INVESTIGATION OF THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE 1932-1933

FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF

MEETINGS AND HEARINGS

OF AND BEFORE THE

COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE

HELD IN 1986

ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
APRIL 23, 1986

MEETING AND HEARING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
OCTOBER 8, 1986

HEARING
GLEN SPEY, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 26, 1986

HEARING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
NOVEMBER 7, 1986

HEARING
WARREN, MICHIGAN
NOVEMBER 24, 1986

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MS. ANASTASIA VOLKER, Public Member
DR. OLEH WERES, Public Member

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H.R. 2965

Public Law 99-335

Ninety-ninth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Thursday, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-five

An Act

Making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1986, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1986, and for other purposes, namely...

COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE

For necessary expenses of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine to carry out the provisions of S. 2456 (98th Congress) as passed the Senate on September 21, 1984, $400,000, to remain available until expended, and the Commission on the Ukraine Famine as contained in S. 2456, is hereby established, with modifications as follows:

ESTABLISHMENT

Section 1. There is established a commission to be known as the "Commission on the Ukraine Famine" (in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 2. The purpose of the Commission is to conduct a study of the 1932-1933 Ukraine famine in order to--

(1) expand the world's knowledge of the famine; and

(2) provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role in the Ukraine famine.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 3. The duties of the Commission are to--

(1) conduct a study of the 1932-1933 Ukraine famine (in this Act referred to as the "famine study"), in accordance with section 6 of this Act, in which the Commission shall--

(A) gather all available information about the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine

(B) analyze the causes of such famine and the effects it has had on the Ukrainian nation and other countries;

and

(C) study and analyze the reaction by the free countries of the world to such famine; and

(2) submit to Congress for publication a final report on the results of the famine study no later than two years after the organizational meeting of the Commission held under section 6(a) of this Act.

MEMBERSHIP

Sec. 4. (a) The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members, who shall be appointed within thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act, as follows:

(1) Four members shall be Members of the House of Representatives and shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Two such members shall be selected from the majority party of the House of Representatives and two such members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party of the House of Representatives. The Speaker also shall designate one of the House Members as Chairman of the Commission.

(2) Two members shall be Members of the Senate and shall be appointed by the President *pro tempore* of the Senate. One such member shall be selected from the majority party of the Senate and one such member shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party of the Senate.

(3) One member shall be from among officers and employees of each of the Departments of State, Education, and Health and Human Services and shall be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Secretaries of the respective departments.

(4) Six members shall be from the Ukrainian-American community at large and Ukrainian-American chartered human rights groups and shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Commission in consultation with the congressional members of the Commission, the Ukrainian-American community at large, and executive boards of the Ukrainian-American chartered human rights groups.

(b) The term of office of each member shall be for the life of the Commission.

(c) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise employed by the United States Government shall be paid from the sum appropriated to carry out this Act, the daily equivalent of the rate of basic pay payable for G.S.-18 of the General Schedule for each day, including travel time, during which he or she is attending meetings or hearings of the Commission or otherwise performing Commission related duties as requested by the Chairman of the Commission. A member of the Commission who is

an officer or employee of the United States Government or a Member of Congress shall serve without additional compensation. Each member of the Commission shall be reimbursed for travel expenses, including *per diem* in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, *United States Code,* for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

Sec. 5 (a) Not later than thirty days after all members have been appointed to the Commission, the Commission shall hold an organizational meeting to establish the rules and procedures under which it will carry out its responsibilities.

(b) The Commission shall hire experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, *United States Code,* from the academic community to assist in carrying out the famine study. Such experts and consultants shall be chosen by a majority vote of the Commission members on the basis of their academic background and their experience relevant to research on the Ukraine famine. No person shall be otherwise employed by the Federal Government while serving as an expert or consultant to the Commission.

(c) The Commission shall have a staff director, who shall be appointed by the Chairman.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 6. (a) The Commission or any member it authorizes may, for the purpose of carrying out this Act, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, request such attendance, take such testimony, and receive such evidence as the Commission considers appropriate. The Commission or any such member may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before it.

(b)(1) The Commission may issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of any evidence that relates to any matter under investigation by the Commission. Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such evidence may be required from any place within the United States at any designated place of hearing within the United States.

(2) The subpoenas of the Commission may be issued by the Chairman of the Commission or any member designated by him and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman or such member. The subpoenas of the Commission shall be served in the same manner provided for subpoena issued by a United States district court under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure for the United States district courts.

(3) If a person issued a subpoena under paragraph (1) refuses to obey such subpoena, any court of the United States within the judicial district within which the hearing is conducted or within the judicial district within which such person is found or resides or transacts business may (upon application by the Commission) order such person to appear before the Commission to produce evidence or to give testimony relating to the matter under investigation. Any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished as a contempt of the court.

(4) All process of any court to which application may be made under this section may be served in the judicial district in which the person required to be served resides or may be found.

(c) The Commission may obtain from any department or agency of the United States information that it considers useful in the discharge of its duties. Upon request of the Chairman, the head of such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission to the extent permitted by law.

(d) The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as it considers appropriate. Such personnel may be appointed without regard to the provisions of title 5, *United States Code,* governing appointments in the competitive service, and may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. No individual so appointed may receive pay in excess of the maximum annual rate of pay payable for G.S.-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, *United States Code.*

(e) The Commission may solicit, accept, use and dispose of donations of money, property, or services.

(f) The Commission may use the United States mails in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

(g) The Administrator of General Services shall provide to the Commission on a reimbursable basis such administrative support services as the Commission may request.

(h) The Commission may procure by contract any supplies, services, and property, including the conduct of research and the preparation of reports by Government agencies and private firms, necessary to discharge the duties of the Commission, in accordance with applicable laws and regulations and to the extent or in such amounts as are provided in appropriation Acts.

TERMINATION

Sec. 7. The Commission shall terminate sixty days after the report of the Commission is submitted to Congress under section 3(2) of this Act.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 8. There is authorized to be appropriated the sum of $400,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out this Act.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

Wednesday,
April 23, 1986

Rayburn House Office
Building
Room 2200

Washington, D.C.

The commission met at 9:21 a.m.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

HON. DANIEL A. MICA, Chairman
HON. DENNIS HERTEL
HON. WILLIAM BROOMFIELD
HON. BENJAMIN GILMAN
HON. DENNIS DeCONCINI, represented by MR. ROBERT MAYNES
UNDERSECRETARY GARY L. BAUER
SURGEON GENERAL C. EVERETT KOOP
MR. BOHDAN FEDORAK
DR. MYRON KUROPAS
MR. DANIEL MARCHISHIN
MS. ANASTASIA VOLKER
MS. ULANA MAZURKEVICH
DR. OLEH WERES

ALSO PRESENT:

DR. JAMES E. MACE, Staff Director
DR. OLGA SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV, Staff Assistant
MR. DELOIS HAMMONDS, Personnel Officer for the Commission

PROCEEDINGS

Congressman MICA: Let me just say welcome, and we are glad to have you here. We had an opportunity to visit with many of you at the reception last night.

As I started earlier and said, this will probably be the norm for some of the Washington meetings. One of the first orders of business today will be to try to set up some kind of a chairman within the public membership who can always be here when we have a meeting.

Without getting into prejudging your decisions as a commission, but knowing the restraints on the money, we're looking for something like two to four meetings a year, and we'll do our best either biannually or quarterly, but we'll do our best to try to schedule them, as today we hoped would be, on a day where all congressional members can be here and attend. But I think that's probably a pipe dream. So we'll do the best we can, but we will have to come up with a quick procedure as to who will chair and be in charge as the meetings continue, and it will be this morning, and we have to rush out.

I have a complete opening statement, and what I'm going to do and which, incidentally, is common practice here in the Congress is instead of reading the entire statement, ask that the entire statement be made a part of the record and inserted in the record and welcome you all here and just say this.

We do have a task before us to complete. That task is to report to the Congress, as you know, on the Ukrainian famine, what made it happen, who was involved, what were the aftereffects, the ramifications, and what, indeed, we can learn from it.

As I indicated last night, we have two of the finest staff people I think we could locate in this subject area in the entire world to help us. Each has had tremendous experience. I've seen their work. I don't want to diminish the importance of this Commission, but I almost feel that left on their own, the two could write the type of report we'd all be proud of.

Obviously they're going to want our input, our guidance and our direction, and I think each individual member of this Commission has some special areas of expertise and knowledge, and I might just add that the Commission--and Mr. Broomfield and Mr. Gilman are well aware of this--was carefully balanced by the staff to try to represent all aspects of this historical problem.

I won't go into all of the other points made in my statement except to say that we're glad to have you all here. I see one or two members who were not here last night. So I'm just going to take, and this is not speech making time, but maybe just take 30 seconds and ask you each to go around and identify yourselves and give us your name and just a little bit about yourselves.

OPENING STATEMENT

The Commission on the Ukraine Famine, which I am proud to chair, has been given an important mandate: to report to Congress on the tragic man-made famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine. It has been estimated by scholars that seven million Ukrainians and an untold number of others lost their lives as result of a policy of crop seizures carried out by the Soviet government then led by Joseph Stalin. Our mandate is to determine,

insofar as possible and on the basis of all available evidence, the causes and effects of the man-made famine, the role of the Soviet authorities in bringing it about, and the response to it by the free countries of the world. Our task today is to establish the basis for our carrying out this mandate.

Before we turn to the specific tasks of today's meeting, a few words must be said concerning the importance of our work. Many may ask--why should the government of this nation consider what took place over a half a century ago far from our shores?

There are several answers to this legitimate question. The most obvious is that there are among us today naturalized Americans who witnessed the events that we are mandated to study. These individuals who fled their native land to escape Soviet persecution were deeply traumatized and still bear the scars of what they survived five decades ago. The Holocaust of World War II also took place outside the United States, but our government commemorates that heinous crime against humanity not only out of reverence for the memory of its victims and respect for its survivors who have come here and made their tremendous contribution to this nation, but also because of what we can learn from it and apply to the problems of our own era.

The study of the Ukrainian famine is not a matter of parochial interest to one people and one part of the world. If it were so, there would be little justification for the establishment of this commission by the government of the United States. However, it is precisely in understanding the specific events of the Ukrainian famine that we may hope to gain valuable insights into issues of continued public policy concern.

In 1932-33, the Soviet government used food as a weapon against the Ukrainian people. In our own day, food is used as a weapon against those struggling to free themselves from Soviet client regimes in Ethiopia and Afghanistan.

The murder of seven million Ukrainians by the Soviet government was an act of genocide which prepared the way for the paradigmatic act of genocide in all human history--Hitler's destruction of the European Jews. And genocide is not merely a historical phenomenon carried out by fascist regimes which have been destroyed. It has occurred in Cambodia and may occur again. Totalitarian governments, armed with ideologies which hold any crime permissible in the pursuit of their political goals are by their nature capable of genocide.

The Ukrainian famine, despite the brief flurry of publicity in the West, soon degenerated into an exercise in the techniques of disinformation. The role played by certain representatives of the Western press was particularly disgraceful in that they allowed themselves to be used as tools to obscure the truth. Disinformation is still with us, and the study of this crime, which long disappeared from public consciousness so completely that it represents the most successful denial of genocide by its perpetrators, can tell us much about current disinformation efforts.

Lastly, the Ukrainian famine was a crucial event in the history of America's major adversary--the Soviet Union. It is bound up with the culmination of a campaign to stamp out non-Russian national self-assertion as a hindrance to the establishment of a Russian centralist regime. That regime is still with us in much the same form as Stalin left it. Only by understanding how Stalin gave the Soviet state its present form can we hope to fully comprehend what Stalin created.

We therefore bear a large responsibility in our work as members of the Ukraine Famine Commission. We must establish the facts about what has long been concealed. We must work to restore to public consciousness that which has disappeared from it for far too long. And we must remember above all that our ultimate responsibility is not to any one community, not even to the victims of the heinous crime, but to the American public and the elusive ideal of truth.

Congressman MICA: Dr. Koop?

Surgeon General KOOP: I'm Everett Koop. I'm the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. I'm beginning the first year of my second term as a Presidential appointee, and I'm here because the President appointed me.

I am not an expert on Ukrainian affairs, but I hope to be.

Undersecretary BAUER: I'm Gary Bauer, Undersecretary of Education. I'm a Presidential appointee and have a deep interest in this subject. The particular perspective that I bring is having looked at textbooks in this area and finding that the Ukrainian famine has disappeared down a memory hole. So I hope that this Commission will be able to address the lack of public awareness of the very significant, historical event.

Dr. KUROPAS: I am Dr. Myron Kuropas. I'm the Supreme Vice-President of the Ukrainian National Association, former Special Assistant to President Ford for ethnic affairs.

I've been interested in the Ukrainian famine for the last 30 years and am delighted to be part of the Commission and to see that finally something is going to be done to make the world aware of perhaps the world's greatest tragedy.

Dr. WERES: My name is Oleh Weres. I am from Oakland, California. I'm a public member here. By profession, I'm a chemist. My background in the Ukrainian community, I was head of U.C.C.A. CAL Branch, California; was active in the famine commemoration activities in Northern California three years ago.

Ms. VOLKER: I'm Anastasia Volker from Detroit, a retiree, community activist for a long time. Famine has been very close to all Ukrainians, and myself in particular, because I'm one of those that's an imported product.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I'm Daniel Marchishin. I am Vice-President of Americans for Human Rights in the Ukraine. I'm also appointed on Governor Kane's Commission for Eastern European and Cantonesian's History in the State of New Jersey.

I am looking forward to working with my fellow commissioners on the Ukrainian Famine Commission, and I feel that the report that we'll be coming out with is going to be tremendously important to the education of the United States and of the United States Congress.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: My name is Ulana Mazurkevich, and I'm with the Ukrainian Human Rights Commission. I am president of that organization, and our group has been working on the famine in our community in the Philadelphia area, trying to publicize this great tragedy, and we hope to accomplish a lot from this Commission.

Congressman GILMAN: My name is Congressman Ben Gilman. I represent the southeastern part of New York State. I serve on the Foreign Affairs Commission,

along with our Ranking Minority Member, Bill Broomfield, and we hope to bring a foreign affairs perspective to this issue.

I'm pleased to be able to join with our distinguished members of our Commission and look forward to the work that we have ahead, and I'm sure that with Dan Mica's leadership, we will meet all of our deadlines and try to produce a document that will have a historical importance and also be a reminder that we must not allow this kind of a genocide to occur again. I think that's probably one of the main underlying objectives, to provide a proper history of what occurred, to make certain that we don't allow this kind of an event to occur again.

As we address world hunger problems and address human rights problems, they are all wrapped up into what occurred in the Ukrainian famine, and, Mr. Chairman, we look forward to working with you. I hope that our Commission members will understand that if the congressmen have to run in and out of our meetings, as Dan Mica indicated, we have some other responsibilities, but we will be here with you as much as we can, and we'll have staff people here when we're not here. Dr. Weinberg from our Foreign Affairs Committee will be assisting me and Mr. Broomfield in our work on the Commission, and will keep an attentive ear to what's going on in the Commission.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FEDORAK: Mr. Chairman, I'm Bohdan Fedorak. I'm from Michigan. I'm Vice-President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee and the Chairman of its External Affairs Committee. This type of activity has been at the roots of our activity for many years, and we are very pleased that such a Commission has been appointed to finally define and present to the American people what the genocide in Ukraine in the '30s was all about.

Congressman BROOMFIELD: Dan, I'm Congressman Broomfield. I'm the senior Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I'm delighted to be on this Commission, but more than that, I think we're very fortunate to have Dan Mica as the Chairman of this Commission because he's highly respected on both sides of the aisle in Congress, and I am particularly pleased with the staff that he has assembled. I'm sure we will have a good report.

All I can tell you, I think this whole question of the Ukrainian famine is one of the major issues. We have got to continue to put pressure on the Soviet Union.

I just got back. In fact, I spent nearly two weeks over there with the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, but one thing I came back with. When you talk about human rights or even the famine of the Ukrainians, you've got to continue to publicize this, and particularly on human rights. You just cannot let up the pressure.

I agree with Ben Gilman. It is one of these things that we want to avoid these kinds of situations in the future, but you've got to let people know about what has happened in the past, as well.

Thank you, Dan.

Congressman MICA: Thank you.

We have before us an agenda. Each of you has a file, and the swearing in of the members I'm going to hold until the last possible moment, and we'll continue all of the comments that have been made and any testimony or any statements that you make will be made part of the official record, and we'll wait as long as we can to see how many we can get here.

I am advised that members of Congress don't need to be sworn in. So you can come and go as you like, but the public members will need to be sworn in.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to repeat something I said last night. Ambassador Gene Douglas called. He is in California on a very important matter, and he wanted to express his regrets at not being able to be present, but wanted to assure us that he will be taking an active interest and an active role in the work of our Commission.

Congressman MICA: We thank you, and there will be, we hope, a couple of Senators coming in a little later, too, and maybe we can get the largest number here for the swearing in and for additional pictures.

What I'd like to do, without objection--and let me just tell you how I run my subcommittee, and Bill and Ben know this--I run on a consensus basis. If we have an objection or a concern, raise your hand or express it, and we'll try to work it out, but I will run it as the Chairman otherwise as I see fit and try to do it in a fair way.

Without objection, I'm going to try to change this agenda a little bit and hold the statements of individual members, and maybe move down to reading of the draft of the by-laws and the discussion and the budget. Those two items, I think, can be discussed. Most of the members here have all looked at that, but it can be discussed by the public members of the Commission, and we must approve them.

Then we'll come back up to the statement from individual members, and somewhere in there when we have enough members here, we'll try to proceed with the swearing in.

But if each of you would take that out and take a look at it, it may take you a few minutes, and in the interim, I hate to do this, and I'll be the first one to rush out and be back, but I should be back within a half hour. I'm going to ask Dr. Mace to take the chair as an advisor, and without objection, appoint Mr. Marchishin as the acting chairman to conduct the discussion and review of this budget and by-laws.

We are not in any way prejudiced toward changes. We want to have your comments. We have tried to do what we hoped would be in the best interest of the entire Commission, both for the by-laws and for the budget, and we'd like to have your comments.

So you may need to take a minute if you haven't read it over and just read through it, and then if you'll conduct a discussion and ask each member if they have any comments or any changes or any concerns. Dr. Mace will sit here and advise and assist, and I will be back in about 30 minutes.

Then the next order of business I would suggest would be approval of the budget.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Dr. Mace is going to read through the by-laws, the draft by-laws, of the Commission slowly, and while he's reading it, I would ask the members to follow it and consider if they have any questions or additions or changes that come to their mind regarding the by-laws.

Dr. MACE: First of all, you will notice in your folders a copy of Public Law 99-180. The by-laws do refer to P.L. 99-180 in a number of respects. So you may wish to refer to that.

BY-LAWS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE.

PREAMBLE

The Commission on the Ukraine Famine (hereafter, the "Commission") is constituted by and in accordance with P.L. 99-180, dated December 13, 1985, to conduct a study of the Ukraine Famine of 1932-33, to expand the world's knowledge of the famine, and to provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by elucidating the Soviet role in the Ukraine Famine.

I. Duties of the Commission

The duties of the Commission are:

1. To gather all available information about the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine, examine the causes of the famine and its effects, and analyze the reaction of the free countries of the world to the famine.

2. To submit to Congress for publication a final report on the basis of its study of the 1932-33 Ukraine famine no later than April 23, 1988.

II. Membership

The Ukraine Famine Commission is composed of 15 members appointed for the life of the Commission as provided by section r(a).2. of P.L. 99-180. Commission members not otherwise employed by the United States government shall be paid from the funds of the Commission the daily equivalent of the rate for G.S.-18 from the General Schedule for the time during which he or she is attending meetings or hearings of the Commission, or otherwise performing Commission related duties requested by the Chairman of the Commission. Each member of the Commission shall be reimbursed for travel expenses, including *per diem* in lieu of subsistence as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, *United States Code.*

III. Administrative Provisions

1. Meetings and hearings shall be held at such time and place as the Chairman may appoint, after 7 days notice to all members of the Commission. Meetings shall be conducted by the Chairman or in his absence by a member he designates in compliance with *Robert's Rules of Order* and these by-laws.

2. Proxies may be given by any member of the Commission to the Chairman or any other member of the Commission.

3. The presence of proxies of eight members at a meeting shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

4. Business may be conducted by the Commission in the absence of a meeting by the following means:

a) By the submission of a written motion to the Chairman, who shall within five days of its receipt send copies to all members who may vote upon it within fourteen days of the date when it is sent by the Chairman. No second is required. A motion shall be considered adopted upon the communication to the Chairman of eight votes in its favor. Any motion not to receive eight votes within fourteen days of its being sent to members by the Chairman shall be considered to have been rejected.

b) By the delegation to the Chairman of such powers as a majority of the Commission may see fit, by means of a motion duly adopted by the Commission.

IV. Powers of the Commission and the Chairman

1. The Chairman may authorize any member of the Commission to hold hearings in accordance with Section 6(a) of P.L. 99-180 at such times and places as he or a majority of the Commission considers appropriate. The Chairman will further make staff support available for such hearings.

2. The Chairman may appoint committees of scholars to study various questions coming within the Commission mandate subject to the approval of the Commission membership. Such persons will serve on a voluntary basis, but may be compensated for expenses incurred in the course of carrying out the tasks requested by the Chairman or the Commission.

3. The Chairman may request from the head of any department or agency information the Commission considers useful in the discharge of its duties.

4. Each member of the Commission may appoint up to three advisors to keep him or her abreast of the progress of the Commission's work. Such advisors will serve on a voluntary basis, without compensation.

5. Non-members of the Commission may take part in Commission proceedings only at the request of a Commission member and only after being recognized by the Chairman.

6. The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as it considers appropriate in accordance with Section 6(4)d of P.L. 99-180.

7. The Commission may solicit, accept, use, and dispose of donations of money, property, or services.

8. The Commission may use the U.S. mails in accordance with Section 6(4)4 of P.L. 99-180.

9. The Commission may request administrative support form the General Services Administration on a reimbursable basis.

10. The Commission may procure by contract any supplies, services and property in accordance with Section 6(4) of P.L. 99-180.

V. Vacancies

Should a vacancy occur the successor will be appointed in the same manner and under the same provisions as his or her predecessors.

VI. Meetings

Meetings of the Commission will be open to the public, unless a majority present vote to exclude the public.

VII. Public Participation in Commission Activities

1. The Commission shall make information, documents, and other materials available to non-members and provide for their participation in Commission activities in a manner consistent with applicable law, appropriate regulations and these by-laws.

2. The Commission may establish such procedures as it deems appropriate, consistent with Section 1 to facilitate public participation in, and knowledge of, its activities, and shall provide the public sufficient notice of and opportunity to comment upon proposed rules it may promulgate.

VIII. Amendments

1. Any Commission member may propose amendments to these by-laws, by written submission to the Commission membership not less than ten days before a meeting of the Commission.

2. A two-thirds majority of the Commission members must agree in a recorded vote to any amendments to these by-laws.

IX. Termination

The Commission shall terminate sixty days after the report of the Commission is submitted to Congress in any case no later than June 23, 1988.

Dr. KUROPAS: I'd just like to ask is there any particular reason why it's called "the Ukraine Famine" rather than "the Ukrainian Famine"?

Dr. MACE: That's the way the legislation was written. I am not aware of that aspect of its legislative history.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: It came out of Congressman Florio's office in that way, and that's the way it went through the whole process, and it didn't get edited in the hearings or any of the other processes to reword that, and that's just the way it went through, as "the Ukraine Famine".

I agree it sounds a little bit clumsy to me, but that's not a major consideration, I don't think. We know what it's all about.

Dr. KUROPAS: Will there be recommendations in that report?

Dr. MACE: That's up to the Commission.

Dr. KUROPAS: The attached statement doesn't necessarily state that there will not be. It could be with recommendations.

Dr. MACE: Certainly, it could be. That is what you will be deciding over the course of the next couple of years.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: There are a couple of questions that I have, and I'd like to understand Section 4, Paragraph 2, where it says, "The Chairman may appoint committees of scholars to study various questions coming within the Commission." I just wanted to clarify this.

This is not the--another project that we were considering that we would be hiring some scholars from time to time to undertake certain projects; this is another kind of a task.

Dr. MACE: Yes.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Strictly in an advisory capacity?

Dr. MACE: Right. If you will turn to the memorandum on the work of the Ukraine Famine Commission, which is in your folder, from the Chairman, this relates to Point 4 of the memorandum, and this is a very good time to discuss it.

This was a proposal that I discussed with the Chairman. In order to coordinate the efforts of such individuals, volunteers, scholars in the field, and to have their input, the Chairman proposed the creation of a scholarly council, the members of which would serve on a voluntary basis. We came up with a number of names of people who would be appropriate for such a scholarly council: Professor Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Robert Conquest, Professor Rakowsky, who has volunteered to do some research in Europe, Ivan Hvat, who is at Radio Liberty in Munich, Professor George Kulchytsky of Youngstown State University, Professor Roman Szporluk of the University of Michigan, Professor Tamara Miller, who has carried out oral histories in the Memphis area, Mr. Ivan Bezugloff, who is a representative of the Don Cossack community and it's a way for them to have some input into what happened during the famine in the North Caucasus, Professor Dmytro Shtohryn, Slavic librarian at the University of Illinois, Professor Bohdan Krawchenko, head of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Mr. Lev Kopelev from Cologne, West Germany, Dr. Vasyl Hryshko, Professor Mykola Stepanenko, Professor John Samilenko, the latter three, famine survivors.

That was trying to provide the mechanism where this could be accomplished through the by-laws.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I assume that this list isn't intended to be an exhaustive list.

Dr. MACE: No, in no way.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Because I just heard last night during the reception that at the University of Notre Dame, someone has been doing some work there at Notre Dame

studying the famine in Ukraine. So I just wanted to make that point. I'm sure this isn't intended to be an exhaustive list.

Dr. MACE: By no means.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: And as many people as we can get in, I'm sure that we welcome them.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: What is this fourth point, "each member of the Commission may appoint up to three advisors"? What is that supposed to be?

Dr. KUROPAS: I just want to get back to this one point.

Dr. MACE: Sure.

Dr. KUROPAS: On the scholars, it does not preclude any member of the Commission being engaged in scholarly research.

Dr. MACE: In no sense. In fact, I can speak for the Chairman in saying that we are looking forward to those members of the Commission who would like to make a scholarly contribution. Certainly there are members of the Commission who are qualified to do so. We would look forward to that, and this in no way precludes that.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Mrs. Mazurkevich.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: What is the fourth paragraph? "Each member of the Commission may appoint up to three advisors."

Dr. MACE: Some of the congressional members of the Commission felt that it might be useful to them under some circumstances, that they may wish to appoint on a voluntary basis persons from the Ukrainian community to help keep them abreast of the Commission's work.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Can you expound on that? What are they supposed to do?

Dr. MACE: That would be up to the Commission member. It's strictly on a voluntary basis. They'll have access to the staff. In other ways, they will have the same rights as the general public.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: But they haven't actually been sought out yet?

Dr. MACE: I would have to defer to the members of the Commission who suggested this, and the congressional members aren't present at this time.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Since it's written that all Commission members could do this, theoretically the public members could do the same thing, that they could appoint members of the Ukrainian community that they see fit to help them to carry out their responsibilities and advise them.

Dr. MACE: Each member of the Commission certainly may do so. We're not going to compensate these people, but yes, every Commissioner, including public Commissioners, have the right to appoint up to three advisors according to this provision.

Is there any objection or comment on this? Three people simply voluntarily advising members of the Commission.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I just want to get more clarification myself. I'm glad that Ulana brought it up.

Are there any other questions on Article IV of the by-laws?

(No response)

Shall we continue?

Yes.

Dr. KUROPAS: In reference to Article five, vacancies: Public Commissioners were appointed by the Commissioners that were seated at the time, but now that we have public members, will we be involved in the selection of the person for the vacancy?

Dr. MACE: This refers to the membership section of P.L. 99-180 and basically just repeats it. Section A says the Commission shall be composed of 15 members. Four members from the House are appointed by the Speaker. The minority members are appointed by the minority leader. Two members are appointed from the Senate. Public members are appointed by the Chairman, and I'm sure he would exercise that in consultation with everyone else on the Commission.

However, it is not within the power of the Chairman or the Commission to replace, for example, an executive vacancy.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Getting back to the first question that Myron Kuropas brought up about the way the name of the Commission is written, I've thought about this myself for a long time, and I wonder if we could consider correcting this wording to read "the Commission on the Ukrainian Famine" rather than "the Ukraine Famine" because that's a rather clumsy wording there, and if we could correct it on the Commission even though it's that way in the legislation, I'd like to consider that and amend the by-laws that way.

Is there any other--

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Can I just make a comment?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Sure.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: We've always been fighting the fact when they put "the" in front of Ukraine, and for the Commission to accept "the" before Ukraine famine would be defeating some of our purposes. We really should delete that "the".

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Well, the way I would suggest it, it would read "the Commission on the Ukrainian Famine".

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Right.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Ukrainian, because grammatically you need an adjective to modify an adjective. Ukraine is a noun, not an adjective.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, if I might be heard on this.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes.

Congressman GILMAN: Of course, the law has established the formal name, and if you're going to propose an amendment, a formal amendment, you're going to open up the door for possible Gramm-Rudman impact upon this Commission because there are a number of members that do question the necessity of this kind of an expenditure at this time for such a commission.

So I would urge that if you want to call it whatever you want to call it--a rose is a rose--that we leave the formal title in the law and call it what you may in our hearings or how you want to refer to it, but I don't advise that we put it back before the floor of the House.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Oh, no, no, no. I was just talking about our by-laws, not the legislation.

Undersecretary BAUER: Well, not only our by-laws, but other papers that might be produced by the Commission. I would see no reason why papers we create ourselves should not reflect the title that most of the Commissioners are comfortable with, if that title is "the Ukrainian".

Congressman GILMAN: We could refer to the report in the title matter as *Report on the Ukrainian Famine,* and you don't have to use that formal title across the head to take care of your concerns. I think more important, let's get on with the substance of our work.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I'd like to entertain a motion to accept the by-laws as read.

Dr. KUROPAS: So moved.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Seconded.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: All in favor?

(Chorus of ayes)

Opposed?

(No response)

Then it's accepted as read.

Okay. The next item, I think, that the Chairman wanted us to do is the consideration of the proposed budget, and if we could all get out our copy of it, I'd like to ask Dr. Mace to go through it and read it and explain it, and maybe we can have some questions.

BUDGET FOR FY 1986

ITEM	ANNUALIZED	FY 1986
GSA support services	FY est.	1,000
Office space and furnishings	6,500	4,333
Telephone and postage	5,000	3,000
Office supplies	1,333	1,000
Oral historian (contractor)	24,000	[1]18,000
Transcribers (contractors)	24,000	10,000
Organizational meeting	FY est.	6,000
Staff director salary	35,000	23,333
15% est. benefits	4,250	2,833
Staff assistant	15,000	10,667
15% est. benefits	2,400	1,600
Travel and misc. research expenses	20,000	12,000
Misc. contracts and services	FY est.	[2]56,234
	TOTAL	150,000

Dr. MACE: Yes. The budget for fiscal year 1986 only extends to October 1st. So that's why the figures are different for fiscal year 1986. We first tried to come up with annualized figures, but we'll be operating in not two calendar years, but in three fiscal years of different lengths. So at this point we should consider first of all the budget for fiscal year 1986.

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1 Available in June.

2 Available for unanticipated expenses.

The Ukraine Famine Commission is mandated to conduct a study of the 1932-33 man-made famine in the Ukrainian S.S.R. by gathering all available information about the famine, analyzing its causes and effects, and studying and analyzing the reaction to the famine by the United States and other free countries. The resulting study shall be submitted to Congress within two years of the organizational meeting of the full Commission, which can be held only after six members are appointed from the Ukrainian-American community and chartered Ukrainian human rights groups, which has been accomplished.

In order to accomplish the mandate a report will be drafted and submitted to members for comment and correction. In order to gain data for the report, documents must be analyzed here and abroad, and a large number of famine eyewitnesses will be interviewed in depth by a contractor.

We will have to talk about this as well.

Other contractors will transcribe oral history tapes. Approximately 100 hours of oral history collected from an earlier pilot project must also be transcribed. The staff director will coordinate and direct the work of contractors, draft portions of the report for the commissioners, conduct basic research in the Washington area, and carry out other duties as commissioners may direct.

The above is a very basic draft budget designed only to give an idea of where we stand in relation to--well, actually now it's less than eight months remaining for this fiscal year.

First of all, G.S.A. support services, which includes equipment, office, things of that nature, is $11,000 for this fiscal year.

Office space and furnishings are $6,500, which for the fiscal year is $4,333.

We estimate telephone and postage to be at approximately $3,000, $1,000 for office supplies.

Contracting and oral historians will cost probably about $8,000, and we'll talk more about how we intend to do that.

Transcribers, another $10,000.

The organizational meeting will cost about $6,000, all told.

The staff director, my salary is $35,000, which for the fiscal year, is $31,000. We estimate 15 percent benefits on top of that, which comes to about $3,000 for the fiscal year.

The staff assistant, her fiscal year salary is $10,667, plus an estimated $1,600, 15% benefits.

Miscellaneous travel and research expenses will come to about $12,000.

The last item, miscellaneous contracts and services, is $56,234. That is simply available for unanticipated expenses to bring our total budget up to the allocation given us by G.S.A., which is $150,000 for the fiscal year.

Any portion of that or other monies which are not spent by the Commission will be available for the succeeding fiscal year.

Congressman GILMAN: Question: is there some provision, Mr. Chairman, for printing in here, printing our report?

Dr. MACE: No, because we will not be printing our report in this fiscal year. It will be in fiscal 1988.

Congressman GILMAN: Alright.

Dr. KUROPAS: May I suggest that if anyone from the staff is invited by a Ukrainian group especially to come speak to them, that in fact the Ukrainian group be asked to pick up the expenses. We have a limited budget, and I think that Ukrainians are aware of this, and if any member is invited, that it be understood that the local group pick up the expenses.

Dr. MACE: Yes, in fact, I have traveled on that basis, and at the expense of Ukrainian groups, and have donated all honoraria to the Commission.

Dr. KUROPAS: Well, you don't have to do that necessarily.

Dr. MACE: Well--

Dr. KUROPAS: I mean the honoraria.

Dr. MACE: Thank you.

Dr. WERES: I have some questions.

First, are some of these items nonrecurring costs associated with setting up the Commission, like G.S.A. support services?

Dr. MACE: Yes. G.S.A. support services is recurring. That includes office equipment, physical plant. So we will be paying G.S.A. for our office space in the Vanguard Building until we go out of existence, for example, for telephones and that sort of thing.

Dr. WERES: What's the annualized spending rate? I mean how much money per 12 months, excluding the miscellaneous contracts and services?

Dr. MACE: Excuse me?

Dr. WERES: Well, how much money do we expect to spend in 12 months?

Dr. MACE: In 12 months?

Dr. WERES: Yes, excluding miscellaneous. I mean what's our base spending rate that you've calculated here?

Dr. MACE: $200,000, which meets our allocation. However, one may subtract from that miscellaneous contracts and services, that $56,000, because that's for unanticipated expenses. We do not anticipate spending all of that money in this fiscal year. It depends on the projects that the Commission decides to undertake.

Dr. WERES: And if we have further full Commission meetings, which rubric would those come out of? Is that travel and miscellaneous research or is that miscellaneous contracting services or--

Dr. MACE: Those would come out of miscellaneous contracts and services.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: So the only Commission meeting that specifically is in this proposed budget is the organizational meeting?

Dr. MACE: Yes, but we have ample funds allocated for other meetings under miscellaneous contracts and services.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, are you planning any hearings--guess I should direct this to Dr. Mace--any hearings outside of Washington?

Dr. MACE: That is up to the Commission. I would certainly think that should be considered by the Commissioners at this meeting.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Excuse me. Then we, the community, would pick up the charges for the travel expenses of the Commission members?

Dr. MACE: For a public hearing?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Right.

Dr. MACE: I don't see how. Public hearings would have to be carried out to a large extent at Commission expenses, although it would be possible to negotiate, for example, for free use of a building. For example, I believe the President of the Ukrainian National Association has offered the use of certain of their offices should we wish to hold hearings in the New York area. Similar arrangements might be worked out with other organizations.

Yes.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: But will we use a federal building, such as in Chicago?

Congressman GILMAN: I don't believe there is any charge for using a courtroom, for example, that may be available in one of the federal buildings, as we do in New York City from time to time, and Chicago and elsewhere. But I don't think we'll be running into an expense for the use of space in a federal building except for personnel or any printing material that might be needed.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I think that if we have a choice, I would personally prefer that we have it in a federal building. It lends a lot more legitimacy to the hearing than having it in a Ukrainian setting.

Dr. MACE: That makes very good sense.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. I do want to remind the Commissioners that the proposed budget does suggest one specific project to undertake, and that is the oral history project, and I want to remind the Commissioners that this is specifically in the budget.

Personally I think it is one of the major, positive projects that the Commission should undertake, the oral history project, but I just wanted to remind the people that this is a specific project that's in the budget.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Mr. Chairman, can you explain that?

Dr. MACE: May I refer you to the memorandum from Congressman Mica, Point 2, which is the beginning of page 2, which refers to the employment of contract workers to carry out an oral history project on the Ukraine Famine.

Beginning on June 1, personnel will be available to conduct in-depth taped interviews with Ukrainian famine survivors. A pilot project, which I directed in the summer of 1984, has already produced approximately 100 hours of taped testimony with 57 famine survivors.

Transcription can begin immediately after the hiring or after the organizational meeting if the Commission decides to approve the hiring of transcribers. Contractor work saves 15 percent over hiring staff, since benefits need not be paid to contractors.

This is a way we can watch our budget.

Mr. Leonid Heretz, the Harvard graduate student who actually conducted the interviews in the pilot project, which I directed in 1984, will be willing to train interviewers without pay, but we would have to pay to fly him down here from Boston.

This should have high priority, I would argue and the Chairman has argued, because while documentary sources of information will be available essentially forever, the advancing age of those who witnessed the events that took place over half a century ago means that their number is already diminishing--I estimate--at five percent a year.

We, therefore, have only a limited period of time in which we can learn from them by recording their impressions and memories before this source of information is irretrievably lost.

Surgeon General KOOP: Has any thought been given to making available to the public, and especially to educational institutions, the actual transcripts rather than the written testimony? It's much more dramatic, much more telling.

Dr. MACE: This can certainly be done once we have transcripts. These can be published at the discretion of the Commission as an addendum to its report or as separate publications. That's a question for the Commission to consider.

Surgeon General KOOP: I was thinking of tapes.

Dr. MACE: That can certainly be done. However, many of these tapes are in the Ukrainian language.

Ms. VOLKER: I have a question. Based on the fact that the witnesses are passing on, how fast are we going to latch onto this?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: That's why we are discussing it here today, and if we agree to this, we'll begin on June 1 at the latest.

Congressman HERTEL: I support this very strongly. That is one of the reasons that we argued in the House for the necessity of doing this as quickly as possible, and I make on suggestion.

We talk about oral transcripts like this. Has there been consideration regarding the video?

Dr. MACE: It hasn't been considered as of this time. It may be possible. I know that videotapes have been made.

Congressman HERTEL: Well, you know, it's getting so much cheaper now. A lot of us have talked about what we're going to do with our information, how we're going to reach the public, not only through publications, but even the idea that maybe some public broadcastings would be done, and, of course, this would be key to that, and with the problem of advancing age, I'd hate to ask the people to do it twice or to bring other cameras in and so forth. If we could do it in a relaxed atmosphere initially and have that information available, it might help us get wider use out of it because ultimately we really want to reach the largest number of American people to know what happened, and we're going to need TV.

Dr. MACE: That can certainly be done.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, I would like to note that Bob Maynes is here, who is the Administrative Aide and Press Secretary to Senator DeConcini.

Mr. Maynes.

Mr. MAYNES: The Senator sends his apologies for not being able to be here this morning. His schedule has him in approximately two places most of the day, and he could not figure out how to make a third, but we will be involved. He will be involved in the Commission and is certainly very interested in its work.

Congressman HERTEL: Could I say something about that? All of us, as you know, are going to have those problems. I had a classified briefing on the Libyan attack, and we want the Commission members to know that they can contact the Senators and Representatives at any time about any concerns or ideas that they have, and we'll all have staff here. But certainly any time any of you want to talk to us directly, please, please do, and we'll make the time no matter what the schedule is.

Dr. KUROPAS: I'd like to ask will various congressmen be available, do you think, to come to open community functions to speak about the famine?

Congressman HERTEL: Oh, I think they'd very much like to do that, and we have a good list well beyond people on the Commission of people who are very interested, and some attended the reception last night.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. If there is no further discussion on the proposed budget, I think the oral history project was a major consideration in the budget. I did want to clarify that for all of the Commissioners.

I'd like to ask for a motion that the proposed budget be accepted as drafted.

From the FLOOR: So moved.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Seconded?

From the FLOOR: Seconded.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Seconded.

All in favor?

(Chorus of ayes)

Opposed?

(No response)

The proposed budget has been passed as presented.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, just so the Commission members will be aware of our bell system, two lights and two bells indicate a roll call vote. Three lights and three bells indicate a quorum vote in which case members have to go to the floor within 15 minutes to cast their vote, and four lights and four bells indicate a recess. Five is adjournment. I guess six is an air raid.

(Laughter)

Mr. MARCHISHIN: We'll leave that up to the good Surgeon General when we get to that point.

The next item of business I'd like to suggest is that the memorandum on the work of the Commission was prepared by Mr. Mica and the staff, and I think we all have a copy of it in our packet, and it is not too long, but I think we should go through it, and it would help to clarify in our mind the kind of work that the Commission would be undertaking.

MEMORANDUM OF CHAIRMAN MICA ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE

I would like to thank Dr. Weres for his memorandum on the work of the Commission. It gives us a valuable starting point for the discussion of basic issues. I am certain that it, along with the enabling legislation, will help us decide the basic direction of our work.

After consulting with the Commission staff, I feel the following should be considered:

1. *The mandate of the Commission* is defined by the enabling legislation. Section 2 states: "The purpose of the Commission is to conduct a study of the 1932-33 Ukraine famine..." Section 3(2) requires the Commission to "submit to Congress for publication a final report on the results of the famine study no later than two years after the organizational meeting of the Commission..." I hope that Dr. Mace will have your confidence to submit drafts of this report to you for approval, suggestions, changes, deletions, and additions. We will be called upon to make fundamental judgments regard-

ing historical facts and their interpretation. As a historian who has done research on this topic, Dr. Mace can present his findings to us. I do not see how we can carry out our mandate without a certain amount of basic scholarly research. Having worked for almost five years with Robert Conquest on the famine, Dr. Mace assures me that, as with every topic of significant historical importance, there is much that is presently unknown and that some of it is in our power to discover. Indeed, it is because our mandate is large in relation to our appropriation that the Commission was empowered to solicit and accept funds and services.

Getting the famine into the curriculum is, as Dr. Weres has pointed out, extremely important. Should you decide to do so, curriculum materials can be printed either separately or as addenda to the Commission report. Dr. Mace has been involved in efforts to get the famine into the curricula in every state and province where such attempts have been made and he has lectured on the famine throughout the United States and Canada, as well as in Great Britain, Australia, and Israel. His feeling, from numerous seminars and lectures in academic settings, is that much of the scholarly community remains to be convinced, if not of the historicity of the famine, then of its scope and cause. The level of public awareness of what took place in 1932-33 is low, despite heroic efforts by the Ukrainian-American community and a few scholars. The quantity of research done on the topic is insignificant in comparison to better-known genocides of this century, such as the Jewish Holocaust and the Armenian Massacres. Unless progress is made on all these fronts, efforts to introduce the Ukrainian famine into the curriculum will have limited success at best. The Commission's mandate allows it to make progress on all three fronts.

2. *Fund-raising* in the Ukrainian-American community is crucial. What the Commission can accomplish will largely depend on the financial resources at its disposal. Commissioners from the Ukrainian-American community would obviously take the lead in this matter.

3. *The employment of contract workers to carry out an oral history project* on the Ukraine famine. Beginning on June 1, personnel will be available to conduct in depth taped interviews with Ukrainian famine survivors. A pilot project, which Dr. Mace directed in the summer of 1984, has already produced approximately one hundred hours of taped testimony with fifty-seven survivors. Transcription can begin immediately after the organizational meeting, if the Commission decides to approve the hiring of transcribers. Contract work saves about 15% over hiring staff, since benefits need not be paid contractors. Mr. Leonid Heretz, the Harvard graduate student who actually conducted the interviews carried out in 1984, will train interviewers. This should have a high priority because, while documentary sources of information will be available forever, the advanced age of those who witnessed events over half a century ago means that their number is already diminishing. We have only a limited period of time in which we can learn from them by recording their impressions before this source of information is irrevocably lost.

4. *We should utilize volunteers and personnel of other agencies by agreement with those agencies.* Professor Jeremy Rakowsky of Lorain College in Ohio wrote his dissertation on Anglo-French diplomacy toward the Ukrainian movement in 1918 and is familiar with archival sources in England and France. Since France in the interbellum period cooperated with Poland on intelligence gathering in Ukraine, French docu-

ments should be highly informative on the situation during the famine, and Professor Rakowsky has expressed interest in researching this material without remuneration. The Ukrainian service at Radio Liberty in Munich also has individuals who could be very helpful. Ivan Hvat of Radio Liberty studied for the priesthood in Rome, has excellent contacts in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and would be in an excellent position to examine materials in the possession of this church which was undoubtedly well informed about the situation in Soviet Ukraine during the famine. He could also be useful in trying to find documents of the Interconfessional Relief Committee, founded by Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna in 1933, any German consular reports that may exist, and any records of the *Drusag* agricultural concession which operated in Ukraine and the North Caucasus before and during the famine.

5. *In order to coordinate the efforts of such individuals and to have input from other scholars, I propose the creation of a scholarly council, the members of which would serve on a voluntary basis.* I would suggest that Professor Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak be named head of this council and that among its members be named Robert Conquest, Professor Rakowsky, Mr. Hvat, Professor George Kulchytsky, Professor Roman Szporluk, Professor Tamara Miller, Mr. Ivan Bezugloff, Professor Dmytro Shtohryn and Professor Bohdan Krawchenko, Mr. Lev Kopelev, Dr. Vasyl Hryshko, Professor Mykola Stepanenko, and Professor John Samilenko.

6. *Materials from the Soviet press of this period must be extensively utilized.* Much of this has already been collected by Dr. Mace.

7. *The Commission should consider having hearings outside Washington* in areas with significant numbers of famine survivors, such as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and New York. This might be one of the most effective ways in which the Commission can carry out that part of its mandate which calls for making the famine more broadly known.

8. *The Commission should consider whether to relate the Ukraine famine to issues of continuing public policy concern.* Among such issues are: a) the use of food as a weapon, b) genocide, c) the role of disinformation in the Soviet denial of the famine, and d) what the famine might teach us about the nature of the Soviet Union. The Institute of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, based in Tel Aviv and with which Dr. Mace has worked in the past, should be kept closely informed of our activities through regular releases to its *Internet* newsletter.

9. *Dr. Weres's idea of approaching the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is extremely interesting.* However, Academician B. M. Babil's August 1985 article on the subject in the Soviet newspaper *Radianska Ukraïna*, as Dr. Mace points out, would tend to give little hope for a positive response, since the author portrays Western attempts to study the famine as "a new form of psychological warfare against the U.S.S.R.". Incidentally, Soviet works refer only to "food supply difficulties which had their place in the history of our country in the 1930s". Such "difficulties" are attributed to bad weather, lack of experience in carrying out large-scale socialized agriculture, sabotage by class enemies, and "incorrect planning and carrying out of the agricultural procurements campaign". It should be remembered that the famine is a very touchy issue with the Soviet government, and the latter will continue to try to muddy the waters. However, everyone residing in the Ukrainian S.S.R. in its pre-1933 borders and in the Northern Caucasus over the age of sixty remembers 1933. Because of the

declining level of Soviet health care since the 1960s, this is a much smaller proportion of the population there than here, but it is still significant and its presence complicates Soviet attempts to simply deny that anything happened. For this reason euphemisms abound in Soviet scholarly literature, although some of the "historical fiction" is more forthcoming. Yet, dealing with the Ukrainian S.S.R. directly is worth a try.

10. *The staff should issue press releases to media directed at the U.S.S.R.* The Commission has a fundamental responsibility to those who survived the famine as well as to those who perished. The Ukrainian-American community will follow our work closely. But it cannot be forgotten that most of those who lived through the famine still reside in the U.S.S.R. They and their children are deeply interested in our work and are highly unlikely to get much accurate information about it through the official Soviet media. For this reason I believe it is important to keep alternative media to Ukraine fully abreast of our work. Among them are Prolog Research Corporation, which publishes the journal *Suchasnist* and other materials which are smuggled regularly into the U.S.S.R.; the editorial board of *Vidnova*, a similar operation; as well as the Ukrainian Services of Radio Liberty and the Voice of America, both of which are interested in the topic.

11. *The role of the United States during the famine can be researched at minimal cost in the Washington area.*

12. Dr. Mace has suggested that, since I will be in continuous contact with the staff office, *the Commission may delegate to me as Chairman, the power to hire staff and initiate research projects, pending your approval.* This would minimize the red tape of contacting every commissioner, as had to be done in the hiring of a staff assistant. Obviously, I will rely heavily on our staff director in exercising whatever authority you would delegate to me to oversee the day-to-day functioning of the Commission. You will be kept informed by telephone and updates like those which have already been sent to you. Indeed, we cannot function without your continuous input. Dr. Mace assures me that he will consider himself at the disposal of all members of the Commission equally and asks that I urge you to maintain close contact with the staff office of the Commission.

13. *Stationery* will be ordered for the Commission shortly, as Dr. Weres requested, and will be sent to all public members, as well as to other members who request it.

I look forward to working with my fellow members and am certain that, with your participation, we cannot fail to carry out our mandate successfully.

With best wishes,

Daniel A. Mica,
Chairman,
Commission on the
Ukraine Famine

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Are there any questions?

Yes.

Dr. KUROPAS: I have two questions. You mentioned that the Commission was empowered to solicit and accept funds and services. Do you think there will be time today to discuss that a little more fully as a separate item?

Dr. MACE: That is Item 6 of this or Item 5. Excuse me.

Dr. WERES: Mr. Chairman, is this the time to discuss scope of work of the Commission or should we defer that until the reading of the draft?

Dr. MACE: I think this is a good time to start it.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, I think it's come up, and rather than read through the whole memorandum and then come back, I think if we have questions one-by-one, we should consider them.

Dr. WERES: Okay. I appreciate the Chairman's point that establishing historicity of a famine is a major matter that we need to attend to, but I'm not convinced that curriculum development or propagation of those curriculum materials in various states is something that should be expected to wait until the question of historicity is resolved.

What we're doing in the historicity department will be, in large extent, the collection, compilation of raw data and materials like that will take literally years until they've made an impact on the scholarly literature, let alone until they filter down to where the public is aware of them.

Meanwhile, for example, in California we right now--the Department of Education has a committee on developing a holocaust and genocide curriculum unit. The committee is working right now. We need those inputs right now.

I don't believe that there's any reasonable way we can wait for the basic historical research that's going to come out of this Commission eventually.

In terms of what it takes to convince state departments of education, I think there's a lot of basic lobbying work that's done, and we can take care of that in California, but we do not have the capability in California of producing actual curriculum materials.

I would ask that Dr. Mace make if not the first priority, then a priority equal to the basic historical research preparation of the materials we need in California and other states, and begin by first collecting materials that are produced in other states, basically having the Commission serve as a central repository for all of these matters and making them available to Commissioners, other interested cooperating parties in various states, and that that should get underway immediately.

Another thing that would be useful quickly in regard to convincing people that it happened, I think the best we can really do is point to the published literature, like Dr. Conquest's forthcoming book, and also the documentary, those made in Canada. I think at that level it will work.

One thing that the Commission could provide in that direction is videotape testimony as soon as that becomes available.

Dr. MACE: That's perfectly feasible.

If I may speak for the Chairman, he was not suggesting in any way that efforts to get the famine into the curriculum wait or in any sense take a back seat. In fact, I have spoken to him about this, and he favors that very strongly.

However, we should realize that the Commission give us opportunities to reinforce efforts toward getting it into the curriculum not only by trying to lobby for that, but by

also doing work which helps provide a basis for strengthening efforts. It can reinforce efforts to get the famine into the curriculum by carrying out scholarly work and by raising public consciousness.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: May I say something?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: I feel that the most important thing is to establish the legitimacy of the Ukrainian famine, and the way you're going to do that is if we are going to have hearings in the various cities of the United States, we'll have eyewitnesses surviving the famine. We will have the press there, and that will, in turn, give us legitimacy, and the more attention that will be caused to the famine, the more articles that will be written. Then we can pursue this with the Board of Education.

But we have to establish this so-called legitimacy.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes.

Ms. VOLKER: I can speak very briefly on a curriculum situation in Detroit. We have had an opportunity, but we had no materials really to work with about the Jewish Holocaust because it is in the curriculum in Detroit schools, and I believe that now that we have this Commission and some effort on its part that it would not be that difficult in our area.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes.

Dr. KUROPAS: We've had some success in the Chicago area through the help of the American Jewish Committee. We were able to convince the Chicago Board of Education to expand their units on the Holocaust to include the Ukrainian famine, and even go beyond that to having an entire day devoted for school teachers of social studies in the Chicago metropolitan area on November 8th, and I think it would be very helpful to us if, for example, on November 7th the Commission held hearings in Chicago. There are a number of witnesses in Chicago, and the following day the teachers would have a workshop which would be conducted by local members of our education committee, and in that way we would be able to present the famine curriculum to all of the teachers in the Chicago area, and I think that if we do have conferences like this, if at all possible it can be tied into local hearings, that would bring a lot of local press coverage and would heighten the sensitivity of some of the educators of this particular program.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: If I may direct a question to Dr. Kuropas, would we write the curriculum for the teachers?

Dr. KUROPAS: Well, I've been asked to write it, and I've talked to Dr. Mace about it. He sent me the curriculum they're using in New York State, but I think if we as members of the Commission form our own local groups of school educators, and we certainly have enough of them in the Ukrainian community, to develop a curriculum that meets local needs, because in Chicago they're looking for something far less extensive than what they had in New York; so we're going to try to meet the Chicago needs, and I'm sure the needs of Philadelphia would probably be slightly different.

So if you could contact your local boards of education and form a committee under your leadership, I think it would do something very similar.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Are there any other comments or discussion on this point?

(No response)

Well, if I may, I'd like to add my comments. I don't think that the Commission, as a major task of its duties, should be undertaking to prepare curriculum material. As I mentioned, I'm on the Commission for Eastern European History in New Jersey, and we are reviewing all of the textbooks that are used in high school level and junior high school level for their teaching about the history of Eastern Europe, and the preparation of curriculum materials and the introduction of them into the textbooks is a major, major undertaking. It's a very long-range project.

I don't think, as Dr. Mace has said, that the campaign to enlighten the public about the Ukrainian famine should in any way take a back seat, but I honestly don't see that the preparation of curriculum materials by the Commission and its staff should be a major task.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Well, I disagree with you because it shouldn't be a major task, but it should be one of the important tasks because if we're to educate the people, where do we start? We start with school children, and we're not going to amend textbooks now. We're just going to introduce a supplement to the text. That's all.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Are there any other questions on this? Is there discussion?

Dr. KUROPAS: I think that the staff of the Commission would not have to spend a lot of time, but I think if local groups could develop the curriculum, they could send it to Dr. Mace for his response, for his expertise, and he could take time to look at it and see if it meets the needs and then send it back. I don't see the Commission spending an inordinate amount of time on this, but I think they could help us as kind of consultants, but most of the work would be done locally.

Dr. MACE: If I could just interject, I have no objection to doing that. In fact, I've done that on an informal basis in the past, and I would be quite happy to continue to do that in the future.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Did you have any comment?

Mr. FEDORAK: So be it.

Dr. MACE: Alright. We've spoken about Item 2, which is the employment of contract workers to carry out an oral history project.

Number three on the memorandum is the utilization of volunteers and personnel of other agencies by agreement with those agencies.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Is there any comment on this, discussion?

Dr. KUROPAS: If I might, I'd just like to ask. I don't think this should be a major part of the research done by the Commission, but I think an important aspect, and we all agree it's an important aspect of what happened in the '30s, is the fact that the world press was either unaware or refused to be aware or even wanted to actually ignore it. I think the real precedents were affected during the Holocaust if we read such recent publications as *The Abandonment of the Jews.* We see that the American press especially in some instances seemed to go out of its way to ignore the Holocaust, even though all of the information was there.

Have you given any thought to having a side study, an ancillary study that would look at the role of the free press in the suppressing of the evidence for the famine?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I'm sorry. Did you follow that, Dr. Mace? Myron was talking about the role of the press.

Dr. MACE: Covering the press and Soviet disinformation? Well, I think most of the Commission realizes that we have one Commissioner who has published on this, and that's you, Dr. Kuropas. You have done work on this, and I would hope that you would contribute in this respect. There are also other people who have worked on it. Should the Commission decide to do so, we could consult particularly Professor James W. Crowl, who is in the State of Virginia and whose dissertation is on particularly the disinformation and the role of disinformation played by Walter Duranty and Lewis Fischer. I'm sure you're familiar with that monograph, and he's available to help us on a contract basis.

I think that the whole mechanics of disinformation and the lack of Western press coverage has to be one of the major focuses of our work.

Related to this is Item 4, which is the creation of a scholarly council, sort of an open-ended thing, to try to get input from members of the academic community and others who have something to contribute, and also to help coordinate the efforts of people who want to volunteer their services, and to, you know, provide for scholarly input into the work of the community.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. We did discuss this point a little bit earlier when we were looking at the budget, I believe.

Are there any other questions?

Dr. KUROPAS: As to fund-raising--Point five--have you thought about how this might be done?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Well, I think one of the ways is to prepare events in the community that would highlight the existence of the Commission and to solicit contributions from the public or to have dinners, fund-raising things like that, to have members of the Commission take part in these with the express purpose of supporting the work of the congressional Commission.

Mr. MAYNES: Might I suggest that you consider an event that has as its purpose raising funds being associated with hearings that are outside of Washington? I think it might be easier to work on and create a greater sense of focus.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Well, what we probably would do is we would hold hearings that we would have survivors of the famine appear at, and at that point we would have some of the congressional members there, and then we could charge a fee, $10 or what have you, for people to come in, and then the Ukrainian community is very generous. They would probably pull out a checkbook anyway and write a little check.

Dr. MACE: However, I do not believe it is legal to charge admission to open meetings by public bodies.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Donations?

Dr. MACE: I think what--

Mr. MAYNES: What I was suggesting was some sort of an event that might follow your hearings.

Dr. MACE: A luncheon, reception, something of that nature, yes. That's perfectly legal.

Mr. MAYNES: I think you create the focus with your hearing, and then use the fact that you've got the focus to extend your public activity into a fund raiser.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Go ahead.

Dr. WERES: Yes, I have some questions. As for collecting funds, what organizational hat would that be done under? Would that be the Famine Commission collecting funds, or would that have to be Friends of the Famine Commission type unit or a local famine commemoration committee?

Dr. MACE: It could be either. Certainly Commissioners could create a Friends of the Commission type organization or, you know, use their power to appoint three advisors as a way of sort of creating a structure for this. That's a question I think you should perhaps consider.

Dr. WERES: One specific question I was getting at is: is it legal and proper for a government agency to organize a fund-raising drive?

Dr. MACE: We are empowered by law to solicit and accept funds, goods, services. So my feeling would be that it is legal. One could go to the Comptroller General and ask for an opinion on that, but unless it is incorporated as a separate body, I really couldn't see any problem in any fund-raising activities that we are legally empowered to carry out.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: I don't think that we should have a separate body set up to collect funds. Why can't this body collect the funds? Why empower another body? The checks can be made out to the Famine Commission and not confuse the general public with Friends of the Commission.

Dr. WERES: Okay. Well, a related question: in California, Southern California, the Los Angeles area, we still have a large and active famine commemoration committee, and because we are 3,000 miles away from Washington, I think in practice there that organization would do the fund-raising, and the question related to that is in this kind of situation, when we turn over or when they--I'm not a member of that body--but when they turn over funds to the Famine Commission, would that be an unrestricted donation or could we ask that it be directed for specific activities?

Mr. FEDORAK: Maybe we are placing the horse before the cart a little bit. We are discussing the form of collecting the funds, but should we be discussing the budgetary needs first and to what purpose would those funds be collected or needed?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I agree that it's an open discussion now. I think we should consider how the funds are to be used, but I think the question that we're discussing now is that there should be a fund-raising effort, hopefully spearheaded by the members of the Commission, in the Ukrainian-American community, and the specifics of how the funds would be used, we have to see what develops in the future and how the monies would be turned over either to the Commission or spent in another way.

These are very specific logistics that require a good deal of concentration.

Mr. FEDORAK: My point was that if you define the purpose, it may be easier to find the form to help you go about it. That was the only point.

Dr. KUROPAS: And I think a year from now we'd be in a better position to know what still needs to be done and how much monies still need to be raised to complete our mission.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: And also if we raise a lot of money, then we can talk of bigger projects. We can't just wait until next year and then see where we're at. It will be too late.

Dr. KUROPAS: But I think our community really has to see some results first. We're just getting started, and I think it might be a mistake to go to them now and say, "We need money," when we still haven't really done anything but meet.

Dr. WERES: Okay. Mr. Chairman, I did ask a specific question about whether funds turned over by other organizations would have to be restricted or if they would be directed to a specific purpose. I would like to answer, an opinion from the Director.

Dr. MACE: They can be restricted for specific purposes. It is, of course, preferable that they be unrestricted or as loosely restricted as possible, but yes, they can be restricted. In fact, any donation may indicate restriction on its use, and we would be legally obligated to abide by it.

Congressman MICA: I just came in, and I need a little briefing of where you are.

I have just gotten a little bit of where your are here, and the only point I would raise in restricted gifts, and I've been through this ten or fifteen years around here: it's fine if you want to take them, and I would abide by the majority rule of the Commission, but I caution you be very, very careful in getting into this. Not only can you get into restricted gifts that you can't really use, but you can get into restricted gifts that actually cost you money, and I've been through this. I've been on several foundations. We've ended up with some yachts that cost us money to dispose of. We've ended up with all kinds of gifts that people find tremendous ways to get a tax advantage.

So I would just say that if we do it, we ought to have some type of a mechanism before the gift is accepted. If there's any question as to what the gift is to be used for and how we can dispose of it, if we're given items to dispose of and we can keep the proceeds, then we ought to have a right of refusal and be very careful on that because we can take some gifts that would cost us a fortune.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you very much, Mr. Mica.

I would like to add my comment on this fundraising. I think there is one specific area that the fund-raising could be very beneficial, and this is in the publishing and printing area. The limited budget of the Commission doesn't allow for a great deal of publication of materials, and I think that this would be a major contribution that separate fund-raising could do, and also it was mentioned earlier by Congressman Hertel, the video. This is another area that turns out to be fairly expensive compared to other means of oral history collection, and that would be another specific area that the fund-raising could make a major impact in supplementing the budget of the Commission.

Another area I wanted to comment on is whether the Commission itself should be collecting the funds or a separate Friends of the Famine Commission type of organization. I would tend to go in the direction of a separate Friends of the Famine type of organization for a couple of reasons.

The Famine Commission, the congressional Commission, has a two-year life, and although I would like to see the work of the Commission continue if possible, the facts are there that it has a two-year life, has a limited life. I would like to see some mechanism within the Ukrainian community to continue to support the work of the Commission and do even more work within the Ukrainian community and the academic community.

So I would tend to lean in the direction of a separate Friends of the Famine Commission type of organization.

Ms. VOLKER: As a follow-up now on this discussion, I feel that if the Commission now has started its work with release of a specific need, as was mentioned, be it for videotapes or for oral histories locally, then you would have no problem with the Ukrainian community helping out financially, but a mechanism should be set up and priorities for fund-raising should take place.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Very good.

Yes?

Mr. MAYNES: Having had some experience in political fundraising--

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Excuse me. Would you take a microphone and identify yourself for the record?

Mr. MAYNES: Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. You're right.

Not being a member of the Commission and the Senator's representative, I don't want to take too much of your time, but I was just going to suggest there might be--I'm sorry, Bob Maynes from Senator DeConcini's office--there might be some possibility for controversy to the extent you set up other individual units that are going to possibly argue with how the money would be spent, when it would be spent and who controls it. To the extent that you might want to set up some entity that could live beyond the mandate of the Commission, that certainly could be useful.

But I would suggest you give serious consideration that for your major purposes of fund-raising to meet major goals of additional publications or video, that you have your own bank account and your own checkbook so that you don't get caught up in disputes with other entities.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Mr. Chairman.

Congressman MICA: You mentioned something that we had talked about prior to this meeting. The report will be done and the Commission will conclude its official business in 1988. There was some talk by some members about the possibility of extending authority.

Now, I think the Congress could very easily extend authority. I think there's next to zero chance that the Congress will extend appropriations so that if you're looking down the road to keep a legal commission in existence, it will have to be with outside money.

Any money that you raise, the Commission could have the effect and power and prestige of being a governmental commission with the authority that the government puts behind it, and so on, and all of the legal entities that we're entitled to, assistance from various agencies who have helped us in locating an office, but money, I would guarantee you this and, in fact, maybe give you my own personal feeling: I would be more than pleased to go before the Congress and appropriate committees to seek continuing authority for as long as you'd like to keep it in existence. I would be misleading you if I told you I could go and seek additional money.

We're very lucky, very lucky to have the money we have, and maybe this is the worst news I could give you. There's probably still an outside chance that before we ever finish, some of these funds could be cut. Under Gramm-Rudman, under the budget process, and so on, we really are breaking a lot of new ground here. I think we're okay, but it's not unthinkable to think that at the end of this year somebody goes

through a lot of the commissions and says, "They can have the authority, but the money is going to be cut back."

It's such a minor amount that I don't think that would happen, but right now every amount is being looked at.

I would concur with the idea that you may want to raise some money, but you also may want to keep control among this Commission. If you have another subcommission that controls the purse strings, you really dance to their tune, and then extending authority for this Commission almost would be useless.

Mr. MAYNES: I would suggest, Congressman, that you're right on target. Even though the amounts were small, it was not the easiest task for Senator DeConcini on the Senate side in the Appropriations Committee to assure that these funds were available.

I might also add that there was one Commissioner mentioned that we might want to pay immediate attention for fund-raising, and to the extent everyone concludes that there may be a couple of needs which you've already mentioned in the way of publications and videos that could provide a need, as it were, you might want not to have hearings and pass up the opportunity of the public focus that comes along with that for a fund-raising opportunity.

It seems to me like that would be an opportunity you would not want to miss, and to the extent that you're looking to be able to show the Ukrainian community before you ask them for money that you have done something, I think the hearing in the community is, in fact, that proof.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Right, definitely. That would be tied together, definitely.

Mr. MAYNES: It becomes the proof.

Dr. KUROPAS: Based on what you say, Congressman, it seems that your message to the public members is that we'd better be thinking very soon about fundraising.

Congressman MICA: Absolutely. I knew a lot of people would say before we even discuss other issues, put that at the end of the list, which I gather you retyped and all last night. I knew it would be a concern, but I also know what's going on right out there.

I left here to go to a Whip meeting, talking about budgets. We're talking about looking to cut more money, and the Republicans are doing the same thing, and I think that it's highly likely that every commission like this, not just this one--nobody is picking on the Ukraine--but every commission like this, anything that they can look at or we can look at in the next year has a chance to go under the cutting knife again, and we ought to think about that seriously.

On the other hand, and this is strictly up to the Commission--the staff mentioned this to me--there may be a desire on the part of the Commission to see us produce the report and then keep the Commission active and do follow-up work, and I advised them what I just told you: fine. My committee oversees it; the Senator is in the Senate. I don't see any problem. When it's free, we're easy to please. I don't see any problem with getting continued authority, but that would have to be with zero appropriations.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Is there any further discussion on Paragraph 5?

(No response)

Do you have any comment to add?

Dr. WERES: Yes. Well, the point of that item in the memorandum I prepared, I think the main point is that Ukraine on paper is a sovereign state, has the constitutional authority to engage in foreign relations, which has been exercised to a very limited and formal degree through membership in United Nations, U.N.E.S.C.O. and so forth, and once in a while, but especially now that there seem to be changes going on in the Soviet Union, it's in a political state of flux; I believe it's important to tickle them to see if there's any more reality in that part of the Soviet constitution than there has been in the past.

This is a peculiar or we have a peculiar function within the United States government because we were specifically formed to research Ukrainian-related issue, and obviously, you know, I'm a chemist from Oakland, and I'm not qualified to judge what's proper diplomatically or whatever, but I would like our staff and our congressional members to give some thought to what can be done to consult with the newly appointed Consul General in Kiev; you know, just what opportunities are there. Is there anything worth pursuing in this matter?

Dr. MACE: Did you meet Mr. Courtney last night?

Dr. WERES: No.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Does anybody else have anything?

Yes.

Congressman MICA: Mr. Chairman, I apologize again. I'm going to have to leave, but there are one or two issues, and if you've covered them, then I will just stop right here, but it has to do with the hiring and firing of staff, the setting of staff salaries. Have we gotten into that at all?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I don't think so.

Dr. MACE: Why don't we skip to that?

Congressman MICA: Without objection, could I just raise this issue? I will offer a motion, and I'm certainly not trying to force the Commission into any position, but under the law, I as Chairman have direct authority to appoint and set the salary of our Director, Mr. Mace.

I did not and do not have authority for permanent employment of Mr. Mace's assistant, Dr. Samilenko-Tsvetkov. We found in consulting with the G.S.A. and the appropriate authorities that I could do it on a temporary basis. She has been advised that only at the will of the Commission could her employ continue and that it would have to be taken up at the first meeting. I can tell you that what we attempted to do was set salaries not only at a Washington level, but as to what the Commission can afford.

The salaries, if you'll check, are far below what the going rates are, but I need authority unless the Commission chooses to set up a personnel committee to oversee this, and if you so desire, you're welcome to do it, but I need a vote of the Commission to give me the power to hire and fire and set wages with the staff.

It would be my intention obviously to continue to consult as we have in the past with each of you on these matters and try to do it on a more regular basis, but after today's meeting, if I don't have that authority, either you have to set up a committee or we have to make some other arrangements. But I cannot continue to employ the one individual that we have.

So with that, I'd like to offer a motion. Is there a discussion?

(No response)

I'd just like to offer a motion then that the Chairman be given the authority to hire and terminate staff and to set salaries, with the advice and consent and counsel, I should say, of the public members of the Commission.

Congressman GILMAN: Second.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: There is a motion and it has been seconded. Is there any discussion?

(No response)

All in favor?

(Chorus of ayes)

Against, opposed?

(No response)

Okay.

Mr. MAYNES: For the record, Senator DeConcini is not here, but you might want the record to show, as I have indicated, he is very comfortable with that.

Congressman MICA: Does anyone else from any of the other offices have any objection to that?

(No response)

We, as I've indicated before, try to operate on a consensus.

Is there any other administrative business?

(No response)

Okay. I will try to be back in another 20 minutes.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. We were discussing Dr. Weres's idea of approaching the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Does anybody else have any comment on this area?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: It's a very interesting idea, and we could probably use it for propaganda purposes if that's what we wanted to do because I don't think we're going to achieve anything, but, you know, we could at least use this.

Dr. MACE: This could be handled informally through one of the congressional members of the Commission who will be going back and forth to the Soviet Union, and that can be handled on a private basis should the Commission decide to formulate a proposal at least in an exploratory form for them to say, "Well, we have this Commission. We would appreciate any help you might be able to give to us in carrying out our mandate in trying to figure out what happened in your Soviet Republic in 1932-33."

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: We should present them with an official statement and an official request and see what the official answer will be just for the record.

Ms. VOLKER: I have a comment. Now that there will be a consulate in Kiev, wouldn't that facilitate our information channel, more or less?

Dr. MACE: Mr. Courtney would be quite willing to present any information of this nature. In fact, he has asked what he might be able to do in terms of, you know, communicating any of our proposals to Soviet-Ukrainian authorities because he will be the principal American official on the scene.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Yes?

Mr. MAYNES: I was just going to raise the question of whether or not you might want to consider the Helsinki Commission. I don't know if that's stretching it, but that might be an avenue through which you could approach the Ukrainian authorities.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. I think if there is no other discussion on this point, I think the consensus is that it's an avenue that's worth exploring, and using the opportunities of the very shortly to be established consulate in Kiev and to explore how the Soviet-Ukrainian government and their Academy of Sciences would react to this.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Dr. Kuropas.

Dr. KUROPAS: Yes. I'd like to also ask about identification cards or calling cards because I know, for example, at the hotel they wanted some identification that we were, indeed, on government business.

Dr. MACE: Could the representative of the G.S.A. shed a little light on this?

Mr. HAMMONDS: Yes, G.S.A. will be able to provide identification cards as we go through a few more administrative processes.

Dr. MACE: It's been suggested that we take about a five-minute break at this point.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

(Whereupon, the public members were sworn in.)

Dr. WERES: Mr. Chairman, I believe that all significant points in my public memorandum have already been covered and discussed by the Chairman's memorandum. So I move to pass. I do not see any reason to discuss my memorandum explicitly.

MEMORANDUM OF DR. OLEH WERES ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION
March 31, 1986

Dear Fellow Commissioners and Commission Staff:

I am honored to join you as a public member of the Ukrainian Famine Commission and look forward to working with you.

To expedite our first meeting, I have asked Dr. Mace to solicit your written suggestions for the Commission's plan of work. This memorandum is my contribution.

1. Scope of Work

The Commission's very modest budget demands a realistic plan, and maximum reliance on whatever external assistance may be available. I suggest that Commission staff be limited to Dr. Mace and Dr. Tsvetkov. I hope that Drs. Mace and Tsvetkov will be able to devote part of their time to scholarly research. Allowing for staff and other operating expenses, I expect the budget will allow for two or three extramural grants to support additional research and preparation of educational materials. The political background and history of the Famine have already been dealt with by Dr. Robert Conquest, and I suggest the Commission support work on other important aspects:

(1) Curriculum materials dealing with the Famine and more generally with Ukraine should be prepared for use at the high school and college level.

(2) The role of the U.S. government in events surrounding the Famine should be established. The Commission's official standing and probable access to government ar-

chives makes this a particularly promising area for research. This aspect of the matter is ever timely, as the proper response to genocide is a problem frequently encountered in the conduct of our foreign policy.

(3) Has genocide, particularly by famine, been institutionalized by the Soviet Union and its client states? Is Ukraine in the 1930s a precedent for Ethiopia in the 1980s?

I expect other government agencies will have enough interest in the Commission's work to support related efforts. For example, we know that General Secretary Gorbachev was born and raised in rural Stavropol *Oblast.* Stavropol *Oblast,* which is located in southern Russia, southeast of Ukraine, has a substantial Ukrainian population and was hard-hit by the Famine. Given his age and surname (probably derived from the Ukrainian Horbach or Horbaty), it is very possible that Gorbachev is a survivor of the Famine, and very likely grew up among people who spoke of the Famine. This possibility should elicit enough interest in the intelligence community to produce additional support for research on the Famine in southern Russia, and conditions there during the 1930s and 40s. At a minimum, I expect we should be able to get some help from interested individuals in government who have useful expertise and access to relevant archives.

2. The Famine Commission and the Soviet Union

As with much of the Soviet and pre-Revolutionary history, Soviet authorities deny there was a famine, and this attitude reflects the weak moral basis and subjective insecurity of the Soviet system. The present is a time of change in the Soviet Union, and we have the opportunity to pose the question, "Are you willing to accept your own history, as civilized countries do?" Because the Famine is a Ukrainian matter, we have a rare opportunity to deal directly with Ukraine, rather than the Soviet Union. On paper, Ukrainian authorities are constitutionally competent to engage in foreign relations, and the reality of these powers deserves to be probed anew.

I suggest we approach the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences with a proposal for joint research related to the Famine. A delegation to Kiev headed by our Congressional members might most effectively deliver this proposal. There is a small chance that we will receive a positive response, which would constitute a small but unmistakable step on their part toward ideological alignment with the free world, and toward the rule of constitutional law. At the very least, our proposal would elicit a debate within the Ukrainian government and scholarly community.

At worst we will be ignored. Most likely, our proposal will elicit a shrill denunciation in the Ukrainian press. In this case our Commission would become known throughout Ukraine, and in the minds of the Ukrainian public the Famine would change from a bad dream, hardly remembered and perhaps imagined, to a topic of conversation, its importance subscribed by the U.S. government. A notorious similar incident occurred in the late 1960s, when the Ukrainian press loudly denounced John Kolasky, a high ranking Canadian Communist who spent two years in Kiev and ended up writing books about how Ukrainians are discriminated and mistreated. But for these attacks, John Kolasky would have remained virtually unknown in Ukraine.

We have leverage with the Soviet authorities. We have complete control over what research we support, and considerable influence on what Radio Liberty and V.O.A.

say about the Commission. Progress in our discussions with the Ukrainian Academy would naturally mute our criticism of the Soviet Union, and might tend to direct our research more toward the past, and away from the present.

3. Public Members and the Ukrainian Community

In the interest of economy, I propose the Public Members agree to serve without pay and be reimbursed for expenses only.

I foresee several roles for the Public Members of the Commission:

(1) We are well distributed geographically and will represent the Commission before our local Ukrainian communities. As necessary, we will approach our communities for assistance, financial or otherwise.

(2) I foresee that inclusion of the Famine in high school and college curricula will become a major concern of the Commission. The Public Members should initiate and coordinate related activities in their respective cities and states. Our efforts are well-timed to benefit from the current heightened public interest about the Soviet Union.

(3) We should make every effort to publicize the Commission in our areas. For example, I am providing Dr. Mace with a list of newspapers in my area, and have asked that he send out a suitable press release announcing my appointment to the Commission and the Commission's first meeting. This simple act might garner some press coverage by providing a local angle on the Commission.

Our official standing will naturally expedite dealings with the press, state and local agencies. To ensure maximum effect, I ask that we be provided with official stationery and calling cards.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. If that is clear to everybody, we are going to discuss the individual memoranda of the Commissioners that were submitted, and Mr. Weres suggested that his be waived because it has been covered already in discussing the general memorandum.

The next one is the memorandum that was submitted by Mr. Fedorak. So without further ado, I'd like to turn it over to Mr. Fedorak.

April 23, 1986

MEMORANDUM ON THE ROLE OF THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE COMMISSION

from Bohdan Fedorak

In lieu of Staff Director Jim Mace's recent memorandum on the role of the Ukrainian Famine Commission, I have prepared some of my views on the commission's role, state purpose as mandated by public law, and possible programs for discussion and consideration.

According to the enacted legislation, the Commission's purpose will be "to conduct a study of the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine in order to expand the world's knowledge of the famine and provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system be revealing the Soviet role in the Ukrainian famine", which claimed the lives of more than seven million people.

Keeping in mind the primary source of support for the public law, i.e. the Ukrainian-American community, we have an obligation to, in general, provide more factual information to the masses on the Ukrainian famine and to clarify provocatory rebuffs, misinformation, and individual questioning of the famine's authenticity which has recently taken form in some circles (see attached article from April 11, 1986 issue of *National Review* and April 13, 1986 issue of *The Ukrainian Weekly*).

As well, basing our professional staff's research on the political and economic policies of the Russian sponsored regime, we will have to analyze the psychological, racial, and social effects the famine has had on the Ukrainian farmer and the Ukrainian population. Stressing the importance of the political aspects of the famine as specifically targeted towards the Ukrainian population. I have requested that historian Volodymyr Kosyk of Paris, France prepare a short paper (which I have attached F.Y.I.) on the political nature of the 1932-33 famine.

Recognizing the long-run need for furthering information about the famine, coupled with the commission's limited life-span, I would like to propose a few programs for the strategic implementation of the Commission's findings which undoubtedly will aid in expanding knowledge about the famine and, at the same time, will benefit the general American public long after the commission has been disbanded.

- Establish a distinct Library of Congress classification for the Ukrainian famine which would highlight the famine's uniqueness with regards to the Ukrainian population. Classification titles such as **UKRAINIAN FAMINE, FAMINE IN UKRAINE,** or **FAMINE, UKRAINE** would be *apropos.* Such a classification would have a positive result in terms of gathering all published materials for public use and consumption.

- Establish a depository at some university for publications, archives, and information which would be centrally located for research purposes.

- Work with the Department of Education for the implementation of the Ukrainian famine into the textbooks of secondary and undergraduate world history curricula. Recent problems have developed in various states regarding the famine's inclusion and space allocation into various State Board of Education world history curricula. Examples of this have recently developed in New York, New Jersey, and Ohio.

- Review and update already published government documents on the Ukrainian famine.

Keeping in mind the commission's limited life-span, I would like to stress the importance of formulating concrete do-able goals and projects which would have a lasting effect on the general American public.

In establishing an agenda for the commission, we must realize that working through already existing organizations and specific-purpose coalitions, we will be able to implement and further information about the famine. Thus, as a publicly funded commis-

sion, I strongly recommend working with community based, governmental, and private organizations that would aid our commission in fulfilling its legal mandate.

Mr. FEDORAK: Well, the memorandum is before you. I'd like to call your attention to the four items which I am proposing for us to take into consideration, and namely, as they relate to the goals of the Commission:

Establish a distinct Library of Congress classification for the Ukrainian famine which would highlight the famine's uniqueness with regards to Ukrainian population; classification titles such as **Ukrainian famine, famine in the Ukraine** would be *apropos*. Such classification would have a positive result in terms of gathering all published materials for public use and consumption.

The second point that I'd like to call to your attention is to establish a depository at some university for publications, archives and information which would be centrally located for research purposes. And I guess a point that has been discussed and belabored relating to the work of the Department of Education for the implementation of the famine into the textbooks of secondary and undergraduate world history curricula. Recent problems have developed in various states regarding the famine's inclusion and space allocation into various state board of education world history curricula. Examples of this have recently developed in New York, New Jersey, and Ohio.

Then the last proposal, which I think is important and should be maybe paraphrased, is review and update already published government documents and community documentation on the Ukrainian famine as part of the archives that I hope could be eventually established. Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Thank you very much, Mr. Fedorak.

Dr. KUROPAS: I'd just like to ask Bohdan, do you feel that this library should be established in the Library of Congress?

Mr. FEDORAK: I am more concerned about the classification because as I understand, we do not enjoy that privilege on the Ukrainian side right now to have Ukraine as a separate section. It's all under Soviet Union or historically under Russia.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: I don't think that this Commission has authority over the Library of Congress.

Mr. FEDORAK: No, not at all. I'm not suggesting that. I'm suggesting that as part of the research effort and as part of the goals that we set for ourselves, that we attempt that the group or call upon the librarian organization or the scholarly council might consider working with the Library of Congress on that to establish that.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Are there any other comments and discussion on Mr. Fedorak's memorandum?

Yes.

Undersecretary BAUER: Just to make one comment, the Department of Education surprisingly, does not, have any authority over the actual publication of textbooks or the selection of textbooks in any particular school district, but we do have and the Secretary of Education has used it very effectively--we do have the "Bully Pulpit". We have positions of some notice in the public eye, and we can use those positions to raise concerns about issues like this one, and I think the work of this Commission, working along with those of us at the Department who may, in fact, accomplish your third point

without the Department being able to take any particular official action in composing a textbook or requiring a school district to accept it.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay, are there any other memoranda besides mine?

Dr. WERES: Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes. I'm sorry.

Dr. WERES: Point of information regarding Mr. Fedorak's memorandum. I have here Myron Dolot's *Execution by Hunger,* and this is entered under Library of Congress categories **Ukraine, Sub, Famines, Collectivization of Agriculture, Sub, Ukraine, Soviet Union, Sub, Economic Policy.** So those categories apparently exist already.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I'm very glad to hear that, and I hope that this kind of practice would be expended by the Library of Congress. I think it's excellent. Are there any other memoranda besides mine?

Daniel Marchishin
518 Church Street
Bound Brook, NJ 08805

Dear Commissioners and Staff:

I am looking forward to working with you as a public member of the Ukrainian Famine Commission.

For our first meeting I am sharing with you my ideas regarding the agenda of our Commission.

1. The Commission should utilize its subpoena powers and develop as much information regarding the United States diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 in view of the existence of the Soviet perpetrated genocidal famine in Ukraine at that time.
2. A program must solicit the testimony of as many of the survivors of the Famine as possible.
3. The archives in Europe including France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, the Vatican and the Patriarchate of Constantinople should be researched.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. As far as my memorandum, I think all of the points that I raised in my short memorandum were covered by earlier discussions and the general memorandum prepared by the staff. So I would waive any further presentation of my memorandum.

Okay. Is there any other business that we should discuss at this time?

Yes, Myron.

Dr. KUROPAS: Well, I can understand that it's important to meet in Washington. Is there any rule that says that the Commission can't meet as a commission outside of Washington?

I believe, the Washington press very often is so inundated with important items that it probably won't report on our meeting. I think if we meet in a town such as Detroit or Chicago there is greater likelihood that our meeting might be picked up by the press.

Dr. MACE: If I may comment, there is certainly no legal prohibition on this Commission's meeting in any place it so desires, and it specifically calls for hearings being held outside of Washington. Rather, the by-laws specifically call for that.

I wish only to caution Dr. Kuropas that it may be rather difficult to get particularly the congressional members and members from the executive branch together for a meeting of the full Commission outside of Washington, D.C.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: This is another point. Before we adjourn, can this Commission write a letter to Public Broadcasting about the *Harvest of Despair* because our station in Philadelphia, when we talked to them and when we showed them the film, they were quite interested and impressed, and they were going to show it on television, and then they contacted the Washington office, the national office, to try to urge them to show it nationally rather than just locally, and maybe at this time we should issue a letter to PBS urging them to televise *Harvest of Despair* nationally.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Would you have anything to mention on that, Dr. Mace?

I think we discussed earlier in the agenda an effort of public relations on behalf of the Commission, and I think this is a very worthwhile area that the public relations effort should be exercised as much as possible.

Dr. MACE: Would the chair entertain a motion directing Mrs. Mazurkevich to draft such a letter on behalf of the Commission?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: So moved?

From the FLOOR: Seconded.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Seconded.

All in favor of the motion?

(Chorus of ayes)

Opposed?

(No response)

The motion is passed and, Mrs. Mazurkevich, you have your first assignment.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: I wasn't asking for the assignment.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Well, this is a working commission. So that's what happens when you make suggestions like that.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Oh, that's right. We don't have stationery.

Dr. MACE: It will be ordered.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: There is stationery that is being ordered.

Dr. MACE: Calling cards and I.D.s, the I.D.s you'll have to get from the General Services Administration. If you have time after the meeting, we'll call over there and see if we can get you I.D. photographs.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Is there any other business that has come up?

Dr. KUROPAS: There is no prohibition for the public members to meet separately, even if unofficially? I think it would be well for us, since we're here, to spend a few minutes talking about the fund-raising possibilities along with staff members after the official business is over.

Dr. WERES: Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes.

Dr. WERES: One issue I'd like to discuss a little bit further is guidelines, possibilities for public hearings in places other than Washington, like how would those be

financed? Would Commission funds be available or would we have to raise local funds?

I mean are there rules, restrictions on what kind of hearings we can have?

Dr. MACE: As of this time, there are no restrictions that have been adopted. Any member or members may conduct hearings at the direction of the Chairman. So if you wish to do that, I suggest you discuss it with the Chairman or with me, and I'll convey it to the Chairman.

Certainly funds can be made available for that at this time, but we would hope that it would be connected with some sort of event designed to pay for the hearings.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I'm not sure all of what I thought Mr. Weres's question was was clarified. He mentioned about guidelines. Is there any consideration that a general set of guidelines could be prepared in the central office to assist the Commissioners that might want to conduct public hearings in various locations?

Dr. MACE: It can certainly be considered, yes. We can draw them up, and then the Commission would have to adopt such guidelines as a whole. I can do this or the chair could entertain a motion for Dr. Weres to draft such guidelines.

Dr. WERES: No, I was not about to suggest any specific guidelines. I was just asking.

Dr. MACE: There are none.

(Later such guidelines were drafted by the staff at the Chairman's direction and are included after materials submitted for the record.)

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Go ahead.

Dr. KUROPAS: It seems to me that if we do have hearings, it would be or they should be held in such a way that we have an opportunity for maximum press exposure, and I think at least one Congressman, possibly two or three, present would give us a better chance of having press exposure rather than just some public members holding hearings on their own.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes. This is why I think that at least a very general type of guideline should be prepared that would help the public members in setting up and carrying out public hearings.

I'd like to bring up one point again. There was discussion earlier about the curriculum materials, and during the break Dr. Weres and Dr. Mace and I, and I think other people, were discussing it, and apparently there is a ripe opportunity that's available to us in the State of California for introducing curriculum materials in school textbooks, and I personally think that we should extend every effort to take advantage of this opportunity in the State of California.

Now, from my point of view, the reason that I didn't quite understand is, because each state is different, how they get their textbooks, and in the State of New Jersey, for instance, the state does not do any selection of textbooks. It's on every local home school district, but in the State of California, the State of California apparently like some other states approves a list of textbooks that can be selected from. They don't just choose one textbook.

So with this in view, I think apparently they are going through the process of reviewing their history textbooks at this time, and if we can extend our influence and through the community in California, and somehow have the list of textbooks not accepted by the State of California except on the provision that a curriculum unit that includes the

Ukrainian famine, a specific unit on the Ukrainian famine, be included, I think this is a tremendous opportunity that we should try to take advantage of.

Dr. KUROPAS: I think that's really unrealistic at this point because textbook publishers publish once every two to three years, and most textbook publishers look to two states, the State of Texas and the State of California, which are the two states that buy the most textbooks and which, indeed, have state regulations, state-wide regulations.

So for better or for worse, other states are stuck with what Texas and California demand out of their textbooks.

I think what we need to do is to look long range and to see if we can get both Texas and California to begin to demand in future textbooks, because most of their textbooks we're looking at now are published, and I can't imagine any publisher who has hundreds of thousands already printed revising them to put in, you know, the Ukrainian famine, but I think two or three years hence this is something we might be able to do.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: What I'm thinking about is I'm not sure it's completely unrealistic at all at this point because the State of California recently rejected a whole series of science textbooks, if I recall, because they were getting away from the teaching of evolution, and they rejected a whole list of textbooks that were submitted to them.

I'm not suggesting that the whole list of textbooks relating to history and social studies, that they would have to be rewritten. However, if it could be required by the state that a specific unit on the Ukrainian famine be included as an addendum, you know, as a stapled-on type of addendum, sent out with each textbook, I think this is a realistic possibility.

Dr. KUROPAS: Also, you may want to look to state legislators. I know that in the State of Illinois, and in all states, the state legislature can mandate certain curriculum items. I know that in the State of Illinois, for example, it was mandated that at the eighth-grade level they teach about the contributions of all ethnic groups. Every school by state law must provide that particular unit. How they do it is entirely up to the school. So you can have ancillary units developed by local people to fulfill that mandate, but it seems to me it would be easier to go through a state legislature to get them to introduce items such as that into the law.

Dr. WERES: California did start with the Roos-Calderon Act, which was a bill that was passed by the state legislature instructing the Department of Education to set up a committee to review and make recommendations related to teaching about the Holocaust and other major incidents of genocide. So we have gone through that route, and we're in the implementation stage right now.

It's not a matter of supplementary or stapled-on type of materials. It's a matter of, you know, making recommendations to publishers, what the state would like to see in the next edition.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: But they wouldn't be available?

Dr. WERES: Well, I don't know. I'm too distant from the day-to-day things. I don't know.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay. Is there any other question or discussion?

Go ahead.

Dr. WERES: I would like to clarify and dispel some possible misconceptions. When I was speaking about fund-raising, the question of restricted versus unrestricted, what I had in mind, I can foresee a situation in which Ukrainian organizations in California may decide we urgently need a professionally written curriculum unit, and this is something that we in California would have much more ability to fund and to execute ourselves, and what I had in mind is, you now, the possibility of raising funds to give to the Commission for the specific task of preparing those curriculum materials either directly by Commission staff or by subcontract to contract the appropriate scholars.

Dr. KUROPAS: I'd just like to caution you on that. Every state and for that matter every school board has its own way of doing things. In the Chicago school system they have a unit called *Man's Inhumanity to Man*, and they have only three or four pages on each of these items, on the Armenian Massacre, on the Holocaust. I think that we have to tailor what we do to the local needs. It has to be done locally.

I think this Commission can provide the guidelines, could provide a bulk of information, but every group is going to have to locally do it, which makes it better anyway because then we have the local involvement and the local follow-up by the Ukrainians locally, and I think we can provide the inspiration for local groups to do that.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Any other point of discussion?

(No response)

I'd like to add one more item for our consideration. Tomorrow is, of course, April 24th, and the Armenian-American community and the world-wide Armenian community observes April 24th as the commemorative date of the genocide, the Armenian Massacre that was perpetrated against one and a half million people of the Armenian nation, and unfortunately the 20th century has seen this new phenomenon of crimes against whole populations and nations, and I think it behooves us to take a few moments and remember this occurrence along with the Ukrainian famine.

Okay. Is there any other discussion or points?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Before we adjourn, I think that I speak on behalf of myself and my fellow Commissioners when we commend Congressman Dan Mica for taking upon himself the chairmanship of the Ukrainian Famine Commission. He has dedicated a lot of time and effort in exposing the famine, and it's going to be a long and arduous task, but I feel that we can rest assured that we are going to do our utmost to publicize and to reach the goals of the Commission.

I move that we adjourn.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Is there a second?

From the FLOOR: Second.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Second.

All in favor?

(Chorus of ayes)

Opposed?

(No response)

The meeting is adjourned.

Congratulations to everyone on a very successful organizational meeting of the Ukraine Famine Commission.

(Whereupon, the meeting was adjourned at 11:52 a.m.)

POLITICAL CAUSES OF THE FAMINE-GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE 1932-1933

Volodymyr Kosyk
(Historian, Paris)

Ukraine, which had been a sovereign state for three years, lost its independence in November 1920 as a result of Russian Soviet aggression. Existing at first as a supposedly "independent" Soviet republic, it was incorporated into the Soviet Union which was created by the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks in December 1922. (Of 2,215 delegates that supported the decision to create the U.S.S.R., 2,092 delegates --with an overwhelming majority being Russians--were party members; in 1922, Ukrainians constituted only 3% of the membership).

The years 1923-1928 were marked by an easing up of the economic regime (period of N.E.P.: New Economic Policy), and by efforts at Ukrainianization. This was a period when even official literature indicated that Ukrainian authors should turn away from Moscow and turn to Europe (M. Khvyliovyi), and that, like before the revolution, the Ukrainian economy was still in a colonial state; there was no advantage, therefore, in Ukraine being a member of the U.S.S.R. (M. Volobuyev). Outside Ukraine's borders, an active Ukrainian government-in-exile sought out allies among western powers with the intention of helping Ukraine re-establish her independence.

But Russia remained a powerful adversary to Ukraine's independence. She did not want to lose Ukraine's natural wealth and resources. In 1925-26, Ukraine's input into the Soviet Union's productivity was large: 81% coal, 68% iron ore, 77% cast iron, and 82% sugar. In 1927, Ukraine contributed 80% coal, 85% iron ore, 70% metals and played a vital role in machinery manufacturing and in providing raw materials to a wide range of food processing and light industries in the U.S.S.R.[1]

Moscow did everything within its power to prevent Ukraine from separating from the Soviet Union. At the 10th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (April 6-13, 1927), the head of the Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Vlas Chubar, reminded the meeting that, "There are some who attempt to separate Ukraine from the Union."[2] During the first half of 1927, the tension between Russian and the western powers became sharpened. As a result of Anglo-Soviet diplomatic incidents in China and London, and because of the Communist International supported the English coal strikes,

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1 *Rozvytok narodnoho hospodarstva ukraïnskoï R.S.R., 1917-1967* (Development of Commerce and Industry in the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1917-1967), vol. 1. Kiev, 1967, p. 274; *Istoriya robitnychoho klasu ukr. R.S.R.* (History of the Working Class of the Ukrainian S.S.R.), vol. 2. Kiev, 1967, p. 134.

2 *Ukraïna i zarubizhniy svit* (Ukraine and the Foreign World). Kiev, 1970, p. 220.

the British government broke off diplomatic and economic ties with the Soviet Union (May 27, 1927), thereby dealing a severe blow to the Soviet economy.

Feeling threatened, the Russians decided to decrease Soviet Russia's economic dependence on areas beyond its borders, and to make the Soviet Union a world power. To execute this plan, Russia needed Ukraine's resources at all costs. Without Ukrainian coal and iron, the Soviet Empire's economy would not be able to exist. And so, Moscow began to fear for Ukraine.

According to Moscow, "provocations" in China created a particular threat to Ukraine and Byelorussia. On this occasion, K. Voroshilov, Commissar of Military Affairs, stated that "English imperialists ... expected that along with our weakening in areas of commerce and industry, there would ultimately be a weakening of the western borders and this would provide opportunity for our neighbors to stir up Ukraine and Byelorussia."[3]

The Russians claimed that England was preparing for anti-U.S.S.R. intervention. Their fear for Ukraine was growing because the English press stated that, in case of war, England would support Poland and other neighboring countries. In August 1927, the Plenary Assembly of the Central Committee for the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks emphasized that the English government "is leading a widespread diplomatic war against the U.S.S.R.; is organizing an economic credit blockade against the U.S.S.R.; is responsible for plots and terrorist acts on Soviet territory; and is supporting counter-revolutionary groups in the Caucasus, particularly in Georgia (and) in Ukraine..."[4]

In December 1927, the 15th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks ratified directives for implementing the first five-year plan for Soviet agriculture. In these directives it was stated that "the fastest tempo of development should be established in those branches of heavy industry that would increase Soviet economic strength and defense capabilities in the shortest time span: that would guarantee continued development even in case of an economic block; and that would diminish dependency on the capitalist world and would favor agricultural transformation--based on advanced technology and collectivization".[5]

In accordance with the decisions of the Bolshevik Party, the economic plan for self-sufficiency and intensification of military capabilities of Soviet Russia was attained through industrialization and collectivization of the entire U.S.S.R. with the help of Ukrainian resources. These resources were essential for Moscow's expediency in becoming a world power.

Keeping in mind that these resources were under constant threat because of the self-determination tendencies of the population, plus the peripheral location of the Ukrainian republic, the Soviet Russian government decided to establish a second large

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

5 *K.P.S.S. v rezoliutsiyakh i resheniyakh s'yezdov, konferentsiyakh i plenumov Ts.K.* (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee), No. 2. Moscow, 1954, p. 457; *Istoriya S.S.S.R.* (History of the U.S.S.R.), vol. VIII, Moscow, 1967, p. 459.

economic base, similar to that of Ukraine, but one which would lie in the middle of Russia, far from external threats. The Ural-Kuznets Basin was to become such a base.

At this time, it is noteworthy to point out, that the start of the implementation of the first five-year plan (1928) coincided with the establishment and development of Soviet concentration camps. This system provided the country with a large cheap labor force that was needed for the actualization of the plan. The following numbers give ample evidence of the development of the concentration camp system: 6,000 prisoners in the camps in 1922; 200,000 in 1927; 2,500,000 in 1930; 4,500,000 in 1933; and 7,800,000 in 1936.[6]

Simultaneously, Moscow tightened its control over Ukraine by intensifying its fight against "Ukrainian nationalism" and Ukrainian aspirations for independence. This type of battle, based on Marxist ideology, found support not only among party members within the U.S.S.R., but also among supporters of Marxism and socialism outside Soviet borders.

Accordingly, Russian Soviet rulers thought that rich peasants *(kulaks)* and the Ukrainian peasantry as a whole--that is, "individual rural households"--were, in fact, "the social base for Ukrainian nationalism".[7] Therefore, it was necessary to destroy this base. In addition, in the eyes of the authorities, "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists acted as staunch enemies of the politics of socialist industrialization"; they even had their own agency in the Communist Party.[8] Ukrainian nationalism was proclaimed a principal enemy of the socialist state.

The first attacks were directed against the intelligentsia. In 1929, the Soviet militia arrested large numbers of Ukrainians; among them were seventeen members and correspondents of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (S. Yefremov, Ye. Hermayze, H. Holoskevych, and others), and twenty-seven renowned cultural activists (L. Starytska-Cherniakhivska, V. Chekhivskyi, A. Ninovskyi, and others). They were charged with membership in an illegal organization (Association for the Liberation of Ukraine, the *S.V.U.*) and sentenced at public trials in Kharkiv (the capital of Soviet Ukraine at that time) in March and April of 1930. Their activism was presented as participation in the service of foreign governments with the intention of separating Ukraine from the U.S.S.R.

At the same time, Soviet Russian authorities had also culminated the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Its bishops and most of the clergy were arrested or exiled.

The next attack was on the rural areas. During the "liquidation of the *kulak* classes (1930-1931), an incredible reign of terror was instituted in Ukraine. During the years 1928-1930, between 1 1/2 to 2 million Ukrainians were deported or incarcerated in concentration camps, and another 300,000-500,000 were destroyed *in situ,* usually during the process of "*dekulakization*".[9]

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6 *L'Est Européen,* April-May 1984, p. 26.

7 *Proletars'ka Pravda* (Proletarian Truth), January 30, 1930.

8 O. K. Kasymenko, *Istoriya ukraïns'koï R.S.R.* (History of the Ukrainian S.S.R.). *Kiev, 1960, p. 279.*

9 Borys Martchenko and Olexa Woropay, *La famine-genocide en Ukraine, 1932-1933.* Paris, 1983, p. 22.

But Soviet Russia's greatest blow to Ukraine was through the famine-genocide which lasted from the spring of 1932 to the autumn of 1933.

The famine was generated by relentless requisitions of grain and food products, under circumstances of indescribable terror. In order that the famine produce the desired results, villages were isolated from towns, and Ukraine was isolated from other Soviet republics and the rest of the world. Extremely harsh punishment was imposed for stealing food, even for a single stalk of grain. In order to hamper peoples' movement, a system of internal passports was introduced at this time.

During the famine-genocide in Ukraine, while millions of Ukrainians were dying, the Russian Soviet government was exporting food products abroad.

In 1933, approximately 1.7 million tons of grain were exported (8% of total exports). The cheap price of the exported grain warrants special attention. Moscow received 31.2 million rubles for the 1.7 million tons of grain (that is, Moscow accepted less than 2 kopecks per kilogram!); Moscow also exported 31,500 tons of flour for the sum of 3.1 million rubles (one kilogram of flour cost less than 10 kopecks). Other exports from the U.S.S.R. at this time included 7,900 tons of meat and meat products; 37,200 tons of butter; 29,200 tons of fish; 49.3 million tins of canned fish; 7.4 tons of hulled grain; and 38,400 tons of sugar.[10]

W. H. Chamberlin, an eyewitness of the famine, wrote that "the famine was deliberately used as an instrument of national politics to suppress the peasant opposition to the new government."[11]

Obviously, Ukrainian peasants opposed the Russian occupational government, but not solely for social reasons. The Soviet Russian rulers had sufficient means at their disposal to accomplish collectivization without inciting the famine. Through the use of terror, the government had already collectivized Ukrainian agricultural areas, to a large degree. In 1932, 70% of Ukraine's agricultural areas were already collectivized, whereas in Russia only 60% were collectivized, and in Byelorussia, around 48%.[12] In Ukraine, therefore, there was absolutely no need to talk about speeding up a lagging collectivization, because the state of collectivization was satisfactory.

It was during the famine that the Soviet Russian government attempted to colonize those Ukrainian villages whose residents had died from the famine. The government sent native Russians from regions of Ufa, Vyatka, Orel, Kluga, and Ryazan, into Ukrainian villages or into those houses that had become empty.[13]

The famine in Ukraine coincided exactly with the successful completion of the first five-year plan. In summarizing the plan, Stalin declared on January 7, 1933 (at the time when the famine reached its culminating point): "We had only one coal and metallurgical base--namely, in Ukraine--where we had difficulties with exploitation. We have not only improved this base, but also built a new coal and metallurgical base

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10 *Vneshnaya torgovlia S.S.S.R. Statisticheskyi sbornik, 1918-1966.* (Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R., Statistical Collection, 1918-1966). Moscow, 1976, pp. 8-9.

11 W. H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age.* Boston, 1943, p. 88.

12 *Istoriya S.S.S.R., op. cit.*, pp. 579-580.

13 Vassily Grossman, *Tout passé.* (Translated from Russian). Paris, 1972, pp. 207-210.

in the East, which has become the pride of our country ... (and) we have now raised the defense capabilities of the country to the desired levels."[14]

In his report, No. 74/106 of May 31, 1933 entitled *The Famine and the Ukrainian Question*, the Italian consul in Kharkiv, Gradenigo, wrote that the famine was instituted with the intention "of teaching the (Ukrainian) peasants a lesson" and, according to one top official of the G.P.U., for the purpose of "changing the ethnographic materials", because those existing in Ukraine could not be changed-over into "worthy communists". Therefore, in some regions, including Ukraine, the government strived to ascertain that "Russians would constitute the majority of the population" and thus assure that potential political difficulties would be removed. In other words, the Italian consul wrote, the government's "goal was to liquidate the Ukrainian problem in the course of several months by sacrificing 10 or 15 million souls."

In conclusion, the Italian consul wrote that "... the current disaster will accomplish the colonization of Ukraine, mostly Russian. And that (colonization) will change Ukraine's ethnographic character. Perhaps, in the very near future, it will not be possible to speak about Ukraine, or about the Ukrainian nation, and particularly about a Ukrainian question, because Ukraine will become, in fact, a Russian colony."[15]

In reality, Soviet Russian rulers did not succeed in destroying rural Ukraine, nor in colonizing it completely. Between 1932-1933, that is, in a little over a year, about 5-6 million Ukrainians were destroyed (some estimates are much higher). During the period of 1928-1938 about 1 million Ukrainians were executed and 2 million were exiled beyond Ukraine's borders. In 1926, the population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was 29.5 million, but in 1939, it comprised only 31.8 million despite a high natural growth rate and an influx of Russian colonists. In 1926, there were only 3 million Russians within the borders of Ukraine, but in 1939, there were already 5-6 million.

Although the famine had negative consequences and contributed to an increased fear of the Soviet government on the part of the population, nevertheless, it did not succeed in destroying the Ukrainian quest for freedom and for an independent Ukraine. Nor was this accomplished by latter-day persecution, exile into Siberia, and execution. During World War II, Ukrainians massively supported the Ukrainian national resistance movement, joined the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army *(U.P.A.)*, and struggled for Ukraine's independence by fighting German occupation forces, as well as those of the Soviet government. The armed struggle against the Soviet-Russian occupation lasted until 1952.

(translated by Myroslava Stefaniuk)

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14 J. Staline, *Le marxisme et la question nationale.* Paris (1953), pp. 84, 87.

15 Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Serie Affari Politici (1931-1945).* File Holder No. 8.

GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC COMMISSIONERS INTERESTED IN HOLDING HEARINGS

1. **Know Your Witnesses**

The first step is to know your witnesses. As you are aware, many witnesses are reluctant to talk about the famine under any circumstances. For this reason, the greatest difficulty will be in getting people to talk about their experiences. However, before proceeding any farther, you should have firm commitments from at least three eyewitnesses. For those who are not comfortable in English, an interpreter can be arranged.

Dr. Robert Conquest will be promoting his forthcoming book on the Ukrainian Famine in September, and he might be available in the fall as a scholarly expert.

2. **Schedule a Date.**

Try to find a time when a Commissioner or Executive Branch member can attend and when there is no conflict with local Ukrainian-American events. In general, one should schedule the meeting at least thirty days in advance. A federal courtroom can usually be reserved without charge.

3. **Involve the Local Ukrainian Community Early on. This Means ALL Religious, Social and Political Groups.**

4. **Get Written Statements from Witnesses.**

Witnesses may write their statements in English, Ukrainian, or Russian. Those should be obtained two weeks before the hearing so that they can be translated if necessary. It is preferable to obtain them as soon as possible. This is not always easy, but it is necessary. Make sure the staff office has names and phone numbers of witnesses.

5. **Remind the Staff Office to Draft a Hearing Notice as Soon as You Have a Firm Date.**

6. **Work on a Press Release with the Staff Office to be Issued at Least Seven Days before the Hearings. Follow up with Telephone Calls to Press Contacts Two Days before the Hearing.**

7. **Arrange a Reception for the Local Ukrainian Community, the Commissioners Present, the Witnesses, and the Press. Charging the Local Ukrainian-Americans Can Help Defray Expenses.**

8. **Hire a Court Reporter to Be Paid at Commission Expense.**

9. **Get to the Hearing Room Early. Make Sure There is a Press Table in the Room.**

10. **Be Prepared with a Typed Statement, Questions, and Have a Clear Idea of What You Want to Accomplish.**

The Staff Director will fly to the hearing site the day before the hearing to help with last minute details, but you will have to do the ground work with whatever help you can organize in your local community. You must also make sure the witnesses are prepared and show up. You must also cultivate a relationship with the press to make certain that they show up. People often assume that one has only to issue a press release and reporters are somehow obligated to come. Nothing could be farther from the truth. It is up to you to convince the press that your hearing is newsworthy and serious. The staff will help you in every way possible, but only you know your community and most of the preparation will inevitably be on your shoulders.

MEETING AND HEARING

Wednesday,
October 8, 1986

Cannon House Office
Building
Room 340

Washington, D.C.

The commission met at 10:37 a.m.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

HON. DANIEL A. MICA, Chairman
UNDERSECRETARY GARY L. BAUER
HON. WILLIAM BROOMFIELD
AMBASSADOR H. EUGENE DOUGLAS
MR. BOHDAN FEDORAK
HON. BENJAMIN GILMAN
HON. DENNIS HERTEL
DR. MYRON KUROPAS
MR. DANIEL MARCHISHIN
MS. ULANA MAZURKEVICH
MS. ANASTASIA VOLKER
DR. OLEH WERES

ALSO PRESENT:

DR. ROBERT CONQUEST, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
DR. JAMES E. MACE, Staff Director
DR. OLGA SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV, Staff Assistant
MS. SUE ELLEN WEBBER, Staff Assistant

WITNESSES:

MS. VARVARA DIBERT
MS. TATIANA PAWLICHKA
MR. IVAN J. DANILENKO
MR. SVIATOSLAV KARAVANSKY

PROCEEDINGS

Congressman MICA: The Commission on the Ukrainian Famine will come to order.

Let me just start out with a little bit of an apology; Dr. Mace specifically and especially set this meeting today because it was a week after the Congress would adjourn. I was to have been in Florida all weekend and Monday and Tuesday, fly back, and we have a meeting, uninterrupted. As you may recall, the last meeting was interrupted continuously, so we thought if we planned it this way, with the Congress gone, we could have a good meeting and all get together and visit, and maybe have a little chance for coffee, lunch, or what have you.

The best laid plans often do not work. So, at any rate, the Congress is in session, there are other committee hearings and meetings going on again this morning. Unfortunately, I just heard that we may not even get out this week, it may be the end of next week.

So, I will start the meeting, will have to leave in about five minutes, and be back in about 30 minutes, and in and out, it looks like. And I will ask you to continue the meeting.

The purpose of today's session is twofold--to hear expert and eyewitness testimony on the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 and to review the progress of the staff study on the famine that may well have taken seven million lives. We have gathered to share the experiences of some who lived through this devastation and the scholarship of some who have studied it. I have the particular pleasure of welcoming Dr. Robert Conquest, Scholar-Curator of the Russian Collection at the Hoover Institute and perhaps the leading practitioner of that mysterious art known as Sovietology. Dr. Conquest is best known as the author of *The Great Terror,* the definitive study of Stalin's massive purges of the late 1930s, and has now published what promises to be the definitive work on the Ukrainian famine, *The Harvest of Sorrow: The Soviet Collectivization of Agriculture and the Terror-Famine.* Alexander Solzhenitsyn said recently that, "*The Harvest of Sorrow* investigated the most serious, also up to now least researched crime of Leninist-Stalinist communism." There is little I can add to such a judgment. I am certain that I speak for us all in expressing our gratitude to Dr. Conquest for his willingness to be with us today and share with us the fruits of his several years of research into the tragedy which this commission is mandated to study.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to those who have agreed to share with us the memories of what they witnessed during the period when the famine took place. A major priority of our work has been the collection of oral testimonies on tape. Until now, there has been great reluctance on the part of eyewitnesses to the Ukrainian famine to come forward and publicly state what they saw and what they lived through. For these witnesses to do so today is an act of courage. It is also vital to our mandate for the full commission to meet and hear directly from those who were so grievously wronged by the policies carried out by Stalin's government in the 1930s. Dr. Samilenko-Tsvetkov will translate.

And I might ask, if you don't mind, one of you take the chair as I leave in about five minutes, and just continue the meeting, and we will just have it without interruption right through noon, maybe 12:30.

And with that, let me call on Dr. Mace here to give us a staff progress report. I have, incidentally, asked him to keep you advised of the progress, where we are going, and the outline that we have for the ultimate report that we hope to publish.

Dr. MACE: Thank you.

FAMINE PROJECT: A PROGRESS REPORT

The enabling legislation mandates the U.F.C. to gather all information obtainable about the Ukraine famine in order to analyze its causes and effects, study the response to it by other nations at the time, and attempt to gain a better understanding of the Soviet system by examining the role of Soviet policies in bringing about the famine.

The most important body of uncollected information about the famine is the memory of those who witnessed it. For this reason one full-time staff member, Ms. Sue Ellen Webber, has been directed to collect oral histories on the famine as her principal responsibility. Thanks to her efforts, the number of oral histories in the possession of U.F.C. grows daily. Moreover, a collection of 57 oral history tapes was compiled by Mr. Leonid Heretz of Harvard University in 1984 as part of a project directed by Dr. James Mace and sponsored by the Ukrainian Professionals and Businesspersons of New York and New Jersey. A copy of these tapes was purchased by the Ukrainian Studies Fund of Harvard University and is on extended loan to U.F.C.

Both the tapes already in the Commission's possession and those being gathered require transcription before they may be analyzed. More than twenty transcribers are currently performing this laborious task on a contract basis for U.F.C. Tapes are transcribed into the languages in which the interviews were conducted--Ukrainian, Russian, and English.

In terms of response to the famine outside the U.S.S.R., two sources are particularly important: journalistic coverage and the dispatches of foreign governments, including the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Ivan Hvat of Radio Liberty in Munich is currently researching materials in this category in Central Europe, while Professor Jeremy Rakowsky of Lorain, Ohio, has found over 1,000 pages of relevant documents from the French foreign ministry which have yet to be analyzed. The United States, despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. was recognized only in late 1933, did make inquiries to American missions in Europe, and the existence of the famine was confirmed in reports sent to the U.S. Department of State by the U.S. missions in Riga and Athens.

Ethnic community organizations throughout Europe and the U.S. attempted to bring the famine to public attention and organize relief to the needy in the U.S.S.R. Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna founded an Interconfessional Relief Committee, administered by Dr. Ewald Ammende, who was prominent for his involvements in humanitarian and in national minority issues. The Soviet government denied the existence of any famine, refused all aid offered, and sold large quantities of grain on the Western markets.

Press reports of the famine raise a number of troubling issues, particularly evident in the case of *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty, whose published dispatches sought to discredit the "famine scare", as he called it, while British records show that he informed the British embassy that the situation in Ukraine was disastrous and that he believed as many as ten million persons could have

perished directly or indirectly due to lack of food. However, Duranty's questionable behavior should not be projected upon colleagues such as William Henry Chamberlin of the *Christian Science Monitor* whose frank reporting of the famine was outstanding.

The third broad category of sources used in the famine study is the Soviet (especially Ukrainian) press of the 1930s and later scholarship. Given that no access to Soviet archives is possible for topics judged by the Soviet authorities as politically sensitive, this type of source is vital in examining the official Soviet role in the famine.

The Soviet Ukrainian press contains frank admissions of "significant food supply difficulties in some districts" as early as the July 1932 Third All-Ukrainian Party Conference. At that conference, various speakers denounced unnamed "comrades" who blamed the difficulties on high grain procurement goals set by Moscow, but this view was rejected in favor of speedy procurement which would prevent loss. In early 1933 the All-Union authorities in Moscow took direct control of the Ukrainian apparatus, blaming members of its leadership for criminal negligence in procuring grain and for "national deviations" inspired by class enemies. A thorough campaign against "Ukrainian national deviations" led by Mykola Skrypnyk was accompanied by a thorough purge of hitherto tolerated national elites, as well as Skrypnyk's suicide soon after a "last stand" at the June 1933 plenum of the Ukrainian Central Committee. The official response to widespread starvation in the countryside is perhaps best evidenced in a February 1933 speech by the titular leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Stanislav Kossior, who stated:

> When you go to a district on grain procurement business, they start pulling out of every pocket figures and tables on a lower harvest, which are put together from start to finish by hostile elements who have entrenched themselves in the collective farms, land sections, and Machine Tractor Stations. But you don't run into one single word about the crop that was on the root (i.e., in the field--JEM) and was pulled up, stolen, and hidden. Our comrades, including some plenipotentiaries (i.e., those sent out by the Central Committee to the districts--JEM), by failing to examine these false figures, which were shoved at them, in many instances have become "*kulak*" advocates armed with these figures. In numerous cases it has been shown that this arithmetic is "*kulak*" arithmetic, according to which we could never have procured even half of what we have procured so far. In the hands of the class enemies, false figures and empty talk have been a blind for grain being stolen and carried off in every direction.

This was pure fantasy, of course, and represents the creation of a myth that the "evil" peasants were hoarding grain that the "good" Bolsheviks would have to seize, a justification for what Kossior and others referred to as "the resolute struggle for grain". Neither seed nor food requirements were exempt from seizure. Indeed, in this same speech Kossior specifically blames the diversion of produce to "so-called community food requirements" as a "serious evil" to be resolutely combatted. Put another way, state policy in Ukraine during the famine consisted in preventing the "diversion" of foodstuffs to the mouths of those who had produced it. Such a policy can only be seen as one of planned starvation.

In addition to basic research, U.F.C. staff has acted as a resource to those who wish to prepare school curriculum materials on the famine. The excellent collection on the subject prepared by Commissioner Kuropas was compiled with staff advice and assistance. Materials offered for the same purpose in California will also be sent to the staff for advice and review. In Texas, as well, exploratory discussions have begun with local Ukrainian-American community leaders on the possibility of assisting, through the provision of materials and historical advice, efforts of a similar nature now being considered. Commissioner Weres first suggested the staff consider that its role as a resource for school curricula on the topic be considered a basic function of the commission, and every effort is being made to act accordingly.

Moreover, in the near future hearings are being planned in several localities by members of the Commission. On October 25th, we will have a hearing in Glen Spey, New York, to be chaired by Mr. Gilman. There has also been interest expressed in a hearing in Detroit, the date to be determined. Other Commission members should think about whether or not they wish to have hearings in their localities.

I would like to turn now to the Commission budget. Our budget authorization--well, we have a single appropriation of no-year money. This authorization is for $383,000 after Gramm-Rudman. We have thus far spent $72,000 of this. It was suggested by the General Service Administration officials who worked with me on preparing this budget that we free up a total of $225,000 for fiscal year 1987. It is unlikely that at our current rate of expenditure that we will actually expend that much. What it does is it frees us from having to go back to the General Services Administration and having to ask for more money.

And as the first order of business, I would ask that the Commission consider the budget that you will find in your packet.

FY 1987
COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE
BUDGET
(in thousands of dollars)

OBJECT CLASSIFICATION	FY 86 ESTIMATE	FY 87 ESTIMATE	FY 88 ESTIMATE
Salaries:	44	82	21
Benefits:	8	15	4
Travel:	6	43	11
Rental payments to G.S.A.:	0	11	3
Commo, util, other rent:	0	3	1
Printing and reproduction:	1	2	25
Other services:	12	70	20
Supplies and materials:	1	1	1
TOTAL	72	227	86

FY 1987 BUDGET *(continued)*

OBJECT CLASSIFICATION	FY 86 ESTIMATE	FY 87 ESTIMATE	FY 88 ESTIMATE
110 unobligated balance, start of year	0	311	86
appropriation received ($400-$17 G.-R.H.)	383	0	0
unobligated balance, end of year	(311)	(86)	0
obligations	72	225	86
120 unobligated, start of year	0	2	0
gifts from non-government	2	0	0
gifts from government	0	0	0
unobligated, end of year	(2)	0	0
obligations	0	2	0
gift receipts in dollars	1,799	0	0
obligations	263	1,536	0

Mr. MARCHISHIN: While people are looking at the budget, members of the Commission, perhaps some of us who have had an opportunity to look at Dr. Mace's report, maybe you might have comments on that report, while we are looking at the budget.

I think it would be appropriate for us to accept the report.

Does anybody have any questions, or any comments on that report, while we are looking at the budget.

I think it would be appropriate for us to accept the report.

Does anybody have any questions, or any comments on Professor Mace's report?

Ambassador DOUGLAS: I have a question, are you acting as the Chair?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, Congressman Mica asked me to assume the Chair.

Ambassador DOUGLAS: Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I have one question regarding looking at United States documents regarding the period of the famine. The last time that we met I think we did decide that we wanted to look at the American documents, to see how they reflected on the picture of the United States's recognition of the Soviet Union going on at the same time. And I wonder if there has been any progress made along these lines.

Dr. MACE: Yes, we have not attempted to analyze as of yet the impact of news about the famine on our recognition of the Soviet Union in late 1933. However, most

of the correspondence to the State Department relating to the famine comes after our recognition, with the exception of letters sent as early as March and April 1933 by the Mennonite Central Committee in Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, which did inform the Department of State, and the Office of the President that, indeed, there was a famine going on.

The first Ukrainian community organization to protest the famine officially in correspondence with the Department of State was *Soyuz Ukraïnok Ameryky,* the Ukrainian Women's League, which adopted a resolution on the subject in late 1933. However, on the eve of recognition, there was a number of documents which do appear in State Department files.

An article from *Le Monde* of August 29, 1933, was translated and reported to the State Department by the American Mission in Paris in September 1933, that is, at the culmination of the famine, and on the eve of American recognition of the Soviet Union.

Also, in the fall of 1933, an inquiry was made by the Department of State to various missions in Europe. There is one such report from the American Legation to Greece, dated October 14th, 1933, which does indeed confirm the existence of famine on the basis of statements made by representatives of other powers which did have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. And a similar report from the American Mission to Latvia and Riga. These were obviously ignored.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you. I assume that this will be included in the final report.

Dr. MACE: Yes, it will.

Would the Commissioners wish a packet of these documents to be sent to them? That can be done.

Fine, that will be duplicated and sent to all members.

Dr. KUROPAS: When we receive these documents, are they now public documents? Can we share them with the press or--

Dr. MACE: Yes, all State documents from the early 1930s are declassified and are in the public domain. They can be used, cited, and quoted. They are not classified documents today.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay, if there aren't any other questions--

Ambassador DOUGLAS: Mr. Chairman, you left on the table the question of the budget.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I am going to get to that. I just wanted to get the report completely out of the way, and then I want to go on to the budget.

Ambassador DOUGLAS: And we can dispense with that quickly, so that we will have ample time for Dr. Conquest.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, I would like to entertain a recommendation for accepting the report.

Dr. KUROPAS: I would like to go on record as thanking Dr. Mace and the other members of the staff for the amount of help that I, personally, have received in the development of the curriculum materials, as well as the development of the Ukrainian Famine Institute that we will hold on November 8th.

And I also want to go on record as thanking Undersecretary Gary Bauer for agreeing to come to our institute. As some of you may be aware, this particular institute

will be primarily for educators in Northern Illinois. You are all welcome to come. I will be passing out applications for those of you who may know of people in your home areas who may be interested in that particular institute.

So, thank you again, Dr. Mace, you are doing a wonderful job.

Dr. MACE: Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Are there any other comments or question?

(No response)

I will take that as a motion to accept the report. Everyone in favor?

(Chorus of ayes)

The report is accepted.

Going on tq the budget now. Has everyone had an opportunity to review the proposed budget? Are there any questions?

(No response)

If there are no questions, I would like to have a motion for the budget to be accepted.

Ambassador DOUGLAS: Mr. Chairman, I move the acceptance of the budget as presented to the Commission.

VOICE: Second.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Everyone in favor.

(Chorus of ayes)

Opposed?

(No response)

Dr. MACE: Would Dr. Conquest please come forward?

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Chairman, before you start the witness testimony, I regret I was late, we had another committee meeting. Was some mention made of the proposed hearing up in New York State area?

Dr. MACE: Yes, it was stated that a hearing will be held in Glen Spey, New York, on the 25th of October, from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m., if I am not mistaken.

Congressman GILMAN: And, again, we would welcome the Commission members who would like to participate, and any witnesses who may live in that region, or in the surrounding region who would like to give testimony, we certainly would welcome having them attend our hearing. And we look forward to having a productive hearing at that time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay, with that, the next item on our agenda is the testimony of Dr. Robert Conquest, the author of *The Harvest of Sorrow,* the scholarly monograph on the Ukrainian famine published by Oxford University Press.

Now, I would like to bring to the Commission's attention, there has been a book review in the *New York Times* just yesterday of *Harvest of Sorrow.* And I think all of us on the Commission have copies of this, but I would like to ask--there are some people in the audience, I don't know if all of them have a copy of this review.

If possible, I would like to have copies made available to them today.

All right, with that out of the way, I would like to ask Dr. Conquest to continue with his testimony.

TESTIMONY OF DR. ROBERT CONQUEST

It is an honor to give testimony to your Commission. And I have been asked to say something of the historical perspective in which the famine took place.

The Soviet assault on the peasantry, and on the Ukrainian nation, in 1930-1933 was one of the largest and most devastating events in modern history. It was a tremendous human tragedy--with many more dead than in all countries together in World War I. It was a major economic disaster. And it was a social "revolution from above", as Stalin put it, which wholly transformed a major country.

Yet these events have not to this day been fully registered in the Western consciousness. There is a general knowledge here that some sort of catastrophe struck, or may have struck, the Soviet countryside, but little more. This minimum has percolated in over the decades, from eyewitnesses and victims; and more recently from the fact that almost every work by the many talented Soviet writers who have come (or whose unofficial writings have come) to the West has at least a passing reference to the rural terror and its hideous consequences, taking for granted events which to them are part of a known background.

But the events are both complex and unfamiliar to westerners. The very concept of a peasant is strange to American and British ears. The Ukrainian nationality, subjugated to be merely part of the Russian Empire for a century and a half, enjoying only a few years of precarious and interrupted independence after the revolution, and then again becoming merely part of the U.S.S.R., does not declare itself to the Western observer as the Polish or even the Latvian nations are able to. Even the Communist Party, its ideology and its motivations, is for us an alien and not easily understood phenomenon.

Then, the facts of the assault on the peasantry, and on the Ukrainian nationality, are complex. For it was a threefold blow: *dekulakization* meant the deportation of millions of peasants, collectivization meant the herding of the rest of them into collective farms, and in 1932-1933 the collectivized peasantry of the Ukraine and adjacent regions was crushed in a special operation by the seizure of the whole grain crop and the starvation of the villages. That is, we find no single, and simply describable and assimilable, event, but a complicated sequence.

Most important of all, a great effort was put into denying or concealing the facts. Right from the start, when the truth came out from a variety of sources, the Stalinist assertion of a different story confused the issue: and some Western journalists and scholars were duped or suborned into supporting the Stalinist version. Nor have the Soviet authorities yet admitted, and abreacted, the facts. A recent novel published in the U.S.S.R. briefly describes the terror-famine, and later notes "in not a single textbook in contemporary history will you find the merest reference to 1933, the year marked by a terrible tragedy".

* * *

Lenin had devised, for a Marxist analysis of village life, a division of the peasantry into "*kulaks*", "middle peasants", and "poor peasants" plus a "village proletariat". This implied a "class struggle" in the village which in fact failed to occur, but was thereupon

imposed by the representatives of the cities. The most lethal invention was the "*kulak*". This word--fist--had in reality been used only of a very small class of village moneylenders, all of whom had disappeared by 1918. Lenin transferred it to the richer peasantry. These too were wiped out by 1920. The term was then used of the more prosperous survivors.

From 1918 the attempt was made to abolish the market, and get grain by forced requisition. By 1921, peasant resistance, expressed in widespread--indeed almost universal--peasant risings had brought the regime to the point of collapse and Lenin, with the "New Economic Policy", restored the market system. The ruined peasants who then worked indefatigably to restore their fortunes, thereby saved the country: but the more they prospered, the more they were regarded as "*kulaks*" by Party ideologists.

The Party hated the "*kulak*" as the main obstacle to socialism. In reality, as is often admitted in party literature, the middle peasants and even the poor peasants almost always took the same line. But party doctrine required a "class enemy". No actual definition of the *kulak* was ever made: or rather a number of contradicting definitions appeared.

After the peasantry, in comparatively free possession, had restored the economy, Stalin felt strong enough to strike at the "*kulak*". From the winter of 1929-1930 almost ten million "*kulaks*"--men, women and children--were deported to the Arctic. These supposedly rich exploiters owned around $150 worth of property. A typical *kulak* would have something like 12 acres, a cow, a horse, ten sheep, a hog and about 20 chickens, on a farm supporting four people.

The "*kulak*" category was broadened by including "*subkulaks*" who were not *kulaks* even by party definition, except that they shared *kulak* attitudes. Moreover a poor peasant who had farmed successfully in the 1920s (often a former Red Army soldier) became a *kulak;* but a *kulak* who lost his property did not become a poor peasant, but retained his *kulak* "essence".

In the villages, teams headed by Communists from the cities, supported by O.G.P.U. men, held violent denunciation sessions to meet their quota of *kulaks*. Even now these latter were often defended by poor villagers, who themselves became "*subkulaks*".

The campaign against the "class enemy" became truly hysterical. As Vassily Grossman describes it:

> They would threaten people with guns, as though they were under a spell, calling small children "*kulak* bastards," screaming "bloodsuckers"! ...they had sold themselves on the idea that the so-called "*kulaks*" were pariahs, untouchables, vermin. They would not sit at a parasite's table; the "*kulak*" child was loathsome, the young "*kulak*" girl was lower than a louse. They looked on the so-called "*kulaks*" as cattle, swine, loathsome, repulsive; they had no souls; they stank; they all had venereal diseases; they were enemies of the people... And there was no pity for them. They were not human beings... In order to massacre them it was necessary to proclaim that "*kulaks*" are not human beings. Just as the German proclaimed that the Jews are not human beings, thus did Lenin and Stalin proclaim, "*kulaks*" are not human beings.

Their personal goods, pots and pans, clothes and boots, were looted by "activists".

Some 100,000 were shot. The remainder (except for the very old who were left to their own devices) were evicted from their homes, and marched to the nearest railway. Huge lines of peasants converged on the trains which took two to three thousand people in cattle trucks, on journeys lasting a week or longer, to the Arctic. In the unheated trucks, deaths, particularly of infants, were common. On detraining, they might spend some time starving and crammed into the confiscated churches of Archangel or Vologda, or go straight to their destinations--typically being marched for several days to a clearing in the forest and told to make their own homes. About three million died in the early stages, predominantly young children. The survivors either had to create farms in the frozen wilderness, or were sent to work on such projects as the Baltic-White Sea Canal, on which about 300,000 died (and which was never of any use).

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The *kulaks* and *subkulaks* of course included all the natural leaders of the peasantry, especially those recalcitrant to the new collectivization. After their removal, the bulk of the remaining peasants, under very heavy pressures, were forced into the collective farms.

There was much resistance. Sporadic armed risings involving whole districts took place, especially in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. But scythes and shotguns could not prevail against the armed forces of the O.G.P.U. They were ruthlessly suppressed. But so was more peaceful resistance. Isaac Deutscher met on a train a high O.G.P.U. officer who, after a few drinks, said to him with tears in his eyes, "I am an old Bolshevik. I worked in the underground against the Tsar and then I fought in the Civil War. Did I do all that in order that I should now surround villages with machine guns and order my men to fire indiscriminately into crowds of peasants? Oh no, no, no!"

The only peasant tactic which had a measure of success was the astonishing "women's rebellions": peasant women would prevent confiscation of their cows, and the authorities were often at a loss as to how to cope. The peasants' main reaction however was to slaughter the cattle. In a few months, even on official figures, over 40% of the country's cattle and 65% of the sheep had gone. Stalin's policy lay in ruins. Like Lenin, in March 1930 he made a tactical retreat. Peasants were now allowed to leave the collective farms. Sixteen million families had been collectivized. In a few weeks, 9 million left.

But they were not allowed their land back. They were given rough ground at the edge of the ploughland. Then heavy taxes were imposed on them. A huge new wave of *dekulakization* removed the more recalcitrant. And over the next two years, the bulk of the land was again collectivized. The system was inefficient from the start, and the countryside soon presented, as Boris Pasternak describes it, "such inhuman, unimaginable misery, such a terrible disaster, that it began to seem almost abstract, it would not fit within the bounds of consciousness."

The central problem for the Communists was that under the N.E.P. system of markets they had not directly controlled the grain. Under collectivization, the grain was at no point in peasant possession, but at the disposal of the authorities. Decrees

gave the collectivized peasant a proportion of the product for his own consumption only after all state needs had been satisfied. Those who took any product for themselves except as allotted to them were defined as enemies of the people, subject to sentences of from ten years to death.

The collective farm system, still the Soviet Union's agricultural mainstay, was an economic disaster. Even in the 1950s, the new mechanized farms were admitted to be producing less than the pre-World War I *muzhik* with his wooden plough... A schematic idea had failed--at enormous human and other cost.

* * *

Dekulakization and collectivization were virtually complete by mid-1932. It was now that Moscow launched the third and most lethal of its assaults--the terror-famine against the peasants of the Ukraine and some neighboring areas, in particular the largely Ukrainian Kuban.

Academician Sakharov refers to Stalin's "Ukrainophobia". But it was not an irrational Ukrainophobia. In the free elections of November 1917 the Ukraine had voted overwhelmingly for the national parties: the Bolsheviks got only 10% of the vote, and that mainly in russified industrial centers. Over the next few years, independent Ukrainian governments rose and fell. Twice Bolshevik governments were established by Russian troops, but only on the third attempt was the country finally subdued. The first two efforts had made virtually no concession to nationalism. The view of Lenin and his subordinates was that Ukrainian was merely a peasant dialect. It was only after bitter experience that it was seen that the Ukraine could not be mastered without some recognition of its national feeling.

Just as the peasants were temporarily placated by the New Economic Policy, so was the Ukrainian nation. Over the next eight or nine years, Ukrainian culture was allowed to flourish, and high officials and supporters of the former independent Ukrainian Government were given posts. But there were always Moscow complaints and apprehensions about the fissiparous tendencies thus encouraged. And, starting in 1929, came a violent mass purge first of non-Communist, then of Communist cultural and political figures.

Over the years following about 200 of the 240 published authors in the Ukraine were shot or died in camps, together with a wide swathe of all other intellectuals, from agronomists to language specialists. The leading national-minded Communist, Skrypnyk, committed suicide in 1933, and was posthumously charged with such crimes as attempting to introduce a hard "G" into Ukrainian orthography in order to aid "nationalist wreckers".

But in Stalin's view "the national problem is in essence a peasant problem". The decapitation of Ukrainian culture was now accompanied by a blow at its body, the peasant bulk of the nation. The peasantry of the Ukraine and contiguous areas had also been the foremost in resisting collectivization. They were thus as it were, a double target. Stalin's Secret Police Chief in the Ukraine, Balitsky, spoke of a "double blow" at the nationalists and the *kulaks*.

The Ukrainian countryside had already, in 1931-32, suffered grain requisitions which left it on the point of famine. In July 1932 Stalin issued the decisive decree: 6.6

million tons of grain were now to be delivered. The figure was far beyond possibility. The Ukrainian Communist leaders protested, but were ordered to obey. As Vassily Grossman puts it, "the decree required that the peasants of the Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their little children".

By November 1, 41% of the delivery plan had been fulfilled, and there was nothing left in the villages. There were again protests from leading Ukrainian Communists, who told Stalin that famine was raging. They were rebuffed and ordered to find the grain. "Brigades" with crowbars searched the peasants' houses and yards. A little hidden grain was sometimes found, the peasant then being shot or sent to labor camp, but in general the villages were now living on all sorts or marginal edibles--cats and dogs, buckwheat; chaff, nettles, worms, ground bark. The traditional children's game of "*babki*", played with cattle bones, died out when the bones were ground up and eaten.

The borders between the Ukraine and Russia were blocked by police posts which prevented bread being brought back. About a third of the Ukraine itself was officially blockaded so that not merely bread, but no supplies of any sort, could enter. In the Ukrainian cities a small ration was issued, but in the countryside nothing at all.

The cities were barred to the peasants by guard posts. Even so, when the last food had gone, many peasants managed to crawl to city centers. It was forbidden to feed them, or treat them medically, and they either died on the spot or were removed in twice weekly roundups.

Back in the countryside, while any strength remained, families would come to the railway lines in the hope of being thrown a crust. Arthur Koestler, who was then in Kharkiv, describes this: "the stations were lined with begging peasants with swollen hands and feet, the women holding up to the carriage windows horrible infants with enormous wobbling heads, stick-like limbs and swollen pointed bellies ..."

They returned to die in the villages. It is not our purpose to harrow you any further, but you need only envisage famine scenes as in the world today, with a single difference--that no aid or relief organizations were present trying to alleviate things. Indeed, it was illegal--even in the villages!--to suggest that a famine was taking place.

Infants like those described by Koestler were particularly vulnerable and many died. Children of 7 or 8 often also died, either at home or rounded up into special centers and given some but inadequate food. But many, after their parents died, joined the wandering bands of the "Homeless Ones" and lived by petty pilfering. Others, indoctrinated in Party's "Pioneers" organization, were used by the authorities to help harass the peasants: some became much publicized heroes by denouncing their own parents--in particular the famous Pavlik Morozov, who still figures as the Pioneers' most famous role model.

One of the most moving descriptions of the famine is by the great Soviet Jewish novelist Vassily Grossman whom we have already quoted. His mother was killed at Auschwitz, and he himself wrote the first documentary description of the Nazi death camps, *The Hell of Treblinka,* and was joint editor of the Soviet section of *The Black Book on Nazi Atrocities* (never published in the Soviet Union). He gave us, in his novel *Forever Flowing,* the most harrowing description and indictment of Stalin's slaughter of the Ukrainian peasantry, and quite explicitly makes the parallel with Hitler, adding that in the Stalinist case it was a matter of Soviet people killing Soviet children. And the death roll was indeed on the Hitlerite scale.

A census taken in January 1937 was suppressed, and the census board was shot as (in the words of official communiqué) "a serpent's nest of traitors in the apparatus of Soviet statistics"; they had, *Pravda* stated, "...exerted themselves to diminish the population of the Soviet Union."

In Khrushchev's time a later head of the Census Board wrote sardonically that the State Planning Commission had been very incompetent in its population predictions, having forecast 180.7 million for 1937 when the real total was 164 million. This enormous discrepancy can be reduced to about 11 1/2 million for various reasons (for example, children unborn owing to prematurely dead parents). Of this, the famine deaths seem to have been about 7 million--5 million in the Ukraine, 1 million in the Kuban and North Caucasus, 1 million in the Don and lower Volga. Three million had already died in the *dekulakization,* and c. 1 million (out of c. 4 million) Kazakhs had perished as a result of the banning of their nomad life and resettlement on desert "farms". To this 11+ million we must add c. 3 million+ for the peasants in labor camps at the time of the 1937 census and dying there later, for a reasonable estimate of the victims of the whole anti-peasant and anti-Ukraine operation of c. 14 1/2 million. The total dead in all countries in World War I was under 9 million.

There have been many useful books, usually of a specialist nature, about one aspect or other of the Stalinist revolution in the countryside, and many individual testimonies have also appeared; but there has not previously been a general history covering the whole phenomenon.

Yet the material only needed to be brought together. We have literally hundreds of first-hand accounts, from victims and from officials, from foreign communists and from journalists: that is, first hand observers. We have official material, both from the early 1930s and from the Khrushchev period, which strongly indicates much of the truth. And we have fiction, from the orthodox Sholokhov in the 1930s, through novels published in the U.S.S.R. in Khrushchev's time and even in the early 1980s, to say nothing of *samizdat* and *emigré* work, in which the events are presented in only slightly dramatized form.

All of them tell, or contribute to, the same story. Every point made here can be overwhelmingly documented. Soviet history, and therefore the Soviet Union today--and so the world today--cannot be properly understood without a full knowledge of such major determining events as those described above.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you very much, Dr. Conquest. We all appreciate your testimony here today, and I would like to ask the fellow commissioners if there are any questions.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Do you feel that Stalin's policy of forced famine directed against the Ukrainian people was a policy to eliminate the Ukrainian people? Would you call it a policy of genocide?

Dr. CONQUEST: It certainly would seem to me to be genocide under the terms of the Genocide Convention, the United Nations' Genocide Convention. That does not say you have to try to kill everybody--you crush, you kill large numbers of a national group, with a view of crushing it as a national group. Under that definition of genocide, certainly.

I don't see it as Stalin wishing to kill all Ukrainians as such, as Hitler wished to kill all Jews. I would look on it, basically, as more like one of those ancient conquerors who laid a country waste, when a country was giving trouble--Genghis Khan or Tamerlane would lay waste to an area, burn the villages, kill half of the population without meaning to kill everybody, but to crush them completely.

One doesn't want to use sociological terms, or one just wants to see a destroying khan coming and destroying the countryside.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, Dr. Kuropas.

Dr. KUROPAS: Do you see any modern parallels between what is happening today, for example, in Ethiopia, in Afghanistan and what happened in Ukraine in 1932-33?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, in Ethiopia--in part of Ethiopia we do see relief organizations on the television, don't we? And that is what happened in the famine in the Soviet Union, and again, in the Ukraine in particular in 1921, when American aid saved millions of lives, after being allowed in.

That famine was certainly due largely to the Communists seizing the grain, but they did belatedly allow relief organizations in.

I think the famine in Ethiopia was entirely due, or very, very largely due to government policies, certainly. And there are areas in which the television cameras have not been allowed to go in the north, where they have a problem, in some extent resembling that in the Ukraine, in Eritrea, and Tigray, a different national composition which is giving trouble. And there, from what one hears, they are taking the grain and not allowing any relief in, as in the Ukraine.

Dr. KUROPAS: Yes, I have one more question. As you travel around the country with your book, what has been the general response of people to your book, number one, and do you see any efforts being made by the media to publicize this tragic event?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, this is my second day around, I am starting in Washington, but I have been in England, where this book came out a couple of weeks earlier, and it was heavily reviewed in all of the leading papers, with the reviewers completely appreciating the point.

I have noticed that all normally educated people I have come across who have seen the film *Harvest of Despair* a few weeks ago have all been very affected--it has hit home.

The people who didn't know about the subject, the ordinary educated man who didn't know, were strongly affected by that. And I hope that the book will have a similar effect, its intention certainly is to make it impossible to ignore the facts, to put them all on record in the context, so that the ordinary educated man has it there.

Dr. KUROPAS: Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Any other questions?

Ambassador DOUGLAS: I yield to the Congressman.

Congressman GILMAN: Dr. Conquest, the purpose, the thrust of the Soviets was to collectivize the peasants and apparently they collectivized a goodly number of them, and a large number also left after the repression was lifted to some extent.

What is the status of the peasantry today? It seems to me that they have gone back to where they were, when all of this occurred.

Dr. CONQUEST: They are still collectivized, the system is still the same. There are some prospects of and in some areas they have tried out family contract schemes, but still under the collective system, not really owning the land. But even that gives more incentive than they have had over this period.

Congressman GILMAN: There have been a number of articles written about the *kulaks,* the peasants being on their own, and a kind of sub-economy developing. Is that widespread in the Soviet Union?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, they had to allow, right from the start, the peasant to have a small private plot, which was supposed simply to support him. And, in fact, the private plot ever since has produced a very high proportion of the salable agricultural product in the Soviet Union. And without that, they would be in much, much worse condition.

But that doesn't account at all for grain, this only accounts for some livestock and some fruit and things like that.

Congressman GILMAN: Did this pressure for collectivization occur only in the Ukraine, or did it occur throughout the Soviet Union?

Dr. CONQUEST: It occurred throughout the Soviet Union, though at different tempos and in different proportions, in some of the more distant areas a few individual farmers were allowed for sometime--but it was the heaviest and quickest in the Ukraine.

Congressman GILMAN: Why was it so severe in the Ukraine, as compared to other areas?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, I think that there are two reasons, one is that the Ukraine in population had always shown itself less easy to control, and so they wanted to enforce control on them more strongly than they did anywhere else.

Secondly, it was a great grain-producing area and grain was the key to the whole. This is the main thing, meat at that point wasn't very important, it was hardly eaten at all. They needed grain and they used it for various purposes, as they still do, they have a strategic reserve of grain against war.

Congressman GILMAN: What was the extent of the deportation? How many Ukrainian peasants were deported from their homeland as a result of this effort?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, they weren't deported during the famine from the Ukraine. I mean individuals were, an odd family, as having committed crimes like keeping a few ears of corn--they were left to starve on the spot.

The deportations hit the Ukraine earlier--I have seen various figures, the total deportation from all over the Soviet Union is somewhere around 10 million. The Ukraine certainly had about a million of those, and probably more.

Congressman GILMAN: There was an internal deportation though, they didn't allow them to leave the country itself, is that correct?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, they didn't allow them to leave their villages, if you count that as deportation, it really removed the rest of the country from them, in a sense, rather than they from the country. In some areas of the Ukraine, in some districts, quite a few districts were blockaded even within this blockade, nothing was allowed into them at all, no consumer goods.

Congressman GILMAN: Nor were they allowed out of those areas?

Dr. CONQUEST: No, no.

Congressman GILMAN: How long did that persist?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, this ended virtually with the end of the famine itself. When they started to distribute some rations in May 1933, after the people had died out--in some villages everybody had died out, of course, and others fewer. It varied from 10 percent in some villages to 100 percent in others.

Congressman GILMAN: What brought about the change in the attitude of the government which allowed food to be distributed into the Ukraine?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, they were either going to let the whole population starve or not. If they were, they would have nobody to bring in the grain the following year. It was designed, as I see it, not to kill everybody, but to crush the Ukrainian peasant beyond any possibility of resistance. And to bring in the next harvest they used, since, in the first place, most of the horses had died, they used cows, they used women, they brought in students, they brought in Russian soldiers and they got a harvest of sorts out from the Ukraine that year. Without somebody there to bring it in, they couldn't have done anything, they would really have ruined the country totally.

Congressman GILMAN: How long did the government impose the famine, for how long a period of time?

Dr. CONQUEST: The whole time--the worst period starts about October 1932 and goes on until May 1933. The very worst period was around March, April.

Congressman GILMAN: Was there any outside appeal from governments outside the Soviet Union to provide relief, or to try to assist in providing relief?

Dr. CONQUEST: I don't think there was anything governmental, but important committees were set up in Austria and an international committee of aid was set up. The Ukrainians in Poland set up aid commissions to try and help, and there were other organizations as well--they approached the Soviet government who refused any aid.

Congressman GILMAN: Was there any worldwide publicity at the time of the famine?

Dr. CONQUEST: There was quite a lot of publicity, but there was also--I mean--there was excellent reporting from Malcolm Muggeridge, for example, in the British press. There were several papers in the United States that had full stories, but there were also the other stories, the Stalinist story was being put about by Walter Duranty, and I think that is what partly confused the public in the West, that they had two stories. And if you are an ordinary man, it is not your subject, you don't know what to make of it. Stalin, sticking to the lie he told and having some journalists putting it about, would confuse people in the West.

Congressman GILMAN: What was the Stalinist explanation of what occurred?

Dr. CONQUEST: Nothing. There was no famine, it didn't happen, and it still hasn't happened. They don't admit it even now. The present head, the recently appointed head of the propaganda department of the Central Committee in Moscow was ambassador in Canada a few years ago. And he issued a statement on the so-called famine in the Ukraine. These are the new truth-tellers that have been told about.

Congressman GILMAN: Did our nation react at all at that time?

Dr. CONQUEST: Not as a nation. There were people, for example, going around lecturing like William Henry Chamberlin, one of your journalists who did see much of the famine. And I have seen the reports in the State Department papers--many

people wrote and said, particularly religious groups wrote the State Department saying "Mr. Chamberlin claims that 7-8 million people have been dying, could you tell us what the truth is?" They didn't know, they had heard other people, including local Communists, saying nobody was dying.

And the State Department normally took the view "it is not part of the State Department's duties, or responsibilities to give comments on this sort of thing".

But they did sometimes send reports, deadpan reports which did give the fairly true impression. It depended on who it went to in State.

Congressman GILMAN: Was there any congressional reaction at the time?

Dr. CONQUEST: Yes, there were congressmen, several congressmen, and especially, Hamilton Fish, who put it on record. It is in the *Congressional Record*, a perfectly true statement of what was going on.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you, Congressman Gilman.

During the previous conversation it seemed that there were three separate processes that were kind of merged together during the discussion: this was "*dekulakization*", collectivization and the famine itself. And I wonder if you could sort of clarify this a little bit better for us, so we can clearly understand the distinction between these three separate processes?

Dr. CONQUEST: Yes. The first two processes were linked, "*dekulakization*", the removal of 10 million of the supposedly rich--in fact, by our standards were very poor peasants, who were nevertheless either richer than their colleagues, or more influential. They were deported, partly as class-struggle dogma--you have to have a class to crush, this was pure invention. And partly, I think, more realistically, to remove the leadership of the villages, to make them more amenable to collectivization. That started at the beginning of 1930, and it went on several ways.

The collectivization was putting into the collective farms of the private plots of all of the remaining farmers and forcing them under control of directors and bureaucrats and policemen from Moscow, who ran the farms. And that is the system introduced today, the collective farm system.

In my view, once again, I think the main object seems to have been partly, of course, to get the peasant under control, but basically to make sure that he no longer had access to his own product. What happened on the collective farm is grain once cut does not belong to the peasant, isn't in his hands even for a moment, it goes straight into the collective granaries, that is, the problem that the Communists always had, as long as the peasant controlled his own product, they were never quite sure what price he would sell it at. And they were never quite sure if he wouldn't eat some of it himself.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: And the famine is a completely distinctive phenomenon from the collectivization, it wasn't a direct outcome of the collectivization, they used the collectivization to execute their policy, but the famine was almost exclusively in the Ukrainian and the Ukrainian ethnic area adjacent in Kuban and also the similar Don Cossack area. And if this is correct, that it wasn't directly related to the collectivization.

Dr. CONQUEST: That is correct. I think it is true, also, to say that it could only have been done under the collectivization circumstances, firstly, because they got the

grains. Secondly, they had these large corridors in the villages capable of inflicting the famine.

But it is absolutely true, the Ukrainian operation is a separate and extra, and greater horror than the--

Mr. MARCHISHIN: It wasn't a direct outcome of the collectivization, it was a specific policy.

Dr. CONQUEST: A special operation.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay, there was a question over here.

Dr. WERES: Dr. Conquest, could you briefly describe the present day Soviet position as to whether the famine happened and so forth, and offer any thoughts you might have about what this commission may do to contribute to a change in that position?

Dr. CONQUEST: Well, I don't know how anybody makes them admit that the famine took place and what the Commission can do to make them tell the truth. It is rather surprising, in some ways, that they don't--that they will not admit the facts of their past. And this is part of their history, part of the history of the Party, it is their own background that we are talking about. Gromyko joined the Party in 1931, when it was engaged in these operations, as its main object. It would be a great effort for them to start telling the truth.

And I don't myself expect them to do so. They haven't even told the truth about the *dekulakization*, which they have at least hinted about. There have been odd remarks past, but nothing whatever about the famine. They simply deny it. And occasionally say there were a few food shortages.

Now, I think that is what makes the Commission so important and necessary, because their denials not only persist in the Soviet Union, but still have some effect abroad. And the Commission can and is getting the facts and putting them past dispute. The more it is registered and irrefutably registered in the West, the less chance they have of getting away with their falsehoods for any real length of time.

Most people in the Soviet Union, the earlier generation, know all about this, they are simply not allowed to say it. And there are people in the Soviet Union, even officials, official writers and people, I don't mean *apparatchiks* who have shown that they would wish the truth about the past to be told, because it puts them at a great disadvantage, if you are a historian, or a writer being forced to lie all the time. It is a disadvantage which you don't like.

So, there is some tendency to ask for more truth. But on the other hand, you've got the system, you have created it by killing 14 million people. It is a great moral albatross around your neck. It is very difficult to say I am frankly sorry, I won't do it again. It takes big moral effort, as well as any other effort, as well as ideological effort to tell the truth.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay, I want to thank Dr. Conquest for his testimony here today. We appreciate it greatly and we wish him great success with his book project.

Dr. CONQUEST: Thank you.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: The next part of our agenda is the testimony of the eyewitnesses. And to start that off, we have hired on our staff Sue Ellen Webber, who is heading up the oral testimony project. And she has prepared a report for us, and I would like to ask here before we invite the witnesses to testify, for her to come forward and to present her report.

REPORT PRESENTED BY MS. SUE ELLEN WEBBER

Since my appointment in June as the Commission's staff assistant in charge of oral history, I have been responsible for initiating the process of recording testimonies from famine survivors and eyewitnesses all over North America. My duties so far have included developing techniques for locating and contacting potential witnesses; devising a methodology for interviewing willing witnesses that enables us to obtain the greatest possible amount of information from each one with the least amount of stress; and generally representing this aspect of the Commission's work in each city I visit.

To date, I have visited nine different areas with high concentrations of Ukrainians, conducted interviews in six of these cities, and collected a total of twenty-one interviews. The areas are greater metropolitan Washington, D.C.; Toronto, Ontario; Detroit; Hartford, Connecticut; Stamford, Connecticut; Youngstown, Ohio; Baltimore, Maryland; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Still on the agenda are the following cities: Syracuse, Albany, Troy, Glen Spey, and New York, New York; Bound Brook and Trenton, New Jersey; Philadelphia; Hamilton, Windsor, St. Catherines, Ontario and Montreal, Quebec; Vancouver, British Columbia; Chicago; Cleveland; San Francisco; Los Angeles; San Diego; Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona; and possibly northern Florida.

In a number of cities, I have established contacts through voluntary witnesses who have notified us of their willingness to testify. In other cities, I rely on the assistance of community leaders (notably Ukrainian Orthodox clergy, as the church remains the center of Ukrainian community life) or friends who volunteer their time to seek out witnesses in their communities. These personal contacts yield the highest number of willing witnesses, as they establish a degree of familiarity and trust between the interviewer and subject.

I also have made a great deal of contacts through Ukrainian heritage festivals. These are local events that bring together all the Ukrainians in a given region for a weekend of exhibits and entertainment. I have a small exhibit that I set up and tend during the festival. In this way I am able to publicize the Commission while establishing new contacts. I have been to six such festivals so far.

Out of all the contacts I make, about two-thirds of the witnesses decline to interview. Among the reasons they give are the following, in order of frequency:

1) Fear of Soviet reprisal against relatives still living in the U.S.S.R.;
2) The events are too traumatic to recall;
3) The feeling that what they have to say is "uninteresting" or "not worthwhile"; and
4) Poor health.

We accept these as valid reasons and do not pressure anyone into granting an interview.

Having arrived in a city, I schedule interviews at the convenience of the witness, usually in their home. (I usually stay with Ukrainian families or with friends to keep down Commission expenses.) The interviews are conducted rather informally, in a conversational manner designed to make the witness feel as comfortable as possible. I have memorized a set of questions pertaining to the famine, which I interject when ap-

propriate. This method yields the greatest amount of qualitative information while ensuring that we also obtain essential facts and statistical data. It helps the respondent feel at ease, an important consideration when dealing with such sensitive and potentially traumatic material.

While the sample of interviews I have conducted personally is too small for detailed statistical analysis, I would like to point out that the following qualitative information remains consistent throughout:

a) The grain quotas placed on the farmers and the collectives were impossible to achieve,
b) Those who came to collect the grain took all food from the house and searched for hidden food,
c) There was mass death from starvation,
d) There were bands of homeless children,
e) Silence prevailed in the villages--no birds, dogs, or cats,
f) There were rumors of whole villages dying out,
g) There are numerous second-hand accounts of cannibalism,
h) There was no famine in the R.S.F.S.R., and
i) The belief prevails that this was a deliberate act on the part of the government against the Ukrainian people.

I wish to conclude my remarks with three quotes from my interviews.

To see someone die of hunger is a terrible thing. Their eyes, their mouths wide open. All my brothers died that way, one after another, whining *'Yisty! Yisty!'*--Something to eat!

--anonymous interview #15; woman from Poltava region

The secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk *Oblast* came--Khatayevich. He was also the secretary to the Ukrainian Communist Party (he was in the Secretariat). He said, 'Why do you have all these corpses here? Get them out of here! What's the matter, can't you bury them?..'

'With what? We have nothing to bury them with...'

'Then take them over to that well there, and dump them all in together.' So that's what we did.

--V. Shymko, village of Verbky

In our village this saying developed: *'Na khati serp i molot, a v khati smert' i holod'*--The sickle and hammer hang on the house, but death and hunger reign in the house.

--anonymous interview #6; man from Rivne region

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you very much, Sue Ellen.
Are there any questions?
(No response)

If not, I would like to go on. Sue Ellen mentioned that there are a few anonymous testimonies, but we also have the pleasure of non-anonymous personal testimonies. And we have, I think, four of them here with us today.

And I would like to ask first Varvara Dibert, who is presently living in Silver Spring, Maryland, to come forward, and to please read the testimony.

Sue Ellen will read the testimony for Varvara. Please come forward.

TESTIMONY OF MS. VARVARA DIBERT

In 1932 and 1933 Kiev seemed like a paradise to nearby villagers who had been stripped of all they had by the Soviet government. And no wonder: some villages were dying out completely, except for those who still had the courage and strength to flee. There were cases where mothers had gone mad and killed a child to feed the rest of the family. So thousands of villagers flocked to the city of Kiev. Many of the weak ones sat or lay down by buildings and fences, most never to get up again. Trucks, driven by policemen or Communist Youth League members mobilized for that purpose, went around picking up bodies or carrying those still alive somewhere outside the city limits. It was especially terrible to see mothers whose faces had turned black from hunger with children whose little faces had wrinkled up like baked apples, children who could no longer cry, but only squeal, moving their lips in an attempt to find sustenance where there was none. People sought salvation and found death. I saw these things as I walked to work through the Haymarket on Pidvilna Street near the Golden Gates and Volodymyr Street.

No one in Kiev had the right to allow even their closest relatives to stay the night in their residences. One had to go to the building manager with a certificate and get it stamped with a date indicating the length of the stay. For most villagers, particularly the men and boys, such certificates were not easy to get. Single women and girls were more fortunate. Sometimes they were able to get jobs as servants for party people and thereby acquire union cards, even without residency certificates. Later they could even attend evening courses and get permanent jobs. This was sometimes done not only by villagers but also by women of the intelligentsia who had been denied employment because their husbands had been arrested as so-called class enemies of the people or because of their own "nonproletarian" class origins. I knew of four such cases of the latter from among my own relatives, and my aunt in this way saved six women, two of whom had already begun to swell up from hunger.

Townspeople tried in every possible way to help relatives who were living in the countryside, but it was not easy. Workers and officials in Kiev received ration cards, but the rations were so small that even some of them began to swell up and even die. Only those allowed to use the so-called "closed distribution points" were able to get as much food as they needed. They had enough of everything. They were the members of special organizations and the party but not even all party members were so fortunate. Civil servants got 400 grams of bread per day and another 200 grams for each dependent. Factory workers got 500 grams per day, while workers at military factories got 800. Some millet, sugar, and fat was also given out. Today some people may say that 400 grams per day does not constitute a famine, but this is because we have other things to eat besides bread and don't need as much of it. And in those days, what

mother would eat her ration if she saw her starving child looking pitifully at her. In 1933 the so-called "commercial bread" appeared in Kiev. You could buy a kilo for two and a half rubles. They would only let you buy one kilo a day, and the lines for this bread were so long that not every working person could wait so long. The police would take villagers from these lines, load them on trucks, and take them out of the city.

The so-called *torgsin* (acronym for "trade with foreigners") appeared. For gold you could get all sorts of food and dry goods there. But how was one to get gold? Once my husband brought home a certificate and said he could buy some food with it at the *torgsin*. When I stared at him in amazement, he opened his mouth, and I saw he had steel fillings instead of gold ones.

Ever since the revolution Kiev had been full of orphans from age six to fifteen. Although the government set up orphanages, the number of homeless orphans continued to grow, especially when *dekulakization* started and later when the famine began. Near the house where I lived there was a large building. The government converted this building into a so-called "collector" for homeless children caught on the streets, and who, after sanitary inspection, were sent to orphanages. When leaving my home, I would often see how trucks would pull up there and the police would take out the filthy, bedraggled children who had been caught on the streets. A guard stood at the entrance and no one was permitted inside. During the winter of 1932-33, I often saw five or six times how in the early morning they took out of the building the bodies of half-naked children, covered them with filthy tarpaulins, and piled them onto trucks. Going as far as Artem Street, I would hear a loudspeaker (at that time there was one on every corner) blare out how children lived in horrible conditions in capitalist countries and what a wonderful life they led in our own Socialist Fatherland.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you very much, Varvara. Your testimony will be a strong contribution to the record of the famine in the Ukraine. We appreciate it very much.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Mr. Chairman, Congressman Mica asked a question: were there other sources of food and dry goods, other than the *torgsin,* during the famine? A question for Congressman Mica.

Ms. DIBERT *(through interpreter)*: In stores you could only buy food according to special cards. There were a lot of things that you could buy without the cards.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: This is my own question. Was this directed to foreigners, did foreigners get these certificates, is that how it worked?

Ms. DIBERT *(through interpreter)*: All of the civil servants, all of the workers would receive these ration cards. The problem was that they were so paltry that they could not fulfill the needs of normal human beings. For foreigners there were other stores. The *torgsin* was for everyone, all that you were required was some sort of valuables: gold, diamonds, things of that sort, and then you could buy virtually anything that you wanted to, in terms of food.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Okay.

Yes, I would like to ask Tatiana Pawlichka from Pennsylvania to join us and to present her testimony at this time.

Thank you very much, Ms. Dibert.

TESTIMONY OF MS. TATIANA PAWLICHKA

In 1932, I was ten years old, and I remember well what happened in my native village in the Kiev region. In the spring of that year, we had virtually no seed. The communists had taken all the grain, and although they saw that we were weak and hungry, they came and searched for more grain. My mother had stashed away some corn that had already sprouted, but they found that, too, and took it. What we did manage to sow, the starving people pulled up out of the ground and ate.

In the villages and on the collective farms (our village had two collectives), a lot of land lay fallow, because people had nothing to sow, and there wasn't enough manpower to do the sowing. Most people couldn't walk, and those few who could had no strength. When, at harvest time, there weren't enough local people to harvest the grain, others were sent in to help on the collectives. These people spoke Russian, and they were given provisions.

After the harvest, the villagers tried to go out in the field to look for gleanings, and the communists would arrest them and shoot at them, and send them to Siberia. My aunt, Tatiana Rudenko, was taken away. They said she had stolen the property of the collective farm.

That summer, the vegetables couldn't even ripen--people pulled them out of the ground--still green--and ate them. People ate leaves, nettles, milkweed, sedges. By autumn, no one had any chickens or cattle. Here and there, someone had a few potatoes or beets. People coming in from other villages told the very same story. They would travel all over trying to get food. They would fall by the roadside, and none of us could do anything to help. Before the ground froze, they were just left lying there dead, in the snow; or, if they died in the house, they were dragged out to the cattle-shed, and they would lie there frozen until spring. There was no one to dig graves.

All the train stations were overflowing with starving, dying people. Everyone wanted to go to Russia (the R.S.F.S.R.) because it was said that there was no famine there. Very few (of those who left) returned. They all perished on the way. They weren't allowed into Russia and were turned back at the border. Those who somehow managed to get into Russia could save themselves.

In February of 1933, there were so few children left that the schools were closed. By this time, there wasn't a cat, dog, or sparrow in the village. In that month, my cousin Mykhailo Rudenko died; a month later my aunt Nastia Klymenko and her son, my cousin Ivan, died, as well as my classmate, Dokia Klymenko.

There was cannibalism in our village. On my farmstead, an 18 year-old boy, Danylo Hukhlib, died, and his mother and younger sisters and brothers cut him up and ate him. The communists came and took them away, and we never saw them again. People said they took them a little ways off and shot them right away--the little ones and the older ones together.

At that time, I remember, I had heavy, swollen legs. My sister, Tamara, had a large, swollen stomach, and her neck was long and thin like a bird's neck. People didn't look like people--they were more like starving ghosts.

The ground thawed, and they began to take the dead to the ravine in ox carts. The air was filled with the ubiquitous odor of decomposing bodies. The wind carried this odor far and wide. It was thus over all of Ukraine.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you very much.

Congressman Hertel has joined us here, and I would like to ask him to assume the Chairmanship at this time.

I would like to observe that if the other testifiers have problems, they can certainly take their time and compose themselves.

Congressman HERTEL: I just want to thank you, on behalf of not only this Congress and this Commission, for your testimony. How difficult it must be to bring up all of the horrible things that have happened, but it is very important to the world that you come before us today. And we very much appreciate your courage and the pain that you have suffered. And thank you for that, sharing your remembrances and facts, and the terrible things that were done with this.

We thank you very much.

Questions from the Commission?

(No response)

Thank you very much.

Mr. Ivan J. Danilenko of New Jersey is next.

Did you want to say something?

Ms. PAWLICHKA *(through interpreter)*: I do have something to add which is not written there, but I would say this in Ukrainian.

Congressman HERTEL: Please.

Ms. PAWLICHKA *(through interpreter)*: They would come to school, trying to seduce the children with candies and sweetmeats, in order to get them to betray their parents, to get them to tell the authorities where they had hidden the food.

For 15 years, I, my friends, my sons, everyone who remembers the famine remembers the vivid pictures of children lying on the frozen ground with their eyes open and glazed. And it was these eyes, the image of these glassy, dead eyes that accompanied me throughout my journeys in Europe.

That's all.

Congressman HERTEL: We all thank you very much, and can only imagine how difficult it is for you to recall of the events. And we thank you for coming today, we thank you very much.

Mr. Danilenko.

TESTIMONY OF MR. IVAN J. DANILENKO

We lived in a rural area of the Central Poltava region. My father owned four hectares of land, approximately ten and a half acres. There were five children in the family, sixteen to one and a half years in age at the peak of starvation in 1933. First, as collectivization proceeded, food shortages began. As successive grain quotas increased, foodstuffs gradually began to diminish. By about 1931, my father made several trips to Kuban to trade some of my mother's clothing for flour. Soon there were no garments left and travel became difficult. At the same time the grain procurements campaign in-

tensified and special brigades frequently came to search our household, confiscating first grain and later, all kinds of food. In the early spring of 1932 the whole family had to pitch in and look for food. Four of us children went out to dig for sugar beets and potatoes left unharvested from the previous years' frozen fields. My attempts to beg for food from neighbors was short-lived. Facing closed silent homes only deepened my feeling of hopelessness. Later that year, we continued to search for food by gleaning wheat ears from harvested fields. Gleaning was prohibited, and we were chased and whipped by overseers on horseback. Often, when they caught us, our bags, be they empty or full, were taken from us by force.

As early as the spring of 1932, my aunt on my mother's side was apprehended while cutting half ripe ears of wheat, trying to save her husband from starving. He died, and she was sentenced to seven years of forced labor in Siberia. At about the same time my maternal grandparents died of starvation. I can still see quite vividly a man's corpse that I stumbled upon along a country road one day. The worse came after October 1932 when my father's property was confiscated, and the family was evicted from the house. Now we were homeless. For the next five or six months the family settled in a barn of a state farm--a cold, damp and dark place. Here we, undernourished and utterly hopeless, faced the most critical period in our lives. Skeletons with skin or with swollen, watery bodies, sick and desperate, we were ready for the final act, but it did not come. The family survived. The drama, the trauma, and the atmosphere that accompanied these events, probably account for the vividness of my memories, after more than fifty years.

I would just like to add a couple more things that I omitted. Later on, obviously, I was told that my uncle, my father's brother, had been cannibalized in Crimea, his property was confiscated two years earlier because he was a *kulak*, so to speak. He owned more land than my father, therefore, his time came earlier. But the cannibalization incident came later. And, also, perhaps, the fact that in the interim, between those two and a half or three years, between 1930 and 1933, my father also was tried and sentenced for two years labor camp.

And, also, the fact that after the demise, I guess the word is, we were treated as second-class citizens, until probably 1939. My other brother that was draft age, wasn't inducted until the Finnish-Soviet war broke out, and until then it was very difficult for members of my family to move around.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much for your testimony.

Questions from the Commission members?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Can I ask you, do you know of anyone that was tried for cannibalism?

Mr. DANILENKO: No, I lived in rural area. My contacts with the outside were limited, and I am just relating some of the things that I have retained in my memory.

Congressman HERTEL: Other Commission members have questions?

(No response)

Let me ask you, sir,do you recall in the way all of this was done by the Soviets, they never gave--as we have heard from other testimony--any reason, nor did they do it in any official way, they just did it to the people, didn't they? There were no edicts, or anything, they just came in and took the food, and took food away from people.

Mr. DANILENKO: Well, it preceded, perhaps, with a certain propaganda new Socialist order for which I was too young to comprehend. And based on that propaganda, it started to materialize in the direction of first, inviting to join the collective farms, inviting I say, but in fact they did say it was a voluntary thing, but then when that didn't work, they started to use stronger means. And, perhaps, the fact that collectivization didn't work too well--all those things that followed later were employed.

My own father, even though he wasn't a *kulak* by their definition, or *kurkul* as they used to say, but he was independent and he just couldn't see how he would voluntarily join the collective farm. And because of this, he was tried--I mentioned about his trial --he was tried in connection with another function that he was assigned to perform, namely, in addition to having his grain and his quotas were fulfilled, he was made responsible for fulfilling quotas of the neighbors.

He didn't want the function, so to speak, but then he said okay, if you want me to, I will do it, but don't expect me to take anything from anybody by force. And obviously, his quotas were not fulfilled and he was sent for trial. And I don't know, I think I may have gone a little off your question, sir.

Congressman HERTEL: And, of course, when these trials took place, and when your aunt was sentenced, the people of course had no rights, no chance, it was a fixed trial.

Mr. DANILENKO: Normally, even though I am not an authority on it, I know what it happened to my father, he probably was an exception at that trial when he said, no, I am not guilty. That didn't help, he still got his two years of labor camp. He ran away after about a year or so, but then he was caught again, and after two or three months, I think he was acquitted--somebody looked over his problems, so to speak, and he was acquitted from that incident, trial and two years of labor camp.

In other words, he probably fulfilled about half of the term and he was acquitted. But that was just in good times yet, so to speak. The famine and the starvation hasn't, in essence, begun yet, because it was slightly before. It may have been in 1931 and 1932, the incident that I just finished relating.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you.

Questions from the Commission?

(No response)

Thank you very much, sir, for coming to speak to us.

Mr. Sviatoslav Karavansky, is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who left the Soviet Union as a part of a prisoner exchange seven years ago and is now living in Denton, Maryland.

Thank you for coming, sir.

TESTIMONY OF MR. SVIATOSLAV KARAVANSKY

Mr. KARAVANSKY: From my childhood years I remembered that from 1929, the beginning of industrialization and collectivization, our family and all of the people of Odessa suffered a great shortage of food. Buttermilk, milk, sugar, and even bread disappeared from the stores. In the period 1929-1930 the whole city turned to the rationing system. The entire population lived on rations. The portions that were handed

out continued to decrease, and in the winter of 1933 I, as a dependent, received 200 grams (seven ounces) of black bread per day. My mother, brother, and sister received the same ration. Bread was, and still is, the main source of nourishment for the Soviet population. For comparison, let's consider the daily ration of the Soviet soldier. The soldiers of the Red Army received at that time one kilogram (36 ounces) of bread per day. The entire city of Odessa lived on rations which were insufficient for healthy people, but which kept it from starving. The rural population was not subject to rationing, and it perished. People in the villages could not receive any help from their relatives in towns because the city population was hungry too. It should be mentioned that the closing of churches preceded the great famine. So, the organizer of the famine took into consideration the major role played by the church in dealing with national disasters like the famine. It is known that during the famine of 1921 in Ukraine, churches aided the starving people. During 1932-33, the churches did not function, and the clergy were sent to labor camps, which, in reality, were death camps.

Our family lived in downtown Odessa, and I attended school there. I never saw starving people downtown, but many of the latter were seen on the outskirts of the city. Odessa was a port where foreign sailors and businessmen could always be found, so the authorities took measures not to allow hungry peasants to reach the downtown area. But everyone in Odessa knew that there was a horrible shortage of food in the villages. People swelled from hunger and died. In the school which I attended from September 1932 to May 1933, the teacher told us that the *kulaks* (or *kurkuls*) were responsible for all the temporary difficulties of the Soviet socialist economy.

My father was employed in the Odessa shipyard, and I heard from adults that a lot of foreign ships in the docks were waiting their turn to be loaded with grain from Odessa grain elevators. My parents wandered how it was possible that such great quantities of food were being exported while the village population was starving. To ask questions about this was dangerous. If a child asked about these things in school, the teachers assumed that he had been taught by his parents, who were thus placed in danger. So, my parents were very careful about telling me not to ask any questions in school, and not to reveal anywhere what was discussed in the family.

The entire population was terrorized by the arrests and trials which culminated in 1932-33. In those years so-called "*torgsins*" were opened in Odessa. In *torgsins* anyone could buy for gold and foreign currency all the food that otherwise was distributed through the rationing system. Many people who had small golden crosses or wedding rings brought them to *torgsins*. Once my mother went to a *torgsin* as well. She brought back a load of black bread, turning the day into a holiday for the entire family. There were rumors in Odessa that people were being arrested for selling human sausages in the market place. There was a saying that the sausages "had been shot". Such accounts were not published in the newspapers, which only praised the wisdom of the party and the great leader, Stalin.

In 1934 my father, as a shipyard employee, got a free ticket for an Odessa-Batumi cruise on the Black Sea. Traveling to Batumi on the liner, he observed that a large number of Ukrainian peasants had migrated to Georgia where there was no food shortage and no famine.

The famine in the Ukraine was over, but those who survived fled from Ukraine. I know that in the local schools in the village of Rossosha near Proskurov (now Khmel-

nitsky) there was no first-year class for the 1940-41 school year because the birth rate in 1933 had been near zero. In 1953-54 the Soviet navy also experienced shortages of healthy servicemen because of the low birthrate in 1933 in Ukraine. The requirements for the service in the navy were reduced because otherwise it was impossible to recruit the necessary number of sailors. I received this information from a navy officer who had served a ten year term in Mordovia. In 1970 my wife and I met a woman in the village of Tarussa (Kaluga region) who spoke with a strong Ukrainian accent. She told us that she was born near Kiev. In 1933 she had fled from her native village because of the famine and had found shelter in Tarussa where she later married and settled down, thereby escaping death while her entire family died of starvation.

Since the revolution the majority of the Ukrainian population has experienced hostility toward the Soviet occupation. The artificial famine deepened the hostility. It is believed that half of the entire prison population in the Gulag were Ukrainians. The memory of the famine was especially vivid for the Ukrainian dissidents of the 1960s and 70s. The founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, Mykola Rudenko, wrote a poem about the famine entitled *The Cross.* References to the famine are present in the works of Vasyl Stus, Oles Berdnyk, and others.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much for your testimony, and all of your work for freedom.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: I have a question, and I don't think it was asked before. What kind of resistance did the Ukrainian peasantry put up to the confiscation of foodstuffs?

The famine occurred, the Soviet Union carried it out, and I was wondering what kind of resistance the population actually put up towards this policy.

Mr. KARAVANSKY: According to the Soviet press, some so-called *kulaks,* or *kurkuls,* killed the Soviet administrators. But if it happened, it was very rare, because this famine was the result of three years compelling repression--from 1929, it was begun.

The so-called class struggle was directed by Party members from Moscow to hound the poor peasants or so-called rich peasants--he has one horse, and he was rich, he was *kulak.* And this situation was prepared so long that the entire economic policy was planned ahead to start to collectivize peasants. Because after Lenin and Trotsky, the Communist Mafia, should help--they couldn't help this rural population after the Revolution.

And they announced this and people brought away their weapons, and started to work and started to farm. In five years, according to this time, the Soviet Party tried to establish their agents among the peasants, this so-called committee of poor peasants. And these were agents inside the peasants and it was 10 years--this famine is the culmination, this policy was started in 1922, and its end was the collectivization.

And all of this time the most independent, the most smart, the most productive peasants were arrested and sent to the prison for different pretexts. So, the population was terrorized. Some rare cases happened, but the whole situation was so that the peasantry was terrorized and Soviets held power over them.

Congressman HERTEL: So, during this period there was so much resistance, even outbursts of armed rebellion of the sickles, and so few guns could not stand up to the Soviet army. But it went on for so long because there were so many people resisting

the Soviets that they resorted to the famine. They had tried so many other things, that they took this most horrible of all actions, because so many of the people had tried to stand up against them.

Mr. KARAVANSKY: In the year 1922 the whole Ukraine and the peasantry in other republics, for instance in Turkistan, there was so much until 1924 and the Soviet power couldn't subordinate them. But in 1929 until 1933, resistance was smashed, I think.

Maybe I am wrong, because I don't believe whole stories published in the Soviet Union, it happened maybe--it happens even now. I was in the camp and some people came--he killed a collective farmer chief and he came, it is all the time, it is very popular crime in the Soviet Union to kill the collective farm chief.

But it doesn't mean that the whole peasantry resisted Soviet power, some people, because of some personal conflicts found something to kill this chief. But it doesn't mean that there was resistance to the Soviets.

But it may be that some people do something, and there are stories about whole villages who resisted. But it was rare and not coordinated cases.

Congressman HERTEL: Because they had no opportunity of communication--

Mr. KARAVANSKY: Yes, no communication.

Congressman HERTEL: From your testimony and others, the Commission is able to hear, and all of the information in Dr. Conquest's summary that he presented today, we are able to see large-scale resistance to the extent of the Soviets not being able to break the will of the people, so they tried to break all of the people physically through the famine.

Mr. KARAVANSKY: Yes, because the majority of peasants don't want to go to the collective farms at the beginning. And therefore, there were four years of such measures--they took measures and measures, and they would be arrested, exiled--they don't want to go to the collective farm, it was their kind of resistance, they don't want to go to collective farms.

Maybe in some places there were some weapon encounters, but they were not coordinated.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you.

Other questions from Commission members?

Ms. VOLKER: No question, but I find that being from Western Ukraine, that Eastern Ukrainians in the free world have been saying it right along that their tragedy started in 1929, and it culminated in 1933. And I think the majority of Ukrainians are cognizant of that, but not the world as such.

Congressman HERTEL: Other questions or comments from other members of the Commission?

(No response)

Well, I know that many of the members and senators are sorry that they couldn't be here for a longer period because of all that is going on in the Congress, and the closing days. But it is so important for them to have this record, as it is for the entire country, and the world, as I said before.

We appreciate the courage and the pain that those of you who have come forward today have given to us by your testimony. And it just shows--the hearing today shows

how important it is to have this commission, to have this record, to have this information reach the entire world.

And we thank you very much.

That's it, we will adjourn the commission meeting. Thank you.

Oh, go ahead, sir.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, I wanted to, before we adjourned, we didn't set anything on any future date. We have had six months now since we had our last meeting, and I think for the first stretch it was perfectly appropriate, but I would like to suggest that we adopt a future schedule of reconvening about every four months, if that is agreeable to you, about every four months.

So, the next one would be February, because February would be a month after Congress reconvenes--I know they will still have some organizational things, but they won't be right in the middle of January, when they will just be coming back.

So, I think February, then June, and then again next October. So that is what I would suggest, that we adopt a regular schedule of convening every four months.

Congressman HERTEL: Excellent. And the staff will be in touch with you, to make sure that the day that we pick will be as advantageous as possible for all the members. Good suggestion.

Any other comments, or ideas from the commission members?

(No response)

Okay, then thank you all very much.

The commission meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, the meeting was adjourned at 12:35 p.m.)

HEARING

Sunday,
October 26, 1986

Verkhovyna
Ukrainian Cultural
Center

Route 31
Glen Spey, New York

The commission met at 2:36 p.m.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, Chairman
MR. DANIEL MARCHISHIN
MS. ULANA MAZURKEVICH

ALSO PRESENT:

DR. JAMES E. MACE, Staff Director
DR. OLGA SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV, Staff Assistant
ASSEMBLYMAN WILLIAM LARKIN, Sullivan County, State of New York

WITNESSES:

MR. MICHAEL HERETZ
FATHER SERHIJ KINDZERIAVYJ-PASTUKHIV
MS. JULIA PASTUKHIV
MR. ZINOVIY TURKALO
MR. B.
PROFESSOR JOHN SAMILENKO
MR. WASYL SAMILENKO

PROCEEDINGS

Congressman GILMAN: Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. I am sorry for the delay. We were organizing some of our witnesses. We welcome all of you to the opening of our hearing of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine of the United States, and I deem it a pleasure to have with me today two of our co-Commissioners with us, Mrs. Ulana Mazurkevich and Mr. Daniel Marchishin.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Marchishin.

Congressman GILMAN: Marchishin. Thank you for helping me with the pronunciation. As you know, our Ukraine Famine Commission was organized recently and we will try to give you a little bit of background. In just a moment I will call on Dr. James Mace, who is our Executive Director, to fill you in a little bit on where we have been and where we hope to go. This is, I think, the first hearing outside of the city of Washington, and then we hope to be going to the Midwest, and then over to the West Coast in order to get as many witnesses as we can, to document what we consider to be a very important and tragic historical event. It is an honor and privilege for me to be able to Chair this hearing.

As you know, I am Congressman Ben Gilman. I represent the Twenty-Second Congressional District of New York and we are pleased that our District has such a fine Ukrainian-American community which is able to host the first of our hearings outside of our Capital.

Our Commission is directed by law to achieve the following in a two-year life span that has been prescribed by the Congress. The Commission is directed to gather all available information about the tragic man-made famine of 1932-1933 in the Ukraine, to analyze the causes and effects of this tragedy, to study the response by the free world to it, and to gain a better understanding of the nature of the Soviet Union by demonstrating a responsibility which that regime must bear for this very terrible crime against all humanity.

At the end of our mandate, we are going to be presenting to the Congress a report, the report based on our findings. Today's hearing is to gather material for that purpose--for that report from the most reliable of all sources, those who actually were eyewitnesses to the Ukrainian famine. We are pleased that we do have witnesses who are here with us today willing to come forward to document that very critical part of history.

I recognize how difficult it is for some of our witnesses to recount those events, and how sensitive it is for some of the witnesses who may still have some family behind the Iron Curtain, and it is for that reason we are particularly appreciative of their willingness to come forward and to testify.

Genocide is defined by international convention as an attempt to wholly or partially destroy a national, racial, ethnic or religious group. It is not a crime against any individual or even the groups which were victimized collectively. It is a crime against the whole of humanity, because it is an attempt to destroy an irreplaceable part of the human race, and in so doing to diminish humanity as a whole.

If we reflect on the issues of group victimization and genocide, we immediately recognize that the record of our own century is among the blackest in all of human history. Less than a decade after Stalin's execution by hunger of millions and millions of

Ukrainians, Hitler began his attempt to create a world free of Jews by killing every single Jewish man, woman, and child in Europe and decimating other minorities. The Jewish community in particular has come to realize that its tragedy is not simply its own affair, but a terrible lesson which belongs to the whole of mankind.

By the same token, the tragedy of the Ukrainians which was suffered over a half a century ago has also ceased to be the exclusive property of the Ukrainians. It is part and parcel of world history--part and parcel of human history, as part of that history becomes a property of concern of all of humanity. Ukrainians, Jews, and others who have been afflicted by genocide share a terrible legacy of collective victimization by brutal, inhuman regimes--Stalin's Soviet Union, Hitler's Germany, and other regimes who attempt to wipe out whole races. The very enormity of these crimes obliges all peoples to deed the memory of their suffering to the human collective of which they are members.

Among Jews who survived the Holocaust has come the realization that their experience obliges them to bear witness to recount the tragedy.

The Ukrainian-American community, by working for and achieving the creation of this Commission, has also taken upon itself this very same obligation to bear witness.

I call upon those of you who come here to testify today to help us in this documentation to bear witness. We admire your courage in doing so and know you will join with us in the hope that by bearing witness to those horrors that occurred in the early thirties, you help the world to better understand to better try to avoid that from ever happening again. For it is only by understanding the tragedies and the crimes of the past that we can ever hope to prevent them in the future.

And now, I would like to take a moment to introduce our Executive Director, who has done such outstanding work in Washington, who was a motivating force in helping us to create the Commission in the first place and who has been doing a great deal of research on these issues before our Commission had even been established. I came to know him first at a hearing in Chicago. I guess it was more than a year ago, as he was making a report of some of his research. Dr. James E. Mace is our Staff Director. He has a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan where he was a Research Associate and he was a Research Associate from 1981 to 1985 at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, which has been doing such an outstanding job of collating and gathering all of the facts with regard to this issue. He has, of course, published extensively on the famine.

I am now going to call on Dr. Mace to give us a little background about where we have been and where we are going with the Commission. Dr. James Mace.

Dr. MACE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Our Commission began its work with its first hearing in Washington on April 22nd of this year. That was a hearing of organizational matters, and our second hearing was also in Washington on October 8th. That meeting combined both functions of organizational matters of the decisions made collectively by the entire Commission with the first taking of testimony from people who actually witnessed the famine of 1933. I want to stress to you today that the hearings we are--the series of which begins today is extremely important to the functioning of the Commission. This is the first of those hearings. We will have another hearing in Chicago on November 7th. A hearing in Detroit on November 24th, and we will be having a series of hearings such as this throughout the country in

areas of considerable Ukrainian-American settlement. The reasons for this is to provide not only a public forum for the Ukrainian-American community and issues connected with the work of this Commission, but it is an integral part of this Commission meeting its mandate of gathering evidence and of the members of the Commission having direct contact with those of you who went through this terrible tragedy.

Now beyond that there are things which are not quite so public which the Commission does, some of which you are familiar with. The highest priority in terms of non-public functioning of the Commission is the gathering of confidential oral histories. Many of you were kind enough to speak to Miss Sue Ellen Webber when she was here. She will be back here to supplement the oral histories that she has gathered. This is an extremely important part of our work because from all the types of information about this historical tragedy, the memories of those who witnessed an event over half a century ago is the most fleeting.

We are researching documents, state documents both in this country and in Europe. The National Archives has a bit of information on the famine. Tells us that the State Department was aware that it was happening but did not reach a decision on what to do about it until it was much too late, and then tried to state, well, nothing has happened in the Soviet Union since we have been represented there. As many of you know, the United States only established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union immediately after the Great Famine. Those diplomatic relations were begun in fact in late 1933.

Many European countries knew a great deal more about the Ukrainian famine because they had diplomatic contact and in the case of Germany and Italy in particular, there were consular offices in the Ukrainian S.S.R. and those documents are being researched by Mr. Ivan Hvat who is on loan to our Commission from Radio Liberty in Europe. We have also been pleased to have volunteer researchers who have researched archives in the French Foreign Ministry for us.

Finally, we are continuing our research with the Soviet press of the 1930s, and I stress to you the importance of this type of source, because while the Soviet Press denied the fact of the famine, you can tell a great deal from that Press about the policies and the official attitudes which brought the famine about. To give you an example, the law of August 7, 1932, on the inviolability of socialist property was, of course, published in the newspapers. Figures were published about the number of people who were arrested under this law. The whole mechanism of black listing villages which did not meet their procurement quotas was discussed and published in the Soviet newspapers of the period. And, finally directives to local officials to seize grain from an already starving countryside were also published daily in the Soviet-Ukrainian press. So, through these various mechanisms, these various aspects of an integrated information gathering project we hope to meet our mandate as a commission and to provide a report extensively documenting the tragedy of the Ukrainian people which took place over half a century ago.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you Dr. Mace. Now I am going to call on our Commissioners, if they have opening statements. Mrs. Ulana Mazurkevich is President of the Ukrainian-American Human Rights Committee, is a resident of Philadelphia, has a Master's Degree in History from Temple University, and is also a very successful businesswoman in Philadelphia. Mrs. Mazurkevich.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: As a member of the Ukraine Famine Commission it is our responsibility and your responsibility to help us to gather as much information as possible so that the great tragedy that occurred in 1932--33 will not be a footnote in history. Everybody knows about Hitler's "final solution". Everybody knows about the Nazis' atrocities, but how many people know what happened to the Ukrainians in 1932 and 1933? How many know that seven million died? Virtually no one knows. It is just a footnote in history. It is up to us, the Commission to gather this information to publicize its facts, and we call on you to help us. You are the people that lived through it, and it is up to you to provide us with this information so that a report can be brought out, so that this great tragedy will not be a footnote in history. That it will deserve a page with the other atrocities. That the Ukrainian tragedies will be on par with the other great tragedies and holocausts of history.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you, Ulana. And, we have also with us another Commission Member, and I would like to ask him if he would care to make a few opening remarks. Daniel Marchishin, who is the Vice-President of the Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, who worked very strenuously to help us bring about the passage of the Ukrainian Famine Commission so that we could be here to gather this kind of information for history. Daniel Marchishin.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I worked for three long years with the late Ihor Olshaniwsky to see that the Ukrainian Famine Commission was established and funded, and I just want to say I am very glad and grateful for the opportunity to be here and to extend my greetings to the Ukrainian community that is here taking part in this hearing today. I don't want to take any more time from the valuable work of our witnesses. Thank you very much.

Congressman GILMAN: We are pleased to have with us today our Assemblyman who represents this Region in the State Legislature, Colonel William Larkin, who has served our Region for a number of years, has been very active in this issue at the State level, and he has some information to present to the Commission. As you know, Assemblyman Larkin resides in the Newburgh area, and represents this portion of Sullivan County in the State Legislature. Assemblyman William Larkin.

Mr. LARKIN: Thank you Congressman Gilman. It is a real privilege for me to be here. Many of you in the audience know I am the young Assemblyman that was born up in the Ukrainian area. Some of my friends here today have said if I keep it up, they are going to make me an honorary Ukrainian. But, you know, growing up as I did in Troy, New York, I met many people when I was a youngster who had come from the Ukraine, who told me about some of the problems they had. You know, we are blessed here to see Dr. James Mace as part of this Commission, because in the booklet in volume 3 of our new teachers' guide on the Holocaust and genocide, he provided many of the studies and details that are there, as well as the impetus for it. Congressman Gilman and members of the Commission, this volume 3 didn't become what it is today without the dedication of people like Dr. Mace, but there are many people right here in your own community who knew what went on. We had the meetings in Albany two and three times with Dr. Gregory, and many of you who passed information to us and will do it again here today, but I encourage each and every one of you. We have been going on a mission since last Wednesday, since the fifteenth, when we had our meeting in Albany with Michael Heretz for his group.

What we want to do, as Ulana said, we cannot sit back and let this just be a piece of paper. There are those of you in this room who remember when we spoke to you before. The State Education Department had originally planned on putting out our pamphlets. We wouldn't accept a pamphlet. We now have a volume, 143 pages, out that speaks of what we know of it, and the Commission members know. But, we have another mission in this. We started last week on Thursday and went to Ellenville Central School District. Mr. Walter Kwas, who many of you know from Kerhonkson, and Father went with us, and we presented this volume and asked the Ellenville Central School District Board of Education to make this not just available in the school district. This volume says from the tenth grade on. We want this to be a permanent part of the Social Studies curriculum, and this week accompanied by Father and Paul Asade, we will be going to Eldridge, and we will go to every school district. This cannot lie on a shelf in a school district or a library. This is a message to tell people what happened. Those of you who are testifying today, please add to that.

Congressman Gilman, I would like to give you this book as part of the Commission, and I would ask that you enter it in permanently in the record, and copies to the Congressional Library and to the colleagues of yours in the Congress and ask that they use this as a model across this great nation of ours so that every American regardless of race, color, or creed or ethnic background will know the true happenings to over seven million Ukrainians. Thank you very much.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you, Assemblyman Larkin, and Assemblyman Larkin, I am going to ask you if you could provide our Commission with some additional copies. The materials to which you referred.

Mr. LARKIN: Yes sir, I will, Congressman.

Congressman GILMAN: And, I am going to ask our Reporter to note that we are going to enter this into the record, as part of our record, and it is entitled--an appendix to the record--and it is entitled *Case Studies. Persecution/Genocide. The Human Rights Series. Volume 3.* University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Bureau of Curriculum Development, Albany, 1986. Thank you very much, Assembly Larkin.

Mr. LARKIN: Thank you Congressman.

Congressman GILMAN: And, now for our witnesses. The first witness who we are pleased to have with us today is Mr. Michael Heretz of Albany. He has worked with the State Curriculum Committee on the Holocaust, and I presume helped to create this document that was just presented to us. Mr. Michael Heretz. Michael, would you come forward, please. Michael, suppose you take a chair right at the end of the table. If you have a statement you would like to make, please present your statement and then there may be some questions by the Commissioners.

Mr. HERETZ: All right, sir. I have a statement to present, sir.

Congressman GILMAN: If you withhold for a moment, I want, once again, to thank Assemblyman Larkin, who has to depart early.

Mr. LARKIN: I apologize, but I have a big district, as you know. Bye, bye.

STATEMENT OF MR. MICHAEL HERETZ

Mr. Chairman, the Commissioners, I would like to make you a few remarks about how this book came about. In March of 1981, the Board of Regents of Education Department asked the Legislature to approve money for high school social studies classes to teach about the Nazis' extermination of Jews in World War II. As soon as it became Department knowledge, two priests, of the Ukrainian, one of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and one of the Armenian Church, wrote a letter to the Commissioner Umberg--requesting--first expressing the support for the program and then requesting that the other genocide will not be ignored in the program. At the same time, I visited my Assemblyman with the request that in the Holocaust Program, in addition to the Jewish victims, the other victims of the Holocaust would also be mentioned, namely, the Gypsies, all Ukrainians, and others. And, I presented as a source of information the book, entitled *The Other Holocaust,* by Bohdan Vitvitsky and that book was supplied to the Legislative Educational Committee and to the Education Department. The first draft of the teacher's guide called *Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocide* was prepared and mailed to the reviewers in 1983. The draft contained about ten pages of information on Armenian genocide, but there was no mention about the Ukrainian famine. In the review of the draft, and I was one of the reviewers, I expressed regret about the omission of the genocide of the Ukraine, because I felt that the students should know about the very existence of movements like the Nazis and Communists and what they are capable of committing against the humanity.

The view was supported by the reviewers of the work of the program, and one of them was Dr. Vitvitsky. As the result of the criticism of the first volume which contains ninety inaccuracies and many prejudicial statements, the Board of Education decided to review the whole program, and in 1984 published the second draft which contained along with Armenian genocide material, thirty pages on the famine in Ukraine. The Ukrainian community was very happy about the inclusion of some information about the famine.

This happiness didn't last too long, because in April of 1985, the advisor of the program, Dr. Vitvitsky was informed by the State Educational Department that the Department decided to remove the material on the famine in the Ukraine from the program and as the result of that decision, Dr. Vitvitsky resigned. Soon, an outraged community, the Ukrainian community started to write letters to the Commissioner, Umberg, to the members of the Board of Regents to the State Legislature, to the Governor, Cuomo, and of course, to Congressmen and Senators.

The position taken by the Ukrainian community was as follows: we supported the program on the Jewish Holocaust, but the victims of the other genocides should not be ignored. Two, the decision of the Education Department was inconsistent with the U. S. Congress decision to establish the Commission, the Congressional Commission to study the famine in Ukraine. Three, we pointed out that had there been no genocide in Ukraine and had it not been ignored by the free society in the 1930s, probably there would have been no genocide committed by the Germans ten years later. We also pointed out that students should know the nature of the Communists and what they are capable of doing to other people. And, finally we pointed out that it was here in Ukraine that food was first used as a weapon to break the resistance of

the people and has since then been increasingly applied in other Communists controlled countries such as Poland during the Solidarity Movement, in Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

We got wide support from some of the Legislators and from our Representatives in U.S. Congress. In particular, a solution was pressed--was introduced in the State Assembly and of course, and also because of the work of our community, the Education Department decided to publish the third volume on the famine in Ukraine and to make it an integral part of the holocaust-genocide program. The Ukrainian community was very happy to hear the news and in August 1986, the third volume has been published, primarily on the famine. Assemblyman Larkin said that our task is not completed. We have now to work that the book which has been published will be used in our school system. Thank you very much Commissioner.

Congressman GILMAN: Do the Commissioners have any questions of Mr. Heretz?

Mrs. MAZURKEVICH: Is this going to be incorporated this year, your beginning of the study?

Mr. HERETZ: We have to understand it is not a part of the required program. It is up to the individual school district to decide whether they are going to use this material or not. It is supposed to be part of Social Studies program, and as I understand it, there would be at most about two weeks devoted to the genocide program in some schools and not in all schools.

Mrs. MAZURKEVICH: That all depends on the district and the schools--

Mr. HERETZ: Yes.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Heretz, is this already been distributed then to our school districts?

Mr. HERETZ: As far as I know, yes it is being distributed. As far as I know, there was, 85,000 copies has been published, and 13,000 supposed to be distributed to the schools, and obvious would be available to the community and to those who are interested.

Congressman GILMAN: Will there be any teacher training in how to present this material?

Mr. HERETZ: Yes sir. There was--I think it was Assemblyman Proud, I think or a Senator in Rochester. He got from the State Legislature $10,000 to establish a workshop for the teachers, how to teach it, or how to teach the subject. Also I understand the Department of Education is planning to establish some workshop, but--as far as I know--it would be sometime in the future, but not right away.

Congressman GILMAN: And, this is being distributed for the first time this year. Is that correct?

Mr. HERETZ: Yes sir.

Congressman GILMAN: And, it is up to each of the communities that would like to see it taught in their schools to approach the school boards and urge them to put it on their active curriculum. Is that right?

Mr. HERETZ: Yes sir. We also will try to influence some to approach the Education Department to include the material on the famine in Ukraine into the syllabus of social studies and also to put some questions on the regencies there. That way the stu-

dents and the teachers would be sort of obligated or forced to study the subject. Otherwise it would be up to the local school district and up to the teacher.

Congressman GILMAN: So as it stands now, it still is a voluntary program.

Mr. HERETZ: Yes, sir.

Congressman GILMAN: Up to the community and the Department of Education in each community?

Mr. HERETZ: Yes sir.

Congressman GILMAN: And, of course, I would urge all of those folks who are interested to approach their own school districts and try to make it part of the program until such time as it may be a mandate. Are there any other questions? Yes Father.

Congressman GILMAN: By all means.

Father PASTUKHIV: Is there any connection with international importance of this or it is only local in part of New York State?

Mr. HERETZ: It is for the State of New York only. The Education Department of the State of New York does not have jurisdiction over other educational systems.

Father PASTUKHIV: Oh, I didn't mean jurisdiction--conduct somehow influences or other--

Mr. HERETZ: It would be up to the New York State Education officials. By the way, I am not part of the education system. I am merely a concerned member of the Ukrainian-American community.

Congressman GILMAN: You were part of the review group that reviewed this curriculum?

Mr. HERETZ: Yes sir, I was.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Marchishin.

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Yes, I would like to add a couple of remarks. I am also a member of the Commission in New Jersey on Eastern European History. There is, maybe not a comparable volume that was prepared in New Jersey, but a volume of that was prepared in New Jersey concerning the Holocaust and genocide. However, it is not as comprehensive as the three volumes that were prepared for New York State. So this movement that has started in New York State has had a parallel development in New Jersey, but it points out that this kind of activity requires a great deal of support from the Ukrainian-American community. In New Jersey the Legislature has appropriated $125,000 to undertake workshops for teacher training and college instructors training around the State, but as I said it is not as comprehensive as the volumes that were prepared in New York State, and we have to build on the work that was done in New York State and go on from that.

Congressman GILMAN: Are you aware of any other states besides New Jersey and New York that have such a curriculum?

Mr. HERETZ: As far as I know, there is nothing similar to it. They are working now in California, and of course as the Commissioner mentioned in New Jersey there is interest in it, but I don't know how far that they go, because I don't--

Congressman GILMAN: Sounds like it might be something we want to talk with our Secretary of Education about to try to encourage the other states to get involved.

Mr. HERETZ: It would be very much appreciated, sir, if that were done.

Congressman GILMAN: I would welcome talking to you more about that after our hearing. Is there anyone in our audience that would like to address any inquiry to

Michael Heretz before we conclude his testimony? If not, we want to thank you, Michael, for appearing with us today and for taking the time to explain just where we are at on the curriculum series.

Mr. HERETZ: Thank you very much.

Congressman GILMAN: Now we are pleased to have as a witness Father Serhij Pastukhiv, Pastor of Sts. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church right here at Glen Spey. Please forgive me with my pronunciations.

Father PASTUKHIV: That is alright.

Congressman GILMAN: It is a pleasure having you with us.

STATEMENT OF FATHER SERHIJ KINDZERIAVYJ-PASTUKHIV

Mr. Chairman, Brethren, it is impossible to overemphasize importance of this hearings of documentation for famine in Ukraine, because it is not only pains and our sufferings. It is not only point in history, fifty years ago, fifty some years. It is still going on process, and if you do not clearly understand the whole complex of this process, it may be repeated and repeated and repeated constantly. Even now we see it is repeating in Ethiopia--nearly exactly under Ukrainian example.

We should realize and learn from all the material that this is a very complicated thing. It is not only factual material of famine. It is not only starvation of some millions, unknown millions unfortunately. Like Stalin said, it is only statistics. But it goes much deeper. It is twofold reality, and we usually tend to study external side of it. We do not put emphasis on the internal point which is more important, because you see external just in Ethiopia today. External reality would be some kind of a drought in the area, but it is not true, not true about this famine in Ethiopia. They do not allow transports of help to the famine region. It is not only partially but it is nearly totally artificial famine too. So the reasoning behind this is, there is an involvement of Moscow in Ethiopia as it was in Ukraine, but internal moment is very important permanent and we need to learn about this. We need to study this to understand this in order to grasp the whole complexity of this unusual phenomenon in order to stop it somehow for the future, because it may happen anywhere anytime, if we do not understand. If we just follow the outward or external circumstances or external form of it. So these hearings should be directed not only to gather the material--very important material for the historical facts, but they should be printed toward understanding whole phenomenon of this unusual--especially for our century--unusual reality. Thank you.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you, Father. Father, I want to thank you for pointing out the similarity between the Ethiopian problem and the Ukrainian problem. Again, the same regime is influencing the Ethiopian government, moving whole segments of population from one part of the country to the other, and just as they were doing in the Ukraine creating a famine situation--a man-made situation--to impose the government's will upon the people. And, they have again done in other parts of the world. In Afghanistan, some of the similar problems are taking place, again under the hand of the Soviet regime.

Father, as we explore this issue, do you have any suggestions of how we can better teach these lessons. I take it you may not have had an opportunity to examine the curriculum, but do you have any thoughts of how we in the community could do a better job of making certain that this lesson is learned to the best and most effective manner by our young people.

Father PASTUKHIV: Yes, I do; I wrote on the subject a small essay. I think it is not that simple. It is practically impossible to put in one sentence or two. This involves spiritual reevaluation of a lot of things involved.

Congressman GILMAN: Do any of our Commissioners have any questions? Mr. Marchishin?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: No, I don't.

Congressman GILMAN: Mrs. Mazurkevich? Would anyone in our audience care to address any questions to Father? If not, I want to thank you, Father, for taking the time to appear before our Commission, to comment with regard to this very critical issue, and I am certain that it is going to be a benefit to the other Commissioners. As you know, this testimony will be transcribed and circulated amongst the remainder of our Commissioners. And, incidentally, I might note who the other Commission members are. We have from the House of Representatives our Chairman, Dan Mica of the State of Florida, William Broomfield, ranking Minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Dennis Hertel, both of Michigan. From the Senate we have Senators Dennis DeConcini, Democrat from Arizona, and Robert Kasten, Republican from Wisconsin. From the Administration we have the Undersecretary of Education, Dr. Gary Bauer, the Surgeon General, Dr. C. Everett Koop, and from the State Department, Ambassador Eugene Douglas, recently in charge of refugee affairs. Among our public members, in addition to Mrs. Mazurkevich and Mr. Marchishin, who are with us today, we have Dr. Myron Kuropas of Illinois, Mr. Bohdan Fedorak and Mrs. Anastasia Volker of Michigan, and Dr. Oleh Weres of California. These persons make up the Commission on the Ukraine Famine and will be meeting again following the testimony we take here today in order to review it and to participate in further hearings.

And now, we are pleased to have a further witness with us today--Mrs. Julia Pastukhiv, who is a housewife, and we are going to ask Mrs. Pastukhiv if she would come up forward here. Thank you for being with us today.

TESTIMONY OF MS. JULIA PASTUKHIV

I was an only child. Both of my parents worked. I remember that bread would be given out by ration cards. I remember waiting in long lines with my mother. That is how it was. I also remember that near our houses there were homeless people who would spend the night on benches and on the street. And, then on the following day, they would forbid us to near them, because they were no longer alive.

I heard everywhere that hordes and hordes of hungry people from the villages would come to town in an attempt to get food, for they were forbidden to do so. Time and again they would find emaciated children on the streets and the women who would bring food to feed them. Of course, nobody at that time had a choice of what food they would give, and those children who would receive liquids would be the ones

who survived while those who received dry crackers or dry food of any kind would be the first to die. Our parents would tell the children not to stray from home because terrible rumors circulated that children would be kidnapped and made into sausages.

At that time the incidents of theft increased. Even food which was hidden in barns and storage places was stolen. I think that I won't go on because after all my situation was not that tragic and I was much too young to remember anything more than this.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you, Mrs. Pastukhiv. We appreciate your taking the time to appear and to relate to us these very tragic facts, and I am certain that they will be helpful to the remainder of the Commission. I am now pleased to present to you a further witness, Mr. Zinoviy Turkalo, an engineer from the lower part of my Congressional District, from Orangburg, New York, in Rockland County. Mr. Zinoviy Turkalo.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ZINOVIY TURKALO

Mr. Chairman, before I will testify by my own personal experience of that time, I would like to say a couple of words about the general situation in the Ukraine. Anybody looking at the map will see that Ukraine is an extreme western part of Soviet Union and has a tremendous strategic importance for Soviet Union. Some try to point out that famine was not limited to Ukraine only, but if you look at the map, famine also occurred in area we know as Kuban and along the Volga River. This area is also populated largely by Ukrainians. So, even though it was outside of the administration, administrative area of Ukrainian Republic, it was still directed against Ukrainians and some ethnic Germans along the Volga River. So, in organizing this famine, the Soviet Union had a very broad strategic goal. To neutralize the Ukrainian people in its aspiration for independence, and they were employing every possible means to achieve that. Genocide doesn't have to be direct killing.

I will give you one example. After a visit by Khrushchev to this country, when he was impressed by corn fields in Iowa and Nebraska, he decided to plant corn in Kazakhstan. One aspect of this situation was that the Soviets recruited approximately 300,000 Ukrainian young men from Ukraine, sent them to Kazakhstan and at the same time sent three hundred thousand Russian girls to the same area. So, as you know, all they have to do is to let the nature take its course and as a result would have 300,000 less Ukrainians and 600,000 more Russians, because the average has about two children approximately.

For me, the recollection of this event tied together with personal tragedy in my family. My father was arrested just about that time and he was a defendant in one of the show trials called the *Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny,* which maybe somebody help me to translate.

(Dr. MACE: Union for the Liberation of Ukraine)

Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. We were living in Kiev at the time, and I was going to school, and my first experience was thousands of homeless children who was flooding to Kiev from the countryside looking for food, stealing everything they could get. I lost many school lunches to these children on my way to school, but this was just

the beginning. When we moved to the area of Kharkiv in 1931, I was playing in a school band, in a school orchestra, and that was the only music in the whole area.

Party officials were sent from Moscow. They were called five thousand, ten thousand, twenty-five thousand later on, and many of them were killed by the peasants. They paid a terrible price for that, but many of them were killed. And, our school then was invited for the funeral every time. For us, it was very happy event, because every time somebody was killed, they would take us to the village, give us some food, and then we would play in the funeral. And, we were looking forward every time to the next funeral, because that meant food for us.

But, because of this, we traveled this whole area around this village. It was about seventeen kilometers from Kharkiv. So, I witnessed this, at approximately thirty miles around in different villages, and as the time progresses, we witnessed the deterioration of all these villages--the number of people, the way they looked, the way they behaved, and it got progressively worse every time. Every time, visiting the city of Kharkiv to get some food or whatever, we would go to the market. There was a very big market in Kharkiv. Usually it was filled with people, hungry people from the villages, coming into the city looking for food. I will never forget the hundreds of women lying in the streets, some of them dead, some of them unconscious with small children crawling over their bodies. You know, this was an unforgettable experience. In 1933, I already told you--well--what we witnessed is thousands of death, thousands of hungry of people. We were hungry ourselves, but fortunately we survived because the city was supplied a little better than the villages, and one of the points that the Soviet propaganda is trying today is to compare all western country with Germany. They are trying to tell people that what they experienced with Germans, they could expect from this country also. I don't know what else I can say right now, but just comparing the villages before this organized famine and after, it was a terrible sight. I have this written testimony for this gentlemen here.

He has many members of his family died.

Congressman GILMAN: Would he want to read his testimony, is that?

Mr. TURKALO: No, this is in Ukrainian. I would like just to give this to the Commission.

Congressman GILMAN: Alright.

Mr. TURKALO: Well maybe you can read this and translate it after--

Congressman GILMAN: We will do that right after this witness. We will put it into the record.

Mr. TURKALO: Okay, thank you very much.

Congressman GILMAN: We thank you very much for your testimony. Do any of our Commissioners have any questions? Mrs. Mazurkevich?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: You were saying that there were a lot of homeless children that were left because their families were completely destroyed by the famine.

Mr. TURKALO: That is right.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: The father, the mother died of starvation. The grandparents--

Mr. TURKALO: Most of their families had died, yes.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: And yet these children that were wandering around without any place to go without any food, was there any Soviet agency that took in these children that you know of? Who took these children? What happened to them?

Mr. TURKALO: If you remember the very first movie made in the Soviet Union--sound movie was called *Prophet of Treason.* It exactly shows and describes these children. Of course, they did not explain the same way, but eventually colonies were established. It was going on until 1936 and eventually colonies for the children were established and they were educated--

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: By the communists.

Mr. TURKALO: By the communists, of course. And, some of them became--attained some prominence. General Vlasov was one of those children. He grew up to be a General, sir.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Marchishin?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: Nothing.

Congressman GILMAN: And, we want to thank you for your testimony today. With regard to the gentlemen's testimony, we will accept the statement for the record. It is in Ukrainian. We will have it translated and made part of the record, and at the request of the gentleman submitting it, it will not be identified, but it will be indicated as a statement submitted by Mr. A. from Glen Spey, and made part of the record without further identification. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. "A.", GLEN SPEY, NEW YORK

The famine of 1932 and 1933 was a time of tragedy for the Ukrainian people, a tragedy brought about artificially by the terrorist clique in Moscow in order to break Ukraine's backbone, its farmers. Moscow, the Communist Party, and their propaganda machine use all sorts of tricks out of evil and spite. The village soviets and *raion* officials of the G.P.U. tried to turn brother against brother, children against parents. I can only cry as I write about what I remember of that terrible time, when I was thirteen years old.

I would like to say a couple of words about my family and about the people whom I knew at that time:

1. Mykhailo Nazarenko, nicknamed Falko, was deported to Siberia, with his brother, Oleksiy, and his family--five persons in all.
2. The entire family of Fedir Sich, consisting of six persons, perished.
3. In the family of Vasyl Yarmak, consisting of six persons, only two survived.
4. Of the seven members in the family of Mykhailo Dibrova, only three survived.
5. Of the five members in the family of Mytro Shapovalo, only one survived.
6. Of the eight members in the family of Serhiy Mabakh, who was a construction worker, only two survived.

We lived in the town of Okhtyrka, formerly part of Poltavska *Oblast,* now part of Sumska. The majority of inhabitants were craftsmen and traders. In bazaars and market places, you could buy everything needed for human consumption. My father and eldest brother were saddlers by profession. They shod horses and made har-

nesses, saddles, straps and breeches for harnesses and other equine equipment. They worked the leather by hand, which was an arduous task.

My father and thousands and millions of others like him were liquidated as a class. In October of 1929 my father was arrested and sent to Okhtyrka Prison, where he spend one and a half months. The prisoners were forbidden to receive letters or visitors, and packages for the prisoners were accepted near the prison gates. The security at the prison was so heavy that bread was broken into small pieces, containers of *borshch* or *kasha* were stirred, all of the linings were ripped in the clothing. In the month of January he was taken to the Kharkiv Prison on Kholodna Hora. The prison was well-known throughout the entire Ukraine and there is a saying about it that goes: "Those who've never been there, eventually will; those who've been there will never forget."

Father was tried behind closed doors. Neither my mother, nor any witnesses or lawyers were permitted to be present. Father was sentenced to ten years of hard labor at the Solovky Islands. Once, during an interview with my mother, which took place at a halting place on the way to Solovky, father told her that three men had been sentenced for being members in *Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny* (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) and for disrupting a collective farm meeting and agitating against collectivization. Father had never attended meetings or been involved in political affairs, first of all because he didn't have the time and second of all, because he was not interested in these matters. All the charges against him were malicious lies.

In the beginning of 1930 the accursed Communist Party in Moscow issued a directive throughout the entire Ukraine for baked bread, meat, milk, and eggs to be handed over to the government. Those who were unable to pay the tax were subject to punishment: their land was seized, their property was confiscated and they were sentenced to forced labor, at the White Sea Canal, the Moscow-Volga Canal, and Kolyma. The Ukrainian nation was knocked senseless by satanic Moscow which enveloped it. There were protests. The hard-working, God-fearing Ukrainian peasantry was roused to indignation against satanic Moscow, but it received no help in its struggle. Europe and particularly the United States refused to acknowledge the fact that Moscow was making short work of the Ukrainian nation. Moscow's pilfering cliques spread the propaganda of "heaven on earth", for until the First World War and during the period of the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy), the Ukraine fed not only Russia, but almost all of Europe. At the end of 1930, in December, agents of the G.P.U., thieves, members of the *Komsomol* Youth League, and hired laborers arrived. Ivan Boiko appeared on the porch of the house, holding a gun in his hand. From a bandit who robbed people and hid in forests, he now became a leader. Father's entire property was sold--a brick house with five rooms, three store-houses with an iron roof, three cattle-sheds where our horses were kept, a barn for the cattle, a pigsty, a woodshed, three horses, two cows, six sheep, two pigs, twelve chickens, six ducks, and several geese, and one and a half acres of land. The domestic animals and fowl were sold to the collective farm for 180 rubles. Those of our family who were living at home--mother, the three boys and two girls--were all thrown out. They were forbidden to take anything, particularly winter clothing, from the house. This was such a horrible thing for the family that it is difficult to talk about it, and it was difficult to endure it. One simply cannot find the words to describe the feeling of being thrown outside into a half meter of snow with

small children who were crying and screaming. Neighbors and relatives refused to allow us to spend the night in their homes, because they were afraid the same thing might happen to them. A *kurkul,* a *subkurkul (pidkurkul'nyk)* and a *kurkul* sympathizer *(pobichnyk hlytaya)* were all considered to be enemies of the people. Specially selected bandits--members of the *Komsomol* Youth League, agitators, spies of the G.P.U.--followed the directives and instructions of the village soviet and the town government to dispense with these people in any way they wished. Two or three men would arrive at a person's home. They would turn pots upside down, if they found any food in the latter. They would throw everything down from the shelves. These villains behaved like animals toward children and old people.

The reign of terror was so widespread in the Ukraine that it has lasted to this very day, something which the western world, particularly America has never understood and will never understand, until it, itself is forced to suffer the communist paradise of Moscow's creation. The villages and farmsteads of the Okhtyrsky region were either liquidated or the population in these places decreased by one fourth or a half, following the famine of 1933. Death from hunger of children and old people in these areas was so great that special conveyances were utilized to collect the bodies.

Congressman GILMAN: We now have another resident of Glen Spey who wishes to remain anonymous for the record. We understand this sensitivity and because of the concern for relatives residing behind the Iron Curtain, and we are going to ask that we have him come forward. I will just refer to him as Nicholas, and it will be Mr. B. for the record--"B" as in Baker, without any identity. Mr. B., will you please come forward?

TESTIMONY OF MR. "B."

Not too long ago, most of us saw the film *Harvest of Despair.* In that film, I think Grossman's book was mentioned. I think this book should become the text for schools everywhere. There in this book is described emotionally and factually hunger in the Ukraine. Everything that occurs in that book, I have experienced first-hand. For this reason I wish the contents of the book to be documented in our discussion.

In the spring of 1933, I was in Kiev. I was studying. I was a freshman. Of course, schools had to help with the agricultural work. If we were told that--we were told that there was problems in the harvest, and for that reason we had to go to the villages and help out. One working Saturday, one *subotnik,* we were loaded in a car and driven out of the city. We arrived at a nameless village. There was not a soul to be seen. Our purpose was to weed the beets. It was spring and the beets were still growing. For dinner, we received a bowl of *kasha*--for lunch. They gave us wooden spoons so that we would eat this gruel. I asked the leader in charge why--from this village which was very short distance from where we were--why there was such a stench coming in our direction. These were some peasants gathering wild garlic to make dinner, he answered. Later on, I grew thirsty and they wouldn't give us water, so I went towards the village without permission. There I saw a truly horrible picture, just as Grossman describes. Everywhere bodies were sitting and lying and they were decomposing, and

from them was emanating such a stench that I couldn't stand it. The name of the village was Katerynivka, which I discovered later. That is all my experience.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. B. Does anyone have any questions, any of our Commissioners? Mrs. Mazurkevich?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: When you saw that village--when you walked into that village, and you just saw dead bodies and no living people at all--

Mr. B.: Right.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: What did the officials tell you then?

Mr. B.: I was myself--

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: You didn't ask them? You didn't tell them?

Mr. B.: I got out of there--that group. I was--

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: Did you ask? Did you tell them, I came upon this village, and it wasn't garlic that was smelling, it was decomposing bodies.

Mr. B.: You don't understand the situation. You know, everybody was scared. A few of my friends that had some relatives in Poland were arrested and just disappeared from the face of the earth, and nobody asked where and how he disappeared. He was an enemy of the people. And, if you ask, you are--or, at least, you sympathize with the enemy of the people. I was a teenager, but I was experienced in not asking these questions.

Congressman GILMAN: Mr. Marchishin?

Mr. MARCHISHIN: No.

Congressman GILMAN: Anyone from the audience care to address a question to our witness? Father? Thank you very much. We appreciate your taking the time to appear before our Committee. Our next witness, Mr. John Samilenko, Long Island. Mr. Samilenko, thank you for coming before us today.

TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR JOHN SAMILENKO

Honorable Mr. Gilman and members of Committee, ladies and gentlemen, it is now very difficult for me to speak about the great famine and tragedy of Ukrainian 1932-1933. Of course, there is no time to speak more broadly about all that happened, but I would like to mention one thing. This Commission should know very well that what happened 1932-33 in Ukraine was not accidental. Ukraine in 1917-1921 chose a democratic, independent existence, fought for three years against Russian invasions, and the regime which was established in Ukraine was not our wish. It was occupation regime, brought by our enemy, by of Russian Red Army. And, Moscow never trusted Ukrainian people.

My task today to give some information about what happened 1929 and 1932. I lived in the town of Pryluky in Ukraine. My parents were descended from an old Cossack family. When the New Economic Policy was established, the Soviet Government introduced brand new system for model farmers in order to stimulate private agriculture. My father was recognized as a model farmer.

And, finally in 1927 as a Ukrainian "*kulak*", he was disenfranchised. He was subjected to "extraordinary measures". In other words, he was given many and very heavy quotas in grain which were established during this period. And, finally in 1929, my

father was arrested. Before his arrest, my brother, Gregory, and I were expelled from school. My brother, Gregory, had only two months left before graduation from agricultural school. I was studying in a teachers' school but was also expelled and deprived of the right to study in any school in the Soviet Union.

And, finally I escaped to Donbas in order to work in industry and hopefully find some way to continue my education in future. This time in December 1929, my whole family, my father's two brothers, my mother, and my father were arrested. At night time, together with hundred families we were deported to a railroad station, Ichniya, loaded into the train cars and were sent to the Lepsha station.

In December 1931 I discovered a short notice in the *Izvestiya* newspaper that immediate relatives who had been sent to concentration camps could be taken out on bail if they were unable to work any longer. I made up my mind to try to save my father who was dying in the camp, Plesetskaya, which was part of the "Kotlas Svir-Lag" G.P.U. district. After much hardship I finally obtained a pass to visit my father.

It was a deeply emotional meeting. My father's body was completely swollen from lack of food so that he could barely stand on his feet. On the long plank-bed in the barrack where I met my father there were seven bodies. All of them were swollen, like my father. Three of them were already dead, while the other four were delirious and close to death.

The camp was surrounded by barbed wire. Inside the camp the barracks were divided into two large blocks. One was occupied by those who were able to work; the other by the ones who were no longer able to work. These were called *dokhodiashchi,* goners. These, like my father, got very little food, because they were no longer able to work in their brigades.

Everywhere at the camp I saw emaciated dead bodies lying with arms and legs in the air, half buried in the snow. In a conversation with a camp official, I explained that I wanted to take my father away because he was disabled and dying. But this man angrily replied, "But he still has teeth, doesn't he? We will force him to work with his teeth, but remember, his bones will remain here forever!"

After the conversation, I was arrested for legally trying to help my father and sent to a concentration camp for special detainees. I spent eleven months there. One year later I met in this camp a newcomer who had been born in our neighboring village and who had been exiled with his parents to the same camp where I had last seen my father. He told that his parents and my father had died from hunger in the spring of 1932 and that only a very small number of persons had survived. The rest of my family--my mother and two younger brothers, who were in another labor camp, Lepsha--escaped with the help of false documents. My brother, Vasyl, hid in a large bag for the entire journey from the north to Ukraine.

People also helped me escape from the concentration camp where I was sent for wanting to help my father leave the camp. In 1933 these people arranged for me to get a teaching job in the district of Olexandria in Ukraine. I went to the village of Chervonoyarsk to look at a public school there. When I came to that school, I discovered that 75% of the pupils were absent. The authorities refused to tell why this was so, so I decided to go to some village homes to find out the answer myself. In five houses there was no response to my knocking or my calling. All the members of the household had died. From two of the houses came groans. When I entered I saw a

woman on the floor, who pointed with her hand to her three dead children and husband, all of whom died of hunger. In another house I found a man who told me that there had not been anyone in the village for a long time. He was very weak and couldn't walk. He asked me for nothing, except to bury his dead family--his mother, wife and two little children, whose bodies were already decomposed.

When I returned to Olexandria, I wanted to tell the authorities what I had seen. When I began to tell the truth, one man interrupted me in an angry voice: "Who told you to go to those houses?" "Don't poke your nose into what isn't your business," he told me. I did not stay in the area, but left for the Don Basin. I later discovered that the village of Chervonoyarsk had been settled by administratively deported families from the Soviet-Polish border where the Soviets had started to build military fortifications and rid that area of persons of dubious political origins. The new settlers of Chervonoyarsk were placed under military surveillance. They were not permitted to leave the village, and for two months prior to my visit the authorities had left them without food to perish of hunger.

Thank you very much.

Congressman GILMAN: Thank you Mr. Samilenko. Since the hour is late, we are going to withhold any questions unless our Commissioners have questions, of Mr. Samilenko. Mrs. Mazurkevich? We have several more witnesses. I am going to turn the hearing over to our Executive Director, Dr. Mace. Please forgive me for having to go to a prior commitment, but again I want to thank you for taking part today. For the witnesses who were willing to testify, I am certain that it is going to be of a great deal of assistance to all of us. Please stay for the remaining two more witnesses. Dr. Mace, please take the chair.

Dr. MACE: Thank you. I would like to join Congressman Gilman in thanking Professor Samilenko for his extremely valuable testimony. We are extremely grateful for his coming here today. At this time, I would like to call his brother, Mr. Wasyl Samilenko.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WASYL SAMILENKO

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. As you have heard, my brother has given much accurate and truthful information, but I would like to narrate a few episodes concerning myself. It was the end of 1929, the fall. I was 13. It was in the evening when the O.G.P.U. came in a wagon into my home. Inside my house was my mother and my whole family. The senior O.G.P.U. officer took out papers and read before my entire family this order. Take only that which you can wear and take something to eat. You are under arrest. And, they took us all outside and placed us in the wagon. They took us to the railroad station far away called Ichniya. We rode the entire night. At the station there were cattle cars used for loading cattle and other types of domestic animals. They opened the doors and shut us all in. They didn't tell us--they shut the doors, didn't tell us where they were going. There was no air, except from tiny vents on the roof of the cars. We rode for a little over a week. Nobody was permitted to go out. Nobody could relieve themselves outdoors. Everything, all the refuse was discharged through the windows.

On our way to Archangel, we stopped at a station called Lepsha and there is where we were told to disembark. When the people who were interred in the cattle car came out, they were told to separate into two groups--the men on one side, the women and the children on the other side. We were told that our fathers were leaving to do work--to do forest labor and that they would return in a week or so. The children and mothers were led along a snowy path. They were beaten to make them hurry along, and they were taken to a place where some barracks were standing and some were under construction. In the barracks there was only one stove for all the people who had arrived by the cattle cars. It was impossible to get any more heat. There were beds. People were all over the place. Some lay on top of the stove. Some were scattered all over the place. There was no food. They didn't give us any food. We were forced to subsist on the food which the women had brought with them to finish that off, and they gave us some liquid food, some soup and some sardines once in awhile. A week passed and people began to fall sick, and because the barracks were not heated, children began to die. A week passed, longer--our fathers did not return. When we questioned what had happened to them, we were given no answers.

After some time, some of our relatives arrived with false documents indicating that my mother was not a prisoner, but in fact had come to visit a relative who was in prison in that place. With those false documents, she was able to escape. There were no false documents for me and I was forced to travel the entire way in a large bag my mother made. All throughout the train ride, I was forced to lie under the seat where my mother was sitting. She fed me scraps until we got out of the danger zone in about three or four days. Thank you. This is one of my episodes from my life.

Dr. MACE: Thank you very much. Do we have any questions from either Mr. Marchishin or Mrs. Mazurkevich? Do we have any questions from the audience for either Mr. Samilenko or Professor Samilenko? We had to cut it a little bit short, because the Congressman had to leave. That being the case, I hereby close this meeting.

(Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned at 4:30 p.m.)

HEARING

Friday,
November 7, 1986

Church Hall,
Church of
St. Volodymyr
and St. Olha

Superior
and Oakley Streets,
Chicago, Illinois

The commission met at 2:00 p.m.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

MR. DAVID ROTH, Chairman
DR. MYRON KUROPAS
MS. ULANA MAZURKEVICH
DR. OLEH WERES

ALSO PRESENT:

DR. JAMES E. MACE, Staff Director
DR. OLGA SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV, Staff Assistant and Interpreter

WITNESSES:

MS. ANNA PYLYPIUK
MS. ANNA PORTNOV
MR. VALENTIN KOCHNO
DR. HELEN K.
MS. ALAINA B.
MR. STEPHEN C.
MS. LYDIA K.
MR. L. KASIAN
MR. LEONID A.
MS. VALENTINA D.

PROCEEDINGS

Mr. ROTH: Ladies and gentlemen.

I declare this hearing in Chicago open, and I welcome you.

I am David Roth, an *ex officio* member of the Commission, and we have several public members of the Commission here. I will be asking them to introduce themselves and to make some opening statements.

My statement is brief. I think this is an important event for all of us in Chicago and for the City of Chicago. I know this is a terribly, terribly important event for Ukrainian-Americans and for their friends in other ethnic, religious and minority communities who care very much about a tragedy that we have come to know a lot more about, thanks to the attention that recent publications have brought to the subject and because of this Commission. That is why the meeting of this Commission in Chicago, which is one of the great centers where Ukrainian-Americans have reached out to friends and other communities like mine and on this issue, very clearly, have made common purpose with other people. That occurs in Chicago, which is one of the reasons why the Commission is here.

So I want to welcome you to what I think is a very significant event in Chicago.

I am going to ask the other members of the Commission, before we take testimony from witnesses, if they have opening statements.

My distinguished colleague, Dr. Myron Kuropas.

STATEMENT OF DR. MYRON KUROPAS

Thank you, David.

This is the third in a series of Commission hearings. As you know, the Commission has been in existence for less than a year. The public members met for the first time less than a year ago. We are finally having these hearings. We started out with hearings in Washington in October. We had hearings in Glen Spey the early part of this month and now we have these hearings here in Chicago.

Our intention is to provide a series of depositions, provide a series of testimonies from various survivors and witnesses, so that it becomes a part of the record of the Commission. This is a very important hearing. We have witnesses and survivors today that really have something very significant to contribute to the total testimony.

We would like to welcome all of the guests here. I am especially happy to welcome representatives of the Social Studies Department of the Chicago Board of Education with whom we work very, very hard, and they have worked very hard to help us with our Famine Institute tomorrow. We invite those of you who can make it to come; although it is primarily for American schoolteachers, those who teach in American schools, we would like to have you here to serve as official hosts and hostesses.

Mr. ROTH: My distinguished colleague on my right, your left, Ulana Mazurkevich.

STATEMENT OF MS. ULANA MAZURKEVICH

It is very important for us to have these hearings. The work of the Commission will provide a documentation that has not been accepted in the free world as such. Few people in the world know about the great tragedy that occurred in 1932-33. Few people know that seven million Ukrainians perished. It is the duty and responsibility of this Commission to bring these figures up to inform the public about this great tragedy, and we count on the support of the Ukrainian community to come forward with the testimony so that these facts can be made.

If I may comment on the work of my Commissioner, Myron Kuropas, his work here and the workshop that he is holding tomorrow on the famine for the Illinois educators has been outstanding. Through this kind of effort, the Ukrainian Famine will not remain just a footnote to history. It will gain its rightful page as one of the great tragedies, one of the major genocides in the world.

Mr. ROTH: Dr. Kuropas would like to introduce someone.

Dr. KUROPAS: As you know, for the Famine Institute tomorrow, all teachers will be receiving one hour of graduate credit from Northern Illinois University. I am very pleased to introduce at this time the Professor of Records for that particular institute, Dr. Homer Sherman from Northern Illinois University.

Mr. ROTH: Welcome, Dr. Sherman.

Mr. Weres.

STATEMENT OF DR. OLEH WERES

Thank you. Actually, I'm the member from California, but, as many of you may remember, I actually grew up just to the other side of Humboldt Park here, so this is a homecoming for me.

I would like to speak on a slightly more optimistic vein. What we have seen in the last few years since our 50th Anniversary commemorations of the famine nationwide is the establishment of this Commission, the release of the excellent documentary film *Harvest of Despair,* and publication of Dr. Conquest's book *The Harvest of Sorrow.*

The establishment of the Commission is a major statement of the Congress of the United States, recognizing the importance of the famine and, of course, the book and the film are doing a tremendous service of making the events of the famine known to the general public.

The Famine Commission will do another invaluable service of collecting additional raw materials, like the eyewitness testimonies that we will be collecting today, and those materials will be published and made accessible for future historians doing additional work on the famine.

Finally, it is very heartening to see the interest of professional educators, and I congratulate Dr. Kuropas for putting together both this hearing and the sessions tomorrow. I would like to thank all of you who are here for your interest and your contribution in this matter. I would also like to thank the people who have come here to bear witness at this hearing.

Thank you.

Mr. ROTH: In the early years, for those of us who did not know much about this great tragedy, in the early years of our learning about it, there was a point that Myron made that I thought was very telling and that was that this just didn't happen to seven million anonymous people. It happened to seven million and, perhaps, many more individuals, each of whom had a story to tell and did not survive to tell it. Therefore, it is incumbent on those who are alive, and who have those individual stories, to tell those stories. But it is painful. That is something that we understand in my community. It is very painful for people who were witnesses often to do this.

It is, therefore, a courageous act that we are going to witness today and a very, very important act. What the Commission is doing in the gathering of personal, eyewitness testimony is extremely important because the record is the foundation upon which the Commission will act and indeed the promise of the Commission was that it would establish a credible eyewitness record.

So, with that, I think it is appropriate to open the hearing. I understand that our first witness will be Mrs. Anna Pylypiuk. Anna, could you come forward.

DR. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: At the request of our first witness, Mrs. Anna Pylypiuk, I will be reading a translation of her text. Upon the completion of the translation, you are free to ask Mrs. Pylypiuk any questions you wish, either in Ukrainian or in English. The Ukrainian questions will be translated by me.

TESTIMONY OF MS. ANNA PYLYPIUK OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In the spring of 1933, when I was not yet twelve years old, I witnessed the anguish of countless innocent people tortured by hunger and terror. I saw people buried alive. Like other members of my generation, I bear the emotional scars to this day. It is very hard to endure incessant humiliation and persecution, particularly in one's own native land and home. May this brief recollection of my childhood help you preserve the memory of those who are no longer with us. May it also help you record the criminal deeds of those responsible for so much suffering.

My early childhood was spent in the town of Kaharlyk which is located south of Kiev, near the town of Trypillia. I recall that my father and grandfather had a large library. Both of them held degrees in agriculture and were interested in botany. They kept bees and conducted experiments in the grafting of fruit trees.

I began attending school in 1928. For a short time all was wonderful. We were taught in Ukrainian by dedicated teachers. Then things began to change. I understood very little of what was going on. The tresses of all girls were cut off. My grandparents and parents were shocked by this. I remember that we were forbidden to accompany our parents to church. We were told that religion was an opium. In order to demonstrate that we were not enemies of the people we had to stop wearing crosses and religious medals.

Every day men on horses came to our house to notify us about meetings at the collective farm or the village soviet. My father frequently came back very late from these meetings and this worried everyone. Every time we waited for his return, we lit a candle beneath the icons and prayed with my grandfather and grandmother. Eventually we were told to take down our icons and replace them with a sickle and hammer and a portrait of Stalin. Activists came to our house to check if we had carried out

this order. Our house was searched several times and many of my father's notes and books were confiscated.

One autumn night in 1929, on the feast of Mary the Protectress (old style), our house was thoroughly searched. More books were confiscated while the remainder was destroyed. My father was taken away in a "Black Raven" (a vehicle used to remove prisoners). The men who arrested him did not give us a reason. My brothers and I cried so much that our lips became dry and our bodies cold. This was my eighth birthday.

The next day we went to the center of town and tried to see father in order to give him a food parcel. But there was a large crowd of people waiting around the prison. We realized that grief had been visited on everyone. Soon our father was transferred to Lukianivka Prison in Kiev. My stepmother and I traveled there. On the streets around Lukianivka large crowds of women and children milled for weeks on end in an attempt to see their fathers and husbands. These women were frequently attacked by hooligans who, after robbing them, would gather along the docks in the Podil (in Russian: *Podol*) district of the capital. There the hooligans would lie down naked on piles of straw, raise their legs in the air and shout, "We are fulfilling the five-year plan."

Father was taken to Murmansk to serve a ten-year sentence, leveling forests in the name of socialism. We never found out what charges had been brought against him. Grandfather was forced to give up his entire field to the collective farm, because there was no one left to work it. With time our family's orchard was confiscated by the authorities.

I shall never forget the First of May celebration in 1930. In school we were told to get ready for this day. Loudspeakers played *The Internationale* over and over again. It alternated with another song, *Moscow, My Most Beloved Country, Vanquished by No One*. On the way to school I dropped by to pick up my girl friend, Tonia (Antonia). But when I arrived at her house I was shocked to see that her entire family had been evicted.

Tonia's father, Ivan Sh., had built a brand new house with his very own hands. He was a tall man and had a very gentle disposition. The neighbors all loved him. Tonia's family was forcibly thrown out to make room for some kind of exemplary activist. Later Tonia's father was taken away to Siberia. All of his farming equipment lay idle and turned rusty; his yard was overrun with weeds. Tonia's mother, brothers and sisters were assigned to live in a cattle shed.

I was late for the parade that day. The sun caused the blood to rush to my nose, but I endured it. I endured it because I did not want to be an enemy of the people. I became apathetic to all things connected with school.

Sometime after this, the "bread collection" began. Every day a brigade consisting of several sturdy men headed by a *Chekist* came to our house. He had medals on his chest and people called him Comrade Fisher. He ordered his men to pierce all the walls, ceilings and floor with long ramrods. He threatened the men by saying that they would be arrested if they did not find any grain. Fisher began to tease my stepmother and to provoke her with various unpleasant jokes. My brothers and I cried. Once my stepmother was so furious that she grabbed one of father's joiner instruments and threw it against the stove. The instrument rebounded and nearly struck Fisher in the head. After this incident my stepmother was repeatedly summoned to court. She was

forced to sell almost all of her shawls and the family's rich embellished sheepskin coats in order to bribe the investigator, a Comrade Shidlovich or Shidlovski (I do not recall his name exactly).

Once my stepmother was accused of conducting religious propaganda. As evidence of this, they pointed to a shawl embroidered in a pattern resembling crosses. She explained that the shawl had been bought at the market and told the judge that, instead of persecuting her, he should punish the man who sold her such a scarf.

When spring of 1932 arrived we had no seeds for sowing the small plot that remained. My stepmother and I eked out a living by plowing the plots of our neighbors. But later our horse was taken, and we had to plow with our own hands. The neighbors said they had seen our horse at the home of one of the activists. We needed money to buy bread; so in the summer I went to wash pots at the butter factory.

This factory got its milk from the peasants, who were left with nothing to feed their own children. In the evening only those peasants who had surrendered their quota of milk were able to buy one liter of buttermilk for 20 kopecks. Butter made at the factory was exported to Moscow and Leningrad. Cheese made from the milk, was dried to the hardness of rock and utilized by the airline industry to make some sort of "buttons". One day I was so hungry that I stole some of this cheese. It was very hot and I nearly choked on it because the inspector caught me eating it. As a result, he fired me from the job. I recall a ditty we used to sing: *"The sickle and hammer hang on the wall, death is near, but there is nothing to eat for us all."*

My memories of the year 1933-34 are painfully vivid. Every morning at 3:00 a.m. I would take the cow to pasture. I walked barefoot along the cold wet grass. A portion of the milk we had I carried to the butter factory. I sold the remainder to buy bread. Not a cut was left for us. Then I would go out into the field to look for last year's frozen potatoes; I used them to make potato pancakes. For soup I would collect all sorts of pigweed. Because my stepmother had to work at the collective farm I looked after my younger brothers. She was also forced to gather bodies from the streets and the houses.

Once, when she was away, I found some millet chaff. Not knowing any better I cooked the chaff in water and greedily ate it. Immediately I experienced severe stomach cramps. My stomach swelled, and I became constipated. My rectal passage began to bleed profusely. My brother was frightened. He thought I was dying and dragged me to the clinic. I crawled three kilometers to get there. There an old nurse yelled at me in Russian, calling me "a stupid little *khakholka*" (a derogatory term for Ukrainian). She told me to cure myself with my fingers and pushed me outside the clinic. My brother ran to get another nurse. He came back with one who spoke Ukrainian, and she helped me out with an enema. When we returned home our stepmother was already there. She had noticed the blood on the floor and immediately thought that someone had attacked us and eaten us. Rumors of such things were widespread at the time. There was a mad woman who killed her children one-by-one and fed them to the others. From then on, my stepmother left my brother with grandmother and took me with her on her daily rounds because she was afraid for me.

Her route took her from the market place to the church cemetery. Swollen bodies of young and old lay along the route. Women like my stepmother had to pile them

quickly into wagons and drive them to the cemetery. Once there, men--punished for refusing to join the collective farm--were forced to dig graves for the bodies. The activists did nothing but supervise. Once an old and very weak woman was about to be buried. She begged me in a whisper to fetch some water to quench her thirst. I ran and got her some water in a bottle. An activist saw this and shoved me into the grave on top of the woman. My stepmother pleaded for permission to pull me out and even promised him a bottle of vodka. After that incident my stepmother never again took me with her. I was so frightened by what had happened that I could not talk for several days. I saw dead bodies in my dreams and screamed a lot. I ran a fever. My grandfather asked what was the matter but I did not tell him what happened at the cemetery.

Soon after that my grandfather fell sick with malaria, and I had to tend to his needs. One time I ran over to the sugar beet factory. Not far from the factory there was a wide field. Piles of beets lay covered with straw and sand. I wanted to see if I could take some beets for dinner. Instead I saw bloody corpses of people who had tried to get to the beets. They had been shot by guards who stood on an elevated platform. I returned home empty-handed. Behind the house there was a huge cellar, and I crawled inside to cry. There I found a large bottle of cod-liver oil which my parents had used long ago to soften shoe leather and the horse's harness. Drinking that cod-liver oil saved me from starvation. From then on I would mix the oil with cow salt (I could only break down the lumps of salt. Lumpy as it was, this constituted a meal!) On the street everyone turned away from me because I did not smell very well from such a diet.

One day my granduncle Nychypir, i.e. my grandfather's brother, came to our house. He was all swollen and tired because he had walked a great distance. He told our grandfather that he did not want anything from us; he knew that we had no more than he did. The only thing our granduncle wanted was for us children to help him get to the family graves so that he could die there. The old man embraced our grandfather who could no longer move. My brother and I proceeded to fulfill our granduncle's last request. When he finally reached the cemetery gate he fell, his swollen legs refusing to carry him any further. He died shortly after: flies covered his entire body; water flowed form his legs. The side of the road was strewn with bodies. Frightened, we rushed home. The following day our stepmother buried him with the help of neighbors. Soon after, father's cousin informed us that one of grandfather's sisters had also died. I don't know what happened to his other sisters because they lived far away. I do know that all my uncles died. In fact, almost all our close relatives died.

In the summer of 1933 I could no longer take the cow to pasture. My legs were swollen and covered with sores, I was unable to walk. My stepmother had to place me on the chamber pot because I could no longer do it by myself. She surrendered our cow to the collective farm and tried to bring back from there whatever she could. This, however, was not much because the milk had to be handed over to the authorities. Meat, eggs--everything--had to be given to them. On a regular basis we would be sent various papers telling us to pay for this or that. We had to pay taxes and some other kind of "obligations". My stepmother chopped down trees and sold them as firewood. This is how we survived till autumn. On my twelfth birthday I still could not walk. My eyes were covered with sores.

Grandfather died on Christmas Eve (old style) in January of 1934. We had a big problem burying him because it was a harsh winter. The ground was frozen solid. My stepmother turned to the collective farm and to the village soviet. She begged them to bury my grandfather because she lacked the means of resources to do it herself. She told them that insofar as they now controlled her private property, it was their responsibility to bury her father-in-law. When they refused she turned to the neighbors and told them they could each cut down a tree from her former orchard, as long as they would help with the burial. They all agreed because everyone needed firewood. For that my stepmother was summoned to court because she had destroyed government property. She fought them every way she could. She reminded them that my grandfather had owned this property years before the Soviets came to power.

In late 1934 I tried to make up for lost schooling. There were no books. We were not taught anything about the Ukraine. It was all about Russia, the Communist Party and the Soviet Paradise. Sometime after that I became an orphan and began to move from neighbor to neighbor, from job to job... Finally I moved to Kiev. There my lot improved only slightly. Never again did I see those members of the family who survived.[1]

This was the childhood that I and many other Ukrainian children had.

Mr. ROTH: Do any of my colleagues on the Commission have questions, before we open it to the audience?

We are going to take additional testimony now.

Dr. KUROPAS: I have a question to ask. You mentioned that your father was taken away, in the beginning of your testimony. Do you know what the reason was, why he was taken away?

Ms. PYLYPIUK: There wasn't any reason. The parents never talked in front of us children because I heard one time that grandfather says, "Please, don't talk around the children, because it is harmful for the children. They have seen enough already." But I heard that he was an intellectual. He had a big library. He researched all kinds of fruits and cross-matched different kinds of fruits. The books, the library, everything, was destroyed. Everything disappeared. I could never see them any more. And that must be the reason. He was not prominent, but he was an intellectual and he was, I suppose, then just considered unreliable by the government. That's the reason why he was taken away. There was some kind of lie, rumors against, that he was an anti-communist, but I never heard from parents that he was ever in the war against the communists, because he was working day and night in his orchard, with his bees, and was always busy. He collected the fruits and even we children helped collect fruits and whatever else their was, to take to market or whatever. So I really couldn't say what was the reason. I only know that after they called me *khakhlushka* (little Uke). Well, I had a really lonely relationship in school. I couldn't even be--I was just only Anna. I couldn't be more because I was *khakhlushka.*

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1 I do not wish to give the name of my family in order to protect the surviving members who are still living in the U.S.S.R.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: During that time, during the famine, you were saying you had a lot of unpleasantness with your schoolmates. Classes were going on then, and children were attending classes during this time?

Ms. PYLYPIUK: We were forced to go to school. We were forced to attend the school every single day. Feel like it or not feel like it, we had to go. In the beginning, before the collectivization, school was beautiful. It was nice. The teacher was a very good teacher to us and would teach us all subjects in the Ukrainian language.

Suddenly, all books disappeared; only one book for one town, and we had to come together and read the book. What we read in the book, no more about Ukrainian culture, not any more Ukrainian music; just only about the communist, the Stalinist paradise that the Communist Party would bring for us. We were not supposed to go to the church with the parents because we then will be declared anti-

How would you say that--

Dr. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: Enemies of the people.

Ms. PYLYPIUK: So that way, going to school one day; and one day don't go to school; and that's the way how school was going.

Dr. WERES: Mrs. Pylypiuk, where did this take place? What part of Ukraine?

Ms. PYLYPIUK: Around 80 or 60 miles south of Kiev, near famous Trypillia.

From older people, which I remember, when they were with my father, I heard it was the very center of culture before the revolution. There were even big palaces, but I never saw that any more. The older people told me that it was destroyed by the activists, communists, and everything. So there only remained some different buildings, and instead of those beautiful marble statues, which had been there, they put the statue of Lenin.

Mr. ROTH: Any more questions from my colleagues?

(No response)

Thank you very much, Mrs. Pylypiuk.

Ms. PYLYPIUK: You are entirely welcome. It is very hard for me because I see those bodies, and I hear those voices. It is very hard to be peaceful all the time. I cannot forget it, even though I wish I could. I would like to forget at least one moment to establish a normal life, but it is too hard because the memory is there for all my life.

Mr. ROTH: Have you ever told the story before now in a public way?

Ms. PYLYPIUK: I don't remember when Dr. Mace was here, one time; so he asked whoever witnessed this, could you tell? It is hard to remember those stories, but I did tell the best I was able. That's only one time. Of course I share my story all the time with my friends at work, with my neighbors, because when I tell, I feel like I get rid of all those things. I feel lifted a little bit that I fulfilled some part of my obligation to those dead bodies and those persecuted.

Mr. ROTH: I think we have an obligation to listen, and I am very glad that you shared the difficult story with us.

Ms. PYLYPIUK: It was a very difficult story. I tell you the truth, but what should I do? I cannot help it.

Mr. ROTH: It is important that you do what you just did and thank you very much.

Ms. PYLYPIUK: You are entirely welcome. I am glad to narrate whatever comes to my memory.

Mr. ROTH: And you will stay with us here today, please?

Ms. PYLYPIUK: Okay. Thank you.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

I understand our next witness will be Mrs. Anna Portnov, who is from Chicago now and who immigrated from the Soviet Union in 1978. She was recently awarded the title of Outstanding New American by the Metropolitan Chicago Citizenship Council. So, Mrs. Portnov, thank you for coming here and welcome. Please tell your story.

TESTIMONY OF MS. ANNA PORTNOV OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

My story is not so long. I had this speech prepared in Ukrainian and was happy to talk all day and now in English.

I was asked to write my reminiscences of the years 1932-33 in the Ukraine.

To make it brief, it was one long and most terrible nightmare. All the American thrillers seem to me quite childish, in comparison.

I was born in Kiev. I lived at that time with my grandparents, 60 miles from the capital, in a small town of Bila Tserkva, which is in English "White Church". The church was closed, though still white, but the light all around was marred black.

I was in high school and was often sent to surrounding villages to help with collectivization, particularly to organize children in pioneer organizations and through them to influence the elderly to enter the collective farm.

The population of the villages was extremely hostile to all of us, old and young. Why? I have to go back several years. Several years before I remember having come to one of those villages when I was quite a little preschool child. My mother's aunts and grandmother used to live there. It was a remote village and though the revolution had already had its toll, as I will explain later on, but the people were still composed and even cheerful and on the holidays there were a lot of good, tasty things on the table and Ukrainian beauties were wearing the well-known beads, especially coral beads and silver-coin necklaces and many silk ribbons hanging from the crowns of braids and their self-embroidered colorful blouses. It was so beautiful.

But soon all that beauty disappeared. When, as a school girl already, I came there again in the early '30s, I could see grave swollen faces or hollow cheeks and big eyes of women, men and children. It was famine in the rich lands of the Ukraine.

We also saw anger directed at us. We wanted to speak to the children, but they were not allowed to contact us. There was one boy, Pyotr, by name, Peter, who followed us though. He said his parents had died from hunger. We shared with him the little food we had, and he told us in whispers that the party people who came from the city had taken absolutely everything from the households. They cleaned out all the hiding places where some corn or beets for the children was reserved. Those that offered resistance were shot or sent to Siberia. The kids were shot. We heard they were asking too many questions. We were taught at schools that were Russian. The questions remained unanswered, and we were ordered to keep quiet; and their dogs decided to take us home.

I remember a pitch-dark night in the forest, through which we made our way home in a cart harnessed by a horse. Every now and then we heard shots quite close. Up to now I don't know whether they came from the new bosses, the Bolsheviks I mean, or from the peasants.

In the town, I remember a woman peasant who used to sleep on the porch, all swollen, her face, her legs, her hands, wrapped in a big gray checked shawl. I always brought her something to eat, as I was hungry myself, and I will never forget the haunted look of her red eyes. I remember I had a certain feeling of guilt because I had more than she had, she, who was a bread maker before. I saw many swollen people, but that woman's image is in my memory so vividly. I never forgive and never forget the murderers who killed thousands upon thousands of innocent people. I want to add something. I know that the people throughout the Soviet Union suffered from the Soviets, the Bolshevik rulers, but the Ukraine was, and will always be, my homeland. I felt with all my being the misery of my people and what happened to the rich land, washed with tears and blood, that up to now there isn't inner resistance, in spite of the fact that the government has been doing their bad things to the people.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you, Mrs. Portnov.

Questions from my colleagues?

Dr. KUROPAS: I have a question. When did you leave Soviet Ukraine?

Ms. PORTNOV: In 1978.

Dr. KUROPAS: Yes. What did you do after the famine? Did you say that you were a schoolteacher?

Ms. PORTNOV: I became a schoolteacher later on.

Dr. KUROPAS: Was there ever any mention in the textbooks or in the history of the famine?

Ms. PORTNOV: No. I have to write the day before yesterday and couldn't sleep of a night. I have to tell you that the *kulaks* that you mentioned, practically, they had never been *kulaks,* as they describe, that they were terrible people who killed their people who worked for them, and they were exploiters. It is wrong. They were just good citizens. They could work. They loved to work, and they made whatever they could. I know that there were very poor people, also, then, but they were always drunk or they didn't want to work that way. But those which were called *seredniaks* or *kulaks* practically were just very good peasant farmers who wanted to make the best from the earth. To tell you the truth, I, over there, couldn't stand the Soviet powers. One of the reasons was that such abundance, such a rich country as the Ukraine was. Now they have to buy corn, bread from other countries, from the United States and from Canada. It is unbelievable. I cannot take it, what the collectivization made in the Ukraine and in other parts of the Soviet Union.

It is a terrible experience to have to tell you. There are mostly Ukrainians here, but I know--since I have taken the floor, I want to add something. Americans don't appreciate what they have. Through the whole history, since I remember my life in the Soviet Union, it was from hunger to famine and from famine to hunger. It was one terrible long experience that you cannot forget. And here, sometimes, you hear "Oh, this is more expensive," or "We don't have that and this," and I think, "Oh, my God, I wish my relatives and my friends who are still there--if they could come to the supermarket, they would buy everything from beginning to end."

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: I think it is very commendable for you to come out and speak up, having immigrated only eight years ago from that terrible regime because

there are a lot of people that have been living here for such a long time that are afraid to speak up publicly. That is very commendable.

Let me ask you: When you were going to school then and the number of your classmates was always being decimated. The numbers were being lowered because of the famine, the children were dying in your class. What was the official statement by the schoolteachers? What were they saying when the numbers were so low?

Ms. PORTNOV: They told them that they were rich, that they had to be isolated. They never answered those questions. The whole thing, it is a hypocritical regime. They never would answer. They could not find an answer, but the truth was known by the children. I know what it is.

Dr. WERES: Yes, I have a question.

Here in the United States we have freedom of speech, scholarship and press, so we in the Ukrainian community, at least, have always known about the famine and, obviously, in the Ukraine, people of your generation who were witnesses of the events know that, but would people born since the war be aware of these events, that they happened in the Ukraine?

Do young people, do people in the Ukraine who were not witnesses of the famine, know about it?

Ms. PORTNOV: Oh, yes, because they get it from everybody else, from grandparents, parents, and the graveyards. Everybody knows.

Dr. WERES: Why do you want Americans to know this story? Why should we know?

Ms. PORTNOV: Because, first of all, I will tell you that I am, and all those who came from the Soviet Union, for a very strong America. We want Americans to be aware of what revolution brought to Russia, to that very rich country. We want America to be strong, have a very strong defense.

Do you hear me?

Dr. WERES: Oh, yes. You are doing well.

Ms. PORTNOV: We don't want another Cuba here in our America. Whenever I had the chance en route from the Soviet Union to here, I was asked, "Did I have a lot to tell?" I used to tell the same story, if you get a look at the Soviet Union, what it was. And now if you get a look at the map, how many countries suffer because they thought that revolution brought something good? How many even were deceived? I want it, at least, here in America to be spoken about. And in Vienna, I want people to know what only hunger is theirs. Of course, liberty, fraternity, they thought that I was a little girl and my father and my grandfather, all a generation of teachers. We were welcome, but it made us hate the revolution. It always deprives you of very simple things, even of a dress, of another piece of bread, a piece of meat, of anything, and of human dignity, first of all.

You cannot go there any more. You cannot go here and come back. I wish I could see my friends and relatives, but I cannot. If they would open the borders of the Soviet Union, 99 percent would leave that country.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you, Mrs. Portnov.

Our next testimony will come from Mr. Valentin Kochno.

TESTIMONY OF MR. VALENTIN KOCHNO

Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

My name is Valentin Kochno. I have come from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. My father was very active and was really one of the organizers of the church after the revolution in 1917.

Doctor, I have forgotten your name.

(Dr. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: Samilenko-Tsvetkov)

Dr. Samilenko called to my house yesterday and that was a very, very short time to give that testimony and everything I saw during that part of my life in the Soviet Union from my birthday to 1943, but it is unbelievable in a couple of hours, you know, to explain and to be a witness of what personally my family was persecuted by the Bolsheviks, especially myself, my brother and my sister, because we were children of enemies of the people. At that time, religion was, they said, like an opium for people. Together, to give children of the *kulak* and that Ukrainian priests, we were in the same line, mostly discriminated against children.

At that time when my father was priest in that village, that village was very, very big. There was only one church, a beautiful church. Already in the fall of 1931, there was already was sent commissars, one Russian and one another different nationality. And particularly that's already started. I heard some, you know, form other witnesses when I was in the village of Horodetsko. That was started already in the late '31. But, basically, you know, I was a witness in that area, particularly the village of Horodetsko, that is in the region of Uman, I was a witness of what took place in that area, in the morning near the village of Horodetsko and the region of Uman.

Moscow sent two representatives, one a Russian and the other of a different nationality, and they started to organize the so-called Committee of Non-Wealthy Peasants, *komnezam*. When it appeared that the famine had begun, the number of *komnezamy*[2] was increased in the village. These *komnezamy* were composed of the worst criminal elements of the local population. These were either the lazy loiterers or the criminals that did not want to do anything and only stole and were the best known criminals of the entire village. So, at first, there was a small number of them but already, from 1931 to the end, I remember that my father and my mother said to me that there were more than ten. One thing that I can underline, at the beginning of the famine, the leading class of the village was arrested and destroyed; for instance, the Ukrainian teachers, the church choir director and all of the village what they called "*inteligentsiya*". And there were big attacks on the church. The priest was arrested and my father was arrested seven times. He was kept in cold water in the basement cellar so that he would denounce and leave, because they wanted to get rid of him from the village of Horodetsko. But it is clear that my father was suffering, and I can testify that this was through covert activity.

In the evening they surrounded the entire village. First, they robbed from the *kurkuls*, and they were removed. Then when only the "middle class" was left, they

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2 Plural of *komnezam*.

started taking away their grain and foodstuffs. And later, what I can never forget as long as I live, they drove their two vehicles, *"pidvody"*, each carrying eight to twelve men. They were all *komnezam* members. They were riding with their legs hung over the sides, and with rifles they started from yard to yard to kill all dogs. After this, when they destroyed all the dogs, they started gathering all foodstuffs. They started taking all grain, livestock and everything that was left. They went from house to house and barn to barn. They even had special gadgets to check the yards to see if people had buried any grain or other food products underground.

After this came the winter and in my class there were approximately thirty students. The famine started. It was winter. People started dying, and the worst tragedy occurred in the spring. I witnessed that the friends from my class, when it got warm by the end of April and beginning of May, when we came out on the street or pasture to play, I saw with my eyes that those who were skinny in winter swelled up now, that the water went through their bodies, so much that it was hard to recognize anyone. Then their skin started ripping in their lower legs, so the water pressure burst their feet just in the same place where Jesus Christ was nailed to the cross and flowed out with blood. Within thirty to forty-five minutes, he fell down and was dead.

I would like to return to these criminals. When my father was brought into the village of Horodetsko, it was hard to find living quarters. One poor family took us into their house which consisted of two rooms with a hallway. We lived in one room. That family had a son. He was known in the village as a thief. He did not work at all. He drank. He slept during the day and went out at night.

There were such occurrences. When my father was in the church and my mother was directing the choir, once when I came home from school, I saw him coming out of our room, carrying food and other articles. First, he ran into his room. I bring this out to show what elements the Bolshevik government used to carry out their programs. Further, I witnessed when the majority of the *kurkuls* were thrown out and removed to Siberia. I think this was when there were very poor children and a very hard winter. Usually, you know, the children in the home started crying. At that time, the parents started to protect and just keep quiet the children, but basically, you know, just the opposite. They try to separate the children from the parents and the children's parents resisted. First, they took the small child. I was witness when they throwed him in the snow. Then the mother, you know, trying to grab him. Finally, they grab everything. They would put something in the water, like a carrier, and in a couple of an hours, they would disappear from the entire village.

They started going after the "middle class." I saw this Levko. There was one pasture near the church. I saw a procession of *komnezamy,* and this Levko, with his pistol unholstered leading a man who had a cow's head tied to his neck. That head was bleeding, you know. It was terrible. They gathered the whole village and said that this is a *kurkul,* an enemy of the people, and other accusations, that he killed a cow from the collective and, thus, they were serving the people. You know, he was resistant to giving his last cow. Especially at that time the cow was very important source of their living because it was milk for the children and for cheese-making. And at that particular time, he had only one cow. Finally, the Bolshevik told him, "You must give the cow to us, to volunteer to the cause." He said, "That's my only source of life." He had

finally decided to kill the cow to use the meat, but that was the procedure to show the entire village what can happen, what everybody can expect later on.

In the spring of 1932, almost two-thirds of the villagers died from starvation. Our family was saved only because by the spring of 1932, we were all swollen, my brother, my sister and my father. I was, too, because I was more active and every morning my mother awaken me because I was, compared to my brother and my sister, more healthy and we took a shower, and we go off, you know, outside of the vicinity where there was a garden where the family had already completely died, you know. And there had just been a snow and right around it was very cold and the earth was frozen about three or four feet, but we digged and found some potatoes or carrots or beets not picked up. That was what made your food and for that reason we survived.

But another reason why our family survived was because my father and my mother decided to, because at that time it was a dark sin to exchange family jewelry for the food, that was special made, and basically because my father was priest, every year they came to confiscate, take their wedding rings, the rings on my mother's hand and on my father's hand, and besides that our family history is approximately, we know now, 300 years old. My father had from his grandparents a pocket watch and that was gold. Finally, my father survived the first war in 1921, and just by a miracle he survived. He said that we must survive with my children. My mother took the watch and the rings. My father told mother, "You just walk to Uman, to the Archbishop that performed the marriage. He will help you because you are dressed like a city woman. Maybe he will give you a paper, and you go to Moscow." In every city the control was very strong. My father was okay, but my mother was still in Ukraine. He decided to try to reach Moscow because Moscow was safer and had more available food. She was very lucky and made it to Moscow. She exchanged gold for food. She traded her jewelry for grain and margarine. If my mother had not returned, my brother would have died within a day or two. She came at a critical time when my brother was already completely swollen, as were my father, my sister, and I, especially in the spring. That's how we survived from starvation.

After 1933, although our family survived, many people were arrested. They tried to press my father, because he was very popular, to give up the priesthood and make a statement on the radio and in the press, that religion was the opium of people. In the Russian church, there were many priests that would make that statement but, by contrast, in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church we had very few such individuals. Some Ukrainian priests did give up the priesthood and make such a statement, but compared to the statements of members of the Russian church or some other church, in our Ukrainian Church, such statements by the priest were mild. My father was already the church pastor for that village of Horodetsko. For my father there was not any church and he wrote a letter to Archbishop who was in charge of St. Sofia Cathedral. He was his friend and at that time was priest of St. Sofia Cathedral and was arrested. He was transferred to St. Sofia, but he was temporary a couple of months because he was in our capital of Kharkiv. At that time and until 1934, the capital was Kharkiv and his friend who had promoted him to the priesthood after Archbishop Constantine Malushkevych took him to the capital, Kharkiv, and in Kharkiv we witnessed another family which was started originally in Ukraine.

We moved to Kharkiv in 1932, just in June. Already in the fall was similar situation and similar procedure what was in that village of Horodetsko: the same, but more massive. Because it is the capital, they were a little bit more careful because there were consulates from the West. But it was hard to control the entire city, and people from the villages came to the city to buy bread. I witnessed when I was in the line about one o'clock in the morning to be first in the line, but basically I was a child and my parents sent me. I was with my mother. Father was afraid. For me, it was easy to sneak up and stand closer to the door of the store. The service woman, or service lady, when she saw the child, she paid attention and said, "You can have just one kilogram." I saw the line was unbelievable. A man was walking through the line, you know, and he would just pick up from people from the village and right away they were arrested and expelled from the city. One morning I was walking to the school and I walked, maybe, a half a block, and I saw just a woman sitting, on the sidewalk, against the wall of the building, and they saw a small baby, maybe a couple of months old, still nursing. Later on, people when people came to attention, the woman was already in a sitting position, and the baby tried to reach her breasts, but she was already dead. Then people paid attention and I turned to my father and mother that maybe they could take the child, but then I turned my back, you know. Two or three minutes later, they had separated the old people and took the child. Later on, what I heard from my parents and people in Kharkiv, that they took the small children and educated them in the Bolshevik way.

Mr. ROTH: Mr. Kochno, let me interrupt. You have much to tell us and we wish to listen, but there are also others who also want to speak. Have you finished your statement? Do you wish to read any more, perhaps the closing paragraph or is there anything else that you wish to say?

Mr. KOCHNO: That's okay. Particularly, I was disappointed what specifically or what type of things to testify about.

But I will tell you of my relatives. I had my father and two uncles. One uncle in 1937 was executed, but his wife's father, who was 78 years old in the village of Tomashivka that the river Yatran flows by. My uncle told me before his arrest that story about what the 78-year old man from our relatives had two very nice horses to raise and that was everything to him, you know. They asked him to give voluntarily to them both horses. But always for him it was like, you know, children that love horses from a young child and finally he resisted. They arrested him. They put on him the front, you know, a huge board, and they put on it "Enemy of the People", and the same on the main area by the church. Finally, it was heavy for him to carry, and he many times fell on the ground. When he fell, they beat him to get him to get up again, but finally he died after a couple of minutes.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

I know I speak for everyone here when I thank the three witnesses who have spoken thus far. They have much to tell us, and we have learned a great deal. It took a great deal of courage for you, sir, and those who proceeded you to testify.

We do have others, and they wish to testify only under their given names in order to protect relatives, and I think you will all understand that, still residing in the Soviet Union.

Our fourth witness will be known for the record as Helen K. of Chicago.

TESTIMONY OF DR. HELEN K. OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

I got the notice before yesterday, so I did not have time to write down, but I will be very, very short, and I will mention something from my own experience.

I am not afraid to speak about my experiences as a child, but I have cousins in the Ukraine, and when I send them packages, they asked us not to send packages any more, and some friends gave us the message that they would withdraw Social Security, and they had a certain kind of persecution there. So the reason I don't want my full name mentioned is because I don't want my cousins to be persecuted in the Ukraine.

When I got my citizenship, I was awarded the title of Outstanding Citizen of America for my contribution in the area of education and art. I refused to accept this, because I didn't want to divulge my biography because there are people that collect messages and send them to the Ukraine. Those families whose relatives are not just sitting simply in their houses but do something, they suffer in Ukraine a lot of things from persecution.

My story is different because I am not from the country. I am a city person. My city is located between Kharkiv and Voroshilovhrad. The population was at that time 40,000 people. So I came from an intellectual family. My mother was a medical doctor and father a musician, a professional musician graduating from the Moscow Conservatory.

My father was 10 years older than my mother. Since I remember my childhood years in school, I know that my father was permanently persecuted, even though he was never a politician, but since he was an older person after the revolution, the government did not draft these people because they got formation of the character and the education in Imperial Russia.

So my first bitter experience was that I was born October 5, 1924, so at the time of starvation, I was of school age. The school did not accept me because they said to my parents that first preference is given to children of proletarian descent. Since my parents did not qualify as proletarian, I did not get accepted in the school. I was very bitter because I was eager to be in school. The situation was safe because the cousin of my father was in the democratic movement before the revolution, and she was a very good teacher, like the head of the department. And besides this, she was my godmother, so when the director refused to accept me, she said that she was taking me at her place. So instead of being in a first class, I was in the third class because she was in charge of the third class.

The starvation was terrible. People collected roots from certain plants in the woods. They ate bugs, cats and rats, and one day my mother came to visit a sick person in the neighborhood and she was whispering something to my father and I could listen when she entered the house. She thought that the people were ill because they did not answer the door. When she entered the house, she saw the family was sitting

around the table, and a baby was separated. They cooked the baby for food. It was 1932.

But strange enough, in my class there were children who came to school with fine sandwiches, with all kinds of rolls and breads, sausages and cheeses. They were children of party leaders. They did not starve.

And in the city where I was born and going to school, we had a store and in Russian they called it *torgsin*. Translated into English, it means "trade with the foreigners". Like Mrs. Portnov mentioned, you could buy food there for gold and foreign money. The first experience my father took me to that store, it was in winter, and we gave the wedding rings of my mother and earrings and personal beads for the food, but it was not enough. Then the sister of my father lived in Rostov almost on the Sea of Azov, and she sent us dry bread that she bought on the black market. She made toast and sent it to us. I remember how bitter the bread was because it was baked from spoiled flour, but still it helped us to survive.

Then another unforgettable experience of mine is that my father stayed every evening in the corner, and he prayed that God would help us to survive this terrible situation. It was like he was having his own prayer, not from the book but from himself, and his miracle happened. My father met a Polish couple, who were sent by the Soviet government from the area near the Polish border. This Polish couple had a son in Czechoslovakia, an agricultural engineer, and he sent them Czechoslovakian money. So I remember the name of this family because somebody who saved your life, you really don't have a very hard time remembering the name. The name was Murozolsky. The man was a professional photographer. They were an older couple. When they came to visit us, the woman said to my father, "You know, my son sends me money from Czechoslovakia, and I want to share this. I give it to you so you spend in this *torgsin*, this store for food." My father said, "I'm very thankful, but I don't know how I can return because the situation is so bad." She said, "Don't worry about this. Just take it." So we were again able to go to this store to buy food. I remember very much it was a fish in a can like tuna fish and then buckwheat flour, sugar and oil, and beans. They were all Ukrainian products, but we bought it with the Czechoslovakian money that the woman gave to us.

Then when sometimes I walk from school, and I had a package of books or something wrapped, I was beaten several times on the street by the grown-up people because they thought I was carrying food. It was just a miracle because we got help from different sources, but I had a very not pleasant experience when my friends, American friends, ask where I am from and how did you come here, and I just mention occasionally in the conversation about this starvation in Ukraine. I noticed that they did not like it.

Recently, a few years ago, I was lecturing in a college to a class of Musicology. The topic for Master Degree students was Music in Society and one student asked me, "Dr., is it true that education, music education, any education in the Soviet Union is free of charge, that you don't pay tuition?"

I said, "Yes, you don't pay tuition, but when you finish the school, you are not free to choose the place where you work. The government sends you to the place where they think they need you. Here in the United States, you pay your school, but you can choose your place where you work."

A few days later, the Dean called me and said, "Dr. K. you should not be saying anything against the Soviet Union because we want to remain in a friendly relationship."

Thank you for listening.

Mr. ROTH: Any questions?

Just one question. You went to school. What you are describing took place in a city not in the countryside?

Dr. K.: City.

Mr. ROTH: So there really was a shortage of food in the city, as well, except for those who were the offspring of party officials?

Dr. K.: Yes. So we missed the school, and then the number of the children from 25 was reduced to seven. Seven or eight children remained in the school. Some of them were sick and died, and others just got too sick to go to school.

After that, it was a terrible time. The entire population of Ukraine, as Mr. Kochno mentioned, or somebody else before me, were sick because the bodies did not have resistance, so that we missed again to school. It was permanent suffering. I must say that I am very happy that I did not become a depressed person. I'm a happy person because I have seen these terrible experiences. Somehow destiny chose for me to enjoy life. Thank you.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Halyna B. of Palatine, Illinois.

TESTIMONY OF MS. HALYNA B. OF PALATINE, ILLINOIS

I was born in the vicinity of Chernihiv, Kulykivsky district, in the village of Muraveika, 60 miles from Chornobyl. When I was 8 years old, my father died of tuberculosis in the 28th year of his young life. My mother was left a widow with two small children. My sister was 6 years old. The farm was not large, but someone was needed to work it. My sister and I went to school, and we tried to help mother after school because we saw her despair. It is true that at first we did not go hungry, and we had something to wear, until 1929. This year was designated by the Moscow intruders as the beginning of the death and long years of suffering for the Ukrainian nation.

In 1929 the collectivization began. It began by the arrival of trained agitators from Russia; they organized meetings in homes and threatened people into joining the collectives, "If you don't, you will lose everything." The same agitator that organized the collective farm was the school principal. His name was Nikolai Gustov. He would gather 7 families living on one street into someone's home for a meeting. He called such a meeting at our house, and I was present at this meeting. I remember his first words! You will live much better on the collective than now, and particularly you, a widow, pointing a finger at my mother. You won't work so hard, you will live without worries. It won't even be necessary to bake bread, because the machines do all the work for us. And the poor people believed his lies and entered the Collective. In the beginning it was the poor peasants who joined the Collective. The well-to-do, and middle peasants would not join; they would not sign. Here the agitators saw a problem; they started making lists and started accusations, but without any trial or hearing they started sending these people out to Siberia or Russia. They never came back. The

rest of the peasants were scared to death and signed without wavering, because they feared exile to Siberia. This lasted two years.

Then 1931 began, Collective work started, brigades were formed, and chairmen, but there was no one to do the work. What was sown and planted, was harvested, everyone including small children were dragged into the fields. The schools were closed until winter. But this hard work did not provide any benefit for the peasants. Everything was taken under the quotas, people were even accused of laziness and forced to make it up. Then we remembered the words of the agitator Gustov, "You will not bake bread!" Only those baked who had some reserve supplies, the rest only had memories. The Ukrainian bread was consumed by Russian invaders who ripped it out of the poor Ukrainian peasants' teeth. In this manner, Moscow prepared the deadly famine for 1933.

The village government and propagandists started pushing the quotas for past years and said that we have to produce more and more to make up for past deficiencies. My mother knew that things would get bad and we won't have enough food, but there is none to be had, and nothing to buy it with.

We got practically nothing from the Collective, everything was sent out, and things got bad. The whole winter we lasted but by spring, March, the house was empty, not one slice of bread, not one potato. I had 12 years then, and my sister 10 years. My sister and I saw, and we understood these unpleasant horrors and troubles and felt our starving mother's pain. To help our mother we decided to go and find something, anything edible. We learned that people were digging some kind of roots and said you could eat it, and it wouldn't hurt you. My sister and I also went to dig these roots. It was wet and cold, but somehow we dug up some roots, brought them home, dried them, ground them up, and baked some "bread". It was very bitter, but we ate it. Mother saw that things were desperate and saw corpses taken to the cemetery, she took her golden earrings which my father gave her long ago; she takes these earrings to the bazaar and exchanges them for flour with one Jewish trader who name was Hershko Larin. Mother received 10 pounds of flour, she tried to stretch it as long as possible by mixing with bran, which was being kept for the pigs, she mixed this with the root flour and baked "pies" which we could eat once a day and live. It was very bitter, but there was nothing else.

Mother would take everything to town, embroidery, towels, table cloths, and gave it away practically for nothing just to survive to harvest. By June 1933 there was a big commotion in the village, people were crying and cursing and lying along the fences, but no one was paying any attention to them, thinking that tomorrow they would be next. People died almost every day. There was no priest, no services, no one even came to look. The family that was left alive dug the graves themselves, wrapped the body in a bed sheet, and threw it into the hole. Those who were still healthy, the Moscow henchmen drove to work, and kept screaming that we had to make up our quota: "Die yourself but save Russia!"

My sister, mother, and I were fighting for our lives. But how? We decided to harvest (flower) blossoms, from clover, dry it, and crush it and boil or bake it. Those who created the collectives had plenty to eat. For example, our neighbor's husband, was one of those who did not pay people for their work; he stole and his family had food. I remember one time the neighbor came in and saw some coral beads around my

neck. She said sell them to me for some bread, I hated to part with them, but I happily answered, that I will sell them because I want to eat. I don't remember how much we got for them, but she gave us some flour. Her name was Klita, she is still living and is 92 years old.

Klita's brother was married and had 2 children. His wife tried to save the children and had nothing left to give her husband to eat, and he already swelled up, he went to his sister Klita begging for something to eat, because he could not last much longer, but she said, "I have nothing for you, get out of the house!" He left and died that night.

Another family that lived a bit further from us had an older mother with two sons. Their mother died one evening, and the sons were swollen and lost their mind and started cutting their mother's flesh and baked it on the fire and ate this. But this did not help, and within a week both of them died.

At this time we got some milk from our cow, and this milk saved us. In July mother started picking a few vegetables from the garden, and we had sowed some barley, and mother reaped a little at a time, ground it and cooked a porridge, and this porridge and milk saved us.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you very much.

The next person to testify will be Stephen C. from Chicago.

TESTIMONY OF MR. STEPHEN C. OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

I was born in the village of Sari, near the city of Hadiach in the Poltava region. I was born on the 13th of August in 1923, the son of a poor peasant. My father had only a single hectare of land. I recall the year of 1932 as being one of the most tragic years of my life. Hunger held our entire family captive. Activists came to our village and seized all of the bread and even the kidney beans.

In our family, in the immediate household, my father's father, then my mother's, starved before my very eyes. They buried him in his boots because his feet were too swollen to have them removed. He had four sons and two daughters. One of them is alive to this very day. Another aunt, my mother's sister, was stabbed to death with a pitchfork for stealing scallions from a neighbor's yard. When my grandmother died from hunger, my mother placed a cross, made out of wax, in her hands because she wanted a Christian burial. But a neighbor who was walking by our house looked in the window and saw the cross lying on my dead grandmother. He poked out the window pane, crawled in and stole the waxen cross. On the way to the collective farm he ate the cross. When my mother returned and found out that our neighbor had stolen the cross, she ran out after him in order to reprimand him for the theft, but when she reached him on the road he was already dead. My father's mother also died of hunger. She ate some false flax which causes a sleep-like condition that eventually goes away as the person regains consciousness. My grandmother was already sick so when she fell into the sleep-like state, everyone at home thought she was dead. When they came to bury her, however, they noticed that she was still breathing, but they buried her anyway because they said she was going to die anyway. No one was sorry

that they buried her alive. In my mother's family, five people died, including her husband.

In our village there were many instances of cannibalism. One woman killed her three-year old son. When she fed the cooked meat to her husband, he noticed the bones of little fingers in the dish. He then turned her over to the police. People ate everything without bothering to cook it first. They ate grass meant for pigs; weeds. They even caught birds, killed them and ate them raw. People were given long sentences for stealing grain. One woman, whose five children had died, got ten years for cutting unripe grain.

Mr. ROTH: Questions?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: You said that the man turned his wife in to the police because of cannibalism, because she cooked the human being. What happened? What did the police do with that person?

Mr. C.: Nothing happened to the husband, but the woman was taken away and was never heard from again.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: The question is: I wonder if they charged her with cannibalism? Was that the crime that she was charged with?

Mr. C.: She was taken away because she was eating her children, but nobody said anything about the fact that she had gone mad because of the regime.

Mr. ROTH: If the police charged somebody with something, there would, at least in this country, be a record. All I can do is reason from our experience here. Would there not then be some records that, obviously, the Soviet Union would not wish others to--

Mr. C.: Absolutely, irrevocably not. There are no documents. There were no documents kept.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

Dr. KUROPAS: Just for the record, you mentioned in the early part of your testimony about the activists coming. Just for the record, these activists were people who were sent by the Bolsheviks to do what?

Mr. C.: At first, they were ordered to take the bread, and then they went to the collective farm. Then what they would do, they would go to the houses recruiting people for the collective farms. This would happen at night. They would come to the person's house, and they would ask him to sign a statement that he would join the collective. When the person said no, they left. They came three times a night.

Mr. ROTH: They were persuasive.

Mr. C.: In order to break down the person, so the person would finally give the consent. My father had his property, piece-by-piece, taken away from him and still he wouldn't go.

From the FLOOR: Do you remember how many cats and dogs were eaten at that time?

Mr. C.: Yes.

From the FLOOR: Tell the Americans.

Mr. ROTH: I think we do understand that. Thank you.

The next testimony will come from Lydia K. of Oak Lawn, Illinois.

TESTIMONY OF MS. LYDIA K. OF OAK LAWN, ILLINOIS

Mr. Roth, can they keep the answer of the gentlemen to the question you asked him about the common patient of everything because in my statement, see, my uncle was a doctor, and he sold his body. Okay, I'll read the statement. My uncle told me that doctors could never list starvation as the cause of death. You could list anything else as the cause of the death but never hunger. So that applies to the whole government. You can never say anything.

I was born in 1920 in the village of Kyzhentsi, Lisensky District, Kiev Province, Ukraine. My father had a farm, a garden, two horses and some rabbits. Because we were considered prosperous for our area, the State levied taxes on us that we could not possibly pay. Then in December 1929, about a dozen people came to our house to throw us out. I remember my schoolteacher among them. Some, like my teacher, had sad faces and I knew that they did not want to do what they were sent for, but others in the group forced them. They forced us to leave our home. Everything was taken away from us--the house, the livestock, and the land. We were allowed to use only the empty garden near the house.

Fortunately, there was a small vacant house nearby, and a member of the owner's family allowed us to move in. My father joined the collective farm and this one-room house became home to my parents, three brothers and me. My father's work on the collective farm never provided enough for the whole family, but we were still able to get by with the aid of what we could grow in our own garden.

In the summer of 1932, things became very difficult. Almost all the bread was taken away right after the harvest, and we knew that there would soon be nothing left to eat. My mother gave me a little bag and sent me with other young people in the village to glean the harvested fields, to pick up the ears of wheat that had been left after the harvest.

Gleaning was against the law, but we did it many times. The State sent horsemen to chase the gleaners out of the field, so the teenage boys of our group would keep watch. Sometimes the boys would play a joke and signal us when there were no horsemen. So one time I thought they were playing a joke when they were not. I ignored the warning when the others had run away and hidden in a nearby patch of woods. When I looked up, I saw two horsemen riding straight at me. I was so frightened. There was no time to run, but I would not let them have the grain in my little bag and spilled it on the ground. The horsemen rode right up to me, but they pulled back hard on the reins and reared the horses up and stopped. I thought they would kill me, but they just took my empty bag and left.

I also remember in 1932 that they made the students in my school go around to various houses in the village and smear over whitewashed walls the following words in tar: *"Zlisni nezdatchiki khliba"*, identifying the occupants as having maliciously failed to give bread to the State. My family had been driven out of our house because we could not give the State what we did not have, and you can imagine how I felt, but we had to do it. They made us.

People would come to our little house with long pointed sticks. They would stick them in the ground, the walls, and everywhere. They said they were looking for con-

cealed grain, but they took any food they could find. In December 1932, everything was taken except for what little we were still able to hide.

In January 1933, my parents sent me to stay with my uncle who worked as a doctor in a small town about fifty kilometers away. My brother took me there, and we walked for nearly three days. We stopped at night, knocked on a door, and people would give us what food they could spare and let us stay the night. My uncle took me in and helped my two older brothers to get work in a nearby state farm, while my younger brother stayed with my parents.

By springtime many people were dying of hunger. I lived with my uncle in the hospital, and we saw many bodies dumped into a building which served as a morgue. I heard that sometimes bodies were stolen and especially the brains would be taken by people to eat. I remember seeing the bodies taken out and dumped into pits. There were too many to be buried individually. My uncle told me that doctors could never list starvation as a cause of death. You could list anything else as a cause of death, but never hunger.

One afternoon I decided to visit my brothers in the state farm. They offered me some of their food, which was only tasteless dumplings in water. Then my brother told me it was time to go. Soon after I left, I found myself alone in a field as the sun was setting, and a boy called out at me and ran toward me. I was afraid that he wanted to eat me, and I ran away. By the time I reached the town it was getting dark. Soon I saw a woman lying down in the street too weak to move. She could only stretch out her hand and beg me for food, but I had nothing to give her. I knew she would soon be dead, because she was already too weak to stand.

When one of my brothers caught typhus, we put him in a special room for fear that he would say something negative about the system. We all knew what kind of system we had, and we all knew the penalty for saying so, even in delirium. He survived, but another brother died of dysentery.

My father and younger brother back in the village became swollen from hunger, and my mother walked the fifty kilometers to my uncle to get some food, and that is how she saved them. It was thanks to my uncle that, except for my one brother, our family survived. Had it not been for his goodness, we would all have perished.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

The next person to testify will be L. Kasian from Chicago.

TESTIMONY OF MR. L. KASIAN OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

I was born on December 28, 1907, in the village of Hanivka, Verkhnedniprovsk Region. In 1929 I was sent with my whole family out of Ukraine to Volohodsk in Russia and later by train north to the wilderness to cut wood and build shelter. The family consisted of seven people. We were forcefully taken from our homes in the process of completely liquidating the class of *kulaks* who did not accept collectivization. Everything was taken away from them. At the end of 1930, after three attempts, I succeeded in escaping and finding work in the town of Kramatorsk, where I lived during the years of 1932-33.

I personally saw people swollen from hunger and those who died from hunger. At that time, those who worked at the construction sites received food ration stamps mainly for bread. Workers received 800 grams, office workers 600 grams a day, children and only those of the parents who worked received meat, maybe one kilogram per month, if they were lucky.

There was an incident where one woman came to Kramatorsk in 1933 and received work as a cleaning lady in the communal barracks. In two weeks, having received some bread, she recuperated but went insane, shouting that she had eaten her two children. The militia came and took her away.

In 1933, in villages about forty to fifty kilometers from Kramatorsk, there were very few people, especially men. When harvest time came at the end of June and July, there were no workers available. So many workers, builders, from Kramatorsk were given some time to cut the grain for which they were well paid with grain, wheat, rye and honey. In the years of 1932-33, it was almost impossible to buy bread. For two kilograms of bread, you paid 40 rubles, when a worker earned 150 to 170 rubles a month.

To go by train was impossible, except for those having special papers. To send parcels from Russia to Ukraine or from Ukraine to Russia was forbidden.

From Kharkiv to Kursk, across the Russian border is not far, only 150 to 200 kilometers. Three kilogram loaves of bread were freely available at a cost of three rubles. This is proof that the seven million Ukrainians were artificially starved to death.

My brother, Pavlo, who was only 14 years old in 1931 escaped from exile in the Solovky Islands, but he was captured and jailed in Dnipropetrovsk and sentenced to another three years. He was freed in 1935 and settled in Kramatorsk. He told me that in 1933, 37 persons were serving sentences in the Solovky Camp for cannibalism.

Mr. ROTH: Questions?

Dr. WERES: Clarification. Is Kramatorsk in Ukraine or in Russia?

Mr. KASIAN: In the Ukraine.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH: With the people that you said were sentenced, the 37 persons that were sentenced in the Solovky Camp for cannibalism, is that what the official charge was? They were charged?

Mr. KASIAN: Whether or not there was a trial is not clear, but they arrived at the Solovky Camp on the charge of cannibalism.

Mr. ROTH: Part of what we are trying to do is to repeat things. There is an expression about things falling between the cracks. Sometimes little things are there, and we overlook them. In the persistence of asking questions, even ones that sound naive, time and again, sometimes with each witness you get a little more. You go a little deeper, and then finally the crack opens up, and sometimes people have records and things. It is just amazing what people sometimes have. So, if sometimes the questions seem naive, and they are sometimes--you are right. We're Americans--sometimes it is simply because we are trying to establish a record which is also because we are American. We are persistent, and we are hoping and praying that there will be something that--the Americans like to see something in writing--will prove it to the Americans. So bear with us. We are trying to find something. Maybe there is some-

thing in the crack there that will open up. And sometimes we don't know. You are absolutely right. I don't want to make excuses for it, and the questions do seem naive.

Thank you very much.

Do any of my colleagues have any questions?

The next person to testify will be Leonid A. of Chicago. Welcome.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LEONID A. OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Thank you, sir.

I am an American citizen, living in Chicago. I was born November 10, 1910 in Kiev. My father served in the Russian Imperial Army as a Lieutenant Colonel. He was called to active duty in 1917 and never returned home.

In 1921, my mother married for the second time and moved to the village of Blahovishchenka, Harnostiaïvka *Raion*, Kherson Province, near Kakhovka. My second father ran his own farm until 1928.

That year, 1928, at the age of 18, I was hired to work on a farm. There were already collective farms. I worked one summer. Afterwards they *dekulakized* this farmer.

I got a job in the reserves in Askaniya Nova. I worked in a zoological park. For about a half a year I looked after the animals. Afterward, I was a shepherd in Askaniya Nova. There were approximately 170,000 sheep that were grazing in the steppe. I grazed the sheep for a year and a half. Afterwards, I went to work on a state farm as a truck driver. After two years I became a combine operator.

In 1931, I married Ahafiya who lived on the state farm. Afterwards I became a driver on a dump truck.

In 1932, shortly before winter, they sent the people to weed the grain. The crop of 1932 was very good. The yield was 37 centners to the hectare. The grain was taken by the government. They left nothing for the people.

In the villages, in the winter of 1932-33, the Committee of Unwealthy Peasants walked through the houses. They were commanded by communists sent from the district centers. They had long pikes and looked for hidden grain. They searched the home and under the rooftops. They took every last bit from the people: cows, horses, sheep and goats. They took these from the people and gave it to the collective farms. There was no one to work on these collective farms because people were starving. The horses, cows, also, were dying from starvation. The collective farms were guarded by armed men. If someone wanted to take something, they were shot.

In the spring of 1933, people already were eating pigweed, tree bark and grass.

From the state farm they sent tractors to till the soil and plant the wheat. Throughout the collective farms, people who could still walk were sent to work. For the workers there was a kitchen, a so-called field kitchen. They ate in the fields. They were not permitted to take any food home.

During the 1932 harvest the great famine started. The grain grew. The harvest was good, but you were not permitted to take one ear of wheat. The guards rode armed through the fields. They arrested everyone that took an ear and took them to the police. No one in the village knew where they took them.

Then in early 1933, the great famine really took hold in the villages. To leave was forbidden. The bravest went into town and tried to get food. Upon their return, the

police took everything back from them. People started dying along the side of the roads or lay swollen in their houses and died there.

There were cases where dead children were eaten by their parents. This was in the village of Haimany. People spoke of this. Those parents were arrested. In the village of Kosovka-Syrhosk *Raion,* they also had cooked meat from their children. They were arrested too.

I, personally, saw those who died of starvation in the villages of Ochaimany (Ivanivka *Raion*), Petrivka (Serhosk *Raion*), Kasivka (Serhosk *Raion*) and in the village of Zadynivka (Serhosk *Raion*) and in the village of Verkhnie Serhoske.

I saw the bodies of those who died from hunger. They were swollen and also very emaciated. I was sent with some people from the state farm by truck to pick up the dead bodies. When we entered the houses we had to cover our faces because there was such a putrid smell. Some of us had masks. These bodies were thrown onto the trucks, like sheaves of wheat. We drove them to the fields, dug pits, dumped the bodies, poured lime on them and covered them up. There were several layers, one on top of each other. I drove the dump truck five times from the village to the fields where the pits had already been dug and the people were buried. There were fifteen to twenty bodies thrown in each load. There were also those who rode horses and picked up people throughout the villages and buried them.

In the villages, there were people that survived because they were able to work and could eat in the field kitchens. These were like army kitchens.

In the village of Yanivka, I did not see a single person alive.

The village of Kayira suffered because it was near the Dnipro. People near the Dnipro did not suffer as much because people caught the fish with their feet and, therefore, survived. Such villages were: Hapatykha, Somova, Kakhovka, Nova Kakhovka, Kopani, and Bereslav. In these towns there were fewer deaths. Further away from the Dnipro there were more fatalities. People were dying from Melitopil to Dnipropetrovsk and from Piatykhatky to Kiev, so it was said.

In the areas where I stayed, I heard of no incidents of the starving resisting the communist regime. Whoever spoke up was arrested. There were informers everywhere. People whispered of the millions that starved. Savchuk, the director of the state farm spoke of this, also. He was an educated person and continuously helped people. Also, agronomist Yakiv Mykhailovych Yaromen helped the starving. The head of the political section in the Doremburg state farm, now called Chkalove, where I worked, was a Jew, Moisey Fylypovych Portir. He also helped the Ukrainians and the workers.

My wife's brother, Ivan Fomovych Cherkas died of starvation in the village of Torhayivka Nyzhnia. His wife and two children died, also.

In all the neighboring state farms there was no starvation because those who worked there were considered state employees, and the state was obliged to pay them for their work. But the collective farms were considered the property of the collective farmers, and the state owed those who worked there nothing. So there was massive death on them after the state seized everything, regardless of the terrible consequences.

Mr. ROTH: Questions from my colleagues?

I do have one. Mr. A., you say there were cases where dead children were eaten by their parents, and then you mentioned the village. "People spoke of this and the parents were arrested." You observed this? You saw this? Do you know what parents were charged with when they were arrested?

Mr. A.: Yes. In the village of Haimany, when they were taking away the dead bodies, I observed that they took away the woman who had eaten her child.

Mr. ROTH: But charged her with? What did they charge people with when they arrested them?

Mr. A.: The people from the *komnezam* came to the house, and they looked around at the foodstuffs that were there, and they found that she had eaten her child. They found the remains of the child. They identified the remains to be that of children, feet and hands.

Dr. KUROPAS: But was he aware of any specific charge, judicial charge?

Mr. A.: There was nothing written. They just, you know, drove them away.

Dr. KUROPAS: I want to do this, for the record has to be in English.

When you were driving the truck and taking the bodies out of town, there were other people driving trucks with you? You weren't doing this by yourself, right? I mean, there were others? Did you ever discuss what you were doing? Was there any discussion about what you were doing or why you were doing it, or was it just that it was a job that you had to do, and you knew you had to do it, and that was it?

Mr. A.: I was sent, when I started at that time, when they were starting to take away the bodies in '32-33, and I was just starting as a truck driver. The truck drivers were ordered to pick up the bodies by the soldiers. The leaders from the state farm appointed chauffeurs and truck drivers to go to every village and to pick up the bodies.

Dr. KUROPAS: There is a logical variation on that question. You were appointed as a driver to go pick up bodies. Were these always oral appointments?

Mr. A.: We were forbidden to tell about or talk about our assignments publicly.

Dr. KUROPAS: That's what I wanted for the record.

Most everything then is oral, and people are forbidden to talk about, at both ends, and they were not allowed to discuss the fact that they were going there to get the bodies or what they did with the bodies because he said that, if they did discuss it, they would become one of the bodies.

Mr. ROTH: Did you, or did anyone you know, keep a diary?

Mr. A.: No.

Dr. KUROPAS: For fear?

Mr. A.: I wouldn't be alive today, if I were caught with a document like that in my hands.

Dr. WERES: I have a question. You refer to an agronomist, the director of a state farm, and a director of a political section of the state farm, who attempted to help starving people. First, do you know what happened to these individuals afterwards and, secondly, how common was it that people like this with some authority in the situation had their own opinion and tried to mitigate the effects of the famine?

Mr. A.: All the people, the three individuals that were mentioned, were lost track of eventually, but those people stuck in my mind as being the prominent ones in my life.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

I now call Mrs. Valentina D.

TESTIMONY OF MS. VALENTINA D.

I am a witness as Valentina D. I was nine years old in 1933. What I heard from the witnesses before me, I witnessed and testify that they said the truth. At that time, there were so many questions that nobody could answer for us. However, by the time when we grew up, and then when we left our country, we found many answers to the questions. And seeing the movie *Harvest of Despair,* that I'm sure all of you have seen already, there is no exaggeration.

My parents had five children. I was the oldest. My younger brother, who was at that time seven years old, died. Also, my grandparents died. I remember on the day he died, my mother got a half a liter of milk. She distributed it to each child, for herself, and for father a small-like whiskey glass. I never will forget he asked the mother to give him the portion of milk, and she said, "I have a baby," who was at that time one year old and she did not give this to him, and he died that day. Later on, she cried so much. She never could forgive herself that in her image, if she would have given him the portion he asked, maybe he would have survived.

I was the oldest, they said. I was not swollen. My mother was not either. However, the others were.

In 1976, I decided to go and see my mother. At that time, she was 88 years old. Of the five children, only the youngest is alive. So when they asked her what happened to the others, she said, "Well, they survived hunger in 1933, but they all died from hunger in 1947." My brother, that is what she said, is married to a girl who was found with her mother and two babies in both arms. One baby was dead, and the girl that he married, she was taken, like the people said, to the home where she was raised and educated, and she stayed alive. Her mother, as they said, and her sister were already dead when they were found.

What I saw at that time, you know, it is very hard when I hear the questions you ask or very often I try myself to say a little bit about our past to the American population. They have no imagination. The very same people say, "Well, the way you say, it is impossible to survive." But we did.

I remember in springtime when the weather was already warmer that very often I went to the garden looking for onions, which is the first thing planted to come up. The green pieces I ate. Later on the leaves from the red beets were my nourishment. This is only a very small example.

Now, I was married to a man whose parents were a little bit richer than us. There were nine children in the family. His father was taken during the night in June of 1937 to Siberia. He served over there 25 years and, also, his three brothers were taken there and we did not hear about them; nothing.

You asked the question whether someone kept a diary. Do you know that there was not even a piece of paper when I was going to school to do the homework? How and on what could we keep a diary?

For instance, when somebody was taken during the night or something, they were even afraid to talk about it. In 1932-33, I saw myself how many people were taken. At that time, I could not answer. I only remember that I witnessed that people were

crying. People with wagons and horses, and those that were staying at home. So later on everything was clear but, yet, they were taking, not that they were guilty, that they had committed a crime like over here when somebody will commit a crime; no, they were not, but the only reason is very simple. They do not like to go to the collective farm or, for instance, they took all the crops that they made with their own hands and so forth and so forth.

Now, when my father-in-law was taken in 1937 during the night, his children were discriminated against. They were not allowed to go to the school. So we wrote many letters to Moscow, and finally we got the answer why he was taken. It was because after the first war, his cousin somehow got one letter. He was against the Russian government, and the same way went all his brothers. So he survived after 25 years, but he was not allowed to return to Ukraine where he was born; no. He lived in Asia until he died in Kazakhstan.

I will conclude because there are so many things that we can say, but already I have heard many good witnesses, and I am sure we have thousands and thousands all over the United States with even worse stories than we have heard today. However, we often say, "Time heals the wounds." It is not true. Today is a half a century past. Today I was standing over here with my husband and I was crying. I said, "I am afraid. I would like to say as much as I can, but I don't want to cry in front of the people."

We still have our relatives there, here in the United States, because, as I said, my husband's father is one of nine children, and those four were taken who were already adults, but the small ones were left, and they are still alive here in the United States today.

So, if it will be necessary, of course we all are afraid because we don't know the consequences about tomorrow, but I am sure that everyone would witness and testify as they do today.

To release the name is another story because, even though my mother died, still I have somebody over there who is very close, and he is the only one who survived. I don't want to do any harm to him or his children who are in the Soviet Union.

Thank you.

Mr. ROTH: Thank you.

Before I close, do my colleagues have any statements?

Dr. KUROPAS: Yes. I would like to personally, as a member of the Famine Commission from Chicago, thank all of the witnesses for their testimony, for the truth that they have brought to us, and I would especially like to thank David Roth for the way he directed the hearing today. Those of you who know David Roth know that he, as a member of the American Jewish Committee, testified on behalf--I don't want to cry every time I think of this, but I'm really moved--of the Famine Commission. David Roth went to Washington, D.C., when it looked as if the Famine Commission was not going to become a reality, and he testified on behalf of the Commission. I will never forget that, and I don't think any Ukrainian will forget that, David.

Thank you.

Mr. ROTH: You and I cry a lot together. We do that a lot, and sometimes in public.

Does anybody else want to make a statement?

(No response)

I want to thank you all. I, especially, want to thank those who testified because it takes a tremendous amount of courage. A number of us who work in different ethnic communities have in the past several years--sometimes it is hard to find the right word --had the privilege--privilege is not quite what I want to say--and we have come to each other's community in situations in which courageous people have testified about their personal tragedies, and we know how painful it is because when you testify, it is all in front of your eyes. You are not seeing Americans. You are seeing what you lived through, and I have a sense, I think now, of how difficult that is. But I also know how important it is, and I think you also know how important it is, or you wouldn't be here.

So I would like to close this by thanking you all for coming and especially those who testified because you are creating the foundation that will outlive everything else and make it possible, I think, for the Commission to come up with some recommendations to the United States government that will hopefully lead to some policies and programs that will last. That is very important because, to the extent that they last and your stories last, you are alive. We are delighted you are alive, and we appreciate your courage. Thank you.

(Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned at 5:00 p.m.)

TESTIMONY OF MS. NINA K. OF COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

I am a U.S. citizen presently living in Cook County. I would like to give my testimony of what I personally lived through and saw during the great famine in Ukraine.

This occurred in the Novo-Prazhsky *Raion*, Kirovohrad *Oblast*. I was only 7 years old in 1933. There were three of us in my family. I remember the famine occurred in 1932 right after the harvest.

Starving people went from house to house begging for food. However, they were not given any food because everyone was starving. This lasted until winter. Some of them entered empty houses and died in them. These empty houses were left after *dekulakization* and exile of people to Siberia.

The children of dead parents were taken to orphanages. There they were fed a little. The children slept at the orphanages. When the weather turned very cold some of the children, having been undernourished for a long time, died from malnutrition and their bodies froze from the extreme cold. When my mother's brother died he left a seven-year-old son--Ivan. My mother gave Ivan to the orphanage. One time during winter mother took me with her to visit Ivan. There at the orphanage in one room we saw a stack of frozen bodies. These were the children who died from hunger. They were between 5 and 10 years of age. When my mother saw these children she started crying and looking for her nephew Ivan.

I personally saw a heap of about 12 dead children in a separate room. I clung to my mother and cried because I loved Ivan. Mother found Ivan, picked him up in her arms and cradled him to her bosom saying--my child, you are my son. Mother took Ivan home and buried him without any coffin in the cemetery.

This moment, when I saw such a tragedy happening to little children, remained in my memory for my whole life. When I remember these events tears well up in my eyes.

I remember, how at that time, those who died in the famine, were taken to the cemetery. People were placed on sleds. I saw six people who were already frozen. On their faces a white frost had already formed. People were buried in mass graves.

I remember that in the third house from ours the mother, father, and two children died of starvation.

My family survived because my mother travelled to Russia for bread which she obtained by bartering bread for clothes. This bread she then brought back to Ukraine by smuggling it across the border.

TESTIMONY OF AN ANONYMOUS WITNESS FROM CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

I was born in Hlukhiv in the Chernihiv region. Our village was very close to the Russian border, so the hunger was not as severe as in central Ukraine. Hungry people passed through our village trying to get food. I remember that my father frequently went through the Russian city of Briansk, which is on the border of the Ukraine and

Russia, in order to collect firewood to buy bread and flour. In 1932 I was fifteen years old, and I recall that my feet were very swollen. I remember people dying on the street and also instances, many instances of cannibalism. During the famine I remember an incident when a young priest was persecuted mercilessly by the authorities who accused him of stealing his sister's cow. They hung a cow's head on him and he was forced to walk up and down the street wearing it. All of the four churches in the village were destroyed at this time. Sometimes people slaughtered pigs secretly in the forest. They could not roast the meat on a spit outdoors, because the authorities would find out and take the meat away. So they would take it indoors and roast it with an iron. I worked at the collective farm at the time, but even there was hunger. I received 50 grams of bread per day.

HEARING

Monday,
November 24, 1986

Ukrainian
Cultural Center

26601 Ryan Road
Warren, Michigan

The commission met at 4:00 p.m.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

HON. DENNIS HERTEL, Chairman
MR. BOHDAN FEDORAK
MS. ANASTASIA VOLKER
MR. DENNIS McKEE, representing the Hon. William Broomfield

ALSO PRESENT:

DR. JAMES E. MACE, Staff Director
DR. OLGA SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV, Staff Assistant and Interpreter

WITNESSES:

REV. ALEXANDER BYKOVETS
DR. VALENTYNA SAWCHUK
MR. MICHAEL SMYK, also represented by MR. ANDREW SMYK
MS. MOTRIA S.
MS. MARIA N.
MS. ANASTASIA KH.
MS. TATIANA KARDYNALOWSKA

PROCEEDINGS

Congressman HERTEL: I'm Dennis Hertel. I'm Congressman from this District, and also a Member of the Commission, and honored to be one. Because some of the members had to travel quite a distance, we're going to refrain from opening remarks at this time.

Let me introduce the other members of the Commission. On my right is Anastasia Volker from Royal Oak, Michigan, who, as you all know, has been very active, and Bohdan Fedorak from Warren, Michigan, also very active here in our Michigan international and Ukrainian communities.

We also have Dennis McKee from Congressman Broomfield's office. Congressman Broomfield is a Member of the Commission who planned and wished very much to be here today, but because he is the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and because they are having the very first hearing on the Iranian arms situation, he was just notified of that on Friday and had to decline, but he does have members of his staff here.

Bill Glenzel is here from Senator Don Regiel's office, and we're very happy to have Bill here also. Thank you.

I'd like to call the first witness to come up, and let me assure everybody to take their time. We know how difficult many of the things the people will be recalling must be for them personally, and, therefore, please be relaxed. This is an official record, but anything can be amended later on, and people can add statements in the future, as well as other members of the public will be able to give the Commission any other information.

Our first witness today is Reverend Alexander Bykovets. He's the parish priest at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church here in Detroit. Reverend?

TESTIMONY OF REV. ALEXANDER BYKOVETS OF DETROIT, MICHIGAN

I would like to, first of all, express my gratitude to the government and the Congress of the United States, the first country in the world which is seriously interest in famine in Ukraine, in our tragedy, and exposing the regime which caused that tragedy.

Here is my testimony. As a boy of eight or nine, I remember well the autumn of 1932 and the winter and spring of 1933 in the city of Poltava, where my father was a parish priest of the Resurrection Cathedral of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

There was a grave shortage of food. There was no food in the state-owned grocery stores, except for coffee made out of acorns from an oak tree. To survive the famine, our family was forced to depend on parishioners who were employed by the railroad, for it was possible for them to bring food from beyond the borders of Ukraine and to share it with us.

We were also acquainted with a very friendly woman, the wife of a Soviet official who helped us with the food. She often placed some potatoes, both rotten and good, as well as beets and cabbage into a trash container so that I could collect it and bring it to my parents.

My mother would mix all of these ingredients together along with the acorn coffee and bake a sort of pancake using beeswax candles to grease the sauce pan. Once I heard someone shooting and saw a wounded crow falling to the ground from the church steeple. Before anything else could get it, I pursued it, repeatedly striking it with snowballs until I had finally killed it. That evening, I had enjoyed crow for dinner.

In the winter of 1933, my grandfather came to Poltava to get some food for his hungry family in the village. Somehow we managed to collect a few loaves of bread, some buckwheat and potatoes from our parishioners to give him, and left for home, but at the railroad station, he was robbed and brought home nothing.

On the city streets, I saw many hungry peasants, men, women and children, begging for a piece of bread. Many of them perished from hunger and cold.

Groups of hungry people stood at the entrance to the *torgsin* stores which were full of every kind of food, but one had to have gold, silver and foreign currency to purchase any of these foods. The very name of these special stores meant "trade or commerce with foreigners" which was abbreviated to *torgsin*, the Russian acronym.

Of course, the so-called foreigners were part of the Muscovite regime in Ukraine which was using this famine not only to subdue the Ukrainian people but also to rob them of all their valuable possessions, because hungry people were bringing to these special stores their wedding rings, earrings, gold and silver crosses and foreign currency, if they had any.

Since my aunt left Ukraine after the collapse of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1920 and then lived in France, my father used to correspond with her in French, and she was kind enough to put a five or ten franc bill in every letter for us to use in buying food from the *torgsin*. This contributed a great deal to our survival during the artificial famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine.

My grandparents were not so lucky. Both of them perished from hunger in the spring of 1933.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you, Father, for your testimony. Any questions from Members of the Commission?

(No response)

Thank you very much, Father.

Rev. BYKOVETS: May I, Congressman?

Congressman HERTEL: Yes.

Rev. BYKOVETS: I'm supposed to be here with three more witnesses from my parish, but from fear, even to testify under assumed names, they are not here, because they still are afraid that through their testimony they will be recognized by officials in their particular villages, and they will be discovered, and their families will be persecuted.

Congressman HERTEL: I understand that, and I understand how difficult it is for all of our witnesses to come forth. If I might suggest, Father, if you could collect their testimony from them, and then anonymously give it to the staff, we would be very appreciative of their recollections.

Rev. BYKOVETS: I will do that, sir. Thank you.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you. Next we have Dr. Valentyna Sawchuk, a dentist from Hamtramck. Doctor, thank you for coming. I would tell members of the audience, we will have a staff member back here again in Detroit area before the Commission completes its work. At least, that's our intention, and if there are other people that you know that would like to give some testimony privately or at that time, submit statements directly, that would be very convenient. In any event, people, if they did not hear about the hearing, or could not come today, can still give the Commission testimony. They have plenty of time yet for that, and we would certainly encourage and solicit people to do that.

TESTIMONY OF DR. VALENTYNA SAWCHUK OF HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

I was born in Sahaidak, a railroad station in the Poltava region, in 1925. This station had a small population, about a hundred homes. We didn't have a church or school. The nearest church was five kilometers from us, and I walked three kilometers to the seven-year school in Dmytrivka.

Dmytrivka had a collective farm where the people from Sahaidak belonged. Sahaidak had a water tower, and because of its importance to the railroad, all trains stopped here. We had a village council to which all the surrounding villages belonged.

Along the railroad tracks, not far from the station, stood the grain storage bins. The grain was stored there and transported to the major cities. Sahaidak boasted of a fine marketplace which stood in front of the railroad station. Three days a week, business boomed here--Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.

Mr. father, Mykhailo Temofiyovych Riznychenko, and my mother, Olena I. Riznychenko, were not natives of the village. Both my parents originated from the Kharkiv region. They came to the Poltava region in 1921 because of the famine in the Kharkiv region. My parents owned no home or land. Selling needles, threads for embroidery, ribbons, *babushkas* and fabrics was their trade.

Private commerce was allowed during the N.E.P. period. The merchants were required to have a license and pay taxes.

We lived in a rented home that belonged to a well-to-do farmer from Dmytrivka. During the collectivization, he was among the first ones to join the collective farm. In fact, all his buildings and his courtyard became the seat for the collective farm.

The house in Sahaidak, he gave to his oldest son Ivan. Ivan occupied half of this home, and we lived in the other half with a teacher, her young daughter and mother. A teacher's salary was very meager, so it was difficult for her to make ends meet. My parents helped her, and in return, during the famine, she rationed her school-funded bread with us.

Early in 1932, my father's business was heavily taxed. He had to liquidate everything in order to pay the huge tax. In one month, he again received the same amount of taxes. He immediately paid a visit to the council to clarify what he thought must be an error.

He soon grimly discovered there was no mistake, and if he didn't pay the tax, then he must join the collective farm, or he will be stripped of his voting privileges.

He refused to join and lost his rights to vote. Having friends in Kiev who could help him, my father learned a new trade--photography. However, he was not allowed

to work as a photographer, because you were not allowed to work privately. You had to work for an organization. So the famine of 1932-33 found my parents without jobs and voting rights.

One day a group of people came to look for grain. They knew we could not have any, because we were not farmers. However, they hastily searched the room and found nothing. My mother had wisely hidden 90 kilos of flour that was luckily undiscovered in one of the many empty trunks used for commerce that were piled against the wall.

For food supplies, my mother traded everything we owned from the business–materials, fabrics, *babushkas,* ribbons, etc. When that ran out, she traded all her heirloom jewelry in *torgsin* in Poltava. Seventy silver rubles, my gift from Grandma, she traded for potatoes.

She was afraid to trade openly with gold money, because of the risk of being tortured and persecuted for it. However, our landlord took our gold money and obtained a goat for us. This goat helped us to survive.

Everyday, we had less and less to eat. I would ask, "Mom, how come you give Dad the largest piece of bread, for me smaller, and you take the smallest," and she would answer, "I'm not hungry."

In spite of the fact that my dad had no job and voting privileges, they appointed him a Deputy Carrier. Every morning, he had to report to the village council and deliver messages to assigned people.

One morning he abruptly came home, took my mom along, and they locked me in the house. I saw how upset they were and sat anxiously on the window sill awaiting their return. I saw many people running towards the railroad station from the village of Pivni.

They ran past my window through our courtyard, most of them being women. In a few hours, some of them were running back, dragging sacks of grain behind them. They were too weak to carry them.

My father later told me that a large number of people from surrounding villages came to the grain bins and in a fury looted the bursting bins. The guards could not contain them. However, additional troops were brought in from Poltava. People were trampled by horses, beaten, and many wounded. The grain was taken from them, and the mass was pushed to the marketplace.

In self-defense, the people were bundled together. They were forcibly separated, beaten, arrested and taken to Poltava Prison. Some were lucky and escaped with some grain, but on the whole, most were left with nothing.

The following day, by someone's command, they passed out a few pounds of peas per person, the irony being the grain bins bursting with wheat and other grain. In fact, wheat and grain were burning from spontaneous combustion, for if grain is not rotated and aired, it will burn.

This even was recorded in Pidhainyi's book and also in Dr. Conquest's book, and I am a living witness to this event.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you, Doctor. We certainly appreciate how difficult reliving those events is. We had heard of this from Dr. Conquest in his book and in testimony before the Commission in Washington. We appreciate your coming forth as

a living witness and of the fact of their having food right there very clearly and starving the people. Any questions from the Commission?

Mr. FEDORAK: Dr. Sawchuk, could I ask you a question as far as who caused the famine, and what might have been the reason for it?

Dr. SAWCHUK: This I don't know.

Mr. FEDORAK: Let me ask you another question, if I may. Was there such a famine in other parts of the U.S.S.R.?

Dr. SAWCHUK: Well, again, I was only seven years old, and I lived through the famine in Sahaidak, so I cannot tell about any other parts.

Mr. FEDORAK: Thank you.

Congressman HERTEL: Yes, Ms. Volker?

Ms. VOLKER: Dr. Sawchuk, could you move about in the area, or could you not get out of the boundaries of your village?

Dr. SAWCHUK: No, this is why in Sahaidak, the only person that died was my godfather, because other people, because as I said in my testimony, almost every train stopped in Sahaidak, so people could go to Poltava and to Kharkiv, so they survived. But from the surrounding villages, people could not get to these centers to buy bread.

Of course, my parents were talking and telling of some villages that had black flags, because the whole village had died out. My godfather also was in commerce, and when that was not allowed, he started to work on the railroad loading and unloading trains. Maybe because of that, because of other illnesses, he started to become blind.

So he became completely blind, and when he was quite ill and swollen, he asked that I should come and visit him. As I mentioned, we had a goat, and when we bought the goat, the goat was expecting. So my mother says, right now, we don't have milk, but later on we will have another goat, and we will have milk.

When it was born, it was a male goat. We kept it in a room. It was jumping all over the place, making all kinds of mess, and I named it Joseph to everybody's delight. So my dad killed the goat in a few weeks, and my mother wrapped a little piece of meat in a towel, and said, "Go and visit your godfather, because he wants to see you."

She said, "Don't tell anybody what you have. Go real fast, run, and don't take too long. Come back immediately." I did not see my godfather for a very long period of time, because, as you know, it is traditional in Ukraine to go on Christmas Eve to take Christmas supper, holy supper to your godparents. But that supper, we didn't have any, and so even what little we had, I said, "Mom, am I going to visit my godfather?" My mother said, "No, not this year, maybe next year."

So I did not see my godfather for a long time. So I took that little bundle, and I ran across the railroad tracks to my godfather's house. When I got there, his wife whom I called Grandmother had gone so he was all by himself. The whole house was completely bare. It was empty. I did not recognize the room.

He was sitting on a pad. He was so glad to see me. He was hugging and kissing me and said how he wished I could see you a grown-up lady. So when I came home, my mom said, "How is godfather?" I said, "Oh, he's fine, sends his greetings, and he looks so well."

Of course, he was all swollen, and a few days after that, he committed suicide by hanging. They never told me that he was dead, and only many months after that, again, I said, "May I visit my godfather now?"

My mother said, "You can't, because he passed away." I say, "Well, then I go, and I visit his grave." She said, "No, you can't, because he's buried in an unmarked grave and no cross, nothing, not marked. There is no cross over his grave." But, other people survived.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much, Doctor, for your testimony and for coming here. We really appreciate your coming forward and giving us your recollections as a young girl of the terrible events that you lived through.

Now, we have Mr. Michael Smyk. Since 1978, he has edited *The Ukrainian News,* a nationally circulated Ukrainian-language democratic weekly paper. Thank you for coming.

TESTIMONY OF MR. MICHAEL SMYK OF DETROIT, MICHIGAN

In 1931, sensing that our lives were in jeopardy, all of us--my father, mother, sister, brother and myself--abandoned our house and everything in it and fled from our native village.

I settled in Dniprodzerzhynsk, formerly Kamianske, while my father and the rest of the family went to the iron-ore basin of Kryvorizhzhia.

There was a time when I did not know where my parents were, nor did they know where I, the youngest member of the family, was. At the end of 1932, I finally arrived at the iron-ore mine which is located near the historical site of Zhovti Vody. My father, who worked as an accountant, found me work in the bookkeeping department of the mining administration.

Near the mine, there was a small town of about 10,000 to 12,000 persons who worked at the mine, and farther away from the town there were villages where hunger raged during the fall of 1932 and the beginning of 1933.

The hunger was experienced, even by the people who worked in the mines, particularly those who did not own their own homes with land where they could grow their own garden. Each of us office workers received about 400 grams of bread, less than one pound, daily, which became the staple of our diet.

When one takes into consideration that there was practically nothing else besides the bread, one ceases to wonder why some individuals, my father and myself included, had swollen legs which are the first symptom of starvation. In addition to working all day long, it was also necessary to attend school at night.

Once a day, those who were able to use their ration cards in the cafeteria, were given a very watery soup containing no fat and nothing more. Almost everyday while standing in line at the cafeteria, I noticed children between the ages of seven and ten who were dirty and ragged and always hungry going through the garbage pail with their hands in an attempt to find some potato peelings or a few groats that had been discarded by the cafeteria cooks.

Quite a few of these children could also be seen near the store where bread was rationed out. They all sat there with outstretched hands and entreating looks begging for charity, but few were the people who could bring themselves to take the precious bread away from their mouths in order to give it to those unfortunate children.

Hunger drove the adults, mostly the men, to the mine, but no one would hire them. Nor were they capable of doing work in their weakened, exhausted condition induced

by hunger. The small mining town became a cemetery for the majority of these people.

A dead human being, generally a man, lying on the street of the little town was a common sight at that time. By the way, men were dying first and then women. We men were bigger than women, but I never had the occasion to see who removed the bodies when this was done, although it was probably at night, and where the bodies were buried.

I also never saw the people who took away the children and adolescents. After 1933, I had the occasion to experience hunger resulting from a shortage of food once again while attending an institute in Kharkiv.

In 1939, I was assigned as a high school teacher to my native Kryvorizhzhia. The department of Education of the town Kryvyi Rih appointed me to teach in the German settlement of Grünfeld or Greenfield. There were many such settlements, German colonies, in Southern Ukraine from the time of Catherine II, who imported Germans to settle the Ukrainian steppe region.

In Grünfeld, there was a German high school which, like all ethnic schools in the Ukraine--Polish, Bulgarian, Greek, Yiddish and others, had been forced to become Russian-speaking a few years prior to my arrival as a result of government directive.

The Ukrainian language was taught only as a subject. I only recall this school, because besides it and a two-year technical school for mechanics, the town had an orphanage that housed children who lost their parents in the tragic years of 1932-33.

Because they had been brought to the orphanage at such an early age that they did not know their own surnames, the children were given new names and surnames, mostly Russian, like Ivanov, Petrov, and so on. The nannies in the orphanage were for the most part Russian, and the children spoke only in Russian.

In 1939 and 1940, there were almost no first grades in the majority of village schools, for in 1932-33, there were virtually no children born which is why there were no seven-year-old candidates for the first grade. They were taught by an older teacher who was an experienced pedagogue.

I recall one faculty meeting during which the director of the school chided the first grade teacher for falling behind in the fulfillment of her classroom curriculum. With a trembling voice and tears in her eyes, the teacher replied, "Don't you understand? For the pupils in my class, I am not merely a teacher; I am a mother. These children grew up without affection. In addition to teaching them reading and writing, I must also read them fairy tales. My failure to fulfill the teaching plan will ultimately be redeemed by the complete education I have given these children," she said. The chastised director patiently heard her and did not pursue the matter any further.

I don't know what became of the orphanage after war broke out. In 1940, I was mobilized as a civilian worker in the Army. Instead of a rifle, I was given a shovel to construct fortifications on the new Soviet-German border in western Byelorussia.

By the way, in this unit, building battalion, were the sons of executed parents and beside us also were criminals. That's the same pattern that exists now in the Soviet Union in their prisons. I thank you very much.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much. Mr. Fedorak?

Mr. FEDORAK: Professor Smyk, if you would be so kind, as you remember, was the famine widely spread over the U.S.S.R., or was it confined to a certain area?

Mr. SMYK: Would you please repeat this?

Mr. FEDORAK: Yes. Was the famine spread over the rest of the U.S.S.R., or was it confined to the Ukrainian Republic?

Mr. SMYK: No, unfortunately you have not enough time. In this room is sitting Mr. Petrenko who at that time lived in Moscow, and there was no hunger in the capital of the Soviet Union. There was no hunger in many Russian, I would say, areas, but there was in the Kuban and Kazakhstan where there are many Ukrainian settlements.

Mr. FEDORAK: May I follow up, Professor Smyk? Has there been a definition in your mind of the reason for that famine? Have you defined who caused it or for what reason?

Mr. SMYK: Well, my definition is since 1919, when Ukraine was occupied by Communists, perhaps in 10 or 11 years, Bolsheviks did not forget that Ukrainian people were fighting for independence, and as Stalin mentioned once, the farmers, they are the force of nationalists. Therefore, to combat the nationalists, they have to destroy the farmers.

Mr. FEDORAK: Using the words and paraphrasing the words of Congressman Broomfield, it was genocide, not just an artificial famine. Would you agree with that statement?

Mr. SMYK: Yes, it was genocide, it was artificial famine.

Mr. FEDORAK: Thank you, Mr. Smyk.

Ms. VOLKER: And as a follow-up, Mr. Smyk, the conclusion would be that it was the intent of Stalin's regime to eliminate the Ukrainian nation?

Mr. SMYK: That's true, because in 1931, 1930, before that, we have in Ukraine, so to say, some kind of renaissance in culture and so on. Most of the writers, poets, and scientists came from farmers, and Stalin was afraid of this. He wanted to destroy this, and so they destroyed the whole nation. Many communists were also executed, and you can find about this in, I would say, a very documented book by Mr. Bahrianyi in literature.

Congressman HERTEL: We also find, as you point out, there was hardly a first grade seven years later, while that was not true outside of the Ukraine in other parts of Russia. That's a very objective factor that we've been able to determine from the testimony of many people, and we see clearly that was not true in the other parts of the Soviet Union.

Mr. SMYK: No.

Ms. VOLKER: In other words, what the Congressman is saying is there were no children for kindergarten or low grades which was indicative that there was no young population.

Mr. SMYK: That's right. In the whole Ukrainia, I would say there was no first grade at schools, only maybe in the cities, you know, but in this city where I was, because of the orphanage we had there.

Ms. VOLKER: In other words, this was true primarily of Ukraine and other areas of the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. SMYK: No, in Russia schools were normal and so on.

Ms. VOLKER: Thank you.

Mr. SMYK: You are welcome.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you, Mr. Smyk. We are going to ask you to give us further testimony later on, on related issues.

Mr. SMYK: Right, thank you.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you for all your help. Next, we have Mrs. Motria S.

TESTIMONY OF MS. MOTRIA S. OF PARMA, OHIO

My name is Motria S. I was born in 1918 in the village of Pisky Radkiveni near Kharkiv. I can't tell you the precise date when collectivization and *dekulakization* or the famine began in our village.

My parents had six children, and you could say they were poor, although they were considered to be middle peasants. But, when they refused to join the collective farm, they were renamed *kulak* sympathizers. That was the beginning of everything.

They took away our oxen and horse and eventually our cow, put father in prison and threw us out permitting us to take only the clothes on our backs but nothing of the food.

Mother, at first, took us to her sister's house, which had a kitchen and one bedroom. My mother's sister had eight children, and when mother realized there was no room, she went to the village soviet to beg for a place for us to live until we were exiled to Siberia or until we had died of cold and hunger, for it was winter.

They gave us an old dilapidated hut in which to live. My elder brother went away to escape hunger. My aunt took me to live with her in the village of Vysoka Ivanivka, which was near the town of Slaviansk.

She was employed at tending the vegetable gardens, and although I was still small, they hired me to do the same. There I got a bowl of soup twice a day and 200 grams of bread. Knowing that my mother and the smaller children were cold and hungry, I ate the soup, but kept the hard, dry bread for them.

Although my legs began to swell from hunger, I decided to return to our village with the dried bread. I finally worked up the courage to take the train the 40 kilometers back to our village. There were a lot of people on the train. Some were swollen.

The children were very thin and looked as if they were close to death. After I got out of the train, I had to walk seven kilometers through the forest where I saw many bodies of dead people who had been unable to reach the railroad station.

Others were sitting along the road, lacking the strength to go farther. Some were people from our village. When I reached the village, I saw wagons loaded with bodies which were piled high like logs. I went to see my mother and my little sister who was a year and a half.

She was sitting down and kept asking for bread, but mother told me not to give her any, because she would die if she ate anything in famished state. She died anyway. Mother's sister and her husband died also, and their children were taken to orphanages. The neighbors also died, and their children were taken by living friends and relatives.

I left my native village forever after a very short visit. During the winter, I was given the job of helping with the feeding of the pigs. I slept where the food for the

pigs was prepared, and eventually learned to cull some of the grain used to feed the pigs which I used to bake flat cakes.

One day, as we were baking the cakes, an activist walked by and caught a whiff of the smell. As he entered the room, we threw the flat cakes behind the cauldron, but he crawled after them and retrieved them. The following day, the people were called together to witness how we were reprimanded for eating the pigs' food. Both I and the girl who was helping me bake the flat cakes were fired from our jobs.

I was given the job of feeding horses, while she was fined 200 rubles. I thought that feeding those horses would spell the end of me. I survived till spring, but fell ill with malaria. I was able to get a ride to the polyclinic in town, but the seven kilometers back home, I walked on my own two feet, stopping many times from frequent shaking fits.

I saw many hungry people in town. Those who had gold went to the store which was called a *torgsin* where they could buy flour, sugar, bread, bacon, and so forth. But, I didn't have any gold. I didn't even know what it looked like. But, thank God, one happy day I met Halyna who worked as a servant for a Jewish family. She asked me if I wanted a job like hers.

After leaving the polyclinic, I went with her to the home of two doctors who had a six-month-old child. They were kind to me, and I was happy to have survived everything.

Thank you so much.

Congressman HERTEL: We thank you very much for coming and testifying today, and we appreciate it very much.

Ms. S.: Thank you for listening.

Congressman HERTEL: We are happy to be here at the wonderful Ukrainian Cultural Center, as always, and we've never had the microphones not work here, but these must be Washington microphones here today.

The next testimony is from Maria N.

TESTIMONY OF MS. MARIA N. OF DETROIT, MICHIGAN

In August of 1931, I was appointed to a teaching position at a school in the village Ovsiuky, located in Yablunivskyi district in Poltava region. The offensive against villagers was at its height. They were being forced to enter collective farms and, quote/unquote, "voluntarily" to hand over to the government the harvest from their own fields.

One evening, the party leadership of the village ordered a meeting of party activists and school teachers to take place at the village soviet. An official sent by the district party committee spoke of the necessity of collective farms and maintained that it was necessary to organize grain search brigades to collect "to the last pound, to the last kernel of grain".

I witnessed how two party members turned in their party membership cards after being branded "enemies of the people" and were subsequently arrested.

The next day, the village activists were divided into shock brigades which were sent out to every corner of the village. There was a Russian in each brigade. Dark days set

in for the village farmers. The shock brigades equipped with sharp metal pikes, the kind utilized by farmers in haying, went from house to house poking the walls, searching the cattle sheds and yards in an attempt to find grain, and seizing everything, including baked bread.

The brigades came to owners of individual homesteads who were labelled *Indusy,* Indians. The Twenty-Five Thousanders, so called because of the official campaign to mobilize 25,000 urban workers for permanent work in the countryside, assigned the teachers to the brigades one at a time.

The teachers were forced to enter into ledgers the amount of grain confiscated by the grain search brigade and name of the victim. My turn came. It was impossible for me to refuse to joint the brigade, particularly since I was the daughter of *dekulakized* parents, although no one in the village of Ovsiuky knew my background since I had fled from my native farmstead. At the time, the Bolsheviks came out with the slogan: "He who is not with us is against us."

I was notified about my assignment with the brigade in the evening, and the next morning had to leave with the brigade. The leader of the brigade handed me a notebook and a pencil and informed me how the entries concerning the villagers from whom grain had been taken should be made. I was overwhelmed by fear and sadness for my family, and for my husband who had been thrown out their very own homes in January of 1930, under the strict injunction not to take anything with them, other than the clothes on their back.

We first entered the home of a priest. It was still dark outside. The leader of the brigade ordered the priest, Farther Skitskyi to open the door and threatened to break it down if he didn't comply. The priest, dressed in his night clothes, opened the door. On the floor where the family slept sat his wife, also in night clothes, and their daughter who had been forbidden to attend school.

The priest's family was terrified. At first the priest was asked, "Where is the grain, and how much of it is there?" Following the priest's response in the negative, the brigade commenced its search. I witnessed for the first time how the brigade conducted its searches.

The contents of the house were all turned over. Every corner was scrupulously searched, including the stove. The exterior and interior were examined to the tiniest crevice, including the ashes and the crocks sitting on top of the stove.

The icons were turned over. The floors were poked with metal crooks, as were the ceiling and the thatched roof. The same thing happened in the entrance hall, in the cattle shed and in the yard. Returning to the house, the brigade workers discovered a piece of bread and a couple of handfuls of flour hidden away in the bed.

These were confiscated, and the priest was arrested. The brigade went from farmstead to farmstead, and its method of confiscating grain never differed. Each protesting farmer was assaulted with a torrent of verbal abuse uttered in Russian.

The brigade entered the house of a *dekulakized* peasant. The owner had already been exiled to Siberia. His wife who was in the last stages of tuberculosis of the lungs was confined to her bed, and their nine-year-old daughter had her face and entire body swollen from hunger. It was very difficult for me to describe the horrible spectacle which I witnessed, and difficult for those who were not witnesses to it to believe what I saw.

The house was filthy after the *dekulakization.* The window panes had been poked out and the holes stopped up with hay. The emaciated women with deep sunken eyes lay silent in a filthy bed. Yellow skin covered her bones, and she coughed up blood. The little girl did not attend school, because she lacked clothing, shoes and proper social origins.

The methods of grain seizure were again the same. They found half a loaf of baked bread. Questions began, phrased in Russian and sprinkled with verbal abuse, "If there is bread in the house, where is the flour?"

The little girl explained that someone had brought the bread to the house the night before, and that she, not having had anything to eat for three days, had eaten half the loaf with water, leaving the rest for later. The bread was taken away, despite the little girl's importuning to leave some for her sick mother.

The leader of the brigade threatened to send the little girl to Siberia, and when she approached him, he pushed her away so hard that she fell to the floor.

On rare occasions, the brigade actually did find a small amount of grain. In the evening, the brigades returned to the village soviet, and my brigade which had seized the most grain received a red cloth which was called "a victory flag", which was taken on the brigade's next expedition to rob industrious peasants the next day, this time without me.

The baked bread, groats, and the millet were all given to the members of the *Komsomol,* Communist Youth League, and to the *komnezam,* Committee of Non-Wealthy Peasants, really loafers, as a reward for a job well done. The harvest arrived and the Twenty-Five Thousanders ordered all of the grain to be taken straight from the reaping machines "to the last pound, to the last kernel of grain."

Hungry farmers, and particularly their children, tried to gather sheaves of wheat from their own fields, but these were seized by the members of the *Komsomol* and the *komnezam,* because eating grain from your own field was called robbing socialism.

In August of 1932, I was transferred from the village of Ovsiukiv to the village of Krupoderentsi located in the Orzhytsky district in Poltava region. Krupoderentsi was a wealthy Cossack village where there were only a few *Komsomol* members since only the children of poor peasants tended to join the *Komsomol.*

It would seem that in such a large and wealthy village consisting of patriotic Cossacks, the Twenty-Five Thousanders would have a hard time vanquishing the farmers whose farmsteads were still untouched by collectivization.

At the first meeting of party activists at the village of Krupoderentsi which all the teachers had to attend, I encountered young boys who spoke Russian. I found out that these boys were sent by the authorities to help with the grain confiscation, for the authorities to help with the grain confiscation, for the authorities did not trust the local party activists to do the job.

The same instructions were given to seize the grain "to the last pound, to the last kernel", as well as the potatoes which are second only to grain as a major food source in the Soviet Union.

The fall of 1932 and the spring of 1933 saw the harshest offensive against the Ukrainian farmer, because only through hunger could the resistance of the farmers against the hated collectivization be broken.

In Krupoderentsi, there was already a collective farm. All of the grist mills in the villages and towns either passed into the hands of the local authorities or were closed down. Villagers who still held on to some grain either crushed it with mortars or with rolling pins and added to the flour derived in this way bits of pumpkin, beets, cabbage. The resulting mixture, when baked, resembled bread.

Domestic animals and birds were slaughtered the winter before the absence of produce and meat which also had to be handed over to the government. In the new year of 1933, people were slowly starving. The village was dying. Its inhabitants slowly succumbing to the circumstances around them.

In the spring of 1933, a massive famine struck the Ukrainian villages. Women, men, and children swollen from hunger were starving to death while the brigades continued to go from house to house, destroying the ovens, fireplaces, breaking up the thatched roofs in their quest for grain. The mortality caused by the famine increased daily.

Parents who still had the strength to carry their small children drove them on the roofs of the train cars to cities and abandoned them on city streets. The militia picked up the abandoned children and placed them on the hay in the cattle cars. Wards were appointed for the abandoned children.

The children were fed a so-called soup made of water with a little millet thrown in and 100 grams of soggy bread daily. Many of these children died, while others were placed in orphanages where they were taught to love Father Stalin and the beloved party which had murdered their parents through hunger.

The parents of these abandoned children and other villagers went to garbage dumps where the urban housewives threw away their refuse, ate the decaying matter which was covered with flies, and consequently died of food poisoning.

The children who were still alive looked like skeletons. Filthy and torn, they cried out, "Bread, bread, give me a little piece of bread, Mama, I'm hungry, bread."

Two churches in the village of Krupoderentsi had been filled with grain and potatoes. The church was surrounded with barbed wire, and armed Russian guards stood watch over the plundered grain day and night.

Struggling to survive, the people ate leaves, nettles, pigweed, sorrel, honeysuckle, bulrushes. They made tea out of the branches of cherry trees. The leaves of the linden trees were the tastiest. People gleaned the remnants of rotten siftings and potato and beet peelings. To these were added strained linden leaves and the baked mixture was called *shchodennyky* or everyday patties.

Whoever had a poppy seed cake divided it among the members of his family leaving some for the following days. People died of hunger in the houses, the fields, in the yards, streets, railroad stations, on the roofs of train cars.

In the year 1933 until the harvest of that year, the mortality increased with each day. Everyday a vehicle from the collective farm drove up to houses, and the driver called out, "Are there any dead people in there?" Bodies were collected everywhere. They were usually rolled in sack cloth, piled onto wagons like logs of wood, driven to a single large hole, piled into the hole and sprinkled with lime.

When one hole was completely filled with bodies, another one was dug. Bells did not toll for the dead. No one wept for the dead or accompanied the bodies to their final rest. Only flies swarmed around the dead bodies which were already in the

process of decomposing. The people who collected the bodies received recompense for their day's work which was a bit of corn or some barley.

One spring day on my way to school, I heard the cries of a child. Going up to the yard where the cries were coming from, I saw a young mother sitting on a bank of earth against the house. There was an infant on her breast which was frantically trying to suck its mother's breasts, which were as dry as empty bags.

It seemed at first that she was asleep, but when I touched her shoulder, she fell like a blade of grass. She was dead. Her child rolled off her, hit its head against the ground and also died.

Some people travelled to Russia and were able to acquire flour, millet and other items through illegal barter, but such good fortune was rare. My mother mustered up the courage to make a trip into Russia. My sister and I gathered all that was best for trading and gave my mother some money for teachers received regular monthly wages, and she departed for Russia to seek her fortune.

She was able to obtain some flour, millet and a bottle of oil, but her happiness was short-lived and ended in tears. At the border, everything was taken away from her, and her name and address was recorded. She was given a severe reprimand never to travel to Russia in search of food or to tell Ukrainians about how the Russians lived.

People were very much interested in the life of their so-called "elder brothers"[1] but mother was so frightened that she told people she had never reached Russia because of the illness that befell her on her journey.

My mother visited several Russian villages where people had bread, potatoes, different kinds of grain, bacon, oil, milk, eggs, and other food stuffs, yet were afraid to sell them to Ukrainians or to trade with Ukrainians.

Some Russians did engage in these activities discreetly. Mother said that Russia seemed like another kingdom. As she saw it, the people were cheerful, lived a normal existence, went to work, were pleased with everything.

The village loud speakers blared the message, "*Zhyt' stalo luchshe, zhyt' stalo veseley*" --life has gotten easier, life has become more fun. During her stay in Russia, mother spent the nights in different villages, at the homes of families where she was treated to an unlimited quantity of bread, cabbage soup, milk, porridge with milk and other kinds of food. I found out that her Russian hosts knew nothing of the situation in Ukraine, and mother told them nothing of what was happening there.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much for your testimony today, knowing how difficult it is for you to come forward, but how important it is for the world to hear your testimony and the information that you have brought to us.

Ms. VOLKER: I have a question, Maria N. As a teacher, and of course, they knew that you were Ukrainian, I assume, how were you treated, and what was your ration of food?

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1 Beginning in the 1930s, Soviet ideology began to refer to the Ukrainian nation as the "younger brother" of the Russian nation in order to emphasize the latter's ideological, cultural and political seniority *(Staff explanation)*.

Ms. N. *(through interpreter)*: In 1931 and the beginning of 1932, we were given some food from the collective farm, but then they cut this off.

Ms. VOLKER: Then how did she survive as a worker?

Ms. N. *(through interpreter)*: Every teacher has a tiny plot of land in which they were able to sow a little bit of potatoes, a little bit of this, a little bit of that, and that's how they survived.

But already in the spring of 1933, none of this was possible. There was no food anywhere, not even in the small plots of land.

Congressman HERTEL: Mr. Fedorak?

Mr. FEDORAK: Mrs. Maria N., you mentioned in your testimony that some people travelled to Russia and were able to acquire flour. Are you suggesting that the famine was restricted to the territory of Ukraine, and, if so, what is your explanation?

Ms. N. *(through interpreter)*: No, there was never any famine in Russia.

Mr. FEDORAK: A follow-up question, you mentioned gleaning as one of the sources of food. I, before me, have the speech of Dr. Fred Dohrs which he delivered June 12, 1983 during the Ukrainian community's commemoration of the famine anniversary in Detroit. As a matter of fact, that was chaired by Professor Smyk who is present here and was our witness.

Professor Dohrs, if I may quote, states the following: "Even gleaning, that ancient and accepted right of the poor to follow the harvesters and pick up the few grains and kernels not taken by the thrashers, gleaning became a capital crime in Ukraine by Stalinists' edict in 1932".[2]

Could you refer to that, and do you remember such an edict?

Ms. N. *(through interpreter)*: The practice of gleaning was started by children who would go to private plots of land in 1932 to do their gleaning, but then the *Komsomol* put a stop to this and said this was a social crime, because they said even in your own plot of land it was considered to be a crime against socialism to do the gleaning.

Mr. FEDORAK: So if you would want to define in one sentence the reason for the famine, how would you describe that?

Ms. N. *(through interpreter)*: First, they destroyed the leading elements of the society, and then they tried to force the peasants to enter collective farms. The Ukrainian peasants did not want to have their lives regimented in this way. They wanted to keep their individual farms, and this I see as one of the main reasons for collectivization, the second being a desire to destroy the Ukrainians as a national group.

Mr. FEDORAK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Ms. Maria.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you.

Ms. N.: Thank you very much.

Congressman HERTEL: Now we have testimony from Anastasia Kh.

Dr. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: At the request of Mrs. Anastasia Kh., I would like to read the testimony.

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2 The reference is to the infamous law of August 7, 1932, which decreed the death penalty (or, in extenuating circumstances, ten years deprivation of freedom) for pilfering socialist property. Gleaning in the collective field was considered to be a form of pilfering socialist property *(Staff insert)*.

TESTIMONY OF MS. ANASTASIA KH.

My name is Anastasia Kh. I was born in Kharkiv *Oblast*. My recollection of the tragedy of the Ukrainian nation begins at the age of seven. Around the year 1930, I returned from school one day to discover strangers taking away our wagon, horses and cow.

My mother, who survived the famine of 1932-33, only to die of hunger in 1946, was crying out and begging them to leave the cow for the children for a village cow was a second mother to small children, but my mother's pleas went unheeded.

This happened three times, as I recall. On the third time, they took away our chest of clothes and all the grain. Mother sat us little ones on top of a sack containing about 20 kilograms of grain which was lying on the kitchen stove, but they pulled us down from the stove and removed the grain to the last kernel. That's how the horrible tragedy began in our village.

First, the villagers were divided into three classes--*kulaks*, middle peasants, and poor peasants. They were considered middle peasants, because the kulaks as the wealthiest peasants were called, had already been dispossessed of their property in 1929.

My mother worked in the city of Kharkiv which was 65 miles away from our village. Workers at that time were given, or more accurately permitted to buy 300 grams of bread, while children, as I recall, were allotted 200 grams. But, poor father had to work such long hours that he was unable to come home every evening without bread. After waiting in line for many long hours, he often missed the last train back to our village, and was forced to transmit the bread to us through village acquaintances.

This was still during the years 1930-31. The following years, 1932-33, were truly a horrible time for our family. The winter was extremely cold. There was no firewood. The house was cold inside. Worst of all, there was nothing for us to eat.

I remember how I and my two youngest brothers, one was seven, the other five, would crawl up to the loft where some sort of chaff was stored. In it, we found some kidney beans which we proceeded to pick out one by one.

Mother soaked them and made some kind of broth out of them, and we were immeasurably happy that we had discovered such a treasure in the loft, but it was impossible to subsist on bean broth forever, since with each passing day, there were fewer and fewer beans to eat, and the day came when we were unable to find any more.

When spring came, we would go to the forest to pick sorrel. In the summer, we would go to the pine forest to pick mushrooms. As time went on, hunger began to torment us more and more. At the time, I was the oldest of four children in our family. One younger brother had died in 1930. I was often forced to miss school, because of trips to Kharkiv to take father's place in the bread lines.

But, whenever the time came for me to take my bread, I would generally be told either that there was none left or that I was too small to be buying bread. You can imagine how pitiful I felt, having waited long hours for the bread, only to return empty-handed.

The train cars were filled with many swollen children whose parents were either no longer living or who unable to endure the sight of their dying children threw them out the window of the train cars.

Those children who were still alive after such treatment were taken away to some kind of shelter. I generally hid under the benches, because I was afraid they would take me away as well. In addition, I was already swollen from hunger, and it was difficult for me to drag my legs which had grown very heavy.

I was not yet ten years old. In school, as I recall, orphans were given some sort of broth to drink and some bread to eat. I am ashamed to say that I envied them, because they were orphaned and were able to get food.

God forgive me, I was small myself and very hungry. In the beginning, there were 30 children in the first grade. Then 25, 20, 15, and finally only a few remained. I, too, was no longer able to attend school for I no longer had the strength.

Once in the spring of 1933, I was fortunate enough to obtain a kilogram of bread on Zmiïvski Street in Kharkiv. I hid my bountiful treasure in the lining of my coat. I wanted to eat it so badly, but realized that if I began to nibble it, I would be unable to stop, and there would be nothing left for my brother, sister, and mother who was breast feeding a baby at the time with blood instead of milk, because her breasts had gone dry from hunger.

I often saw how my mother prayed to God to be allowed to die, for she could no longer endure the sight of her child suffering. To this very day, I can see my poor little sister before my very eyes. She was all skin and bones, like the children in Ethiopia. Once, I managed to obtain two kilograms of bread. This happened in the following way. There were two merchants selling bread in the store. I came up to one of them and he gave me one kilogram. Then I squeezed into another line and got more bread from another merchant.

I was so afraid that my treasures would be taken away from me as I left the store. Walking through the door, I took care to hide the bread under my arm, so that no one would notice that I had any and seize it.

I saw many unfortunate souls who were close to death. I recall walking past a young woman with a baby on her breast. She begged me to give her some bread in the name of Christ, but I refused, because I myself had not eaten any of it yet.

I thought that if I gave the bread to all the hungry people I met, there wouldn't be any left for me. No sooner had I walked away than the unfortunate woman keeled over and died. Fear gripped my heart, for it seemed that her wide open eyes were accusing me of denying her bread. They came and took her baby away, which in death she continued to hold in a tight grip.

The vision of this dead woman haunted me for a long time afterwards. I was unable to sleep at night, because I kept seeing her before me. When I related my experience to my mother, she tried to cheer me up by saying that I would not have been able to save the woman even if I had given her an entire loaf of bread, for her system had already been undermined by hunger.

At the time, bread was the most vital form of sustenance. I recall how father on several occasions took us to Kharkiv to a so-called cafeteria. The cafeteria must have been only for party workers, because father was unable to buy anything for us to eat, although we saw others eating and even leaving scraps on their plates which we ate after the people had left.

Once when we were at the restaurant, a well-dressed man came to father and began screaming at him. They threw us out of the restaurant, and we never again returned.

The summer of 1933 brought with it a good harvest. We children would go in twos and threes with bags and scissors to cut down sheaves of wheat, for which one could be severely punished if caught.

I went to an area near another village, Novo-Andriïvka and Petrovske, to collect the sheaves. At the village, I heard that a mother had killed her own child near the shocks of wheat. The little girl's name was Halya. The mother stabbed her with scissors, and took the meat home to feed her sons. The little boys said the cooked meat was so good that some should be saved for Halya. At these words, the mother went mad. She ran out of the house and began screaming that she had eaten her own child.

Returning home with the sheaves we had cut, we met three young men who were members of the *Komsomol* Youth League. They took away our sheaves and beat us so severely that there were bruises on my shoulders and lower legs long afterwards.

It was generally so difficult to reach the train that people would climb on tops of the train cars. The conductor who sold tickets would chase the people out of one side of the train, only to have them crawl back through the other side. I was so terrified of the conductor that for a long time afterwards, I kept hearing his cry, "Show your tickets." And so, swollen though we were, we still went to the forest to pick mushrooms and other plants, such as nettles and sorrel, and anything else we could find which would soothe the pain in our stomachs.

Thanks be to God who saved us from death during the famine of 1932-33.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much. Mr. Fedorak?

Mr. FEDORAK: May I ask you, Ms. Anastasia Kh., when you mentioned the *Komsomol* League and the abuse that they had given to the young people, recognizing that you were young at that time, but as you grew up, how did the community perceive the reason why they were doing that?

Ms. KH.: I was young. I didn't understand why. I thought somebody had sent them to take grain away from us, but I really at that time didn't know too much.

Mr. FEDORAK: But as you grew up within the community, how did the community feel later, and what did you pick up as a result of folklore, if I can call it that, reaching for a word.

Dr. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: How did the Ukrainian community comprehend this?

Ms. KH.: Should I say in English?

Dr. SAMILENKO-TSVETKOV: In English.

Ms. KH.: People have very much bitterness because they still remember that in almost every family somebody died, and people didn't trust anybody any more. If somebody comes into your house and asks you questions, you were afraid to tell them, because you didn't know who they were. So that is how much I can answer you.

Mr. FEDORAK: Thank you.

Congressman HERTEL: I just want to thank you for coming. I can only imagine how difficult it is to relate these terrible events and what the other witnesses have told us today, but it is still very important for you to do, for the people in this country to know what happened, for the people in the world to know that these terrible things happened, that they were done by the Soviet Government to the peoples of the Ukraine, and that's why we have this Commission so that we can establish such a record.

There will be a permanent record, that we will be able to free more people in the world, to know what the Soviets did before and to know what kind of government that, therefore, they are today, so we thank you very much for coming.

Ms. KH.: Thank you.

Congressman HERTEL: Mrs. Kardynalowska was able to come. She's the widow of Serhiy Pylypenko, a prominent Ukrainian writer. Please take your time.

TESTIMONY OF MS. TATIANA KARDYNALOWSKA OF ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

In 1932, I lived in Kharkiv. Suddenly, rumors began to circulate throughout the city that there was a famine in the Ukrainian countryside. There were no official confirmations of the rumors nor was there any newspaper reporting on the subject. Very soon thereafter, peasants began filtering into the city. They came one-by-one, not in groups or families.

They were mostly young mothers with babies or small children. Occasionally one would see teenage boys. A typical picture I observed many times was of a mother with a baby coming into town and looking for a busy street. She would spread her kerchief on the sidewalk, place her baby on it and leave. Sometimes she would go only as far as the street corner, stop there and watch if anybody would pick up her child. No one would.

After a while, she would return, pick up the baby and proceed to another street corner and try again. Never did I see anyone stop and pick up the babies. At first, for about the first two or three months, these were sporadic instances, but gradually they increased until there was a steady stream of starving peasants coming to the city.

The children and the mothers began to die first. The dead and the dying were being picked up by special trucks which regularly patrolled the city streets. The trucks drove them out of town to special barns set up as collection points.

Those who were still breathing were simply left there to die. There was no medical service or food provided at these centers. The city folk knew about it, but the peasants did not. They assumed the trucks were provided by the authorities to take care of them, and many mothers gladly put their children on those trucks and climbed there themselves thinking they would be fed.

The brutal truth about the fate of those being taken away soon became known to the peasants, and many a time one could hear a piercing cry of a mother who upon her return to the street corner where she left her baby discovered the baby was gone. In vain, the passers-by tried to comfort her saying that perhaps someone had taken in her child out of compassion.

After a while, the peasants arriving in the city could barely walk. I remember one scene in which a young boy, emaciated to the point where he had to be supported on each side by adults, probably his parents who themselves were barely able to walk, was coming towards me.

From afar, it appeared as if the boy were grinning. I was chilled with horror at the sight. When the group came near, I realized that the grimace on the boy's face was caused by the taut skin pulled up and baring his teeth.

I remember leaving a drama theater and finding starving children, barely five years of age, curled up in the niches near the entrance slowly dying. Every time I went out in the street, I took bread and other soft food with me and gave it to the mothers, but soon their children were so starved they could no longer consume any food.

The city folk began to feel the squeeze too. There was scarcity of food everywhere. My husband, Serhiy Pylypenko, along with other prominent writers and members of the Communist Party, was issued a book of special coupons or meal tickets for the privileged dining room at *Sovnarkom*, the Council of People's Commissars. When we went to eat there for the first time, we discovered that it was permissible to take out the meals.

The next time we came equipped with bowls, filled them with food, soup, meat, vegetables, and stepping outside where a large crowd of hungry children were waiting, began to distribute it. The children had no dishes, so we just sat down among them and fed them from our bowls.

There were also some mothers there who helped us. Some of my husband's colleagues, seeing what we were doing, began feeding the children also. I must say that very few writers were privileged enough to obtain food coupons for the *Sovnarkom* dining room, and out of those, even fewer decided to share their food with the hungry.

I also must add that the food we gave away was not our only food. We all received additional special distribution packages, *"paiky"*, so that we were not going hungry.

In the summer of 1932, the Union of Writers of Ukraine, organized for its members and their families a trip to Skadovsk, a resort on the Black Sea, near the city of Dnepropetrovsk. I was a member of that union.

The seashore near the resort was barren, sandy and overgrown with low brush wood. There were no buildings there of any sort. The whole area looked rather desolate.

Further up the shore at the mouth of the Dnieper, we saw hundreds of dug-outs made by the peasants who fled from the famine. They dug those holes in the ground and lived there with their families, perhaps hundreds of them. They survived by catching fish. Many of them came from far away. It was late summer, and the peasants wanted to find out how the crops which they planted earlier were doing.

They sent their scouts to their native villages. The scouts returned with the news that the crops were excellent, but that there was no one left to harvest them. However, the authorities have brought the factory workers from cities, and had imported Russians to do the harvesting for them. So far as I know, those dug-out dwellers were not discovered by the authorities and were saved.

One day that summer, my husband was returning from work. He worked as the editor-in-chief at the State Publishing House. We lived in the cooperative apartment building called *Slovo*[3]--The Word--on the outskirts of town. There was a small market place nearby.

Passing through it, my husband noticed a young woman wandering aimlessly and looking lost. She had nothing on but a long peasant skirt and was barefoot. He asked

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3 *Budynok Slovo* was reserved for the most prominent Communist writers in the Ukrainian S.S.R. *(Staff Insert).*

her what she was looking for, and she answered that everyone in her village was starving to death, that she had no one and nowhere to go.

She looked so pitiful that my husband told her to follow him. He brought her to our apartment where our cook took her to the kitchen and offered her some food. The young woman burst out crying and confessed that she had not had any food for four days. We washed and scrubbed her, gave her some clothes and let her stay with us.

The poor woman was beside herself with joy and tried to show her appreciation in every way she could, doing all kinds of chores around the house. She literally worshipped my husband. She stayed with us for six months, and then my husband found her work in some factory.

This woman was not the only person my husband managed to save. There were many others. Being the head and founder of the Peasant Writers Association called *Pluh*--The Plough--he was aware that most members of his organization tried to help their starving relatives in the villages, and he gave them assistance in every possible way, especially by finding jobs for those peasants.

As a party member, my husband had firsthand knowledge of the open protest against the man-made famine by the communist writer Mykola Khvyliovyi.[4] Khvyliovyi had asked the party to dispatch him to the country to help confiscate the grain, believing that the grain was being withheld by the stubborn wealthy *kulak* peasants.

Upon his arrival in the country, he found the entire village starving to death. In horror, he immediately wired the Central Committee saying, "The village is starving. We must send food there, not confiscate it from the peasants."

In response, the party officials ordered Khvyliovyi to return from his assignment. When he arrived in Kharkiv, he was told that everything proceeded according to the party directive. Within a short time thereafter, Khvyliovyi committed suicide.

In 1933, my husband was arrested and our family was exiled from Ukraine. We settled in Kalinin, a city north of Moscow. There the local people were astonished to hear my story about the famine in Ukraine. "How could that be," they said, "when we see Ukrainian bread and sugar being sold in our stores?"

Equally amazed were my friends in Moscow. "So that's why we saw all those Ukrainian peasants wandering in the streets of Moscow. We were all puzzled by what was going on," they told me.

I never thought I would live to hear that anyone could claim that the so-called famine never took place in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much for your testimony. That's one reason, your last statement, because of the terrible things that happened that Congress finally did, after quite a battle, and a lot of people in the community right here were involved in that battle, to have the Commission established, so that, as you say, no one can ever say that the terrible reality of what did occur did not, in fact, happen. So we

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4 Mykola Khvyliovyi, the most popular Soviet Ukrainian writer of the 1920s, committed suicide in May 1933 to protest the artificially-created famine.

very much appreciate your testimony as part of this record for that very purpose. Questions? Mr. Fedorak has a question.

Mr. FEDORAK: At one time in your testimony, Mrs. Kardynalowska, you were mentioning the urban intelligentsia. What was the feeling of the urban intelligentsia? How did they perceive the famine, and what was their interpretation of it, the reason or the cause of it?

Ms. KARDYNALOWSKA *(through interpreter)*: They obviously thought many conflicting things, but in that society, people led two different lives, one opposing the other.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much. At this time, Mr. Broomfield's aide has a statement for Mr. Broomfield.

Mr. McKEE: Good afternoon. My name is Dennis McKee, and on behalf of Congressman William Broomfield, I wish to extend his deepest regrets that he is not able to personally participate in today's Commission hearing. However, it has been made impossible because he had to attend an emergency special session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on which he serves as the Committee's Ranking Republican.

The Foreign Affairs Committee was called at the last minute, and it is on the current Iranian situation, as the good Congressman Dennis Hertel, mentioned earlier.

Mr. Broomfield has asked, however, that I be allowed to read this prepared statement and that it be entered as part of the formal hearing record of this Commission.

STATEMENT OF THE HON. WILLIAM BROOMFIELD

Members of the Commission, honored guests, I want to add my welcome to all of you to this public hearing of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine. Today marks the fifth meeting of the Commission in our continuing efforts to hear testimony on a very important and tragic historical event.

The Commission is charged with expanding the world's knowledge of the Ukrainian famine of 1932 and 1933. It will also provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role in the Ukraine famine. By April 1988, following two years of investigation and analysis, the Commission will submit a report to Congress which will include a study of the famine, its causes, effects, and reaction to it by the free countries of the world.

For my part, I think it is essential that the Commission's work show the scope and effects of the famine in stark and real terms. Equally as important as stating the facts is making certain that they are widely known to the American people and to the rest of the world. The man-made famine was--and is--a reflection of the Soviet system of rule. In fact, it continues to surprise me that the famine is referred to as such, that being a famine.

I think it would be more accurate to refer to this catastrophic event as a nation genocide which it truly was. Changing the way in which we refer to this event would increase awareness of its horrendous nature and would serve to highlight the homicidal intent with which it was carried out.

The most recent Soviet disaster to strike the Ukraine occurred on the morning of April 26, 1986. At that time, a partial meltdown occurred at the Chernobyl Nuclear

Power Plant about 80 miles north of Kiev. Associated with the meltdown was a major release of radiation. But, the Soviets, displaying the normal gross lack of regard for human life, did not begin to evacuate the population in the neighborhood of the power plant until the afternoon of April 27, some 36 hours later.

In fact, it was not until the anxious inquiries of the Swedish Government of April 28 that the Soviets acknowledged to the international community that an accident has occurred. Reports to the population inside the Soviet Union were slow in coming and sparse, to say the least.

We still do not know the full story of what happened at Chernobyl. Efforts by our government and by the international media to obtain a clear and accurate account of the events of those days in April and their aftermath continue to be intentionally frustrated by the Soviet authorities.

We do not know what happened to other reactors in the same facility, nor do we know whether to expect accidents at other similar reactors. The Soviets have built at least one nuclear power plant in Cuba. A disaster so close to our own shores could result in a destructive calamity for the United States.

The lies and distortions so characteristic of the Soviet Government in the 1930s have been reheated and served again in the 1980s. Soviet authorities have no shame when it comes to fabricating stories to masquerade the truth. Recent statements by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, illustrated the problem. Shevardnadze, following a recent meeting with Secretary Shultz in Vienna, indicated that the United States "wishes to forget Reykjavik as soon as possible." Secretary Shultz on the other hand, in his remarks, affirmed that "we have a responsibility to the potentiality of what was agreed on in Reykjavik and to keep after it."

The Soviets cannot be relied upon to speak the truth on any subject at any time. Despite this, we will not forget those millions of Ukrainians who remain ensnared in the Soviet police state. It is our responsibility to remind our fellow Americans and the world at large of past and present Soviet aggression in the Ukraine. Our task is to keep faith with the Ukrainian people in their struggle to achieve freedom and dignity. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Congressman HERTEL: Since we got right into the testimony today, and because we were concerned that some of the witnesses had to leave and in courtesy because it is such a difficult duty to testify here before the Commission because of the terrible things that occurred, we didn't have a chance before the opening remarks.

You know, we are the only part of the entire country that has four members on the Commission, myself, Mr. Broomfield, Mr. Fedorak, and Ms. Volker. No other part of the country has that kind of representation as does our area.

I think that in large part it's due to the Ukrainian community right here in Michigan, and certainly a large part of why this Commission was finally established was because of work of people right here in the Ukrainian community in educating the Congress and in educating others in the media so that we could finally have the Commission begin its work. We thank you for that.

I want to ask the other Commission members at this point, since we have just one final witness, if there are any statements they would like to make. Mr. Fedorak?

Mr. FEDORAK: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Cultural Center, we are grateful to the Members of the Commission and the Chairman of the Commission that such hearings were held at the center.

We realize that there is a press for time, but nevertheless, the Board would appreciate very much if you would join some members of it and the members of the Commission, the witnesses, members of the press and the friends of the witnesses, to join us for a little reception across the hall at the end of the hearing. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you very much, and I appreciate all that you've done and all the Ukrainian Center has done in preparing for this hearing and helping us with witnesses also.

Ms. VOLKER: Thank you, Congressman Hertel. Personally, I want to express my appreciation to the Commission and Congressman Hertel. The Commission has a great job to do, and I think that the press here today and all of you present, the majority of you know the story of the Ukrainian famine, but the world does not.

This is the job of the Commission, to get as many testimonies as possible throughout the country where there are survivors of the Ukrainian famine, and then to research further and have historians and researchers present a report. Primarily our community thanks goes to the Congress and the late Mr. Olshaniwsky and the Ukrainian group in Washington who prevailed on Congress to create a Commission and to fund it.

My personal thanks to the Commission from the Ukrainian women and community so that we can really tell the world that this should not happen again.

(Applause)

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you for all your hard work and all your advice these many years.

Let me summarize by saying the Commission is doing an excellent job. They're holding hearings around the country, and, as I said, we have Congressmen and Senators on the Commission, and then we have members of the Ukrainian-American community, and we have been seeking out testimony not only at these hearings in Washington and around the country, but also privately with people, in many cases because of the person's age. We're so fortunate that they are still able to take time with the staff members or with the Commission sometimes privately.

We ask anyone in the community who knows of someone that would have testimony to please help us obtain that, and we still have plenty of time. Of course, after we have finished collecting all of the evidence, then we are going to determine different ways of getting the information out to the public, certainly in writing and so froth, but we're also looking into ways of using television and video tapes of some of the witnesses that testified and audio tapes. We want to reach the largest number of people, and we want to reach all people, but we also want to reach these newer generations too so they can especially know what happened and pass the word to the next generation of what occurred, and how human beings can do terrible things to others, and how that should not happen, and how that when people say that it didn't happen, that we have a record to show them what was done and what did occur and the terrible suffering. We have people that have the courage to come forward and take their time before this Commission to relate those events to us and to the world.

We have one more witness now. We're going to ask Professor Michael Smyk to come back and to talk to us about the long-lasting effects of what occurred.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. MICHAEL SMYK

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In addition to considering what I and others here today witnessed personally, the Commission should also consider the effect the famine continues to have in Soviet Ukrainian society.

The vast majority of Ukrainian inhabitants of the Soviet Union who are now over the age of about sixty, indeed, all who resided in the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the North Caucasus Territory in 1933, remember what they saw at that time. It is not the sort of thing that one forgets.

The price paid by Ukrainians in the Soviet Union in terms of shattered families can be seen in the Soviet Ukrainian press. The daily newspaper, *Silski Visti*--The Village News--published on Victory Prospect in Kiev, carried a regular column called *We Have not Lost Hope,* consisting of notices from individuals seeking lost relatives.

While most of the notices concern wartime separations, in May of 1985 notices began to appear from those who were separated from their loved ones during the famine. I would like to share only four of these notices with you.

Mr. Chairman, for obvious reasons, it will be very difficult for me to read these notices. I would like to ask you to allow this to be read by my son.

Congressman HERTEL: Certainly. We're honored to have you here too.

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY MR. ANDREW SMYK

Thank you. The April 16, 1986 column carried this notice from Melania Dmytrivna Makhynia, 28743 Vinnytska *Oblast,* Illinetsky *Raion,* village of Leukhy:

> We lived by the school, not far from the pond. There was a well in the yard. Ours was a large family: father, Dmytro Matviyovych Zavertany; mother, Hannah Mykhailivna; and six children. The oldest, Stepan, was already married. Then came Tetiana, Frosyna, myself, and the youngest--Kostia and Oleksiy. In 1929 we moved to the Urals. Three years later, father died. It was difficult for our invalid mother to handle us, so she decided to return to the village of Leukhy. But here we also lived in poverty. I will never forget the June 1933 when our distraught mother went through the house gathering Kostia's and Oleksiy's things. As she picked up their clothing, tears came to her eyes.
>
> 'Mama, why are your crying?' I asked. She looked at me sadly and replied, 'Tomorrow, Kostia and Oleksiy will be taken to Uman.'
>
> Tetiana went with Mother and my brothers to the Monastery Station in Cherkassy *Oblast.* A few days later, Mother came home. She explained that she left her sons sitting in the shadow of an orphanage, while she went to buy them some candy. When she returned, they were gone.

I am confident that they remember our large family. Kost Dmytrovych Zavertnany, born in 1926, and Oleksiy Dmytrovich Zavertnany, born 1928, brothers, please respond.

Maria Pylypivna Kipot, formerly Moroz, wrote from the village of Myronivna, Pervomaisk *Raion*, Kharkiv *Oblast*, published this inquiry:

I always read *We Have not Lost Hope* with emotion. Perhaps our brother Ivan Pylypovych Moroz is looking for us. I have not forgotten how, when I was five, my older brother Vanya was with us, but I must remember still more. It happened in 1933. Our oldest sister Motya went to Kharkiv: Soon mother and father died. We were left alone. My infant brother Kolya lied crying in his cradle, and I rocked him. Later, he became silent. Then Vanya took me by the hand to the center of the village. As we went, I hit him with my fists.

'Where are you taking me?' I cried. He grasped me to his breast and soothed me. He took me to a nursery in which they took orphaned children. He looked at me, kissed me, and quickly left. When I was older, I found out from people that Vanya went to the Lykhachove station. Now Motya lives in Dnipropetrovsk. And I have two daughters, two sons, and six grandchildren. But I cannot forget Vanya. Answer, brother.

The February 19, 1986 issue carried this brief query from Varvara Stepanivka Holovchenko, from the village of Selyanshchyna, Cherniakhivsky *Raion*, Zhytomyr *Oblast:*

When I read the collection of letters in *We Have not Lost Hope*, I was so affected by them that I wasn't myself for a couple of days. I kept hearing the voice of my son calling: 'Mother, where are you? Do I have to wait for you long?' When I left the children's home, I was choking on my tears. In 1933, as fate would have it, I had to leave the Zhytomyr area and wound up in Dnipropetrovsk *Oblast* with two children. Soon thereafter, my daughter died, and I became ill. In order to save my son, I left him at the Hannivsky Orphanage near the city of Kryvyi Rih. From that moment through all my subsequent life, I have known no peace.

The July 25th issue carried this notice from Mykola Makarovych Danylchenko, village of Khmeliove, Malovyskivsk *Raion*, Kirovohrad *Oblast:*

We lived somewhere near the mine in Mikkivtsi in Donets *Oblast*. I remember the pit hill where my brother and Vanya and I used to play. Not very far from where we lived was a market place. In 1933, my mother went somewhere with my oldest sister, Vera, leaving me and my brother in my father's care. He took us to the market, sat us down on some burlap and told us, 'Wait here until I return.' By evening he still had not returned. When they took us inside the orphanage, I ran away. I wandered around the city until a gypsy took me by the hand. 'Are you by yourself?' he asked gently, and I felt the warmth of his hand through my clothes.

He took me to a tiny hut where there was a woman and four children. 'And this is our fifth,' he told his wife, gently pushing me toward her. She gave a maternal laugh. 'We'll be eating soon, son,' she said, and started to set the table.

It later turned out that my adopted father was the well-known welder, Mykola, I don't know his patronymic, Kholupenko. He enrolled me in a technical school where I learned his trade. The war separated us, but this very day, I owe my gratitude to Mykola Kholupenko, his wife and children and would very much like to see them again.

Maybe brother Vanya remembers our family and the day that we had to wait so long for our own father. But if he's forgotten, perhaps he'll recognize himself from the following physical characteristics, which perhaps have survived to this very day. On one side of his face, there was a birthmark the size of a cherry, which was like an earring, and on his chest, there was a mark that resembled a plum. Answer, brother.

Congressman HERTEL: Thank you, Mr. Smyk. We appreciate your coming. We want to thank all the people here at the center that helped to arrange our coming, all the people who have helped with the Commission's work.

I especially want to thank Mr. Fedorak, Ms. Volker for all their time today, but I can't even give you an idea of how much time they've spent on the Commission's work and on the various testimony from around the country. So I thank both of them very, very much. We are honored to have them representing us here in Michigan.

I especially thank the witnesses again. I could never thank them enough really for their coming forward, for their testimony, for reliving some of the terrible, terrible pains once again. Thank you.

(Applause)

(Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned at 6:02 p.m.)

THE DELIBERATE FAMINE IN UKRAINE --THE HORROR AND THE CHALLENGE

(Remarks by Dr. Fred E. Dohrs, Professor Emeritus, Wayne State University, at the Commemorative Service for seven million Ukrainians, victims of Stalin's deliberate famine and murder fifty years ago, held at the Veterans Memorial Building, Detroit, June 12, 1983)

This is a day of commemoration, a day of honor, a day of truth. We commemorate those millions who fought against Moscow fifty years ago, and we commemorate those other, too young, too old, too weak to struggle against Russian terror then, and who were swept away in the communist fury. We honor those who today continue the battle against Russian occupation and control--the forces that seek to destroy Ukraine and its people.

I speak to you, my Ukrainian friends, because you have honored me by your invitation. I speak to you because we are in this battle together--your cause is my cause. But I speak not only to you. There is a wider audience we address today--those millions of our American countrymen. We speak to America and the world, to those who may know little of Ukraine and Ukrainians, of the tragedy and the terrible truth about Ukraine under the continuing tyranny of Moscow. Our cause is the cause of freedom.

There may be some of our fellow Americans who have the impression that Ukraine is a small and unimportant land and people--similar perhaps to many of the myriad of tiny poor countries of the Third World which have appeared in recent decades and thus of little importance. Let America be informed that we are talking about the land and the 45 million people of Ukraine; today, the fourth largest producer of steel in the world. A country, which, but for entrapment under Moscow's yoke, could easily be the world's fifth greatest productive economy, following only the United States, Japan, Russia, and West Germany. A people with a proud heritage and history with every reason for that pride.

When we consider the scale of the barbarity of that period fifty years ago, and the appalling price paid by the Ukrainian people, the temptation is to weep for Ukraine. You have wept, and I have wept over this terrible tragedy. But this is not the day for tears--however appropriate they might seem to be. Rather it is for us to recognize that it is more important to fight for Ukraine than to weep for Ukraine. To fight for Ukraine is to use the weapon of truth.

A fundamental fact about the Kremlin that we often forget in our pre-occupation with military power is that far more than our weapons, Moscow fears the truth. The truth about their own Russian communist system. The truth of its horrible past and its terrible present. The truth about the Soviet Russian Communist Empire that rules over 350 million people. The truth about Moscow's goal of total global control. Stalin

announced forced total collectivization of all the farms of the Soviet Union on December 27, 1929. His decree was "legalized" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on January 4, 1930. A few weeks later, on January 22nd (I need not tell this audience what January 22nd signifies in Ukrainian history), a Moscow newspaper, *Proletarian Truth*, stated the real purpose of collectivization of Ukrainian farms: to destroy the social basis of Ukrainian nationalism--individual peasant agriculture.

Ukrainians would not, indeed could not, without a struggle, give up their land on which they and their forebears had toiled and lived and loved for generations. These Ukrainians had shown that given the freedom to produce for the market on their own land, they were the best farmers in the Soviet Union, just as they had been in the old Russian Empire.

But Stalin had his own "final solution" for Ukrainians.

Even "gleaning"--that ancient and accepted right of the poor to follow the harvesters and pick up the few grains and kernels not taken by the threshers--gleaning became a capital crime in Ukraine, by Stalin's edict in 1931. Many thousands paid with their lives for trying to sustain themselves and their children for a few more hours or days at best.

At the same time, during the horror in the fields, the Soviet Union was exporting huge amounts of grain to support the communist revolution. Many of those eating bread made from the Soviet wheat during that terrible time, little realized the grain had been taken at gunpoint from starving Ukrainian peasants.

Stalin confirmed his own bloody deeds in a reply to a question put by Winston Churchill in Moscow in 1942: "Ten millions," he said, holding up his hands. "It was fearful. Four years it lasted. It was absolutely necessary for Russia ..." Thus Stalin justified his monstrous murders--necessary for Russia!

The world did hear the terrible story. Some Western journalists and others were able to penetrate Moscow's secrecy and reported accurately the gruesome account of Ukraine. To their disgrace and the dishonor of their profession, a few American reporters and others who wanted to glorify Moscow and communism as a "new civilization" or a "future that works" accepted and repeated Moscow's lies, even though they did know the truth.

Hearing of the bloody horror, why did not the rest of the world rise up in revulsion and fury at the undeniable facts of mass starvation and murder?

From our perspective of fifty years, it remains difficult to say. Certainly, that was a time of an appeaser mentality--of Japan in 1931, of Italy in 1936, and the shabby sell-out of Czechoslovakia to Hitler at Munich in 1938. Many in the West wanted to believe that the ends of communism were "good" and justified the means of the Red Terror in the fields of Ukraine. The facts were there, they were not easy to ignore, but to the shame of all who believed in freedom, they were. At that time, the numbers reported, even though understated, of millions of Ukrainians deliberately starved and killed may have been so monstrous as to be unbelievable.

Appeasement did not end with Munich. Franklin Roosevelt, in his failure or unwillingness to recognize and act on the strength of nationalism in the Soviet Russian Empire, was largely responsible at Teheran and Yalta for delivery of the millions in what we now call the Captive Nations into the captivity under Moscow. Unfortunately, ap-

peasement mentality continues among many in high places in the West--and even in our own community.

All too many say, "That was Stalin. That was fifty years ago. Things are different now." Were that but true!

Fifty years ago, more than seven million Ukrainians were killed in Stalin's massive Holocaust, which in numbers and terror far exceeded that of Hitler, whose name now symbolizes the term. But for Ukrainians, the Holocaust continues today. Systematic purges of anyone expressing any views of nationalism or freedom take place continually in the Soviet Union. In 1968, when many Ukrainians began to identify with their neighbors to the west, with the freedom being expressed in the famous "Czecho-Slovakian Spring", many hundreds, even thousands of Ukrainians who spoke or wrote of freedom were summarily seized and with or without trial were sentenced to long terms of prison, slave labor and exile. Many did not survive. Today, well authenticated reports show that of the political prisoners, inmates of the Gulag Archipelago system of slave labor camps, the largest numbers are Ukrainians who ask only freedom for their own land and people.

For those unfamiliar with its meaning, the word "Russification" may sound a little too nice to be what it actually means in human terms. Russification has been and remains the policy of Moscow and Russia toward the Ukrainians and all other national minorities in the country. In 1870, Minister of Education Lev Tolstoy said: "The ultimate goal in the education of the non-Russians must be their Russification and assimilation within the Russian nation."

A few years later, the famous Russian novelist, Feodor Dostoyevsky, wrote: "All people should become Russian, and Russian above all else, because the Russian national idea is universal... "

One hundred years later, we hear another famous Russian writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, from his exile in America, saying much the same things in his dream of a future Russia--his Russia.

For Yuri Andropov and the Russian rulers in the Kremlin, any manifestation of nationalism is viewed as a direct and serious threat to Russian communist ideology--the evil mortar that keeps the whole structure of communism together. Nationalism is a basic threat because it denies the idea that communism is an international unifying force. More simply, as long as there is one Ukrainian nationalist anywhere making a claim for his nation and its rights, communism is threatened. In a moment of unusual candor, Lenin said, "Scratch a communist, and you'll wound a Great Russian chauvinist." Today, as for well over three hundred years, there is but only policy for the Moscow masters--crush the Ukrainians and Russify them!

That is the fact, the truth, the terrible reality of life in Ukraine today.

I do not feel that you invited me in order to hear either vacuous platitudes or wildly optimistic forecasts about freedom for Ukraine. As something of a concerned specialist, and one who watches the pattern of world events fairly closely, I would be less than candid were I to say that today there is a bright light at the end of the long dark Ukrainian tunnel. There are many negative signs, perhaps the most important, the destruction of the Helsinki Watch Committees.

On the other hand, slowly but surely there is among Americans and others in the free world a growing recognition of the fact that in the freedom and independence of

those Ukrainian millions and others of the Captive Nations, lies the destruction of the Soviet Russian Empire and its threat to humanity. Even more important, this fact offers a realistic alternative to nuclear war between the Superpowers.

That is the message which every American should learn, and which we must teach. As Edmund Burke said, "In order for evil to triumph, it is only necessary that good men do nothing."

The road will be long and weary, especially for those in Ukraine, even for us here--but is there any real alternative? You cannot, must not forsake the right heritage of more than a millennium of Ukrainian history and culture--nor should your children. We cannot abandon the forty-five million remaining in bondage under Moscow. There can be no letting up--no compromise with tyranny.

As we humbly commemorate those millions swept away five decades ago, we may recall that Shakespeare set the course when he wrote: "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

There is a rising tide of nationalism throughout the Soviet Empire, a tide such as has not been seen in the six decades of communist rule. No one can measure the power of aroused nationalism or predict the course it will follow. But, over the centuries, nationalist power has often changed the world, and it can do so again.

Freedom remains alive in the world. The nationalist tide is rising. With your, with our continued resolution and determination, we can, we must be prepared for that flood tide, and, with the guidance of God, there will surely be freedom for our beloved Ukraine!