

Would the Senator from New Hampshire withhold so the Chair can make an appointment?

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, pursuant to Public Law 99-83, appoints the following individuals to the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad: Rabbi Chaskel Besser of New York, E. William Crotty of Florida, and Ned Bandler of New York.

The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO DMITRY VOLKOGONOV

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, earlier today in Moscow, the world lost a renowned, first-class historian with the highest of morals, Russia lost a key reformer, America lost an ally in the search for the truth about missing American servicemen, and I lost a friend and colleague.

I am speaking of retired Russian Gen. Dmitry Volkogonov who passed away earlier today at the age of 67, following a long battle with cancer.

I first met General Volkogonov in February, 1992, when Senator JOHN KERRY and I traveled to Moscow as the cochairs of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs.

More than any other person in Russia at the time, General Volkogonov was eager to assist the United States in finding answers about missing American servicemen from the cold war, the Korean war, the Vietnam war, and even World War II. This was a very difficult situation for General Volkogonov because he had to deal with the archives, he had to deal with the KGB, and others who had much information that they would have preferred not to come to the surface. But General Volkogonov bravely pursued it on our behalf.

I will never forget sitting in the general's top-floor office in the Russian Duma in February, 1992, listening to the general detail his preliminary work in Soviet archives on the issue of missing Americans.

It was a cold, winter afternoon in Moscow that day, but as the meeting progressed, the Sun began to shine. In fact, the sunlight was so strong that we literally had to close the blinds in the office. The sunlight was a good sign that day, Mr. President. I knew we were on the right track to seeking answers now that we had found General Volkogonov.

I also knew it would not be long before the Sun began to shine on important information previously tucked away in the darkest corners of the Soviet archives.

Following my first trip to Moscow with Senator KERRY, then-President George Bush and President Yeltsin for-

mally established a Joint Commission on the MIA issue between Russian and the United States. The Russian side was headed by General Volkogonov.

I was happy that Senator KERRY and I were appointed to serve on that Commission, along with Congressmen SAM JOHNSON and PETE PETERSON, both of whom were POWs in Vietnam. During the last 4 years, it was a privilege to work with General Volkogonov, and I was thankful for the opportunities I had to meet with him here in Washington, as well as in Moscow.

Because of the research conducted by General Volkogonov, the United States has received important documentary evidence concerning the fate of unaccounted-for Americans captured or lost in North Vietnam, North Korea, China, and along the borders of the former Soviet Union.

It is the kind of information, Mr. President, that never would have seen the light of day had it not been for General Volkogonov.

He has turned over documents concerning discussions between Joseph Stalin and Chinese officials in 1952 about how many American POW's would be held back during the Korean war. He has also handed over Russian translations of North Vietnamese politburo sessions where it was indicated that more American POW's were secretly being held in North Vietnam than those eventually released.

These documents are both dramatic and disturbing, and it remains for Vietnam, North Korea, and China to fully explain these documents.

I will never forget General Volkogonov sitting in my office telling me that these documents were authentic, and that he would do everything in his power to get them and to get access to them on behalf of the American people. And this is a Russian general.

When these documents were formally turned over to the United States by Russia, General Volkogonov stated—

It's a delicate issue, but we can't be quiet about it any longer, since it's a humanitarian issue . . . we are talking about men's fates . . . there is no political spin. We want to help the families.

Those were the words of General Volkogonov.

Mr. President, this was obviously a noble cause for the general. America could not have asked for a more committed ally on this issue. He fully understood our joint quest for the truth, and the importance that Americans attached to this inquiry. He had a way of knowing how we felt, how deeply we felt about this issue, specifically our Nation's veterans and the families of our unaccounted for Americans.

When you think of the thousands, if not millions, of people lost in Soviet wars, most of them attributed to Stalin, General Volkogonov took the time to spend looking for these few—compared to the Russian losses—Americans.

General Volkogonov always stood on principle. He took action when he knew

it was morally correct to do so. He was not afraid, and he was not deterred. Nothing showed those traits more clearly than when he wrote his books on Stalin and Lenin, based on his archival research, and when he admitted he had been wrong in believing that Soviet-style communism could be more "human and effective" as he put it. Can you imagine the courage of a man who would write something like that?

General Volkogonov was the first Russian general to admit the system had failed—he was the "black sheep" as he put it in an interview earlier this year.

Mr. President, history will judge General Volkogonov very kindly. And historians will owe him a great debt for years to come.

I know both the Russian people and the American people will always be grateful for his enormous contributions. I also hope both our governments understand how important General Volkogonov was in helping to build a bridge of partnership and cooperation between Russia and the United States on these humanitarian issues of missing American servicemen.

I am going to miss my friend, Dmitry Volkogonov, and I know the American people join me in sending our condolences to his wife and two daughters.

Let me conclude by expressing my heartfelt hope that President Yeltsin and the Russian Duma will find someone—it will be difficult—but will find someone to follow in the general's footsteps who is equally committed to disclosing information about unaccounted for American POW's and MIA's.

I can think of no finer tribute to this great man. And let me just say, it would be appropriate, I think, for us to remember him tonight because he is a part of history and he was a great historian. This is what we should have for the historical record for General Volkogonov.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two obituaries on General Volkogonov from newswire services be printed in the RECORD, and I also ask unanimous consent that the statement by the American chairman of the United States-Russian joint commission, Ambassador Malcolm Toon, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIAN HISTORIAN VOLKOGONOV DIES AT 67
(By Anatoly Verbin)

MOSCOW, Dec. 6 (Reuter).—General Dmitry Volkogonov, one of the best-known Russian historians of the past decade, died on Wednesday at the age of 67.

Volkogonov was both famed and hated for his revealing works on Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky and Josef Stalin.

The State Duma lower house of parliament stood in silence to pay final tribute to the man who called himself the "black sheep" of the Soviet generals.

He transformed from an orthodox communist standardbearer to a writer triggering the nomenklatura's outrage with books mercilessly stripping away decades of myths

about dictator Stalin and Soviet state founder Lenin.

"I was a Leninist and a Marxist for many years until I gradually realised that I and many of my colleagues had been misled," he said in a Reuters interview earlier this year.

"I was not a dissident—I thought the system could be reformed, be made more human and effective, but I was wrong. I was the first general to admit it, a black sheep."

In 1937, when Volkogonov was eight, his father was shot in Stalin's purges and his mother ended up in a labour camp. The young boy's faith in the system was not shaken and he entered the army as an orphan.

He made a perfectly orthodox career in the Soviet Red Army ending with a job as deputy head of the department responsible for communist indoctrination of troops.

He then became head of the Institute of Military History, which gave him unparalleled access to the nation's top archives. The deeper he delved, the more disillusioned he became.

Volkogonov rose to prominence in 1988 by producing the first Soviet biography of Josef Stalin, which portrayed the dictator as an immoral power-hungry killer.

This was hardly a revelation for Western historians. But it exploded like a bombshell among a people kept in ignorance of their own history for decades.

In 1991, Volkogonov and his team produced the first volume of a planned ten-tome official Soviet history of World War Two.

The book, which castigated Stalin for letting himself be outwitted by Hitler, was banned by horrified Soviet Defense Ministry officials.

Volkogonov resigned in protest.

After producing a biography of Soviet rebel-revolutionary Leon Trotsky, he tackled what he described as the last bastion—Lenin.

Previous accounts had always been careful to portray the Soviet state's founder as a kindly, wise man whose ideas were subsequently perverted by Stalin.

Volkogonov's biography, based on 3,724 top secret documents, smashed the illusion by unmasking Lenin as ruthless and ready to resort to mass killings to achieve his aims. "Lenin was the anti-Christ, more like the devil . . . All Russia's great troubles stemmed from Lenin," Volkogonov once said.

Volkogonov once served as a military adviser to President Boris Yeltsin. In that capacity, at the end of 1991, he headed a com-

mission which abolished communist party bodies in the armed forces.

Up to his death, he was a co-chairman of a joint Russian-U.S. commission looking into the fates of POWs and missing in action in world War Two, Vietnam and other wars.

DMITRY VOLKOGONOV, MILITARY HISTORIAN AND REFORMER, DEAD AT 67

(By Ntasha Alova)

MOSCOW (AP).—Dmitry Volkogonov, a military historian who helped reveal the truth about Communist Party repression and who headed the Russian-American Commission on missing POWs, has died after a long battle with cancer. He was 67.

Gen. Volkogonov died Tuesday night at a military hospital in Krasnogorski, outside Moscow, the Interfax news agency reported.

Volkogonov, who as director of the Soviet Defense Ministry's History Museum had extensive access to Soviet military archives, was one of the first historians in Russia to make public the extent of the Communist regime's persecution.

His confirmation that the repression began when the Bolsheviks took power in 1917 and was, in fact, launched by Vladimir Lenin, the Communists' idol, made hardliners revile him and pro-reform forces lionize him.

Volkogonov wrote more than 30 books. Best known are his history works on Lenin, Josef Stalin and Leon Trotsky, written in recent years on the basis of newly opened archive materials.

Born in Siberia in 1928, Volkogonov fell victim to Stalin's repression at an early age, when his father was shot and his mother sent into exile.

Volkogonov joined the Soviet army in 1949 after working as a teacher. He finished a tank school, then made his career as a student and later professor at the Lenin Military-Political Academy for top Soviet army political-propaganda officers.

He later headed the Soviet Defense Ministry's History Museum and conducted archival research there.

Volkogonov met Boris Yeltsin in 1990 when both became members of the Russian parliament, and in 1991 he became security and defense adviser to Yeltsin, then parliamentary speaker. He remained an adviser after Yeltsin became president.

After the 1991 Soviet breakup, Volkogonov presided over a commission charged with creating a Russian defense ministry and armed forces.

When the U.S.-Russia Joint Commission on Prisoners of War and Missing in Action was

formed in 1992, Volkogonov became co-chairman, along with Malcolm Toon of the United States.

The commission was charged with determining whether any American servicemen were held on Soviet territory during the Cold War. So far, they have found none.

He also headed a presidential commission charged with finding missing Russian soldiers, including those lost during the war in Chechnya.

In 1993, the retired general was elected to the first post-Soviet parliament on reformer Yegor Gaidar's ticket.

The State Duma, the lower house of parliament, today observed a moment of silence in his honor.

Volkogonov was married, with two daughters.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR MALCOLM TOON, AMERICAN CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S. RUSSIA JOINT COMMISSION

The U.S. side of the U.S. Russia Joint Commission was very saddened to learn of the passing of General-Colonel Antonovich Volkogonov, a fellow soldier for whom we had great respect, which only grew in the three and a half years we worked together. While serving as the Russian co-chairman of the U.S.-Russia Joint Commission on POW/MIA Affairs, General Volkogonov widened the windows of communication with the United States on POW/MIA matters, and was unswerving in his efforts to gain information which would help resolve painful questions about lost American and Soviet service members. Enduring great physical hardship, he nevertheless demonstrated a strength of character so admired by his friends and colleagues. His work will leave an enduring legacy to Russians and to the world alike, and his memory will serve as a beacon to those who continue his efforts. We will miss him.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in adjournment until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 8:01 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, December 7, 1995, at 9 a.m.