

Curtis	Joyce (PA)	Rogers (AL)	Crow	Kim	Porter	Luetkemeyer	Rice (SC)	Stewart
Davidson (OH)	Katko	Rogers (KY)	Cuellar	Kind	Pressley	Marshall	Riggleman	Taylor
Davis, Rodney	Keller	Rooney (FL)	Cunningham	Kirkpatrick	Price (NC)	Massie	Roby	Thompson (PA)
DesJarlais	Kelly (MS)	Rose, John W.	Davids (KS)	Krishnamoorthi	Quigley	Mast	Rodgers (WA)	Thornberry
Diaz-Balart	Kelly (PA)	Rouzer	Davis (CA)	Kuster (NH)	Raskin	McCarthy	Roe, David P.	Tipton
Duncan	King (IA)	Roy	Davis, Danny K.	Lamb	Rice (NY)	McCaul	Rogers (AL)	Turner
Dunn	King (NY)	Rutherford	Dean	Langevin	Richmond	McClintock	Rogers (KY)	Upton
Emmer	Kinzinger	Scalise	DeFazio	Larsen (WA)	Rose (NY)	McHenry	Rooney (FL)	Wagner
Estes	Kustoff (TN)	Schweikert	DeGette	Larson (CT)	Rouda	McKinley	Rose, John W.	Walberg
Ferguson	LaHood	Scott, Austin	DeLauro	Lawrence	Roybal-Allard	Meadows	Rouzer	Walden
Fitzpatrick	LaMalfa	Sensenbrenner	DeBene	Lawson (FL)	Ruiz	Meuser	Roy	Walker
Fleischmann	Lamborn	Shimkus	Delgado	Lee (CA)	Ruppersberger	Mitchell	Rutherford	Walker
Flores	Latta	Simpson	Demings	Lee (NV)	Rush	Moolenaar	Scalise	Walorski
Fortenberry	Lesko	Smith (MO)	DeSaulnier	Levin (CA)	Sánchez	Mooney (WV)	Schweikert	Waltz
Fox (NC)	Long	Smith (NE)	Deutch	Levin (MI)	Sarbanes	Mullin	Scott, Austin	Watkins
Fulcher	Loudermilk	Smith (NJ)	Dingell	Lewis	Schakowsky	Murphy (NC)	Sensenbrenner	Weber (TX)
Gallagher	Lucas	Smucker	Doggett	Lieu, Ted	Schiff	Newhouse	Shimkus	Webster (FL)
Gianforte	Luetkemeyer	Spano	Doyle, Michael	Lipinski	Schneider	Norman	Simpson	Wenstrup
Gibbs	Marshall	Stauber	F.	Loeb	Schrader	Nunes	Smith (MO)	Westerman
Gohmert	Massie	Stefanik	Engel	Lofgren	Schrier	Olson	Smith (NE)	Wilson (SC)
Gonzalez (OH)	Mast	Steil	Escobar	Lowenthal	Scott (VA)	Palazzo	Smith (NJ)	Wittman
Gooden	McCarthy	Steube	Eshoo	Lowe	Scott, David	Palmer	Smucker	Womack
Gosar	McCaul	Stewart	Española	Luján	Serrano	Pence	Spano	Woodall
Granger	McClintock	Stivers	Evans	Luria	Sewell (AL)	Perry	Stauber	Yoho
Graves (GA)	McHenry	Taylor	Finkenauer	Lynch	Shalala	Posey	Stefanik	Young
Graves (LA)	McKinley	Thompson (PA)	Fletcher	Malinowski	Sherman	Reed	Steil	Zeldin
Graves (MO)	Meadows	Thornberry	Foster	Maloney,	Sherrill	Reschenthaler	Steube	
Green (TN)	Meuser	Tipton	Fudge	Carolyn B.	Sires			
Griffith	Miller	Torres Small	Gallego	Maloney, Sean	Slotkin			
Grothman	Mitchell	(NM)	Garamendi	Matsui	Smith (WA)	Bass	Hill (CA)	Scanlon
Guest	Moolenaar	Turner	García (IL)	McAdams	Soto	Beatty	Huffman	Stivers
Guthrie	Mooney (WV)	Upton	García (TX)	McBath	Spanberger	Burgess	Jordan	Thompson (CA)
Hagedorn	Mullin	Wagner	Golden	McCollum	Speier	Carter (TX)	Marchant	Timmons
Harris	Murphy (NC)	Walberg	Gomez	McGovern	Stanton	Cartwright	McEachin	Wasserman
Hartzler	Newhouse	Walden	Gonzalez (TX)	McNerney	Stevens	Frankel	Miller	Schultz
Hern, Kevin	Norman	Walker	Gottheimer	Meeeks	Suozi	Gabbard	Ratcliffe	Williams
Herrera Beutler	Nunes	Walorski	Green, Al (TX)	Meng	Swalwell (CA)	Hice (GA)	Ryan	Wright
Higgins (LA)	Olson	Waltz	Grijalva	Moore	Takano			
Hill (AR)	Palazzo	Watkins	Haaland	Morelle	Thompson (MS)			
Holding	Palmer	Weber (TX)	Harder (CA)	Moulton	Titus			
Hollingsworth	Pence	Webster (FL)	Hastings	Mucarsel-Powell	Tlaib			
Horn, Kendra S.	Perry	Wenstrup	Hayes	Murphy (FL)	Tonko			
Hudson	Posey	Westerman	Heck	Nadler	Torres (CA)			
Huizenga	Reed	Wilson (SC)	Higgins (NY)	Napolitano	Torres Small			
Hunter	Reschenthaler	Wittman	Himes	Neal	(NM)			
Hurd (TX)	Rice (SC)	Womack	Horn, Kendra S.	Neguse	Trahan			
Johnson (LA)	Riggleman	Woodall	Horsford	Norcross	Trone			
Johnson (OH)	Roby	Yoho	Houlahan	O'Halleran	Underwood			
Johnson (SD)	Rodgers (WA)	Young	Hoyer	Ocasio-Cortez	Van Drew			
Joyce (OH)	Roe, David P.	Zeldin	Jackson Lee	Omar	Vargas			

NOT VOTING—23

Bass	Hill (CA)	Scanlon
Beatty	Huffman	Stivers
Burgess	Jordan	Thompson (CA)
Carter (TX)	Marchant	Timmons
Cartwright	McEachin	Wasserman
Frankel	Miller	Schultz
Gabbard	Ratcliffe	Williams
Hice (GA)	Ryan	Wright

□ 1416

So the resolution was agreed to.
 The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
 A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, DC, October 29, 2019.

Hon. NANCY PELOSI,
 The Speaker, House of Representatives,
 Washington, DC.

DEAR MADAM SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on October 29, 2019, at 10:58 a.m.:

That the Senate passed S. 134.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

CHERYL L. JOHNSON.

AFFIRMING THE UNITED STATES RECORD ON THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 655, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 296) affirming the United States record on the Armenian Genocide and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 655, the resolution is considered read.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

NOT VOTING—18

Bass	Hill (CA)	Ratcliffe
Beatty	Huffman	Ryan
Carter (TX)	Jordan	Thompson (CA)
Cartwright	Marchant	Timmons
Gabbard	McEachin	Williams
Hice (GA)	Moulton	Wright

□ 1409

So the previous question was ordered.
 The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CUELLAR). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mrs. LESKO. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 221, nays 187, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 590]

YEAS—221

Adams	Brown (MD)	Clark (MA)
Aguilar	Brownley (CA)	Clarke (NY)
Allred	Bustos	Clay
Axne	Butterfield	Cleaver
Barragán	Carbajal	Clyburn
Bera	Cárdenas	Cohen
Beyer	Carson (IN)	Connolly
Bishop (GA)	Case	Cooper
Blumenauer	Casten (IL)	Correa
Blunt Rochester	Castor (FL)	Costa
Bonamici	Castro (TX)	Courtney
Boyle, Brendan	Chu, Judy	Cox (CA)
F.	Cicilline	Craig
Brindisi	Cisneros	Crist

NAYS—187

Abraham	Comer	Guest
Aderholt	Conaway	Guthrie
Allen	Cook	Hagedorn
Amash	Crawford	Harris
Amodei	Crenshaw	Hartzler
Armstrong	Curtis	Hern, Kevin
Arrington	Davidson (OH)	Herrera Beutler
Babin	Davis, Rodney	Higgins (LA)
Bacon	DesJarlais	Hill (AR)
Baird	Diaz-Balart	Holding
Balderson	Duncan	Hollingsworth
Banks	Dunn	Hudson
Barr	Emmer	Huizenga
Bergman	Estes	Hunter
Biggs	Ferguson	Hurd (TX)
Bilirakis	Fitzpatrick	Johnson (LA)
Bishop (NC)	Fleischmann	Johnson (OH)
Bishop (UT)	Flores	Johnson (SD)
Bost	Fortenberry	Joyce (OH)
Brady	Fox (NC)	Joyce (PA)
Brooks (AL)	Fulcher	Katko
Brooks (IN)	Gaetz	Keller
Buchanan	Gallagher	Kelly (MS)
Buck	Gianforte	Kelly (PA)
Bucshon	Gibbs	King (IA)
Budd	Gohmert	King (NY)
Burchett	Gonzalez (OH)	Kinzinger
Byrne	Gooden	Kustoff (TN)
Calvert	Gosar	LaHood
Carter (GA)	Granger	LaMalfa
Chabot	Graves (GA)	Lamborn
Cheney	Graves (LA)	Latta
Cline	Graves (MO)	Lesko
Cloud	Green (TN)	Long
Cole	Griffith	Loudermilk
Collins (GA)	Grothman	Lucas

H. RES. 296

Whereas the United States has a proud history of recognizing and condemning the Armenian Genocide, the killing of 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, and providing relief to the survivors of the campaign of genocide against Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Arameans, Maronites, and other Christians;

Whereas the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials of many countries against what he described as the empire's "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";

Whereas President Woodrow Wilson encouraged the formation of the Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which raised \$116,000,000 (over \$2,500,000,000 in 2019 dollars) between 1915 and 1930, and the Senate adopted resolutions condemning these massacres;

Whereas Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide" in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in the 20th century;

Whereas, as displayed in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering his military commanders to attack Poland without provocation in 1939, dismissed objections by saying "[w]ho, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?", setting the stage for the Holocaust;

Whereas the United States has officially recognized the Armenian Genocide, through the United States Government's May 28, 1951, written statement to the International Court of Justice regarding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, through President Ronald Reagan's Proclamation No. 4838 on April 22, 1981, and by House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April 8, 1975, and House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on September 10, 1984; and

Whereas the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-441) establishes that atrocities prevention represents a United States national interest, and affirms that it is the policy of the United States to pursue a United States Government-wide strategy to identify, prevent, and respond to the risk of atrocities by "strengthening diplomatic response and the effective use of foreign assistance to support appropriate transitional justice measures, including criminal accountability, for past atrocities": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that it is the policy of the United States to—

(1) commemorate the Armenian Genocide through official recognition and remembrance;

(2) reject efforts to enlist, engage, or otherwise associate the United States Government with denial of the Armenian Genocide or any other genocide; and

(3) encourage education and public understanding of the facts of the Armenian Genocide, including the United States role in the humanitarian relief effort, and the relevance of the Armenian Genocide to modern-day crimes against humanity.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution shall be debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and to insert extraneous material on H. Res. 296.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us is an important measure to set the record straight on the atrocities suffered by the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century.

We know what happened in this dark period of history. Between 1915 and 1923, 1.5 million Armenians were murdered. This was a genocide, and it is important that we call this crime what it was.

Many American politicians, diplomats, and institutions have rightly recognized these atrocities as a genocide, including America's Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time, Henry Morgenthau, and later, President Ronald Reagan.

It is time that we set the record straight. Only by shining a light on the darkest parts of our history can we learn to not repeat them. And properly acknowledging what has occurred is a necessary step in achieving some measure of justice for the victims.

H. Res. 296 sticks to the historical facts. It is a good, commonsense measure with broad bipartisan support.

I want to thank Mr. SCHIFF, the resolution's author, as well as Ms. ESHOO, Ms. SPEIER, Ms. SHALALA, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. SMITH, and the many other bipartisan champions of this issue for their persistent, steadfast pursuit of recognition for the suffering the Armenian people endured.

I strongly support this measure, and I urge all my colleagues to do the same. With its passage, we put Congress on the right side of history, properly acknowledging and condemning this horrific genocide.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, when the term "genocide" was created in 1944 to describe the systematic destruction of an entire people. Its author, Raphael Lemkin, explained the term by saying: "It's the sort of thing Hitler did to the Jews and the Turks did to the Armenians."

When he ordered the invasion of Poland in 1939, Adolf Hitler said: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Mr. Speaker, in the year 2000, and again in the year 2015, I chaired two congressional hearings on the Armenian genocide. In 2000, the House was moving to pass a bipartisan resolution by Congressmen Radanovich and Bonior, H. Res. 398.

After hearing fact-based, eloquent testimony from Congressmen James Rogan and David Bonior, followed by the State Department, history professors, and then witnesses from both the Armenian and the Turkish side, my subcommittee successfully marked up H. Res. 398 for consideration by the full committee.

Ambassador Marc Grossman, however, testified at the hearing that President Bill Clinton was against the Armenian genocide resolution. That opposition proved to be very significant, and as we were moving with the highest expectations toward passage, President Clinton's National Security Advisor, Sandy Berger, took the extraordinary step of admonishing Speaker Hastert not to bring it to the floor. And he caved. The resolution never even got a vote.

In 2007, Chairman Tom Lantos, like Chairman Henry Hyde before him, reported the resolution out of committee, sponsored by Congressmen SCHIFF and Radanovich; although it never got out of the committee in 2000, but he wanted it to. That was H. Res. 106. That too never made to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, that changes today. The Affirming the United States RECORD on the Armenian Genocide, H. Res. 296, is a sense of Congress resolution that commemorates the Armenian genocide through official recognition and remembrance.

The resolution wisely notes that the United States has officially recognized the Armenian genocide through the U.S. Government's May 1951 written statement to the International Court of Justice regarding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide through President Ronald Reagan's proclamation, Number 4838, on April 22, 1981, and by H.J. Res. 148, adopted in 1975, and H.J. Res. 247, adopted in September of 1984.

The resolution also points out that the U.S. played a major role in the humanitarian relief efforts and, of course, the Near East Relief agency saved tens of thousands of Armenians and others. As a matter of fact, the historian, Howard Sachar, noted it "quite literally kept an entire nation alive," and that is reflected in the resolution.

Yet, today, the Armenian genocide is the only genocide of the 20th century where survivors, family, and all those who care about this important issue, have been subjected to the ongoing outrage of a massive, well-funded, aggressive campaign of genocide denial, openly sustained and lavishly funded by the State authority, in this case, the Government of Turkey.

The Turkish Government underwrites a disgraceful disinformation campaign to confuse the historical

record. It often employs lobbyists in this town to carry that message forward.

Mr. Speaker, my 2015 hearing marked the 100th year since the beginning of the genocide; and I appropriately entitled it: A Century of Denial: The Armenian Genocide and the Ongoing Quest For Justice.

As Pope Francis said at his Mass marking the 100th year of genocide: "Concealing or denying evil is like allowing a wound to keep bleeding without bandaging it."

Mr. Speaker, the facts of the genocide were reported throughout the world as they were happening, corroborated immediately afterward by survivors and even some of the perpetrators, and have been amply documented by the historians, and in one particular book that I have read, by Ambassador Morgenthau, who was our U.S. Ambassador contemporaneously, at the time, to the Ottoman Empire.

In 1915, as we know, there were about 2 million Armenians living in what was then the Ottoman Empire, now Turkey. They were living in the region that they had inhabited for 2,500 years or more.

By 1923, however, over 90 percent of these Armenians had disappeared. Most of them, an estimated 1.5 million, were slaughtered. Most of them were death-marched into the desert, or shot, and many of the women were raped. The remainder, the remnant was forced into exile.

U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau wrote: "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

The Encyclopedia for the Armenian Genocide states: "During the march, many Armenians were killed indiscriminately by Ottoman forces, which left a trail of corpses along the route of the march. To break the will of the marchers, the killings were performed with swords, resulting in great bloodshed." And as they continued the march, they were marched into the Syrian desert where they died from starvation.

At the Center for Holocaust, Human Rights & Genocide Education exhibit at Brookdale Community College, which my good friend and colleague from New Jersey, Mr. PALLONE, knows so well as well, they have many remembrances of people in our State and elsewhere who were survivors.

Well, one of those survivors put it this way, and I quote her: "Life was a matter of trying to survive. Every morning a cart would come around and take away the sick and the dead to be dumped into a common grave. They had taken my brother because he was a little sick. My crying and weeping were of no avail, especially because I was sick and petrified of being put on the cart."

She was one of the lucky ones who survived.

Let me remind my colleagues that the Genocide Convention of 1950, which the Turkish Government has ratified, makes clear—here is what the Genocide Convention says, and the Armenian genocide fits this to a T.

The definition says this: "Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

Killing members of the group;
Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of that group;
Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. . . ."

□ 1430

In the case of the Armenians, it wasn't in part. It was in whole. They wanted the Armenians eviscerated from the face of the Earth.

Let me just point out to my colleagues, despite Turkish Government threats—and they do make threats. At my hearing, the Ambassador made threats in the year 2000. Frank remembers that. It was outrageous.

Well, 28 countries and 49 U.S. States, including my own State of New Jersey, have passed a law, resolution, or declaration recognizing the Armenian genocide.

I ask Members to support this resolution. It is bipartisan, and it needs to be done.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the majority leader.

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), the chairman of the committee, for yielding. I thank Mr. SMITH for his career-long advocacy of human rights and protecting the most vulnerable, not only in this country but throughout the world.

Mr. SMITH and I had the opportunity to travel behind the Iron Curtain when it existed, talking about human rights, talking about the right to immigrate, the right to worship, the right to freedom of speech. We talked about the Helsinki Final Act. He and I were both members of the Helsinki Commission for a couple of decades together. He and I visited Turkey together, talking about particularly the freedom of the press and how many members and how many journalists were imprisoned.

Mr. SMITH, Mr. ENGEL, and I, and certainly Mr. SCHIFF, and so many others have been supporters of this resolution for a very long time. It has not come to the floor. One of my duties as the majority leader is to bring bills to the floor, and I am proud, along with the chairman and the ranking member, to bring this bill to the floor.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker, recognizes the horrific and systematic efforts to commit genocide against the Armenian people a century ago. There can be no denial of the Armenian genocide, which is evidenced by historical documentation and the emotional scars still borne by the descendants of its survivors. It was a campaign of ethnic cleansing committed by the Ottoman Empire during and after the First World War, and it led to the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians alongside other targeted groups.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. SMITH referenced Ambassador Morgenthau, who was our Ambassador at this period of time. He said this: "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

He went on to say: "I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this." Of course, we were, tragically, to see an even greater Holocaust, in terms of numbers of lives lost, just some 30 years later.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, the British Ambassador to the United States, in an October 1915 speech, said this: "The massacres are the result of a policy which, as far as can be ascertained, has been entertained for some considerable time"—I want to read this language—"considered for some considerable time by the gang of unscrupulous adventurers who are now in possession of the Government of the Turkish Empire. They hesitated to put it in practice until they thought the favorable moment had come, and that moment seems to have arrived about the month of April."

The reason I bring that up is this resolution is not anti the present Turkish Government. The sanctions bill will stand for that. This is about something that happened historically, that if not recognized may well happen again. When you say, "Never again," you must recognize what the "never again" is.

I have talked to Turkish Ambassadors and others for over a quarter of a century as a Member of the Congress of the United States and said to them this is not about your government; this is about, as the British Ambassador says, a gang of thugs who took over your government over 100 years ago.

I regret that our Turkish friends have not recognized this as our German friends have recognized their genocide and said this was wrong because if they tell their people this is wrong, it is more likely that it will not be repeated.

Mr. Speaker, as the House joins in condemnation of that genocide and memorializes its victims, let us also keep our attention focused on populations today that are being subjected to ethnic cleansing and forced relocation. From the Rohingya to the Uighurs,

from the people in Darfur to the Kurdish population being forced from their homes in Syria as we speak, we must declare, loudly and clearly: Never again. Never again. Sadly, “never” is now.

In particular, our Kurdish allies, who fought so courageously to help us defeat ISIS, are being forced to leave their homes by Turkey’s campaign to seize control of northern Syria. Let today’s action in this House be a reminder, Mr. Speaker, to President Erdogan and his government: The United States is watching. The American people will not turn our eyes away. Neither will we turn our eyes away from the millions of others in Syria who have been displaced and the hundreds of thousands who have been killed, who have been bombed, gassed, and brutalized by the Assad regime and its enablers.

That is why it is important to recognize the genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people so that we will recognize other such actions, which because of their race or their color or their ethnicity or some other distinction subject them to mass murder.

Mr. Speaker, we need to let the American people’s Representatives give a clear message to our Armenian brothers and sisters, to our Kurdish brothers and sisters: We see you. We will not abandon you. Never again.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

I thank my colleague and good friend, Mr. HOYER, for his comments. We did travel so many times to the Soviet Union, to the Eastern Bloc countries, and to Turkey. We raised issues methodically, persistently. But this issue has always been one of those unresolved, festering sores that if we could get it right—and this House going on record I think is the beginning of that process. So I thank him for his leadership over these years, for his friendship, and, above all, for that very eloquent statement.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF), the author of this important resolution, the vice chair of the Congressional Armenian Caucus, and the chair of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 296, which I introduced along with Representative BILIRAKIS to recognize and commemorate the Armenian genocide.

This is a vote that I have fought for 19 years to cast. My wonderful colleagues, ANNA ESHOO and JACKIE SPEIER, have fought far longer than I have. It is one that tens of thousands of my constituents, my Armenian American constituents, have waited decades to see. It is a moment that so many have worked and struggled and prayed for, a moment when the House of Rep-

resentatives refused to be enlisted in the cause of genocide denial.

This April would have marked the 104th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, the systematic murder of 1.5 million Armenians, and the displacement of millions more by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923. Many other religious and ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire met similar fates, among them the Greeks, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and others.

More than a century later, it is our solemn responsibility to remember those who were lost, to seek justice and restitution, and to educate Americans and those around the world about the crime of genocide.

The facts of the genocide are horrific and undisputed by historians. They were recorded by American diplomats serving in the Ottoman Empire at the time who bore witness in official cables to the annihilation of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire, a crime that at the time had no name.

Though it lacked a name, there was no doubt in the observers of the time that they were witnessing a crime on a massive and industrial scale. The U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, would recall later: “I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared with the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.”

It was only decades later that Raphael Lemkin, a Holocaust survivor, coined the term “genocide” to describe the atrocities that have been visited upon the Jews as well as the Armenians.

I have sat with survivors of the genocide, men and women, their numbers dwindling year after year, and heard them recall the destruction of their lives and the loss of all they had known. As children, they were forced from their homes and saw their families beaten, raped, and murdered. They fled across continents and oceans to build lives in this Nation, in Armenia, and around the world.

For them and for their descendants, the word “genocide” is sacred because it means that the world has not and will not forget. To deny genocide, on the other hand, is profane. It is, in the words of Elie Wiesel, “a double killing.”

Mr. Speaker, it is always the right time to recognize genocide, but it is particularly so today. For when we see the images of terrified Kurdish families in northern Syria, loading their possessions into cars or carts and fleeing their homes headed to nowhere except from Turkish bombs and marauding militias, how can we truly say the crimes of a century ago are in the past?

We cannot. We cannot pick and choose which crimes against humanity are convenient to speak about. We cannot cloak our support of human rights in euphemisms. We cannot be cowed into silence by a foreign power.

What we can do, what we must do, Mr. Speaker, is state the facts. We can say that the Ottoman Empire committed this grotesque crime against the Armenians, but their campaign of extermination failed, and that, above all, we will never forget and will never again be silenced.

I am grateful for the leadership of Mr. ENGEL, Mr. MCCAUL, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS), and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), and so many Members on both sides of the aisle who have fought for recognition for decades. I urge every Member of the House to join today in supporting H. Res. 296.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO), an important leader on these issues for many years.

□ 1445

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to pay tribute to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. ENGEL, for helping to bring this to the floor; to everyone that is part of, from both sides of the aisle, the Armenian caucus in the House; and to my sister, friend, Congresswoman JACKIE SPEIER, who shares this heritage with me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution, H. Res. 296, which affirms the Armenian genocide.

This is a historic day in the House of Representatives, and it is one that I have been waiting for for 27 years.

Between 1915 and 1923, 1.5 million Armenians—and this is a historical fact that many people are not aware of, that there were hundreds of thousands of Assyrians, Greeks, Arameans, Maronites, and other Christians who were systematically slaughtered by the Ottoman Empire.

This is deeply personal for me. I am the only Member of Congress of Armenian Assyrian decent and one of only three of Armenian heritage in the House of Representatives—I think in the entire Congress, Senate and House.

Some of you know that I had members of my own family who were among those that perished, and my parents fled with theirs to America. As my father said: The best idea that was ever born was America.

What all of those who were persecuted have in common was that they were Christians, and that is why they were hunted down and slaughtered.

This resolution not only honors my ancestors, but all of those who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century.

The United States has been missing in action on the honor roll of over two dozen countries, 14 of which are NATO allies, and 49 States in our country that have formally recognized the Armenian genocide. Today, we can end over 100 years of silence by passing this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, there is also a historic parallel as we are considering this resolution, and that is that Turkey is pursuing the ethnic cleansing of Kurds in Syria, as we meet today.

As Pope Francis declared when he visited the Armenian genocide memorial in Yerevan in 2016: "Memories should not be watered down or forgotten; memory is a source of peace and of the future."

So today we remember and we say to all those who perished: We remember. We love you.

Mr. Speaker, we set an example for the young people of our country that the moral authority of the United States is well and alive as we pass this resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, first of all, I want to thank ANNA ESHOO for her leadership throughout many decades on this issue. It was her idea to bring it up on the floor today. I want to thank her for that. Of course she had to work within the leadership to get it done, but I thank her for recommending that.

Mr. Speaker, I want to remind Members that, in 2018, ANNA ESHOO and I wrote the Iraq and Syria Genocide Relief and Accountability Act. It was signed by President Trump into law. That provided two things: humanitarian relief for the tens of thousands of Christians and Yazidis fleeing from ISIS; it also provided an accountability piece to collect for, hopefully, utilization in future court cases against the perpetrators of these heinous crimes.

So, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for that work that we did together and, again, for her leadership on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY), the acting chairwoman of the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his leadership on the committee and for this resolution, and also ANNA ESHOO and Chairman SCHIFF and so many of my friends and colleagues for their long efforts to pass it on both sides of the aisle.

As a member of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues and the Representative of a large and vibrant Armenian community in New York City, I strongly support H. Res. 296, affirming the United States' record on the Armenian genocide.

104 years ago, 1.5 million Armenians were murdered by the Ottoman Empire in the first genocide of the 20th century. Ever since, Armenian communities from across the world, including those in my district, have been forced to fight for recognition and justice for Turkey's denial in so many ways, from the illegal invasion of Cypress by Turkey to the vicious attacks on Kurds

within and without the borders of Turkey.

With our vote today, the United States takes a long long overdue step to stop Turkey from hiding the truth of its actions. The Armenian genocide must be acknowledged by all, and in doing so, we can hope to prevent the next genocide.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. SPEIER), co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues.

Ms. SPEIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman ENGEL, Chairman MCCAUL, and Mr. SMITH, and have a deep sense of gratitude to Congressman SCHIFF for introducing H. Res. 296; and to my sister, my Armenian sister, Congresswoman ESHOO, for helping us plot this strategy to get this bill to the floor.

April 24, 1915, is a day that lives in infamy in the hearts and minds of millions of Armenians worldwide. It is a day that I grew up understanding from my Armenian mother to be one of the darkest in history. It is the day that the Ottoman Government embarked on a systematic slaughter of 1.5 million Armenians, two-thirds of the Armenian population.

This genocide is recognized in countries around the world, including Canada, France, and Germany. It is recognized in 49 States in our Union as the first genocide of the 20th century, yet the House of Representatives hasn't recognized both that the genocide occurred and that the Ottoman Empire perpetrated it.

Elie Weisel once called denying genocide—and in particular, the Armenian genocide—a double killing, because it not only exterminates a group of people, it murders the memory of that crime. Congress must ensure that memory is not destroyed and those lives are honored.

As a child, I listened to my mom speak of the atrocity with pain and fear. She is gone now, but her pain lives on in me to this very day.

By righting this terrible wrong, one that has festered for far too long, we are alleviating that pain and sending a message that history can't be rewritten. We are stating, in no uncertain terms, that America will no longer abandon Armenians with feeble excuses made for a so-called ally. We are affirming that truth is truth.

Thousands of documents totaling 37,000 pages in the National Archives support the truth: Armenians were exterminated by Ottoman forces and Turkish sympathizers.

In 1918, former President Theodore Roosevelt sent a letter saying:

Because the Armenian massacre was the greatest crime of the war, failure to act against Turkey is to condone it and means that all talk of guaranteeing future peace is nonsense.

Usually, these words serve as a general warning, but today they apply to

specific ongoing atrocities. We must not stand silent as Turkey attempts the ethnic cleansing of the Kurds in Syria.

Even Russia's President Putin had said the Armenian people "went through one of the greatest tragedies in human history."

Iran's former Vice President stated: "The Ottoman Turkey Government perpetrated genocide in 1915."

If our rivals can talk about this, if they can take a stand, certainly we can.

Armenian genocide, we must say it here: It happened, and it will never happen again. We must make that commitment.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS), the cosponsor of the resolution.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, it has been more than 100 years since the atrocities committed against innocent Armenians and other ethnic and religious minorities at the hands of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire genocidal campaign from 1915 to 1923 killed 1.5 million Armenians, men and women and children, as well as Greeks, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syrians throughout a series of executions and death marches.

Finally, today, we are entering into the United States RECORD the Armenian genocide and the historical fact.

Today, we end a century of international silence. There will not be another period of indifference or international ignorance to the lives lost to systematic murder.

Genocides, wherever and whenever they occur, cannot be ignored, whether they took place in the 20th century by the Ottoman Turks or mid-20th century by the Third Reich and in Darfur.

Genocide must be acknowledged for what it is: a scourge on the human race.

Genocide is genocide, Mr. Speaker, even if our so-called strategic allies perpetrated it.

President Ronald Reagan explicitly referred to the Ottoman Empire's actions as the genocide of the Armenians in a 1981 Holocaust Remembrance Day speech.

Over 30 nations have formally recognized the genocide, including France, Germany, and even Russia. Today, Mr. Speaker, the United States is going to acknowledge it as well.

I found Pope Francis' words and explicit use of the term "genocide" to be another wake-up call for the world. We must acknowledge the atrocities of the past so that we might, hopefully, prevent them in the future.

Our darkest moments as a human race have come during times when those who knew better stood silently, making excuses for passivity and allowing injustice and persecution to reign.

Turkey's current actions in northern Syria against our Kurdish allies is extremely concerning, and we cannot

stand by and let egregious human rights violations happen. Turkey's offensive into Syria is unacceptable behavior from a U.S. ally and so-called secular democracy, as well as a NATO member. It is simply deplorable, Mr. Speaker.

We also need to make sure that other genocidal campaigns being waged in the Middle East are also properly recognized. ISIS is a perpetrator of genocide. Christians and other minorities are being killed solely because of their religion, and no modern society should sit silently in the face of such barbaric brutality.

Again, I am thankful that we are finally recognizing these atrocities and these acts against the Armenian people. Like the earliest Christians, the Armenians proved themselves not only survivors of persecution, but also masters of their destinies.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation on our Foreign Affairs Committee. He has been a leader on this issue for years.

□ 1500

Mr. SHERMAN. American honor demands that we end our complicity in genocide denial.

Four arguments are made against this resolution:

The first is that it is not true. No one can even make that argument anymore. 1.5 million Armenians and countless Syrians, Greeks, and others massacred by the Ottoman Government.

Second, they argue that Turkey is such a great ally that we should turn a blind eye to what happened last century. Earlier this month, Turkish forces shelled both to the left and to the right of American military bases. American soldiers fled in unseemly haste. What a great ally Turkey is.

Then we were told: Well, the Foreign Affairs Committee hasn't had hearings. We have had countless hearings on this for decades, including, also, a 4-hour markup where we passed it through the committee, and the only argument made on the other side there was Turkey was such a great ally. Well, last week, we had hearings in our committee that demonstrate that Turkey is not such a great ally of the United States.

And, finally, we were told—and this is insulting, I think—during the rules debate by someone arguing against the rule that it is not worth our time: 1.5 million dead.

The fact is that genocide denial is the last act of a genocide. First, you obliterate a people; then you obliterate their memory; and, finally, you seek to obliterate the memory of the obliteration.

And, also, genocide denial is the first step in the next genocide. When Hitler's cadres wondered whether they

could get away with the Holocaust, he was able to reassure them by saying: Who today speaks of the annihilation of the Armenians?

Denying genocide in the past will lead to more genocides in the future.

Today, Germany is a great and prosperous democracy because it has come to grips with its own past. Where would Germany be today if it denied the Holocaust?

Turkey will become a prosperous and a modern nation only when it recognizes the first genocide of the 20th century. The best thing we could do for Turkey is to acknowledge the genocide and urge them to do likewise.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and this is, indeed, a bipartisan speech.

The fact is that many other countries have recognized this genocide, and they have done so under tremendous Turkish pressure. For example, France was told that they would not be able to export to Turkey if they recognized the genocide. They did, and, in the subsequent 6 years, French exports to Turkey quadrupled.

This genocide has been recognized by Argentina, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the list goes on and on. It is time for America to also recognize the truth.

I look forward to the day, which is not true today, when scholars and individuals in Turkey can talk about the genocide and can come to grips with their own past instead of being threatened with incarceration for even mentioning this debate, because Turkey will not have the rule of law and democracy until you are free to discuss the first genocide of the 20th century on Turkish soil.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE), a valued member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Res. 296, a resolution introduced by my friend Mr. SCHIFF to recognize the horror of the genocide perpetuated against the Armenian people by the Ottoman Empire between 1913 and 1925, killing 1.5 million martyrs.

There is no question that the Ottoman Empire carried out a systemic campaign of persecution, forced removal, starvation, and murder against Armenians, along with other Christian minorities living under Ottoman rule.

This campaign was documented in realtime by American diplomats and has been acknowledged in various forms by previous administrations and Congresses, the last in 1984.

In order to prevent future genocides and mass atrocities, it is vital that we never forget those that have already

occurred. For too long, we have allowed foreign interests to lobby the United States in favor of turning the other way and not wholly recognizing the truth of the Armenian genocide. That ends today.

In Rhode Island, we have a very proud Armenian community that has demonstrated extraordinary resilience. They deserve for Congress to acknowledge the history of their people and the truth of the Armenian genocide. That will happen today.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. COSTA), another wonderful member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. COSTA. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support H. Res. 296, which would establish permanent United States recognition and the ongoing remembrance of the Armenian genocide.

I thank Chairman ENGEL, Ranking Member MCCAUL, Mr. SMITH, and all of the supporters of this resolution.

In 1915, the Ottoman Empire, as we all know, embarked upon the systematic deportation and murder of 1.5 million Armenians. These innocent men, women, and children became the first genocide, as we know, in the 20th century.

Many of these survivors settled in my district in the San Joaquin Valley, where they lived and their children have enjoyed the blessings of liberty and lived the American Dream. This incredible, diverse valley that I have the honor to represent we sometimes refer to as the Land of William Saroyan, a noted Armenian author. And Fresno State University is the only university in the United States that has a memorial dedicated to the Armenian genocide, a very moving memorial to their ancestors.

Yet, this brutal atrocity has not received the official recognition it deserves. So, today, it is proper and fitting that we do so.

This is a moral issue. I call upon my colleagues to join me and more than 110 cosponsors in supporting this long overdue passage by the United States House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, the horrors of the Armenian genocide can never, ever, ever be undone. Yet, by acknowledging the suffering of the victims through official recognition of the Armenian genocide, we can ensure that at least future generations will never forget.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. TED LIEU), another respected member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. TED LIEU of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman ENGEL and

Congressman SMITH for their leadership.

The United States of America should never be afraid to tell the truth, and yet, for too long, we did not recognize the Armenian genocide. That ends today. The House of Representatives is going to formally recognize the Armenian genocide.

Over a century ago, the Ottoman Empire began a plan to systematically exterminate Armenians from their land. 1.5 million Armenians were killed across the Turkish countryside. No amount of revisionist history or lobbying can change those facts.

Today is a historic today. Today, we tell the truth and we honor the Armenian genocide.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is now my honor to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and, more importantly, I thank him for bringing this very important legislation to the floor today.

I thank Mr. SMITH for his ongoing commitment to justice in the world in terms of respecting the dignity and worth of people and not ignoring atrocities when they happen, now and a long time ago. It is a pleasure to work with him always.

Mr. Speaker, we have tried this bill out of committee more than one time, and now it has come to the floor. It is an honor to speak on it, and it is a great day for the Congress that we have that privilege.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in solemn remembrance of one of the great atrocities of the 20th century, the systematic murder of more than 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children by the Ottoman Empire.

Too often, tragically, the truth of this staggering crime has been denied. Today, let us clearly state the facts on the floor of this House to be etched forever into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: The barbarism committed against the Armenian people was a genocide.

As international observers wrote at the time, it was a "campaign of race extermination," one that we as Members of Congress and as freedom-loving people have a moral obligation to never forget.

If we ignore history, then we are destined to witness the mistakes of the past be repeated. The recent attacks by the Turkish military against the Kurdish people are a stark and brutal reminder of the danger in our own time.

That is why it is critical, year in and year out, to reaffirm our dedication to recognizing the Armenian genocide and to placing the U.S. Congress firmly on the side of honesty in our history.

For that, I thank Chairman SCHIFF, Chairman ENGEL, Congresswoman ESHOO, Armenian Caucus Co-chairs

PALLONE and SPEIER, and all who have worked relentlessly on this critical resolution, which states that Democrats and Republicans join to:

"Commemorate the Armenian genocide through official recognition and remembrance;

"Reject efforts to enlist, engage, or otherwise associate the United States Government with denial of the Armenian genocide or any other genocide; and

"Encourage education and public understanding of the facts of the Armenian genocide, including the United States role in the humanitarian relief effort, and the relevance of the Armenian genocide to modern-day crimes against humanity."

To honor the memory of those lost and the suffering of those who survived, we firmly and unequivocally denounce all attempts to devalue or minimize these heinous crimes.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a strong vote for this resolution, which is a statement to America's commitment to human rights and to the truth.

We are blessed in our country with a large Armenian American population, some serving—Congresswoman SPEIER, Congresswoman ESHOO, and others—in this House. Every year, we come together to observe the sadness of the genocide, but today, Mr. Speaker, we have the opportunity. And may we have the strength and courage to always denounce hate, violence, and bigotry; to right the wrongs of history; and to build a future of hope, peace, and freedom for all mankind. That is who we are as Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and others for giving us the opportunity to state our values.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), the co-chair of the congressional Armenian caucus, who has, for many, many years, been at the forefront of championing this very important resolution.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. ENGEL for all of his work on this, and I, of course, thank all of the members of the Armenian caucus. One of the reasons that we founded the Armenian caucus was the recognition of the Armenian genocide.

But I also have to mention that, I think, as everyone knows, without Speaker PELOSI, this would never have come to the floor today. It is, ultimately, her decision to bring it to the floor, and I want to thank her immensely.

Official recognition of the Armenian genocide is a powerful reminder that we will not turn away when we know full well that crimes against humanity have been perpetrated. We stand here today to pay tribute to the victims of this horrific chapter of history, to the perseverance of those who survived, and to the Americans of Armenian de-

scent who continue to strengthen our country.

□ 1515

It is our duty to honor that history with an honest, factual statement recognizing the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians as the 20th century's first genocide. This resolution cannot undo the horrors that the victims endured or the pain that their descendants carry with them, but we have an obligation to speak candidly about the past. That is directly tied to our moral responsibilities of the present.

The United States must never accept crimes against humanity, and we must do everything in our power to prevent and stop atrocities unfolding in real time.

What is currently taking place in Syria—the killing of the Kurds at the hands of the Turkish President Erdogan—is unacceptable, and it is far past time for the Turkish Government to accept its responsibility for the systematic extermination of Armenians in the past century and to commit to protect the dignity of every human life in this century.

I encourage my colleagues to join in supporting this long overdue recognition of the Armenian genocide. Mr. Speaker, your vote is not only for the Armenians but to prevent genocide in the future.

Let us note that the Ottoman Turks did not succeed. The Armenians are still here in the United States, in the Republic of Armenia, in Artsakh, and the American people and their Representatives will continue to be with you.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlemen from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES).

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Today the House of Representatives will affirm, finally, that we recognize the horrors of the Armenian genocide and are committed to remembering the victims of this crime against humanity.

Our moral standing in the world requires us to acknowledge the truth of the Armenian genocide. For too long, we have acquiesced in Turkey's policy of genocide denial, unwilling to risk the ire of our so-called ally.

However, Turkey's actions against the Kurds in Syria have reinforced what many of us have long known: Erdogan's Turkey does not stand for human rights or religious freedom, but instead spreads authoritarianism wherever it goes. Erdogan's disdain for democracy and contempt for an ally was on display 2 years ago when his bodyguards attacked peaceful demonstrators right here in our Nation's Capital.

I am pleased that later today the House will vote to impose sanctions on Turkey for its actions in Syria. This resolution and that bill are tied together. They are both powerful statements that we respect fundamental

human rights and that we desire to stand on the right side of history.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. LAWRENCE).

Mrs. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, today, finally, a congressional resolution that will pay tribute to the Armenian, the Syrian, the Greek, the Chaldean, and other lives lost, and the determination of those who survive.

To many Americans of Armenian descent who continue to strengthen our country today, we honor those contributions with an honest statement of history, recognizing the massacre of 1.5 Armenians as the 20th century's first genocide.

In the spirit of honoring these victims, I am proud to cosponsor H. Res. 296, an official recognition of the Armenian genocide.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and acknowledge Mr. SCHIFF and my dear friend, ANNA ESHOO, and all of those, Mr. PALLONE, and of all the Members who have stood tall and strong, Mr. SMITH and Mr. ENGEL, for this very important statement.

Let me, as a member of the Armenian Caucus, indicate that I rise with a heavy heart, but I rise with an appreciation and an excitement that we have come to this point.

It is important to acknowledge that as this was occurring, the United States' record on the Armenian genocide goes back more than a century, in fact, to July 16, 1915, when Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials of many countries against what he described as the empire's campaign of race extermination. He was instructed on July 16, 1915, by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing that the "department approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian persecution."

I rise in support of finally having this Nation take this stand. Bloodshed and genocide should not be tolerated no matter how long we have come to that. And so I stand with the words that we now, therefore, will commemorate as the United States of America the Armenian genocide through official recognition and remembrance. We will reject efforts to enlist, engage, or otherwise associate the United States Government with the denial of the Armenian genocide or any other genocide.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman from Texas an additional 30 seconds.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am reminded of the time both Mr. ENGEL, Mr. SMITH, and I traveled to the Sudanese Embassy to protest the genocide in Darfur. We can do no less.

It is not just 10 years ago, it is more than 100 years ago, at least, that we saw this genocide. There is no embassy that maybe will arrest us now, but I say to Turkey: It is finally time for you to acknowledge this genocide. Tragically, you have restarted and reignited the dastardly acts of genocide against the Kurds.

I am glad today on this day that we are acknowledging that one genocide can be no worse than another genocide. Silence on one genocide is silence on all genocides.

Mr. Speaker, I stand here today to support H. Res. 296 to acknowledge the Armenian genocide by the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary and on Homeland Security, and as a sponsor of the legislation, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 296, a resolution "Affirming the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide," and I thank Mr. SCHIFF, the gentleman from California and the Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and Mr. ENGEL, the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for their collaboration and hard work in bringing this important legislation to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, the United States record on the Armenian Genocide goes back more than a century, in fact to July 16, 1915, when Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials of many countries against what he described as the empire's "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."

The United States has a proud history of recognizing and condemning the Armenian Genocide, the killing of 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923 and providing relief to the survivors of the campaign of genocide against Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Arameans, Maronites, and other Christians.

Mr. Speaker, the Armenian Genocide represents the first genocide of the 20th Century, where Ottoman Turkish authorities ordered the systematic annihilation of more than 1.5 million Armenians, and which Turkey carried out from 1915 to 1923 through massacres, deportations, and death marches where hundreds of thousands were herded into the Syrian Desert to die of thirst and starvation.

Sadly, to this day this chapter of history has yet to be admitted by the Government of Turkey.

Many international observers, including then Ambassador and later U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, witnessed the nightmare firsthand and reported detailed accounts of the atrocities to their governments.

Respected organizations and eminent scholars and historians agree and recognize the Armenian Genocide, including the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity and the renowned International Association of Genocide Scholars.

Their judgments are supported by 53 Nobel laureates who signed an open letter to the Government of Turkey on April 9, 2007.

Mr. Speaker, the historical record is clear, and the Armenian Genocide is a tragic fact.

It must be acknowledged and remembered so that it will never be repeated.

As a member of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues, I know that the refusal of modern-day Turkey to acknowledge one of the worst examples of man's inhumanity in the 20th Century haunts survivors of the Armenian Genocide, as well as their families.

As a Member of Congress, I believe this is not only an affront to the memory of the victims and to their descendants, but it does a disservice to the United States as it seeks to stand up for the victims of violence today.

The issue of recognizing the Armenian genocide and helping the Armenian people is neither a partisan nor geopolitical issue.

Rather, it is a question of giving the Armenian people the justice they deserve.

In doing so, we affirm the dignity of humankind everywhere.

It has been said that "all it takes for evil to triumph, is for good men to do nothing."

This is one of the reasons I am proud to have joined with so many of my colleagues in cosponsoring the resolution affirming the occurrence of the Armenian genocide throughout my career in Congress and I will continue to do for as long as it takes.

In recognizing the Armenian Genocide, we do not seek to persecute any person or state; we seek to build a path that will lead to reconciliation between Armenians and Turks.

In doing so, we will remain true to our nation's highest aspirations for justice and peace.

It was President Lincoln who called upon the "better angels of our nature" when he said in his Second Inaugural Address that all Americans should "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Mr. Speaker, the Armenian Genocide has been officially recognized by 42 states, which have gone on public record rejecting any claim or assertion that denies the occurrence of one of history's worst crimes against humanity.

I believe it is time for us to join these nations in that endeavor by passing H. Res. 296, the "Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution."

Mr. Speaker, I ask for a moment of silence in memory of the millions of silenced voices and interrupted lives of those Armenians who perished between 1915 and 1923 in the genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire.

I urge all Members to join me in voting for this critically important resolution, H. Res. 296.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that there are no further speakers other than the chairman, and I would like to close.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

As I mentioned earlier, the Encyclopedia of the Armenian Genocide states:

During the march many Armenians were killed indiscriminately by the Ottoman forces, which left a trail of corpses along the route of the march. To break the will of the marchers, they used swords, resulting in great bloodshed. Marchers who survived these attacks faced starvation, as no provisions whatsoever were made. Many elderly

and infirm marchers died in this way during the march. This significantly reduced numbers of marchers who, upon finally making it into the Syrian desert, were put into concentration camps and then released into the scorching desert with no food or water and to a certain death.

Mr. Speaker, despite having ratified the Genocide Convention back in 1950, the Turkish Government has waged an amazingly deceitful campaign of denial and has done so over the course of decades using a variety of means to bully, intimidate, and punish Turkish citizens who dare to acknowledge the genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire beginning in 1915.

Ankara also seeks to intimidate nations. Many nations have refused to be intimidated and to be bullied: Poland, Germany, the Holy See, Italy, Russia, France, Holland, Portugal, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Austria, Bulgaria, the European Parliament, Luxembourg, Sweden, Chile, Argentina, Lithuania, Venezuela, Slovakia, Canada, Uruguay, Switzerland, Lebanon, Belgium, Greece, and Cyprus all have come out strongly and acknowledged the Armenian genocide. We need to do the same today.

Over the years, several U.S. Presidents have acknowledged the cruelty and the carnage. But it was Ronald Reagan who called it an Armenian genocide. He said: "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."

To be sure, Presidents Carter, Bush, Clinton, and Bush, said strong words. They had strong words to describe it. President Bush called it the "forced exile and the annihilation" of 1.5 million Armenians.

President Obama had promised to recognize the genocide but didn't. A Los Angeles Times story on April 21, 2015, says it all: "Armenian hopes crushed as Obama decides not to use the word 'genocide'."

It does matter, Mr. Speaker. Genocide is a very precise term. It has real meaning in international law because of the Genocide Convention, and all Presidents and Members of Congress, I hope, will stand up and say that word.

Let me remind my colleagues, because it is referenced again in the resolution, that back in 1984 we passed a joint resolution to designate April 24, 1985—it didn't pass in the Senate, but it did pass here—and it said in part that April 24, 1985, is designated as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man" and authorized the President to observe the day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, and especially for the 1.5 million people of Armenian ancestry who were the victims of genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923.

So I say to my colleagues who are watching, we have gone on record before. Let's not be intimidated by Turkey, Erdogan, and others.

I would like to say a special thanks to the tenacious leaders of the Armenian National Committee of America, the Armenian Assembly and the Armenian diaspora for persistently encouraging Congress to step up and pass this kind of resolution. After a century of denial, obfuscation, and lies by Turkey, it is time to affirm and reiterate the truth of the Armenian genocide and honor the victims, the survivors, and their families.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time for the purpose of closing.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us is an important measure for Congress to set the record straight and to call out the atrocities suffered by the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century as a genocide.

I, again, want to thank the author of this measure, Mr. SCHIFF, along with the many champions for the Armenian people in the House. I want to congratulate the Armenian American community which has worked for so many years to try to get this resolution to the House floor and then get it passed.

We are really making history today, and I thank my colleagues on both sides of the aisle: Mr. SMITH, and all the others who spoke. I think this is very important, and I think we will be sending a very, very strong message all around the world.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on this important resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my concerns with House Resolution 296, which will be debated on the House floor today.

This counterproductive resolution does not tell the full story of the region during World War I and reopens a wound between Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Kurds, and other ethnic groups in the region. Favoring the preferred storyline of one of these groups without considering information provided by other ethnic groups in the region would serve as a failure on our part to do our due diligence and hear out all sides on this matter of historic significance. No hearings have been held on this resolution and it has come to the floor without being marked up by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Looking into the future, this resolution fails to help improve relations between the states of Turkey and Armenia. Last year, the Armenian government annulled normalization protocols that were signed by the two governments on October 10, 2009. It is in our best national security interests that we work with both governments to help facilitate the revival of the normalization of relations between the two nations in order to keep the region at peace without any escalation towards conflict.

Lastly, the passage of this resolution will only drive our NATO ally, Turkey, into the open arms of Vladimir Putin and Russia. Already, the Turkish government has purchased and taken delivery of the Russian developed S-400 anti-aircraft weapons system. The inte-

gration of this military system undermines the commitments made by all NATO allies to move away from Russian military systems. Passing this resolution for the sole purpose of poking Turkey in the eye will only serve as another reason for Turkey to pursue a separation from NATO.

Mr. Speaker, I will be voting present on House Resolution 296 as I believe we have failed to do our due diligence in investigating this matter and exploring the possible unintended consequences that may arise upon passage of this resolution.

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Res. 296. Affirming the United States record on the Armenian Genocide. I am honored to have supported this resolution my entire tenure in Congress. Although it should not have taken this long, today is a historic day in that the House is finally acknowledging the Armenian Genocide, recognizing the heroic efforts of many in our government to help the Armenian people, and honoring the victims of this tragedy.

H. Res. 296 acknowledges the systematic and deliberate annihilation of millions of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire. The resolution recognizes the courage and leadership shown at the time by our ambassador Henry Morgenthau, our government, and the American people who provided relief and shelter to the victims of the genocide. Thousands of victims, mostly women and children, were saved by the people of our nation who gave humanitarian assistance to the refugees.

Many of the Armenians who fled this crisis immigrated to the United States where they found the freedom and prosperity that our nation provides. The descendants of these genocide survivors have created the strong, vibrant, and patriotic Armenian-American community that our nation is blessed with today. We must honor the sacrifice of their forefathers and reaffirm the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide.

I would like to thank the many advocates in and outside of Congress who have played an integral role in this legislation. Our colleagues Congressman ADAM SCHIFF and Congressman FRANK PALLONE have been tireless advocates for this resolution and should be applauded for their work in getting us here today. The Armenian-American community has stayed committed to recognizing the incredible injustice their ancestors suffered even while many challenged their bearing witness to the truth.

Armenian-Americans have sought formal recognition of this genocide, not only to help heal their own community, but to ensure genocide never happens again. The Armenian-American community is always first to speak out regarding modern-day crimes against humanity, such as in Rwanda and Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, like Armenian-Americans I ask my colleagues to support this resolution, not only to recognize the genocides of the past, but to prevent genocide in the future.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 655, the previous question is ordered on the resolution and the preamble.

The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

□ 1530

**ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER
PRO TEMPORE**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on the motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

**PROTECT AGAINST CONFLICT BY
TURKEY ACT**

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4695) to impose sanctions with respect to Turkey, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4695

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 “Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act” or the “PACT Act”.

SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the United States and Turkey have been treaty allies since 1952, when Turkey became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO);

(2) being a NATO member means that Turkey is treaty bound to safeguard the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law and, importantly, should be united with other NATO allies in efforts for collective defense and the preservation of peace and security;

(3) Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019, is an unacceptable and unnecessary escalation of tensions with the potential to cause a severe humanitarian crisis and undo the collective gains made in the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) by the United States and the 81 countries and organizations of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, including NATO and the European Union (EU);

(4) Turkey should immediately cease attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other religious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria and recall its forces back to Turkey;

(5) targeted sanctions against Turkey are an appropriate response in order for Turkey to be held accountable for its military invasion of northern Syria;

(6) Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria is the latest example of the weakening and problematic United States-Turkey bilateral relationship and undermines the security of the United States and its NATO allies, including that of Turkey;

(7) the SDF have been critical partners to United States and allied counter-ISIS and broader counterterrorism efforts in Syria, and the United States should continue this partnership with the SDF;

(8) the United States Government should utilize diplomatic and military tools to ensure the enduring defeat of ISIS;

(9) the United States should stand by critical allies and partners;

(10) Russian and Iranian political and military influence in Syria present a threat to United States national security interests; and

(11) the United States Government, in concert with the international community, should hold accountable members of the Syrian regime and the Governments of the Russian Federation and Iran for atrocities against the Syrian people.

SEC. 3. SANCTIONS AGAINST SENIOR TURKISH OFFICIALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to the following foreign persons in connection with Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019:

(1) The Minister of National Defense of Turkey.

(2) The Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces.

(3) The Commander of the 2nd Army of the Turkish Armed Forces.

(4) The Minister of Treasury and Finance of Turkey.

(b) ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS.—

(1) LIST.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President and appropriate congressional committees a list of the following foreign persons in connection with Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019:

(A) Senior Turkish defense officials involved in the decision to invade northern Syria.

(B) Senior Turkish military officials leading attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), Kurdish and Arab civilians, or other religious or ethnic minority communities in northern Syria.

(C) Turkish officials significantly facilitating Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria.

(D) Any Turkish official or member of the Turkish Armed Forces who is responsible for, complicit in, or has directly or indirectly engaged, or has attempted to engage, in any of the following relating to Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria:

(i) A violation of the law of armed conflict.

(ii) A gross violation of internationally recognized human rights.

(2) UPDATES.—The list required under paragraph (1) shall be updated every 60 days, until the sanctions under this section are terminated in accordance with section 7.

(3) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—Not later than 15 days after submission of the list required under paragraph (1) and each update relating thereto in accordance with paragraph (2), the President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to foreign persons identified in such list and related updates.

(c) WAIVER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive, on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign person if the President—

(A) determines that—

(i) it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to do so; and

(ii) Turkey—

(I) has halted attacks against the SDF, Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other reli-

gious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria; and

(II) is not hindering counter-terrorism operations against ISIS; and

(B) not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under paragraph (1) for an additional period of not more than 90 days if, not later than 15 days before such a waiver expires, the President determines it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to do so and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

SEC. 4. PROHIBITION ON ARMS TRANSFERS TO TURKISH MILITARY UNITS IN SYRIA.

(a) PROHIBITION.—No United States defense articles, defense services, or technology under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) may be transferred to the Government of Turkey if such articles, services, or technology could be used in operations by the Turkish Armed Forces in northern Syria.

(b) EXCEPTION.—The prohibition under subsection (a) shall not apply to transfers for ultimate end use by the United States military or for use in military operations approved by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(c) NO USE OF EMERGENCY AUTHORITY.—The authority of the President to waive statutory congressional review periods under the Arms Export Control Act in cases in which an emergency exists shall not apply to the transfer of defense articles, defense services, or technology to the Government of Turkey.

SEC. 5. SANCTIONS AGAINST FOREIGN PERSONS PROVIDING ARMS TO TURKISH ARMED FORCES IN SYRIA.

(a) REPORT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President and appropriate congressional committees a list of any foreign persons determined to knowingly have provided, on or after such date of enactment, defense articles, defense services, or technology (as such terms are defined and described in the Arms Export Control Act) to the Government of Turkey if such articles, services, or technology could be used in operations by the Turkish Armed Forces in northern Syria.

(2) UPDATES.—The list required under paragraph (1) shall be updated every 60 days or as new information becomes available, until the sanctions under this section are terminated in accordance with section 7.

(b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—The President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to any foreign persons identified on the list and related updates required under subsection (a).

(c) EXCEPTION.—The sanctions imposed pursuant to this section shall not apply to transfers for ultimate end use by the United States military or for use in military operations approved by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(d) WAIVER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive, on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign person if the President determines it is important to the national security interests of the United States to do so and, not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver