



1933

UKRAINE
GENOCIDE BY FAMINE

1932



On the cover: «Bitter Childhood Memory»
from the National Museum «Memorial to Victims of Holodomor»
in Kyiv. Sculptors- Mykola Obezyuk and Petro Drozdowskiy.

UKRAINE 1932-1933 GENOCIDE BY FAMINE

Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance

«The Memorial to Victims of the Holodomor» National Museum

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine



The following institutions provided materials for the Exhibit:
The H. S. Pshenychny Central State Archives of Film, Photo and Sound
State Archive Branch of the Security Services of Ukraine
The Ivan Honchar Museum — National Center of Folk Culture
National Art Museum of Ukraine
Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
The M. Ptukha Institute of Demography and Social Studies,
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
Photographs provided by V. Udovytchenko and S. Lypovetsky

ISBN

HOLODOMOR – EXPLANATION AND PREVENTION

The word Holodomor means the deliberate mass murder by famine from which there is no salvation. Ukrainians use this name when referring to the National Catastrophe of 1932 – 33.

We begin with the fact that the Holodomor was one of the most important events not only in Ukraine's history, but also in 20th century world history. Without understanding this, it is difficult to grasp the nature of totalitarianism and the crimes committed by both the Soviet and Nazi totalitarian regimes.

The prehistory of the Holodomor and its effects, as this exhibit shows, cover nearly a century. One starts with examining what Ukraine was like at the beginning of the 20th century some 30 years prior to this tragedy and ends with the discussion of the rebirth of memory of the Holodomor in present day Ukraine.

It is vital to reveal the story of the Holodomor as even now one cannot be sure that history will not repeat itself. Quite the contrary, There are more and more signs of increasing numbers of genocides occurring in our modern world.

Eyewitnesses to the crime of the Holodomor and its history teach us what is worth doing and what is ineffective in preventing genocides and in fighting those who plan and organize them

It is always imperative for us to study the past intensively so that we can immediately recognize the symptoms of evil. Even though evil has different faces, its nature is always the same. The perpetrators of genocide divide societies, sow discord by propaganda, take away human rights wholesale, punish victims with death and later, lying to the whole world, pretend that nothing terrible has happened. The perpetrators of genocides obliterate the nature and mentality of their victims by physical and moral destruction. The foundations of genocide are always hatred and contempt.

These crimes leave deep wounds not only on the body of the nation which has suffered through a genocide but on all of humanity. In order to heal these wounds, the crime must be called by its proper name, must be talked about openly and the rise of all Stalins and Hitlers must be opposed and combated.

INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

Ukraine is the 2nd largest country in Europe. In the middle of the 19th century, Ukrainian territory covered nearly 700,000 square kilometers with a population of over 30,000,000. Ukraine is rich in fertile black soil, important minerals resources and has a wide range of hospitable climates, allowing it to grow a variety of crops from grain to grapes. From ancient times travelers called Ukraine “the land whose rivers flow with milk and honey.”

In the 20th century Ukraine was left without her own independent statehood, her lands divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Eighty percent of Ukraine’s ethnic territory fell under the control of Russia, which accounted for over 22 million people. Similar to the rest of stateless nations of central and Eastern Europe, 90 % of the Ukrainian population consisted of farmers. They wished to be economically independent and considered their land as their most precious possession. The village remained the center of Ukrainian traditional culture and spirituality, where the Ukrainian language, ancient traditions and holidays were preserved.

Just before the beginning of the First World War, Ukrainian village farmers and wealthy landholders harvested 43% of the world’s barley, 20% of the world’s wheat and 10% of its corn. The export of Ukrainian wheat at the end of the 19th and begin-



Participants in scholarly courses held from June 23 through July 22 in Lviv, 1904. In the center of the photo are the leading Ukrainian figures of Khvedir Vovk, Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Ivan Franko



Ukrainian villagers at the beginning of the 20th Century (photo from the collection of The Ivan Honchar Museum — National Center of Folk Culture)



Ukrainian demonstration in Kyiv, spring 1917.



Village in Zaporizhzhia, beginning of the 20th Century.



Participants of the Free Cossacks Convention in Chyhyryn, October 16-17, 1917.



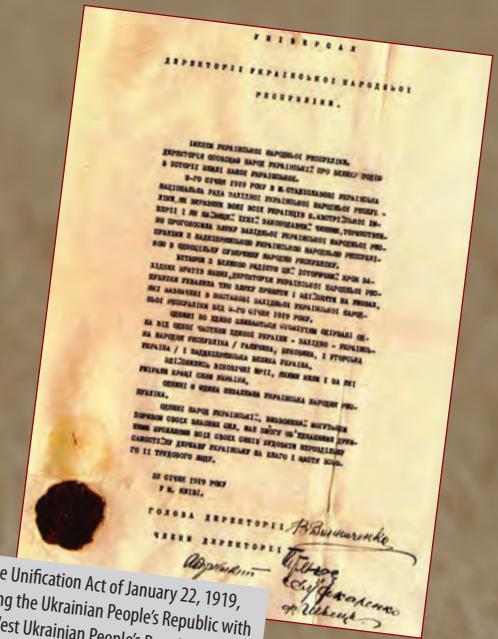
Ukrainian People's Republic
100 hryvny banknote.



Mykhailo Hrushevsky, prominent historian,
chairman of the Ukrainian Central Rada.



Rota, one of the most celebrated military units of the UNR Army,
the Sichovykh Striltsiv. Kyiv, 1918.



The Unification Act of January 22, 1919,
joining the Ukrainian People's Republic with
the West Ukrainian People's Republic, united
all the Ukrainian lands into one country.



Colonel in the UNR, Fedir
Artemenko, called "Orlyk," was the
underground insurgency leader in
the Kyiv region. He was wounded
and captured by the Bolsheviks on
January 22, 1922 and one month
later on February 26 was executed.

ning of the 20th Centuries played a very important role in the economy of the Russian Empire. During that period Ukraine was considered the breadbasket of Europe.

During the 19th century Ukrainians as well as other European peoples went through the phase of nation building. At the beginning of the 20th Century the political opportunity arose for creating and developing a movement towards Ukrainian independence

The fall of the Russian Empire created that opportunity. In 1917 the Ukrainian revolution exploded. In all the regions of Ukraine, Ukrainians created their own state organs and civic institutions. The Ukrainian Central Council was formed as the Parliament, and the General Secretariat as the government. The Ukrainian Peoples Republic (UNR) was created in November of 1917 and in January of 1918 its full independence was declared.

Several models of Ukrainian statehood existed during the Ukrainian revolution: the democratic (Ukrainian National Republic), the conservative (the Ukrainian State of Hetman Skoropadsky) and the liberal-democratic (West Ukrainian People's Republic).

Ukraine, however, could not win the military conflict with the Bolsheviks. Yet in spite of losing the Ukrainian revolution to the Bolshevik onslaught, Ukrainians proved their ability to create their own state. From then on the question of an independent Ukraine became an important factor in 20th Century Eastern European political life.

UKRAINE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST REGIME

In November 1917 the Bolsheviks headed by V.I. Lenin grabbed control of Russia under the banners of “dictatorship of the proletariat” and “red terror”. Within a month they declared war on Ukraine, attacking and capturing Kyiv 4 times during the period 1918-1920. By the end of 1920 the Bolshevik army had captured a large portion of the territory of Ukraine.

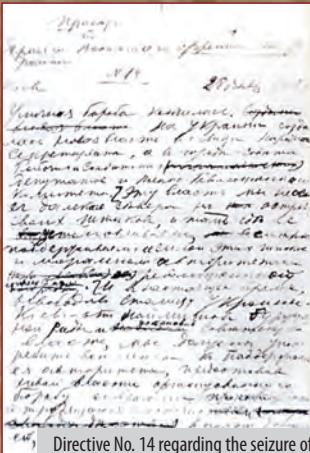
By the mid 1920’s there was considerable resistance to the communist regime by hundreds of farmer revolutionary and partisan brigades. By 1921 these brigades had well over 100,000 fighters. To maintain their control over Ukraine under these circumstances, the Bolsheviks were forced to create a quasi-governmental entity called the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, headquartered in Kharkiv.

In 1919 Bolsheviks began a policy of “War Communism” in the Ukrainian lands they had forcibly occupied.

This policy sought to nationalize industry, consolidate trade and monetary relationships, mobilize working labor and agricultural food practices by regulating them from a centralized dictatorship. These goals were achievable only through terror. Although the drought in Ukraine and in southern Russia in 1921-23 led to some natural food scarcity, the situation was exacerbated into a deadly widespread famine affecting millions through these “War Communism” policies.

It was in this period that the Bolsheviks first used famine as a weapon of mass terror to suppress and liquidate Ukrainian opposition to their rule.

At the beginning of the 1920’s the Bolsheviks began to understand that they were creating a massive economic crisis and that they were on the brink of an all out armed war with the farmers. As a result the Bolsheviks modified their aggressive platform of building communism and adopted a



Directive No. 14 regarding the seizure of power in Kyiv by the Bolshevik commander Mykhaylo Muravov, Jan 28, 1918. The directive states “this rule we bring to you from the far north on the points of our bayonets and wherever we establish our power is through the force of these bayonets and through the moral authority of the army of socialist revolution.”



Communist mercenaries, soldiers of the Chinese “international” battalion of the Red Army, 1918.



Infantry detachment of the 1st Cavalry in fight with “banditry” in Katerynoslav region, 1920. In late 1920 to beginning of 1921 five Bolshevik armies on the territory of occupied Ukraine totalled 1.2 million. Their ethnic makeup was 85% Russian, 9% Ukrainian, 6% Poles, Byelorussians, Jews, Germans and others.



Victims of the Red Terror, Kherson, 1919.



Composition by nationality of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolshevik), 1922.

5 year commercial and financial initiative called “NEP”- “new economic politics”- as a temporary tactical retreat from the pace of their original revolutionary program.

Along with the NEP the Bolsheviks began a new program of Ukrainization in government offices and educational institutions as an official soviet tactic to entice Ukrainians into the communist apparatus. The Ukrainian language and culture grew rapidly.

Ukrainians for the most part eagerly accepted NEP and Ukrainization, but the tradeoffs soon became evident as extremely costly. The totalitarian communist regime continued relentlessly tightening its grip on every aspect of society, the economy, arts, religion and sciences. By the end of the 1920s Stalin had personally consolidated absolute power

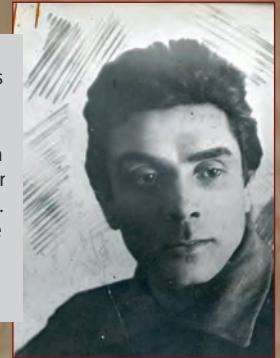
over all available resources. The previously convenient pretense of including multiple political parties in national governing coalitions was done away with. The single Communist Party became the entire governing apparatus.

The Ukrainian SSR had no real sovereignty and Ukrainian communists were directly under the Central Communist Party’s command and discipline.

At that time the communist regime considered the Ukrainian intelligentsia a priori the enemy. Its leaders were under constant surveillance by the special services. The anti-communist views held by the rural agrarian intelligentsia were especially troubling to the authorities because in the 1920’s over 85% of the population of the Ukrainian SSR were the farming intelligentsia.



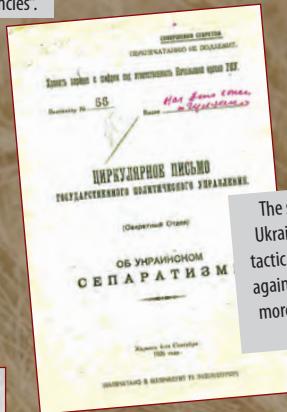
Oleksander Shumsky, the People’s Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR from September 1924, actively promoted Ukrainization throughout Ukraine. As a result in February 1927 he was removed from that post for “nationalist tendencies”.



Mykola Khvylioviy (Fitilyov), poet, writer, essayist. One of the founders of post revolution Ukrainian prose. In the second half of the 1920’s he promulgated the slogan “Away from Moscow” as the primary direction for the renaissance of Ukrainian culture. On May 13, 1933 committed suicide in protest against the continued repressions and horrors of artificial famine Holodomor.



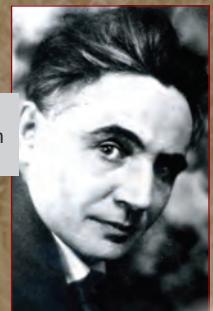
Ukrainian farmers, 1920’s (from the collection of the Ivan Honchar Museum — National Center of Folk Culture.)



The secret GPU file of September 1926, “Regarding Ukrainian Separatism” begins with the words . . . “the tactic of ‘cultural war’ by Ukrainian anti soviet elements against soviet rule, in the preceding period, shows ever more clearly within Ukrainian society the nationalist ideas of its separatist character.”



Les Kurbas, prominent director, founder of the “Berezil” experimental theater. Sharing the fate of the majority of Ukrainian cultural activists, he was arrested in 1933 and executed in 1937 by the totalitarian regime.



In 1928 economist Mykhaylo Volobuyev published a magazine article titled “Regarding Problems of the Ukrainian Economy” in Ukrainian Bolshevik. In it he showed that tsarist Russia was a colonial empire which considered Ukraine a colony to be ruled on the “European model”. He demanded that Ukraine be evaluated as a “historically created national agrarian organism” which has its own unique path of economic development.

"DRASTIC CHANGE"

At the end of the 1920s, the Communist Party, headed by Joseph Stalin, consolidated its power over the economy and renounced NEP. With this began the accelerated industrialization necessary for the creation of a military force powerful enough to spread communism over the whole world.

This upheaval of the economy led on the one hand to the creation of heavy industry and the rapid build-up of military force and on the other to a decline in labor productivity and loss of interest in its results.

The authorities mercilessly exploited people under their control, primarily farmers, to insure industrialization and modernization of the army. Prices were disproportionate between agricultural and industrial products (so-called "scissor prices") and taxes were increased.

At the end of 1927 the regime adopted a decision to finally collectivize agriculture. In January of 1928 forced grain confiscation began, heralding a return to the methods of "War Communism."

This began the elimination of "prosperous" farms owned by what the regime called *Kurkuls* (Kulaks-Russian), that is, well-to-do farmers. They were first overwhelmed with high fines and regulations, deprived of all their property and belongings, and finally deported. By 1931 more than 352,000 dispossessed farms were liquidated in Ukraine, resulting in about 1.5 million people plundered by the communist regime.

The communist regime also saw its very existence threatened by the clergy and intellectuals. It embarked on an anti-religious offensive as a method of destroying the traditional way of life of the farmer and turning him into the so-called "Soviet Man."

In the late 1920s the repressive organs of the communist regime began to fabricate criminal cases against the cultural, artistic, scientific, and technical intelligentsia. In 1928 this was exemplified by the "Shakhtinsky case," the prosecution of engineering and technical specialists in the Donbass.

Simultaneously criminal cases were brought against other Ukrainian intellectual elites, alleging their involvement in the anti-regime activities of the imaginary "Union to Liberate Ukraine" (SVU, 1929-1930). Charges of membership in this fictitious organization were brought against academicians, professors, students, teachers, priests and writers.

The Ukrainian National Center Case of 1931 was fabricated to entrap the prominent historian and academician Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Over the course of the SVU case and after, more than 30,000 Ukrainian citizens were subjected to severe repressions.

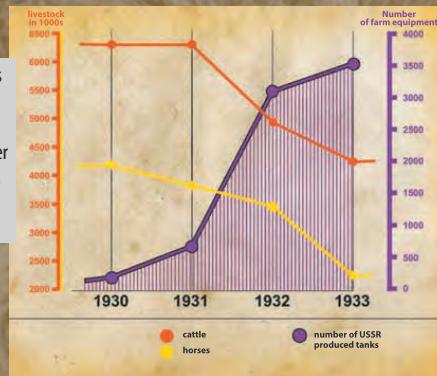


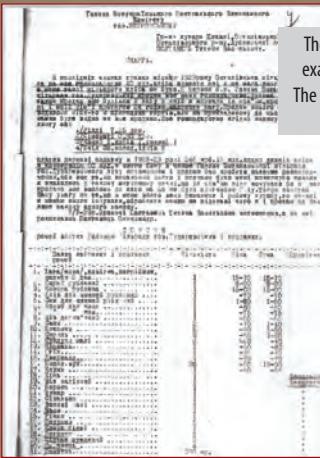
Tractor in the field of the collective farm «12 Years of October», Donetsk region, 1930s.



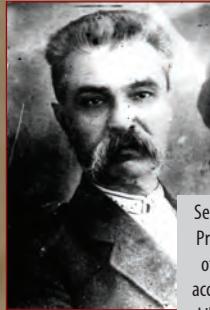
Soviet T-26 tanks on parade. Leningrad, November 1933. The Red Army received all 911 of these tanks in 1933.

Comparison of the drop in livestock in the Ukrainian SSR vs the increase in production of tanks and light tanks in the USSR in 1929-1933. Data from Marochko V., "State Bread Acquisition Plan: Death Penalty to the Peasants," *The Hunger of 1932-1933 in Ukraine: Causes and Consequences*. Kyiv, 2003. – P. 454-455; *History of the Second World War*. T. 1. Moscow, 1973. P. 214.





The complaint form of farmwoman Tetyana Poltavets on confiscation of her property due to non-fulfillment of grain quota, 1929. The document is a vivid example of the predatory attitude of the regime towards farmers. The house was then «sold» for a pittance: 15.1 karbovanets (krb) and the barn for 16 krb. The rest of the property was confiscated. As a comparison, the market price of a pair of boots in 1929 amounted to 35 krb, and the average monthly salary of workers for the Ukrainian SSR in July-September 1929 amounted to 39.4 krb.



Ukrainian elite being tried on trumped up charges of belonging to the fabricated "Union to Liberate Ukraine," Kharkiv, 1930.

Serhiy Yefremov, academician and Vice-President of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was arrested in July 1929, accused of being a leader in the Union to Liberate Ukraine, and died in the Gulag concentration camp in 1939.



The houses where the families of the workers building the Dnipro power station lived. Zaporizhzhia, 1932.



Bells removed from the churches of the Zaporizhzhia region, Zaporizhzhia, 1930.



Transportation of prisoners tried during the Shakhtinsky Trial, Moscow, 1928.

"Red Bread Wagon" (grain expropriation wagon), Odessa, 1930.

Bell, thrown off St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv, 1929.



Construction of the Dnipro hydroelectric power station (DniproHes) in the city of Zaporizhzhia, 1929. The first power plant started operations in 1932 and was fully completed in 1939. The DniproHes became one of the symbols of communist modernization and industrialization.



Interrogation of a «Kurkul» by a labor Inspector, Odessa region, 1929.



Delivery of property of deported farmers to the collective farm yard, Udatchne village, Donetsk region, 1932.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA



"Comrade, triple your vigilance. Protect the collective system as you would the iris in your own eye." The Kulak is depicted as a spider. Poster illustrator M. Cheremnykh, 1933.



"Liquidate the kulak as a class," Poster Kukrinikse illustrators, 1930.



"Remove kulaks from the path before you, those cursed enemies of collectivization," Poster illustrator A. Magidson, 1930.



Railway car school for Marxist- Leninist propaganda. The political office of the Osnova Southern Railroad Station, city of Kharkiv, 1932.

Meeting at the central storage depot after the grain harvest in the village of Uli, Zolochiv district, Kharkiv region, 1932. Such meetings featured speeches and presentations by communist propagandists, praising the wisdom of party leadership while calling for the liquidation and destruction of its enemies.



Performance of the living magazine "Stalinets" at the J. V. Stalin communal center, Mezhiwa district, Dnipropetrovsk region, 1933.



Farmers becoming acquainted with official propaganda. Village of Lebyazhe, Pechenihiy district, Kharkiv region, 1932.



Anti-religion demonstration by Komsomol members in a village in the Odessa region, 1920's.

Propaganda was the basic element in establishing the Stalinist totalitarian regime and was carried out by an entire class of services and censors. The regime used propaganda to identify “enemies of the people” who were then localized, marginalized, re-educated or destroyed. The communists in Ukraine traditionally recognized two internal threats: the main “societal” enemy, called “kurkul” and the main “national” enemy referred to as “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist” or “Petliurivets” (follower of Symon Petliura).

With the start of collectivization and persecutions of the farmer class, the “Kurkuls” and “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists” were graphically portrayed in the most distasteful and offensive light. Soviet propaganda posters characterized them as physically and psychologically repulsive predatory birds, animals and parasites. Not only did they not fulfil any constructive or positive roles in civil society, but they were also destructive to the general good, fully cooperating with foreign enemies beyond the borders. Propaganda messages were replete with practical solutions for the “physical annihilation” of the “enemy.” These constant messages were designed to create and develop the general social opinion that an “enemy of the people” was unworthy of basic rights, protections or human compassion. Their very lives were of no value whatsoever to anyone. Although this propaganda was supposedly directed against the “enemies of the people,” it was in fact aimed against Ukrainians, exhorting all citizens (of the USSR) to be ever vigilant in the fight with the enemy and never to show weakness or kindness.

After the Great Famine/ Holodomor of 1932-33, soviet propagandists continued to depict negatively “kurkuls”, “petliurivtsi” and “nationalists”, combining these images with other vile and dehumanizing slogans.

Soviet propaganda actively sowed hatred and systematically encouraged social and inter-ethnic discord. The “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist” label was used to depict any member of the educated Ukrainian elite as a political opponent to the soviet regime. The “kurkul” label served a different function- to create conflict and strife amongst Ukrainian farmers so that they would destroy one another.

By the start of the 1930’s new terms of derision and blame – “saboteurs”, “destroyers” – were introduced to explain away the communist regime’s failures of collectivization and economic policies.

Soviet propaganda not only demonized the “faces of the enemy,” but actively called for their physical destruction. Repeated calls to “liquidate”, “destroy,” “clean out,” these “kurkuls”, “petliurivtsi”, “saboteurs” were trumpeted from every media channel- radio, newspapers, posters, placards, at meetings and convocations. This total approach in identifying an “enemy” and concurrent, incessant demands for the enemy’s destruction is a recognized cornerstone of genocidal policy.

Within the mind of the Bolshevik leadership, as evidenced by its propaganda, every Ukrainian by the end of 1932 was deemed a “saboteur” and a “kurkul”.



“The Spiritual gangs are the kurkul’s crutch. Collectives must completely destroy kurkulism,”
Poster Kukrinkse illustrators, 1930.



“Collective farmer, protect your fields from class enemies-- the thieves and loafers who plunder the socialist harvest.” The “kurkul-thief” is depicted with a mouse face to identify him with field mice, natural pests on any farm.
Poster illustrator V. Hovorkov, 1933.

RESISTANCE

The policy of forced collectivization was a shock to the farmers, whose land and private property were central to their lives; in no way would they voluntarily sever these essential ties, regardless of the grandiose promises of communism.

The actions of the regime were met with strong displeasure throughout the entire USSR, but especially in Ukraine, where her farmers created the greatest resistance.

Farmer resistance grew simultaneously with the increased tempo of collectivization, peaking around March 1930. By that time, through the use of terror and blackmail, the regime had forced over two thirds of all Ukrainian farmers into the collective farms.

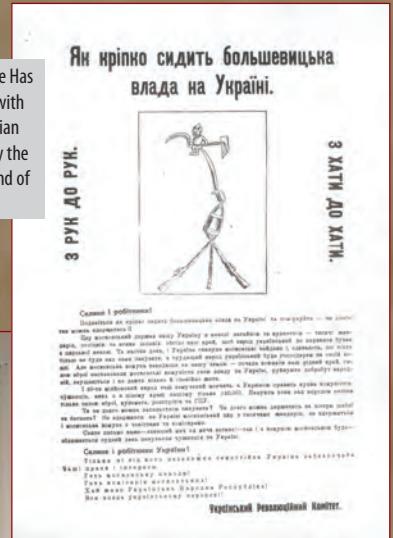
Farmer revolts, which the communists contemptuously called “volynky,” spread to nearly all of Ukraine, peaking in February and March, 1930. Secret police files reported that from February 20th to April 20th, 41 out of 44 regions, totaling 1,895 villages, were actively rebelling against collectivization. Over 4,000 mass demonstrations comprising almost 1.2 million people were documented during 1930.

These demonstrations, unlike those of the early 1920’s, were mostly peaceful and were primarily led by women. In fact, these were the first sizable attempts at peaceful resistance to the government in recent Ukrainian history. Nevertheless these demonstrations quite often turned violent against the local representatives and enforcers of the communist government.

Joseph Stalin, frightened by the extent of this March resistance, was forced to halt collectivization temporarily. The government allowed the farmers to leave the collective farms and to take some of their property with them. This had a calming effect on the wave of resistance to the end of March 1930. In the following months a majority of the farmers leave the collective farms. By the end of the summer less than one third of farms in the Ukrainian SSR remained collectivized.

By the fall of 1930 the regime returns to collectivization. Resorting to various fines and taxes, it forces a ma-

The leaflet “How Deeply the Bolshevik Regime Has Penetrated Ukraine,” with the slogans “Out with Moscow Slavery” and “Long Live the Ukrainian National Republic,” was widely distributed by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee at the end of the 1920s and start of the 1930s.



“Kurkul gun,” a homemade weapon used by rebellious farmers. They rarely had access to firearms. Cherkassy Regional Museum.

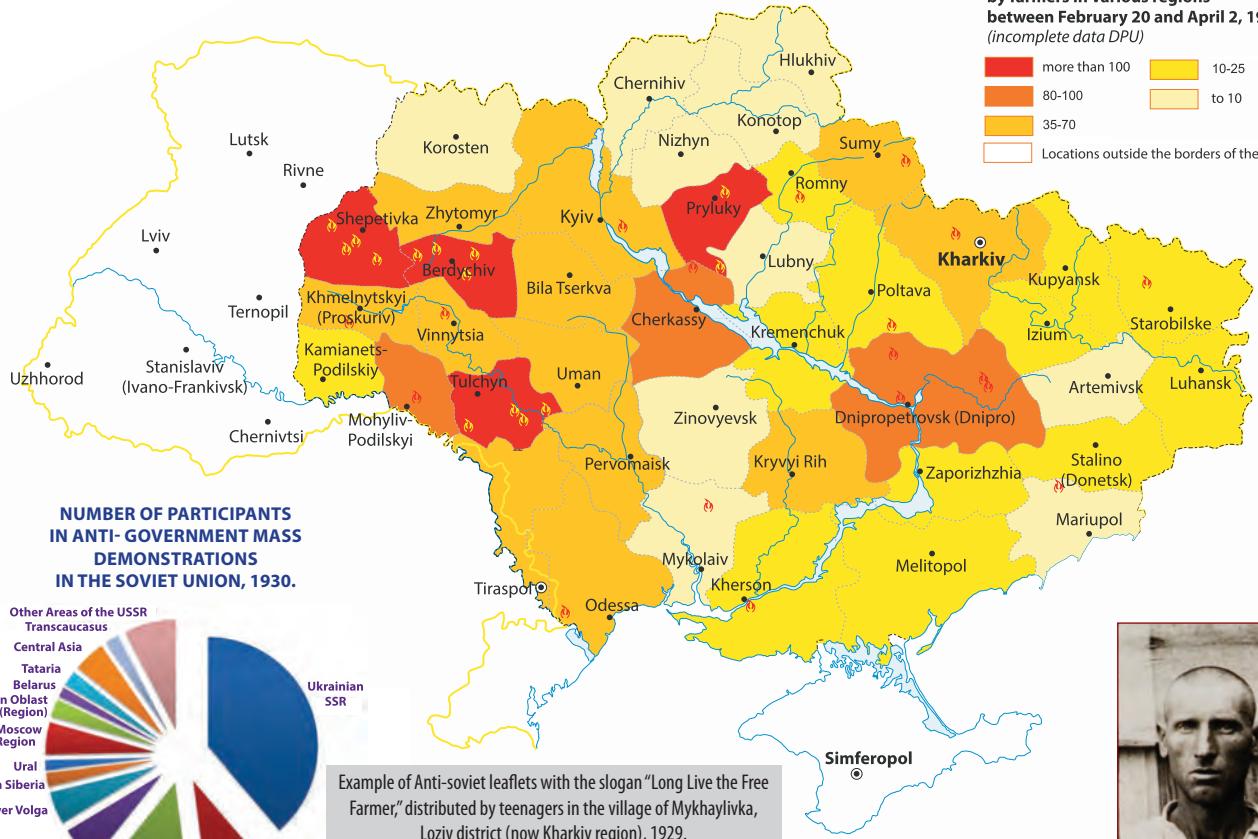
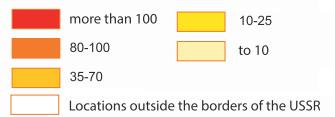
Hryhoriy Puchka, leader of a farmer resistance brigade, active 1930-31 in Poltava and Cherkassy regions, was captured September 1931 and executed in 1932. Photo from the criminal trial archives.



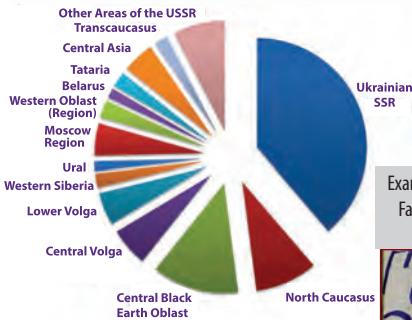
majority of farmers to return to the collective farms. By October 1931 over 68% of Ukrainian farms and 72% of arable lands have been socialized.

Throughout 1930-31 the GPU, secret police, uncovered many underground farmer resistance organizations, although some were purposely created by the secret police themselves. Ukrainians, nevertheless, continued to resist, even within the collective farms.

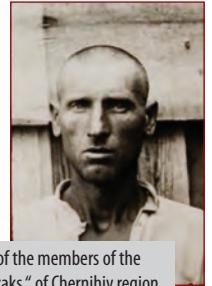
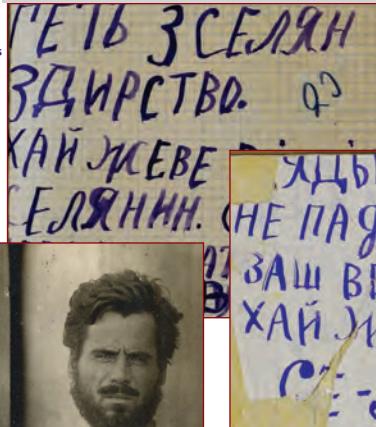
Number of demonstrations by farmers in various regions between February 20 and April 2, 1930 (incomplete data DPU)



NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION, 1930.



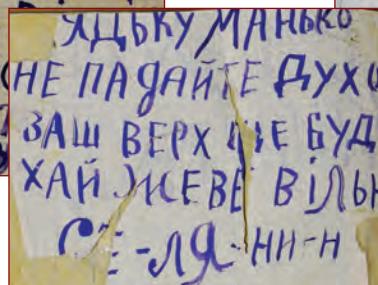
Example of Anti-soviet leaflets with the slogan "Long Live the Free Farmer", distributed by teenagers in the village of Mykhaylivka, Loziv district (now Kharkiv region), 1929.



Ivan Motloch, one of the members of the underground "Free Kozaks," of Chernihiv region. This group made an attempt to organize an uprising in 1931.



Handwritten proclamation calling on communists to "cease sucking the blood of millions of hard working people" with photo of its author Y. Kurychenko. From police investigation archives, Kherson region, spring 1932.



Interrogation of a member of the Committee of Landless Farmers, accused of spreading "kurkul" agitation among other farmers, village of Kramchanka, Velykopysarivsk district, Okhtyrsk county, 1929.



WHY WERE THEY KILLING UKRAINE BY MASS STARVATION?

In 1931 Stalin, it seemed, should have been celebrating victory. Most farmers had eventually been forced into collective farms. The state had complete control over the products of their labor. That year, with a record harvest from the collective farms, almost all of the harvested grain was exported.

But already in the spring of 1932 it became obvious that this was a Pyrrhic victory. As a result of the requisite export of grain in 1931, famine struck many regions of Ukraine.

By the summer of 1932 a mass wave of farmer protests and hunger riots took place. Farmers, experiencing mass starvation, were now struggling not only for their own plot of land, but for their very lives. During seven months in 1932 more than 56% of protests in the Soviet Union occurred in Ukraine. There followed a mass exodus of farmer households from collective farms.

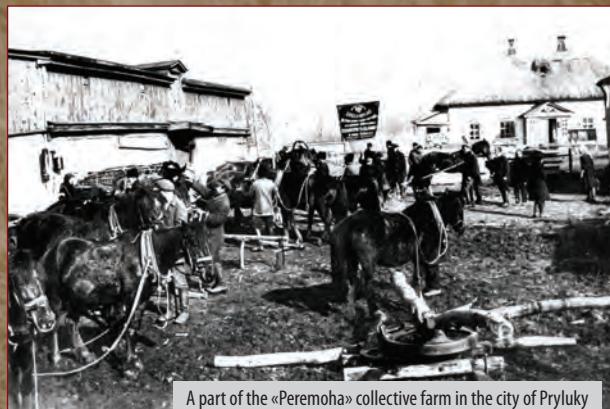
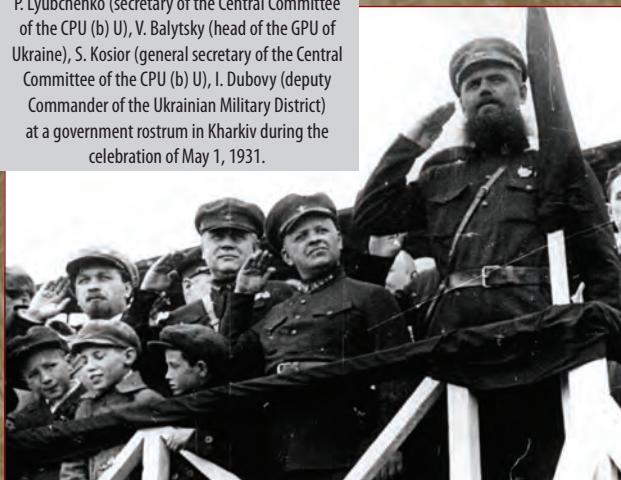
On the collectives farmers lost their motivation to perform assigned tasks. They understood that “the fruits of their labor” would be confiscated. Furthermore collective

farms were frequently run by incompetent Communist Party officials who blindly followed the instructions of their superiors. Labor productivity fell catastrophically. The system turned out to be totally bankrupt.

The Communist Party leadership realized that during the two years of collectivization in Ukraine none of their goals had been achieved. The production of agricultural products declined, the resistance continued and the farmers’ opposition remained the same as 10 years before. Meanwhile even some local Communist Party members began to show dissatisfaction with Party politics.

The decline in collectivized farm output in Ukraine was obvious, particularly in light of the accomplishments in industrialization and collectivization in other regions of the Soviet Union. The Party leadership explained away this failure as the result of sabotage, not only by Ukrainian farmers, but also by local communists and Ukraine’s intelligentsia. According to Party leaders they were all influenced by “independence minded bourgeois ideology”.

Future organizers and executors of the Holodomor: P. Lyubchenko (secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU (b) U), V. Balytsky (head of the GPU of Ukraine), S. Kosior (general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU (b) U), I. Dubovy (deputy Commander of the Ukrainian Military District) at a government rostrum in Kharkiv during the celebration of May 1, 1931.

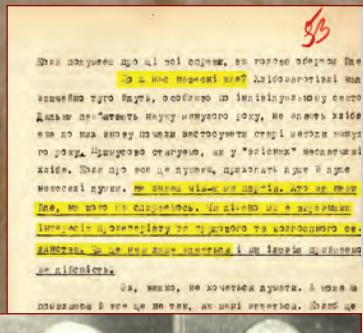
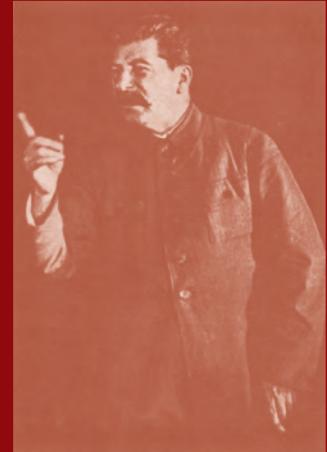


A part of the «Peremoha» collective farm in the city of Pryluky in the early 1930s. The general disorder, mud, neglected animals, farm machinery and implements are characteristic of most images and reveal the poor administration of collective farms in Ukrainian villages throughout the USSR's existence.

Excerpts from telegram of J. Stalin to L.Kaganovich,
August II, 1932.

"The most important concern now is Ukraine. Matters in Ukraine are really awful. Bad within the Party. It has been reported that in the two regions of Ukraine (it seems, in the Kiev and Dnipropetrovsk regions) about 5 district committees opposed the grain procurement plan, declaring it unrealistic. The situation is not much better in other regions. What does it look like? This is not a party, but a parliament, a caricature of a parliament...

...If we do not correct the situation in Ukraine immediately, we can lose Ukraine. Note that Pilsudski will simply not retreat, and his agents in Ukraine are much more powerful than Radens or Kosior realize. Also bear in mind that in the Ukrainian Communist Party (500,000 members, ha, ha) there are not a few (yes, not a few) rotten elements, nationally conscious or otherwise Petlyurivets, and ultimately - the direct agents of Pilsudski. As soon as things get worse, these elements will immediately open the front against it inside (and outside) of the Party. The worst thing is that the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership does not see these dangers. This cannot go on."



"Grain procurement is extremely difficult, especially in the private sector ... We forcibly confiscate from angry unwilling producers of grain. When you think about all this, very disconcerting thoughts come to mind. One does not know whose party we are. Who is behind us, on whom do we rely. Are we really the representatives of the interests of the proletariat and of workers and farmers in the kolhosp (collective farm)" written in his diary on September 21, 1932. In 1936 D. Zavaloka was sentenced to many years in a concentration camp for the opinions expressed in his diary.



Photo of Dmytro Zavaloka, party functionary from the Kyiv region, and a page of his diary on archival and criminal cases. The diary of D. Zavaloka is evidence of the real attitude of many communists towards the policy of their own party in Ukraine.

Категория	Киевская обл.	Черниговская обл.	Полтавская обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Житомирская обл.	Ровненская обл.	Луцкая обл.	Рязанская обл.	Сумская обл.	Львовская обл.	Тернопольская обл.	Харьковская обл.	Донецкая обл.	Закарпатская обл.	Итого
Члены КП Украины	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1000
Члены МКСУ Украины	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1000
Всего	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	2000

Statistical data from the GPU report of «legal opportunist sentiment and counteraction to grain procurements by members and candidates of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League», as of November 20, 1932. Local party members' dissatisfaction with party countermeasures, including the confiscation of foodstuffs, were recorded in 407 villages in 199 districts.

The events of the Ukrainian Revolution and the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian People's Republic were still fresh in the memory of most of the population who considered the latter as a political alternative to Soviet rule. This greatly troubled the Communist Party leadership. After all, Ukraine was both the second largest republic and the second in importance in the Soviet Union.

The economic viability of the collective farms became a matter of less importance. Stalin demanded that all problems be resolved in one fell swoop - overcome the resistance of the farmers, intellectuals and the national communists in power, persecute the rebellious people and transform those who remain into "Soviet" people. All these goals could be accomplished only through mass extermination. At the same time these new repressive measures were supposed to create the illusion that the government, just as before, persecuted social class enemies separately from national ones.

METHODS OF THE HOLODOMOR



The "black boards" of the Dnipropetrovsk region, the list published in the regional newspaper "Zorya," January 1, 1933.

The Holodomor was the result of a clearly planned Kremlin policy. In the future the Bolsheviks would never again employ the methods they used to subjugate the Ukrainian people in 1932-1933, testifying to these methods' true goals. Only use of such a precise combination of specific mechanisms would guarantee the Kremlin such catastrophic consequences.

The first stage of the crime was the mass confiscation of all food from villages, not only grain as had been the case previously. Confiscation required significant human resources, therefore employees of the Communist Party apparatus and proven party members from industrial centers were selected to carry out the requisitions. Special units, "towing brigades," were created for the seizure of food. These brigades were composed of party members, Komsomol members and activists who scoured the rural areas confiscating all food.

In January of 1933 these trained activists searched people's homes, taking everything edible, condemning millions of people to mass starvation. People began fleeing the areas afflicted by the famine. Then another strategy was implemented: the isolation of the hungry. For this purpose the "black boards" regimen was implemented and starving people were prohibited from leaving Ukraine.

Collective farms and villages listed on the "black boards" were surrounded by armed militia and Soviet special services. All food stocks were removed. Trade and import of any goods into the farm or village was prohibited. For residents this was a death sentence.

In January 1933 the regime prohibits the departure of farmers from the territory of Ukraine and the Kuban' region which was inhabited mainly by Ukrainians. People trying to escape are denied tickets for rail and water transport. Roads to the cities are blocked. Those who manage to leave are arrested and returned.

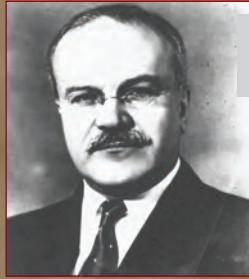
If the confiscation of food and isolation could last for a year, the regime would "finally resolve the Ukrainian problem." The goal was to turn Ukrainians into an obedient biomass, rather than to completely exterminate them physically.

In 1933 the government moved on to the third act of this crime. Starting in February 1933, in order to ensure the spring sowing campaign, assistance began to arrive in Ukrainian regions. It was designated for local party leaders and activists as well as for those who worked at the collective farms. Those who were swollen with hunger and debilitated, and those who were not members of the collective farms, were denied any assistance.

A key part of the genocide was the intentional concealment of information about the famine from the rest of the world. In January 1933 the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, M. Litvinov, made a special statement on the absence of hunger in the country. At the same time, the Stalinist regime refused foreign aid and even forced its citizens to refuse parcels or remittances that they received from relatives or foreign benefactors.



A secret decree approved by resolution of the Council of People's Commissars (the government) of the Ukrainian SSR on November 20, 1932 codifies the sanctions to be imposed on collective farms and villages that will be listed on "black boards."



Vyacheslav Molotov, Stalin's Prime Minister, was second in command in the regime. His assignment to Ukraine in October 1932, heading a special commission to intensify grain procurement, demonstrated that there was no issue more important to the government at the time.

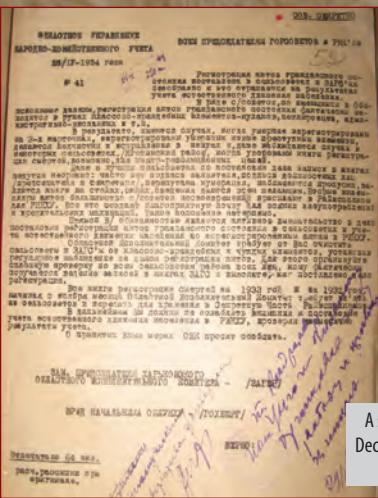
The organizers of the genocide, L. Kaganovich, J. Stalin, P. Postyshev in January 1934.



"Towing brigade" during grain procurement in Novo-Krasne village, Arbuzinsky district (now Mykolaiv region), November-December 1932. The members of the brigade are holding specially made metal probes which were used to find any last reserve of food supplies buried in the ground by farmers. An owner who was found to be hiding grain was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in a concentration camp.



Summary execution of the noncompliant. Photo by M. Bokan', 1933. Inscription on photo: "In the front row, those sentenced to death by firing squad."



A secret decree on the removal of death registers from village councils in the Kharkiv region for the period of November 1932 to December 1933. Similar orders were issued in other regions of Ukraine. In this way the authorities tried to limit access to mortality data and to hide the magnitude of losses from starvation.



Militiamen with grain seized from farmers, Kherson region, 1932.



The "Red Broom" collective-farm activists who constituted the "towing brigades" to search for and confiscate food from the farmers. Sumy region, 1932.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MURDER BY HUNGER

1932, July

Ukraine is forced to adopt a deliberately unrealistic plan of supplying grain to the government.

1932, August 9

Selling bread by private persons is outlawed.

1932, August 22

The distribution of bread is forbidden among collective farm workers. They are instructed to bring their own bread for lunch breaks at work.

1932, August 7

The Soviet government issues a decree about “protecting socialist property,” which was dubbed by the people as “The Law of Five Wheat-Ears.” According to this decree, a person who would pluck and bring home a few wheat-ears left over on the fields after harvest on a collective farm could be thrown in jail for several years.



1932, October 25

A special commission on grain supplies arrives in Ukraine from Moscow. The chairman of this commission is Vyacheslav Molotov, the head of the Soviet government. The task of this commission is to increase repressions and squeeze even more grain from Ukrainian farmers.

1932, November 18

The Central Committee of the Communist Party orders the compiling of “black boards” and penalties in kind of those households in rural Ukraine that allegedly “owe” grain to the government, even though the quotas for grain procurement are unrealistic. All food items and all farm animals belonging to these households are confiscated.

1932, November

Special envoys responsible for grain supplies are sent to the regions, districts and villages of Ukraine. Special squads are formed in villages for searching and confiscating grain, other food, and all farm animals in private homesteads. The entire body of the local police, state security organs, and Communist Party and Young Communist League members are assigned to the campaign.

1932, November 23

The Soviet secret police begin a special clandestine operation to eliminate all those who will potentially resist the complete confiscation of grain. Two hundred forty-three regions of Ukraine are covered.



1933, December 6

Six villages are “black boarded” in just one day. By this time more than 400 settlements and collective farms have already been “black boarded”.

1932, December 14

A secret decree titled “About Collecting Grain in Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, and the Western Region” is endorsed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and by the Council of People’s Commissars (the government) of the USSR. Among other things, the decree includes demands to close down Ukrainian schools in the Kuban region and to persecute Ukrainian intellectuals. The contents of this endorsement confirm that the organized artificial hunger is aimed at destroying the Ukrainian identity and annihilating Ukrainians as a nation.

1932, December 10

Stalin issues an order to disseminate among the Communist Party leaders the criminal case materials against the authorities of the Orikhiv district, at that time in the Dnipropetrovsk region. The latter were accused of sabotaging the grain requisition campaign. These alleged criminals are used to create a precedent for identifying “Ukrainian saboteurs.”

1932, December

Lazar Kaganovich and Pavel Postyshev, two leading Communist Party functionaries, are sent to Ukraine from Moscow to scale up the grain confiscation campaign.



1932, December 24

All grain, even including the grain reserved for sowing, is taken from the Ukrainian villages accused of not meeting the predatory, unrealistic quotas for supplying grain to the government.



1933, January

By order of the January 1, 1933 decree massive searches are conducted in farmers' households all over Ukraine. All remaining food items are confiscated, dooming the farmers to die of starvation.

1933, January 1

Stalin orders that all Ukrainian farmers be informed that, according to a decree issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, they will be brutally punished if they fail to give up all their grain.

1933, January 22

Stalin issues a decree forbidding farmers of Ukraine and the Kuban region to migrate to other parts of the Soviet Union. In just six weeks about 220,000 farmers are arrested while attempting to leave the territories affected by hunger. About 186,000 of them are forced to return to their settlements, where they inevitably die of starvation.

1933, January 24

Stalin appoints P. Postyshev to the position of Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (b), making him de facto the ruler of Ukraine.

1933 Spring

The Communist regime begins a large-scale campaign of purging Ukraine of "Ukrainian Nationalists." The scale of political repressions at this time is comparable with the Great Terror of 1937-1938. According to official sources, more than 124,000 persons are arrested in 1933, more victims than in 1938.

1933, February

the Central Committee of the Communist Party(b) of the USSR adopts the first of a series of special decisions to aid selected areas of Ukraine to insure the spring sowing campaign.

1933, March

A secret directive is issued forbidding the use of the terms "hunger" and "starvation" while referring to the situation in rural Ukraine. All Communist Party documents now use only the term "difficulties in food supply."

1933, June

The mortality due to hunger in Ukraine reaches its highest point; demographics show that in June alone, more than one million people have died.

1933, Fall

All records of persons who have died in 1933 are taken away from the collective farms administrations.



1933, August

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party(b) of the USSR makes a decision to create an All-Union Migrants' Center. Its task is to supervise the migration of collective farmers from Russia and Belarus to the parts of rural Ukraine where the local population had been exterminated by hunger. Before the end of 1933, over 100,000 persons are re-settled.

1934, January

At the XII Congress of the Communist Party(b), Pavel Postyshev, then the ruler of Ukraine, reports "1933 became the year of defeat of the Nationalist counter-revolution ... When told, 'strike the Nationalist, strike the counter-revolutionaries, strike this scum, beat them harder, have no fear,' - these activists, Communists, Young Communist League members got to work the Bolshevik way, and the collective farms have flourished."

HOLODOMOR: WHAT DID THEY LIVE THROUGH?

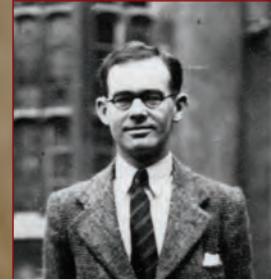
Fear arrived in the Ukrainian villages. Local government officials and roving party "activists" constantly circulated in groups among the population, terrorizing people day and night. Those farmers who had not yet turned over the required quota of seeds, grain and other products were beaten, bullied and degraded. Soon even the activists themselves became frightened as the same fate began to befall them as on their victims.

The situation worsened and severe depression and apathy grew about everyone's personal fate. Gareth Jones, the Welsh journalist who traveled about Ukraine in 1930 and again in March 1933 noticed that during his earlier trip Ukrainian farmers were alarmed and complained about the scarcity of bread. Later, at the height of the Holodomor, they only spoke of their death sentences- "they are murdering us".

The sharp change in attitude had a physiological basis. At the start of a prolonged famine a person feels a strong hunger, unhappiness and anger. Next comes a silent despair. All feelings, emotions and behaviors are centered on one goal only- to eat. In this state it becomes impossible to work effectively or act counter to that need. During extreme hunger all moral values and ethical norms of behavior vanish. The outward physical signs of extreme hunger were swollen abdomens, arms and legs. The hungry lost control of their minds, wandered aimlessly, committed murder and suicide. They killed children who could not be fed so they would not suffer. The results of this total destruction of the human psyche brought about incidents of cannibalism.

This hunger resulted in the formation of two human classes- those who eat and those who don't. The total lack of food created bitter and savage social conflict between these two groups, even between friends and family members.

The worst horror of the Holodomor was the especially high mortality among children. They died sooner than the adults. Not able to bear the sight of their suffering, parents would take their starving children to the nearest city and leave them at train stations, hospitals, office buildings, or simply on the street. Some children were brought to shelters, but they fled from them to beg and steal whatever they could to survive. The newborn babies had it the worst, as the nursing mothers had no breast milk for them.



In March 1933 Gareth Jones, Welsh journalist, ignored the travel prohibition and secretly visited the hunger stricken lands of Ukraine. "I went through countless villages and 12 collective farms" he wrote upon returning.

"In each village I received the same information- namely that many were dying of the famine and that about four-fifths of the cattle and horses had perished. One phrase was repeated until it had a sad monotony in my mind, and that was: "Vsi Pukhli" (all are swollen, i.e. from hunger), and one word was drummed into my memory by every talk. That word was "golod"- i.e., "hunger" or "famine". Nor shall I forget the swollen stomachs of the children in the cottages in which I slept". (The Manchester Guardian, May 8th 1933. The Peasants in Russia. Exhausted Supplies).





Nestor Bilous, a villager from Kharkiv region, wrote in his diary what he witnessed during the Holodomor. In 1937 he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for having written this diary.



Mykola Bokan', amateur photographer from Baturyn, shows the family album of the tragedy of his own family's destruction by the Holodomor. Caption to the photo reads: "Our family, of which there are many in this world and who suffer without a reason." Inscriptions have been placed on the portraits of the children detailing their individual fates: who died, who went begging or who went to "eat what was stolen by others," meaning serving the new regime.



Mykola Bokan' near his son's grave. On his son's grave the father has placed a tablet which shows the real reason for his death: "Bokan' Kostyantyn Mykolajovych. Died in the field on the collective farm on June 30, 1933 from exhausting labor and malnutrition."

From Nestor Bilous' diary:

April 16, 1933

Easter. I was working at the collective raking and nobody was to be seen in the village; not too long ago there was gaiety, children on swings, music, all sorts of games, but now there is only despair and hunger. After church our lunch consisted of Lenten borshht, a tiny bit of fried potato and some milk from godmother Man'ka for kasha. Pylyp Kalykhoch went down into the hollow and retrieved a chunk of flesh from the carcass of a horse in the carbolic acid pit and took it home.

April 17, 1933

Today must bury 11 more dead from hunger.

April 30, 1933

It is cold and raining constantly. The spring planting is going very slowly because we haven't sufficient seed and even if someone still has a horse, the animal is so very weak that it can't pull the plow even one day. So this year the sowing and harvest will be even sparser. And the people continue dying and are dumped into mass graves, 6 corpses together because there aren't enough people around to dig individual ones.

April 30, 1933

Mykola Fedorovych Butenko died April 27, a strapping youth of 22, a real guardsman, tall, handsome but still died of hunger only because the local government did not give him a work permit, punishment for his father being a "kurkul". Without a work permit they won't give you a job anywhere, so by spring when work was available he was already too weak and only able to die a hungry death.

May 13, 1933

The weather has warmed up since May 8, crops and beets are coming up, but the seedlings are being eaten by insects and bugs. We need rain but it isn't coming. The collectives are sowing again; maybe they'll keep sowing until the feast of St. Peter. The people continue to die of hunger. Paraska Chorna, the activist and candidate for communist party membership died May 12. When people were being denounced for not meeting their grain confiscation quotas, she danced with joy at the school, but now she herself has croaked from hunger like a dog.

May 20, 1933

People continue dying from hunger every day. The village government has appointed a sanitary commission to dispose of the corpses because there wasn't anyone around to bury them properly. From here on the local government is dragging out whomever it can to dig large pits to hold at least ten bodies. The people remaining, both adults and the young, are the walking dead.

June 10, 1933

People continue dying at the train stations in Kharkiv and in the fields and no one tends to their bodies. For example Nikolay Kostenko died near Tahanka a month ago and no one has touched his corpse, and the Red Army commanders drive past it every day. No one cares that the corpse is so decomposed that you can't even get close to it.

HOW DID THEY SURVIVE?

In these conditions of total food shortages those left alive fought for survival for themselves and their families using any means possible. To identify and utilize any alternative sources of food meant life. Those who relied on others or gave up were first to die.

Survivors were first of all those who managed to hide food, money, clothing or valuables from confiscation by the authorities. It was possible to buy food on the black market or to barter with clothing or other valuable items. Special commissaries (Torhsyn), created theoretically to trade with foreigners, were a place where hungry farmers could exchange gold, silver or hard currency for flour, groats, fats, oils and other essentials. In 1933 one needed to pay 11 grams of pure gold at a Torhsyn for a bag of flour. Of course only a small segment of the population had those kinds of savings. During the hunger years the government in this way extracted all personal valuables from the starving population.

The real salvation for the farmers who still had them, were their cows, which were often kept indoors to protect them from thieves.

Nature itself helped and farmers searched for anything it was possible to find or hunt in the fields, forests or rivers. As to that by the spring of 1933 all dogs and cats had disappeared from Ukrainian villages.

For some, though, even their extreme hunger would not allow them to break certain taboos such as eating the carcasses of already dead animals. Yet for others hunger drove them to commit much more terrible deeds than that.



Commissary Torhsyn in the city of Putyvl 1933. By August 1933 Ukraine had 256 torhsyns. Each one averaged 400-450 customers daily. During 1932 the Soviet regime obtained 21 tons of gold from Ukrainian farmers and got 44.9 tons in 1933.



Children gather frozen potatoes on the collective farm, Udachne village, Donetsk region, 1933.

Some informed on their neighbors for the reward they were given of part of these neighbors' valuables, that they then sold to buy food. These "activists," used the portion thus confiscated from their neighbors to survive a little bit longer.

Where they were not able to find food in their own village or town, some saved themselves by looking for food farther away or by traveling to find factory or mining work in industrial areas, like Donbas. But even to be a coal miner in Donbas one needed a special work permit, only available through bribery or by knowing someone. Ukrainians gathered their last bit of money and possessions and tried to reach Russia or Byelorussia, where they could exchange these for bread. Those who had relatives beyond the borders of Ukraine found ways to join them, never to return.

Others tried to break through the controlled border into Western Ukraine or Moldova. Most were caught and arrested or simply executed by the Soviet border patrol right on the spot.



Photo of hand millstones villagers made themselves to grind their own seeds, as grain was immediately confiscated by the government when it was brought to the larger mills. The Soviet press continued with alarms that "these hand millstones were found by the hundreds in some villages." The January 11, 1933 Visti reported that over 755 of these were discovered and taken by the authorities in just one month.



Confiscation of livestock and property from the "kurkul" P. Yemets of Hrushynskiy district in Donetsk region, at the start of the 1930s. The cow was often the only source of food. Its confiscation doomed the family to certain death.

Girl with swollen legs who made her way to Kharkiv in search of food. Photo: A. Wienerberger, 1933.



Breadline in Kharkiv, at that time the capital of Ukraine, 1933. Photo A. Wienerberger.



Farmers leave the village in search of food. Photo A. Wienerberger.

Substitute meals of the Holodomor period. In 2012 in Lviv's central plaza social activists laid out a table with the "meals" that Ukrainians ate during the Holodomor of 1932-33. Bystanders were invited to participate in tasting the meals so that they could be reminded of the horrific conditions that the nation suffered at that time.



Substitute sources of food during the Holodomor

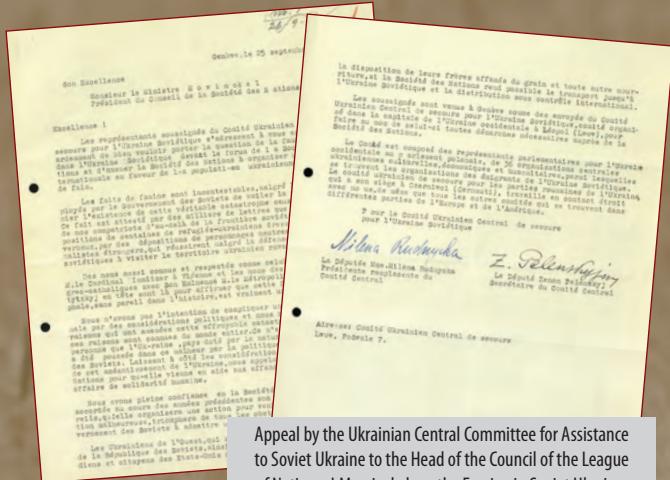
Oak bark and flax. The oak bark was cut up and steamed and then mixed with flax seeds, finely chopped up chamomile and a small palm sized portion of corn meal.

Nettle and dandelion pancake. A piece of steamed wheat, nettle and dandelion was added to a bit of flour dissolved in water.

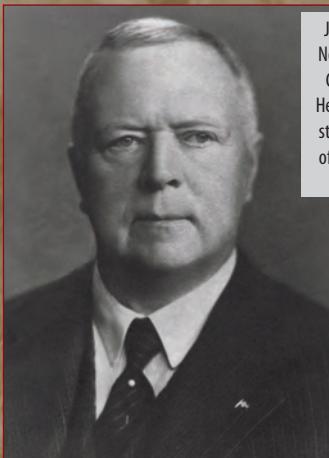
Little rolls from chestnuts and dill seed. The chestnut, removed from its shell and finely chopped was added to steamed dill seed and a small amount of boiled wheat kernels for thickening, and baked.

The most often prepared dish during the Hungry Years was grass soup made with fermented beet stock, to which were added various leaves and roots, pigweed, dandelion, plantain and nettle.

HUMANITY IN AN INHUMAN TIME



Appeal by the Ukrainian Central Committee for Assistance to Soviet Ukraine to the Head of the Council of the League of Nations, J. Mowinkel, on the Famine in Soviet Ukraine, signed by its leaders Milena Rudnytska and Zenon Pelenskyj, September 23, 1933.



Johann Ludwig Mowinkel (1870-1943) - Norwegian Prime Minister, President of the Council of the League of Nations in 1933. He demanded that the issue of assistance to starving Ukrainians be heard at the League of Nations. «It is about the lives of millions. Therefore, I could not keep silent.»



Milena Rudnytska (1892-1976) was a public activist and deputy of the Polish Seim (Parliament). She tried to raise the issue of the Famine before the League of Nations and to gain the support of the International Red Cross.

The prospect of death by hunger dulls all human sentiment, leaving only the instinct for survival. Even under these conditions, however, there were those who kept their humanity and sensitivity, enabling them to help the neediest.

Noteworthy were the women and mothers, who while saving their families, still found it possible to support those who needed their help even more.

Families without children and families with cows had a greater ability for survival. The families with cows often shared the milk not only with other members of their families, but also with their neighbors swollen from hunger. Then there were the childless families who took in orphans or children from large families who had nothing to eat.

These people, in the midst of chaos, of the never-ending threat of death and fear, did not lose their human dignity. They were not afraid of the consequences, but extended their hand to the doomed. Included in this group were varied segments of the population: teachers, doctors, priests, even some government agents and members of the “towing brigades.”

Special mention needs to be made of local leaders: heads of collective farms and village councils, brigade leaders, directors of enterprises and schools. Being caught between the anvil of hunger and the hammer of repression, many of them did their best to rescue fellow villagers. Often the consequences of these actions were fatal to the helpers themselves.

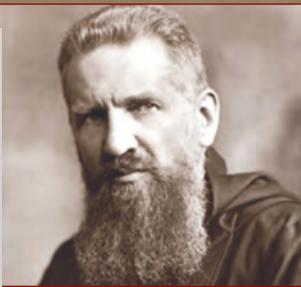
Ukrainians from outside the Ukrainian SSR, especially from Western Ukraine, at that time part of Poland, tried to help the hungry Soviet Ukrainians. On July 25, 1933, Metropolitan Andrey Shchepetytsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, issued the appeal, “Ukraine Is in Its Death Throes.” On the same day, 35 Ukrainian public institutions organized in Lviv the Ukrainian Public Committee for the Rescue of Ukraine, which was to coordinate aid. Galicians and Volynians gathered money and products which they tried to send to Ukraine.

The Soviet authorities, however, denied the existence of the famine and refused to receive foreign aid.

On July 25, 1933 the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Andrey Sheptytskyi (1865-1944), issued the appeal, «Ukraine Is in Its Death Throes.»

The appeal stated: «Unable to bring any material help to our suffering brethren, we call on our believers, that by prayers, fasting, nationwide grieving, sacrifices, and all possible good deeds of Christian life, they may beg for help from heaven, when there is no hope for human help on earth.

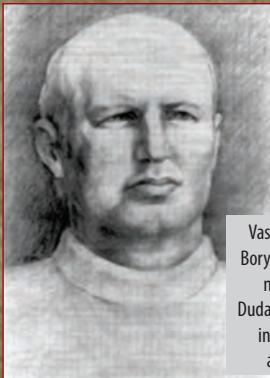
And before the whole world, we protest again against the persecution of the small, the poor, the weak and the innocent; as for the persecutors, we condemn them to the judgment of the Almighty. «



Monument to Ivan Osadchuk, erected by grateful fellow villagers from New Chortoriya, Lyubar district of Zhytomyr region. Osadchuk, as chairman of the local collective farm in 1933, saved the inhabitants of his village from starvation by concealing grain from the detachments that were sent to seize it and organizing food distribution among his fellow villagers.

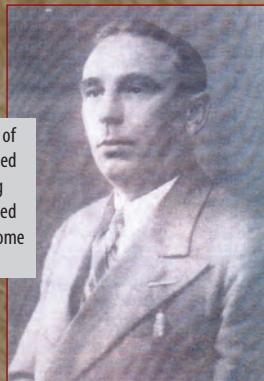


Kindergarteners and their teachers at the H. I. Petrovsky collective farm, Horodyshe village, Kyiv region, 1932.



Vasyl Ivchuk, school principal in Dudarkiv, Boryspil district in Kyiv region. He organized meals at the school and no student in Dudarkiv died of hunger. Ivchuk was arrested in 1938. In 2008 he was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of Ukraine.

Ivan Cartava, a doctor from the village of Bereznehuvate, Mykolaiv region, rescued the sick from starvation by arranging inpatient treatment for them. He helped the sick to remain at a hospital where some food was provided.



The Ukrainians then tried another tack to mobilize public opinion and get help. It was decided to raise the famine issue before the League of Nations and to engage the support of the International Red Cross, and thus put political pressure on the Soviet Union. Milena Rudnytska, head of the Union of Ukrainian Women in Lviv, became an unofficial ambassador to this mission. She succeeded in obtaining the support of the President of the Council of the League of Nations, Norway's Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Johan Ludwig Mowinckel. He took the Ukrainian question to the Council of the League of Nations, personally petitioning the Red Cross. But the Soviet Union blocked all aid to the Ukrainians starving to death.

Serhiy Knysh. Photo from WWI. In the autumn of 1932 he managed to conceal grain and because of this his family survived and helped others to survive. His daughter, Olena, especially remembered a man with pants slit because his red and blue swollen legs could not fit in them otherwise. There was a thirteen year old girl with him. The Knysh family fed both of them and took in the girl, whose name was Sasha.



The cover of the book «Humanity in an Inhumane Time.» published in Ukraine in 2013, includes information on more than a hundred benefactors who often risked their own lives and freedom in performing righteous acts during the Holodomor.

HOLODOMOR AFTERMATH

The Holodomor took away millions of human lives. The horrible circumstances of this crime and the relentless propaganda and duplicity in hiding its effects have made it almost impossible to come up with an exact toll of how many innocent people were liquidated in 1932-33, nor a list of their names.

The effect of the Holodomor crime, besides the direct murder of millions of people, was the destruction of the traditional Ukrainian way of life. Hunger became the weapon for the massive biological liquidation of Ukrainians, damaging the genetic makeup of the population for decades and ushering in moral-psychological changes to the very consciousness of Ukrainians. As the noted Holodomor researcher Dr. James Mace concluded, post-Holodomor Ukrainian society became then and remains today a traumatized post genocidal society.

The Holodomor destroyed countless families through death, deportations and migrations in search of food. Families and married couples were regularly forcibly split apart by the governing state apparatus as punishment for not having met grain confiscation quotas.

The Holodomor completely destroyed the pre-famine concept of Ukrainian life which subsequently was never restored. Traditional culture and national customs became deformed. The Holodomor completely changed the natural order of farming and village life and relationships. The government confiscated lands defended by farm families for centuries. Within these few decades the Ukrainian farmer was relegated to a passportless, pensionless collective farm worker bereft of any remaining rights.

Chart of deaths in Ukraine 1927-1938.

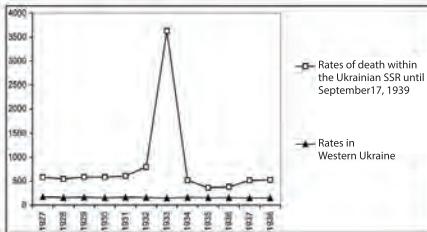


Chart of deaths in Ukraine 1927-1938.

**IN JUNE OF 1933
UKRAINIANS WERE DYING
OF STARVATION AT A RATE OF:**

HOURLY PERIOD – 34560

PER HOUR – 1440

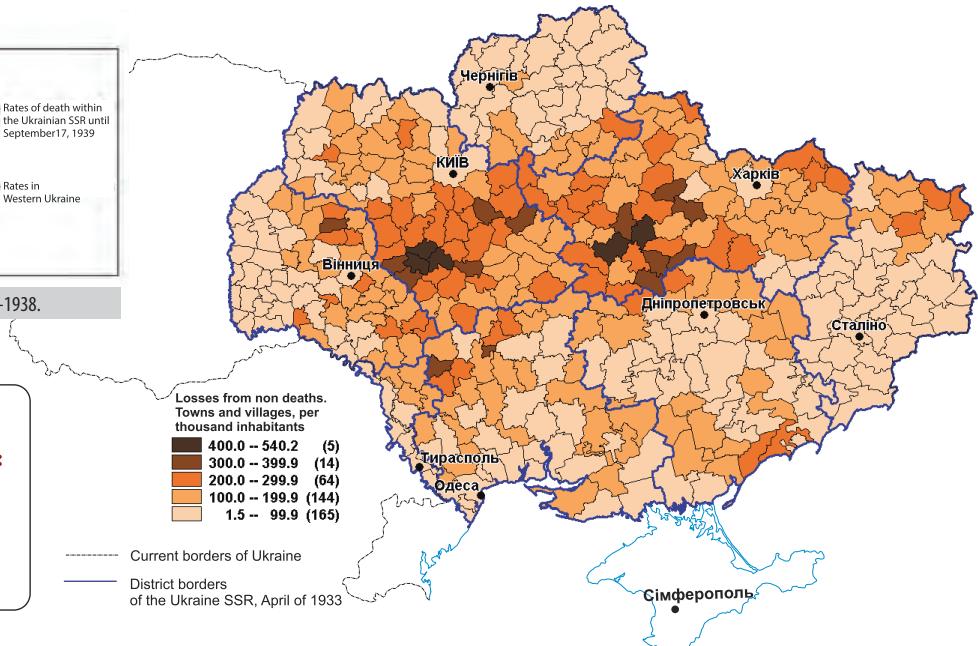
PER MINUTE – 24

Losses from non deaths.
Towns and villages, per
thousand inhabitants

400.0 – 540.2	(5)
300.0 – 399.9	(14)
200.0 – 299.9	(64)
100.0 – 199.9	(144)
1.5 – 99.9	(165)

----- Current borders of Ukraine

----- District borders
of the Ukraine SSR, April of 1933



Mortality rate surges in Ukraine 1933 (based on research conducted by The Mykhaylo Ptukh Institute of Demographics and Social Research of the National Academy of Sciences). The map is based on collective research conducted by : O. Wolowyna (University of North Carolina), O. Rudnytsky, N. Lewchuk, P. Shewchuk, A. Sawchuk (The Mykhaylo Ptukh Institute), within Harvard University's Ukrainian Studies "Holodomor Atlas" project. The natural mortality rate in Ukrainian SSR at the end of the 1920's (prior to Holodomor) was 18-20 deaths per 1,000 persons.

The resistance in the Ukrainian village was eventually broken. The hungry began to receive food from the hand of the government, but in return were forced to submit to its will and to pledge loyalty and obedience to the system. The constant fear of a return of the Holodomor never left the consciousness of those who lived through it. Political apathy and indifference to societal matters became the norm. The foremost drive became the need to simply have enough food to feed oneself and one's family.

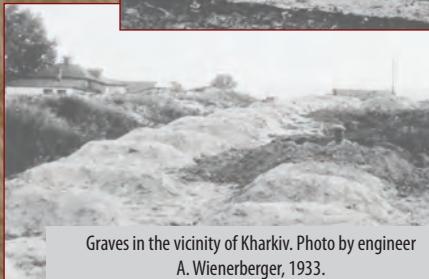
The psychological ramifications of the Holodomor were a general attitude of shame and sorrow. People felt guilty for not having saved their families and shame for the immoral deeds they committed in order to survive.

The Holodomor of 1932-33 nevertheless failed to transform Ukrainians into "Soviet people". The ashes of family members who were repressed, executed and who died of hunger remained in the beating hearts of many Ukrainians. Resistance to the communist regime continued in the next decades. It culminated in the adoption of the Independence Referendum of 1991 supported by over 90% of all Ukrainians.



Memorial placed at the site of a farmstead in Kaniv district, Cherkassy region. "Until 1933 this was the family residence of Fedor and Mariana Hladky, who died of starvation and are buried here in their own root cellar. There was no one left to give them a proper Christian burial. Hunger mowed down everyone in the surrounding houses. Lives destroyed, the earth left orphaned..."

Village completely depopulated by Holodomor. Photo by engineer A. Wienerberger, 1933.



Graves in the vicinity of Kharkiv. Photo by engineer A. Wienerberger, 1933.

Death Notice of 19 year old Andriy Ostapenko in May 1933, the cause of death being listed as "Ukrainian."

1. Прізвище померлого	Остапенко	Ім'я померлого	Андрій	Вік померлого	1933
2. Де померлий був (місце поховання та дата або місце, ст. 30)	с. Бодякове				
3. Померлий	р. Чорна	міс 1933	р. 4	Місяць	місяць (загрозливий)
4. Дата смерті	1933				
5. Вік	1933				
6. Дія смерті	вроджена вага 1 р. 1 р. 2 р. 3 р. 4 р. 5 р. 6 р. 7 р. 8 р. 9 р. 10 р. 11 р. 12 р. 13 р. 14 р. 15 р. 16 р. 17 р. 18 р. 19 р. 20 р. 21 р. 22 р. 23 р. 24 р. 25 р. 26 р. 27 р. 28 р. 29 р. 30 р. 31 р. 32 р. 33 р. 34 р. 35 р. 36 р. 37 р. 38 р. 39 р. 40 р. 41 р. 42 р. 43 р. 44 р. 45 р. 46 р. 47 р. 48 р. 49 р. 50 р. 51 р. 52 р. 53 р. 54 р. 55 р. 56 р. 57 р. 58 р. 59 р. 60 р. 61 р. 62 р. 63 р. 64 р. 65 р. 66 р. 67 р. 68 р. 69 р. 70 р. 71 р. 72 р. 73 р. 74 р. 75 р. 76 р. 77 р. 78 р. 79 р. 80 р. 81 р. 82 р. 83 р. 84 р. 85 р. 86 р. 87 р. 88 р. 89 р. 90 р. 91 р. 92 р. 93 р. 94 р. 95 р. 96 р. 97 р. 98 р. 99 р. 100 р.				
7. Сполучення	вроджений вага 1 р. 1 р. 2 р. 3 р. 4 р. 5 р. 6 р. 7 р. 8 р. 9 р. 10 р. 11 р. 12 р. 13 р. 14 р. 15 р. 16 р. 17 р. 18 р. 19 р. 20 р. 21 р. 22 р. 23 р. 24 р. 25 р. 26 р. 27 р. 28 р. 29 р. 30 р. 31 р. 32 р. 33 р. 34 р. 35 р. 36 р. 37 р. 38 р. 39 р. 40 р. 41 р. 42 р. 43 р. 44 р. 45 р. 46 р. 47 р. 48 р. 49 р. 50 р. 51 р. 52 р. 53 р. 54 р. 55 р. 56 р. 57 р. 58 р. 59 р. 60 р. 61 р. 62 р. 63 р. 64 р. 65 р. 66 р. 67 р. 68 р. 69 р. 70 р. 71 р. 72 р. 73 р. 74 р. 75 р. 76 р. 77 р. 78 р. 79 р. 80 р. 81 р. 82 р. 83 р. 84 р. 85 р. 86 р. 87 р. 88 р. 89 р. 90 р. 91 р. 92 р. 93 р. 94 р. 95 р. 96 р. 97 р. 98 р. 99 р. 100 р.				
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Photos of victims of the communist hunger which were printed in various European publications in 1933.



Starvation victims on the streets of Kharkiv-capital city of Ukrainian SSR. Photo by engineer A. Wienerberger, 1933.



Farmers receiving millet on workdays at the D. Byedny collective farm, Chervonoarmiisk district, Donetsk region, 1930s.

THE TRUTH CLEARS A PATH

The communist regime sought to hide the truth about its systematic murder of millions of its own citizens during peacetime. The official press never published anything about the deaths by hunger and party functionaries never spoke about them. The censored newspapers praised party leaders for improving the living conditions of the farmers.

Over the next fifty years it continued to be extremely dangerous to publically bring up the very subject of the Holodomor in Ukraine. Should any information surface, it was always framed in the context of "agricultural difficulties", "underestimated deaths", "anomalies in village farming practices."

The crime of the Holodomor became the biggest secret of the soviet regime. However, western journalists Malcolm Muggeridge and Gareth Jones visited the starving villages in 1933 and succeeded in publishing their true reports about the horrible realities they saw.

Ukrainians in Europe and in North America tried to alert the world's international communities to the catastrophe which the communist regime had created. The first memoirs and research papers began to be published in North America and in Europe only after the conclusion of World War II. In 1953 the Polish American lawyer Raphael Lemkin, who first coined the term "genocide", referred to the Holodomor as a "classic example of genocide".

Vasyl Barka's "Yellow Prince" was published in New York in 1963 and Vasily Grossman's "Everything flows", banned in the Soviet Union, was published in Germany in 1970. Today these two titles are the foremost novels on the Holodomor of 1932-33.

In 1983 the 50th anniversary of the Holodomor was commemorated throughout Canada and the U.S. with significant public events. At that time the first monument to the victims of the Holodomor 1932-33 was erected in Edmonton, Canada.

In 1984 the U.S. Congress formed a special Commission of two senators and four representatives to study the Holodo-

First demonstration commemorating and honoring the victims of the Holodomor on the 15th anniversary, organized by the Ukrainian Youth Association, March 14, 1948, Munich, Germany.

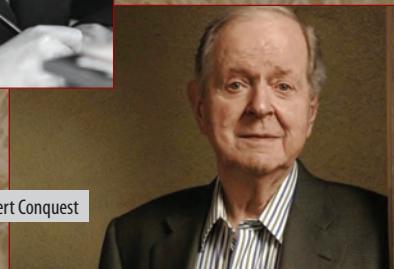


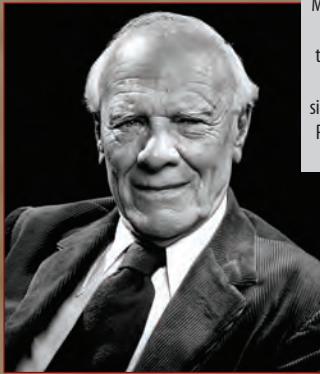
Painting by Victor Tsymbal "Year 1933". One of the most expressive paintings dedicated to the genocide of the Ukrainian nation. Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, New York (USA).



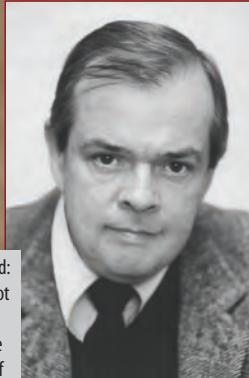
Raphael Lemkin: "And yet, if the Soviet programme succeeds completely, if the intelligentsia, the priests and the peasants can be eliminated, Ukraine will be as dead as if every Ukrainian were killed, for it will have lost that part of it which has kept and developed its culture, its beliefs, its common ideas, which have guided it and given it a soul, which, in short, made it a nation rather than a mass of people."

Robert Conquest





Malcolm Muggeridge: "‘Hunger’ was the word I heard most. Peasants begged a lift on the train from one station to another, sometimes their bodies swollen up—a disagreeable sight—from lack of food." (The Soviet and the Peasantry: An Observer’s Notes. II. Hunger in the Ukraine. Wretched Cultivators).



James Mace. In 1993 he moved to Ukraine and explained: "It is my fate that your dead have chosen me. One cannot undertake the study of the history of the Holocaust without becoming partially Jewish, so it is not possible to study the Holodomor without becoming at least half Ukrainian." Dr. Mace died May 3, 2004.



Monument "Life's Circle Torn Apart" in Edmonton. The caption reads: "In memory of the millions who perished in the genocidal famine inflicted upon Ukraine by the Soviet regime in Moscow 1932-33."

mor. Dr. James Mace was appointed the executive director of that Commission. The Commission’s investigations included many interviews of eyewitnesses who had survived the tragedy. It officially concluded that "Joseph Stalin and his government carried out an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people in 1932-33." In 1988 the U.S. Congress accepted and concurred with the findings and conclusions of the Commission.

In 1986 the book "Harvest of Despair", written and published by American historian Dr. Robert Conquest, makes further inroads among western academicians, calling their attention to the Holodomor.

At the initiative of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, an international commission of legal scholars was created in 1988 to further research and identify the causes, perpetrators and effects of the 1932-33 Holodomor. This commission was composed of highly qualified specialists in international and criminal law from Sweden, Great Britain, Argentina, Belgium, France, USA and Canada. The commission officially recognized the Holodomor of 1932-33 as a deliberate act of genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

Under pressure from these worldwide revelations, the Soviet Union in its final years of existence was compelled to acknowledge and accept the facts about the Famine of 1932-33.

Oles Honchar, a renowned Ukrainian writer, was born in the village of Lomivka (today within the city of Dnipro). As a child he was saved from starvation by his grandmother. He wrote his first novel "Stokozov Field" (1936) about the Holodomor. It was not published until it had been completely revised beyond recognition by the official censors. Prohibited from printing anything in the USSR about the Famine, the author continued to pour out his famine experiences of 1932-33 into his personal diary.



From the diary of Oles Honchar:
 "One of my works which contained a mention of the Famine of 1933 was relayed to the censors by the printing office. It lies there a long time. Finally someone took an interest and inquired: why no action? The clever censor explained: 'My own brother and sister died of starvation. But, as to Famine... there was no such thing!' How come? Because the word 'famine' was not used in any official documents concerning that period... Therefore, as far as we are concerned, this fact has not been established..."

REAWAKENING MEMORY OF THE HOLODOMOR IN UKRAINE AND ITS RECOGNITION INTERNATIONALLY

The weakening of communist control over society during the latter half of the 1980s leads to the re-awakening of the memory of the Holodomor. The first crosses immortalizing the victims of the Starvation are erected in 1988-1989 in Ukrainian villages and towns. Researchers start recording the accounts of the eyewitnesses.

In 1993 the Ukrainian government publicly honors the innocent victims of the Holodomor. A law, "Regarding the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine" is passed in 2006 calling the Holodomor a genocide. After criminal investigations by the Security Service of Ukraine, the Kyiv Appellate Court upholds the law.

Archival bibliographies dealing with the Holodomor of 1932-1933 list more than 20,000 entries. There are more than 200,000 eyewitness accounts. All of these accounts establish the Ukrainian Holodomor as an irrefutable fact, as a genocide of epic proportions.

In November of 2008 a National Memorial to the victims of the Holodomor was erected in Kyiv. In all of Ukraine more than 7100 monuments, memorials, and memorial signs were dedicated to the victims of the Holodomor.

The memory of the Holodomor became an integral part of the national memory of the Ukrainian people. Every year on the 4th Saturday of November Ukrainians light candles in their windows as a symbol of remembrance of those killed by starvation. On this day many memorial events take place and a moment of silence is proclaimed.



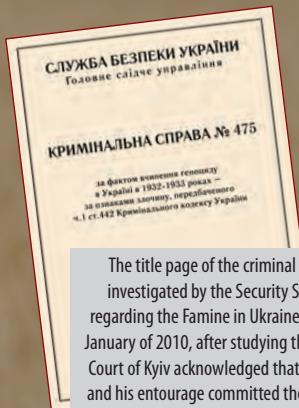
Memorial symbol to the victims of the Holodomor erected in 1993 on St. Michael's Square in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. It has become the most recognized symbol to the memory of the crime of genocide perpetrated by the communist regime against the Ukrainian nation.

The US Congressional Commission which during 1985-1988 researched the famine in Ukraine, concluded that "Joseph Stalin and his entourage committed an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people in 1932-1933." The conclusions of the Commission opened the way to international recognition of the Holodomor as a crime of genocide. In the following years the Holodomor as a genocide was condemned by the governments of Estonia, Australia, Canada, Hungary, Lithuania, Georgia, Poland, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, Latvia, and Portugal. Also many other countries of the world decided to condemn the crime of genocide at regional and municipal levels.

In over 40 cities of 15 countries monuments or other memorial signs have been erected to commemorate the victims of the Holodomor.

However, attempts continue to be made by those who feel that they are the inheritors of Stalin's regime to deny the genocidal and anti-Ukrainian character of the starvation in 1932-1933. Thus Ukraine is forced at the international level to exert considerable effort towards increasing information and recognition of the Holodomor as a crime of genocide.

It is this kind of recognition by the world that will be the best guarantee against similar crimes happening again in the history of humanity.



The title page of the criminal proceedings opened and investigated by the Security Service of Ukraine in 2009 regarding the Famine in Ukraine as evidence of genocide. In January of 2010, after studying the documents, the Appellate Court of Kyiv acknowledged that in 1932-1933 Joseph Stalin and his entourage committed the act of genocide in Ukraine.

Demonstration "Light a Candle" on St. Michael's Square in the city of Kyiv in 2006.



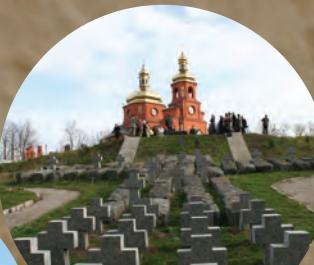
Memorial to the victims of the Holodomor in the city of Kyiv built in 2008.



National Book of Memory, listing victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, published in 2008. The 18 volumes of the Book consist of over 22,000 pages.



Vyshhorod



Khoruzhivka



Zaporizhia



Dobroslav



Romny



Sumy



Kharkiv



Opening of the Memorial to the Victims of the Holodomor in Washington, D.C., in November 2015.



Volochysk

Monuments to the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine.

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