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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/2/86

TO: *max*

FROM: **LINAS KOJELIS** *ek*
**Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
Room 196 OEOB, Ext. 6573**

The attached is for your:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Information | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return By _____ | |

Comments:

Armenians



ANCA

Armenian National
Committee of America

WASHINGTON REPORT

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December 1985

Vol. 1, No. 4

H.J.RES. 192 BECOMES MAJOR SUBJECT OF DEBATE IN CONGRESS

The House of Representatives devoted an unprecedented four hours of debate to the Armenian case and H.J.Res 192 on December 12, 1985. Over 50 Congressmen participated in the debate.

In spite of the tremendous opposition by the Turkish Government and the U.S. Department of State, an overwhelming majority of 263 House members out of 419 voted to consider H.J.Res. 192. The House decision to consider H.J.Res. 192 at a time when it was deliberating over the Balanced Budget bill, the Tax Reform bill and the Farm Programs Reauthorization bill elevated the importance assigned to the resolution.

Thus, the primary objective of H.J. Res. 192, to raise the consciousness within the House of Representatives about the contemporary relevance of the Armenian Case, having been achieved, the proponents of the resolution postponed additional action until a later date. This move also served to prevent the opposition from introducing amendments designed to distract from the impact achieved through the four hours of floor debate.

The resolution was temporarily withdrawn following the defeat of an amendment by Rep. Bill Ford (D-Mich.) which would have blocked the amendments to be offered by the opposition. The ANCA endorsed the Ford amendment because it was not distracting from the essential message of the resolution. The amendment would have specified that the Armenian Genocide was perpetrated by the governments of the Ottoman Empire prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The Ford amendment was defeated by a vote of 206 to 213.

Earlier in December, Speaker O'Neill fulfilled his promise to the ANCA by urging the Rules Committee to grant a rule and scheduling a vote on this rule permitting consideration of the resolution.

The ANCA attributed this victory to the growing political awareness within the Armenian American community.

The ANCA honored the 40 House members who actively supported the resolution at a Capitol Hill reception on December 19, 1985, before Congress recessed for the year. Ten congressmen and key aides from many congressional offices attended the reception.

SEVEN PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SENT AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT MITTERAND requesting that he initiate a resolution in the European Parliament, which will recognize the Armenian Genocide. The letter also urged other European governments to be supportive of such a resolution.

The letter was co-signed by Nobel Peace Prize winners Sean McBride (Ireland) and Adolfo Perez Esquivel (Argentina); Nobel Prize winner in physics Louis Neel (France); Nobel Prize winner in biology George Wald (U.S.A.); Gunther Gass (West Germany),

Albert Moravia (Italy) and the chairman of the Permanent People's Tribunal session on the Armenian Genocide, Francois Rigaux (Belgium). Following the publication of the letter, the ARF Bureau issued an official statement supporting the initiative of the seven signatories as a positive step towards the resolution of the Armenian Case.

TURKEY SIGNS AN INVESTMENT TREATY WITH THE U.S.: U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter and Turkey's Ambassador to the U.S. Sukru Elekdag signed a bilateral investment treaty on December 3, 1985, in Washington, D.C.. The treaty was the first of its kind between the two countries since World War II and the first investment treaty between the U.S. and a European ally.

Following the signing of the treaty, Yeutter declared: "Together, we have given the U.S. business community new opportunities to expand their business ties with Turkey". In 1984, U.S. direct investment in Turkey totalled \$223 million. Early next year, the Administration will submit to the Senate, for ratification, a package of investment treaties, including the one signed with Turkey. Ratification of the treaty is expected to substantially increase U.S. investments in Turkey from private resources.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPROVES "ETHNIC AMERICAN DAY" RESOLUTION: On December 12, 1985, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed S.J. Res. 32, which designates September 21, 1986 as "Ethnic American Day. The Resolution, which had previously cleared the Senate, must be signed by President Reagan on or before December 28, 1985. The ANCA endorsed S.J.Res. 32 in August 1985 and helped secure the co-sponsors necessary for consideration by the House.

SENATOR PRESSLER CALLS FOR THE OPENING OF THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES: In a letter dated October 23, 1985, Sen. Pressler asked U.S. Secretary of State Shultz to request the Republic of Turkey to open for review, the Ottoman archives dealing with the period of the Armenian Genocide. The Senator stated that the review of the archives will help establish the facts surrounding the Genocide and reduce the tension between the U.S. and Turkey on the issue of the Genocide.

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RECOMMENDED AGAINST THE ACCEPTANCE OF TURKEY INTO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, by a vote of 159 to 118, on October 23, 1985. The resolution opposing Turkey's acceptance into the E.C.C. was based on a report by the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliament, which expressed the Parliament's concern over the lack of progress towards democracy and respect of human rights in Turkey.

PATRIARCH KALOUSTIAN QUESTIONED IN THE HOSPITAL: Archbishop Shenork Kaloustian, the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul, was questioned by a Turkish prosecutor while he was hospitalized for minor surgery. It is said that the Patriarch did not cooperate with the prosecutor and refused to answer any questions.

It is speculated that the investigation stems from an Armenian clergyman's unauthorized visit to Dyarbekir in search of Turkish Armenian youth willing to enter the priesthood and study at the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the publicity generated by the Patriarch, after the Turkish Government refused to allow him to hold services in the historic Armenian church of Aghtamar, an island monastery in Lake Van.

TURKISH AUTHORITIES ORDER CLOSING OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN ISKENDERUN, citing as their reason, the hazardous condition of the church structure. The order came as a surprise to church officials who had been awaiting for the required Government authorization to enable them to go ahead with their plans to renovate the church.

	#	#	#		#	#	#		#	#	#								
	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3								
NEW YORK																			
22 Gilman (R)	Y	Y	Y	PENNSYLVANIA															
23 Stratton (D)	Y	N	N	18 Walgren (D)	Y	N	Y	WASHINGTON											
24 Solomon (R)	N	N	N	19 Goodling (R)	N	N	N	1 Miller (R)	Y	Y	Y								
25 Boehlert (R)	Y	Y	Y	20 Gaydos (D)	Y	N	Y	2 Swift (D)	Y	N	N								
26 Martin (R)	Y	Y	Y	21 Murphy (D)	N	N	N	3 Bonker (D)	Y	Y	N								
27 Wortley (R)	Y	N	Y	22 Clinger (R)	N	Y	-	4 Morrison (R)	N	N	-								
28 McHugh (D)	Y	Y	Y	RHODE ISLAND															
29 Horton (R)	N	Y	Y	1 St. Germain (D)	Y	Y	Y	5 Foley (D)	Y	Y	Y								
30 Eckert (R)	N	-	N	2 Schneider (R)	Y	Y	Y	6 Dicks (D)	Y	Y	N								
31 Kemp (R)	N	Y	N	SOUTH CAROLINA															
32 LaFalce (D)	Y	Y	Y	1 Hartnett (R)	N	N	N	1 Mollohan (D)	Y	N	Y								
33 Nowack (D)	Y	Y	Y	2 Spence (R)	N	N	Y	2 Stagers (D)	Y	N	N								
34 Lundine (D)	Y	Y	N	3 Derrick (D)	Y	N	Y	3 Wise (D)	-	-	Y								
NORTH CAROLINA																			
1 Jones (D)	Y	N	N	4 Campbell (R)	N	Y	N	4 Rahall (D)	N	N	N								
2 Valentine (D)	N	N	N	5 Spratt (D)	Y	N	N	WEST VIRGINIA											
3 Whitley (D)	N	N	N	6 Tallon (D)	Y	N	N	1 Mollohan (D)	Y	N	Y								
4 Cobey (R)	N	N	N	SOUTH DAKOTA															
5 Neal (D)	Y	N	N	1 Daschle (D)	Y	Y	Y	2 Stagers (D)	Y	N	N								
6 Coble (R)	N	N	N	TENNESSEE															
7 Rose (D)	N	N	Y	1 Quillen (R)	N	N	N	3 Gunderson (R)	N	N	N								
8 Hefner (D)	N	N	N	2 Duncan (R)	N	N	N	4 Kleczka (D)	Y	Y	Y								
9 McMillan (R)	N	N	N	3 Lloyd (D)	-	N	N	5 Moody (D)	Y	Y	Y								
10 Broyhill (R)	N	N	N	4 Cooper (D)	Y	Y	Y	6 Petri (R)	Y	N	N								
11 Hendon (R)	N	N	N	5 Boner (D)	Y	Y	N	7 Obey (D)	Y	Y	Y								
NORTH DAKOTA																			
1 Dorgan (D)	Y	Y	Y	6 Gordon (D)	Y	Y	Y	8 Roth (R)	N	N	Y								
OHIO																			
1 Luken (D)	Y	Y	Y	7 Sundquist (R)	N	N	N	9 Sensenbrenner (R)	N	N	N								
2 Gradison (R)	N	N	N	8 Jones (D)	Y	N	Y	WYOMING											
3 Hall (D)	Y	Y	Y	9 Ford (D)	Y	Y	Y	1 Cheney (R)	N	N	N								
4 Oxley (R)	N	N	N	TEXAS															
5 Latta (R)	N	N	N	1 Chapman (D)	N	N	-												
6 McEwen (R)	N	N	N	2 Wilson (D)	N	N	-												
7 DeWine (R)	N	N	N	3 Bartlett (R)	N	N	N												
8 Kindness (R)	N	N	N	4 Hall (D)	Y	Y	Y												
9 Kaptur (D)	Y	Y	Y	5 Bryant (D)	Y	Y	Y												
10 Miller (R)	N	Y	N	6 Barton (R)	N	N	N												
11 Eckart (D)	Y	Y	Y	7 Archer (R)	N	N	N												
12 Kasich (R)	N	N	N	8 Fields (R)	N	N	N												
13 Pease (D)	Y	N	Y	9 Brooks (D)	-	-	Y												
14 Seiberling (D)	Y	N	Y	10 Pickle (D)	N	N	N												
15 Wylie (R)	-	N	N	11 Leath (D)	N	N	N												
16 Regula (R)	Y	Y	N	12 Wright (D)	Y	Y	Y												
17 Traficant (D)	Y	Y	Y	13 Boulter (R)	N	N	N												
18 Applegate (D)	Y	N	-	14 Sweeney (R)	-	Y	N												
19 Feighan (D)	Y	Y	Y	15 de la Garza (D)	N	N	Y												
20 Oakar (D)	Y	Y	Y	16 Coleman (D)	Y	Y	Y												
21 Stokes (D)	Y	Y	Y	17 Stenholm (D)	N	N	N												
OKLAHOMA																			
1 Jones (D)	Y	N	N	18 Leland (D)	Y	Y	Y												
2 Synar (D)	Y	N	Y	19 Combest (R)	N	N	N												
3 Watkins (D)	Y	N	N	20 Gonzales (D)	Y	-	Y												
4 McCurdy (D)	Y	N	N	21 Loeffler (R)	Y	N	N												
5 Edwards (R)	N	N	N	22 DeLay (R)	N	N	N												
6 English (D)	Y	N	N	23 Bustamante (D)	N	N	N												
OREGON																			
1 AuCoin (D)	Y	N	Y	24 Frost (D)	Y	Y	Y												
2 Smith (R)	N	N	N	25 Andrews (D)	Y	Y	Y												
3 Wyden (D)	Y	Y	Y	26 Armey (R)	N	N	N												
4 Weaver (D)	Y	Y	Y	27 Ortiz (D)	N	N	Y												
5 Smith D. (R)	N	N	N	UTAH															
PENNSYLVANIA																			
1 Foglietta (D)	N	-	Y	1 Hansen (R)	N	N	N												
2 Gray (D)	N	N	Y	2 Monson (R)	N	N	N												
3 Borski (D)	Y	Y	Y	3 Neilson (R)	N	N	N												
4 Kolter (D)	Y	N	Y	VERMONT															
5 Schulze (R)	N	N	Y	1 Jeffords (R)	Y	Y	Y												
6 Yatron (D)	Y	N	Y	VIRGINIA															
7 Edgar (D)	Y	Y	Y	1 Bateman (R)	N	N	N												
8 Kostmayer (D)	Y	Y	Y	2 Whitehurst (R)	N	N	N												
9 Shuster (R)	N	N	N	3 Bliley (R)	Y	Y	Y												
10 McDade (R)	Y	Y	N	4 Sisisky (D)	Y	Y	Y												
11 Kanjorski (D)	Y	N	Y	5 Daniel (D)	N	N	N												
12 Murtha (D)	N	N	N	6 Olin (D)	Y	Y	N												
13 Coughlin (R)	Y	N	Y	7 Slaughter (R)	Y	N	N												
14 Coyne (D)	Y	N	Y	8 Parris (R)	Y	N	Y												
15 Ritter (R)	Y	Y	N	9 Boucher (D)	Y	Y	Y												
16 Walker (R)	N	N	N	10 Wolf (R)	Y	Y	Y												
17 Gekas (R)	Y	Y	Y																

Y = Yes ; N = No

Column #1: Adoption of the rule to provide for House floor consideration of the resolution. Adopted 263-156.

Column #2: Ford amendment. To specify that the genocide committed against Armenians occurred before the establishment of the present Republic of Turkey. Rejected 206-213. The effect of the amendment, if adopted, would have been to prevent subsequent amendments to modify the resolution.

Column #3: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution. Rejected 233-180. 2/3 majority vote of those present and voting required (276 in this case) for the passage of the motion under suspension of rules.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/83

TO: Linas Kojelis

FROM: Jack L. Courtemanche

- Recommended Action
- Review & Comment
- Information
- Other

Deukmejian is bringing in
some American - Armenians
tomorrow to meet with the
President. Please talk to me
on this.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH GOVERNOR GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN (R - CALIFORNIA) AND EIGHT ARMENIAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

Date: December 6, 1983

Location: Oval Office

Time: 4:30-4:45 P.M.

From: Lee L. Verstandig *lee*

1. Purpose

Governor Deukmejian has not visited with you in the Oval Office since he became Governor of California. The Governor has asked that during his meeting with you he be able to introduce you to a small delegation of National Armenian-American leaders.

2. Background

Governor Deukmejian is paying a courtesy call on you and chose not to take your time to bring up issues of concern to the state of California nor to discuss national domestic policy. Instead, the Governor wanted to give you the opportunity to meet with some of the Armenian-American leaders from across the country.

Attached are brief biographical sketches of the attendees.

The American-Armenians are expected to raise the issue of the so-called Armenian genocide which took place in Turkey in 1915.

They will likely call attention to an August, 1982 Department of State Bulletin article that appeared entitled "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile."

The note at the end of the article states the following:

"Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish government committed a genocide against the Armenian people."

The Armenian community has been most upset with this statement.

The Armenian-Americans are expected to agree with a comment that you made at a recent reception for ethnic newspapers that Armenians and Turks should sit down and settle their long standing differences.

Finally, the Armenian-Americans may ask you to consider appointing another person of Armenian heritage to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. Of sixty members, only one is an Armenian American.

3. Participants

Governor George Deukmejian (R-California)
Archie Dickranian
Hirair Hovnanian
Kenneth Khachigian
Edward Mardigian
Alex Manoogian
Karl M. Samuelian
David Shakarian
Barry Zorthian
Lee L. Verstandig
Andrew H. Card, Jr. x2771

4. Press Plan

White House photographer.

5. Sequence of Events

4:30 P.M. - Lee Verstandig will accompany the Governor and the eight Armenian Americans into the Oval Office.

4:30 - 4:10 P.M. - Governor Deukmejian and the eight Armenian-Americans will raise issues of concern to the Armenian-American community.

4:10 - 4:45 P.M. - You can respond to Governor Deukmejian's and the Armenian-Americans presentation and follow with a general discussion. (Talking points attached.)

Attachments.

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
GEORGE DUEKMEJIAN AND EIGHT ARMENIAN AMERICANS

- Duke, I am pleased to see you again and I welcome you to the Oval Office.

- I am also pleased that you would bring some of your friends from the Armenian-American community.
Ken, I am especially pleased to see you again.

- I share the Armenian community's revulsion for terrorism and deeply regret the terrible calamity which befell the Armenian community at the turn of the century.

- I am aware that the State Department expresses regret over the note which appeared at the end of the State Department Bulletin in August of 1982 and I understand that the State Department's exchanges with Congressman Chip Pashayan and others have resolved it.

- I sincerely believe that all persons with differences ought to sit down and work them out, but the individuals directly concerned must determine themselves how they will do this.

- I appreciate your interest in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. I understand that there is already a very active and able Armenian representative on the Council, Set Momjian.

- Duke, while I think of it, thank you for offering that resolution in support of the Line Item Veto at the Republican Governors Association meeting. The unanimous support of the RGA helped bring the issue national attention.

- Again, it is my pleasure to be able to meet all of you and Duke, I hope you will give my best to everyone back in California.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ATTENDEES

MR. ARCHIE DICKRANIAN, Beverly Hills, California

Founder of Premier Market and private investor. He has been selected as Man of the Year by the Beverly Hills Chamber of Commerce and has served as Assistant City Treasurer for the City of Beverly Hills, fundraising chairman for the Red Cross and president of the Rotary Club. He was appointed to the Highway Safety Commission by then Governor Ronald Reagan. Mr. Dickranian hosted a fundraising reception at his home for Mr. Reagan when he was a candidate for Governor.

MR. HIRAIR HOVNANIAN, Toms River, New Jersey

President and Chief Executive Officer, HOVSONS, INC., a development company exclusively involved in housing projects. The firm is primarily involved in projects in New Jersey and Florida. He is chairman of the Armenian Assembly. In 1982, he planned a fundraising dinner in Los Angeles for out-of-state leaders of the Armenian community to assist the George Deukmejian campaign for Governor.

MR. KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN, San Clemente, California

The President is familiar with Mr. Khachigian.

MR. EDWARD MARDIGIAN, Detroit, Michigan

President and Chief Executive Officer, Hercules Tool and Machine Company. He has been active in various religious, cultural and educational philanthropies, including the Armenian General Benevolent Union (A.G.B.U.) and the Armenian Assembly. He has served as a U.S. Representative to the Helsinki Accord Conference and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chief Executives Organization.

MR. ALEX MANOOGIAN, Detroit, Michigan

Founder, MASCO Corporation. International Life President of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (A.G.B.U.) - capital funds exceeding 47 million dollars. To date, he has contributed 25 million dollars to charitable, religious, cultural and educational causes. In 1979, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Humanity by the Lawrence Institute of Technology.

MR. KARL M. SAMUELIAN, Bel Air, California

Senior Partner, Parker, Milliken, Clark and O'Hara. He serves as secretary of the Los Angeles Country Club and is a member of the California Club. In 1981 and 1982, he devoted a significant amount of his time to Governor George Deukmejian's gubernatorial campaign. He was state-wide finance co-chairman of the campaign and chairman of the Deukmejian Inaugural Committee. He has recently been named to the Reagan Bush '84 finance committee for California.

MR. DAVID B. SHAKARIAN, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, General Nutrition Corporation, with over 1,000 stores in the U.S., Canada and England. He is active in the Armenian General Benevolent Union (A.G.B.U.) and a Trustee of the Armenian Assembly. He visited with the President in the White House earlier this year.

MR. BARRY ZORTHIAN, Washington, D.C.

Senior Vice President, Gray and Company. He served as president of the Washington/Baltimore Regional Association, an organization of business executives in the metropolitan Washington/Baltimore Common Market. He has held several positions with Time Inc., including vice president for Government Affairs. For more than four years beginning in 1964, he was stationed in Saigon as the U.S. government's chief of press relations and psychological operations.

ANCA Establishes National Office In Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) announced the establishment of its permanent office in Washington, D.C. to help coordinate ANCA's political activities and public affairs programs at the national level in the United States.

"Our presence in Washington, D.C. has enabled us to actively pursue our objectives in a timely manner," remarked ANCA's Executive Director Berdj Karapetian. "Through the facilities of our new office, we expect to build on past achievements and generate greater public awareness of the Armenian Case."

ANCA plans to monitor the activities of international organizations and the diplomatic community in Washington, D.C. as their interest relates to various aspects of the Armenian Case.

ANCA will also use the Washington office to disseminate information on Armenian-related issues to the print and electronic media.

Karapetian said that the ANCA is providing "lead support" to the efforts currently underway to organize the observance of the 70th

anniversary of the Genocide in Washington, D.C., April 24-27.

Last year, ANCA, along with others, was able to rally large-scale congressional backing for legislation to designate April 24, as a national day of remembrance for the victims of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and to reaffirm the U.S. policy concerning this crime. A similar effort is underway this year.

The ANCA office is located three blocks west of the White House at 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 503, Washington, D.C. 20006. The telephone number for the ANCA is (202) 775-1918.

September 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM

TO: James A. Baker, III
FROM: Ed Derwinski
SUBJECT: The Armenian-American Vote

The Armenian-American vote is clearly vital in California, and there are organized, active groups of Armenians in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois and Michigan. Democratic Party campaigners, led by Rep. Tony Coelho of California, are energetically demagoguing the Armenian-Americans.

The full House has passed a resolution calling for a day of remembrance for the Armenian victims of the 1915 genocide by the Ottoman Turks. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved a resolution calling for U.S. foreign policy to take account of the genocide.

This, to a reasonable degree, eases one of the main concerns of the Armenian-Americans who have been unhappy with the Administration since the Department of State Bulletin in 1982, which implied that the killing of the Armenians in 1915 was not an absolute historic fact (copy attached).

The debate in the House on Monday, September 10, clarifies the problem to a great degree (copy attached). Gov. Deukmejian should be contacted and every effort made to disseminate throughout the Armenian-American community the views expressed by Republican Members during the debate.

It is important to note that Armenian-American leaders do not publicly support or defend the terrorist acts that have been perpetrated against Turkish diplomats in recent years. They recognize that the reputation and image of Armenians have suffered because of these incidents.



FEATURE

Terrorism

Armenian Terrorism: A Profile

by Andrew Corsun
Threat Analysis Group
Office of Security

Introduction

Since the advent of modern Armenian terrorism in 1975, the world has witnessed a terrorist campaign that has resulted in at least 170 attacks directed primarily against Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel outside of Turkey's borders.

Enraged over the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by Turkey during World War I, and the loss of their homeland, Armenians unlike Jews tried and failed as propagandists to focus the world's attention on their grievances.¹ By resorting to terrorism, Armenian extremists were able to accomplish in 7 years what legitimate Armenian organizations have been trying to do for almost 70 years—internationalize the Armenian cause.

Terrorism may not be able to ease the pain of past agonies, but it is an effective tactic in evoking international sympathy for a previously unknown (or forgotten) cause. How many people had heard of the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) or their cause before they bombed the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut on January 20, 1975? The same can be said for the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) who gained "prominence" on October 22, 1976, with the assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to Vienna, Dennis Tunaligil. Since then, Armenian extremists have waged a successful campaign against Turkish interests that in recent years has expanded to include Western targets as well.

The Seeds of Conflict

According to historians, Armenia is the oldest of the

civilized races of Western Asia (dating to pre-1200 B.C.), but eventually grew to become one of the strongest kingdoms in that region. Geographically, Armenia was straddling the crossroads of the world and thus became the victim of many invasions. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks finally ruled all the lands that once belonged to Armenians and held them for 465 years.

Since we are interested in the cause-and-effect relationship history has played regarding the recent outbreak of Armenian terrorist activities against Turkish diplomats and establishments, we will jump ahead in time to the Ottoman Empire of the late 19th century.

With the rise of nationalism throughout Europe, the Armenian struggle for autonomy and modernization took on new vigor in the 1880s, and the Armenians began to form political organizations for self-protection and as a vehicle to voice their desire for a free Armenia. One such organization was the Dashnaksutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) which was founded in 1890 in Tiflis, Georgia.

In a multiethnic state, such as the Ottoman Empire, nationalism was viewed by the Turks as a serious internal threat. The result was harsher repression by the Ottoman government which led to thousands of Armenian deaths in 1895. With the rise of the Young Turks in 1908, its policy of pan-Turanism led to even harsher measures in suppressing Armenian nationalism. On April 17 and 24, 1909, over 80,000 Armenians were massacred in Adana and other villages along the Cilician plains in order to suppress the national ambitions of the Armenian people.

With the advent of World War I, the stage was set for what was later alleged to be called the first "genocide" of the



September 24, 1981, Paris. Four Armenian terrorists seized the Turkish Consulate and threatened to kill more than 20 hostages. A Turkish security guard was killed and three others were wounded (one of the terrorists, a Turkish Vice Consul, and a French security guard). The terrorists, who claimed to be members of the Yeghia Keshishian Commando of ASALA, demanded that all Armenian political prisoners be released from Turkish jails within 12 hours. As the deadline passed and the terrorists realized that the Turkish Government would not negotiate, the terrorists decided to accept a French Government offer of political asylum. Once in custody, however, the French Government stated that their offer was a ploy and that the terrorists would be treated as criminals. During a news conference in Beirut following this incident, ASALA leaders stated that their commandos were willfully deceived and that the promise made by the French Government must be kept or "there is no doubt that there will be a confrontation between them and us." (As of this publication date, the political/criminal status of the terrorists remains undetermined.) This was the first incident of Armenian terrorists seiz-

20th century. Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on October 31, 1914, and offered autonomy to the Armenians if they would foment dissension behind the Russian lines. Partly out of distrust of the Young Turks, and encouraged by the principle of self-determination, they refused.

Turkey viewed this attitude as treasonous, especially in light of the fact that it (Turkey) was suffering heavy military reversals. Minister of Interior Taalat Bey ordered "the elimination of the Armenian element, which had been trying for centuries to undermine the foundation of the state." By 1915 the Turks ordered a mass deportation of Armenians from Turkish Armenia to Syria and Iraq. It was later alleged that 1.5 million people (approximately 60% of the Turkish Armenian population) were killed or died on the journey.

With the conclusion of the war, the Western Powers established the Independent Republic of Armenia on May 28, 1918, which was later guaranteed by the treaty of Sevres, and signed on August 10, 1920, by Turkey, the Allied Powers, and Armenia. But due to the pressures exerted by the Turks and Communists, the new republic collapsed, and by December 2, 1920, Armenia was Sovietized and its territories to the west were awarded to Turkey.

The basis for their grievances, as perceived by the Armenians, is not only the restoration of their homeland but to seek justice for the alleged mass murders (1894-96, 1909, 1915) of more than 1.5 million people. It is these issues that have fostered the armed struggle by Armenian extremists against Turkish diplomats and establishments around the world.

During the diaspora of 1915, many Armenians fled to Lebanon which has long been regarded as a refuge for dispossessed minorities. Although the Armenian community (approximately 200,000) in Lebanon had flourished and played a vital role in Lebanese life, by the 1970s they became caught-up in the internecine fighting that had overtaken Lebanon. When the Phalangists (Catholic Christian rightists) decided to use the Armenian section of east Beirut, known as Bourj Hammoud, to launch their attacks against the adjacent Muslim section called Naba'a, a split

resulted within the Armenian community. Some Armenians felt that they had a duty to take up arms on behalf of their Christian brothers, while others, mainly left-wing Armenian youth through their close contact (via the universities and the proximity of their neighborhoods) with their Palestinian counterparts, realized they shared a similar situation—they had lost their land, had a large diaspora community, and the use of legal methods to bring their cause to world attention had failed. The left-wing Armenian youth began to form their own groups (e.g., ASALA) with the aid of the Palestinians, and links between the two were formed. Many of these youths also moved to the Palestinian section of west Beirut. With the political success that the Palestinians have achieved through terrorism, it is not surprising that these left-wing Armenian youths would choose the same path. The growing sympathy and support that these youths have gained within the worldwide Armenian community had forced the right-wing Armenians to set up their own group (JCAG), but for different goals and objectives.

Terrorist Activities

Terrorism is certainly not a new tactic for Armenian extremists. At the end of World War I, the Dashnag decided it would carry out its own executions of those Ottoman leaders they believed were responsible for the "genocide" of the Armenian people. As a result, a network called Nemesis was established to track down and execute those Ottoman leaders.

On March 15, 1921, the former Ottoman Minister of Interior Taalat Bey—who was living in Berlin under the pseudonym Ali Sayi Bey—was shot and killed at point-blank range after being under surveillance for 2 weeks by Soghoman Tehlirian. Others who met the same fate at the hands of Nemesis were the Ottoman Foreign Minister Said Halim, who was assassinated in Rome in December 1921, and Behaeddin Shakir and Djimal Azmi, two Ottoman officials who were killed a year later in Berlin. It is unknown what became of Nemesis following the incidents of the early 1920s. Yet one must wonder why Armenian extremists have waited over 60

years to carry out their armed acts. Were they perhaps fulfilling the prophecy of Taalat who in 1915 said, "There will be no Armenian question for 50 years," or (a more plausible explanation) are the times such that terrorism has become an acceptable vehicle for change?

Whatever the reason, since the beginning of the scene in 1975, Armenian terrorists have claimed responsibility for over 170 incidents which include the assassination of 21 Turkish diplomats and/or family members, and 10 attempted assassinations of Turkish diplomats. Although the tactic of assassination has been used repeatedly, the majority of their operations have been bombings which are simple in execution and design. Unlike the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which favors the use of control devices, Armenian terrorists have been partial to a Czechoslovakian manufactured plastic called Semtex. In the overwhelming majority of cases this device is set at such an hour as to cause property damage and not to take lives.

Operationally Armenian terrorism must be viewed as unsophisticated in comparison with other groups since they have never shown the inclination or ability to hit a hard target. The exceptions were the seizure of the Turkish Consulate in Paris on September 1981, and the attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam on July 21, 1982, both of which failed. In the seizure of the consulate the four terrorists eventually surrendered without any of their demands being met. In Rotterdam the consul general, who was traveling to work in an armored car and escorted by two police vehicles, was attacked by five terrorists. The assailants opened fire with automatic weapons—which proved ineffective against the armored car—they attempted to flee the area, one of the attackers was shot and captured. Their bombings and assassinations required the minimum of logistical planning.

While no one can dispute their success, nevertheless, it is such spectacular operations as airport attacks, kidnappings, and assassinations of well-protected political officials that give them maximum publicity and impact which is so important to the terrorists *raison d'être*.



Of the 21 Turkish diplomats / family members slain between 1975-July 1982, 14 were killed while in their car which was stopped at a light, slowing before entering a busy intersection, or parked. And of the 10 attempted assassinations of Turkish diplomats, 8 took place while the diplomat was in his vehicle. These vehicle attacks were carried out by assassination teams armed primarily with 9mm automatic weapons. The teams varied in size from a lone gunman used in eight attacks to two assailants with a third member in a waiting car. With the exception of the July 21 attack in Rotterdam, the diplomatic vehicles that were involved in these attacks were not armored, and the only protective security (if any) was a driver/bodyguard.

JCAG and ASALA

While Armenian extremists have carried attacks under 19 operational names, the main terrorists groups are the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA).³ On the surface these two groups appear to be united by a common goal. However, a closer look at their communiques, and targeting, reveals that their methods and objectives are quite different.

Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide. Unlike ASALA, which is Marxist oriented and adheres to the philosophy of Scientific Socialism, JCAG appears more closely aligned with the policies of the right-wing Dashnag party. The goals of the Dashnag are to reclaim their lost homeland, as specified in the treaty of Sevres, and to seek reparations and recognition of the crimes committed against their people by Turkey; and they seek a solution similar to Germany's admission of guilt and reparations to Israel after World War II. JCAG, in its communiques, appears to strive for these same goals. Following the assassination of the Turkish Ambassadors to Vienna and Paris in October and December of 1975 respectively, JCAG, in a follow-up communique entitled "To all the Peoples and Governments" wrote:

Let the world realize that we will lay down our arms only when the Turkish Government officially denounces the genocide perpetrated

ARMENIAN TERRORISM: INCIDENTS, BY YEAR

1973	3
1975	6
1976	2
1977	8
1978	9
1979	29
1980	38
1981	47
1982 - July 26	22

AREAS OF OPERATIONS: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, 1973 - JULY 26, 1982

FRANCE	20
SWITZERLAND	25
ITALY	20
LEBANON	16
UNITED STATES	25
SPAIN	21
TURKEY	21
ENGLAND	8
IRAN	8
DENMARK	4
BELGIUM	3
CANADA	3
GREECE	3
WEST GERMANY	3
AUSTRIA	1
AUSTRALIA	1
IRAQ	1
NETHERLANDS	1
PORTUGAL	1
USSR	1

by Turkey in 1915 against the Armenian people and agrees to negotiate with Armenian representatives in order to reinstate justice.

And following the bombings in New York City and Los Angeles on October 12, 1980, JCAG stated:

We make clear that our struggle today against the Turkish Government is not to be regarded as revenge for the 1915 genocide in which 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children were massacred. Our struggle today is directed to have the Turkish Government admit to its responsibility for that murderous act, as well as to return to the Armenian people the lands taken forceably and today occupied by the imperialist Turkish Government since the genocide. We demand once again that the Turkish Government admit its responsibility for the genocide of 1915 and make appropriate territorial and financial reparations to the long-suffering Armenian people.

This theme remains constant in all their communiques to February 1982 with the assassination of the honorary Turkish Consul to Boston, Orhan Gunduz. In Paris JCAG said that:

The shooting was to reaffirm the permanence of our demands. The Turkish Government must recognize the responsibility of its predecessors in 1915 in the execution and genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people, and it must clearly condemn it. Secondly, the Turkish Government must recognize the right of the Armenian people to constitute a free and independent state of Armenian land which Turkey illegally occupies.

Because ideology affects the operational strategy of a terrorist group, JCAG concentrated its operation solely on Turkish interests. The one possible exception was the January 1980 triple bombing of the offices of Swiss Air, TWA, and British Airlines in Madrid. At first JCAG claimed credit for the bombing, but in a later phone call to the local press, the caller said that JCAG was not responsible for the bombing and, in fact, condemned it.

As the group name implies, of the 22 operations carried out by JCAG, 10 of the operations were assassinations (resulting in 12 deaths), 6 were attempted assassinations, and 6 were bombings.

Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. Whereas JCAG's stance on the Armenian question appears compatible with traditional Armenian political beliefs, ASALA,

whose communiques are replete with Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, considers the Armenian question part of the international revolutionary movement, and they seek closer ties with Soviet Armenia.

For the first 4½ years of its existence, ASALA concentrated its attacks (the sole exception being the bombing of the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut in January 1975) on Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel. During this period, ASALA was in the process of enlarging its organization and base of operations in



preparation for entering its second and current phase.

Our second step was only possible due to the successful completion of our first step which had politicized the Armenian youth enough to gain their support in the second step. This second step contains four new developments: (1) heavy assault on imperialist and Zionist and reactionary forces; (2) a much greater frequency of attacks; (3) direct communication with the Armenian masses and international opinion; and (4) strong ties with other revolutionary organizations including operational ties with the Kurdish Workers Party [of Turkey].²

No doubt this "second step," which began on November 18, 1979, in Paris with the triple bombing of the airline offices of KLM, Lufthansa, and Turkish Airlines, was influenced by ASALA's close cooperation with the Palestinians, most notably the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). In a follow-up com-

munique to this attack, ASALA stated the theme for future operations.

Let imperialism and its collaborators the world know that their institutions are targets for our heroes and will be destroyed. We will kill and destroy because that is the only language understood by imperialism.

While ASALA has done its utmost in assassinating Turkish officials (nevertheless, half of their bombings directed against Western targets), the group, operating under various and often commando names, has taken it upon itself to carry out "military operations" against any country which attempts to oppress or try one of its commandos. Examples of this can be seen with the rest on October 8, 1980, in Geneva two Armenian extremists—Suzy Mahseredjian and Alex Yenikomechian—who were arrested after a bomb they were making accidentally exploded in their hotel room. After their eventual release on January 19, 1981, and February 9, 1981, respectively, ASALA—using the name October Organization—in a 4-month period carried out 18 bombings against Swiss interests worldwide in an effort to force the Swiss to release their comrade. Two extremists received 18-month suspended sentences and were banished from Switzerland for 15 years.

On June 9, 1981, Mardiros Jangotchian was caught in the act of assassinating a Turkish diplomat—Mehmet-Savas Yorguz—outside the Turkish Consulate in Geneva. From the time of his arrest on June 9 to his release on December 19 (he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment), ASALA, using the name June 9 Organization, perpetrated 15 bombings against Swiss targets worldwide. After Jangotchian's trial, ASALA, again using the name Swiss Armenian Group 15, has, to date, carried out five bombings against Swiss targets.

Switzerland is not the only country that has been targeted by ASALA. In France, and most recently Canada, have been victims of ASALA's wrath. On May 31, 1982, three alleged ASALA members were arrested for attempting to bomb the Air Canada cargo building at Los Angeles International Airport. It is suspected that this bombing was retaliation for the May 18 and 20 a-



FEATURE

Terrorism

of four alleged ASALA members/sympathizers by the Toronto police for extortion.

It is interesting to note that JCAG has two alleged members in jail in the United States, and they have never launched any terrorist campaign against the United States. The two alleged members are Harout Sassounian, who was arrested and found guilty of the October 1980 firebombing of the home of the Turkish Consul to Los Angeles, Kemal Arikan, and Harout's brother Harry, who was arrested and charged as being one of the assailants in the assassination of Kemal Arikan on January 28, 1982. At this writing, he is awaiting trial.

No terrorist group is monotheistic, and neither are the Armenians. Both groups share a common bond, yet they are quite different when it comes to achieving their goals. This difference is also mentioned in their communiques. Following the assassination of the Turkish Consul General by JCAG in Sydney, Australia, on December 17, 1980, a woman called the local Australian press to emphasize that her group had no connection with the so-called Armenian Secret Army (aka ASALA) and that the group's attacks were aimed at Turkish diplomats and Turkish institutions. On April 4, 1981, *Le Reveil*, Beirut's Rightist Christian daily, received a phone call from an alleged JCAG member who claimed that his group was not connected with ASALA and that JCAG's attacks are "reprisal measures for the injustice committed against the Armenians; our targets are the Turks, and Turkish institutions."

Even ASALA has made reference to this difference. Hagop Hagopian (the ASALA spokesman) in an interview for *Panorama* magazine said:

The Dashnag party is trying to imitate us [ASALA] in order to regain lost ground. The April 18, 1980, operation in Rome against the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican was organized by the Dashnags who use the name of a revolutionary group, the Avenger Commandos of the Armenian Genocide.

As for international connections with other groups, it appears that only ASALA, through its relationship with the PFLP and the DFLP, has benefited from any training and logistical support

that the Palestinians can provide. When asked if Palestinians used to train Turkish terrorists in their camps, Mr. Abu Firas, the chief Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative in Turkey replied:

In our camps, we train them to be terrorists in their countries but to fight against Israel. For this reason, we cannot be held responsible for training them. Since Armenians are citizens of Lebanon, we also train them to fight for the liberation of Palestine.

Although there have been reports of links between Armenian terrorists and Greek Cypriots, Greeks, and even the Soviets, outside of the assistance that ASALA has received from the Palestinians, there is no proof that Armenian terrorists are plugged into any international terrorist network.

Conclusion

While Armenian terrorism has evoked a greater interest in and awareness of the Armenian question throughout the world, the chances of Armenians attaining their major objectives through terrorism are nebulous at best. This has been exemplified by the PLO, IRA, Croats, etc. A viable solution to the Armenian question will only come about through political means (e.g., United Nations, lobbyist groups, etc.) and/or compromise on both sides. Yet, until such a path is followed—if ever—the issues will be kept fresh in the public's mind through acts of terrorism.

Although ASALA is based in west Beirut and JCAG in east Beirut, on the surface it would appear that the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon has not affected the operational capabilities of Armenian terrorists as witnessed by the July 20 and 24 bombings of two Paris cafes by the Orly Organization and the July 21 attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam by the Armenian Red Army.

Yet on closer examination, the bombings of the two cafes are the types of low-level operations that can be carried out by indigenous cells independent of instructions from Beirut. While an attempted assassination of an individual traveling in an armored car with a police escort requires detailed planning, the attack against the consul general appeared

hastily organized and very amateurish in its execution. One possible explanation for its failure was that Beirut was unable to provide the hit team with proper guidance and logistical coordination.

Although ASALA's attack on Ankara's airport on August 7, 1982, was the first airport attack by Armenian extremists, this suicide operation was designed to obtain maximum publicity and did not require elaborate planning or execution.

JCAG has emerged virtually unscathed from the invasion, and it is only a matter of time before ASALA can regroup in another country. France, with its large Armenian population and geostrategic location in Western Europe, has been mentioned as a possible base of operation for ASALA. Wherever they find a "home," what remains to be seen is the type of strategy and tactics they pursue once they are able to fully renew their operations.

NOTE

Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people. Armenian terrorists use this allegation to justify in part their continuing attacks on Turkish diplomats and installations.

¹The number of Armenians killed in 1915 is a central issue in the dispute between Armenians and Turkey. The Armenian community contends that those killed in 1915 were part of a genocide against Armenians orchestrated by the Turkish Government. Turkey on the other hand states that, at most, 200,000 Armenians died, and their deaths were not the result of a planned massacre but rather the tragedies of war in which many Turks also lost their lives. It is for this reason that Turkey refuses to acknowledge any guilt or make any sort of restitution/compensation to descendants or survivors, as Germany did for Israel after World War II.

²By operating under many different names, the terrorists hope to give the impression of the existence of numerous groups, implying a broader base of support within the worldwide Armenian community.

³The Kurds, who were pressed into military service under the Ottoman Empire, played an important role in the liquidation and massacre of Armenians through World War I. ■

on Labor and Human Resources are committed to passing this bill and sending it on to the President for his signature.

I urge the whole House to join today in sending this strong health legislation onward to the Senate and the President.

□ 1940

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. **WAXMAN**) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3979, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. **WAXMAN**, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 3979, the bill just passed.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

NATIONAL DAY OF REMEMBRANCE OF MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

Mr. **FORD** of Michigan, Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 347) to designate April 24, 1984, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. J. Res. 347

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 24, 1984, is hereby designated as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of American ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923, and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mr. **DANNEMEYER**, Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. **POSS**) will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from California (Mr. **DANNEMEYER**) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. **POSS**).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. **FORD** of Michigan, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks, and to include extraneous matter, on House Joint Resolution 347.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. **FORD** of Michigan, Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I support House Joint Resolution 347 which designates April 24, 1984 as a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man" and marks the 70th anniversary of the genocide of 1 1/2 million Armenians in Turkey.

This resolution which has over 200 cosponsors pays homage to the victims and survivors of this horrible massacre that predates the Nazi Holocaust by nearly two decades.

Because of the evil that swept through Europe during World War II we tend to forget the stark brutality of what happened to these 1 1/2 million Armenians. They were victims of a terrible genocide that should stand, along with the Third Reich, as a grisly symbol of man's inhuman capabilities.

This resolution honors not only the brutalized Armenians, but those who have fallen victim to tyrants of the world in all genocides.

And it serves notice to all the world that America will not again slumber while innocent men, women and children are slaughtered by cruel and evil despots.

Americans can only know vicariously the horrors of attempts to stamp out an entire race for political reasons. Because of our own heritage we cannot comprehend such horrific actions. To us they are utterly unthinkable. But the history is clear and well documented. In times of collective madness such things do happen.

We cannot guarantee that somewhere down history's winding path genocide again will not claim its hapless victims.

But by actions such as that proposed here today we can play a small part in putting the world on notice that the strongest Nation in history is also a nation of compassionate, vigilant people.

Mr. **DANNEMEYER**, Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. **BENNETT**).

Mr. **BREUTER**. I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, today we are about to pass a resolution that attempts to bring the public's attention to the numerous historical instances in which man has been inhumane to man on a very large scale. It is very truly impossible to explain why man has so often

committed acts that are so cruel or so heinous.

Actions of this nature during 19th century have also been particularly reprehensible. Although science a medicine took gigantic strides, millions have been killed all over the world. One of the first massacres of the century was in Armenia. This resolution will hopefully bring some amount of comfort to second and third generation Armenians in America whose grandfathers and grandmothers were killed in the attacks—or witnessed the outrage.

I strongly support this resolution because I believe it is our duty never to forget this or other acts of genocide. We must not forget. But, I also sincerely believe it necessary to make a few observations about elements left a little clear by the resolution.

First, over the past 3 years, the has been considerable controversy about the position of the U.S. Department of State. Two years ago, in the August 1982 issue of the Bulletin, the Department printed an article on Armenian terrorism. This article concluded with a note that the State Department "does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people." Although in the same issue of the Bulletin, the State Department issued a disclaimer of the note, it is still a fact that the original language of this kind by an official U.S. agency only further confuses the record. Since history is quite clear that mass killings took place, there is little use in obfuscation. America's policy toward that area of the world as implemented, in the opinion of the Member quite rational; confusion of this issue only unnecessarily detracts from it. Hopefully, this statement will serve as a clarification of the writer's comments that caused confusion.

Second, the atrocities in Armenia, which over a million people died, were committed by the Army of the Ottoman Empire in 1915. This Army consisted of Turkish and Kurdish soldiers. I do not wish to belabor the obvious but present day Turkish realities have as little to do with the Ottoman Empire as does present day Austria represent a mirror image of the Hapsburg Empire.

Third, few of the democratically elected political leaders of today in Turkey were never born when the atrocities took place. It is a grave lesson which they must remember, but it should not be held or used against them.

Fourth and last, this resolution should not be misconstrued or misunderstood by the wrong persons. By recognizing the genocide against millions of innocent Armenians, we abhor, at the same time, the acts of the same faction of Armenians who choose to remember their slain ancestors by sowing the same kind of terror and violence.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this resolution shall pass and I commend my colleagues to vote affirmatively for it.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. COLEMAN).

Mr. COLEMAN. I thank the chairman of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution (H.J. Res. 347) presently under consideration would designate April 24, 1985, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," and authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day in memory of all victims of genocide, especially the 14 million people of Armenian ancestry who lost their lives in Turkey between 1918 and 1923.

April 24, 1985, will mark the 70th anniversary of the genocide against the Armenians.

The importance of this commemoration cannot and should not be underestimated. Earlier this year, I visited the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Israel and was overwhelmed by how the cold-blooded, calculated, and systematic slaughter of 6 million Jews could have been executed by the Nazis in the middle of the 20th century. Then I remembered Hitler's chilling comment before the Nazi invasion of Poland: "Our strength is in our quickness and brutality Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"

In our day-to-day lives, the thought of genocide is difficult to imagine, agonizing to dwell upon, but, as Hitler demonstrated in word and deed, too dangerous to forget.

The murder of 15 million Armenians was the first genocide of the 20th century. Yet because their trauma was largely forgotten, other peoples throughout this century have had to suffer through further genocides. Continued silence can only lead other tyrants to believe they can get away with such crimes against humanity. It is for the past—as well as potential—victims that such days of remembrance are so important.

As a nation, we have risen to greatness time and time again when coming to the aid of peoples whose survival has been threatened. In the 1920's, following the mass slaughter and deportation of the Armenian people from their historic homeland, the United States, through the Near East Relief and other organizations, provided refugee assistance to hundreds of thousands of Armenian orphans and other survivors of the genocide. The freedom and opportunity they found here rekindled their dreams, and soon, the inviolable Armenian spirit began to prosper once again.

The Armenian-American community has contributed much to American society. Today, Armenian-Americans excel in many areas from sciences and the arts to business and industry, and

are beginning to enjoy major successes in the political arena as well.

For the Armenians, April 24 has become a rallying point; a day of commemoration for the victims and a day of renewal for the survivors and their descendants. I am proud to say that my district in the surrounding Fresno area includes one of the most vigorous Armenian communities in America. Many of my constituents survived the terrible slaughter of 1918 and bear the scars of watching their mothers and fathers murdered in cold blood. They have worked hard, participated in the growth of our Nation, and added immeasurably to the richness of our culture. To them, April 24 is a testament to their spirit, a peaceful outlet for the emotional trauma they have suffered. They strongly resent—as do I and many of my colleagues—the insult of those who would say that recognition of their day is somehow a capitulation to terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the Record a letter from Governor Deukmejian of California in which he supports House Joint Resolution 347. If I may read from the letter:

DEAN TOTT: I am writing to personally express my support of House Joint Resolution 347. . . . It is our duty to call attention to the atrocities that occurred many years ago because if the humane people of this world don't remember, you can be sure the tyrants will—and history will go on repeating itself

Like Governor Deukmejian, Armenians throughout the country have been organizing support for this resolution. And it seems that an overwhelming majority of my colleagues in the House have concluded that this bill merits passage. House Joint Resolution 347 was introduced over a year ago and in that time has gathered 234 cosponsors from all regions of the country. The bill has received broad bipartisan support from ranking members of both parties. In the event of this bill's passage, I feel we can once again say that Congress has continued its firm humanitarian stand on this important moral issue by voting to designate April 24, 1985, as a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man."

□ 1250

The letter from Governor Deukmejian is as follows:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
Sacramento, July 6, 1984.

HON. TONY COLEMAN,
Congressman, Cassan House Office Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAN TOTT: I am writing to personally express my support of H.J.R. 347 which designates April 24, 1985, a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man." This day would be so designated for all victims of genocide, and in particular, the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry who lost their lives in Turkey between 1915 and 1923.

As you well know, the authenticity of the massacre has been validated by many reputable public officials, historians, and others,

including American Ambassador E. Morgerthaus and the distinguished British statesman, Lord Byron. Yet, the Armenian genocide has gone largely unnoticed by world community.

It is our duty to call attention to atrocities that occurred many years ago—*even if the humane people of this world don't remember*, you can be sure the tyrant will—and history will go on repeating itself. One cannot ignore the chilling words of Adolph Hitler before he began his reign of terror during World War II, "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"

I strongly support H.J.R. 347. You use this letter in any manner that you find appropriate to gain passage of H.J.R. 347.
Most Cordially,

GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN

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

I rise in support of House Joint Resolution 347 designating April 24, 1985, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man." Mr. Speaker, in supporting House Joint Resolution 347 I feel we are recognizing the historic tragedies of past years, such as 70 years ago when 14 million Armenian lives were needlessly lost. House Joint Resolution 347 will remember them and all victims of this inhumanity on April 24, 1985.

However, it does not mean that we shall ever condone terrorism against Turkish diplomats or any form of terrorism against any nation or people.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Joint Resolution 347 and urge its passage.

As a Member of Congress who represents a large Armenian constituency, I fully recognize and appreciate the efforts that my colleague from California (Mr. COLEMAN) has extended on behalf of the thousands of Armenians who have adopted this Nation.

The bill before us today, along with President Reagan's announcement last week urging ratification of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, is a basic recommitment to what President Harry S. Truman stated in his original message to the Senate urging ratification:

I also emphasized that America has been a symbol of freedom and democratic progress to peoples less favored than have been and that we must maintain that belief in us by our policies and our acts.

House Joint Resolution 347 is a symbolic gesture requesting the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe April 24 as a day of remembrance for all victims of genocide, especially the 14 million Armenians who were victims of this century's first genocide, which began on April 24, 1915.

President Reagan, on April 22, 1984, issued a proclamation stating: "The genocide of the Armenians before . . . the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten."

Ratification of the Genocide Convention calls for this Nation to recognize "that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required."

Passage of House Joint Resolution 247 is complementary of our country's renewed efforts in ratification of the Genocide Convention. I strongly urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this worthy effort.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bill, House Joint Resolution 247, which would designate April 24, 1915, as a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man."

This bill will be a fitting and overdue memorial to all victims of genocide, particularly the 1 1/2 million Armenians who were victims of the first planned extermination of the 20th century.

On April 24, 1915, hundreds of Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were rounded up by the Ottoman Turkish Government and murdered in cold blood. The genocide that followed was the culmination of ongoing persecution against the Armenian people which began in the second half of the 19th century. The Ottoman rulers boasted at the time that the annihilation of the Armenian population would be a final solution to the Armenian question. The echo of that cry was heard a generation later at Nazi death camps, where Jewish people were being systematically exterminated.

Fortunately, they were both wrong. The indomitable Armenian spirit preserved and escaped extinction, in part, through the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson, then Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, and many charitable institutions such as the Near East Relief Society.

Today, the Armenians are a vigorous and thriving people who have survived the trauma of 1915. Through their diligence and persistence, they have become an integral part of our American society, and have added greatly to the richness of our social fabric.

However, the memory of the atrocity still haunts the survivors and their descendants. As their plight remains little understood, if not buried, their wounds remain open. Their only outlet has been yearly commemorations on April 24. This date has become not only a symbol of their ruptured past, but a rallying point for their resurgence.

Last we indulge in self-righteousness, Americans would do well to reflect also that elements of genocidal barbarism were present in some of the more brutal acts of extermination against American Indians, to our lasting shame.

This resolution is an important moral statement of great meaning to many American citizens who have contributed so much to our Nation. I have

visited Armenian communities in California and have recognized how meaningful the April 24 commemoration is to their heritage as well as their sense of renewal.

The sentiment and the deep commitment bespoken here should have meaning for us all. It is an abiding part of the American faith. It is incumbent on us all to join with those who celebrate this date by shining a light on the past and learning from it, pledging that it shall never happen again, rather than burying the past and robbing ourselves of its lessons.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Joint Resolution 247, a resolution which designates April 24, 1915, as the "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man." This resolution calls upon the President to issue a proclamation urging the American people to observe April 24 as a day of remembrance for all genocide victims, particularly those Armenians who were killed during an 8-year genocide campaign in Turkey by the Ottoman Empire. Although this terrible tragedy occurred almost 30 years ago, it has been used to justify recent terrorist actions against Turkish diplomats, none of whom had any part in the events of 1915, and such terrorist actions are equally as abhorrent.

As Republican whip, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and I would like to particularly acknowledge the efforts of my colleague from California (Mr. PASARAYAN) in behalf of this measure.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, House Joint Resolution 247, to designate April 24, 1915, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man." As one who believes strongly that we should constantly speak out against all violations of human rights—both past and present, and as a cosponsor of this resolution, I urge all my colleagues to lend their support to this measure.

It was the mobilization for World War I that set the stage for the tragic genocide of thousands of Christian Armenians. By February 1915, the Turkish Government had already begun to segregate Armenians into labor battalions, as well as disarming and deporting countless others. On April 24, 1915, about 200 Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested in Istanbul and were either exiled or murdered. And so began the grim carnage against Armenians that was carried out throughout the Ottoman Empire in all Armenian centers. This carnage continued for several years despite efforts in the United States to end the atrocities through diplomatic pressures and by expressing to Turkey a deep sense of concern and outrage. By 1923, 1.5 million Armenians had perished, and more than 500,000 were exiled.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the Armenian genocide is a historical fact. By remembering this dark chapter in

human history we not only honor those who perished, but we also gross our abhorrence for all forms physical violence against true human lives—be it in the form genocide or terrorism and be it in or today.

As citizens of a nation that founded on the principles of personal and religious freedom we are obliged to take notice of any abrogation these precious liberties both past and present. In designating April 24, 1915 as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," we also reaffirm our dedication to principles of personal and religious freedom, and our commitment to seeking peace and liberty through the world.

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in support House Joint Resolution 247, to designate April 24, 1915, a day of remembrance of man's inhumanity to man. House Joint Resolution 247 is a tribute to all victims of genocide, especially those who died in the Turkish massacre of Armenians in the course of World War I.

On April 24, 1915, the Ottoman Empire launched a ruthless campaign to eliminate the Armenian race. 1,500,000 Armenian people had been murdered and another 800,000 had been exiled from their homes.

Modern Turkey has yet to face up to the implications of those events. Indeed, for many years, the world community refused to condemn even confront the first genocide of this century. The repudiations that refusal were most strikingly frustrated by Hitler's assurance to do so as a coconspirator, as he embarked on a plan to annihilate the Jewish people that no one remembered the Armenian genocide that had taken place 15 years earlier.

We cannot let this dark episode of world history be forgotten ever again. We must remember the tragedy in order to learn from it and prevent recurrence. It is in this spirit that House Joint Resolution 247 directs us as a nation, to reflect on the significance of the events of 1915, not to avenge, but rather to honor those who died, to celebrate the survival of the Armenian race, and to renew our commitment to eliminating racial and religious violence from the world.

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, I have no more requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Question is on the motion offered the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ford) that the House suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution House Joint Resolution 247, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the joint resolution, as amended, was passed.

The title of the joint resolution was amended so as to read: "Joint resolution to designate April 24, 1953, as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man.'"

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ABANDONED SHIPWRECK ACT OF 1954

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3194) to provide for the protection of any historic shipwreck or historic structure located on the seabed or in the subsoil of the lands beneath navigable waters within the boundaries of the United States, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 3194

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Abandoned Shipwreck Act of 1954".

FINDINGS

SEC. 2. The Congress finds that—
(1) States have the responsibility for management of a broad range of living and non-living resources in State waters and submerged lands; and
(2) included in the range of resources are certain abandoned shipwrecks.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. For purposes of this Act—
(1) The term "National Register" means the National Register of Historic Places maintained by the Secretary of the Interior under section 901 of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470a).
(2) The term "shipwreck" means a vessel or wreck, its cargo, and other contents.
(3) The term "State" means a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands.
(4) The term "submerged lands" means the lands—
(A) that are lands beneath navigable waters, as defined in section 3 of the Submerged Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1301);
(B) of Puerto Rico, as described in section 9 of the Act of March 2, 1917 (43 U.S.C. 1402); and
(C) beneath the navigable waters of Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands, including inland navigable waters and waters that extend seaward to the outer limit of the territorial sea.

(5) The terms "public lands" and "Indian lands" have the same meaning as when used in the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1978 (7 U.S.C. 470aa-4701).

RIGHTS OF OWNERSHIP

SEC. 4. (a) The United States asserts title to any abandoned shipwreck that is—
(1) substantially buried in submerged lands of a State;
(2) in coralline formations protected by a State on submerged lands of a State; or
(3) on submerged lands of a State when—
(A) such shipwreck is included in or determined eligible for inclusion in the National Register; and
(b) the public is given adequate notice of the location of such shipwreck.

(b) The title of the United States to any abandoned shipwreck asserted under subsection (a) of this section is transferred to the State in or on whose submerged lands the shipwreck is located.

(c) Any abandoned shipwreck in or on the public lands of the United States (except the outer Continental Shelf) is the property of the United States Government.

(d) This section does not affect any right reserved by the United States or by any State (including any right reserved with respect to Indian lands) under—
(1) section 2, 5, or 6 of the Submerged Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1311, 1313, and 1314); or
(2) section 10 or 30 of the Act of March 3, 1899 (33 U.S.C. 614-615).

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 5. (a) The law of salvage shall not apply to abandoned shipwrecks to which section 4 of this Act applies.
(b) This Act shall not change the laws of the United States relating to shipwrecks other than those which this Act applies.
(c) This Act shall not affect any suit filed before the date of enactment of this Act.

CONCLUSIONS

SEC. 6. To clarify that State waters and shipwrecks offer recreational and educational opportunities to sport divers and other interested groups, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, established under section 301 of the Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 4701), in consultation with appropriate public and private sector interests (including archeologists, salvors, sport divers, historic preservationists, and State Historic Preservation Officers) shall publish, within 6 months after the enactment of this Act, advisory guidelines for the protection of shipwrecks and properties. Such guidelines shall assist States and the United States Government in developing legislation and regulations to carry out their responsibilities under this Act in such manner as will allow for—
(1) recreational exploration of shipwreck sites; and
(2) private sector recovery of shipwrecks which is not injurious to the shipwreck or the environment surrounding the site.

SEC. 7. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, a second is not required on this motion.

The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Jones) will be recognized for 20 minutes and the gentleman from Washington (Mr. Patterson) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Jones).

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues to pass H.R. 3194, the Abandoned Shipwreck Act of 1954. The central purpose of the legislation is to clarify the title of States to certain abandoned shipwrecks within State waters. The overall intent of the legislation is to make clear the right of the States to manage these shipwrecks to enable them to preserve their historical significance.

The need for the legislation stems from current questions as to whether States have the authority to regulate and manage shipwrecks on State lands. Since the passage of the Submerged Lands Act of 1953, States have held title to the lands and resources

beneath the navigable waters within State boundaries, extending several miles, and have managed a wide range of resources and activities in U areas. Management of certain shipwrecks in these same areas completely consistent with this existing State authority. To date, all 50 States regulate archaeological excavations of State lands and approximately 25 States specifically claim the right to regulate abandoned shipwrecks on State lands. However, several recent Federal district court cases have reached conflicting conclusions on management of these shipwrecks. The purpose of this legislation, therefore, is simply to clarify that States have title to, and regulatory authority over, a certain class of abandoned shipwrecks on State lands.

Specifically, the legislation transfers to States title to abandoned shipwrecks that are, first, substantially buried in submerged lands of a State second, located in coral formations of the State; or third, determined to be eligible for, or actually listed in the National Register of Historic Places. For this class of abandoned shipwrecks, the legislation specifies that the law of salvage shall not apply. For the other abandoned shipwrecks not falling within this narrow classification, traditional admiralty law will continue to apply.

The legislation reaffirms Federal ownership of abandoned shipwrecks lying on Federal lands and directs the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to develop guidelines to assist States and the Federal Government in carrying out their responsibilities in managing these abandoned shipwrecks. The Council is directed to develop guidelines that would allow recreational diving on the wrecks to utilize, as appropriate, private sector salvage efforts in the recovery of these abandoned wrecks.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has been considered this issue since legislation was first introduced by our distinguished colleague from Florida, Mr. BROWDER, January of 1979. After I introduced H.R. 3194 with five original cosponsors on June 2, 1983, the committee conducted a deliberate and thorough examination of all the issues associated with the legislation. In September 1983, the committee held a hearing on H.R. 3194, at which State officials, archeologists, sport divers, and salvors testified. I met personally with several representatives of salvor interests and staff has consulted extensively with all of the groups that may be affected by this legislation. After 1 year of thorough and extensive investigation into the legislation, the committee conducted a markup of the bill and ordered it reported by a unanimous vote. Following action by my committee, the Interior Committee also conducted a hearing on H.R. 3194 in July 1984.

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Squeaky Wheel Gets The Grease

By Harut Sassounian

After several years of following the Turkish press, we have learned not to trust any information contained in the Turkish media. In the past few months, we demonstrated that fact over and over again.

In our Dec. 29 issue, we reported that an aide to Congressman Tom Lantos accused the American Turkish Association of misrepresenting the Congressman's views on the Armenian Genocide in the ATA's October 1983 Newsletter.



FALSE REPORTS

The Turkish Newsletter had reported that following a meeting with the Congressman, he had wished the Turkish group had come to see him earlier, before he had made statements supporting the Armenian position. "Why didn't you come to see me three years ago?" he reportedly told the Turks. "If you had only talked with me then,

I would not have signed what I did." The Congressman's aide confirmed to us that the Turkish report was absolutely inaccurate.

A second similar episode occurred last month. At least three Armenian newspapers covered another story published by the above Turkish newsletter. The Turks claimed that "a historic White House Conference is being prepared by the American Turkish Association of Washington, D.C., to take place . . . in May 1984." They called this an "exciting development" and publicized it as a rebuttal for the participation of the Armenian media in a White House-ethnic media meeting, Oct. 18, 1983, to which no Turks were invited.

To confirm the accuracy of this Turkish report, we contacted Mr. Linas J. Kojelis, the Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison, the White House. His name was mentioned in the Turkish Newsletter as the person with whom the Turks made all the arrangements.

Mr. Kojelis revealed that what he had set up for the Turks was a short briefing that all groups receive on a routine basis several times a week. He laughed heartily when we mentioned to him that the Turks are claiming this to be "a historic" conference and "a rebuttal" for the October meeting.

Mr. Kojelis confirmed that after the October meeting, the ATA-DC President, Mrs. Engin Inel Holstrom, wrote a letter to President Reagan complaining that no Turkish papers were invited to that meeting. She also claimed that the "Turkish-Armenians in this country may not be large in numbers compared to other ethnic minorities, but we are a unique group. Most of us are professionals, such as physicians, scientists, engineers, architects, university professors, etc. We pay high taxes and greatly contribute to the scientific and technological advancement of this country, as well as to its academic life and health care services . . ."

Mr. Kojelis responded to her letter and invited her group to a briefing. He explained to us over the phone that all ethnic groups were welcome to such White House briefings. He said experts from various fields and administration officials usually brief the groups. He said he is aware that there are only 50,000 Turkish-Americans in the U.S., "a very, very small group." I try to spend more of my time on the larger ethnic groups, he added. The May meeting will be the first such meeting with a Turkish group.

Mr. Kojelis explained that the ethnic media groups which included the Armenians met with the President, whereas the Turkish group will not. He said the briefing will last two hours. A staff person from the National Security Council will talk about U.S.-Turkish relations, someone from the Justice Department will talk about terrorism and "civil rights violations of Turkish-Americans."

What the Turks claimed they got from the White House was not that big of a deal, after all. However, we can draw several conclusions from the above episode: Turkish reports can not be trusted, and that the Turks are aggressively pursuing all opportunities to counter any gains by Armenians.

LET'ALL SQUEAK

The depressing part of the conversation with Mr. Kojelis was his complaint that Armenians have totally ignored the existence of his office. "I have not been approached by too many Armenian organizations for briefings, meetings, etc.," he said.

The Turks approach the White House and get some attention (whatever it is worth). Armenians don't call, they get nothing. "The squeaky wheel gets the grease," said Mr. Kojelis to show the difference between Turkish action and Armenian inaction.

Maybe our organizations were not even aware of some of these opportunities. But we hope that we don't leave the field to the Turks to do as they please and monopolize the White House or any other institutions. If they do, we have no one else to blame than ourselves.

March 15, 1984

THE CALIFORNIA COURIER