

COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE ACT

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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In a separate but related effort, I understand that Congressman Solomon's resolution has been approved by the Senate and will be before the House in the next few days.

At this point, I would like to welcome today's witnesses. We will first hear from Senator DeConcini who will be joined at the table by our esteemed colleagues Congressman Florio, the sponsor of H.R. 4459, and Congresswoman Kaptur. Following their testimony we will hear from Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Mr. Palmer. Finally, we look forward to the testimony of our last panel comprised of Mr. Ihor Olshaniwsky, Coordinator, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, Mr. David Roth, National Ethnic Liason, American Jewish Committee and Mr. John Kramkowski, Chairman of the Board, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

Mr. MICA. It appears that we will have to leave this room around 3 o'clock, so we are going to ask each witness to be as brief as possible. Any and all statements will be submitted in their entirety for the record without objection. We appreciate having you here today to take part in this opportunity because it is a subject of very, very sincere personal importance.

We have Senator DeConcini, and our colleagues, Mr. Florio and Ms. Kaptur. We will give privilege to the other body and ask you to proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. DENNIS DeCONCINI, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA, AND COCHAIR, DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S COUNCIL ON ETHNIC AMERICANS

Senator DeCONCINI. It is nice to be over here in the big time, the classy House of the Congress.

I appreciate the opportunity. It is a great pleasure for me to testify.

Let me go through a few thoughts that I have concerning H.R. 4459 establishing a commission to study the 1932-33 Ukraine famine. I commend you, Mr. Chairman, and the entire committee for the efforts to arrange these very important hearings, and the Senate has passed identical legislation to S. 2456 and I urge the members of this panel to do likewise.

As cochairman, with Marcy Kaptur, of the Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans, I feel that a clear, comprehensive examination of the famine is not only beneficial but is vital for our national interest.

As it stands now, little is known in the United States or the rest of the world about the details of the 1932-33 Ukraine famine. I believe that this ignorance is dangerous and needs to be remedied. Present and future generations need to know the events that caused an estimated 7 million people to die. With this knowledge, we could help prevent such tragedy from ever occurring again.

Ukrainian-American citizens feel that their heritage has been obliterated due to the Soviet suppression of the facts and lack of Western interest. We need to give recognition to this holocaust and those who suffered from it. The best way to do it is to set up a commission for the purpose of documenting the cause and consequences of this manmade famine.

Mr. Chairman, in light of your time constraints, the balance of my statement goes into the Soviet Union's repression in this part of the world and their unwillingness at least to the public, to admit

that any such thing ever happened and I ask that the balance of the statement be inserted in the record.

Mr. MICA. Without objection.

Senator DeCONCINI. I really want to express my appreciation for these hearings, how important they are and hopefully you might be able to get a bill out even in this session.

Thank you very much.

[Senator DeConcini's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DENNIS DeCONCINI, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA, AND COCHAIR, DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S COUNCIL ON ETHNIC AMERICANS

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure for me to testify before your subcommittee in support of H.R. 4459 establishing a commission to study the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine. Mr. Chairman, I commend you on your considerable efforts to arrange these important hearings. The Senate has passed identical legislation (S. 2456) and I urge the members of this panel and the House to pass this bill. As a co-chairman of the Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans, I feel that a clear, comprehensive examination of the famine is not only beneficial, but vital.

As it stands now, little is known in the United States or the rest of the world about the details of the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine. I believe that this ignorance is dangerous and needs to be remedied. Present and future generations need to know the events that caused an estimated seven million people to die. With the knowledge, we could help prevent such a tragedy from ever occurring again. Ukrainian-American citizens feel that their heritage is being obliterated due to Soviet suppression of the facts and lack of Western interest. We need to give recognition to this holocaust and those who suffered from it. The best way to do this is to set up a commission for the purpose of documenting the causes and consequences of the man-made famine.

In studying this particular example of Soviet domestic policy in action, we would do well to pay particular attention to the reasoning of the Soviet leaders and methodology involved. One year after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the peasants of the Ukraine fought against Soviet control as a single unified national political force. The Soviet regime under Stalin ordered the deportation of Kulaks (wealthy peasants) and collectivization of the Ukrainian peasantry in an effort to break their will. Poor harvesting techniques in the Ukraine region were consistently higher than the actual harvest between 1930 and 1933.

In addition, collectivization reduced production by over 30 percent. Yet Stalin made little or no adjustments for the discrepancies between the actual harvest and the target level of production. By 1931, it was impossible for the Ukraine to meet the grain quotas Moscow imposed. The reaction by the Soviet government was to halt all deliveries of consumer items to those areas blacklisted for not meeting their quotas. The result was mass starvation.

The famine played a crucial role in the Soviet suppression of the Ukrainian people. By crushing the peasants and intimidating the intelligentsia, the Soviets were able to stamp out Ukrainian nationalism. Russification of the country began soon after. By being aware of the methods by which the Soviets have been able to gain control of one area, we could alert ourselves to future warning signals in other countries.

The purpose of the proposed Commission is to expand the world's knowledge of the Ukrainian famine and to provide further insight into the Soviet leadership by studying their role in this famine. The results of the study will be a welcome addition to the present information gap that exists in educational institutions, libraries, and the general public.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for giving me the chance to voice my support for establishing a Ukrainian Famine Study, outlined in H.R. 4459.

Mr. MICA. Senator, thank you.

If it were not for your work, as well as that of our colleagues Mr. Florio and Ms. Kaptur, this issue wouldn't receive the attention it is receiving. There has been a very concerted effort to raise public consciousness and I can't believe the work that has been done by you three in the last days and last session of Congress, to get other

Members and the public aware of the concerns. You have done an outstanding job. I commend each of you.

Mr. Yatron, would like to say a word on this?

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In the interest of brevity, I am going to follow suit and submit my opening statement for the record, but I, too, would like to welcome our two colleagues from the House and also the Senator, and we look forward to hearing your testimony and want to commend you for work and leadership on this very vital issue. Welcome to all three of you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Yatron's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. GUS YATRON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a brief statement.

You deserve tremendous credit for holding this most worthwhile and important hearing.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, I have a profound interest in learning more about the extent of human suffering, and Soviet complicity, in the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33. While a good deal of information has been documented over the years on the famine, many questions remain unanswered and much more needs to be known.

The famine in Ukraine stands as truly one of the worst human atrocities of our time and a poignant example of the ruthlessness and despicable nature of Stalinist Russia. Approximately 7 million Ukrainians starved to death, not as a result of a natural calamity such as an epidemic or a drought, but rather from what seems to have been a deliberate Soviet effort to totally suppress this large, vibrant, enterprising, but independent-minded nation. Ironically, and most unfortunately, the famine is also one of the most unpublicized and least understood tragedies in the 20th century.

It is morally compelling that we endeavor to raise the public consciousness of the Ukrainian famine. As the leader of the free world and a defender of human rights and justice, we cannot allow a brutality of this magnitude to remain submerged in obscurity.

Although post-Stalin leaders have disassociated themselves and their government from the excesses committed under that nefarious regime, the present Kremlin leadership still rules by repression, fear, harassment, and intimidation. The Soviet Union remains one of the worst offenders of human rights in the world today.

As a cosponsor of H.R. 4459, I enthusiastically welcome this opportunity to secure additional information and increase public awareness of the famine in Ukraine. May this hearing serve to strengthen our determination to expose other atrocities, to promote respect for human rights, to advance the cause of justice, and to help all those who suffer under the heavy hand of oppression.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Florio.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES J. FLORIO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. FLORIO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Yatron.

I, too, will be brief because this committee knows the facts behind this whole situation, that 7 million people dying in a famine is bad enough, but to appreciate the fact that it was deliberately induced by Soviet authorities makes it that much more reprehensible. The Soviets would have to shoot down 71 airliners a day for a year to match the devastation that was caused during that famine. It is our moral responsibility not to let this tragedy go down in history as the forgotten holocaust. "Memory is our shield," in the

words of Elie Wiesel. For this reason, I introduced H.R. 4459 a year ago to create a congressional commission.

The study will break the wall of silence, and provide a lesson to those in the future who need to have this brought home to them.

Finally, I just would like to say to those who say this would establish a bad precedent for other ethnic groups who would want similar commissions set up to study tragedies in their history, that this is not a Ukrainian issue or an ethnic issue. It is a human rights issue, and to judge this request on the basis of possible future requests is unfair. Let us judge the merits of any requests that come forward on a request-by-request basis.

I would like to underscore for you our obligation to the victims and to the survivors of this violent holocaust, our responsibilities to follow through with the legislation and the results of the commission that would come down, and I thank you very much.

Mr. MICA. Your comment, the silent holocaust, is so pertinent to this issue. I have to confess as chairman of this committee, that until you and my colleagues started to bring this issue to my attention, I had very little knowledge about this. To have a society with almost no knowledge about the death of 7 million individuals, seems to indicate that someone in the past has not raised the issue the way they should have.

I commend you for the tremendous work you have done.

[Mr. Florio's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES J. FLORIO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to testify in support of my bill, H.R. 4459, which calls for a Congressional study of the Ukraine famine of 1932-33. I would like to commend this Subcommittee for scheduling a hearing and affording this issue the opportunity to be discussed and debated.

Over 50 years ago, famine struck the Ukraine and resulted in the deaths of approximately 7 million people. Throughout history, natural disasters such as famines and droughts have plagued even the most fertile regions and caused tragedy and destruction. What is both cruel and unnatural about the Ukraine famine of 1932-33 is the fact that this famine was induced by Soviet authorities. It was a deliberate effort to subjugate an entire race and eradicate dissenters.

In the 1930's, Stalin initiated a systematized grain collectivization program. The bulk of the 1932 and 1933 grain crop from the Ukraine—the breadbasket of the Soviet Union—was exported. In 1918, the Soviets had brutally suppressed the Ukrainians and incorporated their nation into the Soviet Union denying them the right to self-determination. Though they were under Soviet domination, the Ukrainians never lost the desire for freedom and independence. To ensure that the Ukrainians would never again have the courage to fight their conquerors, and, at the same time, to provide food for the rest of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government exported the Ukraine grain crop.

Grain was seized from Ukrainian homes and granaries; importation of food into the region was banned. The death penalty was imposed on anyone discovered hoarding food. The area was quarantined to prevent peasants from leaving in search of food and reporting the horrors they had witnessed to the world. In twelve months, 7 million people starved to death.

Mr. Chairman, the Soviets would have to shoot down 71 airliners a day for a year to match the devastation of this famine.

Their tragedy ranks among the great genocides of the 20th century and parallels the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust. But because Soviet authorities suppressed information and restricted press reports to the West, very little is known about the famine today. History has given it the name of the "Forgotten Holocaust."

When Allied troops occupied Nazi Germany and entered the death camps of Irbinka and Auschwitz, the Nazi's unspeakable crime against humanity was uncov-

ered for the world to see. Testimonies of survivors were recorded, photographs taken, memorials planned. This documentation would forever fix the horror in the minds of men, remind them of the evil and, hopefully, prevent a repeat.

In contrast, the Ukrainian tragedy is not given more than a sentence in most history books. Soviet history books refer to it as the agricultural difficulties of the Thirties. Ironically, our nation formally recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, as millions were dying of starvation.

Mr. Chairman, it is our moral responsibility not to let this tragedy go down in the history books as the "Forgotten Holocaust." As Elie Wiesel once said, "Memory is our shield" against future inhumanity.

For this reason, I introduced H.R. 4459 a year ago, to create a Congressional Commission to study the causes and effects of this tragedy. In this one year, 120 of our colleagues and a majority of this Committee have supported this effort by becoming cosponsors. The other body has already passed an amended companion bill by voice vote.

My bill would create a bipartisan and judicious Congressional Commission that would study this tragedy with objectivity. This study will break the wall of silence and provide a lesson for the future. Even now, famine continues to be used as a weapon in Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Within three years, the study's results would be made available to Congress, the State Department, educational institutions, libraries and the general public.

It has been said that the Commission's mandate is too narrow to warrant a federal commission. To this I say: The famine of the Ukraine affected not only Ukrainians but other nationalities as well. The Commission would be charged with studying all the effects of this famine on the Ukrainian nation and on other nationalities as well.

It has been said that the Commission would be bureaucratically top-heavy setting up 21 highly paid members. To this I say: only the 12 public members would be paid on a part-time basis. The other body has appropriated \$400,000 over a two year period for this study. We spend millions on sophisticated weapons systems competing with the Soviets, our rivals. Can we not redirect some of that money towards studying and understanding the Soviet system? We must not forget that several of those involved in the grain collectivization program are leaders in the Soviet government today. Only by understanding their system can we begin to solve tensions that have plagued the two super-powers throughout the twentieth century.

It has been said that the research called for in this study has been adequately performed by the private sector. If so, why then are so few people aware of this tragedy? Scholars agree that the private sector cannot begin to undertake a study with the scope and credibility of a Congressional Commission. A Congressional Commission is a way of reaffirming our government's concern about this famine and similar famines in regions where food is used as a weapon.

Finally, it has been said that this would set a bad precedent for other ethnic groups who would want a similar commission set up to study the tragedies in their history. This is *not* a Ukrainian or an ethnic issue. It is a human rights issue. To judge this request on the basis of possible future requests is unfair. Let us judge the merit of these requests when and if they are made.

I would like to underscore for you our obligation to the victims and to the survivors in ensuring that never again will a tragedy like the Ukraine Famine be repeated. Only when we begin to study, to analyze, to question and to remember, can we honestly say, "Never Again." I thank you for your consideration.

Mr. MICA. Ms. Kaptur.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARCY KAPTUR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO, AND COCHAIR, DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S COUNCIL ON ETHNIC AMERICANS

Ms. KAPTUR. I greatly appreciate this opportunity to testify before your subcommittee in support of Congressman Florio's bill, H.R. 4459, legislation to create a committee to study the 1932-33 Ukraine famine.

I want to acknowledge your considerable efforts to schedule and hold these hearings. Even though Congress will adjourn shortly, I hope every effort will be made to move the legislation along.

I am testifying today not only as a cosponsor of the legislation under consideration, but also in my role as cochair of the Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans and as a descendant of victims of the Ukrainian holocaust.

This legislation is necessary for all Americans, not merely a symbolic gesture to Ukrainian Americans. As the wise saying warns: "Those who do not understand history are doomed to repeat it."

An estimated 7 million Ukrainians and other ethnic groups living in the Ukraine—including my own Polish great-grandmother who died trying to save orphan children—starved to death between 1932–33 when the Soviet Union seized grain to suppress a nationally conscious peasantry who were struggling valiantly to maintain their national identity and resist the collectivization of their farms. This massive violation of human rights, however, is one of the world's best kept secrets. The Soviet Union has effectively denied the occurrence and concealed all evidence. The legislation before us would remove this tragedy from obscurity.

The commission is a long overdue memorial. To know the story of this tragedy is to help us prevent its recurrence.

I will submit the remainder of my remarks for the permanent record.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Ms. Kaptur.

[Ms. Kaptur's prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT BY HON. MARCY KAPTUR, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO, AND COCHAIR, DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S COUNCIL ON ETHNIC AMERICANS

Mr. Chairman, I greatly appreciate this opportunity to testify before your subcommittee in support of H.R. 4459, legislation to create a committee to study the 1932–33 Ukrainian famine. Mr. Chairman, I want to particularly acknowledge your considerable efforts to schedule and hold these hearings. Although Congress will shortly adjourn, I hope that every effort will be made to move this legislation. The Senate, to its credit, has already passed a companion bill, and a majority of members of this panel and the full House Foreign Affairs Committee are cosponsors of H.R. 4459. I am confident that this hearing will provide the House with a persuasive record of testimony in support of this legislation.

I am testifying today not only as a cosponsor of the legislation under consideration, but also in my role as co-chair of the Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans and as a descendent of victims of the Ukrainian Holocaust.

This legislation is necessary for all Americans, not merely a symbolic gesture to Ukrainian-Americans. As the wise saying warns: "Those who do not understand history are doomed to repeat it." An estimated seven million Ukrainians and other ethnic groups living in the Ukraine (including my own Polish great-grandmother who died trying to save orphan children) starved to death between 1932–33 when the Soviet Union seized grain to suppress a nationally conscious peasantry who were struggling valiantly to maintain their national identity and resist the collectivization of their farms. This massive violation of human rights, however, is one of the world's best kept secrets. The Soviet Union has effectively denied the occurrence and concealed all evidence. Moreover, the history of this holocaust has received little attention in the West; most Americans know nothing about it. It has been ignored, unreported and forgotten—a gap in the history books.

The legislation before us would remove this tragedy from obscurity. H.R. 4459 calls for the establishment of a Congressional commission to investigate and verify the causes and consequences of the unspeakable crimes committed against the Ukrainian people during this period. The study would not only document history, but also give us important insights into the Soviet system.

The Commission is a long overdue memorial to the victims of the Ukrainian famine—a working monument to their valiant sacrifice—a voice for those who cannot speak for themselves.

The Commission would redress an injustice to all Ukrainian-Americans who have waited so long to have the truth about the fate of their countrymen between 1932–33 uncovered. The Democratic Party's Council on Ethnic Americans, which I co-

chaired with Senator Dennis DeConcini, held a series of hearings in cities with large ethnic populations across this country to listen to our people's concerns. During the course of the hearings, a number of witnesses urged support for this legislation. Their testimony provided compelling reasons for passage of H.R. 4459.

The Commission, however, would primarily provide important lessons for all Americans and all our fellow travelers on this planet. To know the story of this tragedy is to help us prevent its recurrence.

Mr. Chairman, I urge expeditious consideration of this meritorious legislation. Again, thank you and your subcommittee for holding this hearing.

Mr. MICA. Let me just ask a quick question.

I notice that the composition the legislation calls for includes Members from the House and Senate. Would anyone care to comment why we came up with that?

Mr. FLORIO. I included this in my remarks. Someone suggested it was top heavy with 21 members. The 12 public members would be paid on a part-time basis. The other body has appropriated \$400,000 over a 2-year period for this study. We spend millions on sophisticated weapons systems competing with the Soviets, our rivals, and it seems to me we should direct some of the money toward studying and understanding the Soviet system. The whole concept of using food as a weapon is something that we really should understand, so that I think the approach that we have taken is one that is moderate and is not inappropriately expensive.

Mr. MICA. Along with the public record of these hearings of some of the concerns that have been raised, what types of issues would you expect would be studied, specific case histories overall? Can you give us some kind of idea of how this report will be put together and in what form the final report would take? Would you ultimately expect to move for some type of action by the Congress by way of legislation, either condemning or commending, or legislation to set up an ongoing commission?

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Chairman, I think the most significant aspect of this whole initiative is that, the results of the Commission's study would have a firm imprint on them of a governmental work. Some would say, "Well, the private scholars can be out doing this sort of thing anyway." So many people don't know about this problem and that says the private scholars are not doing a very good job. We are having legitimacy of a governmental commission's report being put out into the field and we are ensuring that it will get attention, so we can start with this commission report being used as an educational vehicle. Education is the key thrust behind this initiative.

Senator DECONCINI. I agree with the Congressman, and I think that since the fact that both Houses of Congress may pass this bill, it is, in fact a national issue. That means that this commission will get significant attention when it does its study and reveals its final results. I have an idea where it is going to come down, but I suspect—I am like you—that it will be tremendously valuable educationally and would enhance the United States image within this country, and outside this country, as to the human rights issue. It is important that we care enough to spend some time to get to the bottom of it.

Mr. MICA. I couldn't agree with you more. There has been an excellent job in documenting the Holocaust in Germany and every time we see a symptom of a problem that could lead to that, it has

allowed us to highlight it and avoid it. We don't know the symptoms of what led to the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine.

We commend you again. If we can help avoid problems in future or present generations, this type of information will be most helpful.

Do any of you have any closing comments?

Mr. Yatron.

Mr. YATRON. One question. I was wondering how will the Commission's findings be used, and how will the Commission's work influence U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union and how might it affect our relations with them?

Senator DECONCINI. Let me give you my opinion, Mr. Yatron. It appears to me that one of the problems we have in this country is openness—and I wouldn't change it for anything, but it gives our adversaries the ability to know how to use our system. Quite frankly, a prime result of this legislation is to counter this misuse of our system by making proper use of our educational and media ability throughout the world in demonstrating the results of what has happened. We don't do enough of that, with Voice of America and other types of efforts. This will demonstrate and educate generations outside our country as to the severity of the Soviet Union.

We see it when they shoot down a defenseless jet airplane with passengers, but we don't see it every day and this is going to help demonstrate just how brutal it is. Whether or not it helps change them, we don't know, but it will make the world more aware.

Ms. KAPTUR. I also want to say I think in this day and age when we see Soviet influence in other parts of the world trying to take advantage of very humble people, poverty-stricken people, and trying to take advantage of a situation like that to promote their own political system, it is important for the United States to do everything in its power to show what the true cost of the Soviet system is. There is no more important example than this Ukrainian holocaust, to demonstrate how it suppresses human rights.

Mr. FLORIO. In furtherance of our own policy goals, in those areas where there is a competition of ideas between competing systems, it is important that the Soviet Union not be the beneficiary of its closed society structure, that we have to have out there facts and figures. We have an open society. People know our strengths and weaknesses, and it is important to those who are evaluating competing systems that they know this aspect of the Soviet system.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Staff has pointed out two questions. What kind of costs are we talking about, and how are you going to fix pay? Why do we need subpoena powers? Probably the people that you would most like to subpoena would be immune from anything we could do, though I may be wrong on that.

Mr. FLORIO. The subpoena power is almost a boilerplate provision that one puts into a governmental commission's authority, and the expectation is that maybe there not be a need for it, but there always should be the residual power of a commission to come with appropriate checks to ensure that the power is not misused, to have that type of information gathering potential.

With regard to the money as I have indicated, the other body has already appropriated \$400,000 over a 2-year period for the study. I think that is a reasonable amount.

Mr. MICA. Again, for the record, there is no list set forth of individuals in this country that you are looking to subpoena? This would be just a provision that you feel any commission like this should have?

Mr. FLORIO. Yes, to the latter.

Mr. MICA. All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The committee at this time will hear from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs, Mr. Palmer. I am sorry the committee was not sure who would be here when we started preparing the hearings, but we are very pleased to have you here.

As I indicated—I don't know if you were in the room—we are under a bit of a time constraint and I truly regret the situation, but in the last 2 days of Congress, to even be able to get this hearing together, I think has been a remarkable feat and a testament to the three who just testified. They did a tremendous job.

If you care to summarize, your entire statement will be included in the record, without objection.

STATEMENT OF ROBIE M.H. PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. PALMER. Because of your time constraints, I will submit my statement for the record.

Let me just say that this is a century which has witnessed many atrocities against man, perhaps more than in mankind's history. One of the least known and most awful clearly was this famine and what Stalin did with it.

The State Department and the administration feel, that the objectives of the bill are absolutely right and terribly important. We also feel that this committee and the Senate side as well are serving the purposes of the bill by holding these hearings, that it is very important for the American people and those beyond this country to understand that there have been these atrocities in the Soviet Union.

That said, we do have some concerns which I stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and which are reiterated in my testimony. I won't repeat those concerns in detail.

Let me say briefly that we are concerned that it be pointed out that in addition to the 7 million Ukrainians who died, there were perhaps as many as 3 to 4 million others who died. We think that it is important not to take too narrow an approach.

We also think it is important to note that there is serious scholarly work going on in this field, and that, therefore, some of the desires of the drafters of the bill are accomplished already in the private sector. Finally, we are concerned about setting a precedent for other ethnic groups with legitimate concerns—concerned that a number of commissions might result, if we went ahead in this particular area. But, finally, let me reiterate in the strongest possible

way that the administration is fully in accord with the purposes of the bill.

I was with the President and with Secretary Shultz last week when we had the meetings with Gromyko and the President made perfectly clear to the Soviet leadership, through Gromyko, how strongly we feel about human rights. He let them know that our approach to the Soviet Union will always remain a reflection of American values. And in that sense, the hearings that you are having here today are an important part of this administration's approach to the Soviet Union.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Palmer's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBIE M.H. PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, thank you for giving me an opportunity to testify today on H.R. 4459, which proposes the creation of a Commission on the Ukrainian Famine. The Department of State welcomes Congressional interest in this terrible chapter in human history.

As I testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier this year, insufficient attention has been paid in the United States to the Great Famine of 1932-33, and to most Americans it remains a little-known event in the early history of the Soviet Union. The most horrible aspect of the Great Famine is that it was largely man-made and exploited by the leadership of the Soviet Union for its own political gain. It is now generally recognized that the seriousness of the famine was purposely aggravated by Stalin to subdue resistance by the peasants to collectivization and to establish firmly his unquestioned rule.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, although fully aware of the situation in the Ukraine and having complete control of food supplies within its borders, failed to take relief measures to check the famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions resulting from it. In complete disregard of international opinion, they informed the appeals of international organizations and other nations to do otherwise. Despite a drop in food production in the Ukraine, harvests continued to be exported, food was confiscated from granaries and homes, food imports were banned, and the death penalty was imposed for hoarding food. Internal controls were imposed on travel to keep peasants from going to cities to search for food and to prevent them from leaving the Ukraine. Resisting peasants were deported to Siberia.

Some historians estimate that more than seven million Ukrainians, and millions of others, died as a result of this callous and deliberate act. The devastation of these years continues to leave its mark on the Ukrainian people and has affected their economic, social and political development to an enormous extent.

The Department of State welcomes and supports efforts to expand our knowledge of the Soviet Union, including its dark history under Stalin. Under appropriate circumstances, we could support the establishment of a commission to examine that history, if there were no better alternative methods at hand. However, we believe that there are a number of matters to be considered with regard to the present proposal to establish a commission on the Ukrainian famine.

The Senate amendments in the final version of S. 2456 move in the direction of State Department concerns by reducing the size of the commission and its cost. Nevertheless, our concerns remain essentially the same.

First, the mandate of this commission seems overly narrow. The legislative history of H.R. 4459 indicates that the primary purpose of the commission would be to focus on the plight of the Ukrainian people, rather than focusing on all who suffered and died during this Great Famine. While the Ukrainians unquestionably were the single ethnic group that was most devastated, it should be noted that the effects of the famine were keenly in areas outside the Ukraine, including the grain-growing areas of Northern Caucasus and Volga regions. In addition to the Ukrainians who died, perhaps as many as three to four million others died as well. We would hope that any study undertaken would analyze the effects of the famine in all areas and on all peoples of the Soviet Union.

Second, the commission still seems to be somewhat top-heavy bureaucratically, despite the reductions reflected in the final version of S. 2456. It is not clear why the commission requires fifteen members in addition to staff and researchers/scholars.

Third, we would note that the work envisaged for the commission is already being performed to a large extent in the private sector. Creation of a commission, therefore, appears to duplicate needlessly work already being performed at private expense.

Fourth, we believe it likely that the creation of one such commission would lead inevitably to suggestions that other commissions be created—at ever growing expense to the taxpayer—to examine issues involving the Soviet Union not covered by the narrow mandate of the first commission. For example, the substantial Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian communities might seek the creation of a commission to study the sufferings of the Baltic peoples under Stalin. The American Jewish community might seek the formation of a commission to study the plight of Soviet Jews under Stalin and after. These subjects, and many others, are legitimate and necessary subjects for study if we are better to understand the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that all of these studies are more appropriately funded and undertaken by the private sector.

The State Department does not intend by its opposition to this commission to diminish the historical import of the Great Famine of 1932-33 or the grievous suffering of the Ukrainian people during this period. We encourage the efforts of the Ukrainian-American community to bring those events to the attention of the American people and to their proper place in our history books. But, while the Department fully understands the considerations which have impelled the introduction of H.R. 4459, we would recommend against favorable consideration of the bill at this time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Is the State Department doing anything independently of what the Congress might do on this? Are any studies ongoing? Has the State Department initiated any studies or does it have any in progress?

Mr. PALMER. We have been very strongly supportive of the Hamilton-Lugar bill establishing about \$5 million a year for further studies on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

We have a Commission which is designing the specific research programs under that, and as I did on the Senate side, I would urge people who are interested in this field to think about that as one source of funding for further studies.

Mr. MICA. But there is nothing going on.

Mr. PALMER. Not at the moment.

For example, there is an institute at Harvard of Ukrainian studies where Professor Mace and others have been doing serious work in this field. I know that Professor Mace himself strongly supports this bill. He thinks it would be useful to have more done. We agree it would be useful to have more done.

Mr. MICA. That would be the academic—you mentioned academic studies and private sector. How do you separate them?

Mr. PALMER. I meant to lump them together. I am not sure that Brookings is doing anything in this field. We could submit for the record what studies we are aware of.

Mr. MICA. Please submit for the record any studies that the State Department has on this specific subject.

If you would like, submit a summary, but in bibliography form, of all the work that has been done in this area. Please also submit for the record any references you may have to academic studies or private sector initiatives specifically on this subject. That would be helpful.

What you are saying to me in effect, is that we are doing some broad studies in a number of areas, but nothing here, and you feel the best that could be done is the congressional commission. You support the goal, I understand. In addition to congressional hear-

ings, it may be that State or others have not done enough. This is why there is a need. Submit that for the record, please.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned the Hamilton-Lugar Commission. Would this be an appropriate place for these people to go?

Mr. PALMER. I believe so. The group which reviews proposals for research projects is independent. It makes its own decisions, so we can't dictate to them but I believe that that is an appropriate place to seek funding for further research in this field. It was precisely for that reason that Hamilton-Lugar was enacted—to provide better research and studies for the American people on Soviet history and Soviet current realities.

Mr. MICA. Thank you very much. We would like to have that information.

[The information follows:]

STUDIES AND PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1932-33 IN THE UKRAINE

STUDIES CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS

Robert Conquest of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and James Mace of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute are working on a major study that will examine the Great Famine within the context of the history of collectivization in the Ukraine. It will be based primarily on sources other than oral testimony. This work was commissioned by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, which received funding for the project from Ukrainian-American groups. It represents the first major study of the Ukrainian Famine by the American academic community.

James Mace of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute gathered about 50 interviews with Famine Survivors in 1983 under a pilot project funded by a Ukrainian-American business group. The funds were sufficient to collect the interviews but not to transcribe them; the project is therefore incomplete.

Miron Dolot is working on an eyewitness account of life during the Ukrainian famine of 1933, which will be published by Norton (ref: Ukrainian Weekly, September 30, 1984).

The Canadian Government, through Canada's Multiculturalism Program (which provides support to Canadian organizations and individuals wishing to maintain their history, language and culture), has allocated \$100,000 for research on the Great Famine. \$50,000 was given to the Toronto-based Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, which will use the funds to complete production of a 60-minute documentary film entitled "Harvest of Despair." Another \$50,000 was given to the Foundation to Commemorate the 1933 Ukraine Famine (in Lachine, Quebec), which will use the funds to record on videotape the personal experiences of Canadian citizens who survived the Ukrainian famine. Copies of the taped interviews will be deposited in the Public Archives of Canada and other educational institutions, where they will be accessible to researchers, academics and students. Approximately 90 survivors will be interviewed.

ORAL HISTORY SOURCES

Harvard University Refugee Interview Project, post-World War II-1953. Interviews were collected from refugees from the Soviet Union. The collection contains eyewitness descriptions of the famine and is available for the use of researchers at Harvard's Russian Research Institute.

PUBLICATIONS

Black Deed of the Kremlin. A White Book. Vol. II. The Great Famine in Ukraine in the Years 1932-33, Detroit, The World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Soviet Regime—DOBRUS, The Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime in the United States, 1955. Includes a study by Professor Dubynets, testimony of eyewitnesses, and photographs.

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Dolot, Miron, *Who Killed Them and Why?*, Cambridge, Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984.

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Haliy, Mykola, *Organized Famine in Ukraine, 1932-33*, Chicago, Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1963.

Kopelev, Lev, "The Last Grain Collections (1933)," in *The Education of a True Believer*, New York, Harper & Row, 1978.

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Oleskiw, Stephen, *The Agony of a Nation: The Great Man-made Famine in Ukraine, 1932-33*; London, The National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine, 1932-33, 1983.

Pigido-Pravoberezhny, Fedir, *The Stalin's Famine: Ukraine in the Year 1933*; London, Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, 1953.

Pliushch, Vasyl, *Genocide of the Ukrainian People: The Artificial Famine in the Years 1932-33*, Munich, Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, 1973.

Sahaydak, M., comp., *Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR: An Underground Journal from Soviet Ukraine*, Smoloskp, Baltimore, Maryland, 1976.

Solovei, Dmytro, *The Golgotha of Ukraine: Eyewitness Account of the Famine in the Ukraine . . .*, New York, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953.

Woropay, Olexa, *The Ninth Circle*, Cambridge, Harvard Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1983.

Mr. MICA. All right. We have one additional panel, Mr. Ihor Olshaniwsky, the coordinator of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, Mr. David Roth, national ethnic liaison, American Jewish Committee, and Mr. John Kromkowski, chairman of the board, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

Welcome. Let me say for the third time how much I apologize. Again, if it were not for the importance of the issue this would be a matter that might not even have been heard in this session of Congress. We do recognize the importance.

STATEMENT OF IHOR OLSHANISWKY, COORDINATOR, AMERICANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. Mr. Chairman, and Congressman Yatron, I am grateful to Chairman Dan Mica for scheduling these hearings on H.R. 4459, a bill that would establish a congressionally chaired commission to study and report on the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine. I also thank Congressman James J. Florio, sponsor of H.R. 4459, and the 121 Congressmen who joined as cosponsors of this important legislation. It is a great honor for me to appear before the Subcommittee on International Operations on behalf of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine [AHRU] and the Committee to Commemorate the 1932-33 Genocide Victims in Ukraine—representing a total of over one half million Ukrainian Americans.

Due to constraints of time I am not going to present all of my testimony today. It will be submitted to the subcommittee, in which we have pointed out why this bill should be passed by Congress and the commission established.

Mr. MICA. Without objection, your testimony, as well as the testimony of the other two witnesses at the table, will be submitted for the record in total. You may summarize.

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. I would like to point out why we feel it is important to have this bill passed immediately. There are still some witnesses and survivors left from the genocidal famine of 1932-33.

These survivors are old. Some are sick, and next year may be too late for some of them to offer testimony.

Mr. MICA. How many?

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. A few thousand.

Much information can be obtained from these eyewitnesses, and testifiers of the famine. Since many of the survivors are reluctant to speak out and relive the horrors of their famine experiences, a prestigious congressional commission would help them overcome their reluctance in order to set history in its proper perspective. Therefore, we must act now. There is an urgency to establish the congressional famine commission in the waning moments of this legislative session.

We see the Congressional Famine Commission as a joint venture between the community and the U.S. Congress. With our cooperation and assistance, the commission can make this a viable project that will draw on the resources of the community. It will be a worthy monument to the innocent victims of this genocidal famine. The witnesses will be reassured that their testimonies will be properly recorded for the benefit and use of the American people. Their testimonies will assist in the formulation of a more introspective foreign policy. Through their testimonies this crime will not be forgotten and a repetition of such horrors might be prevented.

The commission will not be duplicating existing studies but will incorporate them in this endeavor. We will seek volunteers to donate their time and effort for this task. We will solicit donations from the private sector.

Thank you.

[Mr. Olshaniwsky's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF IHOR OLSHANIWSKY, COORDINATOR, AMERICANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I am grateful to Chairman Dan Mica for scheduling these hearings on H.R. 4459, a bill that would establish a congressionally chaired commission to study and report on the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine. I also thank Congressman James J. Florio, sponsor of H.R. 4459, and the 120 congressmen who joined as cosponsors of this important legislation. It is a great honor for me to appear before the Subcommittee on International Operations on behalf of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU) and the Committee to Commemorate the 1932-33 Genocide Victims in Ukraine—representing a total of over one half million Ukrainian Americans.

Almost one year ago Congressman Florio introduced H.R. 4459. A companion bill, S. 2456, was introduced by Senator Bill Bradley on March 31, 1984. Hearings on S. 2456 were held in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 1, 1984. The testimonies offered were in favor of establishing the famine commission with the exception of the representative from the State Department. His testimony displayed a lack of knowledge of the bill's language, employed conjecture and contained disinformation which was a disservice to our open form of government. His erroneous testimony was quoted widely by the news media and presented a negative picture to the public. I am asking permission to include in my testimony AHRU's rebuttal to the State Department's position and also letters-to-editor published in *The Star Ledger*, Newark, N.J., and the *Evening Press*, Binghamton, N.Y. S. 2456 was passed by the Senate on September 21 with some modifications that should overcome objections that were voiced by members of Congress.

There are many reasons why we think that the creation of a congressionally chaired commission is important and I will try to address them here.

(1) This genocidal famine affected hundreds of thousands of Americans who had their roots in Soviet Ukraine. Almost every family lost relatives and friends. Great numbers of naturalized American citizens were survivors of this genocide. Can we

ignore the nightmare, the suffering, and the loss of dear ones by so many of our countrymen?

(2) We must prevent a Soviet cover-up from prevailing in the recorded history of mankind. Besides, the old men of the Kremlin are still in power. These are the men who in their youth were the perpetrators of this horrible crime against humanity. We must pinpoint the inner workings of our present day adversary in order to develop a foreign policy toward the Soviet Union without illusions. Only by learning the hard lessons of the past can we hope to prevent recurrences of political genocides in the future.

(3) We Americans must promulgate the principles upon which this great country was founded—principles of democracy, freedom, human rights and human dignity. We have learned immensely from the studies of the Nazi-imposed holocaust, the Armenian genocide, but we must also acquire an adequate knowledge of the Soviet uses of food as an political tool. Civilized nations must always be willing to review and remember not only the glories of the past but also its horrors if we are to prevent their recurrence.

(4) From a practical point of view, the study of Soviet behavior and its methods are of paramount importance to all of us—especially to the Department of State and our policy makers. In a democratic country like ours it is a near impossibility to develop a foreign policy without the support of the general public. The study of Soviet conduct and the nature of the Soviet system is an educational process vital to our understanding the international dilemmas facing us and is an important part of our national defense. Only through a well-informed American public can we develop a reliable long-term national policy toward the Soviet Union.

(5) We believe that the American public needs an impartial study with unbiased conclusions. One cannot suppose that a study conducted by a privately-funded group with its limited accessibility would have the same recognition as a congressional study. Furthermore, the bill provides the congressional commission with subpoena powers, a call to all available willing and unwilling eyewitnesses, and access to the archives of all government agencies.

(6) Reacting to the Soviet government's methods, deeds, and strategies, I am not about to criticize those in our government who believe in strong national defense; however, I do not believe that our defense posture should consist solely of a building up of military hardware. In the present age of advanced weaponry and the danger of total annihilation of mankind we must stress the need of settling our differences through peaceful means. However, we must be realistic and utilize all available data to our advantage. The Soviet Union starts indoctrinating its pupils at the grammar school level with erroneous information about our country and the dangers that our "imperialistic system" presents to the world. We can counter this in the true democratic spirit by presenting correct information not only to peoples of the Soviet Union via Voice of America and Radio Liberty but also to the American public. This endeavor should not be the job of one ethnic group or of individual citizens. It should be the concern of us all—including the United States Congress and the Executive Branch, together with its State Department.

Therefore, we urge the members of the Subcommittee on International Operations to act favorably and promptly on H.R. 4459 and to prevail upon the full Foreign Affairs Committee to report this bill out immediately for a floor vote. We ask this Subcommittee to accept the revisions provided by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee without further changes.

Why is it so important that this bill be passed immediately? Because there are still some survivors and witnesses left from the genocide famine of 1932-33. These survivors are old and sick. Next year may be too late for many of them to offer testimony. Much raw data can be obtained from these eyewitness testifiers of the famine. Since many of the survivors are reluctant to speak out and re-live the horrors of their famine experiences, a prestigious congressional commission would help them overcome their reluctance in order to set history in its proper perspective. Therefore, we must act now. There is an urgency to establish the congressional famine commission in the waning moments of this legislative session.

We see the congressional famine commission as a joint venture between the community and the U.S. Congress. With our cooperation and assistance, the commission can make this a viable project that will draw on the resources of the community. It will be a worthy monument to the innocent victims of this genocidal famine. The witnesses will be reassured that their testimonies will be properly recorded for the benefit and use of the American people. Their testimonies will assist in the formulation of a more introspective foreign policy. Through their testimonies this crime will not be forgotten and a repetition of such horrors might be prevented.

The commission will not be duplicating existing studies but will incorporate them in this endeavor. We will seek volunteers to donate their time and effort for this task. We will solicit funds from private foundations, corporations and individuals. We will search for all available data that could be utilized by this commission. We will actively seek out the surviving witnesses who can tell us the true story of this horror. If unable to travel, we will go to their homes and help to record their testimonies. We are interested in helping the commission to produce a worthwhile study that will not become a cumbersome and expensive bureaucratic project but one that will enlighten present and future generations.

In 1976 in Kiev, Mykola Rudenko, a Ukrainian poet and human rights activist, founded the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Nine courageous men and women joined him in this venture; many more joined later. All of them were subsequently arrested, deported, or died in Soviet labor camps. At its inception the group wrote Memorandum #1 expressing the feeling of most Ukrainians to the leaders of the Soviet Union and to the free peoples of the world. In this memorandum they wrote about the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine as one of the tools of Soviet oppression. They appealed to the world to react to this genocide. Eight years have passed since that memorandum was issued. After establishing the famine commission we will send a message to Rudenko, to the surviving members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group and to the untold millions of oppressed Ukrainians to reassure them that the tragedy of Ukrainian nation will be not a mere footnote in the pages of history. We will say that we, the citizens of a free society, heard their plea and are working to investigate and expose one of the greatest crimes against humanity.

To Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, the knowledge that the greatest legislative body in the free world found it appropriate to establish a congressional commission to study, gather and disseminate all the facts about the famine will be a moral victory. It will give them the encouragement to keep alive their quest for attaining human and national rights during this dark period of totalitarian rule.

We cannot afford to wait another year while the number of survivors of this tragedy is rapidly decreasing. We appeal to the Chairman and members of the Subcommittee to act promptly for passage of this bill.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee. I thank you for this opportunity to testify in support of H.R. 4459.

[From the Scranton Times, Aug. 28, 1984]

UKRAINIANS WANT BIG LIE EXPOSED

(By Joseph X. Flannery)

Ukrainian-Americans may never live to see the liberation of the homeland of their ancestors—now part of the Soviet Union—but they are determined to keep alive at least the memory of the Ukraine as a free and independent state.

Their top priority is to educate the world about the time when, shortly after the Russian revolution, Kremlin leaders, primarily Premier Joseph Stalin, caused an estimated 7 million Ukrainians to starve to death.

Ukrainian-Americans want that famine—which has been one of the world's best kept secrets—to be investigated and verified by an independent commission.

There are now bills pending in the Senate and the House to create such a commission. (U.S. Rep. Joseph M. McDade is one of the 111 co-sponsors of the House bill).

What Ukrainian-Americans hope is that a commission with the authority of the U.S. government will hold hearings to verify this 1932-33 horror which the Kremlin insists never took place.

There are about 2 million Ukrainian-Americans in the United States, including about 10,000 in northeastern Pennsylvania. There once were many famine survivors who could have supplied first-person stories. Some escaped from that part of Europe before Russia tightened its grip. Others got out during the shifts of populations in World War II. But many have died.

[From the Binghamton Evening Press, (NY), Sept. 10, 1984]

BLOCKING FAMINE STUDY UNFAIR

Millions of words were convincingly delivered at the recent Democratic and publican conventions, and the subsequent political campaigning will give American

voters a distinct choice in selecting their governmental leaders. However, one wonders what effect the will of the electorate has on the established agencies of the United States government which continue to move at a snail's pace—especially the State Department.

When the country mandates to alter its course, the bureaucrats at the ship of state plod another hundred miles before making even a slight turn toward the direction the country is heading. The attempts of the White House and numerous members of Congress in the past eight years to inform the American public about Soviet violations of human rights, its brutal suppression of the Afghanistans and its ceaseless military build-up has not changed the State Department's sterile and sluggish approach.

As an example, I cite the department's mindless opposition to the establishment of a congressionally chaired commission that would provide pertinent facts about the man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 and insights into the Soviet system.

Some seven million Ukrainians perished, almost one fourth of the whole nation, in this Soviet government-engineered famine in the richest agricultural country of Europe. At the height of this terrible tragedy the State Department's experts urged President Franklin D. Roosevelt to enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Fifty-one years later in 1984, they testified against passage of S. 2456 (a bill to establish a famine commission), at hearings conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (*The Evening Press* article of Aug. 3—"Ukraine famine memorial rejected"), chaired by Sen. Charles Percy, R-Ill.

It became clear to the people present at the hearings that State Department representative Robie Palmer and those who prepared his testimony never bothered to analyze the language of S. 2456 or render it a careful reading. Palmer's testimony was not unlike the Soviet government's practice of spreading disinformation by distorting the facts.

His objections were arbitrary, capricious and unworthy of a representative of the Department of State, thus showing the low esteem accorded the famine study, the 133 congressional sponsors of it and the numerous members of the American community who are supporting it.

The most offensive objection advanced by Palmer was his version of the domino theory which suggests that creation of the famine commission would generate demands from other nationalities who suffered atrocities from the Soviet Union for endless study commissions. He speculated that "the substantial Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian communities might seek the creation of a commission to study the sufferings of the Baltic peoples under Stalin "or that the American Jewish community might seek the formation of a commission to study the plight of Soviet Jews under Stalin and after."

Why not? Are the Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, or Jews second-class citizens? Have they not contributed greatly to the economic, social and cultural life of this country? Are they not taxpayers? Are they not supporting, through their tax money, the operations of the State Department? Were they not among those who paid the supreme sacrifice to defend this country and all that it stands for?

We consider it most unfair and prejudicial for the State Department to object to the proposed congressional Ukrainian famine study (or any other future proposal for a congressional study) based on conjecture. We believe that each proposal for a commission, study or special project should be considered on its own merits. Issues involving foreign policy matters are too important to be left entirely to the "experts" at Foggy Bottom.

IHOR OLSHANIWSKY,
Coordinator,
Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.



Map shows the Ukraine, with other republics of the Soviet Union to its north and east heavily shaded.

[From the (Newark, NJ), Star-Ledger, Aug. 13, 1984]

SPOTLIGHTING THE UKRAINE FAMINE

DEAR EDITOR: Our State Department continues its ostrich-like attitude in dealing with the Soviet Union. In a recently held Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing which I attended (also reported in your newspaper) a graphic illustration was shown by the State Department's opposition to a proposed congressional commission that would study the facts and consequences of the deliberately imposed 1932-33 famine in Ukraine by the Soviet government.

Testifying with spurious arguments and distorted data against setting up such a commission leads me to believe that the State Department buries its head in the sand and does not want American people to hear about the Soviet's use of food as a tool to commit atrocities for keeping its population in line.

By arguing against the public's right to know the circumstances of the 20th Century Soviet-sponsored genocide, the State Department exhibits its petrified bureaucratic callousness toward the issue of forced starvation thus giving encouragement for further adventurism by the Soviets who cry "peace" while we see the opposite happening under our very noses.

WALTER BODNAR.

[From the (Northern New Jersey) Record, Sept. 4, 1984]

SOVIETS STILL HIDE THEIR DARK DEEDS IN UKRAINE

(By James E. Mace)

Is it possible to kill one quarter of the population of the largest country in Europe and to keep it a secret?

Is it possible to deliberately starve to death 7 million people, including 3 million children under the age of 5?

Could American and European journalists refuse to report—and even deliberately deny—the existence of such a horror?

Could diplomats in Europe and the United States be fully aware of the genocide but decide that speaking the truth would be awkward, untimely, impolitic, inexpedient—in a word, unacceptable?

Not only is it possible, but it actually happened 50 years ago.

In 1933, 7 million people were starved to death in Ukraine, one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union. The famine wasn't the result of any natural calamity such as drought or epidemic. It didn't accompany the devastation and privation caused by war. The famine in Ukraine occurred in peacetime, as the result of a deliberate Soviet policy directed against a clearly delineated segment of its own citizenry.

This famine was caused. It was the reality of the rule laid down in 1921 by Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet commissar of foreign affairs: "Food is a weapon."

The famine was the government's response to continuing Ukrainian resistance to Soviet rule. After 13 years of Russian occupation, Moscow was unable to solidify its control in that country. The Ukrainians were (and are) the largest non-Russian nation within the Soviet Union, and they remained annoyingly obstinate. Stalin's solution was simple: He starved them to death.

The Central Statistical Office stopped publishing population data. The internal passport system was introduced Dec. 27, 1932, and the Ukrainian-Russian border was sealed. Communist Party activists and security troops were sent into Ukraine from Russia, and food was, quite literally, taken from people's mouths.

Ukrainian villages starved. Russian villages, a few hundred yards across the border, did not.

At the same time, confiscated Ukrainian grain was exported by the Soviet government and dumped on world markets. In 1932, the Soviet Union exported 550,917 metric tons of wheat alone. In 1933, as the famine in Ukraine was being intensified, so was the Soviet export of wheat. By the end of that year, the Soviet government exported 748,248 metric tons—a remarkable 36 percent increase.

By the end of that same year, the United States negotiated the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union with the same Maxim Litvinov. The Soviet dumping of Ukrainian grain on world markets in large measure caused the depressed world prices for America's own wheat farmers, which itself was a prime factor militating in favor of U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Soviet: U.S. agriculture would have a ready market for its grain.

Ukraine, historically known as the "breadbasket of Europe," became one vast graveyard. New York's Jewish Daily Forward was one of the few Western newspapers that was not dissuaded from reporting the truth:

"We saw it with our own eyes in Ukraine. Unrestrained famine raged and does so to this day, along with hunger; typhus; swollen, naked corpses; empty villages whose inhabitants have been deported, died, or run away; and with cannibalism that has ceased to be a punishable."

One estimate of the number of Ukrainians who were killed is as high as 15 million, a figure equal to the population of all of Central America. But even the more conservative number of 7 million deaths is staggering.

The British Sovietologist Robert Conquest testified before the U.S. Senate last November and put the number of deaths in a more current perspective: "The Kremlin would have to shoot down an airliner a day for about 70 years to match the death toll of Stalin's terror famine in Ukraine."

The fact that this tragedy is largely unknown is of great and disquieting relevance today. One of the greatest dangers that George Orwell's "1984" warned us against was the manipulation of thought and information. And the ease with which the premeditated death of 7 million people has been hidden from the consciousness of the world is a chilling example of what Orwell's book is all about. Despite their own documentation of a dramatic drop in Ukraine's population in 1933, the Soviets to this day deny that the famine ever occurred.

When a few informed Westerners briefed international relief agencies about the famine, and those agencies offered to help, Moscow replied that there was no need for aid.

The Soviets arranged carefully staged tours for Western celebrities such as George Bernard Shaw and Edouard Herriot, the prime minister of France. Upon his return to France, Herriot categorically denied "the lies about the famine."

The Soviet disinformation effort was aided, consciously and unconsciously, by many people in the West. Many intellectuals scoffed at the "scare stories" about their idealized Soviet utopia. Western diplomats, negotiating the formal recognition

of the Soviet Union and its acceptance into membership of the League of Nations, did not want to irritate the Soviets by revealing the reports they had confirming the famine.

Most disgraceful was the behavior of Western correspondents such as Walter Duranty of The New York Times. In the Thirties, Duranty was one of the most influential journalists in America. He received the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting about the Soviet Union, and the Times was praised for providing "the most enlightening, dispassionate, and readable dispatches from a great nation in the making which appeared in any newspaper in the world."

The Soviets also held Duranty in equally high esteem, awarding him the Lenin Prize. But recently discovered evidence reveals how Duranty was able to garner Soviet praise. A thoroughly documented article appearing in the November 1983 issue of *Commentary* shows that Duranty cooperated with Soviet censors in suppressing information about the famine.

In private, however, Duranty is on record as admitting to British diplomats that, based on his travels in Ukraine, he estimated that as many as 10 million people were dying from starvation.

Even today, it's difficult to publicize the facts about the famine. It remains the least understood of all the tragedies of this century, an event that has disappeared from the public consciousness so completely that it represents the most successful example of the denial of an act of genocide by its perpetrators. In the recent eight-volume Soviet history of Ukraine, there are barely three lines about "some difficulties" in the agricultural sector in the Thirties.

In the West, where there are a considerable number of survivors and other eyewitnesses of the famine, the Soviet approach is somewhat different. While Soviet spokesmen admit that there were "difficulties," they quickly add that during the Depression there was starvation in the United States and in Canada. That's like comparing a headache with a bullet in the head.

What is the relevance of all this for today?

Many of the young party activists who were sent from Russia to confiscate food from Ukrainians in 1933 are now respected elder statesmen in Moscow. Yet we continue to scrutinize the liquor preferences, musical tastes, and dancing aptitude of today's Soviet leaders in a manner reminiscent of priests in ancient Rome analyzing chicken entrails for an insight into the future. It would seem more relevant if we were aware of the history that today's Soviet leaders helped make.

STATEMENT BY DR. JAMES MACE OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY INCLUDED IN TESTIMONY OF IHOR OLSHANIWSKY

One of the major problems with a project of this kind is that of source materials. Since the Soviet government persists in its denial of what it did in 1932-33, it is unrealistic to expect cooperation from that government in the form of access to archival materials. Yet, even in the matter of archives, we are not completely without resources. The Smolenak archive, carried off by the Germans during the Second World War and now housed in the United States, contains numerous police reports detailing the reactions of local peasants to the plight of Ukrainians who had fled their own starved villages for areas in Russia, like the Smolenak *oblast*, where food was available. Archival materials from the *rayon* (county) of Krynychansk near Dnipropetrovsk also reached the United States, and these materials contain a partial death register and minutes of local official discussions on grain seizures. Similar materials from the secret police archive of Chornukhy *raion*, Poltava *oblast*, were published in the 1950s from materials carried out of Ukraine by Ukrainian refugees during the war.

Far more abundantly available in the West are various organs of the official Soviet Ukrainian press during the period. The famine was, of course, not mentioned in the Soviet press, but the measures that caused it had to be announced before they could be carried out, and the official press described these measures in fascinating detail. This can be supplemented by later historical and census data.

The press of the United States, Canada, and Europe carried much information on the famine, often belatedly. Materials published by Ukrainian communities in Western Ukraine (then under Polish rule), the United States, and Canada, are particularly important in revealing how much about the famine was known outside the Soviet Union and when it was known. These reports played a critical role in activating the Ukrainian communities outside the Soviet Union in both their efforts to make the plight of their countrymen known and in organizing relief efforts (the

latter in the face of official Soviet resistance, mitigated to some extent by the profiteering of the Soviet *torgain* apparatus).

The most important source of information about the famine is, of course, the memory of those who witnessed it. A few Western journalists and former members of the Soviet apparatus of food extraction have told what they saw, and more information of this type must be sought out and collected. Thousands of Ukrainians who survived the famine came to North America and Western Europe after the Second World War. They are now dispersed throughout the Western world, many deeply traumatized by their experiences under Soviet rule. Some have had the courage to talk about their experiences, and others would undoubtedly do so if the commitment were made to locate them.

Much declassified material regarding the famine resides in the archives of various governments, including the government of the United States. One question that must be asked is this: how much did the governments of the free world know and why did they do so little?

Recent work by scholars such as Dr. Robert Conquest of the Hoover Institution and Dr. James Mace of Harvard University has helped to indicate how much information about the famine is available to trained scholars. They have increased our knowledge a great deal. But the scope of the problem is beyond the resources of private institutions and individual scholars.

This nation has long held that government exists to do for individuals what they cannot do for themselves. Individuals cannot locate and interview the remaining witnesses of the famine in the span of time necessary. Those who witnessed an event over half a century ago diminish in number with each passing year. Only government can provide the resources to reach them before their knowledge is lost to us forever. Only government can allow us to discover what the agencies of our government knew and what decisions were made on the basis of that knowledge. Only government can provide the resources to enable us to learn all that can be learned about and from this tragedy.

Americans of Ukrainian descent are like American Jews in their attachment to their shared legacy of suffering, a commonality of experience based on their having suffered the ultimate crime against humanity, the crime of genocide. Our government has wisely committed its resources to the study of the Holocaust suffered by the Jews in recognition of the fact that it is only through knowledge that we may fortify our resolve that such things will never again take place. Americans of Ukrainian descent now ask a similar commitment from our government. We know that it is only through a greater sensitivity to the issue of genocide based on knowledge that all Americans can make firm our stand in all places and for all time: never again.

Mr. MICA. At this time, before we hear from the other witnesses, we have been joined by our ranking minority member, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to commend you, Mr. Chairman, for initiating this hearing, so that the important issues surrounding the Ukrainian famine can be made known not only to the Congress but to the entire Nation. I have been pleased to be a cosponsor of this legislation establishing the commission and believe it is extremely important to make certain that the true picture of the Soviet Union's inhumane attack on Ukrainians and other people is made widely known. I hope as a result of these hearings and the adoption of this legislation that we can add an important chapter to the history of that part of the world, to let the true facts be known to the entire world, and to prevent similar tragedy from occurring.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Mr. Roth.

STATEMENT OF DAVID G. ROTH, NATIONAL ETHNIC LIAISON, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mr. ROTH. I am both the national ethnic liaison of the American Jewish Committee and staff coordinator of the Illinois Consultation

on Ethnicity in Education, a coalition of white ethnic, black, Asian, and Hispanic ethnic groups.

I am here representing my agency, the American Jewish Committee, and the agency's national president, Howard Friedman of Los Angeles, who sent a letter to Congressman Fascell urging support for this bill.

A number of other people have commented on the need to create widespread awareness of what happened in 1932-33 in Soviet Ukraine. There are other points that I would prefer to make. First, I think it is important to note that this is a crime against a specific group. We tend to forget that when we talk about crimes against humanity. The Ukrainian American community is trying to persuade the U.S. Congress to respond to a tragedy in its history that is quite unique and continues to have implications for American policy. The group most affected were those people living within the borders of Ukraine. It is by implication a crime against humanity but we do a disservice to the group that has suffered the most and continues to hurt when we say simply that their tragedy is a crime against humanity. We must not lose sight of the fact that a people is hurting and a branch of that people is living here in the United States. Many of them, of course, are your constituents.

We have a crime against humanity, but more importantly a crime against a specific people. Now, other people, other groups, can easily relate to that crime. In the coalitional work I do in Chicago, nothing brings ethnic and minority groups together faster than the opportunity to be heard around tragedies and triumphs in their past. There is a unifying nature to the telling of the tale and in a way what is being asked here is some help in facilitating the collection and authenticating of stories that, when the survivors die, will unfortunately become folklore. Then, we will get into ideological arguments over what did and did not happen. We are talking about a precious few years in which a few survivors—and the famine precedes the Jewish Holocaust by 10 years—still have an opportunity to present credible evidence.

We have reason to believe that there is documentation in the United States about what may have been known in this country about the famine and what should have been done about it. I think that only a properly organized public commission, not a commission organized by scholars who will argue over scholarly points of view or a commission organized by an ethnic community that can hardly be expected to be objective about so vast a tragedy can do the job that must be done here—gather credible evidence.

Now, we have some precedents to look to when public commissions function, and the results are far more impressive than they are when a group of scholars undertakes a study. I was disturbed by the testimony of the State Department's spokesperson on this point. It is good that scholars help us to understand what happened. But when public commissions hold hearings around the country and gather data from credible witnesses, mass media reacts to the story. We get dramas on TV as we did after the hearings held by the Commission on Redress for Japanese Americans. We get curricular programs in schools, drama in schools and television documentaries. We get something else that is very important, too. There is no doubt—and here we can look to the precedent of

the Holocaust Memorial Council—that the most affected communities and their allies will more than match whatever modest investment is made by the Government in establishing such a commission. So your very modest investment will trigger investments by other interest groups, as well as prominent Ukrainian Americans. Chicagoan Julian Kulas, a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, told me the investment by private sources outpaces the Government's investment by more than 10 to 1.

We are dealing here with a program that will generate support from the most affected community and many others, and that is something else I want to address: There is a unifying nature to these stories. In my 13 years of work with the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education, the largest meeting of ethnic and minority leaders occurred in February 1982, when we gathered together at the request of Ukrainian American leaders to hear the story of the famine.

For most of those ethnic leaders, it was the first time they had heard the story. At the end of the meeting, the chairperson of the Illinois Consultation requested that letters be sent to the president of the Ukrainian National Association indicating a willingness on the part of the groups to support efforts to make the famine story known. Within a week, a large number of letters were collected, and they became the centerfold of a special issue of the Ukrainian Weekly. The letters represented real commitments from reading figures in diverse ethnic and minority communities, people who are otherwise known as bankers, lawyers, doctors, educators, scholars, and artists but who volunteer vast amounts of time to ethnic advocacy and coalition building. Because they understood the meaning of the famine and the unifying nature of the tragedy, they were prepared to lend the support of their communities to an effort to make the famine story known. Not to make it known, or to make it known only among scholars would be to give a final triumph in a way to the Soviet Union.

One of you asked before what this means to the Soviet Union. Since it appears that the United States is not about to wage war on the Soviets, it seems to me that what we have on our side are facts and history. If we invest by passing this bill, where once we were bystanders to history, we will have the opportunity during the brief period of life left to the survivors to tell a story that literally puts the Soviet Union on the defensive, if the story is told widely and in a credible manner.

That is why it must be told, throughout this land, so that not only scholars or Ukrainian Americans but many other people will have the chance to think about the implications of this body of credible data for their communities and for our Nation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Roth's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID G. ROTH, NATIONAL ETHNIC LIAISON, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, my name is David G. Roth, and I am the National Ethnic Liaison for The American Jewish Committee (AJC), this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, AJC combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

I am also representing the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education, of which I am staff coordinator. Organized in 1971, the Illinois Consultation is a coalition of human service professionals and leaders of ethnic, minority and language groups. The Consultation seeks to place ethnicity and pluralism in the mainstream of American life, and to promote expertise in coalition building.

I will address the Illinois Consultation's interest and experience with the issue of the Ukrainian Famine later in my testimony, but first I want to explain why The American Jewish Committee is urging support for House Bill 4459.

In a recent letter to Rep. Dante B. Fascell, American Jewish Committee National President Howard I. Friedman called upon the Committee on Foreign Affairs to support the Commission on the Ukraine Famine Act. "The work of the commission will call attention to a terrible tragedy in which 5 to 7 million Ukrainian people were systematically starved to death," noted Mr. Friedman. "This tragedy was compounded by the callous indifference of the free world to the fate of Famine victims and the plight of the nation which suffered the loss of so many people."

Mr. Friedman then went on to offer three additional reasons for The American Jewish Committee's support of the Famine Act: First, while the primary obligation to keep alive the story of the Famine rests with the Ukrainian American community, a tragedy of this magnitude has implications that go beyond the time in which it occurred and the people who were its primary victims. This is especially true where, as in this case, the United States and other free nations are dealing with the same government that committed the atrocities in Ukraine; that government refuses to be accountable for its behavior; and today, wherever that government encounters opposition to its authoritarian rule, it behaves in much the same manner as it did in 1932-33.

Second, the story of the Nazi Holocaust is now being told by a Federal council precisely because others were willing to join with the American Jewish community in a consensus around the need never to forget man's infinite ability to harm his fellow man.

And third, only a properly constituted public commission, with subpoena powers and access to U.S. records, can do a credible job of documenting the facts of Stalin's ruthless campaign against Ukraine, and of the attendant cover-up of this crime.

As National Ethnic Liaison for The American Jewish Committee, I want to add the following comments to Mr. Friedman's points.

The Famine Act addresses a tragedy that occurred more than 50 years ago. At this time we still have access to Famine survivors, but obviously their number is dwindling. If we don't act soon, by giving them a chance to tell their stories on the record, we will compound the Famine tragedy by handing the Soviets a second victory in the form of our silence. The survivors have authentic stories to tell, but those who follow will engage in folklore. While the survivors are factual and credible, folklore will prompt observers to quarrel about what actually happened. And when it is no longer possible to be confronted by credible witnesses to the crime, such fundamental questions as, "What did the rest of the world know about the Soviet plans for Ukraine, and what was their reaction to this knowledge?" are not likely to be asked.

The documentation of the Soviet's ruthlessness may reside in diplomatic records stored in Washington and elsewhere, but the urgency to obtain and examine this information will perish with the survivors. So long as they are alive, the survivors remind us that we were once bystanders, and they challenge us not to be bystanders again.

There is a second challenge here: We are not dealing with a defeated government, as we were with Nazi Germany after World War II. The Soviet system survives to this day, and we do not have the same access to records that government officials, scholars, and community leaders had after the defeat of Nazi Germany. Under these circumstances, the Ukrainian American community cannot (as any other ethnic American community could not) be expected to carry out an investigation on its own.

Even if it could conduct such an investigation, its report would be suspect. It is unreasonable to expect a people so beset by misfortune to be objective about the circumstances of their adversity as well as its implications for society. And therein lies a third challenge. The Famine was both a crime against a particular people and a crime against humanity. Free and compassionate people have an obligation to close ranks, and to overcome narrow ethnocentrism and questions of convenience such as whether or not a formal inquiry into the Famine will hamper our diplomats in conducting American foreign policy.

If we concede that other matters take precedence over systematic and deliberate efforts to destroy a people, then none of us has a future.

Perhaps Eli Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, put it best when he wrote that "We must listen to the voices of the survivors. What they have to say about their past constitutes the basis of our future: fanaticism leads to racism, racism to hate, hate to murder, and murder to the death of the species.

"The danger lies in forgetting. Forgetting, however, will not affect only the dead. Should it triumph, the ashes of yesterday will cover our hopes for tomorrow."

The story of the Ukraine Famine must be told, and we must listen. In the Jewish tradition, true forgiveness must be earned by the sinner who, finding himself in the same or similar circumstances, changes his/her behavior by acting to protect or preserve life.

The free world continues to treat the Soviets as though they were children whose transgressions will either cease in the normal course of events, or must be tolerated in the pursuit of other, larger goals.

Free people have a responsibility to record and explain past events, which we call history. It is about time for the people of the United States to test the Soviets by confronting them with our awareness of their crimes in Ukraine. If we can't wage a war on their system, we can at least record their transgressions and challenge them to earn forgiveness.

At this point, let me change hats and address you now in my role as staff coordinator of the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education. The Consultation is a coalition of national white ethnic, Black, Hispanic and Asian ethnic organizations.

I understand your concern that other ethnic, minority or religious groups may press Congress for special commissions to investigate the misfortunes that punctuate their histories. It is of course their right to do so, but tragedies like the Ukraine Famine and the Jewish Holocaust stand apart from all but a few other events. If a standard is to be set by the Famine Act, it is certainly one that few groups, thank God, will be able to meet.

The Famine and the Holocaust contain elements of absolute evil, courageous acts by individuals at great risk to their own lives, and the indifference of free and normally compassionate people. At the core of such calamities lies a war, waged by an overwhelmingly superior force, against a distinctive culture. Such a war is either an act of genocide or borders on genocide in a way that sets the story of these people apart from the general landscape of disaster.

If reasonable people examine these elements, they would see the outlines of a vast tragedy—not only for a particular group, but for the entire species.

In February 1982, the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education assembled a diverse group of 70 ethnic and minority leaders to commemorate the Ukraine Famine.

This gathering constituted the largest meeting of community leaders in the Consultation's 12-year history. Participants included business and civic leaders, government officials, artists, scholars, educators, communicators, lawyers and other professionals from Illinois' Assyrian, Black, Chinese, Greek, Estonian, Haitian, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Korean, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mexican, Polish, Swedish, Puerto Rican, and Ukrainian American communities. For many, it was their first encounter with the facts of the Famine.

"This is the first time that Ukrainian Americans have reached out to other ethnic leaders to tell what it meant to have this terrible event happen to us," said Dr. Myron Kuropas, vice president of the Ukrainian National Association.

After introducing his fellow Ukrainian Americans, Kuropas explained Stalin's efforts to crush Ukrainian resistance to his forced collectivization.

"In 1932, Stalin moved to collectivize the farms of Ukraine in order to finance the industrialization of the Soviet Union. Ukrainian farmers resisted, because they didn't want to give up their grain. To break the back of their resistance, Stalin exported much of the food produced in the region, causing 5 to 7 million Ukrainians to starve to death."

The world knew little of this famine at the time and knows even less of it today, noted Kuropas.

The American press corps in the Soviet Union during the 1930's must share part of the blame for this, Kuropas explained.

During the 1930's, many American writers and entertainers supported Stalin's regime. Because they were so taken with its ideology, they were able to overlook its grim realities, Kuropas argued. Under the sway of this misconception, some American journalists conspired with Soviet censors to cover up the horrors of the Famine, rather than besmirch the reputation of the "great Soviet experiment."

"There is no actual starvation or death from starvation, but there is widespread mortality due to disease caused by malnutrition," wrote *The New York Times* on March 30, 1933. The *Times* reported this even though Moscow's foreign press corps

had received photographs and sketches of the stacked bodies of Ukrainians who had starved to death, and had heard reports of Ukrainians reduced to eating dogs, the bark of trees, and each other, Kuropas said.

In sharing this story with ethnic leaders, Chicago's Ukrainian Americans took an important step toward bringing this tragedy to the attention of society.

Edwin Cudecki, chairperson of the Illinois Consultation, urged his fellow leaders to write letters to John Flis, president of the Ukrainian National Association, indicating that they share in the sense of loss that Ukrainians feel on the 50th anniversary of the Famine, and pledging to join with Ukrainian Americans and others to make the world aware of the great human tragedy that befell Ukraine.

Cudecki seemed to reflect the sentiment of the other ethnic leaders when he wrote, in his own letter to Flis, that, "by confronting all Americans with the knowledge of Stalin's man-made famine, Ukrainian Americans are committing an act of faith in themselves and in us. We recognize our obligation to join with you and your people in sharing this tragic aspect of your history, so that events like the Famine never happen again. This is the lesson that we must teach each other from your history. I assure you that Illinois Consultation will cooperate with Ukrainian Americans in telling the story of the Famine."

In a special issue on the Famine in March, 1982, the Ukrainian Weekly printed two full pages of letters from ethnic and civic leaders in response to Cudecki's appeal.

In my view, these letters demonstrate the willingness of diverse groups to set aside sectarian differences and to meet the challenge that the Famine presents to Americans and to other free people.

House Bill 4459 is a response to that challenge. The work of the Famine commission will unite diverse groups at home and abroad; and if the experience of the Holocaust Memorial Council is any barometer, the modest sums appropriated for the work of the commission will be exceeded by donations of time, money and materiel from private citizens and civic organizations.

And we can expect much more to come from the work of the commission. In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford issued a proclamation entitled "An American Promise". It had the effect of rescinding or terminating President Roosevelt's infamous Executive Order 9066, which removed Japanese Americans from the West Coast in 1942 and placed them in internment camps euphemistically called "relocation centers."

President Ford's initiative, regarded by some as a bicentennial "gesture," but regarded by Japanese Americans as a measure of their identity and security as American citizens, resulted in a new awareness of the tragedy that the United States had inflicted on Japanese Americans.

Media coverage of Ford's act led to the production of television documentaries and dramas, commercial movies and books telling the story of a great national mistake.

Ethnic, religious, labor and civil liberties organizations, mostly silent in 1942, have reached out to Japanese Americans through their testimony at hearings convened throughout the country by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, and again through their support of the redress bill now before Congress. Schools now include a unit on the Japanese American tragedy in their courses, and drama groups perform plays on the internment.

In a similar fashion, the Holocaust Memorial Council offers the hope that succeeding generations of Americans will know the true story of how the Nazis set out to destroy every Jew in Europe and of the millions of other precious lives that were lost. Before the Council began its work, a generation of young people had been weaned on television sit-com stereotypes of Nazis as simple-minded, even lovable buffoons; now, thanks to the rippling effects of the council's work, a new generation knows the truth—that the Nazis were barbarians whom we cannot forgive nor afford to forget.

The work of the Ukraine Famine Commission will do more than set the record straight. It will bear witness to a monumental crime and give victims a chance to tell their stories; it will give the rest of us a final chance to remember and an opportunity to act, where once we were bystanders to history; it will heal wounds and lower barriers between cultural groups by helping us all to focus on our obligation to the Ukrainian people, and to humanity; and finally, it will deny the Soviets the ultimate victory of our silence.

Mr. MICA. You put into words the feeling of what this commission is supposed to do. It is more than just a paper, an academic study.

Mr. Kromkowski.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN A. KROMKOWSKI, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL
CENTER FOR URBAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS**

Mr. KROMKOWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee. The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs is delighted to respond to your request to present testimony on this bill, and I want to present my testimony for the record in its entirety.

In part, my testimony presents an argument that David Roth already submitted. In fact the movement to draw ethnic American persons from a wide range of immigration experiences, a wide range of traditions began at the Illinois Consultation meeting in Chicago. One of its leaders is Dr. Myron Kuropas, the vice chairman of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs' board of directors. It was at his instigation that the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs—at the national level—prompted ethnic organizations to in fact move forward to recognize the Ukrainian famine as a demonic atrocity and that it was a public issue that should have been brought to the attention of ethnic persons, and the entire Nation. This effort is a sign that human solidarity demanded that we could not remain silent. We would not be entombed by the conspiracy of silence. The facts in this matter were known but not particularly well circulated. This failure to disseminate information underscored the need for a complete public hearing. This massive information gap prompted Dr. Kuropas to become part of this national movement to create the commission. For the record, I've included Dr. Kuropas' testimony of this issue presented to the U.S. Senate.

I want to focus the rest of my remarks on a rebuttal to what I understood from the testimony on S. 2456 given by the State Department, that in fact the Department fully understood the consideration but would not recommend support for the bill. I trust that the remarks of the Under Secretary here today, in fact, indicate a change of position. Nonetheless, the argument against the initial position is one that should be presented because I have heard it from ethnic persons in my conversations with them, and in my board's conversations with them.

First of all, they are tired of public officials that neglect their citizens' insights and scorn a useful participatory commission process which builds an informed public and sustains knowledgeable support for public policies.

They believe that public support for public policy research and citizen participation in research are essential elements of a free government which cultivates an informed public.

They are dismayed by the argument that involvement of Americans in foreign policy is divisive and not in the public interest.

They are perturbed by the implied predisposition of the Department of State testimony because it appears to reflect attitudes and behavior which underpin the nativist and narrow elitist public policies that have supported the squandering of second language capacities and the disregard of natural tendencies and curiosity of young American ethnics to learn about other cultures, to learn other languages and to develop an international perspective which should play a vital part in the life of this country and the entire free world.

They are disturbed by the lack of media attention to Eastern Europe and to the human rights issues and violations in Eastern Europe.

They are appalled by the continuation of an imperial structure in an age which requires decolonization, which recognizes the regional and local as much as the national, which fosters the spirit of pluralism, tolerance, and respect and which celebrates the force of human conscience.

Our sense is that to support this commission is to present findings that may produce salutary and transferable lessons about rich agricultural nations whose bankrupt economic, social, and cultural policies ruined the capacity of a people through failed public policy.

Finally, that other American ethnics supported the efforts of Ukrainian Americans is not simply a matter of mutual self-interest, nor is it the politics of group accommodation including the amiable nod and wink to ethnics at election time. Support for Ukrainian Americans is rather a sign that the spirit of solidarity is emerging among persons in America. Father Tischler in the new translation of his sermons titled "The Spirit of Solidarity," argues that solidarity is an act of conscience which constitutes a communion of people who do not wish to participate in a lie. I hope that Congress and the executive branch create this commission as a public American articulation comparable to the Polish words on the Gdansk monument erected in 1981 by the Solidarity Trade Union:

You, who have wronged a simple man
Bursting into laughter at the crime * * *
Do not feel safe. The poet remembers.
You can slay one, but another is born.
The words are written down, the deed, the date.

Persons of conscience and good will must remember so that adequate stories can be told. This is the purpose of the proposed commission; it is a noble public act to create the Ukraine Famine Commission.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Kromkowski's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. KROMKOWSKI, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CENTER FOR URBAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (NCUEA) is delighted to respond to the request for testimony on HR 4459 by Honorable Daniel A. Mica, Chairman of the sub-committee on International Operations. In 1983 at the request of Dr. Myron Kuropas, the Board of Directors of NCUEA passed a resolution to support and to urge inter-ethnic solidarity in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine. NCUEA urged all to rally support in the face of the unspeakable evil and terrible suffering caused by the Great Famine. NCUEA resolved that:

"It is time to call attention to the heretofore neglected, ignored and brazenly denied fact that the Great Famine in Ukraine was caused by the conscious and willful Soviet public policy.

"NCUEA exhorts all to remember the 50th anniversary of the 'man-made' famine of 1932-33. As we acknowledge the enormity of this demonic atrocity—6 million dead—we are moved first to weep, then to pray, but finally to proclaim: never again shall silence entomb cries for justice; never again shall a people be sacrificed on the chopping block of public policy; never again shall we shatter human solidarity which binds together all people as valued variants of a common humanity."

Other national and regional ethnic organizations such as The American Jewish Committee, Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation, Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian

an Culture, Festa Italiana, Illinois Commission on Human Relations, German National Congress, Japanese American Citizens League, Lithuanian Council Inc., Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Polish National Alliance of the U.S. of North America, United Hellenic American Congress, and Zionist Organization of Chicago shared their sorrow and concern for the Soviet caused Famine of 1932-33. Dr. Myron Kuropas, Vice Chairman of NCUEA's Board of Directors, presented an argument to your colleagues in the Senate which bears repeating:

"Last year, the Ukrainian American community commemorated the 50th anniversary of a famine engineered by Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin in which some 7 million Ukrainian men, women and children perished.

"Today, the Ukrainian American community is supporting the creation of a U.S. commission to investigate the Great Famine because they want their fellow Americans to know the full story of this horrible tragedy and to understand its terrible lesson. Ukraine was the first victim of Soviet Russian imperialism and the first nation to experience Moscow's final solution for nationalist aspirations. Ukrainian Americans want the American people to be aware of the foundation upon which Soviet power has been built, and the brutal means the Soviet Union will utilize in order to achieve its goals. The greatest threat to American security today is not the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal. Rather, it is American public ignorance of the consequences of Soviet expansionism. Stalin's heirs are still very much alive today and their handiwork can be observed in Cambodia, Afghanistan and Central America.

"Few Americans have ever heard of the Great Famine in Ukraine. This lack of knowledge is due in part to one of the most successful news management operations in history. Stalin denied the famine ever took place and such Moscow-based American correspondents as Walter Duranty of The New York Times and Louis Fischer of The Nation, sent dispatches to America during the height of the famine which tended to confirm the denial. On December 30, 1933, the Literary Digest, then a prestigious American periodical, reported that the Soviet grain harvest that year was larger than expected and all but praised Stalin for refusing 'to compromise with the so-called kulaks.' Given the kind of disinformation which emanated from Moscow at the time, it is not surprising that so few people believed the Ukrainian American community when it protested Moscow's genocidal policies. Thanks to some members of the free press and others interested in portraying the USSR as a humanitarian 'worker's paradise,' the Great Famine in Ukraine was ignored. Small wonder that it is often called the 'forgotten holocaust.'"

"Today, we have an opportunity to place the events of 1932-33 in their proper historical perspective. Today we can document the relationship which exists between unbridled imperialism and national genocide. Today we can begin to sensitize the world to the importance of an unbiased and free press in preventing a recurrence of the horrors which befell the Ukrainian people under Stalin.

"Neither our scholarly institutions nor the Ukrainian American community has the resources and prestige to conduct the kind of famine investigation which could produce a complete and dispassionate recapitulation of the events which precipitated the Great Famine and the human suffering which resulted. Some research has already been conducted, but according to Prof. James Mace, a Soviet expert at Harvard University, there is much vital information that remains untapped. Hundreds of famine survivors and Soviet defectors now living in the United States, Canada and Israel still need to be interviewed. Hundreds of U.S. government documents still need to be examined.

"There are, of course, some Americans who have urged our community to forget the past, to turn the page on events which transpired 50 years ago, and to concentrate on the future. To those well-meaning friends our answer is simple. We cannot, we must not forget. As citizens of the one nation in the world which always has been a beacon of truth and humanitarian endeavor, we Ukrainian Americans have a moral obligation to speak on behalf of those who cannot speak. We remember because our memory can immunize the world against a repetition of the terrors of the Great Famine. Only a full understanding of this great tragedy and its consequences can ease our pain and set our sorrow at an endurable distance. Until we have made every effort to discover what happened in Ukraine and why, we cannot properly mourn. Until we are satisfied that the world is aware of the Ukrainian tragedy and is determined to condemn such horrors whenever and wherever they occur, we cannot heal. In the words of Elie Wiesel, chairman of the president's Holocaust Commission and a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and Buchenwald, "memory is our shield, our only shield. To forget is no solution."

As you well know, the Senate hearings on the Ukraine Famine Commission included a counter argument. I wish to take exception to the conclusion of testimony

of S. 2456 presented by the State Department. The Department of State argued in part that

“* * * the creation of one such commission would lead inevitably to suggestions that other commissions be created—at ever growing expense to the taxpayer—to examine issues involving the Soviet Union not covered by the narrow mandate of the first commission. For example, the substantial Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian communities might seek the creation of a commission to study the sufferings of the Baltic peoples under Stalin. The American Jewish community might seek the formation of a commission to study the plight of Soviet Jews under Stalin and after. These subjects, and many others, are legitimate and necessary subjects for study if we are better to understand the Soviet Union. We believe, however, all of these studies are more appropriately funded and undertaken by the private sector.

“Therefore, while the department fully understands the considerations which have impelled the introduction of S. 2456, we would recommend against favorable consideration of the bill at this time.”

My conversations with American ethnics reveal the following:

A. They are tired of public officials that neglect their citizens' insights and scorn a useful participatory commission process which builds an informed public and sustains knowledgeable support for public policies.

B. They believe that public support for public policy research and citizens' participation in research are essential elements of a free government which cultivates an informed public.

C. They are dismayed by the argument that the involvement of Americans in foreign policy is divisive and not in the public interest. Active citizenship is not an unnecessary frill; it is among the fullest and highest forms of human activity.

D. They are perturbed by the implied predisposition of the Department of State testimony because it appears to reflect attitudes and behavior which underpin the nativist and narrow elitist public policies that have supported the squandering of second language capacities and the disregard of natural tendencies and curiosity of young American ethnics to learn about other cultures, to learn other languages and to develop an international perspective which should play a vital part in the life of this country and the entire free world.

E. They are disturbed by the lack of media attention to Eastern Europe and to the human rights issues and violations in Eastern Europe.

F. They are appalled by the continuation of an imperial structure in an age which requires decolonization, which recognizes the regional and local as much as the national, which fosters the spirit of pluralism, tolerance and respect and which celebrates the force of human conscience.

In support of the creation of the study commission, let me suggest that its findings may produce salutary and transferable lessons about rich agricultural nations whose bankrupt economic, social and cultural policies ruined the capacity of a people through failed public policy. Finally, that other American ethnics supported the efforts of Ukrainian Americans is not simply a matter of mutual self-interest. Nor is it the politics of group accommodation including the amiable nod and wink to ethnics at election time. Support for Ukrainian Americans is rather a sign that the spirit of solidarity—i.e. an act of conscience which constitutes a communion of people who do not wish to participate in a lie—is emerging among persons in America. I hope that Congress and the Executive branch create this commission as a public American articulation comparable to the Polish words on the Gdansk monument erected in 1981 by the Solidarity Trade Union: “You, who have wronged a simple man Bursting into laughter at the crime. . . . Do not feel safe. The poet remembers. You can slay one, but another is born. The words are written down, the deed, the date.”

Persons of conscience and good-will must remember so that adequate stories can be told; this is the purpose of the proposed commission; it is a noble public act to create the Ukraine Famine Commission.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you. I would like to commend each of the witnesses for their testimony. The committee takes every word to heart.

Let me call on my ranking minority member, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Has information about the Ukrainian famine been brought together in any formal document that is now available for publication? Has there been any prior investigation, formalized, and collected, and published?

Mr. KROMKOWSKI. There are some preliminary monographs and short studies, and one of them by Dr. Mace and another collection that was published by the American Enterprise Institute. And I suspect that there are some modest articles on it as well.

Mr. GILMAN. There has been no prior governmental investigation, at least by our Government; is that correct?

Mr. ROTH. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

Mr. GILMAN. By any other Government?

Mr. KROMKOWSKI. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Gilman, it is possible that there may have been some work done in Canada where the Ukrainian community has been pressing the Government there.

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. Some work was done on the famine, but there are too many gaps in the overall picture. Efforts should be directed in completing the famine research without duplicating the work already done. A puzzling fact is why the State Department recommended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union while the famine was raging in Ukraine. It would be like recognizing the Soviet Union after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. We would like to know what the motives were for recognizing the Soviet Union at the time when 7 million people in Ukraine and 3 or 4 million in adjacent areas died of the artificially created famine by the Soviet Union.

There are also many other unanswered questions. Some information was published in the news media in Germany, Sweden, and other European countries during the famine. There was some documentation recorded by the Volga Germans of the U.S.S.R. who also suffered the famine. I think that the commission's job would be to research and gather all available information on the famine and compile it in one complete study.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you. The panel has referred to the need to act quickly to locate survivors and to document their accounts. Has any of that been done to date, any documentation by any of the survivors?

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. Yes, Dr. Mace from Harvard University has documented some of the testimonies but he encountered some problems. I experienced similar problems when I was in Illinois about 2 or 3 months ago, at a Ukrainian Orthodox Church gathering to inform parishioners on the progress of the famine bill. The priest informed me that many oldtimers didn't show up at this meeting because they tend to avoid all occasions that would bring back memories of the famine horrors and suffering. It is difficult to obtain testimonies from these people. They want to forget their terrifying experiences. We are hopeful that the congressional commission will serve as a catalyst to convince those people to come forward to submit their testimonies and their true stories.

Mr. GILMAN. Is there a list of survivors available in some association records, or would the commission have to undertake a whole, brandnew investigation to determine who the survivors are and where they are?

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. No, there is no prepared list, but one could be compiled through the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Among the people that came to the United States after World War II were older people who were either survivors or witnesses to this famine.

Mr. GILMAN. So then it won't be that difficult a task to develop such a list?

Mr. OLSHANIWSKY. No.

Mr. ROTH. A bit about psychology. There may be more survivors than we think, because for so many people it is so painful to talk about what happened to them during the famine. Also many are filled with guilt. They say: "We survived and others didn't. Why did we survive? We must have done something wrong to survive." Part of the work of the commission is to create a climate in which the guilt, which is very self-destructive, ends. That can't be done unless society says, by forming this commission, "It is now time to talk about the famine."

Many children of holocaust survivors grew up knowing only that they had no relatives, and they couldn't get their parents to talk. There may be more famine survivors willing to talk if a movement that starts within their community is given legitimacy by society and especially by Congress.

I am suggesting that in a proper climate we may get more evidence. But if we wait, we are going to be dealing with second and third generation stories and then we are going to get into ideological disputes.

Mr. KROMKOWSKI. One of the features of the public process is that it in fact draws testimony into an open arena. One of the very difficult problems with doing this sort of social history, historical public policy research, is the integrity of an individual researcher. This concern arises again and again in the collection of information. A public process establishes research integrity. Our Government creates a free forum for these articulations of suffering and tragedy and triumph. One of the things that will come out of this, is that as people begin to recognize that continuing their life is not something to be guilty about, a new sense of peoplehood will emerge; a new sense of integrity and community will be articulated and that sort of ethnosocial history and therapy is a marvelous curative for a whole range of ills that we suffer in a society such as ours that is culturally pluralistic but groping with uncomfortability and uncertain about how to deal with pluralism and injustice.

Mr. GILMAN. You panelists would contribute some suggestions of how best to start the investigation, I hope, and how to save some time in accumulating the documentation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

The thought occurs to me that although some 7 million Ukrainians and 3 million non-Ukrainians died in less than the period of a normal lifetime, our lifetime, we don't know anything about it. It is virtually unheard of in America, outside of a very small group.

Can you tell me just for my own information, is this subject a part of any normal public school textbook. Is it mentioned anywhere?

Mr. ROTH. None that I know of in Illinois.

Mr. KROMKOWSKI. One of the sad consequences of the development of educational block grants was the end of the IX ESEA. The Ethnic Heritage Study Program in DOE was the only national vehicle for the development of a curriculum that would be specific

enough to analyze traditions of this sort and to include them into the curriculum of our schools.

Mr. MICA. Not even a line? I would consider myself reasonably educated, and I have been on the Foreign Affairs Committee in the U.S. Congress for 6 years until the subject came before me, and I was unaware of it. My colleagues that I have talked to about the hearing have the same knowledge, or less. I don't recall ever seeing a word about it in my formal education. That probably says more about the situation than anything I could say.

What we have done here today may be a historic first, because there is now and forever a public record, a beginning of a concern that will be spread upon the public record about the concerns for this problem, and I hope that it is a beginning.

I cannot tell you in all good faith and sincerity that this will pass the House tomorrow. Tomorrow is the last day of the session. I don't know what we can do. I will talk to the chairman of the full committee later today and see what might be able to be done. But I can tell you this: I am moved by what I have heard, what I have learned in the last day or two about this situation. And I am astounded that 10 million lives can be lost and no one knew about it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Roth.

Mr. ROTH. There was an article in the paper yesterday indicating somewhere between 18 and 30 million Chinese died in one of the so-called great experiments of the 1960's, and we knew nothing about it. It is a mystery why these tragedies occur, and that is why we do need more and credible investigations of them. Is it permissible to take a bit of a swipe at the gentleman from the State Department? I know time is short.

Mr. MICA. It is permissible but I couldn't tell you what the libel laws are.

Mr. ROTH. I want to quote him. He suggested that by passing this bill, you might be taking "too narrow" an approach. I was sitting here thinking that if this were a committee of Congress debating the merits of a bill to create a Holocaust Memorial Commission, I don't believe that in an election year, the State Department's representative would have come here saying a bill that deals with the effort to kill every Jew in Europe, even though millions of other precious lives were lost, was too narrow. The Jewish community has a degree of visibility and credibility on the issue of the Holocaust that some other communities simply don't have. I think it is offensive to suggest that a study that begins with and focuses centrally on the great tragedy of one people is somehow too narrow. I am delighted to know that now somebody cares about Jewish lives because 40 years ago the world didn't, but I cannot think of a logical argument why 6 million Jewish lives are worth more than 7 million Ukrainian lives. In the tradition of my people, anybody who saves one life is committing a mitzvah. Congress will be performing a mitzvah when it asks why 7 million Ukrainians were killed and nobody did anything.

We are doing that with what happened to Japanese Americans during World War II. I don't think it is asking too much to look at another tragedy which stands out against the general landscape of misfortune.

Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Well, thank you.

This hearing was very worthwhile and very informative to me, and there will be a public record available of this hearing. Two points I would like to make: One, I commend each of you and all of the witnesses for being here today, and I might just add from a purely political approach, and this is just advice from the Chair, take it or leave it, I understand Senator Percy and Senator Bradley are attempting to attach this to the continuing resolution. You might leave here and go over there and give all the encouragement you can to that.

I am somewhat a new chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, but the thought that went through my mind as you were making your comments is one that has concerned me about a current tragedy, and it has been in this line; 4 years ago no one really stood up and cared about what happened in Germany, and maybe with the Holocaust Commission we will stand up. Unfortunately, no one really cares right now. There are millions of Iranians being slaughtered and maybe if we had a few more commissions, a little more awareness, maybe there would be a bit more outrage over what is going on right now.

The subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:10 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 29, 1984, FROM DR. WILLIAM G. GLASKOW, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, COSSACK AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE, INC., TO HON. DAN MICA, REGARDING THE 1933 FAMINE IN COSSACKIA

SEPTEMBER 29, 1984.

HON. DAN MICA,
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Americans of the Cossack descent are very pleased on hearings of the Bill H.R. 4459, which has been referred to the Subcommittee on International Operations.

Nevertheless, we must bring to your attention that according to documents, facts, and eyewitnesses, some of them still living in the USA now, the man made famine in a much worse and terrible form was in the entire Cossack Territories of Cossackia.

With this famine Moscow provided in Cossackia in the first line her political purposes—to break the resistance of the Cossack people against the Russian occupation of their homeland. The famine, together with terrible terror and with the evictions of many Cossack towns-stanitzas and villages to Far North of Siberia, also added to many facts of cannibalism.

Foreign newspapers from that time certified these facts. We enclose for your information a photo-copies from very serious and influential French newspaper "Le Matin" from August 30th, 1933, and photo-copies of the Russian orders for the eviction of the population from Cossack town-stanitzas Poltavskaya, Slavyansky district, Krasnodar region, Kuban, from December 17th, 1932.

We have many documental materials even of the local Soviet official press, which reported about this horrible famine and terror.

We like to mention to you, that in Russia itself there was no famine!

This famine of the Cossack people resulted in more than 4, 5 millions victims according to the documental book "Genocide in the USSR," published by the Institute for Studies of the USSR in Munich, Western Germany, in 1958.

For this reason we ask you, Mr. Chairman, to add to the bill H.R. 4459, that would establish a Commission to study the 1932-1934 famine engineered by Moscow not only Ukraine, but also the homeland of our forefathers of Cossackland, Cossackia.

This will be a justified act based on documents, facts and historical truth.

On this occasion, we like to bring to your attention, that the famine in the Ukraine was in the Eastern part of the Ukraine only, which was under Soviet Russia. The Western Ukraine however, which belonged to Poland at that time, did not suffer under the famine, as well as the Carpathian Ukraine which was under Czecho-Slovakia and the Ukrainian Bukovina which belonged to Romania.

With the best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

DR. WILLIAM G. GLASKOW,
*National Chairman,
Cossack American Citizens Committee, Inc.*

