

COURTESY OF  
ST. MICHAEL'S CHAPTER  
UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX LEAGUE

# The Artificial Famine 1932 - 1982

## Штучний голод

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Ukrainian Affairs Committee

Ukrainian Orthodox League  
of the  
United States of America



*The passage of time dims our memories and numbs the visions of our history. Living in a country dedicated to individuality and freedom, the famine of fifty years ago is difficult to comprehend.*

*May this be a continuous reminder of the millions of our countrymen that perished during the Artificial Famine — and in memory, we bow our heads.*

*Минуло п'ятдесят років після страшного голоду на Україні, і події минулого притуплюються в нашій пам'яті... Оцим ми нагадуємо людству наше народне лихоліття.*

*Щоб ми і покоління після нас пам'ятали цю подію. В пам'ять невинно загиблих мільйонів наших побратимів і земляків, ми схиляємо голови.*



## INTRODUCTION

The history of mankind records many glories of past civilizations; the inventions, the achievements, the outstanding individuals. Our children are inspired by the accomplishments of the past, they emulate them and strive to achieve similar deeds. Man's history also remembers mistakes, failures and terror inflicted one on another. We know of the horror of the past and we cannot forget it. Yet, the world forgets the Artificial Famine in Ukraine. By knowing the two commonly accepted reasons for the death of approximately four to nine million people and the displacement of intold numbers of others, by reading about the methods of subversion and abuse, the repercussions of this Famine and the world's reaction to it — we will not forget about the horror of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine.

As Dmytro Solovey, author of "On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man Made Famine in Ukraine" wrote, "Unfortunately, all the factual evidence published by various authors at various times has not as yet been fully collected, researched and published in one critical and capital work, which would serve as a reminder to future generations and as a fitting memorial to the dead." This pamphlet will discuss the facts and opinions of the sources listed on the last page. The attempt here is to be objective and factual.

## BACKGROUND

Ukraine exists in a curious part of the world: it is in the midst of ancient trade and invasion routes and between the influences of cultures from the East and the West. The land has no natural boundaries to cushion the greed of neighbors and protects its wealth. Ukraine is at the mercy of foreigners even today: the efforts of the Soviet government to Russify the Ukrainian nation continue. These efforts include the usage of the Russian, not Ukrainian language, in all facets of life and education; the destruction of Ukrainian Orthodox and other Christian churches; the constant undermining of Ukrainian nationality.

After the 1917 Russian Revolution, Ukrainian national and cultural feelings were aroused. This event seemed as opportunity to establish an independent Ukrainian state. Lenin's "bread, peace and land" and a "self-determination of people"<sup>2</sup> had temporary support, because at first it seemed as a promise that went along with Ukrainian independence dreams. "Under conditions existing in czarist Russia, the Ukrainian language was indicative not only of ethnic consciousness, but also a yearning for political self-rule and independence."<sup>3</sup> But, Ukrainians did not want to build an industrial state as the Bolsheviks had planned.<sup>4</sup>

In order to stay in power, in a country ravaged by World War I and the Russian Revolution, Stalin had to take drastic economic and political measures. His First Five Year Plan was organized for the years 1928 to 1933. This program was to include collectivization of all lands, increased Russification by annexing all non-Russian republics, like Ukraine, and the deliberate destruction of the entire peasantry. In addition, under Stalin's guidance, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (C.C.A.C.P.) was also determined to case the progress of the "Ukrainian national renaissance" by the following methods: attacking Ukrainian linguistic work, destroying all work of the Institute of Scientific Language at the All Ukrainian Academy of Science, murdering Ukrainian scientists and intellectuals and again, annihilating the peasants. "This peasantry was the backbone of the Ukrainian nation. It never let itself be affected by the Russians..."<sup>5</sup> A Soviet publication, Proletarskaya Pravda, explained in a January 22, 1930 issue, "...that the goal of agriculture in the Ukraine was: the destruction of the Ukrainian nationalism's social base — the individual land holdings."<sup>6</sup> In other words, in addition to the liquidation of the learned classes, the main effort for the success of the entire effort of collectivization and Russification lay in the successful destruction of the peasants and their land.

## REASONS FOR THE FAMINE

Two reasons are usually given for the Artificial Famine. First, it is felt by a great majority of Ukrainian scholars that the Famine was a deliberate and planned annihilation of the entire Ukrainian nation. The second, and less accepted reason for the Artificial Famine, was the thought that it was necessary for the economic benefit of the **entire** Soviet Union.

First, the political reasons. In struggling to maintain its Ukrainian identity, there was active opposition against Russification and the forced collectivization. Peasant antagonism to the collectivization was felt immediately: nine million out of approximately fourteen million households dropped out of collectivization farms in the first two months of the policy.<sup>7</sup> So, the efforts of the collective program were accelerated by attempting to lure the peasants into the program, promising private ownership of homes, garden plots, some livestock and small tools; setting up distribution stations for large agricultural machinery, plus, giving them tax relief. At the XX Communist Party Congress, many years after the Famine, Khrushchev finally made it known that Stalin had intended to destroy or deport all Ukrainians but found there were too many of them.<sup>8</sup> Since these lures failed, the use of terrorism by the C.C.A.C.P. pushed a major part of peasants into kolhospas as early as 1931.<sup>9</sup>

The living conditions, under the First Five Year Plan, changed for most Ukrainian citizens. All sales of food on the open market were forbidden and rationing came into existence; but, government workers, military people, police were receiving preferential treatment and had access to "closed stores", where items were readily available.<sup>10</sup> The existence of a "privileged" class of citizens divided the country into various socio-economic groups, creating antagonism between city and country dwellers.<sup>11</sup> "Party propaganda added fuel to the flames by loudly proclaiming that some villagers did not want to work, that they wanted to destroy Soviet authority, that they were deliberately creating food supply shortages and so on."<sup>12</sup>

The state assigned unrealistically high quotas for the cooperatives. These quotas and starvation rations eliminated all desire in the farmer to produce for the state. Livestock production alone fell 50%.<sup>13</sup> When the quotas of grain and food production were not met, "The peasants were accused of stealing, hoarding, sabotage and so forth. Then as punishment, the authorities confiscated all the food that could be found, leaving peasants and their children to face certain death from hunger."<sup>14</sup> The confiscation of food included seeds being saved for future planting, sacks of flour, potato peelings — anything which could be eaten. "Those failing (in achieving their quota) were labeled "enemies of the State" and had all possessions confiscated and then, were exiled to concentration camps."<sup>15</sup> To heighten the terror, the prosperous and influential peasants were destroyed first... "and untold number of kulaks had been torn from their homes and shipped to Siberia and the plains of Kazakhstan."<sup>16</sup>

By the fall of 1931, the effects of the Famine were felt everywhere. People attempted to trade with those from other areas, like the R.S.F.S.R., were attitudes toward the peasants were milder. To make matters worse, the 1932 grain quota was increased over the 1931 quota. By spring 1932, death was everywhere. That summer, the authorities set up watchtowers to keep an eye on the fields, protecting crops from peasants searching for food. Written permission had to be given to leave areas, yet any food brought back into the Ukraine was confiscated.<sup>17</sup> Drought hit the Ukrainian farmland in 1932.

As an additional act of intimidation, on August 7, 1932, the Ukrainian S.S.R. passed a law which included the following items: 1. the possession of the cooperatives (crops in the fields, community surpluses, cattle, cooperative stores, warehouses, etc.) are to be considered as state owned and watch over them was to be increased; 2. the penalties for theft of any cooperative property are to be increased in the interest of social protection — execution by firing squad and confiscation of all possessions and where greater leniency may be advisable, loss of freedom for at least ten years, along with confiscation of all possessions. Once everything was taken away, the individual was allowed no rations.<sup>18</sup>

The second reason given for the Artificial Famine, was seen as the Soviet Union's need



to expand its' economy for the development of heavy industry and to increase foreign cash flow: those were essential to improve the living conditions in the Soviet Union. Solovey feels that Stalin would rather exploit his colonies than take loans and credits from abroad. Funds were short and grain had to be sold on the international market at dumping prices.<sup>19</sup> When a hundredweight on the international market in 1930 sold for 9 guldens (data from the Dutch press), the U.S.S.R. was selling a hundred-weight for 5 guldens.

The Soviet Union's exports had to be increased, which could only be done by increasing quotas, as we had already discussed. To quiet heightening reaction against the increasing food shortages, "Torgsyn" stores were opened, offering the best food and clothing, without ration coupons. But, payment had to be in gold, silver or foreign currency and the individual had to give his name and address. Thus, the government received the precious metals for its funds, plus the N.K.V.D. (secret police) raided those identified and confiscated any remaining valuables.<sup>20</sup>

### *EFFECTS OF THE FAMINE*

Whether for political or economic reasons, whole villages were erased — people were dying by the tens of thousands. Cannibalism existed. "At first cannibals were shot on the spot, but later were thrown in concentration camps; cordons of troops prevented peasants from entering cities, those who broke through wandered about until they fell in the street. Such people were loaded onto trucks together with the corpses with and dumped outside the city."<sup>21</sup> "...in Ukraine in particular, the suffering and starvation reached a scale which passes human comprehension."<sup>22</sup>

Actual statistical losses from the Famine vary from source to source. It has to be kept in mind, that the statistical data for population between 1932-1933 is not accurate due to the movement of the hungry, the disorganization of the administration and the lack of classifying the numbers of those either killed, exiled or starved to death. Harry Lang, an American Socialist, heard about an Ukrainian famine claiming six million.<sup>23</sup> American Communist Adam T. Long, was told eight million had died.<sup>24</sup> Solovey estimates the actual loss of human beings between 8.5 and nine million, of which 6.5 died from hunger.<sup>25</sup>

In some opinions, the actual figures are still being concealed by the C.C.A.C.P. The 1926 population of the Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R. was 31,526,000; the average population increase between 1924-27 was at the rate of 2.36% per year.<sup>26</sup> The 1939 census stated there were 30,960,000 Ukrainians — an estimated loss of 7.5 million between the two censuses. As a result of World War II, the geographical additions added eleven million to the Ukrainian population. Taking into account the average growth rate, the 1960 census was still fourteen and a half million short of the 1926 figure. "...which without the natural increase and geographical addition still left the population at 43,091,000 about 33.5% short."<sup>27</sup> With the climbing death rate during the Famine, the publication of death statistics was forbidden.<sup>28</sup> "When deaths due to famine took on major proportions in Ukraine in 1932-33, physicians certifying the cause of death were forbidden to name the killer — starvation. The word "holod" (hunger) was decreed as counter-revolutionary and no one valuing his own life and those of his relatives dared use it publicly."<sup>29</sup>

### *PUBLIC OPINION*

Efforts of Ukrainians to bring attention to this situation continued, despite the comments of the Soviet Minister of External Affairs, Maxime Litvinov, who said all those famine rumors were lies from counter-revolutionary organizations.<sup>30</sup> Stalin had finally admitted there were some crop losses in 1932, due to climatic conditions, but refused an offer of free food from Ukrainian-Canadian farmers to the Soviet Red Cross.<sup>31</sup> So, during the year 1933, there was considerable activity commissarating with the situation in Ukraine and

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demanding aid.

The U.S. Department of State received a memo from the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States of America, which presented documented evidence of a famine.<sup>32</sup> The memorandum to the State Department contained eyewitness accounts of the famine as reported in the press, such as the Manchester Guardian (September 13, 1933), the N.Y. Jewish Daily Forward (December 27, 1933), the Parisian Le Matin (August 30, 1933), and the N.Y. Times (August 28, 1933).<sup>33</sup> On September 29, 1933, the Congress of Minorities met in Bern, Switzerland, its main issue of discussion was the saving of the Ukraine.<sup>34</sup> The premier of Norway raised the same question at the League of Nations. Americans of Ukrainian descent demonstrated in New York City, Chicago and Detroit. On November 18, 1933, a parade of tens of thousands of protesters was held in New York City.

Except for William Henry Chamberlin, of the Christian Science Monitor, and several other newspapermen, "...the general apathy in the country toward the famine in Ukraine remained. The press failed to take the matter seriously and referred to the existence of the famine with some skepticism."<sup>35</sup> "The C.C.A.C.P. and the government dependent on it, did all they could to maximize the results of the famine at the same time they strove to hide the fact of genocide from foreign eyes."<sup>36</sup> Cities, like Kiev and Kharkiv, which were open to journalists, were clean, making the famine seem unreal to those who visited.

Despite varying reports and opinions, House Resolution 399 was accepted during the 73rd U.S. Congress. It read: "Whereas, several million of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, the constituent part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, died of starvation during the years, 1932-33, and where the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within its borders, nevertheless failed to take relief measures designed to check the famine or to alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it; but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population, and destroying the Ukrainian political, cultural and national rights, whereas, it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such invasion of human rights and liberties; therefore be it: "Resolved, that the House of Representatives express its sympathies for all those who have suffered from the great famine in Ukraine which has brought misery, affliction and death to millions of peaceful and law-abiding Ukrainians."<sup>37</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Memorials to the millions of Ukrainians that died and suffered are few. The White Book, published in English, is one written account of the experiences some of the victims have shared. St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church, in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, stands as a reminder of the millions who perished. Perhaps, the greatest memorial to the victims, exists in our remembering. Russification is still continuing in the Soviet Union, sometimes subtle, often obnoxiously obvious. The rights of the Ukrainian nation and its people are constantly being gnawed at and the spirit is continually being tested.

Now, the struggle is to outlast the politics of the Soviets and remain Ukrainians. During the Artificial Famine, the struggle was for life itself. Whether they were politically aware or not, millions suffered the anguish of an Artificial Famine... they happened to live in a country struggling for its own identity, regardless of the politics or economics of the ruling party. They wanted to remain Ukrainians. **We cannot forget!**

Історія людства занотувала багато жакливиx минулиx подій. Одну з найстрашніших і найжорстокіших яка відбулася в 1932-33 рр. на Україні, ніде не занотовано і людство Світу про неї не знає, це терор і страхіття голоду. Припускають, що в той час згинуло від 4 до 9 мільйонів населення: чоловіків, жінок і дітей. Базуючись на фактах і на наукових джерелах, які подаємо, хочемо крикнути з болу, щоб людство почуло про українське лихоліття.

Дмитро Соловій — автор книжки „Тридцята річниця штучно створеного голоду в Україні” пише, „На жаль всі докази, подані різними авторами в різні часи, ще не зібрані в одну цілість і не видані в одну велику наукову працю, котра могла б бути доказом для майбутніх поколінь і відповідним меморіалом для загиблих”.

Україна розташована в цікавій частині світу, де зустрічається вплив західної і східної культури. В минулому через неї проходили торговельні шляхи і вона була також полем бою між Заходом і Сходом. Не маючи природного захисту, Україна була і є привабливим шматком для сусідів. Ворожі інвазії затримували розвиток української культури та лишали впливи чужої культури і мови. Вплив сусідів продовжується і тепер — все українське винищується, українське населення русифікується.

Після російської революції в 1917 році, відродилися в Україні національні і культурні почуття. Гасло Леніна „Хліб, мир, земля і влада для народу” — звучало дуже обіцяюче і здавалося, що буде здійснення мрії, утвориться Незалежна Українська Держава. Не здійснилися мрії, і українці виявили себе найбільше бунтуючим і нескореним елементом в будові нової комуністично-більшовицької держави. Щоб утримати владу в ще зруйнованій Першою світовою війною і російською революцією країні, Сталін взяв драстичні політичні економічні засоби, почав створювати „п'ятирічки”. Перша п'ятирічка була організована від 1928 до 1933 року. Програма п'ятирічки включала: колективізацію всієї землі, високу продукцію з неї, русифікацію неросійських народів та плянове винищення селянства.

Під проводом Сталіна ЦК компартії СРСР постановив припинити укр. національне відродження русифікацією. Скасовано українську мову в Українській Академії Наук, знищено укр. науковців, заарештовано укр. інтелігенцію та почалася висилка селянства на Далекий схід.

„Селянство було основою української нації і тяжко піддавалося русифікації”.

22-го січня 1930 року „Пролетарська правда” надрукувала: „Ціллю сільсько-го господарства на Україні була ліквідація підстав українського націоналізму і приватної власности землі”. Тобто успіх колективізації полягає в русифікації, а саме в винищенні української інтелігенції і українського селянства.

## ПРИЧИНИ ГОЛОДУ

Перша — на підставі українських науковців — політична, винищити українське населення духово й фізично. Українське населення, прагнучи затримати свою ідентичність, відкидало русифікацію і колективізацію. Наприклад, за перші 2 місяці колективізації, з 14-ти мільйонів колективізованих родин виступили з колгоспу 9 мільйонів. Плян колективізації на Україні советам не вдавався, тому мусіли застосувати насильство. За відмову йти до колгоспу людей обвинувачували „ворогами сов. влади”, тих людей розстрілювали, арештовували і висилали. Створено такі обставини, що люди для збереження самоіснування стали колгоспниками.

На XX Конгресі КП Хрущов визнав, що Сталін хотів знищити або вивезти з України все українське населення.

Вільну торгівлю і приватну власність заборонили, харчі розділялися по картках в мінімальній кількості, були утворені спеціальні крамниці для привілейованої кляси, котра ніколи не була голодна. Голодні селяни не в силі були виробляти високої колгоспної норми. Продукція худоби одразу впала на 50%, за невироблення норми селян обвинувачували в крадіжці, саботажі і т.п. і карою була конфіскація майна і домашніх продуктів. Забирали все зерно, муку, картоплю і навіть лушпиння з картоплі, яке люди могли їсти, а, дочекавши весни, могли посадити для вирощення картоплю.

Арешти і вивози людей до Казахстану і на далекий схід стали щоденним явищем. На весні 1931 р. були перші покази голоду, в 1932 році норма виробу продукції була підвищена, а населення вже голодувало, засуха цього ж року ще більше додала до нещастя — голод панував по Україні. 7-го серпня 1932 року вийшов добиваючий селянство закон „Всі приватні власності селян належать до держави”. На весні 1933 року голод був в повній силі, опухлі люди масово падали на вулицях мертвими — всюди панувала смерть.

Друга причина, з якою більшість населення не згоджується, це економічна, а саме: утворенням колгоспів і високими виробами п'ятирічок продукувати якнайбільше зерна для продажі за закордонну валюту для розбудови в СССР індустрії. Наприклад, в голландській пресі в 1930 році було зазначено, що в той час на інтернаціональному ринку 1 тона зерна продавалася за 9 гульденів, а СССР 1 тону продавав за 5 гульденів. СССР робив зерновий демпінг в той час, коли населення України умирало з голоду.

## НАСЛІДКИ ГОЛОДУ

Чи причини були політичні чи економічні — наслідки лишилися однакові. Люди вмирали тисячами, найбільше вимерло селян, було багато сіл, в яких вимерло абсолютно все населення.

Траплялося людодіство, на початках людодів міліція стріляла на місці, а пізніше почали їх висилати на Далекий схід. В'їзд до міст селянам було заборонено, але деякі проривалися, вони, як божевільні, опухші й голодні, блукали по вулицях, деяких, як худобу, виганяли з міста, а деякі падали на вулицях мертвими, їх скидали на вози і вивозили за місто до великих ям і засипали. Голод, який був на Україні, це страхіття, яке не може збагнути людський розум.

Точної кількості жертв невідомо. Різні джерела подають інакше. В ті роки знаний американський соціаліст Гері Ланг подав, що він чув, що було 6 мільйонів померлих, Адам Т. Лонг подає 8 мільйонів. Соловей припускає 8 і пів до 9 мільйонів померлих в той час, з них 6 і пів з голоду, решта забито або вивезено. Ті, що пережили той час, про своїх померлих дорогих і близьких ніколи не згадували, бо згадка про голод вважалася контрреволюцією. Є припущення що правдива і точна статистика померлих з голоду схована в архівах Центрального Комітету Комуністичної Партії.

## ОПІНІЇ

Советський міністер закордонних справ заперечує подію голоду і переконує, що це брехня і видумка контрреволюціонерів.

Сталін признав, що був неурожай, але відмовився прийняти зерно від

канадських українців через Червоний Хрест.

Про голод на Україні було згадаю в нижчезазначеній пресі:

13 вересня 1933 р. „Манчестер Гардіян”

27.12.1933 „Нью-Йорк Джювіш Дейлі Форвард”

29.8.1933 „Нью-Йорк Таймс”

30.8.1933 „Ле Матін”, Париж

29.9.1933 р. Конгрес оф Майнорітіс в Берн, Швайцарія, обговорював як помогти голодаючим українцям.

29.9.1933 р. Прем'єр Норвегії порушив питання про допомогу Українцям.

18-го листопада 1933 року десятки тисяч демонстрували в Нью-Йорку, відбулися також демонстрації в Чікаго і Детройті.

Оцих вищеподаних згадок у пресі було не досить, вільна преса не зацікавилася і не подавала ширших повідомлень для вільного світу, а світ чи не знав, чи ігнорував і дозволив згинати мільйонам невинних людей тільки за те, що вони були голодаючими невольниками колективізації.

Міста Київ і Харків були вичещені від умираючих і були відкриті для чужоземних журналістів. Совети закривали подію голоду і закрили очі цілому світові.

В сьогоднішній день в Україні далі продовжується боротьба за національну ідентичність. Ми віримо, що наші стремління і витривалість переживуть советську політику і ми затримаємося українцями! В часи голоду, в Україні умирали мільйони. Нам невідомо, якого переконання були вони. Ми тільки знаємо, що вони хотіли бути незалежними господарями в країні, котра хотіла затримати свою ідентичність і незалежність, вони вмирали українцями.

**Ми цього не забудемо!**

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## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Dmytro Solovey, "On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man-Made Famine", The Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. XIX, (Autumn and Winter, 1963), p. 23.
- <sup>2</sup>Andrew Fedynsky, "The Politics of Grain", Smoloskyp, Fall, 1980, p. 10.
- <sup>3</sup>Maksym Sahaydak, comp., Ethnocide of the Ukraine in the U.S.S.R. (Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1976), p. 41.
- <sup>4</sup>Sahaydak, p. 47.
- <sup>5</sup>Solovey, p. 14.
- <sup>6</sup>Solovey, p. 7.
- <sup>7</sup>Kenneth Whiting, The Soviet Union Today, (Kenneth A. Praeger, publisher, 1967), p. 72.
- <sup>8</sup>Association for the Liberation of Ukraine, "On the 40th Anniversary of the Famine", Mission Ukraine, (Toronto: 1972), p. 1.
- <sup>9</sup>Solovey, p. 10.
- <sup>10</sup>Solovey, p. 16.
- <sup>11</sup>Solovey, p. 17.
- <sup>12</sup>Solovey, p. 17.
- <sup>13</sup>Whiting, p. 72.
- <sup>14</sup>Solovey, p. 16.
- <sup>15</sup>Dmytro Solovey, comp., The Golgotha of Ukraine, (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953), p. 8.



- <sup>16</sup>Whiting, p. 72.
- <sup>17</sup>Solovey, p. 19.
- <sup>18</sup>Solovey, p. 19.
- <sup>19</sup>Sahaydak, p. 57.
- <sup>20</sup>Solovey, p. 18.
- <sup>21</sup>Sahaydak, p. 46.
- <sup>22</sup>George Vernadsky, A History of Russia, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 360.
- <sup>23</sup>Solovey, p. 24.
- <sup>24</sup>Solovey, p. 24.
- <sup>25</sup>Solovey, p. 24.
- <sup>26</sup>Sahaydak, p. 43.
- <sup>27</sup>Solovey, p. 3.
- <sup>28</sup>Solovey, p. 20.
- <sup>29</sup>Solovey, p. 20.
- <sup>30</sup>Solovey, p. 21.
- <sup>31</sup>Solovey, p. 21.
- <sup>32</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 3.
- <sup>33</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 4.
- <sup>34</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 4.
- <sup>35</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 5.
- <sup>36</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 5.
- <sup>37</sup>Golgotha of Ukraine, p. 3.





