

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador - Designate Richard Hoagland
Senator John Kerry (#1)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 28, 2006**

Question:

I believe strongly that the killings and other atrocities perpetrated against some 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Empire beginning in 1915 clearly constituted a genocide. Acknowledging when genocide has occurred is not simply an intellectual or legal exercise. It is key to preventing genocide from happening again. That's why, in my view, we must change U.S. policy to reflect the true nature of the tragic events that were perpetrated against the Armenians by calling them what they were: genocide.

I understand the following to be accepted facts:

- Article II of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” – and it lists “killing members of the group” as one of these acts.
- The United States has “never denied the tragic events of 1915,” and the Bush Administration has acknowledged “the forced exile and mass killing inflicted on as many as 1.5 million Armenians”, as indicated by the State Department in its response to my letter of June 5, 2006.
- The atrocities conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923 resulted in the deportation of nearly 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men, women, and children were killed, the expulsion of 500,000 survivors, and a concerted campaign that resulted in the elimination of the more than 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland.
- The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, explicitly described to the Department of State the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Empire as ‘a campaign of race extermination’, and was instructed on July 16, 1915, by Secretary of State Robert Lansing that the

'Department approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian persecution.'

- Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term 'genocide' in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in the 20th century.
- The first resolution on genocide adopted by the United Nations, United Nations General Assembly Resolution 96(1), dated December 11, 1946, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, done at Paris December 9, 1948, recognized the Armenian atrocities as the type of crime the United Nations intended to prevent and punish by codifying existing standards.
- In 1948, the United Nations War Crimes Commission invoked the Armenian atrocities as 'precisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern term 'crimes against humanity' is intended to cover' and as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals.
- Proclamation 4838 of April 22, 1981 (95 Stat. 1813) issued by President Ronald Reagan, stated, in part, that '[l]ike 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'.
- President George W. Bush, on April 24, 2004, stated, '[o]n this day, we pause in remembrance of one of the most horrible tragedies of the 20th century, the annihilation of as many as 1,500,000 Armenians through forced exile and murder at the end of the Ottoman Empire'.

a) Do you dispute any of the above? If so, what and why?

b) Do you personally believe that these atrocities meet the definition of a genocide? If not, please specify why not?

c) Can you explain how the Administration's denial of the Armenian genocide can be reconciled with the United States's long history of rejecting genocide in any form?

d) Do you personally believe there should be a change in the Administration's policy of non-recognition of this genocide?

e) Can you explain why the Administration still refuses to recognize these atrocities as a genocide?

f) To the best of your knowledge, is there any effort underway to reexamine this policy?

g) As the U.S. Ambassador to Armenia, would you personally work to change U.S. policy and have these atrocities acknowledged as a genocide?

Answer:

A) The Administration recognizes that as many as 1.5 million Armenians were the victims of murder or forced exile at the end of the Ottoman Empire. Neither the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 96(1), dated December 11, 1946, nor the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, dated December 9, 1948, mentions these specific atrocities.

B) An Ambassador is the personal representative of the President of the United States and as such must faithfully represent the policies of the President and his Administration. Thus, for me to express publicly personal views – either in agreement or disagreement with the President’s policies – would not be in keeping with the responsibilities I have been nominated to fulfill.

C) The Administration does not deny the tragic events that occurred in the final years of the Ottoman Empire. President Bush acknowledges this horrific tragedy each year on April 24, Armenian Remembrance Day.

D) The Administration does not deny these tragic events; the President annually recognizes this tragedy on Armenian Remembrance Day, April 24. The U.S. believes that the question of how to characterize these horrific events is of such enormous human significance that it should not be determined on the basis of politics, but through heartfelt introspection among academics, civic leaders, and societies.

E) The Administration acknowledges the human tragedy of the mass killings and forced exile of as many as 1.5 million Armenians at the end of the Ottoman Empire. The U.S. has actively encouraged and funded scholarly, civil society, and diplomatic discussions about this tragedy to help all come to terms with this tragedy. The U.S. believes that establishing a productive dialogue on these events is the best way to achieve reconciliation, peace and stability in the region, and help encourage a full appreciation of these terrible events. This tragedy is of such enormous human significance that its historical assessment should be determined not on the basis of politics, but through heartfelt introspection among civic leaders, scholars, and the societies at large.

F) U.S. policy on a variety of issues is open to debate both within and from outside the Administration. The U.S. welcomes such discussions.

G) My job as Ambassador, if confirmed, will be to faithfully represent and inform the policies of the President and his Administration.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador - Designate Richard Hoagland
Senator John Kerry (#2)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 28, 2006**

Question:

During your June 28, 2006 confirmation hearing, you stated the following when responding to a question on the State Department's policy on the Armenian Genocide: "I simply studied the policy, I studied the background papers on the policy, I know the policy and my responsibility is to support the president."

a) Please describe, in detail, the source, purpose, content, and conclusions of all "policy" documents, "background papers," and other materials concerning the Armenian Genocide that you reviewed and provide copies of these materials to the Committee for its review.

b) What, if anything, has the State Department directed you to say in public statements on the Armenian genocide?

c) Have you been directed not to use the word genocide when discussing the Armenian Genocide?

Answer:

A) I am well-acquainted with the history of the tragic massacres and forced exile that occurred at the end of the Ottoman Empire, and U.S. policy in that regard, from my prior experience as the Office Director for Caucasus and Central Asian Affairs at the State Department. Since my nomination, I have independently done additional study on the subject. Background information for my nomination hearing included the enclosed President's Remembrance Day statements for the past several years, summary points on this policy, as well as statements made by various U.S. officials.

B) and C) The State Department has not directed me to make or avoid specific statements about the tragic events that occurred at the end of the Ottoman Empire, but has rather provided me with information on the President's policy which, if confirmed, I will represent faithfully.

**Questions for the Record Submitted to
Ambassador - Designate Richard Hoagland
Senator John Kerry (#3)
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
June 28, 2006**

Question:

Turkey has consistently denied that it committed genocide against Armenians and in fact has jailed several journalists for stating otherwise, as in the case of Hrant Dink, a Turkish publisher who was convicted for simply writing about the Armenian Genocide. And the criminal law penalizing speech on the Armenian Genocide remains on the books in Turkey.

- a) What is the Administration's position on these imprisonments?
- b) Do you believe the policy of non-recognition encourages the repressive actions taken by Turkey?
- c) Does this silence on Turkey's actions hamper the Embassy's function and/or the relationship between the Ambassador and the people of Armenia?

Answer:

A) In a number of cases, writers and journalists, including Hrant Dink, have faced prosecution for expressing their views on the Armenian issue. However, the State Department is unaware of any journalists or publishers in Turkey who have served a prison sentence for alleging that a genocide was carried out against Armenians.

The Administration has made clear to the Turkish authorities on many occasions that such prosecutions violate free expression, run counter to Turkey's aspiration to join the European Union, and undercut Turkey's

strategic significance as an example of a secular democracy that can inspire reform throughout the broader Middle East and Central Asia. The scope for free expression in Turkey, including on the Armenian issue, has expanded significantly in recent years, but clearly there is much more to be done. The Administration is encouraging the Turkish authorities to continue this progress and to end legal action against citizens simply for expressing their views.

B) The United States does recognize the massacre or forced exile of as many as 1.5 million Armenians in the final years of the Ottoman Empire. The President annually recognizes this tragedy on April 24, Armenian Remembrance Day. The Administration's policy is to encourage an open dialogue within and between Turkish and Armenian societies and governments.

C) The U.S. is not silent on this issue. If confirmed, I will continue the practice of attending Remembrance Day commemorations in Armenia. This and other diplomatic activities are intended to acknowledge the events and encourage an open dialogue aimed at addressing this tragedy in the shared history of the people of Armenia, Turkey, and the world.