

will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

RECORD votes on postponed questions will be taken after 6:30 p.m. today.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING MAN-MADE FAMINE THAT OCCURRED IN UKRAINE IN 1932-1933

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 356) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 356

Whereas 2003 marks the 70th anniversary of the height of the famine in Ukraine that was deliberately initiated and enforced by the Soviet regime through the seizure of grain and the blockade of food shipments into the affected areas, as well as by forcibly preventing the starving population from leaving the region, for the purposes of eliminating resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture and destroying Ukraine's national identity;

Whereas this man-made famine resulted in the deaths of at least 5,000,000 men, women, and children in Ukraine and an estimated 1-2 million people in other regions;

Whereas the famine took place in the most productive agricultural area of the former Soviet Union while foodstocks throughout the country remained sufficient to prevent the famine and while the Soviet regime continued to export large quantities of grain;

Whereas many Western observers with first-hand knowledge of the famine, including The New York Times correspondent Walter Duranty, who was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for his reporting from the Soviet Union, knowingly and deliberately falsified their reports to cover up and refute evidence of the famine in order to suppress criticism of the Soviet regime;

Whereas Western observers and scholars who reported accurately on the existence of the famine were subjected to disparagement and criticism in the West for their reporting of the famine;

Whereas the Soviet regime and many scholars in the West continued to deny the existence of the famine until the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991 resulted in many of its archives being made accessible, thereby making possible the documentation of the premeditated nature of the famine and its harsh enforcement;

Whereas the final report of the United States Government's Commission on the Ukraine Famine, established on December 13, 1985, concluded that the victims were "starved to death in a man-made famine" and that "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933"; and

Whereas, although the Ukraine famine was one of the greatest losses of human life in the 20th century, it remains insufficiently known in the United States and in the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) the millions of victims of the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine in 1932-1933 should be solemnly remembered and honored in the 70th year marking the height of the famine;

(2) this man-made famine was designed and implemented by the Soviet regime as a deliberate act of terror and mass murder against the Ukrainian people;

(3) the decision of the Government of Ukraine and the Verkhovna Rada (the Ukrainian parliament) to give official recognition to the famine and its victims, as well as their efforts to secure greater international awareness and understanding of the famine, should be supported; and

(4) the official recognition of the famine by the Government of Ukraine and the Verkhovna Rada represents a significant step in the reestablishment of Ukraine's national identity, the elimination of the legacy of the Soviet dictatorship, and the advancement of efforts to establish a democratic and free Ukraine that is fully integrated into the Western community of nations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

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

(Mr. HYDE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, this resolution recognizes and remembers the victims of one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century, namely, the more than 5 million men, women and children in Ukraine who were deliberately starved to death by the Soviet regime in the terrible decade of the 1930s. That regime perpetrated many horrors in its seven decades of existence, but surely this must rank among its most damnable.

It is important to stress that this famine was not a natural phenomenon, but was instead deliberately engineered. Virtually all sustenance in the targeted area was seized, even as the availability of food elsewhere in the Soviet Union remained sufficient to prevent the famine. The export of grain never ceased even at the height of the death tolls.

Nor was this the result of mere indifference to life, but an uncaring regime. Soviet troops and secret police forces were deployed to forcibly prevent the starving population from leaving the area in the desperate search for food. A sentence of mass death had been pronounced and was mercilessly enforced.

The purpose of the artificial famine was to break resistance to the regime's policy of forced collectivization of agriculture, but this was coupled with a murderous determination to destroy Ukraine's national identity, which the regime considered as a mortal threat to its empire and, therefore, brutally suppressed.

There is a legacy of shame that the West must bear. Many prominent Westerners, including journalists and scholars who had firsthand knowledge of the famine, deliberately falsified their reporting to cover up and refute evidence of the tragedy in order to suppress criticism of the Soviet regime. We know their actions were deliberate because

they confessed their knowledge at the time to confidantes and to their diaries. The most notorious of these was Walter Duranty, a correspondent for The New York Times who had won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from the Soviet Union. But he was far from alone.

Those few who accurately reported on the famine were subject to considerable abuse from their colleagues and others in the West, and their reports were generally disregarded. That lamentable record continued until after the fall of the Soviet regime in 1991, with Robert Conquest's book, *The Harvest of Sorrow*, being a lonely exception.

In remembering and honoring the victims, I must stress that in addition to millions of ethnic Ukrainians, the dead included large numbers from many other ethnic groups, including Russians, Jews, and a host of others large and small.

It is also important to note that other areas of the Soviet Union were also subjected to this man-made famine, especially those neighboring regions where an estimated 1½ million people of many ethnic origins were starved to death.

This tragedy knew no artificial divisions, no insulating borders, no refuge. All who perished were equal in their innocence, but the blow fell heaviest in Ukraine.

I would like to take this opportunity to praise the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) for his resolution on the famine in Ukraine, H. Res. 254. His has long been one of the most important and influential voices in Congress for ensuring that Ukraine and its people remain prominent in our thoughts, and we owe him our gratitude for his many labors.

Ukraine's reemergence in 1991 from the Soviet prison house was of momentous significance, not merely for Ukraine, but for the entire world, because its independence signaled the death of that empire.

But I regret to say that Ukraine's great and continuing importance to the United States and to the West remains largely unmeasured here. For an independent Ukraine is an indispensable element in ensuring the freedom and security of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Our interests and those of the West as a whole require that Ukraine complete its transformation into a true democracy; that it establish a vibrant economy equal to its national and natural wealth and the talents of its people; and that it assume its rightful place in the Western community of nations. Although we can provide assistance towards these ends, the first two must remain largely the responsibility of the Ukrainian people.

But Ukraine's accession to the institutions of the West can only occur with our active support and encouragement. It is my hope we will have the wisdom to understand our own interests and

will act to secure these with permanence.

Our long-delayed recognition of Ukraine's suffering is also a recognition of its emergence from darkness and the reestablishment of its independence and is one more step in extending to it our embrace. Let us remember that as we now honor the victims of a terrible past that it is hopefully gone forever.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume, and I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, at the outset I would like to express publicly my delight at the decision of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations to continue his service in this Congress and for our Nation. This is the best news of the weekend, and I know that all of my colleagues on this side of the aisle join me in saying how proud and pleased we are that the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) will continue his wit and wisdom and extraordinary statesmanship to the work of this body.

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Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for introducing this very timely resolution, which marks the 70th anniversary of the atrocity that Joseph Stalin committed against the people of Ukraine. We must never forget that Joseph Stalin killed more citizens of the Soviet Union through his inhumane and murderous policies than any invader of the Soviet Union, or Russia before.

I also want to commend my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), for introducing a similar resolution; and he will speak to this issue in just a moment.

While the official estimates of the number of Ukrainians killed by Stalin's vicious policies during the 2 years of the Ukrainian famine is about 5 million, the more considered unofficial estimates suggest that about 7 million Ukrainians could have been killed because of a deliberately induced policy of starvation on the people of Ukraine. This act of terror and mass murder was designed to squash the national aspiration of the Ukrainian people. Grain shipments were seized, the borders of Ukraine blockaded, and all the while the Soviet regime continued to export large quantities of grain and suppress the news of Ukraine's suffering.

The Soviet Government successfully hid this famine from the West, and only since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 have we been able to obtain access to documents confirming the deliberate and premeditated murder of vast numbers of the innocent men, women, and children of Ukrainian heritage by Stalin's Soviet dictatorship.

It is a joy, Mr. Speaker, to see Ukraine take its proper place among

the free and independent nations, no longer a part of the Soviet Union but a proud and independent nation, which, after the enormous difficulties of the Soviet period, is building a new future for the Ukrainian people; and so I urge all of my colleagues to support H. Res. 356.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), my friend and colleague.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, first, I want to join in the words of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) regarding our colleague from Illinois. His eloquence and his civility mean a great deal to us, both when we agree with him and when we do not. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has, I think, set a standard for everyone to follow in discussion of issues on the floor of the United States House and helps us be proud that we are Members of this institution.

I also want to join with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) in his comments, as well as the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), regarding this issue, and also with what the gentleman from Illinois had to say about the present and future of Ukraine. As we look back, it is important also that we look forward, and the challenge before Ukraine today is an important one, both their steps forward and sometimes backward. We all join in hoping that the steps forward will increase as Ukraine joins fully the ranks of the democratic nations of this globe. They have an important role to play.

But we also have to look back because if we do not look back, we will not effectively face the future. So I rise today, Mr. Speaker, to join my colleagues in commemorating the 70th anniversary of the tragedy of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33. This resolution recalls the incredible suffering and loss sustained by the Ukrainian people, and others, as the gentleman from Illinois pointed out, as a result of intentional policies implemented by the former Soviet Union which led to the deaths of at least 7 million people. Even today, the magnitude and gravity of this atrocity remains unknown to too many in the world. And this is why every 5 years, at least, we introduce a resolution to mark the anniversary.

As mentioned, more than 7 million women, men, and children died; and it was not because of drought or pestilence or crop failure. It was because of the deliberate policies of Joseph Stalin and other leaders in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government ruthlessly employed policies of forced collectivization and grain seizures to suppress and politically neutralize Ukrainian aspirations for independence. Red Army soldiers performed systematic house-to-house searches where every scrap of food was taken. Grain silos were guarded by military troops, and police denied access to even those who had harvested the grain in the imme-

diated area, while trains loaded with food left that area.

The seizures were so harsh that villages were often left with no food for their citizens, making the crisis even worse. Soviet authorities ordered the borders of Ukraine sealed to prevent anyone from escaping the famine and preventing any international food aid from providing relief to the starving. Witnesses spoke of Ukrainians eating bark, weeds, and even insects to survive.

Observing the commemoration of this anniversary is significant because Stalin and his closest associates concealed the artificially created famine for decades. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world has learned more and more about the harsh reality of life under a totalitarian regime, and the truth surrounding this atrocity has been revealed.

We gained greater knowledge after the congressionally mandated U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine began its work in 1985 to "provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role in the famine."

I had a chance recently to go back and read a summary of that report, and I urge my colleagues to do likewise. That commission issued its final report in 1988, noting 19 findings, including that, and I quote, "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-33."

We also gained knowledge through the recollections of survivors. Dr. Walter Lyzohub of Redford Township, Michigan, wrote me a letter explaining that he survived the famine, but that the famine took the lives of his sister Vera as well as his brother Ivan. His sister and brother were aged 10 and 9 respectively. It was heartbreaking, heartbreaking, to read that letter. Dr. Lyzohub and all the victims of this famine, this atrocity, must never be forgotten or ignored. Only through remembrance of the victims and recognition of that famine can such acts of senseless cruelty and violence against humankind be prevented from happening again.

I also would like to recognize Michael Sawkiw of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, who has been in the forefront of helping to bring this issue and all important issues regarding Ukraine to the attention of Members of Congress. So, Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 356 provides us once again with an opportunity for remembrance and for recognition; and I urge all my colleagues to join the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), and me in supporting this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may

have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on H. Res. 356, the resolution under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOOZMAN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I would like to thank the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for their extraordinarily generous remarks, and I wish to say the sentiment that animated those is indeed reciprocated.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be an original cosponsor of H. Res. 356. I thank and commend Mr. HYDE for introducing this resolution commemorating and honoring the memory of victims of an abominable act perpetrated against the people of Ukraine in 1932–33. Seventy years ago, millions of men, women and children were murdered by starvation so that one man, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, could consolidate control over Ukraine. The Ukrainian people resisted the Soviet policy of forced collectivization. The innocent died a horrific death at the hands of a tyrannical dictatorship which had crushed their freedom.

In an attempt to break the spirit of an independent-minded Ukrainian peasantry, and ultimately to secure collectivization, Stalin ordered the expropriation of all foodstuffs in the hands of the rural population. The grain was shipped to other areas of the Soviet Union or sold on the international market. Peasants who refused to turn over grain to the state were deported or executed. Without food or grain, mass starvation ensued. This manmade famine was the consequence of deliberate policies which aimed to destroy the political, cultural and human rights of the Ukrainian people.

In short, food was used as a weapon in what can only be described as an organized act of terrorism designed to suppress a people's love of their land and the basic liberty to live as they choose.

Mr. Speaker, I recall back in the 1980s seeing the unforgettable movie, *Harvest of Despair*, which depicted the horrors of the Famine, as well as the fine work of the congressionally-created Ukraine Famine Commission, which issued its seminal report in 1988. Their work helped expose the truth about this horrific event. I am pleased that the resolution notes that there were those in the West, including *The New York Times* correspondent Walter Duranty, who knowingly and deliberately falsified their reports to cover up the Famine because they wanted to curry favor with one of the most evil regimes in the history of mankind.

The fact that this denial of the Famine took place then, and even much later by many scholars in the West is a shameful chapter in our own history.

Mr. Speaker, this is an important resolution which will help give recognition to one of the most horrific events in the last century in the hopes that mass-murders of this kind truly become unthinkable.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 356.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### HONORING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF POPE JOHN PAUL II'S ASCENSION TO THE PAPACY

Mr. MCCOTTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 400) honoring the 25th anniversary of Pope John Paul II's ascension to the papacy, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

##### H. RES. 400

Whereas Karol Józef Wojtyła, known as John Paul II since his October 1978 election to the papacy, was born in Wadowice, Poland, on May 18, 1920, the day of the "Polish Miracle", the nation's first military victory in 200 years and a day which set in motion events which briefly restored Poland's independence;

Whereas he made his First Holy Communion at age 9 and was confirmed at 18, and saw his mother, father, and eldest brother all die before he turned 21, and upon graduation from Marcin Wadowita high school in Wadowice, he enrolled in Cracow's Jagiellonian University in 1938 and in a school for drama;

Whereas the Nazi occupation forces closed Cracow's Jagiellonian University, where he was enrolled in 1939 and young Karol had to work in a quarry and then in a chemical factory to earn his living and to avoid being deported to Germany;

Whereas in 1942, aware of his call to the priesthood, he began courses in the clandestine seminary of Cracow, run by Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha, archbishop of Cracow, and at the same time, Karol Wojtyła was one of the pioneers of the "Rhapsodic Theatre", which was forced to hold clandestine performances;

Whereas in 1948 he returned to Poland and was vicar of various parishes in Cracow as well as chaplain for the university students until 1951, when he took up again his studies on philosophy and theology;

Whereas on January 13, 1964, he was nominated Archbishop of Cracow by Pope Paul VI, who made him a cardinal June 26, 1967;

Whereas on October 16, 1978, Karol Wojtyła began his pontificate as Pope John Paul II;

Whereas Pope John Paul II has used his pontificate in unique fashion, emerging as more than just the leader of the Catholic Church, but a global voice against communism, oppression, and tyranny; working both in public and private, to exercise his influence against the forces of injustice;

Whereas in the 1980s, Pope John Paul II was a vocal supporter of the Polish Solidarity movement and his support for striking workers at the Gdansk Shipyard was a key to the downfall of communism in Po-

land, and started in motion a chain of events ultimately leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact;

Whereas his criticism of such dictators as Alfred Stroessner in Paraguay, Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines encouraged opposition movements that eventually brought down those governments;

Whereas Pope John Paul II has become the most traveled Pope in history, journeying more than a half million miles visiting 125 countries, conducting meetings with numerous government leaders during 38 official visits, holding 690 audiences and meetings held with Heads of State and 226 audiences and meetings with Prime Ministers;

Whereas Pope John Paul II has welcomed more than 16,000,000 pilgrims in the General Audiences which were held weekly at the Vatican; and met with tens of millions of the faithful during pastoral visits made in Italy and throughout the world, including more than 8,000,000 pilgrims during the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000 alone;

Whereas Pope John Paul II has been a prolific writer completing 14 encyclicals, 13 apostolic exhortations, 11 apostolic constitutions, and 42 apostolic letters, and he has also published three books: "Crossing the Threshold of Hope" (October 1994); "Gift and Mystery: On the 50th Anniversary of My Priestly Ordination" (November 1996); and "Roman Tryptych—Meditations", a book of poems (March 2003);

Whereas John Paul II has presided over 139 beatification ceremonies (1,311 Blesseds proclaimed) and 48 canonization ceremonies (469 Saints) during his pontificate, and he has held 9 consistories in which he created 231 cardinals;

Whereas in 1981, Pope John Paul II survived an assassination attempt after being shot twice by Mehmet Ali Agca in St. Peter's Square, whom the Pope would later personally meet and forgive;

Whereas Pope John Paul II, a survivor of fascism, communism, and terrorism, has been a tireless voice for morality and decency; and

Whereas Pope John Paul II has emerged as more than just a spiritual leader for the world's Catholics, but as one of the most influential and inspirational leaders of the 20th and 21st centuries, as a consistent voice for peace and human dignity: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the United States House of Representatives honors the 25th anniversary of Pope John Paul II's ascension to the papacy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. MCCOTTER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. MCCOTTER).

##### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCCOTTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on H. Res. 400, the resolution now under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCCOTTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan (Mr.