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**Folder ID Number:** 02718-002

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**Folder Title:**  
Armenian Genocide

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<b>G</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>

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CHARLES PASHAYAN, JR.  
17TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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(202) 225-3341



COMMITTEE ON  
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COMMITTEE ON  
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CONDUCT

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FAXSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Date: Nov 1, 1989

Total number of Pages, including Cover Sheet: 7

To: Andy Card

Firm: FAX: 456-2397

From: Congressman Charles Pashayan

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November 1, 1989

NOTE TO GOVERNOR SUNUNU AND ANDY CARD

SUBJECT: Armenian Genocide: Overall Proposal

I suggest that an agreement be accorded between the President, Governor Deukmajian, Senator Dole, and myself, consisting of five parts:

1. Letters of agreement shall be exchanged between the President and the other parties [attachment #1];
2. The President shall issue a letter to the Hill against S.J.Res. 212 and of neutrality concerning a Concurrent Resolution [attachment #2];
3. S.J.Res. 212 shall be dropped;
4. Senator Dole in the Senate and somebody in the House shall introduce a Concurrent Resolution like S.J.Res. 212; and
5. The President shall issue a Proclamation concerning the first anniversary of the Armenian earthquake, including language on the Armenian Genocide [attachment #3].

The Turkish Government will be handed a victory on point 3. While they will not agree to or even like all the others, the letters should give them confidence that the matter is finally put to rest.

Please observe that there is no mention of the Ottoman Empire or of the Republic of Turkey in the Proclamation.

The language of the letters is conceptual.

Attachments

*Clip*

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\*PASHAYAN WDC 11.01.89 17:19 P.02

TRANSMITTED FROM 202 225 3341

ATTACHMENT #1  
(Second Letter)

Dear Mr. President:

I am in receipt of your letter outlining the excellent course of action you propose in respect of the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian-American community should warmly receive the Proclamation that you promise to make on the occasion of the first anniversary of the earthquake of December 7 last year.

Mr. President, in the campaign you made a pledge to the Armenian-American community, concerning a recognition of the Armenian Genocide. I hail your resolve to carry out your pledge; and for so long as the Executive Branch shall not utter or execute anything contrary to your Proclamation, I shall certainly consider the matter of the United States's recognition of the Armenian Genocide successfully and finally resolved in a way in which you and your Administration can take deserved pride.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Pashayan, Jr.  
Member of Congress

ATTACHMENT #1

(First Letter)

Dear [Governor Deukmajian, Senator Dole, Congressman Pashayan]:

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Armenian earthquake, December 7, I shall issue a Proclamation relating to the earthquake. Please see a copy attached.

As you know, the Republic of Turkey, a valued ally of the United States and of NATO, has objected to the passage of S.J.Res. 212. Because of the importance of Turkey, I have urged the Senate to drop S.J.Res. 212. If the House and Senate, however, wish to pass a like Concurrent Resolution, my Administration shall neither support nor oppose it since of course it will not require my signature.

In the campaign, I made an explicit pledge to the Armenian-American community concerning this matter. I hope you agree that the course of events outlined herein shall be a practicable solution. My Administration shall not utter or execute anything contrary to my Proclamation.

Sincerely yours,

The President

Attachment

ATTACHMENT #2

Letters to the Congress

As you know, S.J.Res. 212, introduced by Senator Dole on September 29, 1989, concerns events that occurred within the Ottoman Turkish Empire prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. My Administration finds it understandable that the Republic of Turkey objects to S.J.Res. 212, and because it requires my signature and because of Turkey's importance to NATO, my Administration is joining the protest of Turkey in this regard to S.J.Res. 212. Likewise, my Administration shall oppose any Joint Resolution or Bill containing similar language.

On December 7, I shall issue a Proclamation recognizing the first anniversary of the Armenian earthquake, which shall contain language that I have been assured by leaders of the Armenian-American community will be satisfactory to them.

In respect to a Concurrent Resolution on the subject, however, my Administration shall take no position, since of course it would not require my signature.

Sincerely yours,

The President

The Armenian nation is over three thousand years old and is distinguished by its contributions to all fields of human endeavor. The first to have adopted Christianity as a national religion, the Armenian people have also endured immeasurable adversity along with their triumphs. Their greatest tragedy occurred throughout the era of World War I, when the Armenian people became the first victims of a genocide in this century, the seventy-fifth anniversary of which the Armenian people will commemorate on April 24, 1990. The United States responded by leading international diplomatic and missionary efforts to terminate this crime against humanity and to aid the victims who survived.

NOW THEREFORE, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, hereby express our support for the Armenian people's continuing efforts to rebuild from the tragedy of the earthquake of December 7, 1988, and I direct all the Executive agencies to apply their programs, whenever available, to aid in the rehabilitation of Armenia.

ATTACHMENT #3

President George Bush  
Proclamation  
Continuing Relief and Support for the Armenian People  
on the Anniversary of the Earthquake of  
December 7, 1988

A year ago today, December 7, 1988, a massive earthquake devastated Armenia. Official estimates of the death toll are 25,000. The earthquake left 500,000 people homeless, and the personal suffering was incalculable. Among the most tragic victims were those who had already been made homeless by having been expelled from Azerbaijan only days earlier. Indeed, the Armenian people's quest for democracy and self-determination in Nagorno-Karabakh has led to a further need for international attention.

Immediately after the earthquake, my son and grandson visited Armenia as an example of the goodwill and support we have for the Armenian people. Over time, many other Americans joined the noble effort. The United States fully encourages and supports the ongoing relief and rehabilitation efforts by Americans for Armenia.

Throughout this century, the United States has enjoyed a special relationship with the Armenian people, who fled to America by the thousands. They and their descendants continue to make enormous contributions to the betterment of the United States.



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
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10. Armenian question

Doc. A2-33/87.

RESOLUTION

on a political solution to the Armenian question

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Saby and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 2-737/84),
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kolokotronis on the Armenian question and the declaration of 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day (Doc. B 2-360/85),
  - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-33/87),
- A. having regard to:
- the motion for a resolution by Mr Jaquet and others on the situation of the Armenian people (Doc. 1-782/81),
  - the motion for a resolution by Mrs Duport and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 1-735/83), and
  - the written question by Mrs Duport on the Armenian question<sup>1</sup>,
  - the resolution of the Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council of 13 November 1986 on the protection of Europe's architectural heritage,<sup>2</sup> including that outside the territory of the Community,
- B. convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,
- C. whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 1948 UN Charter,
- D. whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,
- E. whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

<sup>1</sup>OJ No. C 216, 16.8.1984, p. 10

<sup>2</sup>OJ No. C 320 of 13.12.1986, p.1

F. whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,

G. whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be viewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honour to the Turkish Government;

H. profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 for several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,

I. whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,

1. Believes that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;

2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;

3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government an acknowledgement of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;

4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;

5. Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as defined in the European Convention on Human Rights and its five protocols;
6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;
7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Muslim minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;
8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;
9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;
10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;
11. Condemns the violations of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;
12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenian people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;
13. Calls on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;
14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;
15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting, in political cooperation, the EEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General;

DECLARATION MADE BY  
MR BÜLENT ECEVİT (TURKEY) IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE EUROPEAN  
PARLIAMENT

1. The Ottoman Empire was a multinational state. The Turks were the most suppressed and oppressed among the ethnic groups of which that Empire was comprised. The Sultans took care not to identify the Empire with the Turks ; because they did not want their power to be checked by the founding nation of the Empire. The new Turkish Republic was born out of a revolt against that Empire. Consequently, it would be very unrealistic and unfair to hold the Turkish Republic responsible for the deeds or alleged deeds of a defunct state which that Republic itself got rid of.

2. It would also be very unrealistic and unfair to hold the Ottoman Administration responsible for alleged crimes against the Armenians. It is true that various ethnic groups of eastern Anatolia -Armenians, Turks, Kurds alike- were provoked against one another, in the early nineties, by certain outside powers, in order to expedite the end and the partition of that Empire. But the responsibility of the Ottoman Administration has never been proven, although the occupying powers in Istanbul had every opportunity to do so, if it were possible to prove it.

In 1919, Istanbul, the capital city of the crumbling Ottoman Empire, was under British and French occupation. They were in full control. They arrested practically every high Ottoman official and officer whom militant Armenian groups and also some Greek groups held responsible for ordering the massacring of Armenians. They were even encouraged and helped by certain Ottoman politicians who cooperated with the occupying powers in order to get rid of some of their Turkish rivals.

But the British and French authorities in Istanbul were not able to come forth with any convincing proof of the Ottoman Administration's responsibility in the alleged massacres. They also failed to produce any proof against the high officials and officers they had arrested.

Because the French and British authorities realized that their own courts could not sentence the arrestees under the circumstances, they turned the arrestees over to the Ottoman Government headed by Tevfik Pasha. They hoped that an Ottoman court in occupied Istanbul would be more pliant to their demands and expectations for the sentencing of the accused.

Although the Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha had no sympathy for most of the former Ottoman officials and officers who were arrested by the occupying powers, he was an honest man. Therefore, he wanted a fair trial. But, at the same time, he was aware that the occupying powers expected of his Government, and of the Ottoman judiciary, convictions and executions, rather than a fair trial ; and his government or the Ottoman courts were not in a position to effectively resist the pressures coming from the occupying powers.

So, he took a wise and ingenious step. He decided to send messages to the governments of certain neutral European countries, asking each of them to send two trusted judges from their own courts, to participate with full authority, in the investigation into the Armenian claims of "officially organized massacres".

These messages were addressed to the Danish, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish and Swiss Governments.

The message to the Danish Government was contained in a note delivered to the Danish Embassy in Istanbul on 19th February 1919.

The messages to the Spanish and Dutch Governments were delivered through the Turkish Embassies in those countries.

But the cabled messages to the Swedish and Swiss Governments did not reach their destination because they were intercepted at the Post Office in Istanbul by the occupying powers.

In the meantime, the occupying powers asked the three other governments who had received the messages, not to comply with the Ottoman Government's request.

I should add, as a detail, that the Ottoman Government was prepared to meet all the costs, if two judges from each of the five countries concerned were to be sent to Istanbul.

*Orphan - Luxembourg*

Communiqué de Presse

DECLARATION DU GOUVERNEMENT TURC

La résolution que le Parlement Européen vient d'adopter sur la prétendue question arménienne constitue un texte partial et au contenu raciste. Cette décision soulève d'autant plus notre indignation que la Commission politique s'était formellement déclarée incompétente en cette matière et avait jugé irrecevable le rapport de M. Vandemeulebroucke. Toutefois, contrainte par des manœuvres obscures, la Commission politique est revenue sur cette décision.

Ainsi, le Parlement Européen s'est érigé en tribunal de l'histoire en choisissant l'option de la partialité et de la haine.

Plusieurs groupes politiques ont d'ailleurs pris position contre cette initiative en partant du principe que le Parlement Européen n'est ni un tribunal, ni une académie d'historiens et ont refusé de participer au vote de ce rapport dont le contenu ne rentre en aucune manière dans les limites des compétences du Parlement Européen.

Nous déplorons que cette institution honorable qui prétend au rôle de champion des droits de l'homme à l'échelle mondiale, puisse être amenée par certains militants farouches à se soumettre aux exigences du passionnel et de l'irrationnel, et apporter ainsi de manière tout à fait irresponsable une excuse au terrorisme arménien passé et un soutien à ses malheureuses tentatives futures.

Cette décision qui est le résultat des suffrages d'une infime minorité des membres du Parlement Européen, ne fera que raffermir le jugement des générations turques d'aujourd'hui sur les événements qui se déroulèrent pendant la première guerre mondiale en Anatolie et qui par conséquent appartiennent à l'histoire.

Le Gouvernement turc rejette avec indignation cette résolution.

Press Release - 6/20/87

Declaration from the Turkish Government Responding to the Resolution of  
the European Parliament on the Armenian Question

The resolution that the European Parliament has just adopted concerning the so-called Armenian Question constitutes a biased text of racist content. This decision is so much the more revolting, that the political committee has formally declared itself incompetent regarding this matter, and has judged Mr. Vandemeulebrouckle's report unacceptable. However, compelled by obscure manipulations, the political committee has revised this position.

Thus, the European Parliament has elevated itself in a position to judge history by opting for bias and hate.

Several political groups have taken a position against this initiative by basing themselves on the principle that the European Parliament is neither a courthouse [of history], nor an academy of historians, and have refused to take part in a vote.

Regarding this matter, because this vote is not within the limits of the European Parliament's competence.

We regret that this honorable institution that pretends to be a champion of the cause of human rights in the world, can be brought by certain extremist militants, to capitulate to irrational decisions, thereby providing in a totally irresponsible way an excuse for Armenian terrorism, and support to its future attempts.

This decision, which is the result of the ballots of a tiny minority of European Parliament members, will only strengthen the judgment [conviction] of today's generations of Turks of the WWI events that took place in Anatolia and which therefore belong to history. The Turkish government rejects indignantly this resolution.

99TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 142

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the foreign policy of the United States should take account of the genocide of the Armenian people with the objective of preventing any future genocide anywhere in the world, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 24, 1985

Mr. PASHAYAN (for himself, Mr. COELHO, Mrs. JOHNSON, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. CHAPPIE, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. FRANK, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. LEHMAN of California, Mr. DORNAN of California, Mr. FISH, Mr. COURTER, Mr. GREEN, and Mr. ASPIN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the foreign policy of the United States should take account of the genocide of the Armenian people with the objective of preventing any future genocide anywhere in the world, and for other purposes.

Whereas the Armenian genocide was conceived by the Young Turk Regime and carried out by Ottoman Turkish governments from 1915 to 1923 prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, resulting in the massacre of one and one-half million Armenian men, women, and children, the deportation of an additional five hundred thousand survivors,

and the elimination of a two-thousand-five-hundred-year Armenian presence in its historic homeland;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide is amply documented in the Archives of the United States, as well as Austria, France, Germany, and Great Britain;

Whereas the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Turkish Empire from 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials of many nations, among them the allies of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, over the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas an organization known as Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, contributed some \$113,000,000 from 1915 to 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors and, whereas, one hundred and thirty-two thousand orphans became foster children of the American people;

Whereas S. Res 359, dated May 13, 1920, stated in part, "the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered";

Whereas H. Res. 148 stated in part, "that April 24, 1985, 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 those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915, and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world;

Whereas former President Jimmy Carter in a May 16, 1978, speech at the White House stated in part, "It's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group . . . Well, I feel very deeply that I, as President, ought to make sure that this is never forgotten".;

Whereas the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, an independent Federal agency, unanimously resolved on April 30, 1981, that the Holocaust Museum Memorial should commemorate the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas President Reagan in proclamation numbered 4838, dated April 22, 1981, stated in part, "like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it—and like too many other persecutions of too many other people—the lessons of the holocaust must never be forgotten"; and

Whereas it has been the policy of the United States to acknowledge these historical events: Now, therefore, be it

1        *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Repre-  
 2        sentatives that the President and the Secretary of State  
 3        should, in formulating and carrying out the foreign policy of  
 4        the United States, recognize and take into account the geno-  
 5        cide of the Armenian people, with the objective of preventing  
 6        any future genocide anywhere in the world.

7        SEC. 2. It is further the sense of the House of Repre-  
 8        sentatives that the President should direct his representa-  
 9        tives, including the Permanent Representatives of the United

1 States to the United Nations, to communicate at all appropri-  
2 ate times in international forums the abhorrence of the  
3 United States Government to any and all genocide, including  
4 that of the Armenian people.

5       SEC. 3. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall  
6 transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and the  
7 Secretary of State.

○

## ISSUE BRIEF - THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE, 1915-23

### ● April 24, 1915

April 24 is the date that Armenians commemorate the Armenian Genocide. On that day, in 1915, over 200 Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested in Constantinople (Istanbul), taken to the interior of Turkey and murdered.

April 24 symbolized the beginning of an organized campaign by the government of Turkey to eliminate the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. In the next eight years, from 1915-1923, 1.5 million Armenians perished, and more than 500,000 were exiled from their homes. Before 1914, over two million Armenians lived in Turkey. By the end of 1923, the entire Armenian population of Anatolia and Western Armenia had been either killed or deported.

### ● Historical Record

The United States Archives contain thousands of pages documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people. American intervention prevented the full realization of Ottoman Turkey's genocidal plan and U.S. humanitarian assistance was extended to those who survived.

The U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, acting on instructions from Secretaries of State William Jennings Bryan and Robert Lansing, organized and led protests about the slaughter of the Armenians. Representatives from other nations, including Great Britain and Germany, also voiced their concern. An organization known as Near East Relief, chartered by an act of Congress, contributed some \$113 million between 1915 and 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors. In addition, 132,000 orphans became foster children of the American people and owe their lives to this effort.

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"...When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact...I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

Henry Morgenthau, Sr.

U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire  
From his autobiography,  
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"The massacres are the result of a policy which, as far as can be ascertained, has been entertained for some considerable time by the gang of unscrupulous adventurers who are now in possession of the Government of the Turkish Empire. They hesitated to put it in practice until they thought the favourable moment had come, and that moment seems to have arrived about the month of April."

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British politician and diplomat  
Excerpt from speech delivered October 6, 1915  
in the House of Lords

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"In its attempt to carry out its purpose to resolve the Armenian question by the destruction of the Armenian race, the Turkish Government has refused to be deterred neither by our representatives, nor by those of the American Embassy, nor by the delegate of the Pope, nor by the threats of the Allied Powers, nor in deference to the public opinion of the West representing one-half of the world."

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

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Letter to Cleveland Hoadley Dodge  
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"...the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered."

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Senate Resolution 359

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


House Resolution 148  
April 8, 1975

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

President Jimmy Carter  
White House Ceremony  
May 16, 1978

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 Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it-and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples-the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

President Ronald Reagan  
Proclamation 4838 of April 22, 1981

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### The U.S. Dilemma

Despite the overwhelming, archival evidence in the archives of Turkey's World War I allies and enemies, U.S. acknowledgment of the Armenian Genocide became a contentious issue in August, 1982, when the State Department referred to the historical record as "ambiguous." Since that time, the Armenian-American community has been attempting to affirm the U.S. record; first with the Reagan Administration with the assistance of Congress, and, failing that, with the Congress directly via a commemorative resolution.

The Armenian-American community has been unified by this U.S. contradiction. The Genocide is as central a phenomenon in the consciousness of the Armenians as the Holocaust is to the Jews.

The Republic of Turkey seized on the State Department's monumental blunder of August, 1982, demanding that the U.S. not retreat. In that effort, Turkey has threatened all levels of the U.S./Turkish relationship and forced the government of Israel and American corporations with interests or ambitions in Turkey to assist. Turkey seeks to impose its will on the U.S. simply because it cannot face a predecessor regime's crimes.

This has been a contentious issue between the U.S. and Turkey since 1982. The Armenian-American community regrets this. The community has not called upon the U.S. to force Turkey to do anything on this matter - neither in terms of Turkish recognition or in terms of a U.S. rebuttal of Turkey's denial. For the Armenian-American community this is a matter between the U.S. government and the American public. Armenian-Americans will press this core issue until it is resolved.

#### President Bush's Dilemma

The President has commented on the subject of the Armenian Genocide as Vice-President and as candidate for the Presidency. On the basis of those comments and on the strength of his character, friends of the President were able to secure substantial support for his candidacy. The President's views on the Armenian Genocide and the recent conduct of his Administration in opposition to U.S. affirmation are an embarrassment to the President, as well as to Armenian-American elected officials and community leaders who campaigned vigorously on his behalf. Should this embarrassing contradiction between the President's word and the Administration's conduct continue, the negative impact for the President and candidates of his party will be incalculable. Surely the substantial support provided by the community for the President and the Republican Party will be at risk, as well as in the California gubernatorial and House races. The President must take control of this crisis and solve the problem soon. The President's prior commentary follow:

"A special interest, of course, is George's sensitivity to his own ethnic heritage. He's never forgotten his roots, and he's been a leader in drawing attention to the tragic events that befell the Armenian people in the end of the last century, the beginning of this one, climaxing in the horrors that began in 1915. He pursues his goal not out of any desire for revenge or retribution decades after the fact, but because of the lesson we can all learn from these historical events, and the lesson is simple and yet powerful and profound. If the civilized world continues to be silent, this cycle of horror could one day repeat itself.

We must never let that happen. The United States has a stake in acknowledging the history of the Armenian people. After all, American diplomats and missionaries had a large hand in writing it. In our free and open society, history cannot and must not be changed for the convenience of the moment. We cannot and must not deny the testimony of survivors and scholars alike".

Speech at Banquet to Honor Governor George Deukmejian  
October 10, 1987  
Boston, Massachusetts

Do you favor a congressional resolution that would designate a National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923? Would you sign such a resolution if it was passed by the Congress and even in the face of strong opposition and threats from the Republic of Turkey?

Vice President George Bush

The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testimony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own representatives at the time, if we are to insure that such horrors are not repeated. The American people, our government, and certainly the Bush Administration will never allow political pressures to prevent our denunciation of crimes against humanity, and I would join Congress in commemorating the victims of that period. I recognize that the events of 1915 were not the responsibility of the present Republic of Turkey, and I am aware that the Republic of Turkey opposes the characterization of that period as genocide. As President, I will urge the leaders of Turkey to enter into a dialogue with representatives of the worldwide Armenian community in order to resolve their differences, just as I will support the continuation of military and economic assistance to Turkey within the framework of NATO.

President Candidate Questionnaire  
Armenian Assembly of America  
October 1988

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Dear Hirair:

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The demands of the campaign are heavy, but I am very optimistic. With the support of wonderful people like you, I feel most confident about the future.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George Bush

Letter from Vice President George Bush  
to Hirair Hovnanian  
October 11, 1988

## Israeli/Jewish-American Dilemma

As is the case with the United States, Israel and the Jewish-American community wish to retain good relations with the Republic of Turkey. Since 1982, Turkey has repeatedly called upon Israel and the Jewish-American community to assist in the effort to prevent any commemoration or remembrance of the Armenian Genocide. It is a matter of public record that Israel via its embassy in Washington and elements of the Jewish-American community lobbied against Senate Judiciary Committee passage of S.J. Res 212. Not only was this effort unsuccessful, the decision to assist Turkey has been and continues to be roundly criticized in the Israeli press and by Israeli MPs, broadly representative of the entire political/ideological spectrum. According to the Jerusalem Post of October 24, 1989, the Israeli Foreign Ministry has stated that "Israeli delegations will not intervene in questions related to this matter." The Foreign Ministry spokesman concluded by saying that "Jewish lobbyists have not honored our people by supporting the efforts to deny the Armenians 'their' holocaust." Clearly Israel and the Jewish-American community will no longer be a factor in Congressional consideration of the Armenian Genocide resolution.

## Turkish Denial/Was it a Genocide?

Professor Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer who escaped Poland during the Nazi invasion of 1939, was the key figure in the history of making genocide a crime under international law. Having lost 49 members of his own family in the Holocaust, he coined the word "genocide" in 1944 and worked tirelessly until his death in 1959 toward the adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

After coining the word "genocide" to describe destruction of a people, Lemkin became the first person to characterize the atrocities of 1915-23 as the "Armenian Genocide." In his decade-long effort to obtain ratification of the Genocide Convention, Lemkin repeatedly noted the Armenian Genocide, together with the Holocaust, as prototypes of the crimes of genocide.

In Totally Unofficial, an unpublished autobiography, Lemkin wrote: "A bold plan was formulated in my mind. This consisted (of) obtaining the ratification (of the Genocide Convention) by Turkey among the first twenty founding nations. This would be an atonement for (the) genocide of the Armenians."

The Raphael Lemkin Papers, New York Public Library

### o Sixty Nine Scholars

As a part of its effort to defeat an earlier commemorative resolution on the Armenian Genocide, H.J. Res. 192, the Assembly of Turkish American Associations began circulating a document in opposition to the Genocide resolution signed by sixty-nine American academicians. This ad has subsequently been used to create a new concept in Turkey's denial effort - that the historical record is in question. The Armenian Assembly of America wrote in confidence to the sixty-nine individuals, asking for a reply regarding their motivation and the facts. Five of the sixty-nine

scholars were quite candid in their responses, which are excerpted below. Their names were withheld at their request. The originals are on file at the Armenian Assembly of America.

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"I am well familiar with the events of 1915-16 and with the events up to 1923 and I am aware of the death, suffering and massacres of the Armenian people during this period...I shall never become part of any attempt to deny the victimization, massacres, or genocide of the Armenian people perpetrated between 1915 and 1923."

-June 11, 1985

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"Let me first say that I do not question that massive numbers of Armenians perished during World War I as a result of criminal and even genocidal intents. Whenever I teach courses on this period, I always devote these events specific attention. It is also my personal opinion that high Ottoman officials pursued policies that were aimed at the effective elimination of the Armenian population in Anatolia."

"It is also my opinion that the Turkish public - unlike the German public with regard to the Holocaust - has not yet forthrightly addressed the victimization of the Armenians during World War I. I believe that Turkish democracy will be much stronger when this has been accomplished."

-June 14, 1985

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"You ask me what my understanding is of the treatment of Armenians during the period between 1915 and 1923...I cannot authoritatively answer that question. First, that period is not the subject of my own scholarly expertise. Second...official Turkish archives of the period in question have not so far been opened for scholarly analysis."

-June 14, 1985

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"I sincerely believe that hundreds of thousands of Armenians lost their lives in the 1915-1923 period. I have no doubt that the three upstarts who led the Empire up to 1918 had the capacity to give orders to murder Armenians qua Armenians."

-July 3, 1985

"As scholars, we acknowledge that there were terrible sufferings undergone by the Armenians at this time. To deny this would be unjust. Even the word 'genocide' is not wholly inappropriate here."

-June 10, 1985

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As closer look at the remaining sixty-one scholars reveals that only four have dealt with the specific topic and period of history in question, i.e., Turkish Ottoman policy towards the Armenians before and after World War I. A prominent signatore to the ad, Professor Bernard Lewis of Princeton, stated in his book The Emergence of Modern Turkey, that the American/Turkish relationship was "a struggle between two nations for the possession of a single homeland, that ended with the terrible holocaust of 1915, where a million and half Armenians perished."

In point of fact, this is a political ad sponsored by the Assembly of Turkish American Associations - not what it purports to be and certainly does not lead to the conclusion that there is scholarly debate on the question.

On the contrary, in universities and secondary schools throughout North America students in growing numbers are studying the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust as case studies. Books published by scholars whose field is the phenomenon of genocide;

Leo Kuper, Genocide: Its Politcal Use in the Twentieth Century (New York: Penguin Paperbacks, 1981)

Irving Louis Horowitz, Taking Lives (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1980)

Vahakn Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: the World War I Armenian Case and its Contemporary legal Ramifications, " Yale Journal of International Law, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 221-334.

## Resolution of the Crisis

A way must be found to resolve quickly President Bush's dilemma while affirming the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide in a way least injurious to U.S./Turkish relations. S.J. Res. 212 is one such remedy. Presidential action which could obviate the need for further action in the Congress is another. Without Presidential action there will be an extended, public controversy as the struggle goes on in the House and Senate. Turkey will feel compelled to go beyond the token sanctions announced to date to placate a Turkish constituency that the government itself aroused. In desperation, Turkey will press harder against Members of Congress who are in support of the resolution and who have been good friends of Turkey. Congressional resentment of Turkey's position and conduct is growing. The public Israeli humiliation over this matter is a lesson noted by Congress.

### o Alternatives

1. On December 7, 1989, the first anniversary of the Armenian earthquake, where the President notes the tragedy of the earthquake and recalls all that the Armenian people in this century have suffered, including the Armenian Genocide.
2. During April, 1990, commemorating "Genocide Awareness Month", invoking the need to remember, praising the growing popularity of Holocaust and Genocide studies, and invoking the Armenian, Jews and Cambodians as cases-in-point.
3. Speech at the annual "Days of Remembrance" Holocaust commemoration, which includes an affirmation of the Armenian Genocide. (Sometime in April)
4. Receive a senior delegation of Armenian clergy and survivors on April 24, 1990 in the White House where he affirms the Armenian Genocide.
5. Cease opposing S.J. Res. 212 and its House counterpart, allowing prompt passage. By so doing, the Administration can assume that the matter will not come up again so long as this or subsequent Administrations do not deny the Genocide. This will forgo a prolonged struggle in Congress and an extended strain in U.S./Turkish relations.

In conclusion, the Armenian-American community seeks from President Bush fulfillment of his commitment. While this need not be done in the precise manner the President promised, it is the community's minimal understanding that the word genocide be used. Joining the Armenian-American community in this expectation are a majority of the Senate, the House leadership, a number of Jewish and Christian religious leaders, the leadership of the Greek-American community, and a number of governors and state legislatures who have repeatedly commemorated the Armenian Genocide.

10/27/89

CHARLES PASHAYAN, JR.  
17TH DISTRICT CALIFORNIA

203 CANNON BUILDING  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-3341



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON  
RULES

COMMITTEE ON  
STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL  
CONDUCT

FAXSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Date: Oct. 26, 1989

Total number of Pages, including Cover Sheet: 18

To: Jackie Kennedy

Firm: Governor Sununu's office

From: Cong. Pashayan

Office Telephone: (202) 225-3341

Fax Number: (202) 225-9308  
an attack on his credibility.

If you do not receive the correct number of pages, please call: Rita or Karen (202) 225-3341.

*the Congressman needs to talk to GJ today - has tried working w/ Scowcroft says not understand the political side of issue -*

*10-26  
1:58 PM AC w/ word w/ Cong. Pashayan  
2:35 AM AC spoke of the Cong. - He said he sees no effort on part of NSC or State to get diplomatic moving.*

*Still wants to see JHS - concerned that Scowcroft will do the Turkey bidding "period."*

*Political problem promises must be kept. This does not have to be a continuing "orgy." Armenians are furious! The POTUS does not need an attack on his credibility.*

*Pashayan will raise POTUS in public (phone) if it is fixed - and it can be!*

*6:05 AM word w/ Cong.  
6:20 spoke w/ Cong. met w/ JHS 11:00 10/31*

*AKK*

FRESNO COUNTY HOME OFFICE  
1702 EAST BULLARD AVE. SUITE 103  
FRESNO CALIFORNIA 93710  
(209) 487-5500

KINGS COUNTY HOME OFFICE  
804 NORTH IRWIN  
HANFORD CALIFORNIA 93230  
(209) 582-2886

PLEASE REPLY TO:  
TULARE COUNTY HOME OFFICE  
831 WEST CENTER STREET  
VISALIA CALIFORNIA 93291  
(209) 827-2700

PORTERVILLE HOME OFFICE  
185 NORTH D STREET SUITE 1  
PORTERVILLE CALIFORNIA 93257  
(209) 782-1717

KERN COUNTY HOME OFFICE  
201 HIGH STREET  
DELANO CALIFORNIA 93210  
(805) 728-7871

**ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA**



**Congressional Report Card**  
**100th Congress**  
**(1987-1988)**  
**and**  
**Presidential Candidate**  
**Questionnaire**

## Introduction

The Congressional Report Card has been compiled by the Armenian Assembly of America to inform the Armenian community of actions taken by their elected officials on key issues in 1987 and 1988.

In addition to the report card, the Assembly is pleased to offer the results of a presidential candidate questionnaire. The Assembly asked both Vice President George Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis to answer six questions on topics of interest to the Armenian-American community. The questions and the candidate's answers are published here for your perusal.

The actions selected for the report card include roll-call votes on legislation as well as special speeches and letters in support of issues important to Armenian-Americans.

The report card and presidential candidate questionnaire are not an endorsement or a condemnation of any member of Congress or presidential candidate. Rather, they are an attempt to inform the Armenian public on issues of community concern.

The format of the report card lists members of Congress in two sections — U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate. The selected House and Senate actions are described separately and identified by number. Thirteen House actions and six Senate actions were selected.

A final tally of a legislator's actions includes a listing of the number of "Right" actions and the number of "Wrong" actions. In some cases, only a limited number of legislators were involved in certain actions. A legislator's failure to act in such cases was not interpreted as a "Wrong" action.

The Armenian Assembly of America is a national, non-profit organization founded in 1972. The Assembly, based in Washington, D.C., represents the views of the Armenian-American community to the federal government. The Assembly seeks to promote the welfare and interests of Armenian-Americans and to encourage greater community participation in government at the local, state and national levels.

For further information contact:  
Armenian Assembly of America  
122 C Street, N.W., Suite 350  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
(202) 393-3434

## ISSUE BRIEF - THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE, 1915-23

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Armenian Assembly of America  
October 1988

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October 11, 1988

### Israeli/Jewish-American Dilemma

As is the case with the United States, Israel and the Jewish-American community wish to retain good relations with the Republic of Turkey. Since 1982, Turkey has repeatedly called upon Israel and the Jewish-American community to assist in the effort to prevent any commemoration or remembrance of the Armenian Genocide. It is a matter of public record that Israel via its embassy in Washington and elements of the Jewish-American community lobbied against Senate Judiciary Committee passage of S.J. Res 212. Not only was this effort unsuccessful, the decision to assist Turkey has been and continues to be roundly criticized in the Israeli press and by Israeli MPs, broadly representative of the entire political/ideological spectrum. According to the Jerusalem Post of October 24, 1989, the Israeli Foreign Ministry has stated that "Israeli delegations will not intervene in questions related to this matter." The Foreign Ministry spokesman concluded by saying that "Jewish lobbyists have not honored our people by supporting the efforts to deny the Armenians 'their' holocaust." Clearly Israel and the Jewish-American community will no longer be a factor in Congressional consideration of the Armenian Genocide resolution.

### Turkish Denial/Was it a Genocide?

Professor Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer who escaped Poland during the Nazi invasion of 1939, was the key figure in the history of making genocide a crime under international law. Having lost 49 members of his own family in the Holocaust, he coined the word "genocide" in 1944 and worked tirelessly until his death in 1959 toward the adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

After coining the word "genocide" to describe destruction of a people, Lemkin became the first person to characterize the atrocities of 1915-23 as the "Armenian Genocide." In his decade-long effort to obtain ratification of the Genocide Convention, Lemkin repeatedly noted the Armenian Genocide, together with the Holocaust, as prototypes of the crimes of genocide.

In Totally Unofficial, an unpublished autobiography, Lemkin wrote: "A bold plan was formulated in my mind. This consisted (of) obtaining the ratification (of the Genocide Convention) by Turkey among the first twenty founding nations. This would be an atonement for (the) genocide of the Armenians."

The Raphael Lemkin Papers, New York Public Library

#### o Sixty Nine Scholars

As a part of its effort to defeat an earlier commemorative resolution on the Armenian Genocide, H.J. Res. 192, the Assembly of Turkish American Associations began circulating a document in opposition to the Genocide resolution signed by sixty-nine American academicians. This ad has subsequently been used to create a new concept in Turkey's denial effort - that the historical record is in question. The Armenian Assembly of America wrote in confidence to the sixty-nine individuals, asking for a reply regarding their motivation and the facts. Five of the sixty-nine

scholars were quite candid in their responses, which are excerpted below. Their names were withheld at their request. The originals are on file at the Armenian Assembly of America.

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"I am well familiar with the events of 1915-16 and with the events up to 1923 and I am aware of the death, suffering and massacres of the Armenian people during this period...I shall never become part of any attempt to deny the victimization, massacres, or genocide of the Armenian people perpetrated between 1915 and 1923."

-June 11, 1985

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"Let me first say that I do not question that massive numbers of Armenians perished during World War I as a result of criminal and even genocidal intents. Whenever I teach courses on this period, I always devote these events specific attention. It is also my personal opinion that high Ottoman officials pursued policies that were aimed at the effective elimination of the Armenian population in Anatolia."

"It is also my opinion that the Turkish public - unlike the German public with regard to the Holocaust - has not yet forthrightly addressed the victimization of the Armenians during World War I. I believe that Turkish democracy will be much stronger when this has been accomplished."

-June 14, 1985

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"You ask me what my understanding is of the treatment of Armenians during the period between 1915 and 1923...I cannot authoritatively answer that question. First, that period is not the subject of my own scholarly expertise. Second...official Turkish archives of the period in question have not so far been opened for scholarly analysis."

-June 14, 1985

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"I sincerely believe that hundreds of thousands of Armenians lost their lives in the 1915-1923 period. I have no doubt that the three upstarts who led the Empire up to 1918 had the capacity to give orders to murder Armenians qua Armenians."

-July 3, 1985

"As scholars, we acknowledge that there were terrible sufferings undergone by the Armenians at this time. To deny this would be unjust. Even the word 'genocide' is not wholly inappropriate here."

-June 10, 1985

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As closer look at the remaining sixty-one scholars reveals that only four have dealt with the specific topic and period of history in question, i.e., Turkish Ottoman policy towards the Armenians before and after World War I. A prominent signatore to the ad, Professor Bernard Lewis of Princeton, stated in his book The Emergence of Modern Turkey, that the American/Turkish relationship was "a struggle between two nations for the possession of a single homeland, that ended with the terrible holocaust of 1915, where a million and half Armenians perished."

In point of fact, this is a political ad sponsored by the Assembly of Turkish American Associations - not what it purports to be and certainly does not lead to the conclusion that there is scholarly debate on the question.

On the contrary, in universities and secondary schools throughout North America students in growing numbers are studying the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust as case studies. Books published by scholars whose field is the phenomenon of genocide;

Leo Kuper, Genocide: Its Politcal Use in the Twentieth Century (New York: Penguin Paperbacks, 1981)

Irving Louis Horowitz, Taking Lives (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1980)

Vahakn Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: the World War I Armenian Case and its Contemporary legal Ramifications, " Yale Journal of International Law, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 221-334.

## Resolution of the Crisis

A way must be found to resolve quickly President Bush's dilemma while affirming the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide in a way least injurious to U.S./Turkish relations. S.J. Res. 212 is one such remedy. Presidential action which could obviate the need for further action in the Congress is another. Without Presidential action there will be an extended, public controversy as the struggle goes on in the House and Senate. Turkey will feel compelled to go beyond the token sanctions announced to date to placate a Turkish constituency that the government itself aroused. In desperation, Turkey will press harder against Members of Congress who are in support of the resolution and who have been good friends of Turkey. Congressional resentment of Turkey's position and conduct is growing. The public Israeli humiliation over this matter is a lesson noted by Congress.

### o Alternatives

1. On December 7, 1989, the first anniversary of the Armenian earthquake, where the President notes the tragedy of the earthquake and recalls all that the Armenian people in this century have suffered, including the Armenian Genocide.
2. During April, 1990, commemorating "Genocide Awareness Month", invoking the need to remember, praising the growing popularity of Holocaust and Genocide studies, and invoking the Armenian, Jews and Cambodians as cases-in-point.
3. Speech at the annual "Days of Remembrance" Holocaust commemoration, which includes an affirmation of the Armenian Genocide. (Sometime in April)
4. Receive a senior delegation of Armenian clergy and survivors on April 24, 1990 in the White House where he affirms the Armenian Genocide.
5. Cease opposing S.J. Res. 212 and its House counterpart, allowing prompt passage. By so doing, the Administration can assume that the matter will not come up again so long as this or subsequent Administrations do not deny the Genocide. This will forgo a prolonged struggle in Congress and an extended strain in U.S./Turkish relations.

In conclusion, the Armenian-American community seeks from President Bush fulfillment of his commitment. While this need not be done in the precise manner the President promised, it is the community's minimal understanding that the word genocide be used. Joining the Armenian-American community in this expectation are a majority of the Senate, the House leadership, a number of Jewish and Christian religious leaders, the leadership of the Greek-American community, and a number of governors and state legislatures who have repeatedly commemorated the Armenian Genocide.

10/27/89

RESOLUTION

on a political solution to the Armenian question

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Saby and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 2-737/84),
  - having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kolokotronis on the Armenian question and the declaration of 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day (Doc. B 2-360/85),
  - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-33/87);
- A. having regard to:
- the motion for a resolution by Mr Jaquet and others on the situation of the Armenian people (Doc. 1-782/81),
  - the motion for a resolution by Mrs Duport and Mr Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 1-735/83), and
  - the written question by Mrs Duport on the Armenian question<sup>1</sup>,
  - the resolution of the Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council of 13 November 1986 on the protection of Europe's architectural heritage,<sup>2</sup> including that outside the territory of the Community,
- B. convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,
- C. whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 1948 UN Charter,
- D. whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,
- E. whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

<sup>1</sup>OJ No. C 216, 16.8.1984, p. 10

<sup>2</sup>OJ No. C 320 of 13.12.1986, p.1

- F. whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,
- G. whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be viewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honour to the Turkish Government;
- H. profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 for several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,
- I. whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,
1. Believes that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;
  2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;
  3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government an acknowledgement of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;
  4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;

5. Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as defined in the European Convention on Human Rights and its five protocols;
6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;
7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Muslim minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;
8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;
9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;
10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;
11. Condemns the violations of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;
12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenian people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;
13. Calls on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;
14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;
15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting, in political cooperation, the EEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General;

DECLARATION MADE BY  
MR BÜLENT ECEVİT (TURKEY) IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE EUROPEAN  
PARLIAMENT

1. The Ottoman Empire was a multinational state. The Turks were the most suppressed and oppressed among the ethnic groups of which that Empire was comprised. The Sultans took care not to identify the Empire with the Turks ; because they did not want their power to be checked by the founding nation of the Empire. The new Turkish Republic was born out of a revolt against that Empire. Consequently, it would be very unrealistic and unfair to hold the Turkish Republic responsible for the deeds or alleged deeds of a defunct state which that Republic itself got rid of.

2. It would also be very unrealistic and unfair to hold the Ottoman Administration responsible for alleged crimes against the Armenians. It is true that various ethnic groups of eastern Anatolia -Armenians, Turks, Kurds alike- were provoked against one another, in the early nineties, by certain outside powers, in order to expedite the end and the partition of that Empire. But the responsibility of the Ottoman Administration has never been proven, although the occupying powers in Istanbul had every opportunity to do so, if it were possible to prove it.

In 1919, Istanbul, the capital city of the crumbling Ottoman Empire, was under British and French occupation. They were in full control. They arrested practically every high Ottoman official and officer whom militant Armenian groups and also some Greek groups held responsible for ordering the massacring of Armenians. They were even encouraged and helped by certain Ottoman politicians who cooperated with the occupying powers in order to get rid of some of their Turkish rivals.

But the British and French authorities in Istanbul were not able to come forth with any convincing proof of the Ottoman Administration's responsibility in the alleged massacres. They also failed to produce any proof against the high officials and officers they had arrested.

Because the French and British authorities realized that their own courts could not sentence the arrestees under the circumstances, they turned the arrestees over to the Ottoman Government headed by Tevfik Pasha. They hoped that an Ottoman court in occupied Istanbul would be more pliant to their demands and expectations for the sentencing of the accused.

Although the Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha had no sympathy for most of the former Ottoman officials and officers who were arrested by the occupying powers, he was an honest man. Therefore, he wanted a fair trial. But, at the same time, he was aware that the occupying powers expected of his Government, and of the Ottoman judiciary, convictions and executions, rather than a fair trial ; and his government or the Ottoman courts were not in a position to effectively resist the pressures coming from the occupying powers.

So, he took a wise and ingenious step. He decided to send messages to the governments of certain neutral European countries, asking each of them to send two trusted judges from their own courts, to participate with full authority, in the investigation into the Armenian claims of "officially organized massacres".

These messages were addressed to the Danish, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish and Swiss Governments.

The message to the Danish Government was contained in a note delivered to the Danish Embassy in Istanbul on 19th February 1919.

The messages to the Spanish and Dutch Governments were delivered through the Turkish Embassies in those countries.

But the cabled messages to the Swedish and Swiss Governments did not reach their destination because they were intercepted at the Post Office in Istanbul by the occupying powers.

In the meantime, the occupying powers asked the three other governments who had received the messages, not to comply with the Ottoman Government's request.

I should add, as a detail, that the Ottoman Government was prepared to meet all the costs, if two judges from each of the five countries concerned were to be sent to Istanbul.

*Original: Luxembourg*

Communiqué de Presse

DECLARATION DU GOUVERNEMENT TURC

La résolution que le Parlement Européen vient d'adopter sur la prétendue question arménienne constitue un texte partial et au contenu raciste. Cette décision soulève d'autant plus notre indignation que la Commission politique s'était formellement déclarée incompétente en cette matière et avait jugé irrecevable le rapport de M. Vandemeulebroucks. Toutefois, contrainte par des manœuvres obscures, la Commission politique est revenue sur cette décision.

Ainsi, le Parlement Européen s'est érigé en tribunal de l'histoire en choisissant l'option de la partialité et de la haine.

Plusieurs groupes politiques ont d'ailleurs pris position contre cette initiative en partant du principe que le Parlement Européen n'est ni un tribunal, ni une académie d'historiens et ont refusé de participer au vote de ce rapport dont le contenu ne rentre en aucune manière dans les limites des compétences du Parlement Européen.

Nous déplorons que cette institution honorable qui prétend au rôle de champion des droits de l'homme à l'échelle mondiale, puisse être amenée par certains militants farouches à se soumettre aux exigences du passionnel et de l'irrationnel, et apporter ainsi de manière tout à fait irresponsable une excuse au terrorisme arménien passé et un soutien à ses malheureuses tentatives futures.

Cette décision qui est le résultat des suffrages d'une infime minorité des membres du Parlement Européen, ne fera que raffermir le jugement des générations turques d'aujourd'hui sur les événements qui se déroulèrent pendant la première guerre mondiale en Anatolie et qui par conséquent appartiennent à l'histoire.

Le Gouvernement turc rejette avec indignation cette

résolution.

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PAGE.003

Press Release - 6/20/87

Declaration from the Turkish Government Responding to the Resolution of  
the European Parliament on the Armenian Question

The resolution that the European Parliament has just adopted concerning the so-called Armenian Question constitutes a biased text of racist content. This decision is so much the more revolting, that the political committee has formally declared itself incompetent regarding this matter, and has judged Mr. Vandemeulebrouckle's report unacceptable. However, compelled by obscure manipulations, the political committee has revised this position.

Thus, the European Parliament has elevated itself in a position to judge history by opting for bias and hate.

Several political groups have taken a position against this initiative by basing themselves on the principle that the European Parliament is neither a courthouse [of history], nor an academy of historians, and have refused to take part in a vote.

Regarding this matter, because this vote is not within the limits of the European Parliament's competence.

We regret that this honorable institution that pretends to be a champion of the cause of human rights in the world, can be brought by certain extremist militants, to capitulate to irrational decisions, thereby providing in a totally irresponsible way an excuse for Armenian terrorism, and support to its future attempts.

This decision, which is the result of the ballots of a tiny minority of European Parliament members, will only strengthen the judgment [conviction] of today's generations of Turks of the WWI events that took place in Anatolia and which therefore belong to history. The Turkish government rejects indignantly this resolution.

Posted State Dept  
P. A. Office

POSTED: 10/16/89

October 17, 1989

Q: What is the Administration's position on S.J. 212, also known as the "Armenian" resolution?

A: THE ADMINISTRATION OPPOSES THE RESOLUTION. WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION IS SENSITIVE TO THE TRAGIC SUFFERING OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE AND THE NEED TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTIMS OF THE PERIOD 1915-1923, WE ARE EQUALLY MINDFUL OF OUR CLOSE RELATIONSHIP AND STRONG FRIENDSHIP WITH TURKEY AND OF THE DIFFERING VIEWS OF HOW THE TERRIBLE EVENTS OF THAT PERIOD SHOULD PROPERLY BE CHARACTERIZED. WE HOPE THE CONGRESS CAN RESPOND TO THE CONCERNS OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN A MANNER THAT DOES NOT GRAVELY OFFEND OUR VITAL ALLY AND FRIEND, THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.

## The question and punishment of the crime of genocide

The integral text of the 24th paragraph of the report to the Sub-Commission on Human Rights

38th session  
Doc. N° E/CN. 4/Sub. 2/1985/6  
2 July 1985

Prepared by Mr. B. Whitaker

24. Toynbee stated that the distinguishing characteristics of the twentieth century in evolving the development of genocide "are that it is committed in cold blood by the deliberate fiat of holders of despotic political power, and that the perpetrators of genocide employ all the resources of present-day technology and organization to make their planned massacres systematic and complete" (11). The Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been the only case of genocide in the twentieth century. Among other examples which can be cited as qualifying are the German massacre of Hereros in 1904 (12), the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915 — 1916 (13), the Ukrainian pogrom of Jews in 1919 (14), the Tutsi massacre of Hutu in Burundi in 1965 and 1972 (15), the Paraguayan massacre of Aché Indians prior to 1974 (16), the Khmer Rouge massacre in Kampuchea between 1975 and 1978 (18), and the contemporary Iranian killings of Baha'is (18). Apartheid is considered separately in paragraphs 43 — 46 below. A number of other cases may be suggested. It could seem pedantic to argue that some terrible mass-killings are legalistically not genocide, but on the other hand it could be counter-productive to devalue genocide through over-diluting its definition.

(11) Arnold Toynbee, *Experiences* (London, Oxford University Press, 1969).

(12) General von Trotha issued an extermination order: water-holes were poisoned; and the African peace emissaries were shot. In all, three quarters of the Herero Africans were killed by the Germans then colonizing present-day Namibia, and the Hereros were reduced from 80,000 to some 15,000 starving refugees. See p. Fraenk, *The Namibians* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1985).

(13) At least 1 million, and possibly well over half of the Armenian population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or death-marched by independent authorities and eyewitnesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States, German and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally Germany. The German Ambassador, Wangenheim, for example, on 7 July 1915 wrote "the government is indeed pursuing its goal of exterminating the Armenian race in the Ottoman Empire" (Wilhelmstrasse archives). Though the successor Turkish Government helped to institute trials of a few of those responsible for the massacres at which they were found guilty, the present official Turkish contention is that genocide did not take place although there were many casualties and dispersals in the fighting, and that all the evidence to the contrary is forged. See, *inter alia*, Viscount Bryce and A. Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915 — 16* (London, HMSO, 1916); G. Chaliand and Y. Ternon, *Genocide des Arméniens* (Brussels, Complexe, 1980); H.

Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, Doubleday, 1918); J. Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien* (Potsdam, 1912; shortly to be published in French by Fayard, Paris); R.G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the road to independence* (Berkeley, University of California, 1967); Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, *A Crime of Silence* (London, Zed Press, 1985); K. Gurun, *Le Dossier arménien* (Ankara, Turkish Historical Society, 1983); B. Simsir and other, *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, Bogazici University Press, 1984); T. Ataov, *A Brief Glance at the "Armenian Question"* (Ankara, University Press, 1984); V. Goekjiam, *The Turks before the Court of History* (New Jersey, Rosekeer Press, 1984); Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, *Armenia, the Continuing Tragedy* (Geneva, World Council of Churches, 1984); Foreign Policy Institute, *The Armenian Issue* (Ankara, F.P.I., 1982).

(14) Between 100,000-250,000 Jews were killed in 2,000 pogroms by Whites, Cossacks and Ukrainian nationalists. See Z. Katz ed., *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities* (New York, Free Press, 1975), p. 362; A. Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (New York, Knopf, 1967).

(15) The Tutsi minority government first liquidated the Hutu leadership in 1965, and then slaughtered between 100,000 and 300,000 Hutu in 1972. See René Lemarchand, *Selective Genocide in Burundi* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1974) and Leo Kuper, *The Pity of it All* (London, Duckworth, 1977).

(16) In 1974 the International League for the Rights of Man together with the Inter-

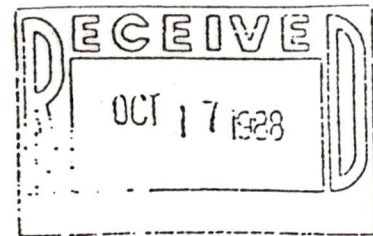
American Association for Democracy and Freedom, charging the Government of Paraguay with complicity in genocide against the Aché (Guayaki Indians), alleged that the latter had been enslaved, tortured and massacred; that food and medicine had been denied them; and their children removed and sold. See Norman Lewis and others in Richard Arens ed., *Genocide in Paraguay* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1976); and R. Arens "The Aché of Paraguay" in J. Porter, *Genocide and Human Rights* (op. cit.).

(17) It is estimated that at least 2 million people were killed by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge government of Democratic Kampuchea, out of a total population of 7 million. Even under the most restricted definition, this constituted genocide, since the victims included target groups such as the Chams (an Islamic minority) and the Buddhist monks. See *Izvestia*, 2 November 1978; F. Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (London, Penguin Books, 1978); W. Shawcross, *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979); V. Can and others, *Kampuchea Dossier: The Dark Years* (Hanoi, Viet Nam Courier, 1979); D. Hawk, *The Cambodia Documentation Commission* (New York, Columbia University, 1983); L. Kuper, *International Action against Genocide* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1984).

(18) See evidence presented to United Nations Human Rights Commission and Sub-Commission, 1981 — 1984, and R. Cooper, *The Baha'is of Iran* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1985).



GEORGE BUSH



October 11, 1988

Mr. Hirair Hovnanian  
1433 Hooper Avenue  
Tom's River, New Jersey 08753

EXHIBIT 44  
(2 pages)

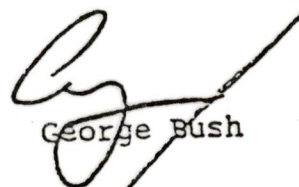
Dear Hirair:

Many thanks for your letter of September 20. We took your good advice and had Andrew Falkiewicz of the campaign staff work very closely with Barry Zorthian to pull together responses to the important questions contained in your letter and the questionnaire from the Armenian Assembly. Those answers are in your hands by now. I believe they make the playing field level and hope that they will be useful to your efforts, for which I give you my continued thanks.

The demands of the campaign are heavy, but I am very optimistic. With the support of wonderful people like you, I feel most confident about the future.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



George Bush

*May thanks.*

Hirair S. Mounanian

One Jerome Avenue  
Deal, New Jersey 07723

October 30, 1989

President George Bush  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to call your attention to the growing controversy in the Armenian-American community - a controversy precipitated by the gap between your statements as Vice President and as a candidate for the Presidency on the issue of Armenian Genocide commemoration and your Administration's conduct in opposition to a commemoration you supported. I urge your immediate attention on this matter so vital to our community.

It was my privilege and pleasure to join Governor Deukmejian, as well as community leaders throughout the country, in support of your run for the Presidency. Whether in the home of our mutual friend Larry Bathgate, or during the banquet to honor Governor Deukmejian in Boston just prior to your announcement to run, or in our exchange of correspondence on your campaign, I was gratified that you were informed about and committed to issues of particular concern to Armenian-Americans. Your statements on these issues revealed principles of leadership and integrity worthy of support. Your position on the need to commemorate the Armenian Genocide specifically demonstrated your conviction that there was an absolute need to remember past acts of man's inhumanity to man regardless of contemporary political consequences.

In this context, I am angered and alarmed by the conduct of your Administration in opposition to S.J. Res. 212, the Armenian Genocide resolution passed recently by the Senate Judiciary Committee over the objections of General Scowcroft, Ambassador Abramowitz and other officials at the State Department. I urge that you take action to resolve this gap between your conviction and the conduct of officials in your service. As you can imagine, it is impossible for your

supporters within the community to explain how this could happen in your Administration. The cynics within and without our community are already characterizing your views on the need to remember as just another campaign promise. I know this is not the case.

Mr. President, you are thoroughly versed on this tragic subject. The Armenian Genocide is the core experience of every Armenian alive today. We seek from our country only affirmation of this first genocide of the twentieth century. We do not seek from our country recrimination against the government who committed the crime or the successor government that risks so much to deny the undeniable.

In another capacity as Chairman of the Armenian Assembly of America, Board of Trustees, I am aware of all of the political forces set in motion prior to and following Judiciary Committee passage of S.J. Res. 212. I am aware of Turkey's deep involvement and the growing resentment in Congress to Turkey's methods of expressing her dissatisfaction. I am also aware of Israel's public embarrassment over having lobbied against the resolution and subsequently directing the embassy to desist in the future. Given our discussions on this subject, I know that you understand that my community must persevere. We do so in the spirit of your words that "The Bush Administration will never allow political pressures to prevent our denunciation of crimes against humanity."

Mr. President, the resolution before Congress is a simple commemorative action that affirms the U.S. record - nothing more. This appropriate and modest remedy is being championed by the able Minority Leader, Senator Dole and supported by a majority of his colleagues. Please take prompt action to solve this unnecessary dilemma for your Administration and my community.

Very truly yours,



Hirair Hovnanian

**ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA**



**Congressional Report Card**

**100th Congress**

**(1987-1988)**

and

**Presidential Candidate**

**Questionnaire**

## Introduction

The Congressional Report Card has been compiled by the Armenian Assembly of America to inform the Armenian community of actions taken by their elected officials on key issues in 1987 and 1988.

In addition to the report card, the Assembly is pleased to offer the results of a presidential candidate questionnaire. The Assembly asked both Vice President George Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis to answer six questions on topics of interest to the Armenian-American community. The questions and the candidate's answers are published here for your perusal.

The actions selected for the report card include roll-call votes on legislation as well as special speeches and letters in support of issues important to Armenian-Americans.

The report card and presidential candidate questionnaire are not an endorsement or a condemnation of any member of Congress or presidential candidate. Rather, they are an attempt to inform the Armenian public on issues of community concern.

The format of the report card lists members of Congress in two sections — U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate. The selected House and Senate actions are described separately and identified by number. Thirteen House actions and six Senate actions were selected.

A final tally of a legislator's actions includes a listing of the number of "Right" actions and the number of "Wrong" actions. In some cases, only a limited number of legislators were involved in certain actions. A legislator's failure to act in such cases was not interpreted as a "Wrong" action.

The Armenian Assembly of America is a national, non-profit organization founded in 1972. The Assembly, based in Washington, D.C., represents the views of the Armenian-American community to the federal government. The Assembly seeks to promote the welfare and interests of Armenian-Americans and to encourage greater community participation in government at the local, state and national levels.

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# PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

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- 1.** *Do you favor a congressional resolution that would designate a National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923? Would you sign such a resolution if it was passed by the Congress and even in the face of strong opposition and threats from the Republic of Turkey?*

## **Vice President George Bush**

The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testimony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own representatives at the time, if we are to insure that such horrors are not repeated. The American people, our government, and certainly the Bush Administration will never allow political pressures to prevent our denunciation of crimes against humanity, and I would join Congress in commemorating the victims of that period. I recognize that the events of 1915 were not the responsibility of the present Republic of Turkey, and I am aware that the Republic of Turkey opposes the characterization of that period as genocide. As President, I will urge the leaders of Turkey to enter into a dialogue with representatives of the worldwide Armenian community in order to resolve their differences, just as I will support the continuation of military and economic assistance to Turkey within the framework of NATO.

## **Governor Michael Dukakis**

For many years, I have personally participated in and led commemorations of the Armenian Genocide. Unless we forcefully condemn such outrages and constantly remember the mistakes of the past, we risk a recurrence of these horrors. As President, I would steadfastly resist all efforts, from any sources, to rewrite or deny history, and along with the Secretary of State whom I select, would support a congressional resolution to designate a National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923.

- 2.** *According to Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and other human rights/minority rights organizations, the Republic of Turkey still has a long way to go to improving its treatment of Armenians, Kurds, and other ethnic minorities. How would you approach urging Turkey to improve its human rights/minority rights record? What role should the questions of human rights/minority rights play in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy?*

## **Vice President George Bush**

The issues of human and minority rights are fundamental to our view of the world. We are true to our beliefs, and the national interest of the United States is best served, when we defend and promote freedom and the rights of man throughout the world. Bilateral and multilateral agreements must be observed by all nations, and I will use the power of the Presidency to address violations whenever and wherever they occur.

## **Governor Michael Dukakis**

As President, I will be alert and responsive to human rights violations suffered by Armenians and other minorities in Turkey. These violations cannot, and must not, be ignored or compromised for reasons of political expediency. In fact, because there is no sovereign Armenian state to speak out for or defend Armenian rights or interests, it becomes even more crucial that governments such as ours be particularly alert to violations of Armenian rights. That means the State Department must actively raise the human rights violations in frank, open dialogue with the Republic of Turkey.

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- 3.** *The United States has long been a staunch supporter of the Helsinki Accords and other human rights agreements. In the context of these accords, what would be your position on the request of the Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to reunite with their kinsmen in the adjacent Armenian Republic?*

**Vice President George Bush**

The Armenian citizens of the USSR have captured the attention of the entire world. They are in the forefront of a peaceful and constitutional people's movement to define Mr. Gorbachev's claimed readiness to give some recognition to national and individual rights of the people of the USSR. I welcome the improved relations with the USSR, secured by the peace through strength policies of the Reagan/Bush Administration, but I have made it clear that real progress continues to rest on such issues as concrete evidence of real Soviet recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

There is no question that the Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh have been the victims of social and economic discrimination. Their determination to achieve freedom and justice, and their unwavering commitment to peaceful protest caught the attention of those in the Soviet Union and across the world. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians have joined together with their brothers and sisters in Nagorno-Karabakh in calling upon the Soviet authorities to right the historical wrongs against the Armenian people.

We have all been moved by the peaceful struggle of Soviet Armenians to regain their cultural and political rights. I call on the Soviet leadership to respect those rights, as they are set forth in the Soviet Constitution. The Soviet government should take immediate steps to guarantee all Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh their fundamental right to education, to religious freedom, and to cultural expression. When Armenians suffer outrageous acts of violence, as in the Sumgait massacres, the Soviet government should punish the perpetrators quickly with sentences appropriate to the horror of the crime. It should immediately halt any attempt to move by force individuals in or out of Nagorno-Karabakh. It should ensure the people of Nagorno-Karabakh the right to communicate freely with the rest of the world, and allow freedom of the press and access by human rights organizations. Above all, it should grant Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh the right to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed political rights.

As President, I will not hesitate to speak out against human rights violations suffered by Armenians and all minorities in the Soviet Union. I will recognize that the rights of Armenians and the discrimination they face as an ethnic minority cannot be separated from global issues of human rights and human suffering. Lasting progress in relations between our two countries must be coupled with meaningful and substantial progress on human rights. As President, I will make sure General Secretary Gorbachev understands this fundamental principle as I work to assure the rights and well-being of Armenians in the Soviet Union and around the world.

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- 4.** *Construction of a national Holocaust Memorial Museum in the nation's capital is now underway. The main focus of the museum will be to remind mankind of the horrors of the Holocaust and to ensure that we learn from that tragedy. The members of the Holocaust Memorial Council have also resolved that the story of the Armenian Genocide will be included in the museum. Do you support the decision of the Holocaust Council to include the Armenian Genocide?*

**Vice President George Bush**

Yes.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

Yes, it is important that the Holocaust Museum include information and exhibits on the Armenian Genocide.

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**5.** *Would you support Senate ratification of an international torture convention?*

**Vice President George Bush**

Yes.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

Nothing justifies the theft of human dignity. Nothing. Not left-wing or right-wing politics; not personal or economic or religious differences. There is no excuse for murder or kidnapping or disappearances. And there is no rationale for torture.

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**6.** *Armenians from the Middle East and the Soviet Union are seeking the opportunity to resettle in the United States. How would your policy differ from the current administration on this question?*

**Vice President George Bush**

The United States must maintain its commitment to be as generous as resources permit to those seeking freedom and opportunity in America. We must also support those states that accept "first asylum" refugees in recognition of the crucial role they play in saving lives.

The right to emigrate should be absolute. The right to enter the United States is governed by laws I fully support, and I endorse the current application of these laws by the Administration. At the same time, I would also favor special provisions for applications and admissions of immigrants from the USSR where the normal flow of emigration has been severely restricted in violation of even basic humane considerations.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

It is vital that the next President understand the desperate poverty of many nations that offer "first asylum" to refugees from the Middle East and other parts of the world. These countries, which include Thailand, Pakistan and the Sudan, play a crucial role in caring for and supporting those fleeing war, hunger and persecution.

My family is personally involved in refugee relief; my wife Kitty has traveled to Thailand twice to assist in the reunification of Cambodian families. She serves on the board of the Washington-based Refugee Policy Group and on the Board of Directors of Refugee International. Refugee assistance is a world problem—first asylum countries need and deserve assistance in providing care and support for refugees; and refugees need our help in ending the civil wars and famine that drive them from their homes.

The Governor has not yet developed a position on the emigration of Armenians from the Soviet Union.

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# HIGHLIGHTS

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## High Scorers

(Highest Number of "Right" Actions)

### HOUSE

Coelho (D-CA) .....	8
Pashayan (R-CA) .....	8
Morrison (D-CT) .....	8
Bonior (D-MI) .....	8
Lehman (D-CA) .....	7
Moorhead (R-CA) .....	7
Martinez (D-CA) .....	7
Moakley (D-MA) .....	7
Ford (D-MI) .....	7
Torricelli (D-NJ) .....	7
Boxer (D-CA) .....	6
Torres (D-CA) .....	6
Hoyer (D-MD) .....	6
Levin (D-MI) .....	6

Green (R-NY) .....	6
Matsui (D-CA) .....	5
Berman (D-CA) .....	5
Dornan (R-CA) .....	5
Johnson (R-CT) .....	5
Gingrich (R-GA) .....	5
Lipinski (D-IL) .....	5
Annunzio (D-IL) .....	5
Boland (D-MA) .....	5
Frank (D-MA) .....	5
Atkins (D-MA) .....	5
Kennedy (D-MA) .....	5
Broomfield (R-MI) .....	5
Roukema (R-NJ) .....	5
Gallo (R-NJ) .....	5
Manton (D-NY) .....	5

Schumer (D-NY) .....	5
Hall (D-OH) .....	5
Feighan (D-OH) .....	5
Bryant (D-TX) .....	5
Bliley (R-VA) .....	5

### SENATE

Simon (D-IL) .....	5
Kennedy (D-MA) .....	4
Riegle (D-MI) .....	4
Levin (D-MI) .....	4
Wilson (R-CA) .....	3
Sarbanes (D-MD) .....	3
Metzenbaum (D-OH) .....	3
Pell (D-RI) .....	3
Pressler (R-SD) .....	3

## Low Scorers

(Highest Number of "Wrong" Actions)

### HOUSE

Lott (R-MS) .....	4
Taylor (R-MO) .....	4
Horton (R-NY) .....	4
Dickinson (R-AL) .....	3
Bosco (D-CA) .....	3
Burton (R-IN) .....	3
Bereuter (D-NE) .....	3
Solarz (D-NY) .....	3
Murtha (D-PA) .....	3

Quillen (R-TN) .....	3
Rahall (D-WV) .....	3
Moody (D-WI) .....	3

### SENATE

Not enough data was available to compile a list of Senators that opposed issues of importance to the Armenian community.

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# HOUSE VOTES

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## **1** Day of Remembrance Resolution (H. J. Res. 132)

Shortly after the 100th Congress convened, Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA) introduced a joint resolution to designate April 24, 1987 as a national day to remember the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923. The 163 members listed are those who signed on as official cosponsors of H.J. Res. 132, either on February 4, 1987, the day it was introduced, or in the subsequent weeks.

## **2** Day of Remembrance II

On April 22, 1987, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee approved H.J. Res. 132. During an hour of debate, several committee members voiced their views on the resolution. Chairman William Ford (D-MI), Rep. Chip Pashayan (R-CA), and Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-CA) spoke out strongly in support of the resolution. Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY) and Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) were the most vocal opponents to the resolution. The vote was 14 to 4 in favor of H.J. Res. 132. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted for the resolution, and "-" reflects a vote cast to reject the resolution.

## **3** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1987

On April 23, 1987, members of the House paid tribute to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century. Legislators listed are those who participated in the tribute.

## **4** Day of Remembrance III

On August 3, 1987, the House Rules Committee met to vote on whether to send H.J. 132 to the House floor for consideration. Two votes occurred in the committee. The first vote, based on an amendment from Rep. John H. Quillen (R-TN), would have sent the bill to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This vote was viewed as a delay tactic and was supported by opponents to the resolution. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted against the amendment, and "-" reflects a vote cast in support of the amendment.

## **5** Day of Remembrance IV

The second vote cast in the House Rules Committee on August 3, 1987 dealt directly with sending the resolution to the House floor. Four members of the House testified before the committee on the bill. Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA) and Rep. William Ford (D-MI) voiced strong support for the resolution and Rep. Frank Horton (R-NY) and Rep. Marvin Leath (D-TX) presented opposing views to the resolution. The committee members voted by voice, and it was overwhelmingly approved, with no dissenting voices raised.

## **6** Day of Remembrance V

On August 7, 1987, the House of Representatives took up consideration of H.J. Res. 132. Before voting directly on the resolution, the House rules required a vote on a rule that limited debate on the resolution to two hours. The vote on the rule failed to pass by a majority, blocking further action on the resolution. Taking a closer look at the 189-201 vote on the rule, it is interesting to note that 18 cosponsors of the resolution voted "no" and 42 House members did not vote, 12 of whom were cosponsors. A "+" reflects a legislator who voted in support of the rule, and "-" reflects a vote cast against the rule.

## **7** Day of Remembrance VI

During debate on the rule governing H.J. Res. 132, several House members made supporting and opposing statements. Members who made statements on both sides of the issue are listed.

## **8** Day of Remembrance VII

In the final days before the House vote, the leading proponents and opponents of the Armenian Genocide resolution participated in letter-writing campaigns to their colleagues. A "+" reflects a House member who signed a letter in support of the resolution, and "-" reflects a member who signed a letter opposing the resolution.

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# HOUSE VOTES

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## **9** Genocide Convention Implementation

On March 23, 1988, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law voted 10-0 to approve a bill that would make genocide a crime under U.S. law. The bill, H.R. 807, was introduced by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ). A "+" reflects a subcommittee member who voted for the bill.

## **10** Genocide Convention Implementation II

On March 31, 1988, the House Judiciary Committee voted unanimously by a voice vote to approve H.R. 807, the Genocide Convention Implementation bill. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted to approve the bill.

## **11** Congressional Support for Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

In February and March, 1988, Armenians in the Soviet Union staged large demonstrations calling on the Soviet government to permit Nagorno-Karabakh, a

predominantly Armenian populated region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to be transferred to the control of the Republic of Soviet Armenia. Several members of the House voiced concern for a peaceful and fair resolution to the Armenians' request, through speeches on the House floor, in letters to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and through other means. Members who participated in this activity are listed.

## **12** Genocide Convention Implementation III

On April 25, the House voted overwhelmingly to approve H.R. 807 by a voice vote. One member, Rep. Hamilton Fish (R-NY), mentioned the Armenian Genocide in his remarks on the House floor.

## **13** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1988

On April 28, 1988, members of the House marked the 73rd Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and called on Turkey to acknowledge the actions of its predecessor government, the Ottoman Turkish government. Legislators who made statements are listed.

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# HOUSE VOTING RECORD

## KEY SYMBOLS

- + "Right" action, supporting Assembly position.
- "Wrong" action, contrary to Assembly position.
- ? Not voting.
- P Voted present.
- R Total "Right" actions, supporting Assembly position.
- W Total "Wrong" actions, contrary to Assembly position.

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>ALABAMA</b>															
1 Callahan (R)						?							- +	1	-
2 Dickinson (R)							- - -						+	1	3
3 Nichols (D)													+	1	1
4 Beville (D)													+	1	1
5 Flippo (D)						?							+	1	-
6 Erdreich (D)													+	1	1
7 Harris (D)														0	1
<b>ALASKA</b>															
1 Young (R)		+	+			+							+	4	0
<b>ARIZONA</b>															
1 Rhodes (R)		+					-						+	2	1
2 Udall (D)			+				?						+	2	-
3 Stump (R)													+	1	1
4 Kyl (R)													+	1	1
5 Kolbe (R)													+	1	1
<b>ARKANSAS</b>															
1 Alexander (D)							?						+	1	-
2 Robinson (D)			+										+	2	1
3 Hammerschmidt (R)													+	1	1
4 Anthony (D)			+										+	2	1
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>															
1 Bosco (D)							- - -						+	1	3
2 Herger (R)													+	1	1
3 Matsui (D)		+	+				+	+					+	5	0
4 Fazio (D)		+	+				+						+	4	0
5 Pelosi (D)		+					+	+					+	4	0
6 Boxer (D)		+	+				+	+	+				+	6	0
7 Miller (D)		+					+						+	3	0
8 Dellums (D)		+					+						+	3	0
9 Stark (D)							+						+	2	0
10 Edwards (D)							+			+			+	3	0
11 Lantos (D)										+	+		+	2	1
12 Konnyu (R)		+					+						+	3	0
13 Mineta (D)		+					+						+	4	0
14 Shumway (R)													+	1	1
15 Coelho (D)		+	+				+	+	+				+	8	0
16 Panetta (D)		+					+						+	3	0
17 Pashayan (R)		+	+				+	+					+	8	0
18 Lehman (D)		+	+				+	+	+				+	7	0
19 Lagomarsino (R)							- -						+	1	2
20 Thomas (R)		+					+						+	3	0
21 Gallegly (R)		+	+				+						+	4	0
22 Moorhead (R)		+					+	+	+	+			+	7	0
23 Beilenson (D)		+		+	+		?						+	4	-
24 Waxman (D)		+					+	+					+	4	0
25 Roybal (D)		+	+				+						+	4	0
26 Berman (D)		+					+		+	+			+	5	0
27 Levine (D)		+					+	+					+	4	0
28 Dixon (D)		+					+						+	3	0
29 Hawkins (D)		+					+						+	3	0
30 Martinez (D)		+	+				+	+	+				+	7	0
31 Dymally (D)		+	+				+	+					+	5	0
32 Anderson (D)		+					+						+	3	0
33 Dreier (R)		+					+						+	3	0
34 Torres (D)		+	+				+	+					+	6	0

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W				
<b>CALIFORNIA (Continued)</b>																			
35 Lewis (R)														+	2	0			
36 Brown (D)									+					+	3	0			
37 McCandless (R)														+	1	1			
38 Dornan (R)									+	+				+	5	0			
39 Dannemeyer (R)									+					+	3	0			
40 Badham (R)									?					+	1	-			
41 Lowery (R)														+	1	1			
42 Lungren (R)									+	+				+	4	0			
43 Packard (R)									+					+	3	0			
44 Bates (D)									+				+	+	4	0			
45 Hunter (R)									+					+	3	0			
<b>COLORADO</b>																			
1 Schroeder (D)													?	+	+	2	-		
2 Skaggs (D)														+	+	2	0		
3 Campbell (D)														?	+	1	-		
4 Brown (R)														+	+	2	1		
5 Hefley (R)														-	+	1	1		
5 Schaefer (R)														-	+	1	1		
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>																			
1 Kennelly (D)														+	+	3	0		
2 Gejdenson (D)														+	+	3	0		
3 Morrison (D)														+	+	8	0		
4 Shays (R)														?	+	1	-		
4 Rowland (R)														+	+	2	1		
5 Johnson (R)														+	+	5	0		
<b>DELAWARE</b>																			
1 Carper (D)														-	+	1	1		
<b>FLORIDA</b>																			
1 Hutto (D)														-	+	1	1		
2 Grant (D)														+	+	2	0		
3 Bennett (D)														-	+	1	1		
4 Chappell (D)														-	+	1	1		
5 McCollum (R)														+	-	+	+	4	1
6 MacKay (D)														-	+	1	1		
7 Gibbons (D)														-	+	1	1		
8 Young (R)														-	+	1	1		
9 Bilirakis (R)														+	+	3	0		
10 Ireland (D)														-	+	1	1		
11 Nelson (D)														+	+	2	0		
12 Lewis (R)														-	+	1	1		
13 Mack (R)														-	+	1	1		
14 Mica (D)														-	+	1	1		
15 Shaw (R)														-	+	2	1		
16 Smith (D)														+	+	3	0		
17 Lehman (D)														?	+	1	-		
18 Pepper (D)														+	+	+	4	0	
19 Fascell (D)														+	+	+	3	0	
<b>GEORGIA</b>																			
1 Thomas (D)														-	+	1	1		
2 Hatcher (D)														?	+	1	-		
3 Ray (D)														-	+	1	1		
4 Swindall (R)														+	+	+	4	0	
5 Lewis (D)														+	+	+	3	0	
6 Gingrich (R)														+	+	+	+	5	0



State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>MISSISSIPPI (Continued)</b>															
4 Dowdy (D)						?							+	1	-
5 Lott (R)				-	-	-	-						+	1	4
<b>MISSOURI</b>															
1 Clay (D)	+	+	+			+							+	4	0
2 Buechner (R)													+	2	1
3 Gephardt (D)	+					?							+	2	-
4 Skelton (D)													+	1	1
5 Wheat (D)				+	+	+							+	4	0
6 Coleman (R)													+	1	1
7 Taylor (R)				-	-	-	-						+	1	4
8 Emerson (R)													+	1	1
9 Volkmer (D)													+	1	1
<b>MONTANA</b>															
1 Williams (D)	+					+							+	3	0
2 Marlenee (R)							-	-					+	1	2
<b>NEBRASKA</b>															
1 Bereuter (D)							-	-	-				+	1	3
2 Daub (R)													+	1	1
3 Smith (R)													+	1	-
<b>NEVADA</b>															
1 Bilbray (D)	+					+							+	3	0
2 Vucanovich (R)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>															
1 Smith (R)						+							+	2	0
2 Gregg (R)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>															
1 Florio (D)	+					?	+						+	3	-
2 Hughes (D)	+					+							+	4	0
3 Howard (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
4 Smith (R)	+					+							+	3	0
5 Roukema (R)			+			+	+	+					+	5	0
6 Dwyer (D)													+	1	1
7 Rinaldo (R)	+					+							+	3	0
8 Roe (D)	+					+							+	3	0
9 Torricelli (D)	+	+				+	+	+					+	7	0
10 Rodino (D)	+					+							+	4	0
11 Gallo (R)	+					+	+						+	5	0
12 Courter (R)	+					+							+	3	0
13 Saxton (R)	+					+							+	3	0
14 Guarini (D)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>															
1 Lujan (R)						+							+	2	0
2 Skeen (R)													+	1	1
3 Richardson (D)						+							+	2	0
<b>NEW YORK</b>															
1 Hochbrueckner (D)						+							+	4	0
2 Downey (D)			+			+	+						+	4	0
3 Mrazek (D)						+							+	2	0
4 Lent (R)	+												+	2	1
5 McGrath (R)	+	+				?							+	3	-
6 Flake (D)	+												+	2	1
7 Ackerman (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
8 Scheuer (D)	+												+	3	1
9 Manton (D)	+	+				+							+	5	0
10 Schumer (D)	+					+			+	+			+	5	0
11 Towns (D)	+							?					+	2	-
12 Owens (D)	+					+							+	3	0
13 Solarz (D)													+	1	3
14 Molinari (R)													+	1	1
15 Green (R)	+	+				+	+	+					+	6	0
16 Rangel (D)													+	1	1
17 Weiss (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
18 Garcia (D)	+	-											+	2	2

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>NEW YORK (Continued)</b>															
19 Biaggi (D)	+						+	+					+	4	0
20 DioGuardi (R)													+	1	1
21 Fish (R)	+								+	+			+	4	1
22 Gilman (D)		+					+					+	+	4	0
23 Stratton (D)							+	+					+	4	0
24 Soloman (R)							+						+	2	0
25 Boehlert (R)													+	1	1
26 Martin (R)	+						+						+	3	0
27 Wortley (R)	+						+						+	3	0
28 McHugh (D)	+	+					+						+	4	0
29 Horton (R)							-						+	1	4
30 Slaughter (D)													+	1	1
31 Kemp (R)	+						?						+	2	-
32 LaFalce (D)													+	1	1
33 Nowak (D)													+	2	0
34 Houghton (R)													+	1	1
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>															
1 Jones (D)								?					+	1	-
2 Valentine (D)								-					+	1	2
3 Lancaster (D)	+												+	2	1
4 Price (D)													+	1	1
5 Neal (D)													+	1	1
6 Coble (R)												+	+	2	1
7 Rose (D)								+					+	2	0
8 Hefner (D)													+	1	1
9 McMillan (R)													+	1	1
10 Ballenger (R)													+	1	1
11 Clarke (D)													+	1	1
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>															
1 Dorgan (D)													+	1	1
<b>OHIO</b>															
1 Luken (D)								?					+	1	-
2 Gradison (R)													+	1	1
3 Hall (D)	+						+	+	+				+	5	0
4 Oxley (R)													+	1	2
5 Latta (R)								-	-	?			+	1	2
6 McEwen (R)													+	1	2
7 DeWine (R)													+	2	1
8 Lukens (R)	+							?					+	2	-
9 Kaptur (D)	+							+					+	3	0
10 Miller (R)													+	1	1
11 Eckart (D)	+							+					+	3	0
12 Kasich (R)								-					+	1	2
13 Pease (D)													+	1	-1
14 Sawyer (D)													+	1	1
15 Wylie (R)													+	1	1
16 Regula (R)													+	1	1
17 Traficant (D)	+							+					+	3	0
18 Applegate (D)													+	2	0
19 Feighan (D)	+	+						+	+				+	5	0
20 Oaker (D)			+					+					+	3	0
21 Stokes (D)	+							+					+	3	0
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>															
1 Inhofe (R)								-					+	1	2
2 Synar (D)								+					+	3	0
3 Watkins (D)								+					+	2	0
4 McCurdy (D)										-			+	1	2
5 Edwards (R)													+	1	1
6 English (D)													+	1	1
<b>OREGON</b>															
1 AuCoin (D)													+	1	1
2 Smith, R. (R)													+	1	1
3 Wyden (D)	+							+					+	3	0
4 DeFazio (D)	+							+					+	3	0
5 Smith, D. (R)													+	1	1

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>															
1 Foglietta (D)					-								+	1	1
2 Gray (D)					?								+	1	-
3 Borski (D)	+				+								+	3	0
4 Kolter (D)					-								+	1	1
5 Schulze (R)					-								+	1	1
6 Yatron (D)	+	+			+								+	4	0
7 Weldon (R)	+				+								+	3	0
8 Kostmayer (D)					-								+	1	1
9 Shuster (R)					-								+	1	1
10 McDade (R)	+				-								+	2	1
11 Kanjorski (D)					-								+	1	1
12 Murtha (D)					-	-	-						+	1	3
13 Coughlin (R)					-								+	1	1
14 Coyne (D)					-								+	1	1
15 Ritter (R)					+								+	2	0
16 Walker (R)					-								+	1	1
17 Gekas (R)	+				+				+				+	4	0
18 Walgren (D)	+				+								+	3	0
19 Goodling (R)					-								+	1	1
20 Gaydos (D)					?								+	1	-
21 Ridge (R)					-								+	1	1
22 Murphy (D)					-								+	1	1
23 Clinger (R)					-								+	1	1
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>															
1 St Germain (D)	+				+								+	3	0
2 Schneider (R)	+				+	+							+	4	0
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>															
1 Ravenel (R)					-								+	1	1
2 Spence (R)					+								+	2	0
3 Derrick (D)					+	+	+						+	4	0
4 Patterson (D)					-								+	1	1
5 Spratt (D)					-								+	1	1
6 Tallon (D)					-								+	1	1
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>															
1 Johnson (D)					-								+	1	1
<b>TENNESSEE</b>															
1 Quillen (R)					-	-	-						+	1	3
2 Duncan (R)					-								+	1	1
3 Lloyd (D)					?								+	1	-
4 Cooper (D)					-								+	1	1
5 Boner (D)					?								+	1	-
6 Gordon (D)					+	+	+						+	4	0
7 Sundquist (R)					-								+	1	1
8 Jones (D)					+								+	2	0
9 Ford (D)					?								+	1	-
<b>TEXAS</b>															
1 Chapman (D)					-								+	1	1
2 Wilson (D)					-								+	1	1
3 Bartlett (R)					-								+	1	1
4 Hall (D)					+								+	2	0
5 Bryant (D)	+				+				+	+			+	5	0
6 Barton (R)					-								+	1	1
7 Archer (R)					-								+	1	1
8 Fields (R)					-								+	1	1
9 Brooks (D)					-								+	1	1
10 Pickle (D)					-								+	1	1
11 Leath (D)					-	-							+	1	2
12 Wright (D)					?								+	1	-

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>TEXAS (Continued)</b>															
13 Boulter (R)													+	1	1
14 Sweeney (R)													+	1	1
15 de la Garza (D)													+	1	1
16 Coleman (D)													+	2	0
17 Stenholm (D)													+	1	1
18 Leland (D)	+	+											+	4	0
19 Combest (R)													+	1	1
20 Gonzalez (D)	+												+	3	0
21 Smith (R)													+	2	1
22 DeLay (R)													+	1	1
23 Bustamante (D)													+	1	1
24 Frost (D)	+				-	-	?						+	2	2
25 Andrews (D)	+												+	4	0
26 Armev (R)													+	1	1
27 Ortiz (D)													+	1	2
<b>UTAH</b>															
1 Hansen (R)													+	1	2
2 Owens (D)													+	2	0
3 Nielson (R)	+												+	2	1
<b>VERMONT</b>															
1 Jeffords (R)	+												+	3	0
<b>VIRGINIA</b>															
1 Bateman (R)													+	1	2
2 Pickett (D)													+	1	1
3 Bliley (R)	+												+	5	0
4 Sisisky (D)													+	1	1
5 Daniel (D)													+	1	-
6 Olin (D)													+	1	1
7 Slaughter (R)													+	3	1
8 Parris (R)													+	1	-
9 Boucher (D)													+	1	1
10 Wolf (R)													+	2	0
<b>WASHINGTON</b>															
1 Miller (R)													+	1	1
2 Swift (D)													+	2	0
3 Bonker (D)													+	1	1
4 Morrison (R)													+	1	1
5 Foley (D)													+	1	-
6 Dicks (D)													+	1	1
7 Lowry (D)													+	2	0
8 Chandler (R)													+	1	1
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>															
1 Mollohan (D)													+	1	1
2 Staggers (D)													+	3	0
3 Wise (D)													+	1	2
4 Rahall (D)													+	1	3
<b>WISCONSIN</b>															
1 Aspin (D)	+												+	3	-
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+												+	4	0
3 Gunderson (R)													+	1	1
4 Kleczka (D)													+	2	0
5 Moody (D)													+	2	3
6 Petri (R)													+	1	1
7 Obey (D)													+	2	0
8 Roth (R)													+	2	0
9 Sensenbrenner (R)													+	2	1
<b>WYOMING</b>															
1 Cheney (R)													+	1	1

# SENATE VOTES

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## **1** Day of Remembrance Resolution

On February 4, 1987, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) introduced a resolution to designate April 24, 1987 as a national day to remember the Armenian Genocide. The members listed are those who signed on as official cosponsors of S.J. Res. 43, either on February 4, 1987, the day it was introduced, or in the subsequent weeks. Two Senators — Carl Levin (D-MI) and Pete Wilson (R-CA) — also played a role in House debate on the resolution, signing a letter sent to all House members urging them to support the resolution.

## **2** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1987

During the week of April 24, members of the Senate paid tribute to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century. Senators who made statements are listed.

## **3** Genocide Convention Implementation

On April 14, 1988, the Senate Judiciary Committee voted to approve legislation that would make genocide a crime under U.S. law. The vote was approved overwhelmingly by a voice vote in the committee. The Senators who cast a vote of approval are listed.

## **4** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1988

During the week of April 24, members of the Senate marked the 73rd Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and criticized Turkey for denying that the massacres by the Ottoman government ever occurred. Senators who made statements are listed.

## **5** Congressional Support for Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

In February and March, 1988, Armenians in the Soviet Union staged large demonstrations calling on the Soviet government to permit Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian populated region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to be transferred to the control of the Republic of Soviet Armenia. Several members of the Senate voiced concern for a peaceful and fair resolution to the Armenians' request, through speeches on the Senate floor, in letters to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and through other means. Members who participated in this activity are listed.

## **6** Resolution on Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

On July 27, 1988, the U.S. Senate overwhelmingly approved a resolution that called on the Soviet Union to preserve and protect the human rights of the Armenian people. The 200-word resolution urged the Soviet government to respect the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people, who since February had been seeking to reunite the region of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) was the author of the resolution. Other senators who joined McCain as cosponsors of the resolution and who gave speeches in support of it were Ernest Hollings (D-SC), Warren Rudman (R-NH), Pete Wilson (R-CA), John Chafee (R-RI), and Robert Dole (R-KS).

# SENATE VOTING RECORD

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>ALABAMA</b>								
Heflin (D)			+			+	2	0
Shelby (D)						+	1	0
<b>ALASKA</b>								
Stevens (R)						+	1	0
Murkowski (R)						+	1	0
<b>ARIZONA</b>								
DeConcini (D)			+			+	2	0
McCain (R)						+	1	0
<b>ARKANSAS</b>								
Bumpers (D)						+	1	0
Pryor (D)						+	1	0
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>								
Cranston (D)	+					+	2	0
Wilson (R)	+				+	+	3	0
<b>COLORADO</b>								
Armstrong (R)						+	1	0
Wirth (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>								
Weicker (R)	+					+	2	0
Dodd (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>DELAWARE</b>								
Roth (R)	+					+	2	0
Biden (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>FLORIDA</b>								
Chiles (D)						+	1	0
Graham (D)						+	1	0
<b>GEORGIA</b>								
Nunn (D)						+	1	0
Fowler (D)						+	1	0
<b>HAWAII</b>								
Inouye (D)						+	1	0
Matsunaga (D)						+	1	0
<b>IDAHO</b>								
McClure (R)						+	1	0
Symms (R)						+	1	0
<b>ILLINOIS</b>								
Dixon (D)	+					+	2	0
Simon (D)	+	+	+	+		+	5	0
<b>INDIANA</b>								
Lugar (R)						+	1	0
Quayle (R)						+	1	0
<b>IOWA</b>								
Grassley (R)			+			+	2	0
Harkin (D)						+	1	0
<b>KANSAS</b>								
Dole (R)					+	+	2	0
Kassebaum (R)						+	1	0
<b>KENTUCKY</b>								
Ford (D)						+	1	0
McConnell (R)						+	1	0

## KEY SYMBOLS

- + "Right" action, supporting Assembly position.
- "Wrong" action, contrary to Assembly position.
- ? Not voting.
- P Voted present.
- R Total "Right" actions, supporting Assembly position.
- W Total "Wrong" actions, contrary to Assembly position.

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>LOUISIANA</b>								
Johnston (D)						+	1	0
Breaux (D)						+	1	0
<b>MAINE</b>								
Cohen (R)						+	1	0
Mitchell (D)						+	1	0
<b>MARYLAND</b>								
Sarbanes (D)	+				+	+	3	0
Mikulski (D)						+	1	0
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>								
Kennedy (D)	+		+		+	+	4	0
Kerry (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>MICHIGAN</b>								
Riegle (D)	+			+	+	+	4	0
Levin (D)	+			+	+	+	4	0
<b>MINNESOTA</b>								
Durenberger (R)						+	1	0
Boschwitz (R)						+	1	0
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>								
Stennis (D)						+	1	0
Cochran (R)						+	1	0
<b>MISSOURI</b>								
Danforth (R)						+	1	0
Bond (D)						+	1	0
<b>MONTANA</b>								
Baucus (D)						+	1	0
Melcher (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEBRASKA</b>								
Zorinsky (D)						+	1	0
Exon (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEVADA</b>								
Hecht (R)	+					+	2	0
Reid (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>								
Humphrey (R)			+			+	2	0
Rudman (R)						+	1	0
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>								
Bradley (D)	+					+	2	0
Lautenberg (D)	+					+	2	0
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>								
Domenici (R)						+	1	0
Bingaman (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEW YORK</b>								
Moynihan (D)	+					+	2	0
D'Amato (R)	+					+	2	0
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>								
Helms (R)					+	+	2	0
Sanford (D)						+	1	0
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>								
Burdick (D)						+	1	0
Conrad (D)						+	1	0

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>OHIO</b>								
Glenn (D)	+					+	2	0
Metzenbaum (D)	+		+			+	3	0
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>								
Boren (D)						+	1	0
Nickles (R)						+	1	0
<b>OREGON</b>								
Hatfield (R)						+	1	0
Packwood (D)						+	1	0
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>								
Heinz (R)						+	1	0
Specter (R)			+			+	1	0
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>								
Pell (D)	+				+	+	3	0
Chafee (R)	+					+	2	0
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>								
Thurmond (R)			+			+	2	0
Hollings (D)						+	1	0
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>								
Pressler (R)	+				+	+	3	0
Daschle (D)						+	1	0
<b>TENNESSEE</b>								
Sasser (D)						+	1	0
Gore (D)						+	1	0

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>TEXAS</b>								
Bentsen (D)						+	1	0
Gramm (R)						+	1	0
<b>UTAH</b>								
Garn (R)						+	1	0
Hatch (R)			+			+	2	0
<b>VERMONT</b>								
Stafford (R)						+	1	0
Leahy (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>VIRGINIA</b>								
Warner (R)						+	1	0
Trible (R)						+	1	0
<b>WASHINGTON</b>								
Evans (R)						+	1	0
Adams (D)						+	1	0
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>								
Byrd (D)						+	1	0
Rockefeller (D)						+	1	0
<b>WISCONSIN</b>								
Proxmire (D)						+	1	0
Kasten (R)						+	1	0
<b>WYOMING</b>								
Wallop (R)						+	1	0
Simpson (R)			+			+	2	0

## SPECIAL MENTIONS

**Rep. David Bonior (D-MI)** was the leading proponent of H.J. Res. 132 in the House Rules Committee and managed the resolution once it reached the House floor in August, 1987.

**Rep. Tony Coelho (D-CA)**, the House Majority Whip, played an important role in helping schedule floor action on H.J. Res. 132 and was also active in urging the Soviet Union to give a fair hearing to the request of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

**Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA)**, as the original sponsor of S.J. Res. 43, led efforts in the Senate to designate a national day of remembrance of the Armenian Genocide.

**Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS)** led a Senate delegation to Turkey, where he voiced the concerns of the Armenian community in meeting with the President and Prime Minister of Turkey. He also urged General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in letters and in a Moscow meeting, to respect the human rights of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

**Rep. William Ford (D-MI)**, Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, helped move H.J. Res. 132 through his committee in a timely manner.

**Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA)** was the original sponsor and principal promoter of H.J. Res. 132, and worked with the House Democratic leadership to ensure that the resolution was brought to the House for action.

**Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI)** voiced concern for the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh in a Moscow meeting with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and was a

leading proponent of Senate action on a resolution to designate April 24 as a day to remember the Armenian Genocide.

**Sen. John McCain (R-AZ)** led the Senate in speaking out in support of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, authoring a resolution which called on the Soviet Union to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people.

**Rep. Jim Moody (D-WI)** actively worked to organize other House members to oppose congressional affirmation of the Armenian Genocide.

**Rep. Charles Pashayan (R-CA)** was in the forefront of efforts to gain congressional affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, as a leading supporter of H.J. Res. 132. He also initiated House floor speeches to mark the annual anniversary of the genocide.

**Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD)** spoke out often in support of Armenian issues in several different forums — meeting with Turkish President Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, delivering Senate floor speeches in support of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, and offering an amendment to the INF Treaty urging the Soviet Union to comply with the human rights provisions in the Helsinki accords.

**Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY)** actively opposed any congressional action to affirm the historical record on the Armenian Genocide. Solarz spoke against H.J. Res. 132 on the House floor and during House Post Office and Civil Service Committee action on the resolution.

**Rep. Gene Taylor (R-MO)** organized members of the House to speak in opposition to H.J. Res. 132 during the August, 1987 debate on the House floor.

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## PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

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- 1.** *Do you favor a congressional resolution that would designate a National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923? Would you sign such a resolution if it was passed by the Congress and even in the face of strong opposition and threats from the Republic of Turkey?*

### **Vice President George Bush**

The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, based on the testimony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own representatives at the time, if we are to insure that such horrors are not repeated. The American people, our government, and certainly the Bush Administration will never allow political pressures to prevent our denunciation of crimes against humanity, and I would join Congress in commemorating the victims of that period. I recognize that the events of 1915 were not the responsibility of the present Republic of Turkey, and I am aware that the Republic of Turkey opposes the characterization of that period as genocide. As President, I will urge the leaders of Turkey to enter into a dialogue with representatives of the worldwide Armenian community in order to resolve their differences, just as I will support the continuation of military and economic assistance to Turkey within the framework of NATO.

### **Governor Michael Dukakis**

For many years, I have personally participated in and led commemorations of the Armenian Genocide. Unless we forcefully condemn such outrages and constantly remember the mistakes of the past, we risk a recurrence of these horrors. As President, I would steadfastly resist all efforts, from any sources, to rewrite or deny history, and along with the Secretary of State whom I select, would support a congressional resolution to designate a National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923.

- 2.** *According to Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and other human rights/minority rights organizations, the Republic of Turkey still has a long way to go to improving its treatment of Armenians, Kurds, and other ethnic minorities. How would you approach urging Turkey to improve its human rights/minority rights record? What role should the questions of human rights/minority rights play in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy?*

### **Vice President George Bush**

The issues of human and minority rights are fundamental to our view of the world. We are true to our beliefs, and the national interest of the United States is best served, when we defend and promote freedom and the rights of man throughout the world. Bilateral and multilateral agreements must be observed by all nations, and I will use the power of the Presidency to address violations whenever and wherever they occur.

### **Governor Michael Dukakis**

As President, I will be alert and responsive to human rights violations suffered by Armenians and other minorities in Turkey. These violations cannot, and must not, be ignored or compromised for reasons of political expediency. In fact, because there is no sovereign Armenian state to speak out for or defend Armenian rights or interests, it becomes even more crucial that governments such as ours be particularly alert to violations of Armenian rights. That means the State Department must actively raise the human rights violations in frank, open dialogue with the Republic of Turkey.

- 3.** *The United States has long been a staunch supporter of the Helsinki Accords and other human rights agreements. In the context of these accords, what would be your position on the request of the Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to reunite with their kinsmen in the adjacent Armenian Republic?*

**Vice President George Bush**

The Armenian citizens of the USSR have captured the attention of the entire world. They are in the forefront of a peaceful and constitutional people's movement to define Mr. Gorbachev's claimed readiness to give some recognition to national and individual rights of the people of the USSR. I welcome the improved relations with the USSR, secured by the peace through strength policies of the Reagan/Bush Administration, but I have made it clear that real progress continues to rest on such issues as concrete evidence of real Soviet recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

There is no question that the Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh have been the victims of social and economic discrimination. Their determination to achieve freedom and justice, and their unswerving commitment to peaceful protest caught the attention of those in the Soviet Union and across the world. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians have joined together with their brothers and sisters in Nagorno-Karabakh in calling upon the Soviet authorities to right the historical wrongs against the Armenian people.

We have all been moved by the peaceful struggle of Soviet Armenians to regain their cultural and political rights. I call on the Soviet leadership to respect those rights, as they are set forth in the Soviet Constitution. The Soviet government should take immediate steps to guarantee all Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh their fundamental right to education, to religious freedom, and to cultural expression. When Armenians suffer outrageous acts of violence, as in the Sumgait massacres, the Soviet government should punish the perpetrators quickly with sentences appropriate to the horror of the crime. It should immediately halt any attempt to move by force individuals in or out of Nagorno-Karabakh. It should ensure the people of Nagorno-Karabakh the right to communicate freely with the rest of the world, and allow freedom of the press and access by human rights organizations. Above all, it should grant Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh the right to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed political rights.

As President, I will not hesitate to speak out against human rights violations suffered by Armenians and all minorities in the Soviet Union. I will recognize that the rights of Armenians and the discrimination they face as an ethnic minority cannot be separated from global issues of human rights and human suffering. Lasting progress in relations between our two countries must be coupled with meaningful and substantial progress on human rights. As President, I will make sure General Secretary Gorbachev understands this fundamental principle as I work to assure the rights and well-being of Armenians in the Soviet Union and around the world.

- 4.** *Construction of a national Holocaust Memorial Museum in the nation's capital is now underway. The main focus of the museum will be to remind mankind of the horrors of the Holocaust and to ensure that we learn from that tragedy. The members of the Holocaust Memorial Council have also resolved that the story of the Armenian Genocide will be included in the museum. Do you support the decision of the Holocaust Council to include the Armenian Genocide?*

**Vice President George Bush**

Yes.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

Yes, it is important that the Holocaust Museum include information and exhibits on the Armenian Genocide.

**5.** *Would you support Senate ratification of an international torture convention?*

**Vice President George Bush**

Yes.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

Nothing justifies the theft of human dignity. Nothing. Not left-wing or right-wing politics; not personal or economic or religious differences. There is no excuse for murder or kidnapping or disappearances. And there is no rationale for torture.

**6.** *Armenians from the Middle East and the Soviet Union are seeking the opportunity to resettle in the United States. How would your policy differ from the current administration on this question?*

**Vice President George Bush**

The United States must maintain its commitment to be as generous as resources permit to those seeking freedom and opportunity in America. We must also support those states that accept "first asylum" refugees in recognition of the crucial role they play in saving lives.

The right to emigrate should be absolute. The right to enter the United States is governed by laws I fully support, and I endorse the current application of these laws by the Administration. At the same time, I would also favor special provisions for applications and admissions of immigrants from the USSR where the normal flow of emigration has been severely restricted in violation of even basic humane considerations.

**Governor Michael Dukakis**

It is vital that the next President understand the desperate poverty of many nations that offer "first asylum" to refugees from the Middle East and other parts of the world. These countries, which include Thailand, Pakistan and the Sudan, play a crucial role in caring for and supporting those fleeing war, hunger and persecution.

My family is personally involved in refugee relief; my wife Kitty has traveled to Thailand twice to assist in the reunification of Cambodian families. She serves on the board of the Washington-based Refugee Policy Group and on the Board of Directors of Refugee International. Refugee assistance is a world problem—first asylum countries need and deserve assistance in providing care and support for refugees; and refugees need our help in ending the civil wars and famine that drive them from their homes.

The Governor has not yet developed a position on the emigration of Armenians from the Soviet Union.

## HIGHLIGHTS

### High Scorers

(Highest Number of "Right" Actions)

#### HOUSE

Coelho (D-CA) .....	8
Pashayan (R-CA) .....	8
Morrison (D-CT) .....	8
Bonior (D-MI) .....	8
Lehman (D-CA) .....	7
Moorhead (R-CA) .....	7
Martinez (D-CA) .....	7
Moakley (D-MA) .....	7
Ford (D-MI) .....	7
Torricelli (D-NJ) .....	7
Boxer (D-CA) .....	6
Torres (D-CA) .....	6
Hoyer (D-MD) .....	6
Levin (D-MI) .....	6

Green (R-NY) .....	6
Matsui (D-CA) .....	5
Berman (D-CA) .....	5
Dornan (R-CA) .....	5
Johnson (R-CT) .....	5
Gingrich (R-GA) .....	5
Lipinski (D-IL) .....	5
Annunzio (D-IL) .....	5
Boland (D-MA) .....	5
Frank (D-MA) .....	5
Atkins (D-MA) .....	5
Kennedy (D-MA) .....	5
Broomfield (R-MI) .....	5
Roukema (R-NJ) .....	5
Gallo (R-NJ) .....	5
Manton (D-NY) .....	5

Schumer (D-NY) .....	5
Hall (D-OH) .....	5
Feighan (D-OH) .....	5
Bryant (D-TX) .....	5
Bliley (R-VA) .....	5

#### SENATE

Simon (D-IL) .....	5
Kennedy (D-MA) .....	4
Riegle (D-MI) .....	4
Levin (D-MI) .....	4
Wilson (R-CA) .....	3
Sarbanes (D-MD) .....	3
Metzenbaum (D-OH) .....	3
Pell (D-RI) .....	3
Pressler (R-SD) .....	3

### Low Scorers

(Highest Number of "Wrong" Actions)

#### HOUSE

Lott (R-MS) .....	4
Taylor (R-MO) .....	4
Horton (R-NY) .....	4
Dickinson (R-AI) .....	3
Bosco (D-CA) .....	3
Burton (R-IN) .....	3
Bereuter (D-NE) .....	3
Solarz (D-NY) .....	3
Murtha (D-PA) .....	3

Quillen (R-TN) .....	3
Rahall (D-WV) .....	3
Moody (D-WI) .....	3

#### SENATE

Not enough data was available to compile a list of Senators that opposed issues of importance to the Armenian community.

# HOUSE VOTES

## 1 Day of Remembrance Resolution (H. J. Res. 132)

Shortly after the 100th Congress convened, Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA) introduced a joint resolution to designate April 24, 1987 as a national day to remember the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923. The 163 members listed are those who signed on as official cosponsors of H.J. Res. 132, either on February 4, 1987, the day it was introduced, or in the subsequent weeks.

## 2 Day of Remembrance II

On April 22, 1987, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee approved H.J. Res. 132. During an hour of debate, several committee members voiced their views on the resolution. Chairman William Ford (D-MI), Rep. Chip Pashayan (R-CA), and Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-CA) spoke out strongly in support of the resolution. Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY) and Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) were the most vocal opponents to the resolution. The vote was 14 to 4 in favor of H.J. Res. 132. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted for the resolution, and "-" reflects a vote cast to reject the resolution.

## 3 Armenian Martyrs' Day 1987

On April 23, 1987, members of the House paid tribute to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century. Legislators listed are those who participated in the tribute.

## 4 Day of Remembrance III

On August 3, 1987, the House Rules Committee met to vote on whether to send H.J. 132 to the House floor for consideration. Two votes occurred in the committee. The first vote, based on an amendment from Rep. John H. Quillen (R-TN), would have sent the bill to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This vote was viewed as a delay tactic and was supported by opponents to the resolution. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted against the amendment, and a "-" reflects a vote cast in support of the amendment.

## 5 Day of Remembrance IV

The second vote cast in the House Rules Committee on August 3, 1987 dealt directly with sending the resolution to the House floor. Four members of the House testified before the committee on the bill. Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA) and Rep. William Ford (D-MI) voiced strong support for the resolution and Rep. Frank Horton (R-NY) and Rep. Marvin Leath (D-TX) presented opposing views to the resolution. The committee members voted by voice, and it was overwhelmingly approved, with no dissenting voices raised.

## 6 Day of Remembrance V

On August 7, 1987, the House of Representatives took up consideration of H.J. Res. 132. Before voting directly on the resolution, the House rules required a vote on a rule that limited debate on the resolution to two hours. The vote on the rule failed to pass by a majority, blocking further action on the resolution. Taking a closer look at the 189-201 vote on the rule, it is interesting to note that 18 cosponsors of the resolution voted "no" and 42 House members did not vote, 12 of whom were cosponsors. A "+" reflects a legislator who voted in support of the rule, and a "-" reflects a vote cast against the rule.

## 7 Day of Remembrance VI

During debate on the rule governing H.J. Res. 132, several House members made supporting and opposing statements. Members who made statements on both sides of the issue are listed.

## 8 Day of Remembrance VII

In the final days before the House vote, the leading proponents and opponents of the Armenian Genocide resolution participated in letter-writing campaigns to their colleagues. A "+" reflects a House member who signed a letter in support of the resolution, and a "-" reflects a member who signed a letter opposing the resolution.

# HOUSE VOTES

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## **9** Genocide Convention Implementation

On March 23, 1988, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law voted 10-0 to approve a bill that would make genocide a crime under U.S. law. The bill, H.R. 807, was introduced by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ). A "+" reflects a subcommittee member who voted for the bill.

## **10** Genocide Convention Implementation II

On March 31, 1988, the House Judiciary Committee voted unanimously by a voice vote to approve H.R. 807, the Genocide Convention Implementation bill. A "+" reflects a committee member who voted to approve the bill.

## **11** Congressional Support for Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

In February and March, 1988, Armenians in the Soviet Union staged large demonstrations calling on the Soviet government to permit Nagorno-Karabakh, a

predominantly Armenian populated region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to be transferred to the control of the Republic of Soviet Armenia. Several members of the House voiced concern for a peaceful and fair resolution to the Armenians' request, through speeches on the House floor, in letters to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and through other means. Members who participated in this activity are listed.

## **12** Genocide Convention Implementation III

On April 25, the House voted overwhelmingly to approve H.R. 807 by a voice vote. One member, Rep. Hamilton Fish (R-NY), mentioned the Armenian Genocide in his remarks on the House floor.

## **13** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1988

On April 28, 1988, members of the House marked the 73rd Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and called on Turkey to acknowledge the actions of its predecessor government, the Ottoman Turkish government. Legislators who made statements are listed.

# HOUSE VOTING RECORD

**KEY SYMBOLS**  
 + "Right" action, supporting Assembly position.  
 - "Wrong" action, contrary to Assembly position.  
 ? Not voting.  
 P Voted present.  
 R Total "Right" actions, supporting Assembly position.  
 W Total "Wrong" actions, contrary to Assembly position.

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>ALABAMA</b>															
1 Callahan (R)							?							1	-
2 Dickinson (R)														1	3
3 Nichols (D)														1	1
4 Beville (D)														1	1
5 Flippo (D)							?							1	-
6 Erdreich (D)														1	1
7 Harris (D)														0	1
<b>ALASKA</b>															
1 Young (R)	+	+				+								4	0
<b>ARIZONA</b>															
1 Rhodes (R)														2	1
2 Udall (D)		+					?							2	-
3 Stump (R)														1	1
4 Kyl (R)														1	1
5 Kolbe (R)														1	1
<b>ARKANSAS</b>															
1 Alexander (D)							?							1	-
2 Robinson (D)		+												2	1
3 Hammerschmidt (R)														1	1
4 Anthony (D)		+												2	1
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>															
1 Bosco (D)														1	3
2 Heger (R)														1	1
3 Matsui (D)		+	+				+	+						5	0
4 Fazio (D)		+	+				+							4	0
5 Pelosi (D)		+												4	0
6 Boxer (D)		+	+				+	+	+					6	0
7 Miller (D)		+					+							3	0
8 Dellums (D)		+					+							3	0
9 Stark (D)							+							2	0
10 Edwards (D)														3	0
11 Lantos (D)														2	1
12 Konnyu (R)		+												3	0
13 Mineta (D)		+												4	0
14 Shumway (R)														1	1
15 Coelho (D)		+	+				+	+	+					8	0
16 Panetta (D)		+					+							3	0
17 Pashayan (R)		+	+	+			+							8	0
18 Lehman (D)		+	+				+	+	+					7	0
19 Lagomarsino (R)														1	2
20 Thomas (R)		+												3	0
21 Gallegly (R)		+												4	0
22 Moorhead (R)		+					+	+	+					7	0
23 Beilenson (D)		+					+	+	+					4	-
24 Waxman (D)		+					+							4	0
25 Roybal (D)		+	+				+							4	0
26 Berman (D)		+					+							5	0
27 Levine (D)		+					+							4	0
28 Dixon (D)		+					+							3	0
29 Hawkins (D)		+					+							3	0
30 Martinez (D)		+	+				+	+						7	0
31 Dymally (D)		+	+				+							5	0
32 Anderson (D)		+					+							3	0
33 Dreier (R)		+					+							3	0
34 Torres (D)		+	+				+							6	0

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>CALIFORNIA (Continued)</b>															
35 Lewis (R)														+	2
36 Brown (D)		+												+	3
37 McCandless (R)														+	1
38 Dornan (R)		+	+				+	+						+	5
39 Dannemeyer (R)		+					+							+	3
40 Badham (R)							?							+	1
41 Lowery (R)														+	1
42 Lungren (R)		+					+	+						+	4
43 Packard (R)		+					+							+	3
44 Bates (D)		+					+							+	4
45 Hunter (R)		+					+							+	3
<b>COLORADO</b>															
1 Schroeder (D)								?						+	2
2 Skaggs (D)														+	2
3 Campbell (D)								?						+	1
4 Brown (R)		+												+	2
5 Hefley (R)														+	1
5 Schaefer (R)														+	1
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>															
1 Kennelly (D)		+						+						+	3
2 Gejdenson (D)		+						+						+	3
3 Morrison (D)		+	+					+	+	+	+			+	8
4 Shays (R)								?						+	1
4 Rowland (R)		+												+	2
5 Johnson (R)		+	+					+	+					+	5
<b>DELAWARE</b>															
1 Carper (D)														+	1
<b>FLORIDA</b>															
1 Hutto (D)														+	1
2 Grant (D)														+	2
3 Bennett (D)														+	1
4 Chappell (D)														+	1
5 McCollum (R)		+												+	4
6 MacKay (D)														+	1
7 Gibbons (D)														+	1
8 Young (R)														+	1
9 Bilirakis (R)		+												+	3
10 Ireland (R)														+	1
11 Nelson (D)														+	2
12 Lewis (R)														+	1
13 Mack (D)														+	1
14 Mica (D)														+	1
15 Shaw (R)														+	2
16 Smith (D)														+	3
17 Lehman (D)														?	1
18 Pepper (D)														+	4
19 Fausell (D)														+	3
<b>GEORGIA</b>															
1 Thomas (D)														+	1
2 Hatcher (D)														+	1
3 Ray (D)														+	1
4 Swindall (R)														+	4
5 Lewis (D)														+	3
6 Gingrich (R)														+	5

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>GEORGIA (Continued)</b>															
7 Darden (D)					-								+	1	1
8 Rowland (D)					-								+	1	1
9 Jenkins (D)					-								+	1	1
10 Barnard (D)					-								+	1	1
<b>HAWAII</b>															
1 Saiki (R)					-								+	1	1
2 Akaka (D)					+								+	2	0
<b>IDAHO</b>															
1 Craig (R)													+	1	1
2 Stallings (D)		+			-								+	2	1
<b>ILLINOIS</b>															
1 Hayes (D)		+			+								+	3	0
2 Savage (D)		+			?								+	2	-
3 Russo (D)		+			-								+	3	0
4 Davis (R)					+								+	1	1
5 Lipinski (D)		+	+		+								+	5	0
6 Hyde (R)					-					+			+	2	1
7 Collins (D)		+			P								+	2	-
8 Rostenkowski (D)					+								+	2	0
9 Yates (D)					+								+	2	0
10 Porter (R)		+			+								+	3	0
11 Annunzio (D)		+			+	+							+	5	0
12 Crane (R)					-								+	1	1
13 Fawell (R)					-								+	2	0
14 Hastert (R)					-								+	1	1
15 Madigan (R)					-								+	1	1
16 Martin (R)					-								+	1	1
17 Evans (D)		+			+								+	3	0
18 Michel (R)			+		-								+	2	1
19 Bruce (D)					+								+	2	0
20 Durbin (D)					+								+	2	0
21 Price (D)					+								+	2	0
22 Gray (D)		+			+								+	3	0
<b>INDIANA</b>															
1 Visclosky (D)		+			+								+	3	0
2 Sharp (D)					+								+	2	0
3 Hiler (R)					-								+	1	1
4 Coats (R)		+			+								+	3	0
5 Jontz (D)					+								+	2	0
6 Burton (R)					-								+	1	3
7 Myers (R)					-								+	1	1
8 McCloskey (D)		+	+		+								+	4	0
9 Hamilton (D)		+			+								+	4	0
10 Jacobs (D)		+			+								+	3	0
<b>IOWA</b>															
1 Leach (R)		+			+								+	3	0
2 Tauke (R)					-								+	3	1
3 Nagle (D)					-								+	1	1
4 Smith (D)		+			-								+	2	1
5 Lightfoot (R)					-								+	1	1
6 Grandy (R)					-								+	1	1
<b>KANSAS</b>															
1 Roberts (R)					-								+	1	1
2 Slattery (D)					-								+	1	1
3 Meyers (R)		+			-								+	2	1
4 Glickman (D)					-					+			+	2	1
5 Whitaker (R)					-								+	1	1
<b>KENTUCKY</b>															
1 Hubbard (D)													+	1	2
2 Natcher (D)					-								+	1	1
3 Mazzoli (D)					-					+			+	3	1
4 Bunning (R)					-								+	1	1
5 Rogers (R)					-								+	1	1
6 Hopkins (R)					-								+	1	1
7 Perkins (D)					+								+	3	0

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>LOUISIANA</b>															
1 Livingston (R)					-								+	1	1
2 Boggs (D)					-								+	2	0
3 Tauzin (D)					-								+	1	-
4 Roemer (D)					-								+	1	-
5 Huckaby (D)					-								+	1	-
6 Baker (R)					-								+	1	-
7 Hayes (D)					-								+	1	-
8 Holloway (R)					-								+	1	1
<b>MAINE</b>															
1 Brennan (D)					+								+	3	0
2 Snowe (R)					+								+	2	0
<b>MARYLAND</b>															
1 Dyson (D)		+	+		+								+	4	0
2 Bentley (R)					-								+	2	0
3 Cardin (D)		+			+					+			+	4	0
4 McMillen (D)		+			+								+	3	0
5 Hoyer (D)		+	+		+	+							+	6	0
6 Byron (D)					-								+	1	1
7 Mfume (D)		+			+								+	3	0
8 Morella (R)		+			+	+							+	4	0
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>															
1 Conte (R)					-								+	2	0
2 Boland (D)		+	+		?	+							+	5	-
3 Early (D)		+			?								+	2	-
4 Frank (D)		+			+	+				+	+		+	5	0
5 Atkins (D)		+	+		+	+							+	5	0
6 Mavroules (D)		+			?	+							+	3	-
7 Markey (D)		+			+	+							+	4	0
8 Kennedy (D)		+	+		+	+							+	5	0
9 Moakley (D)		+			+	+	+						+	7	0
10 Studds (D)		+			+	+							+	3	0
11 Donnelly (D)		+			+	+							+	3	0
<b>MICHIGAN</b>															
1 Conyers (D)		+			+								+	3	0
2 Pursell (R)		+			-								+	2	1
3 Wolpe (D)		+			+								+	3	0
4 Upton (R)					-								+	1	1
5 Henry (R)		+			+								+	3	0
6 Carr (D)		+			+								+	3	0
7 Kildee (D)		+			+								+	3	0
8 Traxler (D)					?								+	1	-
9 Vander Jagt (R)					-								+	1	1
10 Schuette (R)					-								+	1	1
11 Davis (R)					-								+	1	1
12 Bonior (D)		+			+	+	+	+	+				+	8	0
13 Crockett (D)					-								+	1	-
14 Hertel (D)		+			+								+	3	0
15 Ford (D)		+	+	+		+	+						+	7	0
16 Dingell (D)		+			+								+	3	0
17 Levin (D)		+			+	+	+						+	6	0
18 Broomfield (R)		+			+	+							+	5	0
<b>MINNESOTA</b>															
1 Penny (D)					-								+	2	0
2 Weber (R)					-								+	1	2
3 Frenzel (R)					-								+	1	2
4 Vento (D)		+			+								+	3	0
5 Sabo (D)					-								+	1	1
6 Sikorski (D)		+			+								+	3	0
7 Stangeland (R)					-								+	1	1
8 Oberstar (D)		+			+								+	3	0
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>															
1 Whitten (D)					-								+	1	1
2 Espy (D)		+			+								+	3	0
3 Montgomery (D)					-								+	1	1

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>MISSISSIPPI (Continued)</b>															
4 Dowdy (D)						?							+	1	-
5 Lott (R)				-	-	-	-						+	1	4
<b>MISSOURI</b>															
1 Clay (D)	+	+	+			+							+	4	0
2 Buechner (R)						-							+	2	1
3 Cephardt (D)	+					?							+	2	-
4 Skelton (D)						-							+	1	1
5 Wheat (D)				+	+	+							+	4	0
6 Coleman (R)						-							+	1	1
7 Taylor (R)				-	-	-	-						+	1	4
8 Emerson (R)						-							+	1	1
9 Volkmer (D)						-							+	1	1
<b>MONTANA</b>															
1 Williams (D)	+					+							+	3	0
2 Marlenee (R)						-	-						+	1	2
<b>NEBRASKA</b>															
1 Bereuter (D)						-	-	-					+	1	3
2 Daub (R)						-							+	1	1
3 Smith (R)						?							+	1	-
<b>NEVADA</b>															
1 Bilbray (D)	+					+							+	3	0
2 Vucanovich (R)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>															
1 Smith (R)						+							+	2	0
2 Gregg (R)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>															
1 Florio (D)	+					?	+						+	3	-
2 Hughes (D)	+					+							+	4	0
3 Howard (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
4 Smith (R)	+					+							+	3	0
5 Roukema (R)			+			+	+	+					+	5	0
6 Dwyer (D)						-							+	1	1
7 Rinaldo (R)	+					+							+	3	0
8 Roe (D)	+					+							+	3	0
9 Torricelli (D)	+	+				+	+	+					+	7	0
10 Rodino (D)	+					+							+	4	0
11 Gallo (R)	+					+	+	+					+	5	0
12 Courter (R)	+					+							+	3	0
13 Saxton (R)	+					+							+	3	0
14 Guarini (D)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>															
1 Lujan (R)						+							+	2	0
2 Skeen (R)						-							+	1	1
3 Richardson (D)						+							+	2	0
<b>NEW YORK</b>															
1 Hochbrueckner (D)						+							+	4	0
2 Downey (D)			+			+	+						+	4	0
3 Mrazek (D)						+							+	2	0
4 Lent (R)						+							+	2	1
5 McGrath (R)	+	+				?							+	3	-
6 Flake (D)	+					-							+	2	1
7 Ackerman (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
8 Scheuer (D)	+					+							+	3	1
9 Manton (D)	+	+				+							+	5	0
10 Schumer (D)	+					+							+	5	0
11 Towns (D)	+					?							+	2	-
17 Owens (D)	+					+							+	3	0
13 Solarz (D)						+							+	1	3
14 Molinari (R)						-							+	1	1
15 Green (R)	+	+				+	+	+					+	6	0
16 Rangel (D)						+							+	1	1
17 Weiss (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
18 Garcia (D)	+	-				-							+	2	2

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>NEW YORK (Continued)</b>															
19 Biaggi (D)	+					+	+						+	4	0
20 DiGuardi (R)						-							+	1	1
21 Fish (R)	+					-				+	+	+	+	4	1
22 Gilman (D)		+				+						+	+	4	0
23 Stratton (D)						+	+					+	+	4	0
24 Soloman (R)						+							+	2	0
25 Boehlert (R)						-							+	1	1
26 Martin (R)	+					+							+	3	0
27 Wortley (R)	+					+							+	3	0
28 McHugh (D)	+	+				+							+	4	0
29 Horton (R)						-	-	-					+	1	4
30 Slaughter (D)						-							+	1	1
31 Kemp (R)	+					?							+	2	-
32 LaFalce (D)						-							+	1	1
33 Nowak (D)						+							+	2	0
34 Houghton (R)						-							+	1	1
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>															
1 Jones (D)						?							+	1	-
2 Valentine (D)						-	-						+	1	2
3 Lancaster (D)	+					-							+	2	1
4 Price (D)						-							+	1	1
5 Neal (D)						-							+	1	1
6 Coble (R)						-							+	2	1
7 Rose (D)						+							+	2	0
8 Hefner (D)						-							+	1	1
9 McMillan (R)						-							+	1	1
10 Hallenger (R)						-							+	1	1
11 Clarke (D)						-							+	1	1
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>															
1 Dorgan (D)						-							+	1	1
<b>OHIO</b>															
1 Luken (D)						?							+	1	-
2 Gradison (R)						-							+	1	1
3 Hall (D)	+					+	+	+					+	5	0
4 Oxley (R)						-							+	1	2
5 Latta (R)						-	-	?					+	1	2
6 McEwen (R)						-	-						+	1	2
7 DeWine (R)						-							+	2	1
8 Lukens (R)	+					?							+	2	-
9 Kaptur (D)	+					+							+	3	0
10 Miller (R)						-							+	1	1
11 Fekart (D)	+					+							+	3	0
12 Kasich (R)						-							+	1	2
13 Pease (D)						-							+	1	-1
14 Sawyer (D)						-							+	1	1
15 Wylie (R)						-							+	1	1
16 Regula (R)						-							+	1	1
17 Traficant (D)	+					+							+	3	0
18 Applegate (D)						+							+	2	0
19 Feighan (D)	+	+				+		+					+	5	0
20 Oaker (D)	+					+							+	3	0
21 Stokes (D)	+					+							+	3	0
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>															
1 Inhofe (R)						-	-						+	1	2
2 Synar (D)						+							+	3	0
3 Watkins (D)						+							+	2	0
4 McCurdy (D)						-							+	1	2
5 Edwards (R)						-							+	1	1
6 English (D)						-							+	1	1
<b>OREGON</b>															
1 AuCoin (D)						-							+	1	1
2 Smith, R. (R)						-							+	1	1
3 Wyden (D)	+					+							+	3	0
4 DeFazio (D)	+					+							+	3	0
5 Smith, D. (R)						-							+	1	1

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>															
1 Foglietta (D)					-									+	1 1
2 Gray (D)						?								+	1 -
3 Borski (D)	+					+								+	3 0
4 Kolter (D)														+	1 1
5 Schulze (R)														+	1 1
6 Yatron (D)	+	+				+								+	4 0
7 Weldon (R)	+					+								+	3 0
8 Kostmayer (D)														+	1 1
9 Shuster (R)														+	1 1
10 McDade (R)	+													+	2 1
11 Kanjorski (D)														+	1 1
12 Murtha (D)														+	1 3
13 Coughlin (R)														+	1 1
14 Coyne (D)														+	1 1
15 Ritter (R)														+	2 0
16 Walker (R)														+	1 1
17 Cekas (R)	+													+	4 0
18 Walgren (D)	+													+	3 0
19 Goodling (R)														+	1 1
20 Gaydos (D)						?								+	1 -
21 Ridge (R)														+	1 1
22 Murphy (D)														+	1 1
23 Clinger (R)														+	1 1
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>															
1 St Germain (D)	+					+								+	3 0
2 Schneider (R)	+					+								+	4 0
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>															
1 Ravenel (R)														+	1 1
2 Spence (R)														+	2 0
3 Derrick (D)														+	4 0
4 Patterson (D)														+	1 1
5 Spratt (D)														+	1 1
6 Tallon (D)														+	1 1
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>															
1 Johnson (D)														+	1 1
<b>TENNESSEE</b>															
1 Quillen (R)														+	1 3
2 Duncan (R)														+	1 1
3 Lloyd (D)														+	1 -
4 Cooper (D)														+	1 1
5 Boner (D)														+	1 -
6 Gordon (D)														+	4 0
7 Sundquist (R)														+	1 1
8 Jones (D)														+	2 0
9 Ford (D)														+	1 -
<b>TEXAS</b>															
1 Chapman (D)														+	1 1
2 Wilson (D)														+	1 1
3 Bartlett (R)														+	1 1
4 Hall (D)														+	2 0
5 Bryant (D)	+													+	5 0
6 Barton (R)														+	1 1
7 Archer (R)														+	1 1
8 Fields (R)														+	1 1
9 Brooks (D)														+	1 1
10 Pickle (D)														+	1 1
11 Leath (D)														+	1 2
12 Wright (D)														+	1 -

State & District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	R	W
<b>TEXAS (Continued)</b>															
13 Boulter (R)														+	1 1
14 Sweeney (R)														+	1 1
15 de la Garza (D)														+	1 1
16 Coleman (D)														+	2 0
17 Stenholm (D)														+	1 1
18 Leland (D)	+	+												+	4 0
19 Combest (R)														+	1 1
20 Gonzalez (D)	+													+	3 0
21 Smith (R)														+	2 1
22 DeLay (R)														+	1 1
23 Bustamante (D)														+	1 1
24 Frost (D)	+													+	2 2
25 Andrews (D)	+													+	4 0
26 Arney (R)														+	1 1
27 Ortiz (D)														+	1 2
<b>UTAH</b>															
1 Hansen (R)														+	1 2
2 Owens (D)														+	2 0
3 Nielson (R)	+													+	2 1
<b>VERMONT</b>															
1 Jeffords (R)	+													+	3 0
<b>VIRGINIA</b>															
1 Bateman (R)														+	1 2
2 Pickett (D)														+	1 1
3 Blyley (R)	+													+	5 0
4 Siskiy (D)														+	1 1
5 Daniel (D)														+	1 -
6 Olin (D)														+	1 1
7 Slaughter (R)														+	3 1
8 Parris (R)														+	1 -
9 Boucher (D)														+	1 1
10 Wolf (R)														+	2 0
<b>WASHINGTON</b>															
1 Miller (R)														+	1 1
2 Swift (D)														+	2 0
3 Bonker (D)														+	1 1
4 Morrison (R)														+	1 1
5 Foley (D)														+	1 -
6 Dicks (D)														+	1 1
7 Lowry (D)														+	2 0
8 Chandler (R)														+	1 1
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>															
1 Mollohan (D)														+	1 1
2 Staggers (D)														+	3 0
3 Wise (D)														+	1 2
4 Rahall (D)														+	1 3
<b>WISCONSIN</b>															
1 Aspin (D)	+													+	3 -
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+													+	4 0
3 Gunderson (R)														+	1 1
4 Kleczka (D)														+	2 0
5 Moody (D)														+	2 3
6 Petri (R)														+	1 1
7 Obey (D)														+	2 0
8 Roth (R)														+	2 0
9 Sensenbrenner (R)														+	2 1
<b>WYOMING</b>															
1 Cheney (R)														+	1 1

# SENATE VOTES

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## **1** Day of Remembrance Resolution

On February 4, 1987, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) introduced a resolution to designate April 24, 1987 as a national day to remember the Armenian Genocide. The members listed are those who signed on as official cosponsors of S.J. Res. 43, either on February 4, 1987, the day it was introduced, or in the subsequent weeks. Two Senators -- Carl Levin (D-MI) and Pete Wilson (R-CA) -- also played a role in House debate on the resolution, signing a letter sent to all House members urging them to support the resolution.

## **2** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1987

During the week of April 24, members of the Senate paid tribute to the 1.5 million Armenians who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century. Senators who made statements are listed.

## **3** Genocide Convention Implementation

On April 14, 1988, the Senate Judiciary Committee voted to approve legislation that would make genocide a crime under U.S. law. The vote was approved overwhelmingly by a voice vote in the committee. The Senators who cast a vote of approval are listed.

## **4** Armenian Martyrs' Day 1988

During the week of April 24, members of the Senate marked the 73rd Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and criticized Turkey for denying that the massacres by the Ottoman government ever occurred. Senators who made statements are listed.

## **5** Congressional Support for Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

In February and March, 1988, Armenians in the Soviet Union staged large demonstrations calling on the Soviet government to permit Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian populated region in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, to be transferred to the control of the Republic of Soviet Armenia. Several members of the Senate voiced concern for a peaceful and fair resolution to the Armenians' request, through speeches on the Senate floor, in letters to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and through other means. Members who participated in this activity are listed.

## **6** Resolution on Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh

On July 27, 1988, the U.S. Senate overwhelmingly approved a resolution that called on the Soviet Union to preserve and protect the human rights of the Armenian people. The 200-word resolution urged the Soviet government to respect the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people, who since February had been seeking to reunite the region of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) was the author of the resolution. Other senators who joined McCain as cosponsors of the resolution and who gave speeches in support of it were Ernest Hollings (D-SC), Warren Rudman (R-NH), Pete Wilson (R-CA), John Chafee (R-RI), and Robert Dole (R-KS).

# SENATE VOTING RECORD

## KEY SYMBOLS

- + "Right" action, supporting Assembly position.
- "Wrong" action, contrary to Assembly position.
- ? Not voting.
- P Voted present.
- R Total "Right" actions, supporting Assembly position.
- W Total "Wrong" actions, contrary to Assembly position.

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>ALABAMA</b>								
Heflin (D)			+			+	2	0
Shelby (D)						+	1	0
<b>ALASKA</b>								
Stevens (R)						+	1	0
Murkowski (R)						+	1	0
<b>ARIZONA</b>								
DeConcini (D)			+			+	2	0
McCain (R)						+	1	0
<b>ARKANSAS</b>								
Bumpers (D)						+	1	0
Pryor (D)						+	1	0
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>								
Cranston (D)						+	2	0
Wilson (R)			+			+	3	0
<b>COLORADO</b>								
Armstrong (R)						+	1	0
Wirth (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>								
Weicker (R)						+	2	0
Dodd (D)						+	2	0
<b>DELAWARE</b>								
Roth (R)						+	2	0
Biden (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>FLORIDA</b>								
Chiles (D)						+	1	0
Graham (D)						+	1	0
<b>GEORGIA</b>								
Nunn (D)						+	1	0
Fowler (D)						+	1	0
<b>HAWAII</b>								
Inouye (D)						+	1	0
Matsunaga (D)						+	1	0
<b>IDAHO</b>								
McClure (R)						+	1	0
Symms (R)						+	1	0
<b>ILLINOIS</b>								
Dixon (D)			+			+	2	0
Simon (D)			+	+	+	+	5	0
<b>INDIANA</b>								
Lugar (R)						+	1	0
Quayle (R)						+	1	0
<b>IOWA</b>								
Crassley (R)			+			+	2	0
Harkin (D)						+	1	0
<b>KANSAS</b>								
Dole (R)					+	+	2	0
Kassebaum (R)						+	1	0
<b>KENTUCKY</b>								
Ford (D)						+	1	0
McConnell (R)						+	1	0

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>LOUISIANA</b>								
Johnston (D)						+	1	0
Breaux (D)						+	1	0
<b>MAINE</b>								
Cohen (R)						+	1	0
Mitchell (D)						+	1	0
<b>MARYLAND</b>								
Sarbanes (D)			+			+	3	0
Mikulski (D)						+	1	0
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>								
Kennedy (D)			+			+	4	0
Kerry (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>MICHIGAN</b>								
Riegle (D)			+		+	+	4	0
Levin (D)			+		+	+	4	0
<b>MINNESOTA</b>								
Durenberger (R)						+	1	0
Boschwitz (R)						+	1	0
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>								
Stennis (D)						+	1	0
Cochran (R)						+	1	0
<b>MISSOURI</b>								
Danforth (R)						+	1	0
Bond (D)						+	1	0
<b>MONTANA</b>								
Baucus (D)						+	1	0
Melcher (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEBRASKA</b>								
Zorinsky (D)						+	1	0
Exon (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEVADA</b>								
Hecht (R)			+			+	2	0
Reid (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>								
Humphrey (R)						+	2	0
Rudman (R)						+	1	0
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>								
Bradley (D)			+			+	2	0
Lautenberg (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>								
Domenici (R)						+	1	0
Bingaman (D)						+	1	0
<b>NEW YORK</b>								
Moynihan (D)			+			+	2	0
D'Amato (R)			+			+	2	0
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>								
Helms (R)						+	2	0
Sanford (D)						+	1	0
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>								
Burdick (D)						+	1	0
Conrad (D)						+	1	0

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>OHIO</b>								
Glenn (D)	+					+	2	0
Metzenbaum (D)	+		+			+	3	0
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>								
Boren (D)						+	1	0
Nickles (R)						+	1	0
<b>OREGON</b>								
Hatfield (R)						+	1	0
Packwood (D)						+	1	0
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>								
Heinz (R)						+	1	0
Specter (R)			+			+	1	0
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>								
Pell (D)	+				+	+	3	0
Chafee (R)	+					+	2	0
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>								
Thurmond (R)			+			+	2	0
Hollings (D)						+	1	0
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>								
Pressler (R)	+				+	+	3	0
Daschle (D)						+	1	0
<b>TENNESSEE</b>								
Sasser (D)						+	1	0
Gore (D)						+	1	0

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	R	W
<b>TEXAS</b>								
Bentsen (D)						+	1	0
Gramm (R)						+	1	0
<b>UTAH</b>								
Carm (R)						+	1	0
Hatch (R)			+			+	2	0
<b>VERMONT</b>								
Stafford (R)						+	1	0
Leahy (D)			+			+	2	0
<b>VIRGINIA</b>								
Warner (R)						+	1	0
Trible (R)						+	1	0
<b>WASHINGTON</b>								
Evans (R)						+	1	0
Adams (D)						+	1	0
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>								
Byrd (D)						+	1	0
Rockefeller (D)						+	1	0
<b>WISCONSIN</b>								
Proxmire (D)						+	1	0
Kasten (R)						+	1	0
<b>WYOMING</b>								
Wallop (R)						+	1	0
Simpson (R)			+			+	2	0

## SPECIAL MENTIONS

**Rep. David Bonior (D-MI)** was the leading proponent of H.J. Res. 132 in the House Rules Committee and managed the resolution once it reached the House floor in August, 1987.

**Rep. Tony Coelho (D-CA)**, the House Majority Whip, played an important role in helping schedule floor action on H.J. Res. 132 and was also active in urging the Soviet Union to give a fair hearing to the request of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

**Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA)**, as the original sponsor of S.J. Res. 43, led efforts in the Senate to designate a national day of remembrance of the Armenian Genocide.

**Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS)** led a Senate delegation to Turkey, where he voiced the concerns of the Armenian community in meeting with the President and Prime Minister of Turkey. He also urged General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in letters and in a Moscow meeting, to respect the human rights of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

**Rep. William Ford (D-MI)**, Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, helped move H.J. Res. 132 through his committee in a timely manner.

**Rep. Richard Lehman (D-CA)** was the original sponsor and principal promoter of H.J. Res. 132, and worked with the House Democratic leadership to ensure that the resolution was brought to the House for action.

**Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI)** voiced concern for the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh in a Moscow meeting with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and was a

leading proponent of Senate action on a resolution to designate April 24 as a day to remember the Armenian Genocide.

**Sen. John McCain (R-AZ)** led the Senate in speaking out in support of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, authoring a resolution which called on the Soviet Union to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people.

**Rep. Jim Moody (D-WI)** actively worked to organize other House members to oppose congressional affirmation of the Armenian Genocide.

**Rep. Charles Pashayan (R-CA)** was in the forefront of efforts to gain congressional affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, as a leading supporter of H.J. Res. 132. He also initiated House floor speeches to mark the annual anniversary of the genocide.

**Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD)** spoke out often in support of Armenian issues in several different forums — meeting with Turkish President Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, delivering Senate floor speeches in support of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, and offering an amendment to the INF Treaty urging the Soviet Union to comply with the human rights provisions in the Helsinki accords.

**Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY)** actively opposed any congressional action to affirm the historical record on the Armenian Genocide. Solarz spoke against H.J. Res. 132 on the House floor and during House Post Office and Civil Service Committee action on the resolution.

**Rep. Gene Taylor (R-MO)** organized members of the House to speak in opposition to H.J. Res. 132 during the August, 1987 debate on the House floor.

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EXHIBIT 44  
(2 pages)

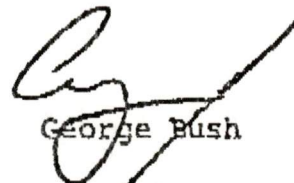
Dear Hirair:

Many thanks for your letter of September 20. We took your good advice and had Andrew Falkiewicz of the campaign staff work very closely with Barry Zorthian to pull together responses to the important questions contained in your letter and the questionnaire from the Armenian Assembly. Those answers are in your hands by now. I believe they make the playing field level and hope that they will be useful to your efforts, for which I give you my continued thanks.

The demands of the campaign are heavy, but I am very optimistic. With the support of wonderful people like you, I feel most confident about the future.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

  
George Bush

*May thanks.*