

112TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 304

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.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 14, 2011

Mr. DOLD (for himself, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. HOYER, Mr. DREIER, Mr. WOLF, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. BACA, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. SARBANES, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. GRIMM, Mr. BERMAN, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. COSTA, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. PETERS, Mrs. MALONEY, Ms. CHU, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. DENHAM, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. BRALEY of Iowa, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. GARRETT, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. RICHARDSON, Mr. NUNES, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. ROTHMAN of New Jersey, Mr. HIMES, Ms. SCHWARTZ, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ of California, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. MCCOTTER, Mr. VISCLOSKY, Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN of California, Mr. WU, Mr. HOLT, Mr. STARK, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. RANGEL, and Mr. MCGOVERN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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

1 bers of the Ottoman Government, as well as those of their
2 agents who are implicated in such massacres”.

3 (4) The post-World War I Turkish Government in-
4 dicted the top leaders involved in the “organization and
5 execution” of the Armenian Genocide and in the “mas-
6 sacre and destruction of the Armenians”.

7 (5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the
8 Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as charged,
9 for organizing and executing massacres against the Arme-
10 nian people.

11 (6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Genocide,
12 Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior Talaat,
13 and Minister of the Navy Jemal were all condemned to
14 death for their crimes, however, the verdicts of the courts
15 were not enforced.

16 (7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic judi-
17 cial failures are documented with overwhelming evidence
18 in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany,
19 Great Britain, Russia, the United States, the Vatican and
20 many other countries, and this vast body of evidence at-
21 tests to the same facts, the same events, and the same
22 consequences.

23 (8) The United States National Archives and Record
24 Administration holds extensive and thorough documenta-
25 tion on the Armenian Genocide, especially in its holdings

1 under Record Group 59 of the United States Department
2 of State, files 867.00 and 867.40, which are open and
3 widely available to the public and interested institutions.

4 (9) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States
5 Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916,
6 organized and led protests by officials of many countries,
7 among them the allies of the Ottoman Empire, against
8 the Armenian Genocide.

9 (10) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to
10 the United States Department of State the policy of the
11 Government of the Ottoman Empire as “a campaign of
12 race extermination,” and was instructed on July 16, 1915,
13 by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing that
14 the “Department approves your procedure . . . to stop
15 Armenian persecution”.

16 (11) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of February
17 9, 1916, resolved that “the President of the United States
18 be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citi-
19 zens of this country may give expression to their sympathy
20 by contributing funds now being raised for the relief of
21 the Armenians”, who at the time were enduring “starva-
22 tion, disease, and untold suffering”.

23 (12) President Woodrow Wilson concurred and also
24 encouraged the formation of the organization known as
25 Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which

1 contributed some \$116,000,000 from 1915 to 1930 to aid
2 Armenian Genocide survivors, including 132,000 orphans
3 who became foster children of the American people.

4 (13) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11, 1920,
5 stated in part, “the testimony adduced at the hearings
6 conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee
7 on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of
8 the reported massacres and other atrocities from which
9 the Armenian people have suffered”.

10 (14) The resolution followed the April 13, 1920, re-
11 port to the Senate of the American Military Mission to
12 Armenia led by General James Harbord, that stated
13 “[m]utilation, violation, torture, and death have left their
14 haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian val-
15 leys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from
16 the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages”.

17 (15) As displayed in the United States Holocaust Me-
18 morial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering his military
19 commanders to attack Poland without provocation in
20 1939, dismissed objections by saying “[w]ho, after all,
21 speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?” and
22 thus set the stage for the Holocaust.

23 (16) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term “geno-
24 cide” in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the
25 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punish-

1 ment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a defini-
2 tive example of genocide in the 20th century.

3 (17) The first resolution on genocide adopted by the
4 United Nations at Lemkin's urging, the December 11,
5 1946, United Nations General Assembly Resolution 96(1)
6 and the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and
7 Punishment of Genocide itself recognized the Armenian
8 Genocide as the type of crime the United Nations intended
9 to prevent and punish by codifying existing standards.

10 (18) In 1948, the United Nations War Crimes Com-
11 mission invoked the Armenian Genocide "precisely . . .
12 one of the types of acts which the modern term 'crimes
13 against humanity' is intended to cover" as a precedent for
14 the Nuremberg tribunals.

15 (19) The Commission stated that "[t]he provisions
16 of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres were obvi-
17 ously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note
18 of 1915 . . . , offenses which had been committed on
19 Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship,
20 though of Armenian or Greek race. This article constitutes
21 therefore a precedent for Article 6c and 5c of the Nurem-
22 berg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one
23 of the categories of 'crimes against humanity' as under-
24 stood by these enactments".

1 (20) House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April
2 8, 1975, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1975, is hereby des-
3 ignated as ‘National Day of Remembrance of Man’s Inhu-
4 manity to Man’, and the President of the United States
5 is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling
6 upon the people of the United States to observe such day
7 as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide,
8 especially those of Armenian ancestry . . .”.

9 (21) President Ronald Reagan in proclamation num-
10 ber 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part “like the
11 genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of
12 the Cambodians, which followed it—and like too many
13 other persecutions of too many other people—the lessons
14 of the Holocaust must never be forgotten”.

15 (22) House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on Sep-
16 tember 10, 1984, resolved: “[t]hat April 24, 1985, is here-
17 by designated as ‘National Day of Remembrance of Man’s
18 Inhumanity to Man’, and the President of the United
19 States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation
20 calling upon the people of the United States to observe
21 such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of
22 genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of
23 Armenian ancestry . . .”.

24 (23) In August 1985, after extensive study and delib-
25 eration, the United Nations SubCommission on Preven-

1 tion of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities voted
2 14 to 1 to accept a report entitled “Study of the Question
3 of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Geno-
4 cide,” which stated “[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortu-
5 nately not been the only case of genocide in the 20th cen-
6 tury. Among other examples which can be cited as quali-
7 fying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in
8 1915–1916”.

9 (24) This report also explained that “[a]t least
10 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Armenian
11 population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or
12 death marched by independent authorities and eye-wit-
13 nesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States,
14 German and British archives and of contemporary dip-
15 lomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally
16 Germany.”.

17 (25) The United States Holocaust Memorial Council,
18 an independent Federal agency, unanimously resolved on
19 April 30, 1981, that the United States Holocaust Memo-
20 rial Museum would include the Armenian Genocide in the
21 Museum and has since done so.

22 (26) Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression (later
23 retracted) by the United States Department of State as-
24 serting that the facts of the Armenian Genocide may be
25 ambiguous, the United States Court of Appeals for the

1 District of Columbia in 1993, after a review of documents
2 pertaining to the policy record of the United States, noted
3 that the assertion on ambiguity in the United States
4 record about the Armenian Genocide “contradicted long-
5 standing United States policy and was eventually re-
6 tracted”.

7 (27) On June 5, 1996, the House of Representatives
8 adopted an amendment to House Bill 3540 (the Foreign
9 Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Ap-
10 propriations Act, 1997) to reduce aid to Turkey by
11 \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its payment of lobbying fees
12 in the United States) until the Turkish Government ac-
13 knowledged the Armenian Genocide and took steps to
14 honor the memory of its victims.

15 (28) President William Jefferson Clinton, on April
16 24, 1998, stated: “This year, as in the past, we join with
17 Armenian-Americans throughout the nation in commemo-
18 rating one of the saddest chapters in the history of this
19 century, the deportations and massacres of a million and
20 a half Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the years
21 1915–1923.”.

22 (29) President George W. Bush, on April 24, 2004,
23 stated: “On this day, we pause in remembrance of one
24 of the most horrible tragedies of the 20th century, the an-
25 nihilation of as many as 1,500,000 Armenians through

1 forced exile and murder at the end of the Ottoman Em-
2 pire.”.

3 (30) Despite the international recognition and affir-
4 mation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of the do-
5 mestic and international authorities to punish those re-
6 sponsible for the Armenian Genocide is a reason why simi-
7 lar genocides have recurred and may recur in the future,
8 and that a just resolution will help prevent future geno-
9 cides.

10 DECLARATION OF POLICY

11 SEC. 3.

12 The House of Representatives—

13 (1) calls upon the President to ensure that the for-
14 eign policy of the United States reflects appropriate un-
15 derstanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to
16 human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented
17 in the United States record relating to the Armenian
18 Genocide and the consequences of the failure to realize a
19 just resolution; and

20 (2) calls upon the President in the President’s annual
21 message commemorating the Armenian Genocide issued
22 on or about April 24, to accurately characterize the sys-
23 tematic and deliberate annihilation of 1,500,000 Arme-
24 nians as genocide and to recall the proud history of United

- 1 States intervention in opposition to the Armenian Geno-
- 2 cide.

