russia and Greece.

The United State Congress must make a clear and strong stand against this new trend to help preserve religious freedom around the globe. House Resolution #588 will demonstrate to the American people, and to people of the world that the United States Congress stands for liberty, freedom, and the right to express one's faith without fear of discrimination or persecution.

As I am sure you are well aware, the bill passed by the French National Assembly and up for review by the French Senate, aims to restrict the free expression, growth, and development of 173 "blacklisted" religious groups, including but not limited to Jehovah's Witnesses, Scientologists, Opus Dei, Muslims Unificationists, and certain denominations of Orthodox Judaism.

Another group which has experienced discrimination and harassment is the Southern Baptist Convention, one of the largest denominations in the United States, and the religious affiliation of both the President and Vice President of the United States. Even more groups are affected by this pending legislation than just those named on the official French list, including the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits).

Mr. Gilman, as concerned Americans, we seek the leadership and voice of the United States Congress against the dangerous trends developing in Europe against free expression of religion and belief, liberty, and democracy by Passing House Resolution #588. The consequences of the French legislation and the other acts of institutional intolerance against religions are extremely dangerous, not only for minority religious groups, but also in the long run for democracy in Europe. If we do not halt this anti-religion movement in Western Europe, particularly in liberal democratic states like France, what right do we have to criticize non-

Western countries whose policies do not measure up to our own standards of religious freedom? Should the American community of faith ***not*** be concerned that the government of France, like that of Communist China, will not discuss issues of religious liberty with the United States Government?

As the Resolution clearly states, we in the religious and human rights communities are concerned about the blatant violations of international accords including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Helsinki Final Act and the Vienna Concluding Document and others.

These violations have brought about unnecessary discrimination and harassment of religious minorities in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and other countries in Western Europe; the establishment of "sect filters" in Germany used to deny employment; restrictive registration laws in Austria and Russia as well as other countries; the establishment of "sect" offices in Austria and Belgium which disseminates official propaganda against religious groups leading to a chilling effect on religious liberty.

Pope John Paul II has spoken out against this potentially devastating legislation in France. While formally accepting the credentials of the new French Ambassador to the Holy See, Mr. Alain Dejammet, Pope John Paul devoted an entire section of his speech to religious liberty, an unusual theme when receiving ambassadors of Western democratic countries.

Mr. Gilman, we urge you and your colleagues to support House Resolution #588 and endeavor for its passage this session. The fate of religion in Europe, and around the globe, rests on the willingness of courageous souls, called by virtue and filled with the desire to promote liberty and justice, to resist the temptation of apathy and speak for truth.

Mr. Gilman, you and your committee have offered leadership in the fight against religious oppression in the past. We extend our most sincere thanks to you and the House International Relations Committee for the concern for and actions on behalf of the rights of all citizens to express their faith and religious beliefs as they so wish.

We urge you to use your influence to pass House Resolution #588 this session.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph K. Grieboski
President
Institute on Religion and Public Policy

Irving Sarnoff
Director
Friends of the United Nations

Prof. Susannah Heschel

Eli Black Professor of Jewish Studies
Dartmouth College

Richard D. Land, Ph.D.
President
Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention

LTC Robert L. Maginnis (USA, Ret.)
Vice President for National Security and
Foreign Policy
Family Research Council

J. Gordon Melton
Director
Institute for the Study of American Religion

Dan Fefferman
Executive Director
International Coalition for Religious Freedom

Rabbi Harold S. White
Senior Jewish Chaplain
Georgetown University

Bruce J. Casino, Esq.
President
International Coalition for Religious Freedom

Reverend N. J. L'Heureux, Jr.
Executive Director, Queens Federation of Churches
Moderator, Committee on Religious Liberty, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

Robert A. Destro
Interim Dean
Columbus School of Law
The Catholic University of America

Most Reverend Nicholas Lambrou
Archbishop-Primate
Archdiocese of the Americas
Autocephalous Holy Eastern Orthodox Church

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Religious Liberty Affiliate
Order of the Most Holy Trinity

Brother Derek Trembley, O.SS.T.
Research Assistant
Trinitarian Solidarity International

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September 28, 2000

Representative Ben Gilman
Chairman
House International Relations Committee
2170 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

RE: House Resolution #588

Dear Chairman Gilman,

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Mr. Gilman, as concerned Americans, we seek the leadership and voice of the United States Congress against the dangerous trends developing in Europe against free expression of religion and belief, liberty, and democracy by Passing House Resolution #588. The consequences of the French legislation and the other acts of institutional intolerance against religions are extremely dangerous, not only for minority religious groups, but also in the long run for democracy in Europe. If we do not halt this anti-religion movement in Western Europe, particularly in liberal democratic states like France, what right do we have to critisize non-Western countries whose policies do not mesure up to our own standards of religious freedom? Should the American community of faith NOT be concerned that the government of France, like that of Communist China, will not discuss issues of religious liberty with the United States Government?

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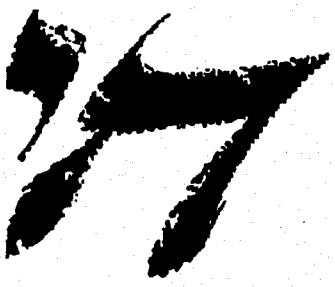
Mr. Gilman, you and your committee have offered leadership in the fight against religious oppression in the past. We extend our most sincere thanks to you and the House International Relation Committee for the concern for and actions on behalf of the rights of all citizens to exoress heir faith and religious beliefs as they so wish.

We urge you to use your influence to pass House Resolution #588 this session.

Respectfully yours in the Almighty,

Metropolitan-Archbishop,
Nicholas, Primate A.O.C.I.A.
+ NICHOLAS (Lambrou), Primate



RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER
OF REFORM JUDAISM
The Religious Action Center pursues social justice and religious liberty by mobilizing the American Jewish community and serving as its advocate in the nation's capital
2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone (202) 387- 2800
Fax (202) 667- 9070

September 27, 2000

United States House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative,

As Jews, we know very well the terrible cost of oppression and discrimination. Having so often been the victims of persecution, it is our duty and obligation to take affirmative steps to prevent such persecution against others. It is in this vein that we write on behalf of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, the public policy arm of North America's largest Jewish community, to urge the committee passage of H.R. 588. Our nation must provide a comprehensive and aggressive response to religious intolerance by Participating States of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In the rising tide of discrimination towards Western European minority and so-called "nontraditional" religious denominations, H.R. 588 affirms the conviction that the struggle for the elimination of prejudice and the achievement of full justice for every minority group is one indivisible task.

The message is clear — God will judge us based on our deeds, not our religious beliefs. As we seek to live our lives conscious that all are created in God's image, we must work to ensure that no one is discriminated based on his or her religious beliefs. In this spirit and in the American spirit of tolerance, we urge you to pass this critical legislation.

Respectfully,

Rabbi David Saperstein

Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism