



50 YEARS AGO: THE FAMINE HOLOCAUST IN UKRAINE

**TERROR AND HUMAN MISERY
AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET
RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM**

**50 YEARS AGO:
THE FAMINE HOLOCAUST
IN UKRAINE**

**TERROR AND HUMAN MISERY
AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET
RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM**

By
WALTER DUSHNYCK

FOREWORD
By
DANA G. DALRYMPLE

Published by
WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS
New York — Toronto
1983

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AND ADDITIONAL
COPIES OF THIS PAMPHLET, WRITE TO:**

**HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS**

**SUITE 2
2118A BLOOR STREET WEST
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M6S 1M8
TEL.: (416) 762-1108**

**Printed by
SVOBODA PRINTING COMPANY
30 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, N.J. 07302
U.S.A.**

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	5
INTRODUCTION	10
PART ONE	
1. Ukraine — Source of Trouble and Unrest for Soviet Russian Imperialism	15
2. Goals and Methods of Collectivization and Its Severity in Ukraine	18
PART TWO	
3. Party and Government Measures During the Man-Made Ukraine	23
4. Destruction of Ukraine's Population on Genocidal Level	31
PART THREE	
5. Official Soviet Attitude Toward the Famine	37
6. Reports by Ukrainian and Foreign Witnesses	39
PART FOUR	
7. World Reaction to the Man-Made Famine	45
8. Ukrainians Outside Ukraine and Worldwide Protests	47
CONCLUSION	50
FOOTNOTES	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY	54
AUTHORS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT	56

FAMINE IN UKRAINE

A

73rd CONGRESS H. RES. 399
2nd SESSION

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 28, 1934

Mr. FISH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

RESOLUTION

Whereas several millions of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the constituent part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, died of starvation during the years of 1932 and 1933; and

Whereas the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although being 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 measure 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; and

Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of states other than the United States, oppressed or persecuted by their own governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such invasions of human rights and liberties: Therefore be it

(PART OF RESOLUTION)

NEW YORK CITY

1934

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES

FOREWORD

*It is wholly appropriate that this publication be issued at this time. Fifty years ago — during the winter, spring, and early summer of 1933 — the southern portion of the Soviet Union was ravaged by one of the worst famines of all time. Yet it remains barely known today outside of the Ukrainian community. In 1935, Adam J. Tawdul, an American born in Omsk who had spent the years from 1931 to 1933 in the region, wrote with great prescience: "... it will be a long time before the full story of that singular calamity — singular because of its unnatural causes — is presented to the world."*¹ Even now, no definitive work exists on the famine, although, I am pleased to note, two most promising books are in preparation (one by Robert Conquest and James Mace under the auspices of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, and the other by Marco Carynnyk of Toronto).

Walter Dushnyck provides, within a relatively few pages, a fine introduction to this complex subject. He puts the famine in historical context in Ukraine and outlines the main events. He provides what were for me, at least, some new insights and some new sources. The story is, of course, a brutal and unpleasant one. It is even, by the standards of civilized society, an almost unbelievable one. Yet it did occur, I believe, much as Dushnyck tells it. (I am less certain of the degree to which the famine was planned.) I would hope that this booklet, plus the two books in preparation, would help carry the story to a wider audience and ensure it a more prominent place in the history of the Soviet Union.

I would like to elaborate on three points raised by Dushnyck: the geographical extent of the famine, mortality estimates, and Stalin's personal response. In doing so I might be said to be moving beyond the traditional role of a Foreword. The reader may, therefore, wish to return to these comments after reading the text.

First, while the famine was undoubtedly of greatest importance in Ukraine, it is important to realize that it

extended — as Dushnyck notes at several points — over a much wider area. The Soviet leaders may have shown a particular animosity toward Ukraine, but they also evidently had some scores to settle in other areas as well. More specifically, the famine was also severe in the North Caucasus (particularly in the Kuban), the middle and lower Volga, and in Kazakhstan. Famine was also found in the Urals, the trans-Volga region, and in Western Siberia. In the latter case, Tawdul quotes Lovin, then director of the Cheliabinsk tractor plant, as saying:

The great majority of the deaths were among the non-Russian natives such as Tartars, Kirghiz, Baskhirs and other nomads. The famine among these races coincided with the Soviet drive to settle permanently in collectives the native tribes and to consolidate thereby the Russian domination of the area.² In these regions the losses from starvation have mostly affected the alien races.³

There were also some difficulties in other areas, such as in Smolensk.⁴ Ukraine definitely did not stand, or fall, alone.

Secondly, Dushnyck summarizes (in Part II/4) some estimates of famine deaths, which I gathered some 20 years ago, ranging from 4 to 10 million.⁵ Since then I have seen a number of additional estimates, most in the same range. Three fairly high estimates, however, merit special mention here.

— W. Horsley Gantt. As I mentioned in a 1965 note in Soviet Studies, Dr. Gantt privately received a figure of 15 million deaths from Soviet authorities. He noted, however, that starvation was complicated by epidemics and it was very difficult to sort the two out.⁶

— Mykola Skrypnyk. Skrypnyk, mentioned several times by Dushnyck, told Tawdul early in 1933 that "At least 8,000,000 people have already perished from the famine in the Ukraine and Northern Caucasus alone."⁷

— Balinsky. According to Tawdul, Balinsky was Voroshilov's right hand man in Ukraine and a member of the Executive Council of the G.P.U. In 1933 he reportedly said: "From 8,000,000 to 9,000,000 people have already perished in the Ukraine alone." "This is the figure that we have submitted to the boss (Stalin), but it is approximate, as none of us knows the exact numbers."⁸

In addition to the above figures, Lovin told Tawdul that, "More than one million people died from hunger in the Urals, in the trans-Volga region and in Western Siberia in 1932-33." The figure was derived from an investigation carried out on orders from Moscow.⁹

Third, Dushnyck refers (in Part III/5) to a futile attempt by Terekhov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to tell Stalin about the disastrous food situation in the villages of the Kharkiv oblast. Others also tried with little success.

— It was reported in a Congressional hearing that when Chubar, whom Dushnyck mentions, "...appealed to Stalin for food at least for the starving children, he received the definite answer from Stalin, 'No remarks on that question.'"¹⁰

— Khrushchev recalls, perhaps disingenuously, that some years after the famine, Mikoyan told him that:

Comrade Demchenko, who was then First Secretary of the Kiev Regional Committee, once came to see him in Moscow. Here's what Demchenko said: "Anastas Ivanovich, does Comrade Stalin — for that matter, does anyone in the Politburo — know what's happening in the Ukraine? Well if not, I'll give you some idea ... I think somebody had better inform Stalin about this situation."¹¹

— One person, curiously enough, who had told Stalin was his wife. There are several similar accounts of this. Gaucher states:

The drama came one night in November 1932. Stalin and his wife were dining with the Voroshilovs and the Politburo. That night ... Nadezhda dared say what was in her heart. She spoke of the famine, of the population suffering, of the terror that reigned in the party.¹²

Similarly, Barmine reports:

"...I know from the lips of her own brother the true story of Nadia Alliluyeva's death. That evening at Voroshilov's villa neighboring Stalin's, she made some critical remarks about the peasant policy, which doomed the villages to famine. In answer, Stalin insulted her..."¹³

She may have received some of her information from Lovin, noted earlier, who Tawdul said was a relative.¹⁴

Even if Stalin had taken a different view toward the famine, it is most unlikely that he would have acceded to

outside food aid, as Lenin had done during the earlier famine of 1921-23. During that time, Weissman reports that Stalin's "near paranoid suspicions about foreign organizations were not allayed by the accomplishments of the ARA (the American Relief Administration)... The record yields not one favorable comment about the ARA by Stalin."¹⁵

There is much that we do not know — and will never know — about the famine of 1933. The Soviet Union has been extraordinarily effective in making a non-event out of what has been one of the most appalling happenings of our century. The Ukrainian community in the free world can be credited with doing much to stimulate research and writing on this subject. The World Congress of Free Ukrainians is to be congratulated for publishing Dushnyck's account at this time.

Dana G. Dalrymple
Washington, D.C.

REFERENCES

1/ Adam J. Tawdul, "10,000 Starved in Russia in Two Years, Soviet Admits," *New York American*, August 18, 1935, p. 1.

2/ Tawdul, "Russia Warred on Own People," *New York American*, August 19, 1935, p. 1. Tawdul worked as an "industrial executive" at the Cheliabinsk plant (Tawdul, *op. cit.*, August 18, p. 1).

3/ Tawdul, "Soviet Traded Lives for Power, Says Ex-Aide," *New York American*, August 20, 1935, p. 4.

4/ Daniel R. Brower, "Collectivized Agriculture in Smolensk: The Party, the Peasantry, and the Crisis of 1932," *The Russian Review*, April 1977, pp. 151-166.

5/ Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-34," *Soviet Studies*, January 1964, pp. 259-260.

6/ Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-34; Some Further References," *Soviet Studies*, April 1965, p. 471.

7/ Tawdul, *op. cit.* (Aug. 18), p. 2. Tawdul said that he and Skrypnyk were childhood acquaintances and that he had become a friend of the Skrypnyk household when he returned.

8/ Tawdul, *op. cit.*, (Aug. 19), p. 1.

9/ Tawdul, *op. cit.* (Aug. 19), p. 2. Tawdul himself visited some of these areas ("Stalin Brought All Russia to Despair Says His Ex-Aide," *New York American*, August 24, 1935, pp. 1,2).

10/ "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine," Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives (83rd Congress, 2nd Session), Special Report No. 4, 1954, pp. 19-20.

11/ *Khrushchev Remembers* (Edward Crankshaw and Strobe Talbott), Little Brown & Co., 1970, p. 74.

12/ Roland Gaucher, *Opposition in the U.S.S.R.* (trans. by C. L. Markmann), Funk & Wagnalls, 1969, pp. 218-219.

13/ Alexander Barmine, *One Who Survived*, Putnams, 1945, p. 264. Also see I. Deutscher, *Stalin, A Political Biography*, Oxford, 1949, p. 333.

14/ Tawdul, *op. cit.* (Aug. 19), p. 2; (Aug. 20), p. 4.

15/ Benjamin M. Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia, 1921-23*, Hoover Institute Press, Stanford University, 1974, pp. 125, 126.

PAWNS OF TRAGEDY IN UKRAINE



"I want to die and be with my mother," cried this homeless orphan girl, found wandering on the outskirts of Kiev.

Father in a concentration camp, mother gone two days in search of food, this boy was found near collapse from hunger.

This homeless Ukraine boy, ill with fever, carried water in a bucket to quench his incessant thirst. No hope for him.

INTRODUCTION

“...The famine is the direct consequence of a particular social order; so long as this social order exists, such famines are inevitable: they can be abolished only by the abolition of this order of society...

Vladimir Lenin.”¹

Fifty years ago Ukraine was ravaged and brought to the verge of virtual physical extinction not by some natural cause such as pestilence, drought, floods or an extremely poor harvest.

In 1932 Ukraine was especially selected by the Kremlin to be punished for its aversion and overt opposition to the enforced collectivization of agriculture.

Fifty years ago communist Russia deliberately committed a horrendous crime against the Ukrainian people which for the sheer magnitude of its victims has no equal in the history of mankind. With neither mild rebuke nor even a reproving whisper on the part of the West, the Soviet Russian government murdered millions of Ukrainians through a planned famine, and destroyed historical cultural treasures of the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary eras. Half a century ago the Ukrainian people — their peasantry, workers and intellectual classes — paid the supreme sacrifice through the heinous crime of genocide because they refused to accept the collective yoke of the Moscow-imposed “dictatorship of the proletariat,” a thinly disguised Russian imperialist government.

With the exception of some Communist officials in Ukraine who at the risk of their lives talked to foreign correspondents about the widespread famine, the Kremlin has never officially admitted that a famine existed in 1932-34. In the section on famine in **The Great Soviet Encyclopedia** there is no mention of the 1932-1934 famine.² One exception seemed to be the trial of members of the Commissariat of Agriculture. They were charged, according to **Izvestia** (March 12, 1933, p.

2), with using their authority “to create famine in the country” (cited from Merle Fainsod’s **How Russia is Ruled**, (Cambridge, 1969, p. 364).

It has been unanimously conceded by all, that is, those who provided evidence and those who collected and reported it, that the famine was the severest in Ukraine, and to a lesser degree in the North Caucasus (the Kuban province) and the lower Volga area, heavily populated with German settlers.

W. H. Chamberlin, who spent some time in the Soviet Union as a correspondent of **The Christian Science Monitor**, upon his return to the United States, published in 1935 **Russia’s Iron Age**, in which he wrote:

“The unquestionable fact [is] that collectivization wrought the greatest havoc in the main, just where the peasants were more intelligent, and more progressive in farming methods, where the pre-war standards of living were the highest. It is not in the primitive Caucasian **aul** (mountain village) or the forest of the North that one finds the clearest signs of devastation. The famine regions in 1932-34 were in many cases the most fertile and prosperous districts... the rich North Caucasus, the German colonies on the Volga, and in Ukraine, where the people were always noted for their good farming — the fertile ‘black-earth’ Ukrainian provinces of Kiev and Poltava. It was not the more backward peasants, but the more progressive and well-to-do, who usually showed the greatest resistance to collectivization, and this is not because they did not understand what the new policy would portend, but because they understood too well...”³

In 1929, Stalin, the incontestable master of the USSR, decided to transform the Soviet Union into an “industrialized” society in the shortest time possible — and at whatever cost in human and material resources. Hence he decreed the forcible collectivization of agriculture against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population. This enforced collectivization evoked massive resistance on the part of the Ukrainian people, especially the Ukrainian peasantry, for whom the principles of private property and individual endeavor were deeply embedded in their national and social psychology.

In order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people to

forcible collectivization, the Soviet government resorted to naked force, the sheer kind of force which only a totalitarian government has as its disposal.

Consequently, early in 1932, the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow issued a stern decree calling for **immediate execution by firing squad of those caught gathering ear-spikes of wheat in the fields!**

The "government" of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, upon instruction from Moscow, issued a similar draconian decree, providing for **execution on the spot** of those caught picking grain or vegetables from the fields, fields which heretofore had been their own private property!

To implement these inhuman decrees during the harvest of 1932 Moscow dispatched to Ukraine thousands of Communist agents, members of the Comsomol* and armed detachments of the Red Army, and the GPU,** who indiscriminately confiscated all the grain and food products they could find anywhere. This food, literally a matter of life or death to the Ukrainians, was transported by freight cars to the Russian SFSR and subsequently exported abroad. From the proceeds of its sale, the Kremlin was buying industrial machinery and equipment abroad for the "rapid industrialization" of the USSR.

This barbarous genocidal policy soon led to a **shocking and unprecedented famine in Ukraine!** The average diet disintegrated to meager rations of potatoes, beets, and pumpkins.

An eyewitness, who is still alive on the North American continent and who was a teen-ager during the man-made famine, stated:

...I am a son of a farmer from the once prosperous Poltava region... We joined the collective farm when our neighbors did and our land, horses, cows and farm implements were taken away. Three months later we were notified that we had been classified as "**kurkuls**" and that we had to vacate our house.

Before we were hustled out of our home, my father managed to conceal some grain in the leggings of his boots, and we lived on this for a few days in the hamlet. Then came the ordeal of hunger.

There was no food, and our bodies began to swell.

This was at the time when hordes of “grain collectors” invaded the villages and searched for concealed stores in the ground, in granaries, stables, orchards, fields, even wells.

My father died on the road near the hamlet, and his body lay there for ten days: nobody buried him, for the dead lay scattered everywhere. My mother could not bury him because she too had become swollen with hunger; her body was covered with sores and she was very weak.

I don't know where and when my father was buried. After his death, one day my mother and three little sisters joined him...

All of us were small, we could not bury our mother and sisters, and their bodies lay in the house a long, long time. Three other sisters and I were still alive, but we could not walk, only crawl.

We could crawl thus to our mother and lie beside her. When about two weeks later, our mother's body began to move with a mass of maggots, we managed to roll it on to a ladder and drag it out of the house.⁴

So did the Ukrainians die by the thousands. Despite police blocks, thousands upon thousands were fleeing to the cities in desperate search of food, but finding none, they collapsed and died on the streets of Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, and other cities of Ukraine.

From the “breadbasket” which Ukraine still was, starving people began traveling in ever-growing groups to neighboring areas, especially to **the Russian SFSR, where there was no famine to speak of!**

Malcolm Muggeridge, noted British journalist — who is still with us today — traveled in Ukraine at that time. He wrote:

...A merciless war is being waged by the Soviet government against the peasants. The battlefield is truly ruined, but the struggle is going on. One can see...millions of peasants dying from hunger, and the soldiery of the GPU implementing the orders of the proletarian revolution. They have thrown themselves upon Ukraine as famished vultures. They have executed and deported millions of peasants, sometimes entire villages. Thus they have succeeded in transforming the richest country in the world into a desert, full of melancholy...⁵

The New York Times, reporting in its issue of September 21, 1953 on the Ukrainian "Memorial Manifestation" on the 20th anniversary of the man-made famine in Ukraine, held in New York City, quoted the late Prof. Rafael Lemkin, author of the U.N. Convention against genocide, as saying that the Moscow-instrumented famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 was a deliberate and political genocide directed against the Ukrainian nation as such.

And, indeed, it was genocidal in its attempt to extirpate a whole people.

"Earth."
Oil
By Bohdan
Pevny



PART ONE

1. UKRAINE — A SOURCE OF TROUBLE AND UNREST FOR SOVIET RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

It is to be recalled that from the very first days of the 1917 Revolution Ukrainian schools began to spring up — initially through the resources of citizens, cooperatives and local assemblies (**zemstvos**), later through the state. Also appearing in the cities and villages of Ukraine were community enlightenment and reading organizations — the **Prosvitas** — which organized Ukrainian libraries, courses, amateur dramatic and choral societies and, in the larger centers, publishing houses.⁶

Also, Ukrainian orthography and the Ukrainian language were made official under the Ukrainian National Republic. The language quickly seeped through all forms of community and state life: the schools, churches, theaters, scientific institutes, government offices, courts, diplomacy, post office, railways, army and navy. Intensive efforts were made in the development of a scientific and technical terminology. Prior to the revolution all this was forbidden by the Russian Czarist authorities. And although after their reoccupation of Ukraine the Bolsheviks had relegated the Ukrainian language once more to a second-class status, they were unable to halt the development of the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian literature and writings, for example, continued to grow through new works of fiction, technical publications, textbooks, scientific works and publicistic pamphlets.⁷

Furthermore, the consciousness of the Ukrainian people at large, severely repressed until the revolution, began to crystallize.

On November 20, 1917, the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, the revolutionary parliament of Ukraine that had been established in March of 1917, immediately after the downfall of Russian Czarism, issued the Third **Universal**, establishing the **Ukrainian National Republic (UNR)**. While trying to secure recognition from the new Russian government in Petrograd,

the **Rada** still maintained its several Ukrainized divisions at the front against the Central Powers. Lenin and Trotsky, while paying lip-service to national self-determination, were sending Russian Communist bands into Ukraine in order to take over the country. But when these incursions failed, the Soviet government sent a note on December 17, 1917 to the **Rada** whereby it recognized the Ukrainian government as the independent government of the Ukrainian people. The note stated:

“...The Soviet of People’s Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any limitations or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic...”⁸

Later on, Soviet Russia again recognized the independence of Ukraine (and of Finland) upon signing a peace treaty with the Central Powers on March 3, 1918, in Brest Litovsk.

But with the recognition of Ukraine’s independence by the new Soviet Russian government, the imperialistic designs of Moscow had hardly disappeared.

While the Lenin government was tendering its recognition of Ukraine, the Red Army, under the command of Leon Trotsky, invaded Ukraine without any provocation; it did so simply because the **Rada** had rejected an ultimatum from Moscow to allow armed Russian Communist bands into Ukraine.

Trotsky had issued his famed “Instructions,” which again disclosed the duplicity and perfidy of the Russian leaders. They read:

1. Not to impose Communism upon the Ukrainian peasantry until such time as Communist power over them is solidified;

2. To assure them [Ukrainians] that there is no Communism in Russia;

3. To propagate that Russia has recognized the independence of Ukraine, but with a Soviet government;

4. In case of robberies by the Red Army, they should be ascribed to partisans and Petluraite.⁹

The armed defensive war of the Ukrainian National Republic against Communist Russia lasted until 1920. Finally, in 1920, the Bolshevik armies defeated the young and ill-equipped Ukrainian forces. But significantly, Moscow did not

dare to destroy the framework of Ukrainian statehood. Instead, it established a "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," which at the end of 1922 was forced to join the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (USSR). But armed resistance by small and isolated Ukrainian insurgents continued for years, trying to destabilize the despised Communist regime in Ukraine.

Gradually the anti-Soviet struggle was forced to undergo considerable changes. Sustaining a military resistance became impossible. The main energies of an awakened Ukraine turned to a struggle to achieve Ukrainian national and cultural goals. A clear repercussion of this struggle was heard at the XIIth congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) meeting on April 17-25, 1923, at which the nationality problem was extensively debated.¹⁰

After the revolution and the short-lived Ukrainian independent state, the Ukrainian national and cultural renaissance, which had been reviled and throttled by the Czarist government, took giant steps forward. This powerful process of awakening in Ukraine seriously disturbed all Russian imperialists, expansionists and chauvinists. It also disturbed the upper echelon of the Party, including Stalin. It was this ruling Russian Bolshevik clique in the Kremlin that decreed the cruel and inhuman **pogrom** of Ukrainian life, especially of the Ukrainian peasantry during the enforced collectivization.

The Ukrainian peasantry was the backbone of the Ukrainian nation; it never let itself be affected by Russification and assimilation to the extent that, unfortunately, the educated strata of the Ukrainian population did. This whole great process of rebirth also touched on the then small urban population and the denationalized educated strata.

By the end of the first decade after the revolution, the Ukrainian peasantry had furnished thousands of its youth to the new Ukrainian intelligentsia who with great swiftness and ardor acquired secondary and higher educations and technical training and began to take over the leadership in the flowering of their national culture.

This process was clearly reflected in the numbers of Ukrainians attending the "technicums" (vocational and technical high schools) and the universities of Ukraine:

Ukrainians constituted in 1924 — 57 percent of the students in the technicums and 30 percent in the universities; in 1933 they made up 68 percent in the technicums and 55 percent in the universities and institutes; and in 1934 — 70 percent and 60 percent, respectively.¹¹

The Ukrainian national renaissance alarmed Moscow no little. Consequently, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, under the personal direction of Stalin, formulated a plan which at once would check, if not destroy, all the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people.

The strategy, bearing all the earmarks of genocide from the very start, was implemented as follows:

1. An attack was launched on all Ukrainian linguistic work. Publication of the basic, multi-volume Russian-Ukrainian academic dictionary was stopped, as was the historical dictionary of the Ukrainian language, whose first two volumes had appeared in 1930-1932; so were several Ukrainian technical dictionaries. The Institute of Scientific Language at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) was closed.

2. In 1930 all the work of VUAN, especially of its humanities branches, was totally destroyed.¹² The work of the other Ukrainian institutions and cultural societies met with the same fate.

3. A massive physical destruction of Ukrainian scientific cadres and cultural and church leaders was started. It began with the trial of alleged members of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU), as well as with trials of leaders of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, trials which were followed by a host of others.¹³

4. Last but not least in the plan was the annihilation of millions of the recalcitrant Ukrainian peasantry through a man-made famine.

2. GOALS AND METHODS OF COLLECTIVIZATION AND ITS SEVERITY IN UKRAINE

In his secret speech on February 25, 1956, Khrushchev, while denouncing Stalin, gave him full credit for the part he played in dealing with Trotskyites, "bourgeois nationalists," and in the industrialization and collectivization. He said:

Let us consider for a moment what would have

happened if in 1928-1929 the political line of rightwing deviation had prevailed among us, or an orientation toward "cotton-dress industrialization." We would not have a powerful heavy industry, we would not have the collective farms, and we would find ourselves disarmed and weak in a capitalist encirclement...¹⁴

On December 27, 1929, Stalin asserted in a speech that it was necessary to pass "from the policy of 'restricting' the exploitative tendencies of the **kulaks** to the policy of 'eliminating' the **kulaks** as a class" — "raskulachivaniya" — literally meaning tearing them apart. Hence, **raskulachivaniya** or **dekulakization** became the law of the land.

Accordingly, the **kulaks** (**kurkuls** in Ukrainian) were divided into three categories. The first, described as the "actively hostile," were simply to be handed over to the OGPU (political police) to be sent to concentration camps, while their families were subject to deportation to distant regions in the north, Siberia and the Far East.

The second category was described as the "most economically strong" **kulak** households. These were to be deported outside the area of their place of residence. Finally, the third group, regarded as the least dangerous, was allowed to remain in the area, but was to be given land of the worst kind. The property of the first two categories was to be confiscated outright.

People in the third category were to be allowed to keep essential equipment, which implied partial confiscation. On their inferior land they were to grow crops to meet the stiff "quotas" of the state for compulsory deliveries. (Failure to deliver produce or to pay taxes was considered as "anti-Soviet activity" and was dealt with cruelly.)

If the families were separated, the children were left uncared for. Thousands were sent with little food and water on the long journey to Siberia, crowded unspeakably in railway freight cars. The whole process was explained simply as "an inevitable part of the struggle to destroy the exploiting class." By separating children from the parents, the regime was expecting that the children would grow up to be "confirmed Communists."¹⁵

Collectivization was carried out by a predominantly urban party apparatus, as there were very few party members

NEW YORK PRESS REPORTS ON PROTEST PARADE AGAINST STARVING OF UKRAINE BY SOVIETS

14-B

NEW YORK AMERICAN—A Paper for People Who Think—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1933

Reds, Antis and Police Battle as Ukrainians Here Stage Protest Parade

**8,000 IN MARCH
ATTACKED AT 8
POINTS ON WAY**

At Least 3 Officers and Many
Civilians Injured in Sharp
Fights Along Lexington Ave.

Reds, anti-Communist members
and police clashed repeatedly
in a series of fights along Lexington
Avenue. Parades of Ukrainians,
Americans, Russians and
anti-Communists were held
at various points on the
avenue. At least three policemen and
one Red were injured in the
fights. The anti-Communist
parade was the largest of the
series.

The marchers, members of the
Central League of Ukrainian-
Americans, New York United Nations
League, and other organizations,
were marching to the United Nations
Building. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers
were then dispersed by the
police. The march was
held in spite of the fact that
the police had warned that
it would be illegal.

USED NEW WEAPON
The Reds used
a new weapon in the
fight. They used a
tear gas canister. The
canister was thrown
by a Red. The canister
was thrown at the
marchers. The marchers
were then dispersed by
the police. The march
was held in spite of the
fact that the police had
warned that it would be
illegal.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1933.

Six Arrested as Communists Attempt to Break Up

**UKRAINIAN SYMPATHIZERS,
SEVERAL THOUSAND IN LINE,
PROTEST U. S. RECOGNITION**

Police and Marchers Jeered as Banners Denouncing
Regime in Russia Pass By—Disorders
on University Place.

Ukrainian sympathizers, several thousand strong, today
paraded down University place, from Lexington Ave. to
Madison Ave., and then to the United Nations Building.
The march was held in protest of the recognition of the
Soviet Union by the United States. The marchers carried
banners denouncing the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops from Russia. The
march was interrupted by a series of fights with police.
The marchers were then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the fact that the police had
warned that it would be illegal.

New York Evening Post
Saturday, November 18, 1933
**Communists Boo
Ukrainian March**
Handbills Accuse Soviet of Com-
bating Movement for
Independence

Marchers complained
that the police were
using force to break up
the march. The marchers
were then dispersed by
the police. The march
was held in spite of the
fact that the police had
warned that it would be
illegal.

Anti-Soviet Parade

The New York Times.

Copyright, 1933, by The New York Times Company.

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1933.

First Clash in Washington Square
At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

Attack on Ukrainian Group
Pressed From Washington
Square to East 67th St.
POLICEMEN ARE BEATEN
Protest Marchers and Guards
Struck Down With Battles
—Nine Arrests Made.

Five hundred were killed and
wounded in the attack on the
marchers. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

**5 HURT AS 500 REDS
FIGHT PARADE HERE**

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

At 10 o'clock yesterday morning
the Ukrainians began to gather at
Washington Square. The marchers
were carrying banners denouncing
the Soviet regime and demanding
the withdrawal of American troops
from Russia. The march was
interrupted by a series of fights
with police. The marchers were
then dispersed by the police. The
march was held in spite of the
fact that the police had warned
that it would be illegal.

NEW YORK
Herald

Tribune
NOVEMBER 19, 1933

City Reds Battle
Ukrainians at

in the villages. Fanatical party zealots or well-meaning townsmen, with no knowledge of rural problems whatsoever, had no common language with the peasants. Moreover, many thought that the peasants were common and stupid people who simply did not know what was good for them.

What was more tragic for the people of Ukraine was the fact that Stalin himself intervened to make excesses inevitable. He refused to allow any exemptions; all livestock was to be collectivized, and when he finally retreated from his position, the damage had already been done.

Peasant resistance was fierce and widespread, and there were bloody, short-lived uprisings; there were assassinations and murders of so-called "village correspondents" who informed on recalcitrant peasants. Many of the "city activists" (25,000 of them were sent to terrorize the Ukrainian countryside) were also killed. There was widespread sabotage and destruction of government property, and so on.¹⁶

In reprisal Moscow dispatched punitive expeditions that razed whole communities. But the battle in Ukraine was the fiercest because the soil of Ukraine and the industriousness of its people accounted for much greater numbers of well-to-do farmers than in any other non-Russian republic in the USSR. It was also in Ukraine that private ownership of land was most highly prized. Likewise, it was in Ukraine that separatist aspirations frequently made opposition to collectivization indistinguishable from a struggle for national liberation from the Soviet Russian system of colonial domination.

In fact, Stalin viewed the opposition to collectivization in Ukraine as fundamentally a movement for the secession of Ukraine from the USSR.

Stalin especially insisted on imposing the so-called "hard obligations" — arbitrary quota exactions calling for deliveries of vast quantities of grain to the state. Shortage of fodder was a major cause of reduction in livestock in Ukraine, while the state quotas left very little on which to feed the animals. As a result, in 1931 sowing suffered acutely from the appalling depletion of horses and other domestic animals.

When those who were assessed exorbitant quotas could not meet them, they were punished by confiscation of whatever property they had, by fines, imprisonment and/or deportation.



A pack of starving children — a common sight in Ukrainian villages in 1932-1933. (Courtesy: The Lethbridge Herald, March 18, 1981, Lethbridge, Alta., Canada.)

Stalin's slogan, "liquidation of **kulaks** as a class," literally meant the following:

1. Confiscation of all means of production;
2. Confiscation of all liquid wealth;
3. Confiscation of all structures, including the residences, on **kulak** farms, as well as furniture and foodstocks.¹⁷

On July 6, 1932, the Third All-Ukrainian Party Congress was held in Kharkiv, then the capital of Ukraine, at which two Stalin emissaries, Vyacheslav Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and a Politburo member, respectively, castigated the Ukrainian Communist leadership for the catastrophe of Ukrainian agriculture.

Stanislav Kossior, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, explained that the difficulty in the spring sowing was due to the magnitude of the plans for grain deliveries, plans which were wholly unrealistic. Mykola Skrypnyk, commissar of education of the government of the Ukrainian

SSR, reported on his first-hand findings in the Ukrainian countryside to the effect that the allotted quotas of deliveries were too high everywhere, and that the peasants blamed the government not only for the exorbitant quotas, but also for not providing enough food for them.

Vlas Chubar, head of the Ukrainian Communist government, spoke in the same vein, adding that the plans were not only unconscionable but wholly disproportionate to the existing possibilities.¹⁸

These three high officials of the Ukrainian government staunchly criticized the "unrealistic" plans that came from Moscow, ascribing to them the failure of collectivization in Ukraine. Stalin's special envoys, Molotov and Kaganovich, had expected to hear "confessions and contrition" — a routine practice in a land where everyone and no one is accountable. Molotov and Kaganovich could not but have returned to Moscow firmly convinced that there were "nationalist deviation trends" in the Ukrainian Communist Party. In fact, on January 24, 1933, the Central Committee of the CP in Moscow adopted a strong resolution on the Ukrainian party organization. The resolution stated bluntly that the Ukrainian Party had failed in the tasks entrusted to it in connection with collectivization.

PART TWO

3. PARTY AND GOVERNMENT MEASURES DURING THE MAN-MADE FAMINE IN UKRAINE

After condemning the implementation of party policy in Ukraine, the Kremlin sent a special "plenipotentiary" Communist emissary to Ukraine, Pavel Postyshev, to supervise affairs in Ukraine, that is, to bring the Ukrainians to heel. He brought along several thousand (some sources say as many as 25,000) special agents whose task was to keep an eye on the party activities in Ukraine. Their sheer numbers, however, made it plain that they were the instrument of the GPU to punish the Ukrainian peasant masses for the failure of collectivization.

In the meantime the Central Committee of the CP in Moscow came up with the following draconian measures:

It is forbidden in the time of the ripening of wheat

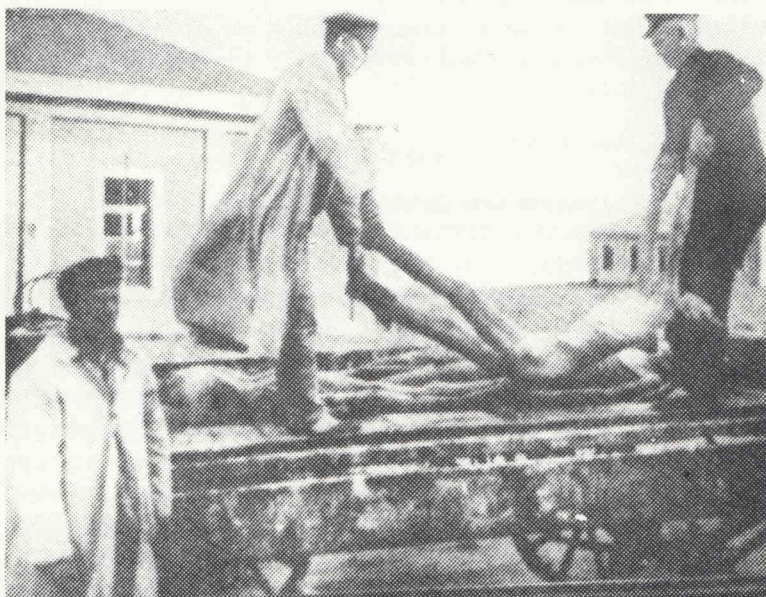
and during harvest to walk or travel on field roads and paths. Every day after the termination of work guards will see to it that no one remains in the field. Every night patrols will be sent into the fields to watch the roads for wheat thieves.

The Central Executive Committee of the Council of People's Commissars decrees: To apply as a means of judicial repression for the stealing of collective property the higher degree of social defense — execution and confiscation of all possessions...¹⁹

Let us recall that Nicholas Bukharin, one of the oldest Bolsheviks and author of **Historical Materialism**, sharply criticized Stalin's collectivization, which he termed as a "medieval military-feudal form of exploitation of peasants."

Some high Communist officials, including special envoy Postyshev, had to walk a thin line. He stated at the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on July 29, 1932:

The failure of wheat plans by state farms came about



"Collection of corpses" in Ukraine during the "man-made famine" in 1932-1933.

as a result of insufficient preparedness on the part of the state farms with respect to the harvest campaign and as a result of underestimating by a number of leaders of the problem of the preparedness of qualified cadres, the belated service to machine-tractor stations, and also the failure to utilize machines, the long delays, and the breakdowns...²⁰

But, on Moscow's instruction, the same Postyshev, speaking at the Kharkiv **oblast** committee about the same time, spoke quite differently:

The Bolsheviks always fought and are continuing to wage an implacable struggle against Ukrainian nationalism, burning out with a heated iron all chauvinist Petluraite elements, no matter under what false national banner they might be found...Today, we cannot lose a single day or a single minute. We must with all energy and determination fulfill the wheat campaign. We will be able to do this only when we correct the errors of the past years. These errors are by no means of an objective nature, but stem from so-called sentimentality, by which the local organs were guided at the surrendering of the wheat by the producers...

[Simon Petlura, one of the most prominent Ukrainian leaders, was the head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic. He was assassinated by a Communist agent on May 26, 1926 in Paris. — W. D.].

Light is thrown upon the question of whether the crime of the mass starvation of Ukrainians can be attributed to the "local organs" or to the whole system of the Soviet Russian government by the following typical example:

The Odessa **oblast** committee had decided that the wheat of the first hectare should be used for the needs of the local, or rather public, alimentation. Do we need to point out the incorrectness of such a decision? It is incorrect and false because the decision puts the problem of public alimentation above all other considerations. It proves that some of our **oblast** committees have been under the influence of the interests of the collective farmers and therefore have served the interests of the enemies of our

proletarian state. Can we tolerate such softness? No, such softness can have nothing in common with the Bolshevik struggle...²¹

The 1932-1933 "famine action" in Ukraine was neither accidental nor unplanned. Stalin and the Central Committee purposely estimated high yields for the still unharvested grain. From those unrealistically high estimates the Party established maximal supply quotas. Soviet official sources (P. Berlin) indicated that the Soviet government took from the peasants in Ukraine the following proportions of the harvest (after the allotment for seeding): in 1928 — 17.6 percent; in 1929 — 27.3 percent; in 1930 — more than 30 percent, and in 1931 — more than 40 percent.

When the collective farms and the few remaining private holdings were inevitably unable to meet their quotas of grain and other agricultural products, the farmers were accused of stealing, hoarding, sabotage, and so forth. Then, as planned punishment, the authorities confiscated all the food that could be found, leaving the peasant families to face certain death from hunger. This was a conscious and deliberate holocaust of the Ukrainian nation, with overriding political objectives.

There were other causes, probably connected at least in part with the foregoing, of the crop failure in Ukraine. A few thousand tractors were not in use because necessary repairs had somehow not been made, as reported by the official organ of the Ukrainian Soviet government in Kharkiv, *Visti*, of October 9, 1932.

The overall responsibility of the Kremlin for the planned famine genocide of the Ukrainian people is substantiated by the following actions on the part of Moscow:

1. In the summer of 1932, as soon as the grain began to ripen, the Politburo ordered watchtowers to be erected in the fields, with thousands of guards, Comsomol members and **Komnezams** (the village poor) armed and charged with guarding the crops in the fields.

2. In August, 1932, the Kiev puppet government, on orders from Moscow, put into effect various measures worthy of Draco;

- a. The possessions of the **kolhosp** (collective farm) and cooperatives (the crops in the field, community surpluses,

cattle, co-op stores, warehouses, etc.) are to be considered as state-owned, and the watch over them is to be increased.

b. The penalties for thievery on **kolhosp** and co-op 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 10 years along with confiscation of all possessions.

3. In order to shut off starving Ukraine from other parts of the USSR, various measures were adopted to make movement all but impossible for the Ukrainians. Train tickets were sold only to those who had written permission to travel.

4. The first signs of the climbing death rate in Ukraine were concealed by the Soviet government. Moscow forbade the publication of statistics on the natural population growth. Physicians certifying the cause of death were forbidden to name the “natural” cause of death — starvation. The word **holod** (hunger or famine in Ukrainian) was decreed a “counterrevolutionary rumor,” and no one valuing his or her own life or the lives of relatives dared to use it publicly.²²

But the Central Committee of the Communist Party, instead of undertaking appropriate measures to prevent a full catastrophe, did the opposite. It sent into Ukraine a number of “strong men,” such as Molotov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, and others.

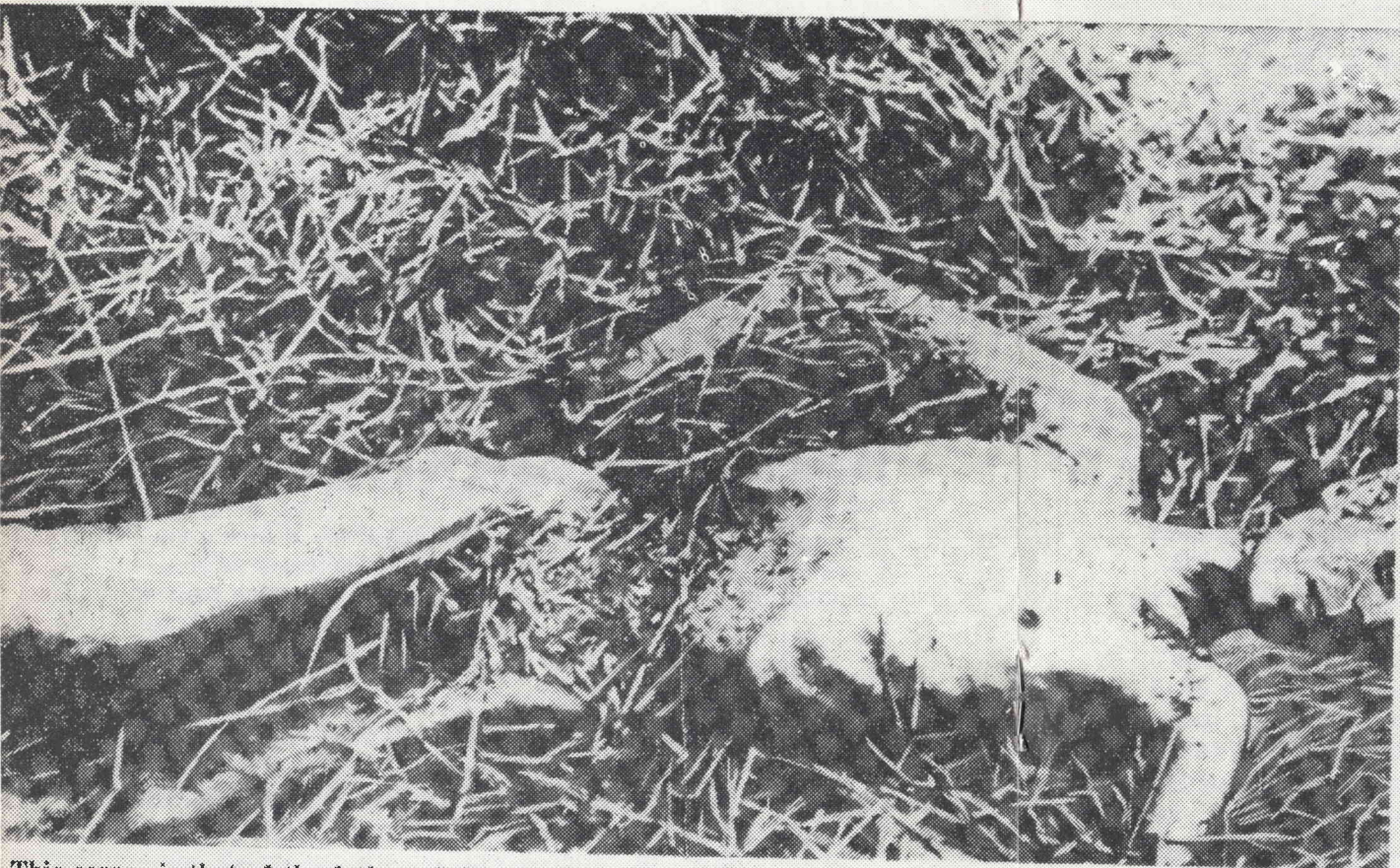
Vyacheslav Molotov, speaking at a meeting of “shock activists,” stated:

...The work has to be done regardless of how many lives it may cost. There is no room for softness or sentimentality...

Even more eloquent on the subject was another emissary of Stalin, a member of the Politburo, Mendel Markovich Khatayevich, who stated:

...Comrades, the Party and Comrade Stalin have ordered us to terminate the process of collectivization by spring. The local village authority needs injections of Bolshevik iron. You have to begin your work without any manifestation of rotten liberalism. Throw out all your bourgeois humanitarianisms on the garbage pile and act as Bolsheviks. Destroy **kulak** agents wherever they raise their heads. The **kulaks**, as well as the middle-class

THE STARVATION OF PEASANTS



This corpse is that of the father of the boy pictured on the right. The orphaned child was unable even to bury his parent. There were no shovels in the village since the

last raid of the OGPU, and the boy could only cover the body with straw. (All photos copyright, 1935, by American Newspapers, Inc.)

Villages Depopulated by Hunger in Ukraine
as Soviet Punish Their Opponents



peasants and paupers, do not give up their wheat. Your task is to get it by any and all means. You must squeeze it out of them. Do not be afraid to employ the most extreme methods...²³

[According to **Ukrainska Radyanska Entsyklopedia** (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. XV, pp. 457-458, Khatayevich "perished as a result of unfounded accusations in the time of Stalin's 'cult of personality.' "]

Forthright Mykola Skrypnyk, leading Ukrainian Communist and Commissar of Education, declared:

...In talking about the situation Ukraine is in now, we cannot admit even the slightest underestimation of what we have. We must acknowledge that we have a great, shameless failure. We must state openly that the state is very hard. The reasons which I have heard from the populace are: The hunger was caused by the fact that they [Moscow] took everything away from us, not even leaving anything for our daily sustenance...

Still another prominent Ukrainian Communist, the head of the Ukrainian Communist government in Kiev, Vlas Chubar,²⁴ made the following statement:

I cannot keep silent about the fact that some of the proletarian students, including even members of the Comsomol, having spent some time in the country and having seen that the farmers have difficulties with food-stuffs, explain such a state exists only because Moscow demanded from the peasant more wheat than could be given...

In its extent, duration and intensity, the famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine appears to have been one of the worst ever recorded in history. Deaths by starvation ran into the millions; it is high impossible to make a precise estimate of the actual number. The Soviet government has not only withheld official recognition of the famine, but has not published any figures that might be used to calculate the mortality. It did not, for instance, publish any crude birth or death rates during the famine period.

We have cited above some references to the famine by such lights of the Communist system as Molotov, and in Ukraine, Skrypnyk, Chubar and Khatayevich, but they made only marginal mention of the famine, merely trying to blame

"miscalculation" and "bad planning" on the part of various government departments. A stronger statement confirming the dire famine came from Hryhory Petrovsky, president of the Ukrainian SSR, in the course of a conversation with Fred E. Beal, an American Communist who occupied a position as propagandist among the foreign workers employed at the Kharkiv tractor plant. (he was also the editor of the American Communist factory paper, **The Tempo**). Beal wrote:

...In 1933, I had occasion to call on Petrovsky, the President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, in his office in Kharkiv. I was accompanied by Ehrenburg [Ilya], my superior in the cultural propaganda work at the Tractor Plant. "Comradre Petrovsky," I said, "the men at our factory are saying millions of peasants are dying... They say that five million people have died this year, and they hold it up to us as a challenge and a mockery. What are we going to tell them?" "Tell them nothing," answered President Petrovsky. "What they say is true. We know that millions are dying. That is unfortunate, but the glorious future of the Soviet Union will justify it..."²⁵

4. DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINE'S POPULATION ON A GENOCIDAL LEVEL

Despite the official silence, numerous estimates of the number of victims were made by different persons: highly placed functionaries of the Ukrainian SSR, Western correspondents and travelers in the Soviet Union at the time, former Soviet citizens and eyewitnesses of the tragedy.

These figures fluctuate between 4 to 10 million victims in Ukraine alone, although famine was also reported in the Kuban and Caucasus areas. These writers include the following: Eugene Lyons — 5,000,000 (**Assignment in Utopia**); Archbishop of Canterbury — 5,000,000 ("Starvation in Russia," Proceedings, House of Lords, **The New York Times**, July 26, 1933); Clarence A. Manning — 5,000,000 (**Ukraine Under the Soviets**, p. 101); Naum Jasny — 5,500,000 (**The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR** (Stanford, 1949, p. 553); Harry Lang — 6,000,000 (published in the **New York Jewish Daily Forward**); Dmytro Solovey — 6,500,000 (on the basis of an official report by the **derzhplan** [state plan] of the Ukrainian

AMERICAN WANT ADS
for the best APARTMENT
values!

CHICAGO AMERICAN

CHICAGO, MONDAY MARCH 4, 1935

15

SECOND SECTION
NEWS, FEATURE

HUNGER, DESPAIR, DEATH IN UKRAINE AGONY



Through the hunger-ridden Ukraine tramps this man seeking his wife and child. He was torn from them and sent to Siberia in 1930. He walked back—4,000 miles—to find that they had vanished.

Soviet Starving Tell Own Stories; Jailed for Eating Dogs

TARVATION stalks through the Ukraine section of Soviet Russia, leaving ghastly trail of death and agony. The Ukraine is the most fertile grain producing district



Weary of the struggle, a mother sought rest by a roadside in the Ukraine. She slept and did not wake. Her baby crawled a few inches before death touched it also.

he was afraid she had died on the way.

There was not a crumb of bread in the house, and this boy had not eaten in five days.

Dogs, Cats Gone.

(Have Been Eaten)

One of the noticeable things about this trip was the absolute lack of animal life. In villages that



Thomas Walker, at the risk of his own life, took this photograph near Kiev, (AP) photos copyrighted, by American Newspapers, Inc.)

CONCENTRATION LABOR CAMPS.

For eating seed wheat in the process of a Spring planting on a Collective Farm a peasant was tried and sentenced to five years' hard labor on a Forced Labor Farm.

For having a few grains of wheat in his pockets after the day's work, another was sentenced to three years' hard labor.

These so-called trials

clawed off a few inches from the mother's arms and perished.

In the course of the afternoon I counted seven more bodies—all dead from starvation. Two little boys about 8 years old, and one little girl of 10 years or thereabouts.

My camera was beginning to be a great source of worry to me. I was convinced that if the Bolsheviks caught me with these photographs there would be another



SSR); estimates by foreign residents of Ukraine — 7,500,000 (cited by W. H. Chamberlin in "Soviet Taboos," **Foreign Affairs**, XIII, 1934-1935, p. 433); Otto Schiller — 7,500,000 (former German agricultural attache in the USSR in **Die Landwirtschaftspolitik der Sowjets und ihre Ergebnisse**, Berlin, 1933); Adam T. Long — 8,000,000 (who was given this number by Mykola Skrypnyk, cited in Boris Souvarine's **Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism**, Longmans, Green, 1933); Volodymyr Balytsky — 8,500,000 (former head of the Ukrainian GPU in Kharkiv, who gave this figure to Adam T. Long); Richard Sallet — 10,000,000 [reported in **The New York World Telegram** on July 7, 1933, p. 3, cited in Dana G. Dalrymple's "The Soviet Famine 1932-34," **Soviet Studies**, Vol. XV (1963-64), p. 259].²⁶

It appears that the human losses in certain areas of Ukraine amounted to 40% of the population. As mentioned above, at least a million and a half people were deported from Ukraine during the period of collectivization. The Politburo Commission, charged with the process of **de-kulakization**, reported that at the end of December, 1929, an estimated five to six million persons were in **kulak** families.

According to Soviet official sources "from the beginning of 1930 until the autumn of 1930, 240, 757 **kulak** families were evicted from the areas of solid collectivization" [**The History of the CPSU** (1962, p. 464, 2nd edition)]. Inasmuch as there is no specification as to the "union republic," it is unknown how many of these **kulak** families were from Ukraine, but it would be a fair guess that Ukrainians constituted at least a half of this number.

This sweeping destruction of **kulaks** was officially confirmed by Stalin at a meeting of Marxist agricultural experts on December 27, 1929, when he said that "we have moved from a policy of limiting the exploiting tendencies of the **kulaks** to a policy of liquidating the **kulaks** as a class..."²⁷

Churchill also related his conversation with Stalin on August 15, 1942, on the subject of collectivization, which went as follows:

Stalin: The collective farm policy was a terrible struggle.

Churchill: I thought you would have found it bad, because you were not dealing with a few score of thousands of aristocrats or big landowners, but with millions of small men.

Stalin: Ten million. It was fearful. Four years it lasted.
Churchill: What happened?

Stalin: Oh well, many of them agreed to come with us, but the great bulk were very unpopular and **were wiped out.**²⁸ (*Italics ours*).

Many articles and books have been written in the 50 years since the famine in Ukraine of 1932-1933 that saw whole villages and countless farms erased and widespread cannibalism. Many of them have been written by foreigners who lived then in the USSR. Others have been written abroad by Ukrainians, those who witnessed it and those who lived through it. One of them was the late Dmytro Solovey, who worked under the Academician M. V. Ptukha, a Ukrainian demographer and president of the Demographic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (who died in 1961 in Kiev).

D. Solovey worked out that on the basis of two official population censuses Ukraine lost 7,500,000 people. Taking the data according to the December 17, 1926 census (29,494,800) and the January 17, 1939 census (30,960,200) and the average increase before the collectivization terror (2.36 percent per year), it can be calculated that Ukraine (without such Ukrainian ethnographic territories as the Voronizh and Kursk, the Kuban areas and the Crimea) lost 7,500,000 persons between the two censuses. But the 1939 figure, in the opinion of D. Solovey, was somewhat "inflated," because he recalls that the official organ, **Kommunist** (1937), had given a much lower figure, which was subsequently increased. The 1937 census figures were not given, because they reflected the ravages of the party terror and hence were considered to be "harmful" for the Soviet cause. The people in charge of the census were repressed and the census figures were forbidden to be published.²⁹ Unfortunately, there is no way now to determine the degree of inflation of the January 17, 1939 census.

Solovey further stated that the figure of 7,500,000 victims in Ukraine could be accepted if between these two censuses colonists from Russia proper and other republics had not been brought into Ukraine, as the influx of Russian colonizers was well recorded in those years. It is estimated that between 1926 and 1959 at least 3.7 million Russians were brought into

Ukraine. Thus the actual loss of the population of Ukraine probably reached 8.5 to 9 million, and at least 90 percent of those died of hunger.³⁰

This genocidal policy, initiated and executed on orders of Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist party, was accompanied by a savage and bloody purge of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the government of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as of all other strata of the Ukrainian population.

Between June 1, 1932 and October 1, 1933, 75 percent of the officials of the local **soviets** and 80 percent of the secretaries of the local party committees were dismissed and arrested; some 2,000 teachers and 1,800 instructors in higher educational institution were "purged" and arrested for inciting Ukrainian nationalism.

Three prominent Ukrainian Communists committed suicide in protest against the unbridled imperialistic policies of Communist Russia. They were Mykola Khvylovy, noted Ukrainian writer who, although a Communist, advocated an orientation for Ukraine toward Western civilization and away from Moscow (May 13, 1933); Mykola Skrypnyk, Commissar of Education (July 7, 1933), and Panas Lubchenko, vice premier of the Ukrainian government.³¹

Pavel Postyshev, who had been sent by Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1933 to



This is not a pile of wood, but corpses of starved Ukrainians at a burial spot.

administer its death blow, justified the reasons and results of his genocidal action thusly:

...In past years our enemies more than once have tried to organize a separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union...

During two years of this period — 1931 to 1932 — Ukraine suffered an acute breakdown in the basic streams of economy and cultural development. Ukraine successfully overcame this breakdown in 1933 and stepped out on the broad path of the victorious building of socialism...

The year 1933 was the year of the destruction of the nationalists and other elements of the class enemy who had taken root in various areas of the building of socialism...

By blaming the famine on Ukrainians, the statements of Postyshev plunge to the nadir of cynicism. They clearly indicate just why Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party organized the mass genocide in Ukraine. It was a gigantic holocaust inflicted on a nation striving to escape Moscow colonialism.

PART THREE

5. OFFICIAL SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE FAMINE

Stalin consistently refused to acknowledge any reports about the famine, as did Khrushchev who was sent into Ukraine in the late 1930s to continue Stalin's purges of the Ukrainian Communist apparatus, begun by Pavel Postyshev and his bloodthirsty cohorts.

In 1932, R. Terekhov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, reported to Stalin on the disastrous food situation in the villages of the Kharkiv **oblast** and asked Stalin to send some grain to the **oblast**. Sharply cutting off the speaker, Stalin retorted angrily:

...We have been told that you, Comrade Terekhov, are a good speaker; it seems that you are a good storyteller, you've made up such a fable, thinking to frighten us, but it won't work. Wouldn't it be better for you to leave the post of **obkom** secretary and the Ukrainian Central Committee and join the Writers Union? Then you can write your fables and fools will read them...³³

In his speech on January 11, 1933, before the plenum of the Central Committee in Moscow, Stalin stated that in 1932 "there were some crop losses in the Kuban, Terek and also some **raions** of Ukraine owing to climatic conditions," but that they were not of decisive importance. On the contrary, he said, in general the grain harvest was good, with more grain in the 1932 than the 1931 harvest...³⁴

Stanislav Kossior told the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in February, 1933, that the general grain harvest in Ukraine had to reach 807,800,000 **poods** at an average yield of 7.3 cwt. per hectare. Of that harvest Kossior said, 255,000,000 already had been collected, but this was far from the quota. In addition, 145,000,000 **poods** had to be collected by seeding, because the seed supply had been taken away from the collective farms by the government in order to help fulfill the quotas.³⁵

Along with citing Kossior's speech of February, 1933, and the speech by Postyshev on June 4, 1933, to the plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, we have learned that local party officials reported the 1932 harvest to be poor in many areas of Ukraine, and that the grain supply quotas set by the government were wholly unrealistic.

It was known to the government and high party officials that after the poor harvest of 1932 an alarming shortage of food was reported from many areas of Ukraine, causing near panic throughout the lower echelons of the party. Indeed, many officials, confronted by the specter of famine, felt morally responsible and took their own lives.

Not surprisingly at all, Stalin at the XVIIth party congress in January, 1934, deplored the great losses in the livestock — breeding industry, which he said was affected by "the reorganizational period [of the economy]," but he uttered not so much as a single word about the staggering losses of human lives. [**Pravda** of January 28, 1934 and **Bilshovyk Ukrainy**, No. 2, 1934, reported the following losses, for the whole USSR, in livestock-breeding: 13,600,000 horses; 13,900,000 head of cattle; 58,200,000 sheep and goats, and 1,200,000 pigs — all in the period from 1930 to 1933.]

The human losses were never disclosed either by Stalin himself nor his erstwhile pupil, Nikita S. Khrushchev, when he denounced Stalin at the XXth congress of the Communist Party in February of 1956. It is true that Khrushchev made

some reference to the famine, but he tried to blame Stalin, although the latter was hardly the only guilty party in this stupendous crime.

Only a few Ukrainian officials had enough courage to admit the actuality of the catastrophic famine in Ukraine — Mykola Skrypnyk, Commissar of Education of Ukraine, Vlas Chubar, head of the Ukrainian Communist government in Kiev, Panas Lubchenko, deputy prime minister, and Hryhory Petrovsky, president of the Ukrainian SSR. Of this foursome, Skrypnyk and Lubchenko committed suicide in 1933 (as mentioned above).

6. REPORTS BY UKRAINIAN AND FOREIGN WITNESSES

Despite official denials by Moscow of the existence of famine in Ukraine, the Volga region and the North Caucasus, reports of the gigantic famine began appearing in the world press.

In the United States, which still shied away from recognizing the Soviet Union, the new Soviet “utopia” was supported by large numbers of American intellectuals, students and some labor leaders, all of whom were still under the impact of a little book, **Ten Days That Shook the World**, by John Reed, an American convert to Bolshevism who enchanted leftist intellectual circles and **academe** with his enthusiasm for a “classless” society in Russia. To complete the backdrop, in 1932 America was in the throes of the Great Depression, along with Europe. It is against this background that reports of the incredible famine in Ukraine began to trickle in despite the feverish attempts of the iron-curtained Russian mentality to conceal the unconcealable.

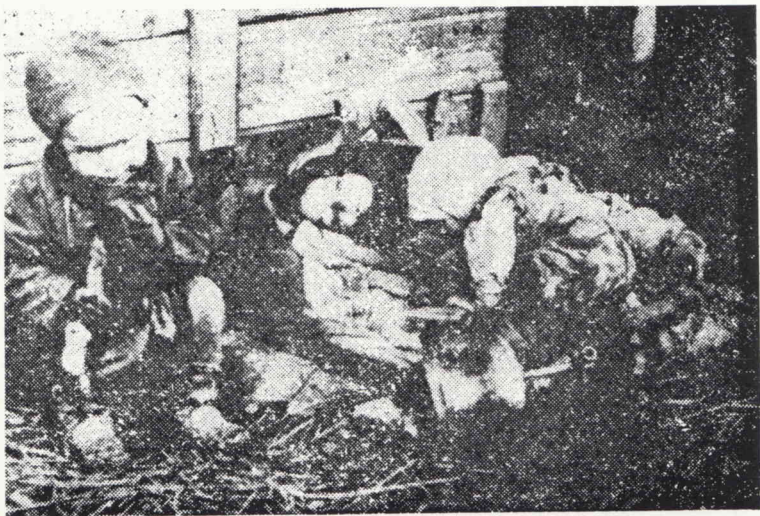
W.E.D. Allen writes that the first news of the intensification of the famine came from Western Ukraine and also from the Polish press. The buildup of the famine during the summer of 1932 was also reported by Fedor Belov and Dana G. Dalrymple.³⁶

Leon Trotsky's **Bulletin of Opposition** (Paris-Berlin, Nos. 29-30, September, 1932) carried an eyewitness report of the thousands of youngsters left behind by their starving parents: “The peasants are leaving their children in the cities; the young people leave their villages and travel as stowaways to the North and East. Many **bezprizornye** (‘waifs’) have appeared in Moscow. The majority of them are Ukrainian.”³⁷

The famine, however, reached its full magnitude in the spring and summer of 1933, and it was only then that the world press carried articles and reports dealing with the famine catastrophe in Ukraine. Several English, French, and German correspondents, and Americans as well, wrote extensively on what they found in Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union.

Several English writers managed to get to the famine area during the spring; one of the first to report was Malcolm Muggeridge, a correspondent for **The Manchester Guardian**, who traveled through the North Caucasus and Ukraine. He wrote:

You go into Ukraine and North Caucasus — the most fertile provinces of Russia. Today they look like deserts: the fields are covered with weeds and the people, swollen from hunger, are awaiting inevitable death. In talking to these miserable people you will find out how many people have died from hunger and how many were executed by the Soviet government or deported because they have hidden a little wheat in order to satisfy their hunger... (**The Manchester Guardian**, March, 1933).



Familiar scene during the great famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933. Their parents having died, these three abandoned waifs were forced to fend for themselves on the village streets.

His revelations were followed by the reports of Garritt Johns, former secretary to Lloyd George, who stated that "there was famine in the Soviet Union, menacing the lives of millions of people." He based his reports on personal observation, and concluded with sardonic congratulations to the "Soviet Foreign Office on its skill in concealing the true situation in the USSR."³⁸

Walter Eidlitz, a Swiss correspondent, wrote in **Die Neu Zuericher Zeitung**:

Since the fall of 1932 the food problem has deteriorated in a catastrophic manner. In some localities 20-30 persons are dying daily. Entire houses are deserted. The population is overtaken by apathy and despair. No one comes to them with help. The government officials are not at all interested in the hunger misfortune. The population could be eventually saved if it could obtain the wheat, which the government is selling abroad. The present crisis cannot be solved other than by the death of a majority of the population..." (Cf. Dr. Otto Schiller, economic attache of the German Embassy in Moscow, whose report appeared in **Ost-Europa**, published by the Ost-Europe Institute in Breslau, Silesia [now Wroclaw in Poland].)

The prominent Belgian daily, **La Flandre Liberale**, wrote editorially on September 2, 1933:

...So Ukraine is dying. The Ukrainians are dying of hunger. This is a great calamity not only for Ukraine and the Ukrainians, but for the culture of Russia, Europe, and even the whole world. For this dying land was once a great production center of agriculture. There, where today people are dying exhausted by famine, lush harvests supplied not only the people of Ukraine with enough bread, but also all the inhabitants of Central Europe. The soil is not changed, only the people [have]. This is where we have to look for the causes of the great drama in which a whole nation has become a sacrificial victim...³⁹

The Daily Telegraph of London wrote on September 9, 1933: ...Pilate took water and washed his hands...Is this the attitude the British people are to take, when they are told about things they find hard to believe in the year

1933? The famine started when the authorities took all the grain away from the people. Children under 14 years were first to feel the pangs of hunger. Only the strongest are managing to exist, the majority are dying. It is a long time since there have been dogs, cats, not to mention poultry, in the villages. When a cow dies it is consumed immediately...⁴⁰

The earlier mentioned Garritt Johns, who, like his distinguished superior, Lloyd George, was well informed about Ukraine and its people, wrote graphically in **The Daily Express** of London and in **The New York American** (June 1933):

Ukraine is a country which always swam in welfare; now it is a destitute desert. The peasant, terrorized, persecuted and famished, longs only for a voluntary death. In the Ukrainian village a stillness rules as in a graveyard. Once the Ukrainian was master of his own land; today, when you travel through Ukraine you will see great crowds of peasants who throw themselves on trains and beg from the travellers. The famine which plunders Ukraine this year is undoubtedly bigger than in the years 1921-1923. The misery of the oppressed and decimated people surpasses all imagination...⁴¹

Suzanne Bertillion, correspondent for **Le Matin** in Paris, wrote:

The present-day state in Ukraine: ruin, hunger and a graveyard silence. Entire villages are dying out. In a village which had 800 people, 150 have died since the spring. The famine in Ukraine was created by Moscow artificially from political considerations. In order to completely destroy all aspirations toward independence, the Soviet government organized a man-made famine with the purpose of destroying the entire people whose only sin is the longing for freedom...⁴²

But perhaps the most forceful accusation of Communist Russia for her attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation, as such, came from Dr. Ewald Ammende, secretary of the Inter-Congressional and International Aid Committee for the Starvation Districts in the USSR. In his German-language report, **Muss Russland hungern?** (Must Russia Go Hungry?) he stated:

...An important role in the hunger problem is played by the national factor, which is not solved to this day. In the USSR, as once in Czarist Russia, there exists the state people (Russians), who wage a struggle against the other nationalities, above all the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The purpose of this struggle is to impede their independence aspirations. I must say with all determination, clearly and openly, that on the basis of the present great differences and antagonisms with respect to the Ukrainian people, Russia aspires directly toward the extermination of a great part of the present generation in Ukraine...⁴³

But there were also foreign journalists and "tourists" who somehow failed to detect any famine in Ukraine or in other republics of the USSR. As a rule, these were given Potemkin-like tours. This was especially true of former French prime minister Edouard Herriot, who came on a "goodwill tour" upon the express invitation of the Soviet government and who visited specific places in Ukraine, especially selected by the Moscow ruling clique.⁴⁴ He "saw no starvation" in Ukraine.

Walter Duranty, the well-known correspondent of **The New York Times**, became a subject of severe criticism by his fellow correspondents for stubbornly denying the existence of the famine in Ukraine. In his dispatches he referred to "food shortages" even "hunger" but employed understatement and euphemisms, such as, "There is no actual starvation nor are there deaths from hunger, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition..."⁴⁵

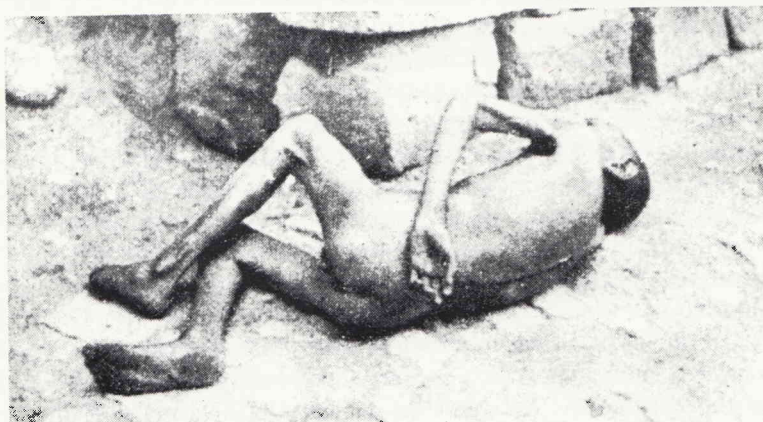
Duranty was taken to task for his abject apologies for the Soviet regime in particular by Eugene Lyons, author of **Assignment in Utopia**, and Garritt Johns, assailing Duranty for omitting fundamental facts on the famine so as not to irritate the regime in Moscow. Duranty's accounts reputedly were favored by Stalin even over those of Maurice Hindus, another American apologist for the Soviet Russian dictatorial regime.

The Kremlin in those two fateful years of 1932-1933 was working strenuously for a number of pressing objectives, such as the diplomatic recognition of the USSR by the United States and other countries; admission to the League of Nations; "non-aggression pacts" with a number of European

states, improvement of trade relations with foreign countries, and the like. So it needed a "clean image," and for that purpose it used some spineless Western correspondents of whom the best that can be said is that they woefully underestimated the Soviet Russian menace. For even at that time, Stalin was often quite blunt in telling foreign correspondents about what was going on inside the totalitarian empire, as one author reported:

...When Lady Astor visited Moscow, in an interview with Stalin she asked: 'How long are you going to go on killing the people?' When this had at last been unwillingly translated on the dictator's insistence by a Soviet interpreter scared out of his wits, Stalin coolly replied that the process would continue as long as was necessary; some slaughter was inevitable before a Communist state could be established under conditions so disrupted...⁴⁶

There is an extensive literature on the man-made famine in Ukraine and in other parts of the USSR. In addition to the works cited here, worthy of mention are the following: Arthur Adams, **Stalin and His Times**, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972; Robert Conquest, **The Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties**, New York, Macmillan, 1968; Merle Faisod, **How Russia is Ruled**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.; Naum Jasny, **Soviet Industrialization, 1928-1952**, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1961; Robert Magidoff, **The Kremlin vs. The People**, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y. 1953; Clarence A. Manning, **Ukraine under**



A naked corpse on a Ukrainian village street. His clothes were stolen during the night by some starving person who sold them to buy food.

the Soviets, New York, 1953; Adam Ulam, **Stalin The Man and His Era**, Viking, New York, 1973, and George Vernadsky, **A History of Russia**, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1967.

PART FOUR

7. WORLD REACTION TO THE MAN-MADE FAMINE

The famine in Ukraine, despite the tight and cruelly cynical Soviet censorship, evoked an extensive reaction not so much among the world governments as among outstanding churchmen, civic leaders and supporters of freedom at large.

In Vienna in 1933 Theodore Cardinal Innitzer, Roman Catholic Archbishop, made a moving appeal to the "world conscience" to assist the starving people of Ukraine. He ordered special prayers in all the Catholic churches of Austria and beseeched the League of Nations to bring the matter of the famine in Ukraine to world attention.

On September 29, 1933, Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Norway, raised the matter of the famine in Ukraine at the League of Nations, which was followed by extensive discussion and the condemnation of the Soviet regime for its inhumanity.

On September 16, 1933, Dr. Ewald Ammende (already mentioned), who was Secretary General of the Congress of European Minorities, also appealed to the world governments to provide relief for Ukraine.

Dr. Ammende reported extensively at the conference, stating among other things:

...Moscow is infinitely more anxious to preserve and even increase the number of draft oxen than to render aid to the suffering population. And, indeed, from the point of view of Russian interests, the real catastrophe is not the mortality from starvation, but the unexpected loss of draft oxen due to collectivization.⁴⁷

The International Red Cross, headquartered in Geneva, made countless appeals to bring international assistance to Ukraine.

In London a branch of Dr. Ammende's Aid Committee was established under the chairmanship of Princess Elizabeth Skoropadsky, the daughter of Ukrainian **Hetman** Paul Skoropadsky, who appealed to the British public for assistance to the starving Ukrainian people.⁴⁸

The U.S. government, although in full knowledge of the Ukrainian catastrophe, remained mute because it was engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the Kremlin for the Soviet Union's recognition by the United States.

But the United States Congress was not unaware of the great and criminal misery which the Soviet government deliberately inflicted on Ukraine.

On May 28, 1934, Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York introduced a Congressional Resolution (H. Res. 339), which condemned the USSR for instigating the famine, a famine which it **"used...as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political and cultural and national rights..."**⁴⁹

The resolution read, in part:

Resolved, that the House of Representatives express its sympathies for all those who suffered from the great famine in Ukraine which brought misery, affliction, and death to millions of peaceful and law-abiding Ukrainians...

The Times of London also reported that a similar resolution was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Charwood. The same British daily also printed an accusation



*A once handsome
Ukrainian boy.*

by the former Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Great Britain that famine was growing and would become a woeful calamity.⁵⁰

In January, 1934, when Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov was presented by U.S. Congressman Herman Paul Kopplemann with the memorandum on the famine in Ukraine, prepared by a Ukrainian American organization, the mendacious commissar replied:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th inst., and thank you for drawing my attention to the Ukrainian pamphlet. There are a great number of similar pamphlets, full of lies, circulated by counter-revolutionary organizations abroad, which specialize in work of this kind. There is nothing left for them to do but to spread false information or to forge documents... Yours truly, M. Litvinov.⁵¹

Although for over three years — 1932-1934 — the international press was replete with eyewitness reports and accounts of the famine in Ukraine, Western industrialists and businessmen proceeded to "do business as usual" with the USSR, buying Ukrainian wheat at cheap prices, heedless of the fact that millions of Ukrainians were perishing from hunger because Moscow had taken away this wheat to sell for profit abroad.

8. UKRAINIANS OUTSIDE UKRAINE AND WORLDWIDE PROTESTS

According to Isaak Mazepa, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, the spring months of 1932 "marked the beginning of the famine in the villages of Ukraine,"⁵² an observation which is supported by Hryhoriy Kostiuk, a Ukrainian writer.

The first authentic reports on the famine in Ukraine were brought to Western Ukraine (Galicia), then under Polish domination, by Ukrainian refugees from the "Communist paradise."

At the time of the famine, the Polish-Soviet border was still possible to cross, and as a result more and more refugees were coming to Galicia and Bukovina, bringing stories on the famine in Ukraine that steadily mounted in horror.

On July 14, 1933, a "Civic Relief Committee for the Starving in Soviet Ukraine" was established in Lviv, while in Warsaw another Ukrainian relief committee was set up by Ukrainian political refugees and former officials of the governments of the Ukrainian National Republic. Likewise,

the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, consisting of Ukrainian members of the Polish parliament, publicly denounced the Soviet Union for not allowing any international relief for Ukraine. They also appealed to the League of Nations and to such international groups as the Inter-parliamentary Union and the International Red Cross.

Similar groups sprang up among Ukrainians in Bukovina (then under Romania), in Czechoslovakia, and in the Ukrainian emigre centers in Berlin, Rome, Geneva, Brussels, Paris, and London. Active in the German capital was the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, and in Rome vigorous publicity on the famine was conducted by Prof. Evhen Onatsky, a Ukrainian scholar and historian, as well as by the Ukrainian Catholic community there. In Brussels a Ukrainian Relief Committee was led by Dmytro Andrievsky and the Ukrainian student colony, organized as the Ukrainian National Student Union (NASUS), while in Geneva, Switzerland, similar relief activities were conducted by the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS). In Paris relief activities were carried on by the Simon Petlura Library and the Ukrainian National Unity under the chairmanship of Oleksa Boykiv. In London, in addition to the relief work of the group of Princess Skoropadsky, extensive publicity activities, including special intervention and statements elicited in the British Parliament, comprised the task of the Ukrainian Information Bureau, headed by Dr. V. Kaye-Kisilevsky, the son of the Ukrainian senator in the Polish Parliament, Olena Kisilevsky.

In 1933 much publicity was given to the man-made famine by an American couple of Ukrainian origin, Mr. and Mrs. Stebalo, who visited their native village near Kiev and saw the stark misery for themselves. They also reported that "food and money that had been sent to relatives in Ukraine had never been delivered during the past year..."⁵³

To be noted here again is Moscow's all-out attempt to conceal the 1932-1933 famine, for the reasons mentioned above. This is in sharp contrast to the famine of 1921-1923, when the Bolsheviks, struggling for survival as a regime, readily acknowledged the existence of that famine and hungrily accepted about 66 million dollars worth of American relief alone.⁵⁴

In Canada a series of protests against the Moscow-



*Some 10,000 Ukrainian Americans in a protest march on November 18, 1933, denouncing U.S. recognition of the USSR. The banner reads: "We Condemn the Murderous Starvation of Ukraine by Soviet Government" (Cf. *The New York Times*, November 19, 1933). Extensive reports also appeared under the same date in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, *The Sun*, *The New York Journal-American*, *Daily News* and *Sunday Mirror*.*

inspired famine in Ukraine were registered by the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO) as well as by the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox hierarchies.

In the United States protests against the famine holocaust were coupled with the opposition of the Ukrainian American organizations against the recognition of the USSR by the United States government. A number of such groups, among them "Obyednannia" of Ukrainian Organizations of the U.S.A., the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU), as well as church officials — all tried vainly to raise the curtain of silence that concealed the mass starvation in Ukraine.

Although these actions were extensively recorded in the American press and had not been to Moscow's liking, nevertheless on November 16, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt bestowed diplomatic recognition upon the Soviet

Union; on September 18, 1934, the Soviet Union was admitted to the League of Nations and signed a number of treaties with various countries.⁵⁵ The bastard offshoot of the family of nations had finally acquired legitimacy.

Had the facts about the catastrophic famine in Ukraine been better known to the outside world, these Soviet diplomatic successes may not have come as readily as they did or not at all. To be noted, too, is that the advent of maniacal Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party to power in Germany in January, 1933, diverted world attention from the breadbasket that Hitler had already targeted in his own globe-girdling scheme.

CONCLUSION

There have been no contradictions nor denials worthy of notice that the famine in Ukraine was man-made and politically motivated. However, **The New York Times**, which had contributed to an initial obfuscation by printing Duranty's whitewashing articles (thereby violating its canon: "All the news that's fit to print"), was perhaps the first to recant. On January 1, 1933, a **Times** editorial stated that "the hunger did not come as an act of God; it is man-made. Mrs. M. Stebalo, the Ukrainian American tourist in Ukraine, heard the villagers in Ukraine in the summer of 1933 repeating the refrain: 'it is **they** who are killing us. They want us to die. It is an organized famine...'"

The proposition that the famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine was a **political** rather than an economic-social disaster is sustained by the following facts:

1. The famine was confined to the southern part of the Soviet Union — Ukraine, the Kuban, the North Caucasus, but it was Ukraine, above all, which was ravished to a catastrophic extent.

2. The statements of such leading Soviet figures as Joseph Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Maxim Litvinov, Pavel Postyshev, Stanislav Kossior, Mendel Khatayevich and even Nikita S. Khrushchev (Cf. **Khrushchev Remembers**) unequivocally and unanimously contended that the opposition to the collectivization was most pronounced in Ukraine, and that therefore the Ukrainian peasantry, opposing collectivization (which was seen by the Kremlin as

essential), had to be destroyed. Otherwise the Communist system in the whole USSR was in jeopardy. All these Communist leaders repeatedly contended that **Ukrainian nationalism** was the main obstacle to the “social order” and, in fact, a moral threat to the Soviet system and the “unity” of the Soviet Russian empire. Hence the deliberately planned and organized famine, even if it meant — and proved to be — outright **genocide**.

3. A great number of scholars of all nationalities almost unanimously concur in their assessment that the famine in Ukraine was a **deliberate and political program** to destroy the Ukrainian people as one of the largest and most numerous “enemies” of the Soviet Russian regime and empire. These scholars and writers include William Henry Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons, Victor Kravchenko (**I Chose Freedom**), Dmytro Solovey, Merle Fainsod, W.E.D. Allen, Fedor Belov, Hryhory Kostiuk, Ralph W. Barnes, E. Sabline, Clarence A. Manning, Nicholas S. Timashev, Robert Conquest, Isaak Mazepa, Mykola Haliy, Naum Jasny, Fred E. Beal, M. V. Ptukha, Gen. Walter Krivitsky, S. O. Pidhainy, Dana G. Dalrymple, Nicholas Prychodko, F. Birchall, John S. Reshetar, Basil Dmytryshyn, David L. Dallin, Sir Winston Churchill, H. H. Fisher, Arthur E. Adams, Roland Gaucher, Ronald Hingley, Robert Magidoff, Vasyl I. Hryshko, Adam Ulam, George Vernadsky, Thomas P. Whitney and others. They certainly cannot all be wrong.

There is not the shadow of a doubt that the famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 was **deliberate genocide**, a crime for which the West collectively shares partial responsibility in having shut its eyes and minds to that most sinister aspect of Communism in Russian garb. Three generations of Ukrainians and others in the USSR were sacrificed by the inhuman tyrants in the Kremlin so that they and future overlords could continue as absolute dictators and promulgators of a new Russian political messianism.

FOOTNOTES

¹ “Moe znakomstvo z Lenynym” (My Acquaintance with Lenin). By V. Vodovozov in *Na Chuzhoi storone* (In A Foreign Land), Prague, December, 1925, pp. 176-178.

² *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia* (The Great Soviet Encyclopedia), Moscow, Vol. II, 1952, p. 625.

³ *Russia's Iron Age*, by William Henry Chamberlin, London, Duckworth, 1935, pp. 76-77.

* Comsomol — Union of Communist Youth.

**GPU — The Main Political Administration (police).

⁴ "The Real Cost of Stalin's Collectivization," by Joanne Helmer, *The Lethbridge Herald*, March 18, 1981, cited in *Ukrainian Echo*, April 7, 1982, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

⁵ *Soviet Russian Genocide in Ukraine*. Statement of the UCCA on 40th Anniversary of the Man-Made Famine (1932-1933), New York, May, 1973.

⁶ *On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine* by Dmytro Solovey, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, New York Autumn-Winter, 1963.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 14.

⁸ Cf. Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers No. 26, December 20, 1917, cited in *Facts About Ukraine and the Ukrainian People*, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, 1967.

⁹ *The 25th Anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine*. By Mykola Haliy, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, Autumn, 1958, New York.

¹⁰ Cf. *VKP [b] v rezolutsiakh i rishenniakh zyzdiv konferentsiy kongresiv i plenumiv* (The All-Union Communist Party [Bolsheviks] in Resolutions, and Decisions of Conferences, Congresses and Plenums), Part II, Kiev, 1941.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 15.

¹² See Prof. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, "Ukrainska Akademia Nauk: Narys istorii, Ch. I (1918-1930) (The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences)": An Outline of History, No. 1 (1918-1930), No. 2 (1931-1941), Munich: Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1955 and 1958.

¹³ *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror, (1929-1932)*. By Hryhory Kostiuk, Munich, 1960.

¹⁴ *Khrushchev Speaks*, by Thomas P. Whitney, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963, pp. 212-213.

¹⁵ "Collectivization Through Famine: 45th Anniversary of Anti-Ukrainian Holocaust," by Anthony J. Yaremovich, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, Winter, 1978, New York, N.Y.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷ *Opposition in the USSR 1917-1967*. By Roland Gaucher, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, N.Y., 1967, pp. 177-182.

¹⁸ Yaremovich, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

¹⁹ Haliy, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²¹ *Visti* (News), official organ of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, June 11, 1933, Kharkiv.

²² "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Famine Holocaust in Ukraine," Editorial, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, Spring, 1982, New York, N.Y.

²³ Haliy, *op. cit.* p. 5.

²⁴ Haliy, *op. cit.* p. 9; *Ukrainska Radyanska Entsyklopedia* (Ukrainian

Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. XVI, p. 225, says that Vlas Yakymovych Chubar "perished as a result of unfounded accusations in the time of Stalin's 'cult of personality...'"

²⁵ Fred E. Beal, *Word from Nowhere* (London), R. Hale, 1937, pp. 254-255 (published in the U.S. under the title *Proletarian Journey*).

²⁶ "The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933: An Instrument of Russian Nationalities Policy," by Anna Bolubash, B.A., M.A., M.L.S., *The Ukrainian Review*, Part I, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, Winter 1978, London.

²⁷ Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, pp. 447-448.

²⁸ Churchill, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-448.

²⁹ Solovey, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

³¹ *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Volodymyr Kubijovich, ed., Vol. I, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1963, pp. 822-825.

³² Solovey, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

³³ *Pravda*, May 26, 1964, Moscow.

³⁴ J. Stalin, *Pro robotu na seli* (On the Work in the Village), *Hospodarstvo Ukrainy* (Economy of Ukraine), Nos. 1-2, 1933, p. 29.

³⁵ A metric cwt. equals 100 kg. or 2.84 bushels; a ton equals 10 cwt; a pood is equivalent to 16.38 kg.; a hectare—2.47 acres (Cf. Solovey, *op. cit.* p. 21).

³⁶ Fedor Belov, *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm*, (London, 1956, p. 12); Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine 1932-1933," *Soviet Studies*, XV (1963-64), p. 252.

³⁷ Bolubash, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 12-13.

³⁸ Cf. *The New York Times*, May 31, 1933, New York, N.Y.

³⁹ Haliy, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3. see also Dr. Ammende's statements in *The New York Times* of July 1, 1934, "Wide Starvation," and *The New York Times* (August 31, 1934), "Appeal for Famine Victims."

⁴⁴ Cf. W. H. Chamberlin, "Soviet Taboos," *Foreign Affairs*, XIII, (1934-1935), p. 433; Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, New York, 1937, pp. 576-577.

⁴⁵ Walter Duranty, "Russians Hungry, but Not Starving" *The New York Times*, March 31, 1933, pp. 13-14, New York, N.Y.

⁴⁶ Ronald Hingley, *Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1974.

⁴⁷ Bolubash, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 50.

⁴⁸ "Starvation in the Ukraine," by Florence MacKenzie, *The Times* of London, August 18, 1934.

⁴⁹ "Mournful Anniversary of the Kremlin-organized Mass Famine in Ukraine," Statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, May, 1973, New York, N.Y.

⁵⁰ E. Sabline, "Famine in Russia," a letter in *The Times* of London, June 12, 1933, p. 10.

⁵¹ Haliy, *op. cit.*, p. 9; cf. The Ukrainian "Holocaust," 1933, by Vasyl I. Hryshko. All Rights Reserved by DOBRUS (The Democratic Organization

of Ukrainians in U.S.A., Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime) (Ukrainian). Published by DOBRUS-SUZERO, New York-Toronto, 1978.

⁵² Isaak Mazepa, "Ukraine under Bolshevist Rule," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XII (1933-1934), p. 343; *Sotsialistichesky Vesnik*, New York and Paris, No. 13 (June 25, 1932); No. 14 (July 23, 1932) cited in Kostyuk's *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine*, p. 15.

⁵³ Cf. *The New York Times*, August 29, 1933, "Visitors Describe..."

⁵⁴ H.H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923*, New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. 51-53.

⁵⁵ Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-374; cf. reports on Ukrainian protests in America, *The New York Times*, November 12, 1933, "Ukrainian Societies Denounce Soviets"; November 19, 1933, "5 Hurt as Reds Fight Parade Here"; "100 Hurt in Communist-Ukrainian Riot as Reds Attack Paraders in Chicago," December 18, 1933.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Assignment in Utopia, By Eugene Lyons, New York, N.Y. 1937, pp. 576-577.

"Collectivization Through Famine: 45th Anniversary of Anti-Ukrainian Holocaust," by Anthony J. Yaremovich, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, Winter, 1978, New York, N.Y.

"Famine in Russia," a letter to *The Times* of London by E. Sabline, June 12, 1933, p. 10., London.

"Fiftieth Anniversary of the Famine Holocaust in Ukraine," editorial, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, Spring, 1982, New York, N.Y.

Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend. By Ronald Hingley, McGraw-Hill, 1974, New York, N.Y.

Khrushchev Speaks. By Thomas P. Whitney. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963.

"Mournful Anniversary of the Kremlin-organized Mass Famine in Ukraine." Statement of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, May 1973, New York, N.Y.

"Moye znakomstvo z Leninym" (My Acquaintance With Lenin). By V. Vodovozov in *Na chuzhoi storone* (In a Foreign Land), Prague, December, 1925, pp. 176-178.

"On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine," By Dmytro Solovey, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Nos. 3 and 4 [Autumn and Winter], Vol. XIX, 1963, New York, N.Y.

Opposition in the USSR 1917-1967. By Roland Gaucher, Funk & Wagnalls, 1967, pp. 177-182, New York, N.Y.

Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers, No. 26, December 20, 1917, cited in *Facts About Ukraine and the Ukrainian People*, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, N.Y., 1967.

Pro robotu na seli (On the Work in the Village) By J. Stalin in *Hospodarstvo Ukrainy* (Economy of Ukraine), Nos. 1-2, 1933, p. 29, Kharkiv.

"Russians Hungry, but Not Starving," by Walter Duranty, *The New*

York Times, March 31, 1933, pp. 13-14, New York, N.Y.

Russia's Iron Age, by William Henry Chamberlin, London, Duckworth, 1935, pp. 76-77.

Soviet Russian Genocide in Ukraine. Statement of the UCCA on the 40th Anniversary of the Man-Made Famine (1932-1933), New York, N.Y., May, 1973.

"Soviet Taboos," by William Henry Chamberlin in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XIII, p. 433, New York, N.Y.

Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror (1929-1932). By Hryhory Kostiuk, Munich, 1960.

"Starvation in the Ukraine," by Florence MacKenzie, *The Times* of London, August 18, 1934.

The Famine in the Soviet Union. By H. H. Fisher, Macmillan, 1927, pp. 43-51, New York, N.Y.

"The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933: An Instrument of Russian Nationalities Policy." By Anna Bolubash, B.A., M.A., M.L.S., *The Ukrainian Review*. Part I, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, Winter, 1982; Part II, Vol. XXVII, Spring, 1979, London.

The History of a Soviet Collective Farm. By Fedor Belov, London, 1956, p. 12.

The New York Times, May 31, 1933; August 29, 1933; November 12, 1933; July 1, 1934; August 31, 1934, New York, N.Y.

"The Real Cost of Stalin's Collectivization," by Joanne Helmer, *The Lethbridge Herald*, March 18, 1981, Lethbridge, Alta., Canada.

The Second World War, By Sir Winston Churchill, pp. 447-448, London, Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1951.

"The Soviet Famine 1932-1933," By Dana G. Dalrymple, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XV (1963-64), p. 252.

"The 25th Anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine," by Mykola Haliy, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, Autumn, 1958, New York, N.Y.

Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia. Volodymyr Kubijovich, ed., Vol. I, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1963, pp. 822-825.

"Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule," By Isaak Mazepa, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XII (1933-1934), p. 343; *Sotsialistichsky Vesnik* (The Socialist Herald), New York & Paris, No. 13 (June 25, 1932); No. 14 (July 23, 1932) cited in Kostiuk's *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine*, p. 15.

Ukrainska Akademia Nauk: Narys istorii, By. Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko (The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: An Outline of History), No. 1 (1918-1930), No. 2 (1931-1941): Institute for the Study of the USSR, Munich, 1955 and 1958.

Ukrainska Radyanska Entsyklopedia (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. XVI, p. 225, Kiev, 1964.

Visti (News), Official organ of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, June 11, 1933, Kharkiv.

VKP[b] v rezolutsiakh i rishenniakh zyzdiv, kongresiv i plenumiv (The All-Union Communist Party [Bolsheviks] in Resolutions and Decisions of Conferences, Congresses and Plenums), Part II, Kiev, 1941.

Word from Nowhere By Fred E. Beal, R. Hale, 1937, pp. 254, London.

AUTHORS

Dana G. Dalrymple is an agricultural economist specializing in international agricultural research. He has long had a personal interest in the Soviet famine and Soviet agricultural development, and has written a number of articles on both subjects. He received B.S. and M.S. degrees from Cornell University (1954, 1956) and a Ph.D. from Michigan State University (1962). He has been employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture since 1962.

Walter Dushnyck has a B.A. degree from the University of Louvain, Belgium, an M.A. degree in government from Columbia University, and a Ph.D. degree from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (which has German university accreditation). He served in the U.S. armed forces (1942-1945) and took part in the campaigns for Saipan, the Philippines, Okinawa, and Japan; he served as interpreter in General MacArthur's headquarters in Manila and Tokyo.

A lifelong student of Soviet and East European affairs, Dr. Dushnyck is the author of *The Russian Provisional Government and the Ukrainian Central Rada*; *Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line*; *Mariyrdom in Ukraine*; *In Quest of Freedom*; *The Ukrainian-Rite Catholic Church at the Ecumenical Council, 1962-1965*. He was an associate editor of *Encyclopedia Slavonica* (1949) and of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (1961-1963); his two extensive chapters on the status of human rights in the USSR and Communist-dominated Europe appeared in the five-volume *Case Studies of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1976). Since 1957 Dr. Dushnyck has been editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, an English-language review founded in 1944 in New York City.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We acknowledge with gratitude the photographs in this publication, which were provided by the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. The clippings from American daily newspapers are from the author's private files.

The Author

