

FAMINE  
IN THE  
SOVIET  
UKRAINE  
1932-1933



FAMINE  
IN THE  
SOVIET  
UKRAINE  
1932-1933

A Memorial Exhibition

Widener Library  
Harvard University

*Prepared by:*  
Oksana Procyk  
Leonid Heretz  
James E. Mace

Harvard College Library  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Distributed by*  
Harvard University Press  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
1986

©Copyright 1986 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College  
All rights reserved  
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 86-80779  
ISBN 0-674-29426-2

Design, Composition and Printing by  
the Office of the University Publisher,  
Harvard University

## **Contents**

Foreword **vii**

Acknowledgments **ix**

Introduction **xi**

Part 1: The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1921 **1**

Part 2: The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Policy of Ukrainization **5**

Part 3: The Ukrainian Cultural Renaissance of the 1920s **10**

Part 4: Stalin's Seizure of Power: Purges, Collectivization and Industrialization **21**

Part 5: Scenes of the Ukrainian Famine 1932-1933 **31**

Part 6: The Famine in the Contemporary Western Press **38**

Part 7: The Famine in Memoirs and Published Eyewitness Accounts **48**

Part 8: The Famine in Literature **55**

Part 9: Scholarship on the Famine and on its Historical Context **61**

Part 10: Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Famine **69**

Sources for Illustrations **77**

Bibliography **78**



## Foreword

*Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933* documents the commemorative exhibition prepared by the Harvard College Library in cooperation with the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Studies Fund of Harvard University. In pictures and printed words, with eyewitness accounts and scholarly studies, the exhibition sought to recall the tragedy of the Famine which took place fifty years ago in the Soviet Ukraine in both human and historical context. The rich and varied resources of many parts of the Harvard library system contributed to this collaborative project: Fine Arts, Houghton, Music, Russian Research Center, and Widener. Special loans and private donations further strengthened its visual and textual documentation. Many helped in the mounting of the exhibit and the preparation of the catalogue, but to Oksana Procyk, Ukrainian Specialist in the Harvard College Library, belongs the major credit for the completion and the success of the project.

The Library is grateful to the Ukrainian Studies Fund and its many friends who supported the publication of this catalogue. The study of the Famine in the Ukraine is a topic that stirs emotion. It also deserves scholarly attention. In a small way, we hope this exhibit and now its printed catalogue will further stimulate and facilitate research towards a better knowledge and understanding of this tragic event in our recent history.

Yen-Tsai Feng  
Roy E. Larsen Librarian of Harvard College





## Acknowledgments

The preparation of this exhibition and catalogue was realized with the kind assistance and involvement of many individuals. To them we would like to express our gratitude and indebtedness.

First of all, we would like to thank Yen-Tsai Feng, Roy E. Larsen Librarian of Harvard College; Dr. Hugh M. Olmsted, Head of the Slavic Department, Harvard College Library; Professor Omeljan Pritsak, Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History, and Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; Professor Ihor Ševčenko, Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History and Literature, and Acting Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute; the Reverend Deacon Bohdan Tarnawsky, Managing Director of the Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund; and Sheila K. Hart, Associate Librarian of Harvard College for Public Services, for their authorization and continued support of this project. We also thank Roger E. Stoddard, Curator of Rare Books in the Harvard College Library, for permission to exhibit and reproduce Ukrainian materials from Houghton Library.

We were fortunate to benefit from the expertise of Kenneth E. Carpenter, Assistant Director for Research Resources, Harvard University Library; and Eleanor M. Garvey, Philip Hofer Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, in the initial design and planning of this project.

Several individuals significantly influenced the scope and content of this catalogue. Professor Bohdan R. Bociurkiw of Carleton University read early drafts of the text and offered invaluable constructive criticism. Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko, Director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, provided stimulating ideas on the historical background of the Famine in his talks at Harvard. We also benefitted from the helpful suggestions of professors Wsewolod Isajiw, University of Toronto; and Ivan Myhul, Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles, France.

The exhibition and catalogue would not be complete without the materials generously donated by the following persons: Oksana Rozumna of the Winnipeg Famine Committee; Roman Petryshyn and Lubomyr Szuch of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; Victor Malarek of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*; Mark Bandera, Museum Curator, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg; and Mrs. K. Hodivsky of Hollywood, Florida.

Some of the materials exhibited at Harvard and

described in this catalogue were on display at the Cannon House Office Building in Washington, D.C. from 28 September to 2 October 1983. At that time, we were capably and energetically assisted in organizing and setting up the exhibition by: Stephan Procyk, head of the Washington branch of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine; Roxolana Luchakowsky-Armstrong and Reed Armstrong; Olya and Ihor Masnyk; and Bohdan Yasinsky of the Library of Congress.

Many persons in the Harvard College Library were instrumental in the preparation of the Widener Library exhibition: Marion Schoon, Head of the Reference Division; Beverly Feldman, formerly Reference Librarian and Head of the Widener Exhibits Committee; F. Thomas Noonan, Research Services Librarian in the Houghton Library, and the staff of the Houghton Reading Room; David Paul, Documents Librarian; Veronica Cunningham, formerly in charge of the Microforms Section; Janet Crane Vitkevich, Acquisitions Specialist, Slavic Department; and Andras Riedelmayer, Bibliographer in Islamic Art and Architecture, Fine Arts Library, and Research Fellow, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. In the Photographic Services Division of the Harvard College Library we were assisted by: Lynn M. Fernandes, Office Manager; James Willwerth, Laboratory Supervisor and Photographer; and Carmella Napoleone.

A number of friends and colleagues at Harvard were extremely helpful during the compilation of the exhibition catalogue. First and foremost, we would like to thank Scott D. Ward, formerly Rare Book Cataloger in the Houghton Library, who painstakingly examined the manuscript and furnished both much-appreciated editorial criticism and valuable advice. Professor Frank E. Sysyn, Department of History, and Ukrainian Research Institute; Dr. Lubomyr A. Hajda, Russian Research Center; and Victor Rud and Roman Procyk of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, all read drafts of the text and offered numerous perceptive recommendations. Additional help was provided by Luba M. Dyky of the Slavic Department, Harvard College Library; and Sue Ellen Webber, Harvard College ('86). Lidia O. Stecyk of the Ukrainian Studies Fund was a thoughtful source of moral support and guidance throughout this project. We are especially grateful to Andrei Harasymiak, Harvard College ('86), for the dedication and perseverance with which he assisted us in the organization, typing and preparation of this exhibition catalogue.

Finally, we would like to thank the following persons in the Office of the University Publisher,

Harvard University: Joni Rosenblatt, who managed the production; and Mary Lester and Eleanor Bradshaw, who designed the catalogue.

The publication of this exhibition catalogue was made possible by a grant from the Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund and by the generous support of the following individuals and institutions:

Dr. Roman Baltarowych  
Dr. Jaroslaw Barwinsky  
Myroslaw Bekisz  
Drs. George & Stephania Bereznicki  
Drs. Oleksa & Larysa Bilaniuk  
Bohdan Chopko  
Franka Dachniwska  
Dr. Mykola & Nadia Deychakiwsky  
Bohdan Diakiw  
Mykola Diakun  
Dr. John Didiuk  
Peter Dobronozenko  
Ernest M. & Valentine Dziubynsky  
Mychajlo Frankiowskyj  
Dr. Alexander Furda  
Omelan Goj  
Zenon & Gloria Goyiw  
John Gulycz  
Osyp Hladun  
Jaroslaw Hura  
Mychajlo Iwanciw  
Wadym Jarowenko  
Modest Kliwak  
Onufrey Kocelko  
John Kolin  
Michael Korchynsky  
Jarema S. Kurdydyk Trust  
Wasyl & Lydia Kyj  
Wasyl Lahoshniak  
Denis Lazuta  
Adam Lisikewycz

Yurij Lyckowskyj  
Walter Maruszczak  
Dr. Jaroslaw & Nadia Mihaychuk  
Dr. Jaroslav & Anastazia Mychajlowycz  
Victoria Novotny  
Olha Pal  
Vladimir & Luba Palashewsky  
Wasyl Parubchenko  
Bohdan Petrina  
Josef & Stefania Porajko  
Oksana Rak  
Nicholas & Irene Rakush  
Anatol Romach  
Mykola Romach  
Myron & Iryna Russnak  
St. Ann's Sisterhood, St. Vladimir's  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Parma, Ohio  
St. Olga's Sisterhood, St. Vladimir's  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Parma, Ohio  
Dr. Valentina & Stepan Sawchuk  
Michael & Nina Senkiw  
Iwan Skira  
F. Slobodianiuk  
Anna Smolynsky  
Dr. Roman Smyk  
Dr. Eugene & Nila Stecki  
Alexander Stowba  
Orest Szczudluk  
Jaroslav J. & Lubov I. Tatomyr  
Mykola Trypniak  
Sydir & Maria Tymiak  
Ukrainian Engineers Society of America,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Rev. Bohdan Volosin  
Eugenia Werbytzka  
Oleksij & Halyna Woskobijnyk  
Paraskewia Pikas-Wytwycka  
Joseph Zuk

## Introduction

In 1983, the Harvard College Library, the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Studies Fund of Harvard University sponsored a major library exhibition to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933. This publication is the catalogue of that exhibition, held in the main lobby of Widener Library from 10 December 1983 to 4 February 1984. The primary objective of the exhibition and this publication is to commemorate the great Ukrainian tragedy of 1932-1933 and thereby help bring this long-neglected historical problem to the attention of the scholarly community and the general public.

The catalogue is also intended to serve several more specific purposes. First of all, it is a survey of the present state of scholarship and current knowledge about the Famine. The reader will find a concise presentation of basic information on the Famine and its historical context. We have provided excerpts from a wide variety of sources, a brief summary of the various scholarly views on the Famine and an extensive bibliography. The accomplishments and difficulties of previous scholarship should thus become evident, as should the need for more research. We also hope, therefore, that our publication will stimulate further work on this subject.

The second objective of this catalogue is to convey the intangible aspects of the Famine to the reader. Although scholars continue to debate the causes of the Famine, the number of its victims and its geographic extent, there can be no doubt of the magnitude of the tragedy in its spiritual and human dimensions. Through the use of photographs, memoirs, the testimony of survivors and the literary works of eyewitnesses we have attempted to evoke an image, however inadequate, of the nightmare world of the starving Ukraine of 1932-1933.

In preparing this exhibition and catalogue we have chosen carefully from the sources available to us. We have organized the material chronologically and thematically, providing a basic narrative along with explanatory notes. All of the materials displayed in the exhibition are from Harvard library collections. Many of these books were donated to Harvard by private individuals, and many were purchased with the income from book funds established through

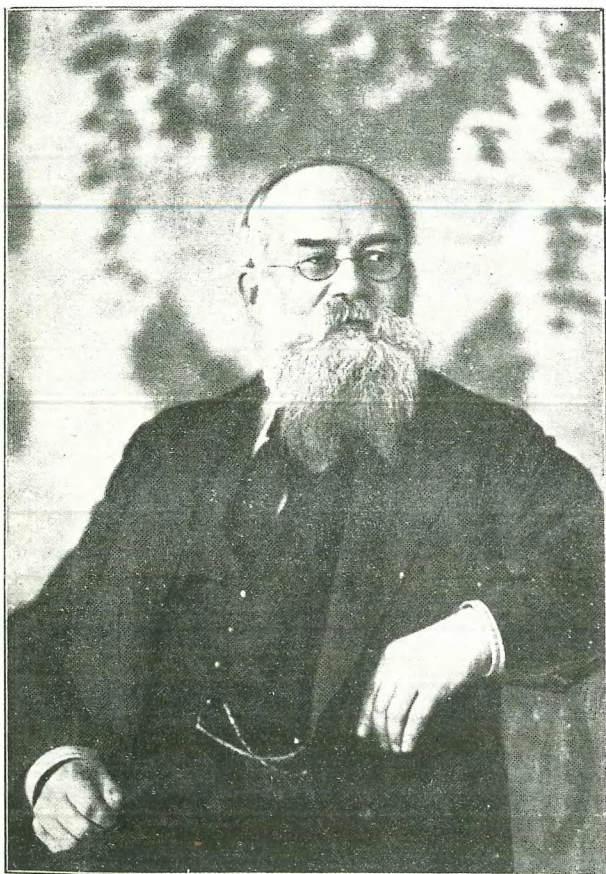
charitable donations. The donors, book funds and specific Harvard collections are gratefully acknowledged following each citation in the catalogue. In turn, complete bibliographic information for every work cited in this publication or used in its preparation can be found in the bibliography. The sources for photographs not identified in the text are listed in an appendix. Finally, an asterisk (\*) before a citation indicates important new studies of the Famine which, although published after the original exhibition, are nonetheless included in the catalogue.



## Part 1: The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1921

Following the collapse of the Russian monarchy in early 1917, the Ukrainian people, after more than two centuries of Russian imperial domination, were able to give full expression to national feeling and move toward significant political autonomy. The Ukrainian national movement was fundamentally populist. It directed its attention to the peasantry and based its appeal on the desire for social reform and the strong memory of the Cossack past of the Ukraine. In March 1917 the movement, with the mandate of soldiers' and peasants' councils throughout the Ukraine, created a Ukrainian Central *Rada* (Council), which was to evolve into an independent Ukrainian People's Republic.

The *Rada* was led by the historian Mykhailo



1. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866-1934), Ukrainian historian, head of the Central *Rada*, president of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and — after returning from exile — head of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1934 Hrushevs'kyi died under mysterious circumstances, and his work has been expunged from Soviet scholarship. It is in his honor that Harvard's chair in Ukrainian history is named.

Hrushevs'kyi, and its more prominent members included the novelist Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the literary critic Serhii Iefremov and the publicist Symon Petliura. Initially, the *Rada* devoted itself to social and cultural work, but with the disintegration of the central authority of the Provisional Government in Petrograd and the subsequent Bolshevik revolution in November 1917, it was forced to turn to administrative and military affairs. In January 1918, the *Rada*, by then at war with the Bolsheviks, declared full Ukrainian independence. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of February 1918, the *Rada* was recognized as the legitimate government of the Ukraine, but was obligated to allow the occupation of its territory by troops of the Central Powers and to provide Germany and Austria-Hungary with vast quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs. In April 1918, the Germans replaced the uncooperative and socially radical *Rada* with the government of Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, a Ukrainian aristocrat who established a monarchy with Cossack trappings. After the collapse of the Central Powers in November 1918, Skoropads'kyi was overthrown by a large-scale peasant rebellion led by the Directory, a new government which consisted of the more militant members of the old *Rada*, most notably Petliura and Vynnychenko. The Directory stubbornly waged war against both the Bolsheviks and the Russian monarchist Whites for three years and tried to base itself on the numerous peasant irregular armies active throughout the Ukraine. The Bolsheviks eventually defeated the Directory and the armed rebels, but the memory of the struggle would be very important in the development of nationality and agricultural policies in the Soviet Ukraine.



2. The Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central *Rada*. Seated from left to right are: Ivan Steshenko, Khrystofor Baranovs'kyi, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Serhii Iefremov and Symon Petliura. Standing from the left are: Pavlo Khrystiuk, Mykola Stasiuk and Borys Martos.

3. The seal of the Ukrainian People's Republic, founded in Kiev in 1918.



4. Map of the Ukraine, from:

Vasyl Markus.  
*L'Ukraine soviétique dans les relations internationales.*  
 (Paris, 1959).

Widener Library  
 (Archibald Cary Coolidge fund)

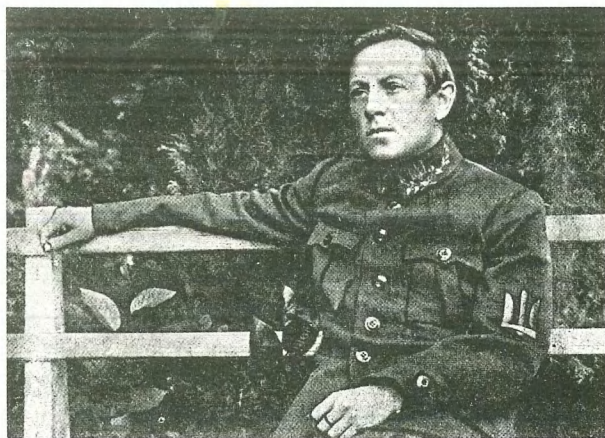


5. Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi (1873–1945) in Cossack garb, at a reception in 1918 for the German and Austrian Command in the Ukraine and the officers of a division formed from Ukrainian soldiers captured by the Central Powers.



6. A unit of Ukrainian troops in Kiev, 1918.

7. Symon Petliura (1879-1926), head of the Directory and chief of the Ukrainian armed forces. Petliura was the leader of the pro-Entente wing of the Ukrainian movement. He had close ties with the French and in 1920 became an ally of Poland's Marshal Józef Piłsudski.



8. The staff of the anarchist chieftain Nestor Makhno (1884-1934). Makhno (seated center) was the most successful of the many guerrilla leaders active during the Civil War, and he controlled a large part of the southern Ukraine. Betrayed and defeated by the Bolsheviks, Makhno emigrated to France. Many of his closest followers in exile joined the French Foreign Legion. In Soviet propaganda, Makhno is the second great Ukrainian Civil War villain, after Petliura.

9. *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution.*  
Taras Hunczak, editor.  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

Widener Library  
(Deposited copy)

10. John S. Reshetar, Jr.  
*The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism.*  
(Princeton, N.J., 1952).

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)



## Part 2: The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Policy of Ukrainization

The Bolsheviks, as the party of proletarian internationalism, found it very difficult to develop a positive policy on the problems of nationality and agriculture. Though Lenin had for tactical reasons espoused the most extreme demands of the peasantry and nationalities, his party failed to attract significant support in the countryside and among most national minorities. For example, in the Ukraine during the elections to the Constituent Assembly in 1917 — the only free elections to be held in Russian history — the Bolsheviks received only a fraction of the vote, while the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries, a peasant party, received seventy percent.

War Communism, the name given to the militant Bolshevik policies of the first years of the Revolution, negated peasant and national concerns. Forced collectivization and the expropriation of grain led to ferocious peasant resistance throughout the territories of the former Russian Empire and helped to cause the famine of 1921-1922. To save the country from economic ruin and prevent the overthrow of Soviet power by the rebellious peasantry, the Bolsheviks in 1921 adopted a New Economic Policy (NEP). This policy allowed for free individual agriculture and small private enterprise, brought the Soviet Union by the late twenties to relative economic prosperity, and provided the Bolsheviks with the domestic stability they needed to consolidate their power.

In the Ukraine, the Bolsheviks accompanied NEP with a policy of Ukrainization. They had exceptional difficulty in installing a stable Communist regime in the Ukraine. Each of their three attempts was marked by successively greater concessions to national sentiment. The third such regime, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, had its capital in Kharkiv, and until the formation of the Soviet Union in late 1922, was considered to be an independent state. The Bolsheviks eventually went so far as to accept large numbers of non-Bolshevik Ukrainians into the Ukrainian Party and government. Ukrainization also involved the introduction of the Ukrainian language into all levels of governmental, Party, and educational and cultural activity. This policy was carried out with great vigor by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and an entire generation of intellectuals. Throughout the Soviet Union and particularly in the

Ukraine, the twenties were a period of intense cultural and economic development and of continuous debate on policy. Ideological disputes focused primarily on the limits of Ukrainization and on political and cultural movement away from Moscow.



11. Oleksander Shums'kyi (1890-1937), Ukrainian People's Commissar of Education until 1927, and major advocate of the policy of Ukrainization. Shums'kyi was arrested in 1933 and last seen in the Solovki Islands (a locality under GULag administration) later that same year.

12. Oleksander Shums'kyi.  
"Promova na chervnevomu plenumi TsK KP(b)U"  
[Speech at the June Plenum of the CC CP(b)U].  
In: *Budivnytstvo Radians'koï Ukraïny*  
[Socialist Constuction in the Soviet Ukraine].  
(Kharkiv, [1929]), vol. 1, pp. 25-31.

Text of a speech on the policy of Ukrainization given by Shums'kyi at the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine in 1926.

Widener Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

13. Mykola Skrypnyk (1872-1933), Ukrainian People's Commissar of Education following Shums'kyi and *de facto* head of the Party and government in the Ukraine. One of the few Ukrainian Old Bolsheviks, Skrypnyk was the most active and aggressive advocate of Ukrainization, and in the Moscow Politburo he became the spokesman for the nationalities of the Soviet Union. He was driven from power by Stalin and in 1933 committed suicide.

14. Mykola Skrypnyk.

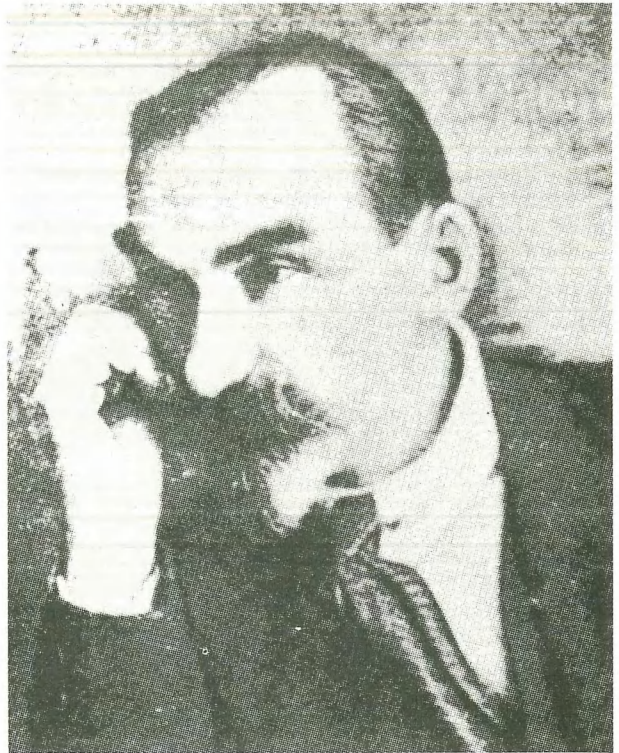
*Zavdannia kul'turnoho budivnytstva na Ukraïni: dopovid' na X z'izdi KP(b)U*

[The Tasks of Cultural Construction in the Ukraine: Speech at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine].

(Kharkiv, 1928).

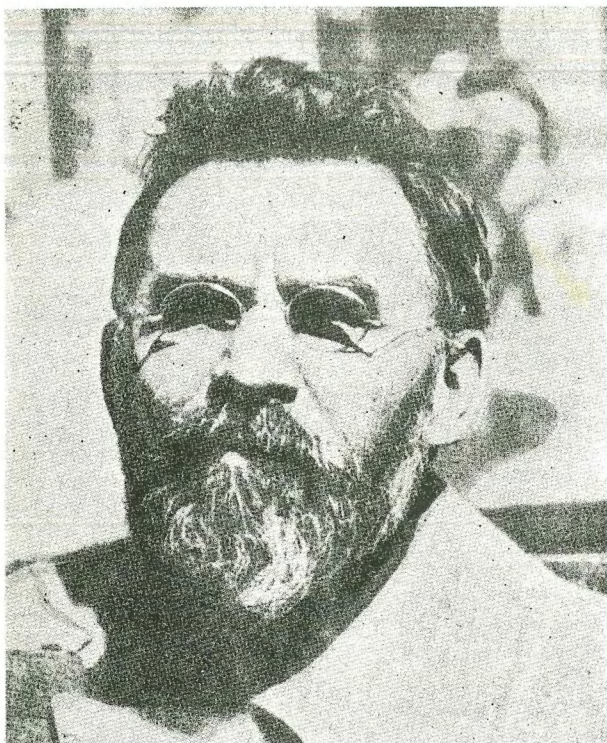
Houghton Library

(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)



Charkiv. The Palace of State Industry, wherein the Council of People's Commissars, the People's Commissariats and Central Economical Organisations are accommodated (built in 1925/1928).

15. The "Palace of State Industry" was designed by a group of architects headed by Sergei Serafimov (1878-1949).



16. Hryhorii Petrovs'kyi (1878-1958). As the head of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, Petrovs'kyi was president of the Soviet Ukraine from 1919 to 1938. In his honor, the great industrial city of Katerynoslav was in 1926 renamed Dnipropetrovs'k. Petrovs'kyi was one of the very few prominent victims of the Great Purge of 1936-1938 to survive Stalin.



17. Vlas Chubar (1891-1939), head of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars and director of the Ukrainian Economic Council in the 1920s and 1930s. Chubar was purged in 1938.

Education conducted in the Ukrainian language was the first goal of Ukrainization and the basis for planned future cultural progress. Because of the social and language policies of the Tsarist government, the Ukraine had suffered from an exceptionally high rate of illiteracy. Now this problem was to be dealt with vigorously.



18. A poster from 1925 by Inokentii Proskuriakov (1901-1960) reads:  
"It is never too late for anyone to remove the stigma of illiteracy."

## ДО ВСЕУКРАЇНСЬКОГО ВЧИТЕЛЬСЬКОГО З'ІЗДУ.



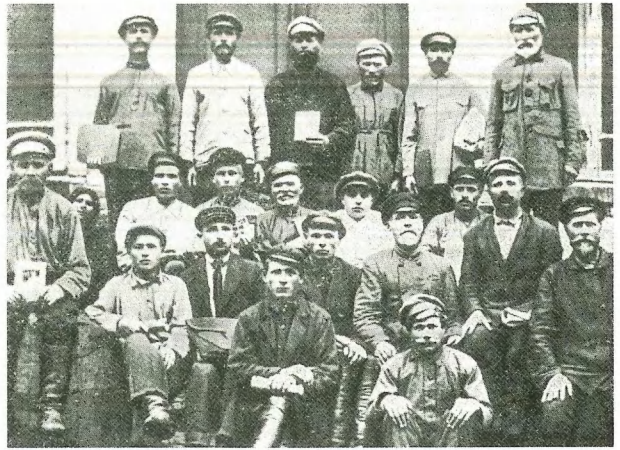
Видача літератури делегатам.

Народний Комітет Освіти доручив Державному Видавництву України та Видавництву "Червоної Шовки" видати кожному делегатові Всеукраїнського Вчительського З'їзду книжечку, складену з найкращих статей для шкільного вчителя. Кожен делегат одержав таку книжечку, що складалася з понад ста аркш. Окрім того, кожен делегат одержав особистий дарунок від Голови ВУЦВК у тов. Петроградско-квітчанській "Курі політграмоти" Бердичова і Свєтлово.



Делегати відпочивають.

Учителі-делегати з усіх губерній дістань відпочинку в готелі "Спартак", бальному концертному "Гранд-Отель". В перервах між заняттями делегати відпочивали в великій присідельній кімнаті, де проводилися різні зустрічі, читали газети, розглядали та списували. На цій фотографії бачимо почесного делегата-учителя відпочивають після заняття, розглядаючи одержану літературу.



19. A group of Ukrainian teachers at the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Teachers, 1925. Teachers, traditionally prominent in the leadership of Ukrainian villages, were often both nationalistic and socially radical. The teaching profession was to be one of the first victims of Stalin's assault on the peasantry and the national movement.

Photographs published in the journal *Znannia* [Knowledge] 1925, no. 4, p. 22.

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

20 and 21. Classes in reading for Ukrainian peasants in the 1920s.

22. *Zhinocha volia: chytanka* [Woman's Freedom: A Reader]. (Kharkiv, [1924]).

The first Ukrainian feminist reader, published in preparation for the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Women Workers and Peasants, which was held on 7 November 1924 in Kharkiv.

Widener Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

23. *Chervonyi shliakh: chytanka-deklamator* [The Red Path: Reader-Reciter]. Compiled by M. Panchenko. (Kharkiv, [1924]).

Includes works of prominent Soviet Ukrainian writers.

Widener Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

24. *Biuletyn' Derzhavnoho Vydavnytstva Ukrainy*  
[Bulletin of the State Publishing House of the Ukraine]  
1929, no. 2.

Contains (p. 11) two short articles about the popularization of Ukrainian books in the villages and at professional conventions. Photographed are Ukrainian book exhibits in the Kuban' Cossack region of the North Caucasus and in Melitopol' in the southern Ukraine.

Widener Library  
(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

**ДО УВАГИ** партійних та комсомольських, осередків, партійців та комсомольців!

**Бібліотека „Більшовик України“**  
висвітлює найважливіші, найпекучіші питання партійного життя й будівництва Радянської України

Вийшли вже друком такі випуски:

Братківський, Р.—Шляхами націоналізму, опортунізму та зради. 111 стор., ц. 35 коп. Зміст: Від саботажництва до служби Пилсудському. Рецидив націоналізму. Шумськiзм. Васильків чи Васильчук. Соціалістичне будівництво в УСРР. Маніями опортунізму. Організаційна політика групи Василькова. Справа Сельробу. Баламути робітничо-селянської єдності. Завдання КПЗУ в боротьбі з націоналістичними розламавцями.

Гірчак, Є.—Шумськiзм і розлам в КПЗУ. 247 стор., ц. 50 коп. Зміст: До історії розламу в КПЗУ. На шляху зради і розламу. Шумськiзм і зрада верхівки ЦК КПЗУ. Після розламу. Про національну політику КП(б)У.

Медведєв, А. В.—Партійна робота на виробництві. Доповідь на об'єднаному пленумі ЦК і ЦКК КП(б)У 12—15 квітня 1928 р. 148 стор., ц. 40 коп.

Мотузка, М.—Українська контр-революційна еміграція. 107 стор., ц. 40 коп. Зміст: В петлюрівському таборі. Український монархізм. Шаповалівщина.

Річицький, Андр.—До проблеми ліквідації пережитків колоніальності та націоналізму. (Відповідь Мих. Волобуєву). 99 стор., ц. 35 коп. Зміст: Передмова. Вступ до теорії. Методологія волобуєвської „індукції“. Теорія економічної самостійності України за парату. Теорія колоній двох типів. Позиція виходу України з Союзу. Що доводить „історична довідка“. СРСР—чорна пляма, пісня з чужого голосу. Зброя критики цифрами і стан України в Союзі. Скільки коштує Україні членство в Союзі. Пост-скриптум.

Річицький, А.—Центральна Рада від лютого до жовтня. Нарис з історії української революції. 62 стор., ц. 30 коп.

Скрипник, М.—Джерела та причини розламу в КПЗУ. 150 стор., ц. 40 коп.

Скрипник, М. О.—Наша літературна діяльність. 56 стор., ціна 20 коп.

Хвиля, А.—Від ухилу—у прірву. (Про „Вальдшнепи“ Хвилювського). 55 стор., ц. 25 коп.

Хвиля, Андрій.—Під академічним забралом. З приводу виступів академіка С. Єфремова. 42 стор., ц. 15 коп.

Кожен осередок, кожен активіст-партієць і комсомолец  
МУСЯТЬ ПРИДБАТИ  
Бібліотеку „Більшовик України“  
Продаж по всіх книгарнях Державн. Видавництва України

Бібліографічний опис цього видання розміщено в „Літописі Українського Друку“, „Нарккомуні релігійної“ та інших покажчиках Української Визвольної Писанини

ДВУ заведено до Української частини розділу II торговельного реєстру СРСР, до реєстру підприємств, що такі статутні написи не поділяється на пай, під № 130.

26. *Ukrains'kyi pravopys: proiekt*  
[Ukrainian Orthography: A Draft].  
(Kharkiv, 1926).

A proposal made in 1926 for a Ukrainian orthography. It was prepared by the State Commission for Organization of a Ukrainian Orthography of the People's Commissariat of Education. The problem of orthography was one of the most controversial ones of the 1920s, and Skrypnyk's refusal to pattern Ukrainian on Russian models was one of the chief reasons for his overthrow in 1933.

Widener Library  
(*Gift of Michael Bazansky*)

27. Serhii Pylypenko.  
“Odvertyj lyst do vsix, xto cikavyt'sja cijeju spravou”  
[An Open Letter to Everyone Interested in This Matter].  
*Chervonyi shliakh* [The Red Path] 1923, no. 6-7, pp. 267-269.

A letter, written in 1923 in Latin characters, by Serhii Pylypenko (1891-1932?), head of the literary organization *Pluh* [“The Plow”], and addressed to the journal *Chervonyi shliakh*. Pylypenko's writing system, of which this “Letter” is an example, was one of the most radical proposals in the debate on orthography. Stalin was a firm believer in the advantages of the Cyrillic alphabet, and Pylypenko would pay with his life for this suggestion and his later work in *Pluh*.

Widener Library  
(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

25. An advertisement of new publications in the series *Biblioteka “Bil'shovyk Ukrainy”* (printed in the *Biuletyn' Derzhavnoho Vydavnytstva Ukrainy* 1929, no. 2, p. [2] of covers). It shows the intensity of political discussion in the late 1920s.

Widener Library  
(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

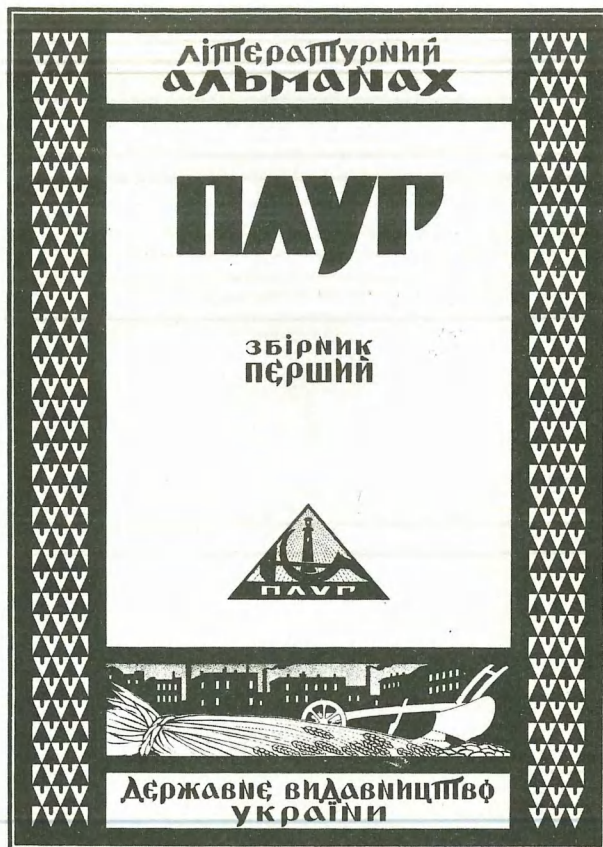
## Part 3: The Ukrainian Cultural Renaissance of the 1920s

The decade of the 1920s was marked by intense activity in all aspects of Ukrainian cultural life. Literary development was especially strong and turbulent, and the whole of the culture of this period was personified by the writer Mykola Khvyl'ovyi. Khyl'ovyi, an ardent Communist, was a leading figure in the heated rivalries among various literary and ideological groups. He was the most effective advocate of a reorientation of Ukrainian culture toward European models. To that end he formulated the slogan "Away from Moscow." The cultural resurgence of the twenties represented so great an advance that in retrospect it came to be known as the "golden era" in Ukrainian literature and arts. But owing to the brutality with which it was later repressed by Stalin, the movement also gained a more somber name, that of the "rebirth executed by firing squad" (*rozstriliane vidrodzhennia*).

28. The front cover of the first issue (Kharkiv, 1924) of the literary almanac *Pluh*, edited by Serhii Pylypenko.

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

29. The Kharkiv group of the Ukrainian literary organization *Pluh* ["The Plow"], the Association of Revolutionary Peasant Writers (1922-1932). *Pluh* was oriented toward the Ukrainian countryside and during and after the Famine of 1932-1933 its membership was mercilessly purged.



ХАРКІВСЬКА ГРУПА ПЛУЖАН

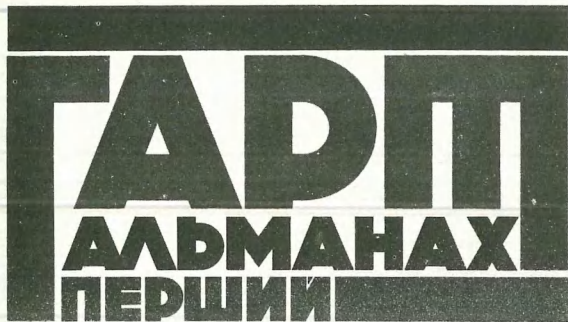


Стоять: Олександр Ковиленко, Петро Панч, Володимир Гжицький, Толося Степовий, Дмитро Грудина, Чапля (Катеринослав), Юрко Никифорок, Іван Шевченко.  
Сидять: Василь Вражливий, Сава Божко, Сергій Пилипенко, Володимир Сосюра.  
Сидять унизу: Іван Капустянський, Прокіп Шостак, Марія Романовська, Дмитро Бедзик.



ХАРКІВСЬКА ГРУПА СПІЛКИ „ГАРТ“.

30. The Kharkiv leadership of the literary group *Hart* [“Temper of Steel”], the Association of Proletarian Writers (1924–1925).



**ДЕРЖАВНЕ ВИДАВНИЦТВО**  
**УКРАЇНИ**  
*Острогова*

31. The front cover, designed by Adol'f Strakhov, of *Hart's* first almanac (Kharkiv, 1924).

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)



32. The Kharkiv chapter of Khvyl'ovyi's group *Vaplite* [an acronym for "Free Academy of Proletarian Literature"], organized in 1925. The group's westward-looking stance was by implication anti-Russian; after severe criticism by the Soviets, it was disbanded in 1928.



33. The front cover of *Vaplite's* first published anthology (Kharkiv, 1926).

Houghton Library  
(Gift of Dr. Bohdan S. Tomkiw)



34. The writer Mykola Khvyl'ovyi [pseudonym of Mykola Fityl'ov (1893-1933)]; he committed suicide during the Famine.





35. Mykola Khvyl'ovyi.

*Syni etiudy: proza*

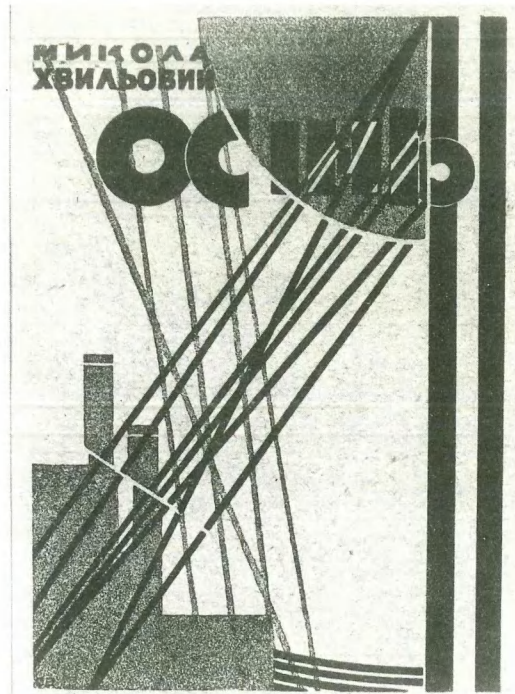
[Blue Études: Prose].

(Kharkiv, 1922, cover 1923).

Front cover of the first edition.

Houghton Library

(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)



36. Mykola Khvyl'ovyi.

*Osin': etiudy 1922-1923 rokiv*

[Autumn: Études of the Years 1922-1923].

(Kharkiv, 1924).

Front cover, designed by Serhii Borovyi, of the first edition.

Widener Library

(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)



37. The great lyric poet Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1967).

38. Pavlo Tychyna.  
*Zoloty homin: poezii*  
[Golden Resonance: Poetry].  
(L'viv-Kyiv, 1922).

First edition.

Widener Library  
(Gift of Michael Bazansky)



39. Pavlo Tychyna.  
*Viter z Ukrainy: poezii*  
[Wind from the Ukraine: Poetry].  
(Kharkiv, 1924).

Title page of the first edition.

Widener Library  
(Gift of Michael Bazansky)



40. The poet Vasyl' Ellan-Blakytnyi (1894-1925), formerly a member of the left wing of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party, joined the Bolsheviks and became one of the most active figures in the cultural life of the Soviet Ukraine. He was editor of the government newspaper *Visti Vseukrains'koho Tsentral'noho Vykonavchoho Komitetu* [News of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee].

41. Vasyl' Ellan-Blakytnyi.

*Tvory: povne zibrannia*

[Complete Works].

Compiled by Hordii Kotsiuba and edited by Andrii

Khvylia.

(Kharkiv, 1929).

Houghton Library

(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

42 and 43. Anatolii Petryts'kyi (1895-1964), a leading Soviet Ukrainian artist of the 1920s, known especially for his set and costume designs. Shown here are his cover designs for the journal *Nove mystetstvo* [New Art].

# НОВЕ № 22 МИСТЕЦТВО



Художник Державних театрів  
Анатоль Петрицький.

# НОВЕ № 3 МИСТЕЦТВО



44. Portrait of Mykola Skrypnyk painted by Anatolii Petryts'kyi, 1929-1930.

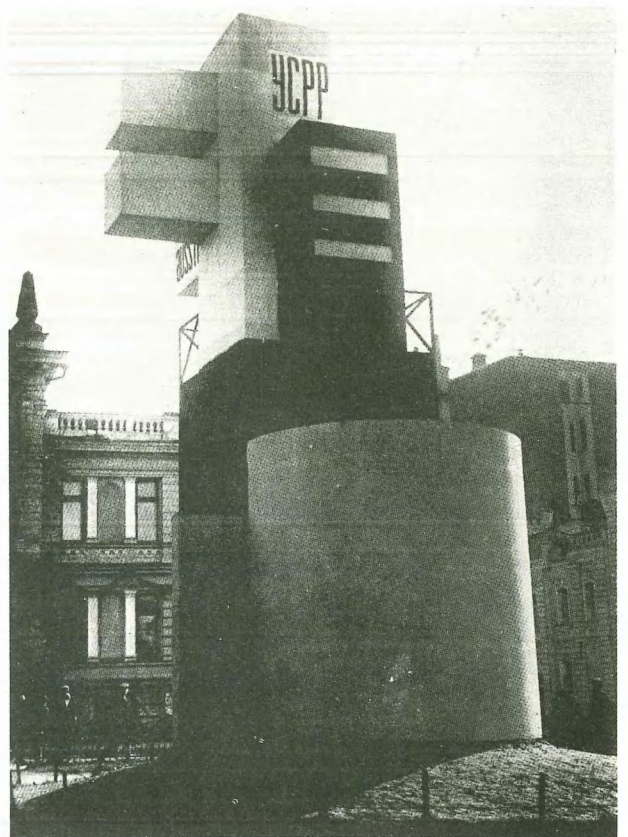


45. Number 6 (1929) of *Nova generatsiia* [New Generation], journal of the Ukrainian futurists. The front cover shown here was designed by Pavlo Kovzhun (1896-1939).

Houghton Library  
(Gift of Dr. Ihor Galarnyk)



46. Vasyl' Iermilov (1894-1968), Futurist and Constructivist, leader of the Ukrainian avant-garde in the visual arts.



47 and 48. An outdoor structure designed by Iermilov to publicize an exhibition commemorating the first decade of Soviet Ukrainian publishing (Kharkiv, 1927).



49. The front cover, designed by Iermilov, for the first number (Kharkiv, 1929) of *Radians'kyi teatr* [Soviet Theatre].

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)



50. A montage of photographs of the director Les' Kurbas (1887-193?) and his theatre company *Berezil'* ["The Month of March"], taken from actor Iosyp Hirniak's *Spomyyny* [Memoirs] (New York, 1982). Kurbas was arrested in 1933 and died a political prisoner in the Solovki Islands. *Berezil'* was disbanded and reorganized in 1934 as the Taras Shevchenko Theatre of Kharkiv.

Widener Library  
(*Iwan and Tetiana Stelmach fund*)

51. Mykola Kulish.  
*Dev'ianosto sim: p'iesa*  
[Ninety-seven: A Play].  
(Kharkiv, 1925).

First edition. Kulish (1892-193?), the greatest Soviet Ukrainian playwright, died in a labor camp in the Solovki Islands.

Houghton Library  
(*Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk*)



52. A scene from a *Berezil'* performance (1930) of Kulish's *Dev'ianosto sim* with set design by Vadym Meller (1884-1962).

# НОВЕ № 32 МИСТЕЦТВО

53. Dmytro Buz'ko.  
*Kino i kinofabryka*  
[Cinema and Cinema Factory].  
(Kharkiv, 1928).

A book on Ukrainian film production by the novelist and poet Dmytro Buz'ko (1891-1938).

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

54. Alexander Dovzhenko. *The Poet as Filmmaker: Selected Writings*.

Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Marco Carynnyk.  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

Includes the *Autobiography* (1939) and *Notebooks* (1941-1956) of Ukrainian director Oleksandr Dovzhenko (1894-1956).

Widener Library  
(Duplicates fund)



55. The front cover, designed by Anatolii Petryts'kyi, of *Nove mystetstvo* [New Art], 1926.



56. Front cover of number 7 (1928) of *Muzyka masam* [Music for the Masses], with a photograph of composers in the Kharkiv chapter of the All-Ukrainian Society of Revolutionary Musical Artists.

Music Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

57. *Literaturnyi iarmarok* [Literary Fair] 1929, nos. 5–6, the journal of a group formed by Mykola Khvyly'ovyi in 1929 after the disbanding of *Vaplite*. Accompanied by original dust jacket with illustrations by Anatolii Petryts'kyi entitled "*Sorochyns'kyi iarmarok*," after Gogol's short story "The Fair at Sorochyntsi."

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)



58. Andrii Khvylya.

*Vid ukhylu u prirvu: pro "Val'dshnepy" Khvyl'ovoho* [From Deviation into the Abyss: On Khvyly'ovyi's Novel *Woodsnipes*]. (Kharkiv, 1928).

Front cover of the first edition. In this study the Stalinist Andrii Khvylya [pseudonym of Andrii Musul'bakh (1898–1937)] attacks Khvyly'ovyi for "nationalist deviation." The publication of this pamphlet marked the beginning of Stalin's repression of the Ukrainian movement, a campaign which would lead to the purges of 1929–1930 and culminate in the Famine of 1932–1933.

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

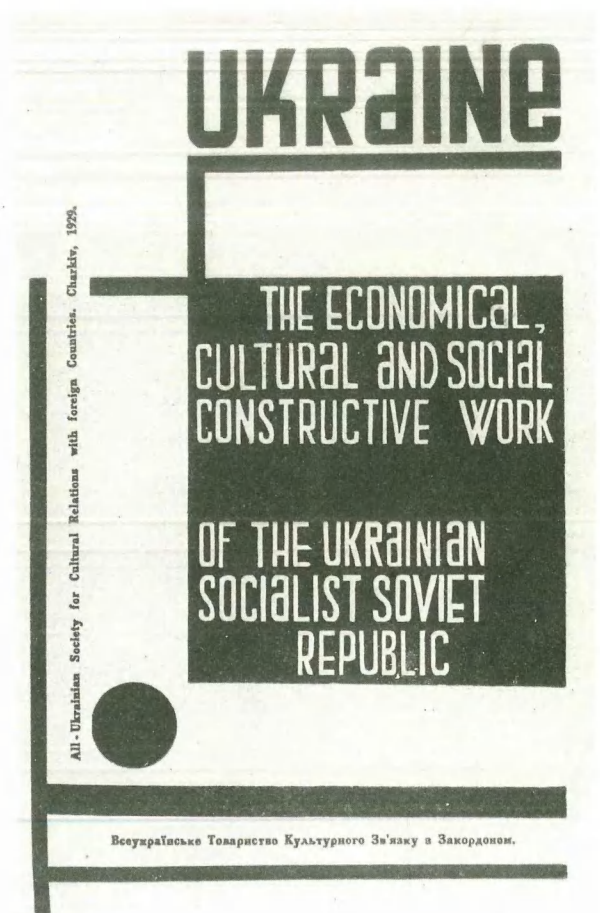


## Part 4: Stalin's Seizure of Power: Purges, Collectivization and Industrialization

Joseph Stalin exploited the centralist and ultimately totalitarian tendencies of Bolshevik ideology and organization to attain absolute power. His rule brought a re-implementation of the most extreme aspects of the domestic program of War Communism. Rapid industrialization coupled with forced collectivization of agriculture caused indescribable suffering to the peoples of the Soviet Union. In order to pursue such a radical policy, Stalin had to establish the unquestioned rule of the Party over all aspects of Soviet life and finally end all dissent within the Party itself. In the case of the Ukraine, Stalinism brought an end to independent cultural and political life, and in 1932-1933 resulted in the death by famine of one fifth of the Ukrainian nation.



59. Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) in the 1930s.



60. *Ukraine: A Short Sketch of Economical, Cultural and Social Constructive Work of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.* (Kharkiv, 1929).

Front cover.

Widener Library  
(Gift of the Publisher)



61. The *Dniprel'stan* (Dnieper Hydroelectric Station) was constructed in 1927-1932 under the on-site guidance of American engineers. The completion of this, one of the most ambitious Soviet projects of the first Five Year Plan, was made possible in part by the use of slave labor.

62. Poster by Adol'f Strakhov (1896-1979) announcing the completion of the *Dniprel'stan*, 1932.





## УКРАЇНСЬКА КОНТРЕВОЛЮЦІЯ САМА ПРО СВОЮ РОБОТУ

ПІД МАШКАРОЮ „НАУКИ“  
ІЄФРЕМІВЦІ НА КУЛЬТУРНОМУ ФРОНТІ  
(ЗА СТЕНОГРАМОЮ СУДУ НАД „СВУ“)

ВИПУСК IV



ДЕРЖАВНЕ ВИДАВНИЦТВО УКРАЇНИ  
ХАРКІВ 1930

63. A 1928 caricature directed against the Great Russian chauvinism which would triumph under Stalin. A Russian bureaucrat in the Donbas industrial region is shown painting over a map of the Ukraine. The caption reads: “There is no Ukrainization where we are.”

Stalin’s anti-Ukrainian campaign began with an assault on the politically most vulnerable group in Ukrainian society, the non-Communist cultural activists. The 1930 show trial of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (*Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny* — the “SVU”), an alleged underground organization supposedly led by academician Serhii Iefremov, served as a pretext for the liquidation of the non-Bolshevik cultural elite of the Ukraine. In this trial, leaders of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were charged with plotting the overthrow of Soviet rule in the Ukraine. At the same time, the Church was disbanded. Many prominent scholars were imprisoned and whole institutes of the Academy were closed down.

64. *Ukrains’ka kontrrevoliutsiia sama pro svoiu robotu* [The Ukrainian Counterrevolution Tells of Its Own Work]. (Kharkiv, 1930).

Title page of part 4. The subtitle reads: “Followers of [literary historian] Iefremov mask [their activities] on the cultural front with the disguise of ‘scholarship.’ Based on testimony from the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine trial.”

Widener Library  
(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)



65. Bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 1921-1926.

All but two of the bishops, along with the vast majority of priests and lay activists, were executed or perished in Siberian concentration camps.



66. A desecrated church in Kiev's Monastery of the Caves (Pechers'ka Lavra), early 1930s.

67. *Protyrelihiina vystavka "Relihiia chy nauka?"* [An Anti-religious Exhibition, "Religion or Science?"]. (Kharkiv, 1926).

Second edition of the exhibition catalogue.

Houghton Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)

From its founding in 1918, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was dominated by non-Communists, especially by members of the national movement who had returned from exile following the introduction of Ukrainization. The Soviets considered it a stronghold for supporters of the “nationalist” Ukrainian People’s Republic, which had preceded the Bolshevik regime. The Academy was severely purged during the SVU show trial of 1930.



68. The main building of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, designed by architect Pavlo Al'oshyn (1881–1961), and completed in 1929.

69. Number 3 (1928) of *Ukraina*, a scholarly journal edited by Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi and published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1930, Stalin banned any further publication of *Ukraina* under Hrushevs'kyi's editorship.

Title page and p. [2] of covers.

Widener Library  
(Susan A.E. Morse fund)

**ДЕРЖАВНЕ ВИДАВНИЦТВО УКРАЇНИ**  
ПРИЙМАЄТЬСЯ ПЕРЕДПЛАТА НА РІК 1928 НА НАУКОВИЙ ДВОХМІСЯЧНИК  
**„УКРАЇНА“**  
з додатком  
**„НАУКОВОГО ЗБІРНИКА ЗА РІК 1928“**

За цілий рік за шість чисел „України“ (в шості книжки) з додатком „Наукового Збірника“ за 1928 р. 8 з'яв. за півроку 4 крб. 25 к.; окрема книжка коштує 2 крб. 25 к.  
За доплату 1 крб. 50 коп. передплатники „України“ одержать дуже важке для українців і краєзнавців видання:  
„Первісне громадянство та його пережитки на Україні“ за рік 1927.  
За доплату 6 крб. передплатники „України“ за р. 1928 можуть одержати багато ілюстрованих збірок, необхідні для краєзнавців:  
„Київ та його околиця“ і „Чернігів і північне Лівобережжя“.  
За доплату 3 крб. передплатники „України“ можуть одержати збірки: „За сто літ“. Матеріали з громадського й літературного життя України XIX і початків XX ст. Тим першим (в окремій продажі 4 крб. 50 коп.)  
Передплату треба надіслати до Київської філії Держ. Вид. України: Київ, вул. Кара Маркса 2.  
Всі матеріали, книги, обмінні видання для „України“ і збірок треба надіслати на адресу:  
Історична Секція Української Академії Наук, Київ, вул. Короленка 35, без усяких інших додатків і пояснень в адресі.  
Справи передплати до Редакції „України“ ніяк не належать: з ними треба звертатися до Київської Філії Державного Видавництва, Київ, вул. Кара Маркса, 2.

**ВИЙШОВ З ДРУКУ  
ЮВІЛЕЙНИЙ ЗБІРНИК  
НА ПОШАНУ АКАДЕМИКА  
МИХАЙЛА СЕРГІЄВИЧА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО.  
ЧАСТИНА ПЕРША: ІСТОРИЧНА.**

Розкішно виданий збірник, містить понад 50 розвідок з палеоетнології, мистецтва, історії України та всесвітньої історії. МП—492 стор. з мапами та рисунками.  
Ціна 4 крб. 80 коп.

**ВИЙШОВ З ДРУКУ ЗБІРНИК ЗА СТО ЛІТ**  
Том другий під редакцією академіка Михайла Грушевського.  
Містить матеріали з громадського й літературного життя України XIX і початків XX ст.  
Ціна 5 крб.

**ВИЙШОВ З ДРУКУ  
НАУКОВИЙ ЗБІРНИК ЗА РІК 1927,**  
під редакцією акад. М. С. Грушевського.  
Видання Історичної Секції при УАН. 200 стор. Ціна 3 крб.

**ДРУКУЄТЬСЯ ТА НЕЗАВАРОМ ВИЙДЕ В СВІТ.  
„ПЕРВІСНЕ ГРОМАДЯНСТВО ТА ЙОГО ПЕРЕЖИТКИ НА  
УКРАЇНІ“ з рік 1927, випуски 1—3 в одній книжці.**  
Дуже важке для українців і краєзнавців видання.

[061 (47.711 Київ) Укр. Акад. Наук. 1:9 (47-71)]

**ВСЕУКРАЇНСЬКА АКАДЕМІЯ НАУК**  
ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES d'UKRAINE—SECTION HISTORIQUE

„Ukraine“, revue bimestrielle des études de l'Ukraine,  
sous la direction de M. Hrushevsky, président de la Section

**УКРАЇНА**

НАУКОВИЙ ДВОХМІСЯЧНИК УКРАЇНОЗНАВСТВА

ОРГАН ІСТОРИЧНОЇ СЕКЦІЇ АКАДЕМІЇ  
(б. Українського Наукового Товариства в Києві)  
ПІД ЗАГАЛЬНОЮ РЕДАКЦІЄЮ ГОЛОВИ СЕКЦІЇ  
акад. МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО

1928  
книга 3

КИЇВ

Загального числа  
книга 28

**ДЕРЖАВНЕ ВИДАВНИЦТВО УКРАЇНИ**



70. A group of Ukrainian peasant women in late Tsarist times.

The New Economic Policy (1921-1928) had allowed the peasantry to make significant economic progress and maintain a traditional style of life. The period of agricultural collectivization (1929-1933) that followed NEP met with immediate and strong resistance throughout the Soviet Union. This new policy could be implemented only after the destruction of village leadership and opposition. In particular, the label kulak (in Ukrainian *kurkul'*), signifying a rich peasant — and thus a class enemy worthy of exile or liquidation — was indiscriminately applied to all peasants who opposed the Bolsheviks, regardless of their real economic status. The disruption caused by collectivization created severe food shortages throughout the Soviet Union. These shortages led to mass starvation only in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Kazakhstan and the Lower Volga region. As the result of a fatal combination of Stalinist agricultural and nationality policies, the vast majority of the famine victims, between six and eight million people, were Ukrainians.

## На захист селянина

● Виїзна Сесія Найвищого Суду Молдавської Республіки в с. Можнягах розглянула справу про замах на селянина газети „Червоний Жовтень“ Якубовського. Замах організував голова сільради Білоус, про якого не раз селянин писав до газети. Стріляв і поранив селянина приятель Білоуса — хуліган Лебідь. Суд приговорив Білоуса й Лебідя до розстрілу.

● Ще в грудні місяці минулого року отруєно селянина Усть - Олексійського району Бологова А. Ф. Слідство викрило вісім убивць селянина. Над селянином помстилися куркулі, шахрайство яких Білогов викривав у газеті. Допоміг помститися фельдшер Дороніцин. Вбивців віддано під суд.

● Хуліганам та куркулям с. Лиса - Гора на Першомайщині, як більшо на оці був селянин, комсомолец Каган, що викривав у газеті самотників і зловживання куркулів в серпні, минулого року, куркуль Закревський пострілом із обріза забив селянина Кагана на смерть. Закревського присуджено до розстрілу і лише амністия замінила кару на 10 років Бупру. Вирок стверджено Найвищим Судом.

● В стінгазеті с. В. - Вовнянка на Білоцерківщині була замітка про самотника Германа. Побачив самотник себе в газеті і порвав стінну на клаптики. РВК наклав за це на Германа 10 карб. штрафу.

● Селянин Дроздов, із села Ново-Красного на Першомайщині, знав про незаконні вчинки голови й секретаря сільради, і через це голова сільради Ковальов та секретар Бленов з групою куркулів переслідували селянина, ширили про Дроздова чутки, ніби він контрреволюціонер то - що. Селянин мусив був виїхати через це з села. Прокуратура зараз цю справу розслідує.

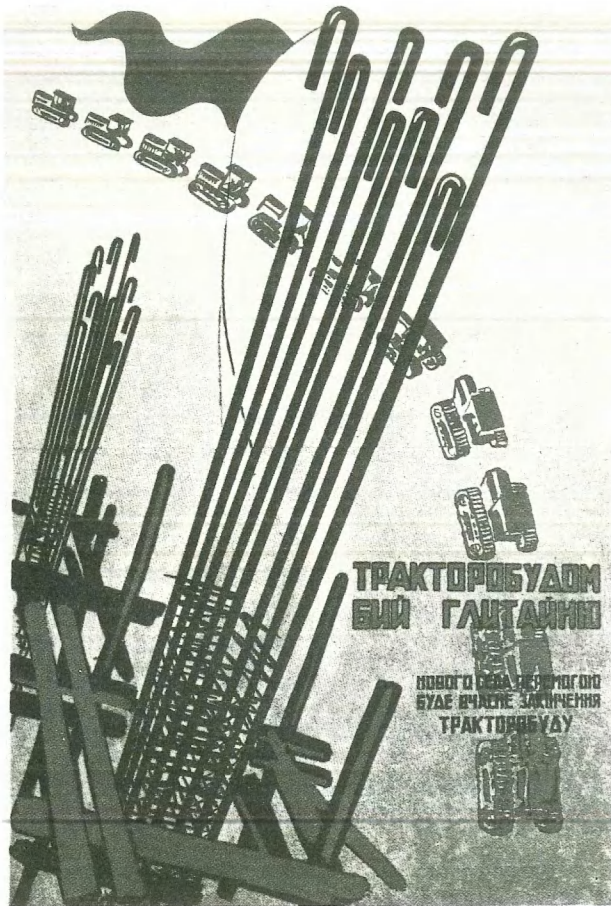
71. The organization of Worker and Peasant Correspondents (*Robsel'kory*) was an essential part of the Stalinist system of agitation and coercion in the countryside. Its members ran local papers and relied on public humiliation of the recalcitrant to ensure compliance with Party directives. An issue of their magazine *Robsel'kor* contains descriptions of several of the thousands of violent confrontations between Party activists and rebellious Ukrainian peasants during the early phases of collectivization.

“In Defense of the Peasant Correspondents,” from *Robsel'kor* 1928, no. 2, p. 48.

Widener Library  
(Estate of Onufrij Murmyljuk)



72. A photograph of the participants in a conference of the Pereiaslav regional *Robsel'kor*, 1928.



73. Poster from 1931 by Dmytro Shavykin (1902–1979) reads: “Build tractors and beat the gluttons [i.e. kulaks]!”



74. Front cover of number 12 (1932) of *Kolhospnytsia Ukrainy* [Collective Farm Woman of the Ukraine] exhorting its readers to prepare for the “harvest battle.” The expropriation of foodstuffs that was part of that “battle” would result in the death of millions by starvation.

Widener Library  
(By exchange)

75. An early grain procurement brigade. “Procurement” involved the confiscation of all grain held by the peasantry and its delivery to the state, after which it was often allowed to rot or was sold abroad at low prices. In the Ukraine, many of the peasants impressed into such brigades would themselves starve. The banner (in Russian) reads: “We collective farmers are liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivization.”





Павлікова

## Досвід роботи агітбригад на селах Дніпропетровщини

Досвід організації агітбригад на Дніпропетровщині показав низку позитивних наслідків в справі розгорнення масової роботи в колгоспах та практичної допомоги колгоспним партосередкам.

З ініціативи агітмасвідділу обкому в серпні м-ці було організовано 9 агітбригад. Кожну таку бригаду формувалося з масовиків і агітаторів. До складу бригади входили також кінемеханіки, фотокори, агрономи, лікарі, равівники та культурно-художні сили.

Кожна бригада була забезпечена відповідною літературою, газетами, кіно та фотоапаратами.

Завдання агітбригад — практично допомогти сільським організаціям зразково організувати масово-агітаційну роботу навколо хлібозаготівельної, збиральної та осінньої засівної кампаній.

Агітбригади провадили свою роботу виключно на полі, а також на току біля молотарок. Під час перерв на обід чи сніданки агітбригади знайомили колгоспників з постановами партії та уряду, висвітлювали міжнародні питання, організували колективне читання газет, літератури. Художні сили давали концерти на місці роботи — на полі.

Вечорами агітбригади організували агітаційно-масову роботу в будинках колективістів, хатах-читальнях.

Агітбригади випускали стінні газети, листівки. Наприклад, в Межєвському р-ні агітбригада випустила листівку під назвою „Штурмовка“ в 3.200 прим., яка викликала велику зацікавленість колгоспних мас. „Штурмовка“ та стінні газети викривали хиби, боролись проти прогулів, тихійства, висвітлювали досвід роботи передових колгоспних виробничих бригад та підтягували відсталих.

В наслідок роботи агітбригад в ряді колгоспів ліквідовано прогулі. В Межєвському районі до приїзду бригад в окремих колгоспах прогулі докинули до 40-30%, а по приїзді цілком ліквідовані.

В с. Слав'янці Межєвського р-ну до приїзду агітбригад плян скиртування був виконаний лише на 60%, а за кілька днів роботи агітбригади відсоток виконання дійшов до 100. Виконання пляну хлібозаготівлі замість 51% зросло до 100% серпневого завдання.

Крім цього, агітбригади використовували такі форми масової роботи, як виробничі наради, зльоти ударників. На цих нарадах і зльотах обговорювали виробничі питання та знайомили актив з формами й методами організації масової роботи.

Одна з найкращих форм агітмасової роботи, що викликала велику зацікавленість в колгоспних масах, це організація політдня в колгоспах. Наприклад, під час проведення політдня в Павлоградському р-ні колгоспники подавали свою думку, що такі збори треба проводити частіше і треба домогтися того, щоб це робила не тільки агітбригада, а й самі місцеві організації. На політдні (в Павлоградському, Генічеському р-нах) самі колгоспники ставили багато запитань, викривали цілу низку хиб в роботі та давали силу-силенну цінних ділових пропозицій щодо поліпшення виробництва в колгоспі.

Треба також відзначити практику проведення так званих зустрічей однієї бригади з іншою, на яких провадитесь 10-тихвилинні наради. На них колгоспні бригади обмінюються досвідом роботи, підсумовують роботу за день та накреслюють конкретні заходи на другий день.

Ось окремі зразки роботи агітбригад. Агітбригада № 6 Павлоградського р-ну працювала в селі Богданівка з 7 до 12 серпня. За цей час бригада разом з місцевими організаціями провела 7 зборів колгоспників, організувала 2 вистави в клубі. Перед кожною виставою зроблено коротенькі доповіді. Проведено один політвечір. Всього обслужено колгоспників 1.487 чол., з них — 842 жінки. Крім того, бригада обслуговувала колгоспників в полі під час перерв на сніданок та обід. Зроблено 14 фотознятків кращих ударників і цілих груп під час роботи. Після коротеньких розмов улаштували концерти. Тематику для концертів брали з місцевих матеріалів.

У комуні „Незможник“ бригада так само брала участь на зборах, де ухвалювали плян хлібозаготівель. Плян ухвалено майже одногослоно під бурхливі оплески присутніх.

З 12 до 16 серпня ця ж бригада працювала в селі Терновка. Удень та ввечері бригада обслуговувала колгоспників у полі під час перерв на сніданок та обід. Всього обслужено за цей час 1.708 чол., з них — 988 жінок. Основна метода роботи — розмови, а також групова й індивідуальна агітація. На зборах заслуговували інформації бригадирів або членів правління про перебіг роботи, про причини що гальмують скиртування або молотьбу, про причини недобротності обідів і т. ін.

Агітбригада провела політвечори. Такі вечори були добре підготовані, давали добрі наслідки. Присутні колгоспники ставили багато запитань.

Велику зацікавленість колгоспники виявили до роботи фотографа — члена бригади. Агітбригада, перебуваючи у полі під час скиртування, побицляла виробничій бригаді, що по закінченні роботи її фотографують. Довідавшись про це, бригада працювала подвійними темпами і достроково закінчила роботу.

Бригада за цей час зробила 7 виїздів у поле, випустила 2 стінгазети, улаштувала концерт для зльоту трактористів, а також одну виставу.

В артілі „Червоий Жовтень“ партосередок після роз'яснення від бригади про порядок видавання авансів колгоспникам, повів рішучу лінію щодо виправлення попередніх помилок, ліквідував зрівнялітку в цьому.

З 16 до 20 серпня бригада працювала в селі Нові-Дачі. За цей час охоплено різними видами масової роботи 1.185 чоловіка, з них — 690 жінок. Проведено три політвечори, дві доповіді, 4 розгорнутих політпромови, 6 концертів, одну виставу, випущено 3 стінгазети, виготовлено 6 великих гасел, зроблено 8 фотографій, виїздів у поле було чотири.

Друга агітбригада, що працювала в селі Георгіївка Ново-Васильївського р-ну з 8 до 12 серпня, провела за цей час 15 зборів бригад, 3 виробничі наради бригадирів, 5 загальних зборів колгоспників, улаштувала один дитячий ранок, випустила 4 стінгазети, одну фотолістівку, обслуговувала колгоспників на ступіні кінопересувою тощо.

Велику роботу провела бригада щодо застосування соціалістичних форм праці — соцмаганчя й ударництва. За цей час складено поміж бригадами колгоспу 9 договорів на соцмаганчя, через що набагато підвищено темпи роботи. В окремих бригадах почали перевиконувати норми виробітку, дійдено 100% відвідування виробничих нарад. Бригади проробили серед колгоспників постанови III всеукраїнської та I-ої обласної партконференцій. В наслідок поліпшення роботи виробничих нарад набагато поживавлась молотьба, колгоспники почали вишукувати внутрішні ресурси, щоб скорше закінчити молотьбу.

Робота агітбригад дала чимале зрушення в організації агітмасової роботи, показала на практиці, як саме слід організувати агітаційно-масову роботу в колгоспах.

Цей досвід роботи мусять широко використати всі підприємства, організуючи пролетарську допомогу селу.

76. An article from the magazine *Agitator dlia mista* [Agitator for the City] 1932, no. 26-27, pp. 42-43, which describes how travelling brigades of agitators enforced complete fulfillment of grain quotas in the countryside around the city of Dnipropetrov'sk. During forays for hidden food, party activists would, when necessary,



actually dismantle the houses of peasants to ensure a thorough search.

Widener Library  
(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

77. The bodies of Ukrainian villagers shot by Soviet firing squads.



## Part 5: Scenes of the Ukrainian Famine 1932-1933

Stalin's campaign against Ukrainian nationalism was carried out in tandem with the struggle to force the peasants into collective farms. It could hardly have been otherwise, as the Ukrainians, then a nation of over thirty million, had always been a predominantly agricultural people. Concessions to the Ukrainian nation had come as a corollary to concessions made to the peasantry. Hence, a war against the peasantry meant a war against the bulk of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian peasants fought against the seizure of their farms, the destruction of their culture, and the desecration of their churches. This reaction was branded as Ukrainian "kulak" nationalism, and collectivization was seen as a way to destroy its social foundation, a free peasantry. Urban outsiders were sent into the villages to force the peasants into collective farms and to seize grain for the state.

Impossible grain quotas were imposed on the Soviet Ukraine. While Soviet propaganda portrayed well-fed collective farmers with smiling faces, the last grain was taken from the starving peasants, leaving the quotas still unmet. Ukrainian Communist officials, led by Mykola Skrypnyk, protested to Stalin that the people were dying of hunger. Stalin, seizing the opportunity to solve the problem of Ukrainian self-assertion once and for all, publicly blamed the Ukrainian Party for its "criminal negligence" in failing to meet the grain quotas. He took direct control of the country by sending Pavel Postyshev to the Ukraine as virtual dictator. Postyshev ordered that even more grain be collected, but there was nothing left to take. Under his rule, beginning in January 1933, the Ukrainian countryside became a vast death camp. At the same time, Postyshev carried out a wave of terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia and hounded Skrypnyk to suicide. Satisfied that the Ukrainians had at last been broken, he allowed the peasants to keep part of what they harvested in the fall of 1933. The Famine gradually subsided, having claimed an estimated six to eight million lives.

79. Olexa Woropay.

*The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933.*

Edited with an introduction by James E. Mace. (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

Four eyewitness accounts from Chapter 2, "What I Have Heard from Eye-witnesses," pp. 18-20.

1. I was born in the village of Horbiv, 13 miles from Chernihiv. At the beginning of collectivization I was seven and I started to go to school.

We experienced starvation in 1933, also. My father and mother had their limbs swollen. One of our neighbors died together with his wife after eating green poppy seeds.

We also tried to eat various kinds of plants: corn stalks, elm seeds, roots of wild carrot, parsnips, clover blossom, and so on. We tried eating lupin. The spotted beans of this plant are as bitter as pepper, and had to be cooked several times before it was possible to eat them. From lupin we, especially the children, had stomach trouble.

A schoolteacher from the next village was floating dead in a boat on the river about that time. He must have eaten some poisonous water plant.

A woman went out of her mind with hunger. She used to catch tadpoles in a pond and eat them. The children would not let her do this, so she would weep and beg them for food. Later this woman died outside the village among the weeds.

I myself saw an old woman, exhausted from starvation, wandering across the fields with green ears of wheat under her arm. The chairman of the kolhosp [i.e. collective farm], "comrade" Rozhok, riding by on his horse, caught her, beat her severely with his whip, and knocked her off her feet with his horse.

In the last stages of the famine the hard grain delivery quota was imposed on our household, so that we had to leave our home just before winter.

A Communist party member, F. Skyba, one eye blind, the other one looking like the eye of a devil, would rush into a house, first of all seize the holy ikons and then throw them with all his strength against the door or threshold. Once, a mother said to him:

"Where shall I go with my children for the winter?"

"Go and drown them," was the savage rejoinder.

But later he himself died from tuberculosis.

2. In the village of Stepanivka, near Vinnytsia, the kolhosp wagons did not pick up the bodies of those dead people who had not been members of the kolhosp. A widowed woman carried her three children in a linen sheet to the cemetery and later died herself.

In the same village a woman died in one house and left two small children. When the wagon drove up, the dead body of the mother was picked up, but the children were left in the empty house without any bread, care or supervision at all.

3. As a result of mass mortality during the month of May, in the villages and towns of Ukraine shadow-like flocks of hungry orphan children roamed about. The "sympathetic administration" started to set up children's homes in the villages and small towns.

A former inmate of such a "home" relates his experiences:

"My father had his body swollen and died of starvation. My mother, exhausted from hunger, on her way home from the field one day, pulled two beetroots on the kolhosp field. A Communist foreman overtook her on his horse and gave her such a beating that she scarcely managed to get back home, and two days later she died.

"We, two orphans — I, ten years old; and my sister, six — were taken to an orphanage. The spring that year was



cold and rainy. The orphanage consisted of an old peasant house with broken windows. All of us slept on linen bed-sheets, without any coverings. The children were freezing at night and, lacking proper food, they soon became ill and died.

"The nurse put spades into the hands of us older children, led us to the cemetery and ordered us to dig graves. We would dig out a shallow pit, not more than two feet deep. The nurse would put the bare body of a dead child on a linen sheet for four of us to lift by the corners and take to the cemetery. The corpse was dropped into the pit and some earth thrown on top of it.

"In this way I carried my own sister to the grave and covered her with earth. Now, in exile, I wait for that moment when it will be possible for me to carry to the cemetery those who gave me such a happy childhood."

4. In the village of Rudkivtsi in Kamianets-Podillia province, two children were born in 1932, and one in 1933. The total population was 1460 persons.

Widener Library  
(Deposited copy)



80-83. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.

The Harvard University Refugee Interview Project was established to conduct interviews with newly-arrived refugees from the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. The interviewers found accounts of the Famine to be so numerous that they did not bother to record fully what the survivors told them. Nevertheless as a result of the Project, much valuable material on the Famine was collected. Volumes of the Project are located at the Russian Research Center Library. The following are typical accounts.

84. HARVARD UNIVERSITY REFUGEE INTERVIEW PROJECT. B SCHEDULE, CASE A4

53 year-old Ukrainian peasant woman from the Kharkiv region:

“Then came the terrible famine in the Ukraine in the years 1932 and 1933. Write down that the famine was artificial. The crops in 1932 were very good in the Ukraine but the Communist Soviet government took all the crops by force from the Ukrainian peasants. There was no famine in Russia proper at that time. Our peasants went by train to Russian territory to buy grain. It was very hard living through the famine. Many people in our village were swollen with hunger. Many families in our village died of hunger. The famine was so terrible that people ate the bark and leaves from trees. My sons gathered leaves from the trees, dried them and then baked them to eat. It was terrible. I left my *khutir* [farm] for the neighboring *raiony* [counties] in the Kharkiv region. I was lucky that I was a dressmaker. I worked there as a dressmaker and washerwoman for people who had power in the villages and lived a pretty good life. They were the heads of the collective farms, brigades, managers of the storehouses, etc. So I went from one village to another and earned some food and money. Thus I saved myself and my sons.”

85. A SCHEDULE, CASE 342

37 year-old Ukrainian male of peasant origin, studied at an automotive technical school, 1930-1934:

“The Ukraine was opposed to collective farming; there were uprisings in Kherson, Dnipropetrovsk, and Zaporizhzhia. There was an artificial famine created by the Soviets. Stalin knew that the Ukraine had the strongest national opposition.

“I saw the famine at the technical school in 1933. I saw two students who went crazy. The famine left the greatest impression on me.”

86. A SCHEDULE, CASE 373

59 year-old Russian female biologist who lived in the Ukraine:

“Well, in 1933-1934 I was a member of a commission sent out to inspect wells. We had to go the the country to see that the shafts of the wells were correctly installed, and there I saw such things as I had never seen before in my life. I saw villages that not only had no people, but also had no dogs or cats. I remember one particular incident

when we came to one village, and I do not think I will ever forget this. I will always see that picture before me. We opened the door of this miserable hut and there a man was lying. The mother and child already lay dead and the father had taken the piece of meat from between the legs of his son and had died just like that. The stench was overpowering and we could not stand it. This was not the only time I saw such an incident. There were similar ones on our trip.”

87. A SCHEDULE, CASE 513

40 year-old worker, son of a “kulak”:

“I remember a case in 1933. I was in Kiev. I was at a bazaar then — the bazaar was called the Bessarabian market. I saw a woman with a valise. She opened the valise and put her goods out for sale. Her goods consisted of jellied meat, frozen jellied meat, which she sold at fifty rubles a portion. I saw a man come over to her — a man who bore all the marks of starvation. He bought himself a portion and began eating. As he ate his portion he noticed that a human finger was imbedded in the jelly. He began shouting at the woman and yelling at the top of his voice. People came running, gathered around her, and seeing what her food consisted of, took her to the *militsiia* [police station]. At the *militsiia* were two members of the NKVD [secret police] who just happened to be there. They went over to her and instead of taking action against her, they burst out laughing. ‘What, have you killed a kulak? Good for you!’ And they let her go.”



88. Ukrainian peasants trying to trade their valuables for food.

89. A SCHEDULE, CASE 646

55 year-old Ukrainian worker who lived in the Caucasus:

“During the famine I recall how a truckload of frozen, dead orphans was driven from the children’s home to the cemetery. [When the truck was unloaded,] two of the children were found to be still alive. The doctor involved in this affair was shot. During the famine, as we went to work every day, we saw ten or more people lying dead in the streets and others badly swollen nearby.”



90. Peasants attempting to flee their starving villages.

91-94. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.





95. Passers-by no longer pay attention to the corpses of starved peasants on a street in Kharkiv, 1933.



96-97. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.

98. A peasant woman and her children — refugees from the countryside (Kiev, 1933).





99-101. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.







102. Pavel Postyshev (Kharkiv, 1933).

103. Pavel Postyshev (1888-1940) was sent to the Ukraine in January 1933 to take charge of the government, destroy the nationally conscious wing of the Communist Party, extract even more grain from the starving countryside, and conduct a campaign of terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

In one of his speeches, Postyshev said the following about the year 1933:

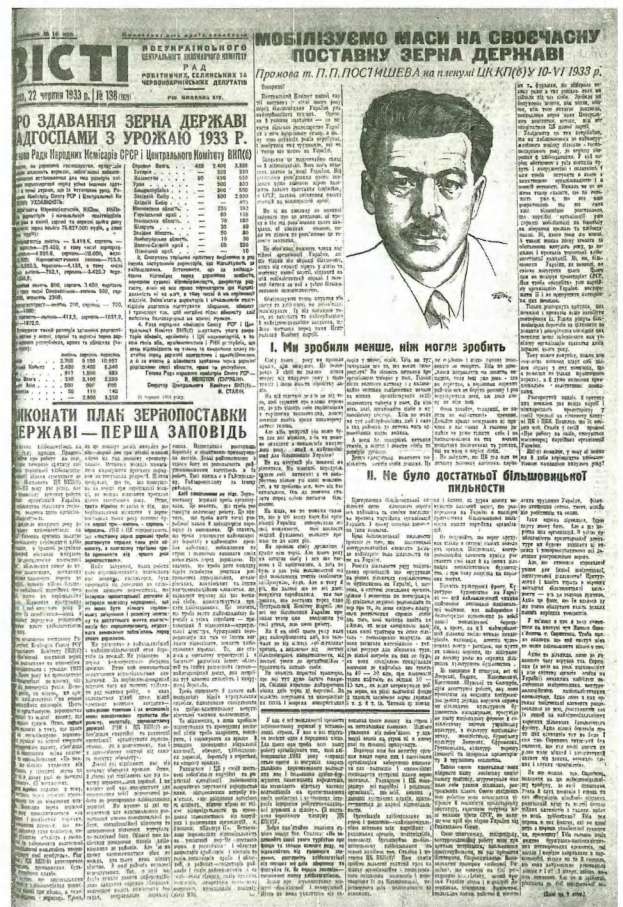
“Comrades, you know quite well that the years 1931 and 1932 were years of deep crisis in the Ukraine in both agriculture and industry, as well as in the construction of Soviet Ukrainian culture. Class enemies, kulaks, followers of Petliura, and members of the White Guard set themselves up in various sectors of socialist construction in the Ukraine, made mischief and wreckage, and prepared for a new enslavement of the workers and peasants of the Ukraine by imperialist interventionists. In 1933, the workers and collective farmers of the Ukraine, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, routed these kulak, nationalist, and White Guard elements, cleaned them out of the collective farms and other sectors of socialist construction, and thereby created the conditions necessary for the further development and strengthening of the Soviet Ukraine.”

From:  
Pavel Postyshev.

*Sovetskaia Ukraina na poroge 1936 goda: rech' na tret'em slete kolkhoznikov-udarnikov Kievskoi oblasti 26 noiabria 1935 goda* [Soviet Ukraine on the Eve of 1936: Speech at the Third

Meeting of Collective Farmers and Shock Brigades of the Kiev Oblast, 26 November 1935].  
(Moskva, 1936), p. 13.

Widener Library  
(Ukrainian Studies fund)



104. Postyshev, who had inaugurated his reign in the Ukraine by swearing that there would be “no mercy,” refused to ease grain quotas until the harvest of 1933, after a year of the Famine had broken the Ukrainian peasantry. In articles published on the front page of the government newspaper *Visti Vseukrains'koho Tsentral'noho Vykonavchoho Komitetu* [News of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee] dated 22 June 1933 and headlined “Mobilize the masses for a prompt grain delivery to the state” and “There wasn’t enough Bolshevik vigilance,” Postyshev called for continued militancy in the countryside and the purging of Mykola Skrypnyk for nationalist deviation. This attack precipitated the suicides of the two most prominent Ukrainian Communists, Skrypnyk and Mykola Khyyl'ovyi, who died protesting the man-made famine. Postyshev finished off the Ukrainian intelligentsia as a political force by 1934. Ironically, he himself fell victim to Stalin’s purges of 1936-1938, which were also exceptionally harsh in the Ukraine.

Widener Library  
(By exchange)

## Part 6: The Famine in the Contemporary Western Press

News of the Famine reached the outside world slowly. Many of the Western journalists based in Moscow, far from the starving Ukraine, North Caucasus, Lower Volga region or Kazakhstan, were favorable to Stalin or feared losing their journalistic privileges, were they to write unsympathetically about any official Soviet policy. *The New York Times* and its star reporter Walter Duranty set the tone for most Western press coverage with authoritative denials of starvation. George Bernard Shaw saw no famine in the restaurant of his Moscow hotel, and French Prime Minister Édouard Herriot saw none on his guided tour of the Ukraine. Overall, during the year that marked the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Famine was an unpopular subject for public comment. Only a few major newspapers, most notably the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Manchester Guardian*, carried stories on the Famine. The bulk of reporting on the subject was left to Ukrainian and Russian émigrés, the

European rightist press, and the Hearst newspapers in the United States.

105. "Walter Duranty is a newspaper man whose day-to-day dispatches from Europe have recorded history in the making. As Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times* since 1920 he has gained such unrivalled knowledge of the Russian experiment and the whole post-war world that his stories have achieved long-range significance as well as making immediate front page drama. . . .

"Mr. Duranty has twice interviewed Stalin and is on intimate terms with all the outstanding leaders of the new Russia. As he tells the story of the New Economic Policy, of the Five Year Plan, of the collective farm movement, of the alleged 'Man-made famine' of 1933, he weaves into his narrative curious bits of personal reminiscence, humor, and philosophy that raise the book into the realm of literature."

From:  
Walter Duranty.  
*I Write as I Please*.  
(New York, 1935).

On flap of front cover.

Widener Library  
(Gift of William Cameron Forbes)



WALTER DURANTY

I WRITE  
AS I  
PLEASE

New York · SIMON and SCHUSTER · 1935

106. “. . . I have made exhaustive inquiries about this alleged famine situation. I have inquired in Soviet commissariats and in foreign embassies with their network of consuls, and I have tabulated information from Britons working as specialists and from my personal connections, Russian and foreign. . . .

“. . . And here are the facts: There is a serious food shortage throughout the country, with occasional cases of well-managed State or collective farms. The big cities and the army are adequately supplied with food. There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition. In short, conditions are definitely bad in certain sections — the Ukraine, North Caucasus and Lower Volga. The rest of the country is on short rations but nothing worse. These conditions are bad, but there is no famine.”

From:

Walter Duranty.

“Russians Hungry, but not Starving,”

*New York Times*, 31 March 1933, p. 13.

Widener Library

(Charles Warren fund)

107-109. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.



110. Collecting corpses for burial.

\*111. In contrast to his published articles in the *New York Times* about the “alleged ‘Man-made famine’ of 1933,” Walter Duranty gave to British consular officials in Moscow a sobering assessment of his trip to the North Caucasus and the Ukraine in September 1933:

“According to Mr. Duranty, the population of the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga has decreased in the past year by 3 million and the population of the Ukraine by 4-5 million. Estimates that he had heard from other foreigners living in the Ukraine were that approximately half the population had moved either into the towns or into more prosperous districts. . . .

“. . . The Ukraine had been bled white. The population was exhausted, and if the peasants were ‘double-crossed’ by the Government again no one could say what would happen. . . .

“At Kharkov Mr. Duranty saw the Polish consul, who told him the following story: A Communist friend employed in the Control Commission was surprised at not getting reports from a certain locality. He went out to see for himself, and on arrival he found the villages completely deserted. Most of the houses were standing empty, while others contained only corpses. . . .

“Mr. Duranty thinks it quite possible that as many as 10 million people may have died directly or indirectly from lack of food in the Soviet Union during the past year.”

From:

Great Britain. Foreign Office.

*General Correspondence: Political*, FO 371/17253.

“Tour of Mr. W. Duranty in North Caucasus and the Ukraine,” William Strang (Moscow) to Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, 26 September 1933, Registry Number N 7182/114/38.

Widener Library

(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

112. “. . . the whole shabby episode of our failure to report honestly the gruesome Russian famine of 1932-33 . . . reflects little glory on world journalism as a whole. Not a single American newspaper or press agency protested publicly against the astonishing and almost unprecedented confinement of its correspondent in the Soviet capital or troubled to probe for the causes of this extraordinary measure. The *New York Times*, as the foremost American newspaper, is automatically selected for investigation in any test of American reporting. But it was certainly not alone in concealing the famine. . . .

“. . . [Our reporting] served Moscow’s purpose of smearing the facts out of recognition and beclouding a situation which, had we reported it simply and clearly, might have worked up enough public opinion abroad to force remedial measures. And every correspondent, each in his own measure, was guilty of collaborating in this monstrous hoax on the world.”

From:

Eugene Lyons.

*Assignment in Utopia*.

(New York, 1937), pp. 572-573.

Eugene Lyons was the United Press correspondent in Moscow from 1928 to 1934.

Widener Library

(Gift of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana)

113. Marco Carynnyk.

“The Famine the ‘Times’ Couldn’t Find,”

*Commentary*, November 1983, pp. 32-40.

A recent study of Walter Duranty’s coverage of the Famine.

Widener Library

(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

114-116. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.





118. William Henry Chamberlin.

*Russia's Iron Age.*

(Boston, 1934).

Widener Library

(Gift in memory of Robert Fields Simes)

119. William Henry Chamberlin.

*The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation.*

(New York, 1944).

Widener Library

(Gift of Michael Bazansky)

120. Malcolm Muggeridge, then correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, was one of the few Western reporters to visit the famine-stricken Ukraine and write truthfully about what he saw. His articles appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* (25-28 March 1933), the *Fortnightly Review* (1 May 1933) and the *Morning Post* (6 June 1933). His book *Winter in Moscow* recounts his experiences as a Moscow correspondent and gives additional coverage of the Famine. The following is an excerpt from Muggeridge's autobiography some decades later:

"In Kiev, where I found myself on a Sunday morning, on an impulse I turned into a church where a service was in progress. It was packed tight, but I managed to squeeze myself against a pillar whence I could survey the congregation and look up at the altar. Young and old, peasants and townsmen, parents and children, even a few in uniform — it was a variegated assembly. The bearded priests, swinging their incense, intoning their prayers, seemed

very remote and far away. Never before or since have I participated in such worship; the sense conveyed of turning to God in great affliction was overpowering. Though I could not, of course, follow the service, I knew . . . little bits of it; for instance, where the congregation say there is no help for them save from God. What intense feeling they put into these words! In their minds, I knew, as in mine, was a picture of those desolate abandoned villages, of the hunger and the hopelessness, of the cattle trucks being loaded with humans in the dawn light. Where were they to turn for help? Not to the Kremlin, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, certainly; nor to the forces of progress and democracy and enlightenment in the West. Honourable and Right Honourable members had nothing to offer; *Gauche Radicale* unforthcoming, free press Duranty's pulpit. Every possible human agency was found wanting. So, only God remained, and to God they turned with a passion, a dedication, a humility impossible to convey. They took me with them, I felt closer to God then than I ever had before, or am likely to again."

From:

Malcolm Muggeridge.

*Chronicles of a Wasted Time. Vol. 1: The Green Stick.*  
(London, 1972), pp. 258-259.

Widener Library

(John L. Warren fund)

121. At the market in Kharkiv — each bottle of milk, frantically clutched, represented a valuable item in private trade.





122. Windows of the empty stores display only portraits of Stalin.

123. The population, accustomed to death in their midst, began to ignore corpses.





124. Starving and neglected children, the so-called *bezprytul'ni* (in Russian *bezprizornye*).

125. Dr. Ewald Ammende, a prominent League of Nations official concerned with the rights of oppressed nationalities, collected and published evidence on the Famine. His study was the first comprehensive and well-documented work on the Famine of 1932-1933 in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. With the backing of Theodore Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, he organized relief for the victims. However, the project failed because Soviet diplomats denied the Famine's existence.

Ewald Ammende.

*Muss Russland hungern?: Menschen-und Völkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion*

[Must Russia Starve?: The Destinies of Men and Nations in the Soviet Union].

(Wien, 1935).

Widener Library

(*Archibald Cary Coolidge fund*)

126. Ewald Ammende.

*Human Life in Russia.*

(London, 1936).

Also reprinted: Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984.

Widener Library

(*Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund*)

Ukrainians in Poland and in the West tried desperately to make the outside world aware of the Famine and get help for their starving compatriots. The newspapers *Dilo* (L'viv), *Ameryka* (Philadelphia) and *Svoboda* (Jersey City) published visitors' and refugees' accounts of mass starvation. In L'viv in the spring of 1933, a young Ukrainian nationalist, Mykola Lemyk, assassinated a Soviet diplomatic and intelligence official as an act of retribution for the Famine.

127. Mykola Halii and Bohdan Novyts'kyi.

*Het' maskul!: Natsional'na polityka na Rad. Ukraïni v svitli dokumentiv*

[Away With the Mask!: Nationality Policies in the Soviet Ukraine in the Light of Documents].

(L'viv-Praha, 1934).

Both the persecution of the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Famine were crucial factors in lessening the appeal of Bolshevism in Polish-ruled Galicia, where many Ukrainians had previously been attracted to the Soviet Union. Both Halii and Novyts'kyi were disenchanted Western Ukrainian Communists.

Widener Library

(*Gift of Peter Slusarchuk*)





NRA THE WEATHER Fair, continued cold tonight; but warmer tomorrow; fresh to strong northwest winds. Sun rises 6:17 a. m.; sets 6:35 p. m. High tide at Governors Island, 6:41 a. m. and 7:59 p. m. (Complete Weather Report on Page 2.) International News Service and Outpost Service. Telegram, cable and radio dispatches.

NEW YORK JOURNAL TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1935 TELEPHONE: OYSTER CO. 5-7000 No. 17,430-DAILY (Copyright, 1935, by New York Journal Company, Inc., New York, N. Y.) IN TWO SECTIONS—SECTION ONE THREE CENTS

RACING BASEBALL SPORTS FINAL BROOKLYN-QUEENS

# VILLAGES OF SOVIET DEAD DESCRIBED

## RED SOLDIERS TURN BANDIT TO AVENGE FATE OF KIN

In his first article, published in yesterday's Evening Journal, Harry Lang, who visited Soviet Russia as a free lance writer, described the horror of poverty and starvation that greeted his eyes upon his arrival. Mr. Lang continues his travels and observations in today's article.

### ARTICLE TWO

By HARRY LANG.

(NOTE: Mr. Lang was born in Russia in 1888. He came to the United States in 1904. For several years he was labor editor of the Jewish language Daily Forward, a Socialist newspaper. He is now a member of the editorial staff of that newspaper.)

We arrived in Kharkoff, then the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The first street scene I saw spoke their own language. Men and women were returning at sunset from the great tractor plant and other factories.

Their clothes were old, dirty strips of sacklin. Their shoes were of shrivelled leather or rotten rubber, full of holes.

Many women were carrying infants in their arms. There are no baby carriages in Soviet Russia.

### Ukrainian Soviet at Odds with Moscow

And all men and women alike, thousands of them, had lumps of black bread under their tattered sleeves. On the way, they nibbled at the bread and swallowed every crumb. The hand of hunger was sticking out from the mutilated chunks of bread.

A high official of the Ukrainian Soviet, with whom we established contact, confidentially advised me to take a trip to the villages. Only there, he said, would I see the full handwork of the famine. And he added:

"Six million people have perished from hunger in our country in 1932-33." Then he paused, and repeated, "Six million."

Why should this Ukrainian official be interested in conveying that information to an American visitor? The answer is that the Ukrainian Soviet, the Ukrainian nationalists, are constantly at odds with Moscow.

The suggested trip cost me \$50 a day for the use of an automobile. The Ukrainian official accompanied me. We had a chauffeur. The road was grey gravel for stretches, and sticky yellow clay for other stretches.

### 'Impossible to Conceal Truth in Russia'

No people were to be seen in the fields. On all sides were heaps of grain, corn or wheat, and ordinary hay. Although it was late in the Fall, the hay had not been stored. The grain had not been threshed and the sheaves, stacked through and through, were already rotting.

It was morning. A vapor was rising from the damp and putrid stacks and heaps. It looked as if the fields were on fire. There were miles and miles and miles of such landscape.

My escort wanted me to see what the collectivized villages looked like. His heart was rent by the destruction of his people. Did the world know?

The precious Spring and Summer a curtain had been dropped over certain provinces and regions of Soviet Russia. Yet within Russia, it was impossible to conceal the truth. It was impossible to erect walls between the cities and the villages.

The very political interests of the Soviet Government demanded that a cry should be raised in the cities that the peasants were seeking to starve the urban population. The Communist cry was that the peasants had refused to plow the fields, or to harvest crops. Factories were stopped and industrial workers were transformed overnight into agricultural laborers.

The city people, therefore, knew only too well what was

Continued on Page 2, Column 1.

## 'S DISPATCH ON PAGE 2

### Officials Investigating 'Sabotage'

#### Bring Their Own Food to Farm

An investigation was going on when we arrived. Soldiers with rifles slung across their shoulders were standing at the doors of a couple of cabins. Other soldiers, with fixed bayonets, were on an army truck.

The investigation had to do with damaged tractors. The village had been collectivized. The peasants had been forced to join a kolkhoz—a collective farm. And now it was charged that the peasants had been "sabotaging" a high crane indeed.

Officials in boots and short leather jackets were snooping about accompanied by soldiers. All the officials and soldiers carried chunks of black bread. They brought their food supply along. They knew that in the village it was impossible to obtain bread.

### MOTHER DROPS SICK

#### CHILD IN ROADWAY

With bated breath I was watching the Soviet investigators at work. Suddenly something else caught my eye. A peasant woman, dressed in something like patched old sacks, appeared from a side path. She was dragging a child of three or four years old by the collar of a torn coat. The way she drags a heavy load. The woman pushed the child into the main street. Here she dropped it in the mud.

Everybody saw the scene, but no one made a move. My escort explained that he had long since grown accustomed to such sights. The peasant woman was the mother. The child's little face was blotched and blue. There was foam around the little lips. The little hands and tiny body were swollen. All deathly-pale, yet still held together by the breath of life.

The mother left the child on the road, in the hope that somebody might do something to save it. My escort endeavored to hasten me. Thousands and thousands

### 2 Red Soldiers Become Bandits

#### To Avenge Parents' Starvation

The common grave was near the door of their houses. Some of those who had perished were buried at the doors of their houses. Such was the case when a family buried one member after another. The soldier named a girl who had sent her mother bury her father, and who then had to bury her mother. Later the girl buried her little brother next to her parents. Then she fled to Kieff. But before leaving her native village, she set fire to a stable full of army horses.

The soldier had two comrades in the Red Army. They were brothers from a neighboring village. They served in separate regiments in different localities.

### COLLECTIVE FARM

#### FOISTED ON VILLAGE

One of them heard reports of famine at home and obtained leave to visit his native village. When he arrived his parents were already gone, expired from hunger. He went off to bring his brother, to show him their deserted homestead. When the two men completed their service terms they became bandits, roving the countryside at night, getting their revenge. The soldier pointed out two houses where corpses had lain for weeks until soldiers were sent to the village to gather up the dead.

My escort knew all the facts given by the soldier, but he wanted me to get it direct from the source. It seems that a kolkhoz collective farm had been foisted on the village.

### THE WEATHER

Forecast: Fair tonight and tomorrow with slowly rising temperature. Hourly temperature—some indications: Michigan ... 33 ... 38 ... 35 ... 32 ... 28 ... 25 ... 22 ... 19 ... 16 ... 13 ... 10 ... 7 ... 4 ... 1 ... -2 ... -5 ... -8 ... -11 ... -14 ... -17 ... -20 ... -23 ... -26 ... -29 ... -32 ... -35 ... -38 ... -41 ... -44 ... -47 ... -50 ... -53 ... -56 ... -59 ... -62 ... -65 ... -68 ... -71 ... -74 ... -77 ... -80 ... -83 ... -86 ... -89 ... -92 ... -95 ... -98 ... -101 ... -104 ... -107 ... -110 ... -113 ... -116 ... -119 ... -122 ... -125 ... -128 ... -131 ... -134 ... -137 ... -140 ... -143 ... -146 ... -149 ... -152 ... -155 ... -158 ... -161 ... -164 ... -167 ... -170 ... -173 ... -176 ... -179 ... -182 ... -185 ... -188 ... -191 ... -194 ... -197 ... -200 ... -203 ... -206 ... -209 ... -212 ... -215 ... -218 ... -221 ... -224 ... -227 ... -230 ... -233 ... -236 ... -239 ... -242 ... -245 ... -248 ... -251 ... -254 ... -257 ... -260 ... -263 ... -266 ... -269 ... -272 ... -275 ... -278 ... -281 ... -284 ... -287 ... -290 ... -293 ... -296 ... -299 ... -302 ... -305 ... -308 ... -311 ... -314 ... -317 ... -320 ... -323 ... -326 ... -329 ... -332 ... -335 ... -338 ... -341 ... -344 ... -347 ... -350 ... -353 ... -356 ... -359 ... -362 ... -365 ... -368 ... -371 ... -374 ... -377 ... -380 ... -383 ... -386 ... -389 ... -392 ... -395 ... -398 ... -401 ... -404 ... -407 ... -410 ... -413 ... -416 ... -419 ... -422 ... -425 ... -428 ... -431 ... -434 ... -437 ... -440 ... -443 ... -446 ... -449 ... -452 ... -455 ... -458 ... -461 ... -464 ... -467 ... -470 ... -473 ... -476 ... -479 ... -482 ... -485 ... -488 ... -491 ... -494 ... -497 ... -500 ... -503 ... -506 ... -509 ... -512 ... -515 ... -518 ... -521 ... -524 ... -527 ... -530 ... -533 ... -536 ... -539 ... -542 ... -545 ... -548 ... -551 ... -554 ... -557 ... -560 ... -563 ... -566 ... -569 ... -572 ... -575 ... -578 ... -581 ... -584 ... -587 ... -590 ... -593 ... -596 ... -599 ... -602 ... -605 ... -608 ... -611 ... -614 ... -617 ... -620 ... -623 ... -626 ... -629 ... -632 ... -635 ... -638 ... -641 ... -644 ... -647 ... -650 ... -653 ... -656 ... -659 ... -662 ... -665 ... -668 ... -671 ... -674 ... -677 ... -680 ... -683 ... -686 ... -689 ... -692 ... -695 ... -698 ... -701 ... -704 ... -707 ... -710 ... -713 ... -716 ... -719 ... -722 ... -725 ... -728 ... -731 ... -734 ... -737 ... -740 ... -743 ... -746 ... -749 ... -752 ... -755 ... -758 ... -761 ... -764 ... -767 ... -770 ... -773 ... -776 ... -779 ... -782 ... -785 ... -788 ... -791 ... -794 ... -797 ... -800 ... -803 ... -806 ... -809 ... -812 ... -815 ... -818 ... -821 ... -824 ... -827 ... -830 ... -833 ... -836 ... -839 ... -842 ... -845 ... -848 ... -851 ... -854 ... -857 ... -860 ... -863 ... -866 ... -869 ... -872 ... -875 ... -878 ... -881 ... -884 ... -887 ... -890 ... -893 ... -896 ... -899 ... -902 ... -905 ... -908 ... -911 ... -914 ... -917 ... -920 ... -923 ... -926 ... -929 ... -932 ... -935 ... -938 ... -941 ... -944 ... -947 ... -950 ... -953 ... -956 ... -959 ... -962 ... -965 ... -968 ... -971 ... -974 ... -977 ... -980 ... -983 ... -986 ... -989 ... -992 ... -995 ... -998 ... -1001 ... -1004 ... -1007 ... -1010 ... -1013 ... -1016 ... -1019 ... -1022 ... -1025 ... -1028 ... -1031 ... -1034 ... -1037 ... -1040 ... -1043 ... -1046 ... -1049 ... -1052 ... -1055 ... -1058 ... -1061 ... -1064 ... -1067 ... -1070 ... -1073 ... -1076 ... -1079 ... -1082 ... -1085 ... -1088 ... -1091 ... -1094 ... -1097 ... -1100 ... -1103 ... -1106 ... -1109 ... -1112 ... -1115 ... -1118 ... -1121 ... -1124 ... -1127 ... -1130 ... -1133 ... -1136 ... -1139 ... -1142 ... -1145 ... -1148 ... -1151 ... -1154 ... -1157 ... -1160 ... -1163 ... -1166 ... -1169 ... -1172 ... -1175 ... -1178 ... -1181 ... -1184 ... -1187 ... -1190 ... -1193 ... -1196 ... -1199 ... -1202 ... -1205 ... -1208 ... -1211 ... -1214 ... -1217 ... -1220 ... -1223 ... -1226 ... -1229 ... -1232 ... -1235 ... -1238 ... -1241 ... -1244 ... -1247 ... -1250 ... -1253 ... -1256 ... -1259 ... -1262 ... -1265 ... -1268 ... -1271 ... -1274 ... -1277 ... -1280 ... -1283 ... -1286 ... -1289 ... -1292 ... -1295 ... -1298 ... -1301 ... -1304 ... -1307 ... -1310 ... -1313 ... -1316 ... -1319 ... -1322 ... -1325 ... -1328 ... -1331 ... -1334 ... -1337 ... -1340 ... -1343 ... -1346 ... -1349 ... -1352 ... -1355 ... -1358 ... -1361 ... -1364 ... -1367 ... -1370 ... -1373 ... -1376 ... -1379 ... -1382 ... -1385 ... -1388 ... -1391 ... -1394 ... -1397 ... -1400 ... -1403 ... -1406 ... -1409 ... -1412 ... -1415 ... -1418 ... -1421 ... -1424 ... -1427 ... -1430 ... -1433 ... -1436 ... -1439 ... -1442 ... -1445 ... -1448 ... -1451 ... -1454 ... -1457 ... -1460 ... -1463 ... -1466 ... -1469 ... -1472 ... -1475 ... -1478 ... -1481 ... -1484 ... -1487 ... -1490 ... -1493 ... -1496 ... -1499 ... -1502 ... -1505 ... -1508 ... -1511 ... -1514 ... -1517 ... -1520 ... -1523 ... -1526 ... -1529 ... -1532 ... -1535 ... -1538 ... -1541 ... -1544 ... -1547 ... -1550 ... -1553 ... -1556 ... -1559 ... -1562 ... -1565 ... -1568 ... -1571 ... -1574 ... -1577 ... -1580 ... -1583 ... -1586 ... -1589 ... -1592 ... -1595 ... -1598 ... -1601 ... -1604 ... -1607 ... -1610 ... -1613 ... -1616 ... -1619 ... -1622 ... -1625 ... -1628 ... -1631 ... -1634 ... -1637 ... -1640 ... -1643 ... -1646 ... -1649 ... -1652 ... -1655 ... -1658 ... -1661 ... -1664 ... -1667 ... -1670 ... -1673 ... -1676 ... -1679 ... -1682 ... -1685 ... -1688 ... -1691 ... -1694 ... -1697 ... -1700 ... -1703 ... -1706 ... -1709 ... -1712 ... -1715 ... -1718 ... -1721 ... -1724 ... -1727 ... -1730 ... -1733 ... -1736 ... -1739 ... -1742 ... -1745 ... -1748 ... -1751 ... -1754 ... -1757 ... -1760 ... -1763 ... -1766 ... -1769 ... -1772 ... -1775 ... -1778 ... -1781 ... -1784 ... -1787 ... -1790 ... -1793 ... -1796 ... -1799 ... -1802 ... -1805 ... -1808 ... -1811 ... -1814 ... -1817 ... -1820 ... -1823 ... -1826 ... -1829 ... -1832 ... -1835 ... -1838 ... -1841 ... -1844 ... -1847 ... -1850 ... -1853 ... -1856 ... -1859 ... -1862 ... -1865 ... -1868 ... -1871 ... -1874 ... -1877 ... -1880 ... -1883 ... -1886 ... -1889 ... -1892 ... -1895 ... -1898 ... -1901 ... -1904 ... -1907 ... -1910 ... -1913 ... -1916 ... -1919 ... -1922 ... -1925 ... -1928 ... -1931 ... -1934 ... -1937 ... -1940 ... -1943 ... -1946 ... -1949 ... -1952 ... -1955 ... -1958 ... -1961 ... -1964 ... -1967 ... -1970 ... -1973 ... -1976 ... -1979 ... -1982 ... -1985 ... -1988 ... -1991 ... -1994 ... -1997 ... -2000 ... -2003 ... -2006 ... -2009 ... -2012 ... -2015 ... -2018 ... -2021 ... -2024 ... -2027 ... -2030 ... -2033 ... -2036 ... -2039 ... -2042 ... -2045 ... -2048 ... -2051 ... -2054 ... -2057 ... -2060 ... -2063 ... -2066 ... -2069 ... -2072 ... -2075 ... -2078 ... -2081 ... -2084 ... -2087 ... -2090 ... -2093 ... -2096 ... -2099 ... -2102 ... -2105 ... -2108 ... -2111 ... -2114 ... -2117 ... -2120 ... -2123 ... -2126 ... -2129 ... -2132 ... -2135 ... -2138 ... -2141 ... -2144 ... -2147 ... -2150 ... -2153 ... -2156 ... -2159 ... -2162 ... -2165 ... -2168 ... -2171 ... -2174 ... -2177 ... -2180 ... -2183 ... -2186 ... -2189 ... -2192 ... -2195 ... -2198 ... -2201 ... -2204 ... -2207 ... -2210 ... -2213 ... -2216 ... -2219 ... -2222 ... -2225 ... -2228 ... -2231 ... -2234 ... -2237 ... -2240 ... -2243 ... -2246 ... -2249 ... -2252 ... -2255 ... -2258 ... -2261 ... -2264 ... -2267 ... -2270 ... -2273 ... -2276 ... -2279 ... -2282 ... -2285 ... -2288 ... -2291 ... -2294 ... -2297 ... -2300 ... -2303 ... -2306 ... -2309 ... -2312 ... -2315 ... -2318 ... -2321 ... -2324 ... -2327 ... -2330 ... -2333 ... -2336 ... -2339 ... -2342 ... -2345 ... -2348 ... -2351 ... -2354 ... -2357 ... -2360 ... -2363 ... -2366 ... -2369 ... -2372 ... -2375 ... -2378 ... -2381 ... -2384 ... -2387 ... -2390 ... -2393 ... -2396 ... -2399 ... -2402 ... -2405 ... -2408 ... -2411 ... -2414 ... -2417 ... -2420 ... -2423 ... -2426 ... -2429 ... -2432 ... -2435 ... -2438 ... -2441 ... -2444 ... -2447 ... -2450 ... -2453 ... -2456 ... -2459 ... -2462 ... -2465 ... -2468 ... -2471 ... -2474 ... -2477 ... -2480 ... -2483 ... -2486 ... -2489 ... -2492 ... -2495 ... -2498 ... -2501 ... -2504 ... -2507 ... -2510 ... -2513 ... -2516 ... -2519 ... -2522 ... -2525 ... -2528 ... -2531 ... -2534 ... -2537 ... -2540 ... -2543 ... -2546 ... -2549 ... -2552 ... -2555 ... -2558 ... -2561 ... -2564 ... -2567 ... -2570 ... -2573 ... -2576 ... -2579 ... -2582 ... -2585 ... -2588 ... -2591 ... -2594 ... -2597 ... -2600 ... -2603 ... -2606 ... -2609 ... -2612 ... -2615 ... -2618 ... -2621 ... -2624 ... -2627 ... -2630 ... -2633 ... -2636 ... -2639 ... -2642 ... -2645 ... -2648 ... -2651 ... -2654 ... -2657 ... -2660 ... -2663 ... -2666 ... -2669 ... -2672 ... -2675 ... -2678 ... -2681 ... -2684 ... -2687 ... -2690 ... -2693 ... -2696 ... -2699 ... -2702 ... -2705 ... -2708 ... -2711 ... -2714 ... -2717 ... -2720 ... -2723 ... -2726 ... -2729 ... -2732 ... -2735 ... -2738 ... -2741 ... -2744 ... -2747 ... -2750 ... -2753 ... -2756 ... -2759 ... -2762 ... -2765 ... -2768 ... -2771 ... -2774 ... -2777 ... -2780 ... -2783 ... -2786 ... -2789 ... -2792 ... -2795 ... -2798 ... -2801 ... -2804 ... -2807 ... -2810 ... -2813 ... -2816 ... -2819 ... -2822 ... -2825 ... -2828 ... -2831 ... -2834 ... -2837 ... -2840 ... -2843 ... -2846 ... -2849 ... -2852 ... -2855 ... -2858 ... -2861 ... -2864 ... -2867 ... -2870 ... -2873 ... -2876 ... -2879 ... -2882 ... -2885 ... -2888 ... -2891 ... -2894 ... -2897 ... -2900 ... -2903 ... -2906 ... -2909 ... -2912 ... -2915 ... -2918 ... -2921 ... -2924 ... -2927 ... -2930 ... -2933 ... -2936 ... -2939 ... -2942 ... -2945 ... -2948 ... -2951 ... -2954 ... -2957 ... -2960 ... -2963 ... -2966 ... -2969 ... -2972 ... -2975 ... -2978 ... -2981 ... -2984 ... -2987 ... -2990 ... -2993 ... -2996 ... -2999 ... -3002 ... -3005 ... -3008 ... -3011 ... -3014 ... -3017 ... -3020 ... -3023 ... -3026 ... -3029 ... -3032 ... -3035 ... -3038 ... -3041 ... -3044 ... -3047 ... -3050 ... -3053 ... -3056 ... -3059 ... -3062 ... -3065 ... -3068 ... -3071 ... -3074 ... -3077 ... -3080 ... -3083 ... -3086 ... -3089 ... -3092 ... -3095 ... -3098 ... -3101 ... -3104 ... -3107 ... -3110 ... -3113 ... -3116 ... -3119 ... -3122 ... -3125 ... -3128 ... -3131 ... -3134 ... -3137 ... -3140 ... -3143 ... -3146 ... -3149 ... -3152 ... -3155 ... -3158 ... -3161 ... -3164 ... -3167 ... -3170 ... -3173 ... -3176 ... -3179 ... -3182 ... -3185 ... -3188 ... -3191 ... -3194 ... -3197 ... -3200 ... -3203 ... -3206 ... -3209 ... -3212 ... -3215 ... -3218 ... -3221 ... -3224 ... -3227 ... -3230 ... -3233 ... -3236 ... -3239 ... -3242 ... -3245 ... -3248 ... -3251 ... -3254 ... -3257 ... -3260 ... -3263 ... -3266 ... -3269 ... -3272 ... -3275 ... -3278 ... -3281 ... -3284 ... -3287 ... -3290 ... -3293 ... -3296 ... -3299 ... -3302 ... -3305 ... -3308 ... -3311 ... -3314 ... -3317 ... -3320 ... -3323 ... -3326 ... -3329 ... -3332 ... -3335 ... -3338 ... -3341 ... -3344 ... -3347 ... -3350 ... -3353 ... -3356 ... -3359 ... -3362 ... -3365 ... -3368 ... -3371 ... -3374 ... -3377 ... -3380 ... -3383 ... -3386 ... -3389 ... -3392 ... -3395 ... -3398 ... -3401 ... -3404 ... -3407 ... -3410 ... -3413 ... -3416 ... -3419 ... -3422 ... -3425 ... -3428 ... -3431 ... -3434 ... -3437 ... -3440 ... -3443 ... -3446 ... -3449 ... -3452 ... -3455 ... -3458 ... -3461 ... -3464 ... -3467 ... -3470 ... -3473 ... -3476 ... -3479 ... -3482 ... -3485 ... -3488 ... -3491 ... -3494 ... -3497 ... -3500 ... -3503 ... -3506 ... -3509 ... -3512 ... -3515 ... -3518 ... -3521 ... -3524 ... -3527 ... -3530 ... -3533 ... -3536 ... -3539 ... -3542 ... -3545 ... -3548 ... -3551 ... -3554 ... -3557 ... -3560 ... -3563 ... -3566 ... -3569 ... -3572 ... -3575 ... -3578 ... -3581 ... -3584 ... -3587 ... -3590 ... -3593 ... -3596 ... -3599 ... -3602 ... -3605 ... -3608 ... -3611 ... -3614 ... -3617 ... -3620 ... -3623 ... -3626 ... -3629 ... -3632 ... -3635 ... -3638 ... -3641 ... -3644 ... -3647 ... -3650 ... -3653 ... -3656 ... -3659 ... -3662 ... -3665 ... -3668 ... -3671 ... -3674 ... -3677 ... -3680 ... -3683 ... -3686 ... -3689 ... -3692 ... -3695 ... -3698 ... -3701 ... -3704 ... -3707 ... -3710 ... -3713 ... -3716 ... -3719 ... -3722 ... -3725 ... -3728 ... -3731 ... -3734 ... -3737 ... -3740 ... -3743 ... -3746 ... -3749 ... -3752 ... -3755 ... -3758 ... -3761 ... -3764 ... -3767 ... -3770 ... -3773 ... -3776 ... -3779 ... -3782 ... -3785 ... -3788 ... -3791 ... -3794 ... -3797 ... -3800 ... -3803 ... -3806 ... -3809 ... -3812 ... -3815 ... -3818 ... -3821 ... -3824 ... -3827 ... -3830 ... -3833 ... -3836 ... -3839 ... -3842 ... -3845 ... -3848 ... -3851 ... -3854 ... -3857 ... -3860 ... -3863 ... -3866 ... -3869 ... -3872 ... -3875 ... -3878 ... -3881 ... -3884 ... -3887 ... -3890 ... -3893 ... -3896 ... -3899 ... -3902 ... -3905 ... -3908 ... -3911 ... -3914 ... -3917 ... -3920 ... -3923 ... -3926 ... -3929 ... -3932 ... -3935 ... -3938 ... -3941 ... -3944 ... -3947 ... -3950 ... -3953 ... -3956 ... -3959 ... -3962 ... -3965 ... -3968 ... -3971 ... -3974 ... -3977 ... -3980 ... -3983 ... -3986 ... -3989 ... -3992 ... -3995 ... -3998 ... -4001 ... -4004 ... -4007 ... -4010 ... -4013 ... -4016 ... -4019 ... -4022 ... -4025 ... -4028 ... -4031 ... -4034 ... -4037 ... -4040 ... -4043 ... -4046 ... -4049 ... -4052 ... -4055 ... -4058 ... -4061 ... -4064 ... -4067 ... -4070 ... -4073 ... -4076 ... -4079 ... -4082 ... -4085 ... -4088 ... -4091 ... -4094 ... -4097 ... -4100 ... -4103 ... -4106 ... -4109 ... -4112 ... -4115 ... -4118 ... -4121 ... -4124 ... -4127 ... -4130 ... -4133 ... -4136 ... -4139 ... -4142 ... -4145 ... -4148 ... -4151 ... -4154 ... -4157 ... -4160 ... -4163 ... -4166 ... -4169 ... -4172 ... -4175 ... -4178 ... -4181 ... -4184 ... -4187 ... -4190 ... -4193 ... -4196 ... -4199 ... -4202 ... -4205 ... -4208 ... -4211 ... -4214 ... -4217 ... -4220 ... -4223 ... -4226 ... -4229 ... -4232 ... -4235 ... -4238 ... -4241 ... -4244 ... -4247 ... -4250 ... -4253 ... -4256 ... -4259 ... -4262 ... -4265 ... -4268 ... -4271 ... -4274 ... -4277 ... -4280 ... -4283 ... -4286 ... -4289 ... -4292 ... -4295 ... -4298 ... -4301 ... -4304 ... -4307 ... -4310 ... -4313 ... -4316 ... -4319 ... -4322 ... -4325 ... -4328 ... -4331 ... -4334 ... -4337 ... -4340 ... -4343 ... -4346 ... -4349 ... -4352 ... -4355 ... -4358 ... -4361 ... -4364 ... -4367 ... -4370 ... -4373 ... -4376 ... -4379 ... -4382 ... -4385 ... -4388 ... -4391 ... -4394 ... -4397 ... -4400 ... -4403 ... -4406 ... -4409 ... -4412 ... -4415 ... -4418 ... -4421 ... -4424 ... -4427 ... -4430 ... -4433 ... -4436 ... -4439 ... -4442 ... -4445 ... -4448 ... -4451 ... -4454 ... -4457 ... -4460 ... -4463 ... -4466 ... -4469 ... -4472 ... -4475 ... -4478 ... -4481 ... -4484 ... -4487 ... -4490 ... -4493 ... -4496 ... -4499 ... -4502 ... -4505 ... -4508 ... -4511 ... -4514 ... -4517 ... -4520 ... -4523 ... -4526 ... -4529 ... -4532 ... -4535 ... -4538 ... -4541 ... -4544 ... -4547 ... -4550 ... -4553 ... -4556 ... -4559 ... -4562 ... -4565 ... -4568 ... -4571 ... -4574 ... -4577 ... -4580 ... -4583 ... -4586 ... -4589 ... -4592 ... -4595 ... -4598 ... -4601 ... -4604 ... -4607 ... -4610 ... -4613 ... -4616 ... -4619 ... -4622 ... -4625 ... -4628 ... -4631 ... -4634 ... -4637 ... -4640 ... -4643 ... -4646 ... -4649 ... -4652 ... -4655 ... -4658 ... -4661 ... -4664 ... -4667 ... -4670 ... -4673 ... -4676 ... -4679 ... -4682 ... -4685 ... -4688 ... -4691 ... -4694 ... -4697 ... -4700 ... -4703 ... -4706 ... -4709 ... -4712 ... -4715 ... -4718 ... -4721 ... -4724 ... -4727 ...



## Part 7: The Famine in Memoirs and Published Eyewitness Accounts

The number of published accounts of the Famine is small but significant. The proscribed subject of the Famine can find no expression in memoirs published in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, most victims of the Famine were peasants, people unlikely to record their experiences in literary form, even under favorable circumstances. The memoir literature of the Famine is limited to the writings of a relatively few eyewitnesses who managed to leave the Soviet Union, and in a smaller number of cases, to texts smuggled out and published abroad. Memoirs containing extensive records of the Famine have been written by local Soviet officials who subsequently defected or joined dissident circles. References to the Famine can also be found in memoirs written by disaffected members of the Soviet political and cultural establishment and published in the West. It is, however, the Ukrainian émigré community which has produced most of the published eyewitness accounts of the Ukrainian tragedy of 1932-1933.

132. Victor Kravchenko (1905-1966), was a high-ranking Soviet official who defected to the United States in 1944. A native Ukrainian from Dnipropetrovs'k, Kravchenko had a successful career as an industrial engineer and Party functionary. During collectivization, he administered grain procurement at the local level for the Soviet government. In the following excerpt from his autobiography, Kravchenko writes of the Famine in P'iatiykatky (Dnipropetrovs'k oblast') and Petrove (Kirovohrad oblast'), in the central Ukraine.

"Armed with a mandate from the Regional Committee, I set out for the Piatikhatsky district in the company of a schoolmate who was also my friend, Yuri. The local officials of that district, we found, were unnerved by what they had lived through. We questioned them about the new crops, but they could talk only of the mass hunger, the typhus epidemics, the reports of cannibalism. . . .

"We arrived at the large village of Petrovo towards evening. An unearthly silence prevailed. 'All the dogs have been eaten, that's why it's so quiet,' the peasant who led us to the Political Department said. 'People don't do much walking, they haven't the strength,' he added. Having met the chief of the Political Department, we were conducted to a peasant hut for the night.

"A feeble 'smoker' provided the only light in the house. Our hostess was a young peasant woman. All feeling, even sadness and fear, seemed to have been drained from



her starved features. They were a mask of living death. In a corner, on a narrow bed, two children lay so quietly they seemed lifeless. Only their eyes were alive. I winced when they met mine.

“ ‘We’re sorry to intrude,’ Yuri said. ‘We’ll be no trouble to you and in the morning we’ll leave.’ He spoke in an unnatural subdued voice, as if he were in a sick-room or a cemetery.

“ ‘You’re welcome,’ the young woman said, ‘and I’m only sorry I cannot offer you anything. We haven’t had a crust of bread in this house for many weeks. I still have a few potatoes but we daren’t eat them too fast.’ She wept quietly. ‘Will there ever be an end or must my children and I die like the others?’

“ ‘Where is your husband?’ I asked.

“ ‘I don’t know. He was arrested and probably banished. My father and brother were also banished. We have surely been left here to die of hunger.’

“Yuri said he wanted to smoke and left the house precipitately. I knew that he was afraid of breaking down and crying before this stranger.

“ ‘Don’t give way to despair, my dear,’ I said to the woman. ‘I know it’s hard, but if you love your children you will not give up the struggle. Bring them to the table. My comrade and I have some food from the city, and you will all dine with us.’

“Yuri returned. We put all our provisions on the table and ate sparingly ourselves so that there would be more for the others. The children looked at the slab of bacon, the dried fish, the tea and sugar with startled eyes. They ate quickly, greedily, as if afraid that it would all vanish as miraculously as it had appeared. After she had put the children to sleep, our hostess began to talk.



133-134. Photographs taken in the Kuban’ Cossack region, 1933.

“ ‘I will not tell you about the dead,’ she said. ‘I’m sure you know. The half-dead, the nearly dead are even worse. There are hundreds of people in Petrovo bloated with hunger. I don’t know how many die every day. Many are so weak that they no longer come out of their houses. A wagon goes around now and then to pick up the corpses. We’ve eaten everything we could lay our hands on—cats, dogs, field mice, birds. When it’s light tomorrow you will see the trees have been stripped of their bark, for that too has been eaten. And the horse manure has been eaten.’

“I must have looked startled and unbelieving.

“ ‘Yes, the horse manure. We fight over it. Sometimes there are whole grains in it.’

“It was Yuri’s first visit to the village. Afraid that the initial impact of the horror might unnerve him, I interrupted the woman’s story and insisted that we all retire for the night. But neither Yuri nor I slept much. We were glad when morning came.

“Arriving at the Political Department shortly after sunrise, we found only the agriculturist of the State Farm there. He . . . gave me some bacon, a bottle of oil, a bit of flour and a small bag of some cereal. I thanked him and took the parcel to the house where we had spent the night. The young woman was too overwhelmed to thank us. I escaped from her gratitude as if it were a cruel rebuke.

“Then Yuri and I walked through the village. Again we were oppressed by the unnatural silence. Soon we came to an open space which, no doubt, was once the market place. Suddenly Yuri gripped my arm until it hurt: for sprawled on the ground were dead men, women and children, thinly covered with dingy straw. I counted seventeen. As we watched, a wagon drove up and two men loaded the corpses on the wagon like cordwood.”

From:

Victor Kravchenko.

*I Chose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official.*

(New York, 1946), pp. 112-113.

Widener Library

(*Archibald Cary Coolidge fund*)

135. R. L. Suslyk.

*Sumni spohady: 1933 rik na Poltavshchyni*

[Sad memories: The Year 1933 in the Poltava Region].

(London?, 1951).

An account from several villages near the city of Zin’kiv.

Widener Library

(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

136. F. Pravoberezhnyi.

*8 000 000: 1933-i rik na Ukraini*

[8 000 000: The Year 1933 in the Ukraine].

(Winnipeg, 1951).

Testimony from the town of Rzhyschiv (Kiev oblast’), and neighboring villages.

Widener Library

(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)



137. M. Verbyts'kyi.  
*Naibil'shyi zlochyn Kremlia: zaplianovanyi shtuchnyi holod v Ukraini 1932-1933 rokiv*  
 [The Kremlin's Greatest Crime: The Planned Artificial Famine in the Ukraine, 1932-1933].  
 (London, 1952).

Front cover. Included are accounts based on interviews with eyewitnesses from all regions of the Soviet Ukraine and from the Kuban'.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

138. Dmytro Solovey.  
*Stezhky na Holhotu: vynyshchuvannia v Ukraini mil'ioniv liudei terorom ta shtuchnym holodom v 1929-1933 rokakh*  
 [On the Paths to Golgotha: The Extermination of Millions in the Ukraine by Terror and Artificial Famine in 1929-1933].  
 (Detroit, 1952).

Includes interviews with survivors from Reshetylivka and Karlivka regions (Poltava oblast'), and Vil'shany and Vovchans'k regions (Kharkiv oblast').

Widener Library  
 (Gift of Peter Slusarchuk)

139. *The Golgotha of Ukraine: Eye-witness Accounts of the Famine in Ukraine Instigated and Fostered by the Kremlin in an Attempt to Quell Ukrainian Resistance to Soviet Russian National and Social Enslavement of the Ukrainian People.*  
 Compiled by Dmytro Solovey; foreword by Dr. Luke Myshuha; translated and edited by Stephen Shumeyko.  
 (New York, 1953).

Widener Library  
 (Gift of Peter Slusarchuk)

140. Olexa Woropay.  
*V dev'iatim kruzi . . .*  
 [In the Ninth Circle].  
 (London, 1953).

Testimony from villages around the town of Khmil'nyk (Vinnytsia oblast'), in the Podillia region. Also includes accounts based on interviews with victims from all regions of the Soviet Ukraine.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of Dr. Ivan Panchuk)

141. Olexa Woropay.  
*The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933.*  
 With a foreword by Moira Roberts.  
 (London, 1954).

Widener Library  
 (Ukrainian Studies fund)

142. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book.*  
 Edited by S.O. Pidhainy, V.I. Hryshko, P.P. Pavlovych, I.I. Sandul and A.P. Stepovyi; translated by M. Coach, J. Hladun, A. Oreletsky and O. Prychodko.  
 (Toronto-Detroit, 1953-1955), 2 vols.

The most comprehensive compilation of eyewitness accounts.

Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

143. *Holod 1933 r. v Ukraini: svidchennia pro vynyshchuvannia Moskovoiu ukraïns'koho selianstva*  
 [The Hunger of 1933 in the Ukraine: Testimony on Moscow's Extermination of the Ukrainian Peasantry].  
 Compiled by Iurii Semenko.  
 (München, 1963).

Accounts by victims from all regions of the Soviet Ukraine and the Kuban'.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of Michael Bazansky)



144-145. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.

146. Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1953–1964), spent his student years in the Ukraine, worked and rose to political prominence there. In his memoirs he wrote the following:

“The controversy over collectivization sparked a rapid turnover in the Moscow Party leadership. . . .

It was when Kaganovich was the leader of the Moscow organization that word began to leak out that there was trouble on the collective farms, although I never had any idea that trouble meant peasant uprisings and that people were sent out from Moscow to put them down. . . .

“Subsequently the word got around that famine had broken out in the Ukraine. I couldn’t believe it. I’d left the Ukraine in 1929, only three years before, when the Ukraine had pulled itself up to prewar living standards. Food had been plentiful and cheap. Yet now, we were told, people were starving. It was incredible.

“It wasn’t until many years later, when Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan told me the following story, that I found out how bad things had really been in the Ukraine in the early thirties. Mikoyan told me 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. A train recently pulled into Kiev loaded with corpses of people who had starved to death. It had picked up corpses all the way from Poltava to Kiev. . . .’

“. . . Perhaps we’ll never know how many people perished directly as a result of collectivization, or indirectly as a result of Stalin’s eagerness to blame its failure on others. But two things are certain: first, the Stalin brand of collectivization brought us nothing but misery and brutality; and second, Stalin played the decisive role in the leadership of our country at the time.”

From:

Nikita Khrushchev.

*Khrushchev Remembers.*

Translated and edited by Strobe Talbott; with an introduction, commentary and notes by Edward Crankshaw. (Boston, 1970), pp. 73–74.

Widener Library

(*Gift of Bohdan and Neonila Krawciw*)

147. Lev Kopelev, literary scholar, Soviet dissident and a native of the Ukraine, was a Party activist and the editor of a Ukrainian language newspaper in Kharkiv during collectivization. He served as a model for the character of Rubin in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s *First Circle*. An excerpt from the English translation of Kopelev’s memoir follows (no. 148).

Lev Kopelev.

*I sotvoril sebe kumira*

[And I Set Myself Up an Idol].

(Ann Arbor, 1978).

Widener Library

(*From the Bright Legacy*)

148. In a chapter entitled “The Last Grain Collections (1933),” Kopelev wrote the following:

“I have always remembered the winter of the last grain collections, the weeks of the great famine. And I have always told about it. But I did not begin to write it down until many years later. . . .

“And while I wrote the rough drafts and read them to friends, questions arose. . . . How could all this have happened? Who was guilty of the famine which destroyed millions of lives? How could I have participated in it? . . .

“We were raised as the fanatical adepts of a new creed, the only true *religion* of scientific socialism. The party became our church militant, bequeathing to all mankind eternal salvation, eternal peace and the bliss of an earthly paradise. It victoriously surmounted all other churches, schisms and heresies. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin were accepted as holy writ, and Stalin was the infallible high priest. . . .

“My father [an agronomist very sympathetic toward the Ukrainian peasantry] arrived after a trip through the provinces, where he had been checking on the preparations for planting sugar beets. He sat hunched over; his face was dark and his eyes inflamed, as if after a bout of malaria. But he was not emaciated. People didn’t go hungry at the sugar refineries. ‘No, I’m not the one who’s sick. What kind of sicknesses do we have nowadays? What’s the matter — don’t you understand? The heart is sick. The brain is splitting open. I’ve seen things I’ve never had to see before. I couldn’t even have imagined them. I never would have believed them. . . .’

“Father was gloomy and immediately lit into me. ‘Everything is done for! Do you understand? No grain in the village! I’m not talking about the Central Workers Co-op or the city store, but the village. The grain growers are dying of starvation! Not some derelict tramps, not some unemployed Americans, but the Ukrainian grain growers are dying from want of grain! And my dear little boy helped to take it away. The people who ordered it should



have their heads torn off. The rulers who have brought the Ukraine to famine should be swept out with the shit broom.' ”

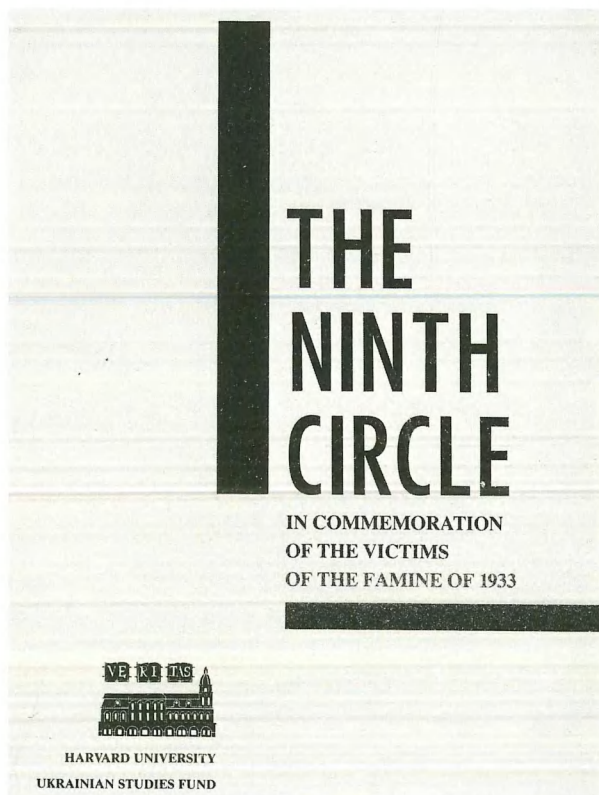
From:  
Lev Kopelev.

*The Education of a True Believer.*

Translated from the Russian by Gary Kern.  
(New York, 1980), pp. 248-249 and 268-269.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

OLEXA WOROPAY  
EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
JAMES E. MACE



151. Olexa Woropay.  
*The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933.*

Edited with an introduction by James E. Mace.  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

Front cover.

Widener Library  
(Deposited copy)

149. Hryts'ko Siryk.

*Pid sontsem obezdolenykh: uryvky zi spohadiv "Trahediia moieï rodyny"*

[Under the Sun of the Unfortunate: Excerpts from Memoirs Entitled "The Tragedy of My Family"].  
(Toronto, 1982-1983), 3 vols.

An account from Voronizh (Sumy oblast'), in the northern Ukraine.

Widener Library  
(Iwan and Tetiana Stelmach fund)

150. Pavlo Makohon.

*Svidok: spohady pro Holod 33-ho roku.*

*Witness: Memoirs of the Famine of 1933 in Ukraine.*

Translated by Vera Moroz.  
(Toronto, 1983).

Recounts events in the village of Troïts'ke in the Petropavlivka region (Dnipropetrovs'k oblast').

Widener Library  
(John Bonk fund)

\*152. Miron Dolot.

*Execution By Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust.*

Introduction by Adam Ulam.

(New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

Dolot's memoir is the first eyewitness account of the Famine issued by a major American publisher. The author lived in a village on the Tiasmyn River, in Cherkasy oblast'.

153. The Russian composer Dmitrii Shostakovich (1906-1975), in this passage from his memoirs, describes Stalin's massacre of the *bandurysty*, the Ukraine's blind peasant minstrels.

"... national art was considered counterrevolutionary. Why? Because it was, like any ancient art, religious, cultic. If it's religious, then tear it out with its roots. I hope someone will write down the history of how our great native art was destroyed in the twenties and thirties. It was destroyed forever because it was oral. When they shoot a folk singer or a wandering storyteller, hundreds of great musical works die with him. Works that had never been written down. They die forever, irrevocably, because another singer represents other songs.

"I'm not a historian. I could tell many tragic tales and cite many examples, but I won't do that. I will tell about one incident, only one. It's a horrible story and every time I think of it I grow frightened and I don't want to remember it. Since time immemorial, folk singers have wandered along the roads of the Ukraine. They're called *lirniki* and *banduristy* there. They were almost always blind men — why that is so is another question that I won't go into, but briefly, it's traditional. The point is, they were always blind and defenseless people, but no one ever touched or hurt them. Hurting a blind man — what could be lower?

"And then in the mid thirties the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Lirniki and Banduristy was announced, and

all the folk singers had to gather and discuss what to do in the future. 'Life is better, life is merrier,' Stalin had said. The blind men believed it. They came to the congress from all over the Ukraine, from tiny, forgotten villages. There were several hundred of them at the congress, they say. It was a living museum, the country's living history. All its songs, all its music and poetry. And they were almost all shot, almost all those pathetic blind men killed.

"Why was it done? Why the sadism — killing the blind? Just like that, so that they wouldn't get underfoot. Mighty deeds were being done there, complete collectivization was under way, they had destroyed kulaks as a class, and here were these blind men, walking around singing songs of dubious content. The songs weren't passed by the censors. And what kind of censorship can you have with blind men? You can't hand a blind man a corrected and approved text and you can't write him an order either. You have to tell everything to a blind man. That takes too long. And you can't file away a piece of paper, and there's no time anyway. Collectivization. Mechanization. It was easier to shoot them. And so they did."

From:

Dmitrii Shostakovich.

*Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich.*

As related to and edited by Solomon Volkov; translated from the Russian by Antonina W. Bouis.

(New York, 1979), pp. 214-215.

Widener Library

(*Horace Davis fund*)



154. A blind Ukrainian minstrel in Kiev playing the bandura (1918).

## Part 8: The Famine in Literature

The post-war Ukrainian emigration has produced numerous literary accounts of the Famine. The emotional force of the topic is so overwhelming that almost all of the Ukrainian writers who left the Soviet Union and reached the West have devoted great effort to portraying the twenties and thirties. The novels, short stories and poems by these representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who traditionally had close ties to the village, provide the victims' perspective on the Famine.

In Soviet literature, the subject of the Famine was discussed for the first time during Khrushchev's "Thaw," when limited criticism of past policy by loyal members of the Soviet establishment was permitted. A number of Soviet writers have since dealt effectively with the attitudes and motives of the Party activists whose policies brought about the mass starvation.

155. Dokiia Humenna.  
*Dity Chumats'koho shliakhu: roman*  
[Children of the Milky Way: A Novel].  
(München, 1948-1951), 4 vols.

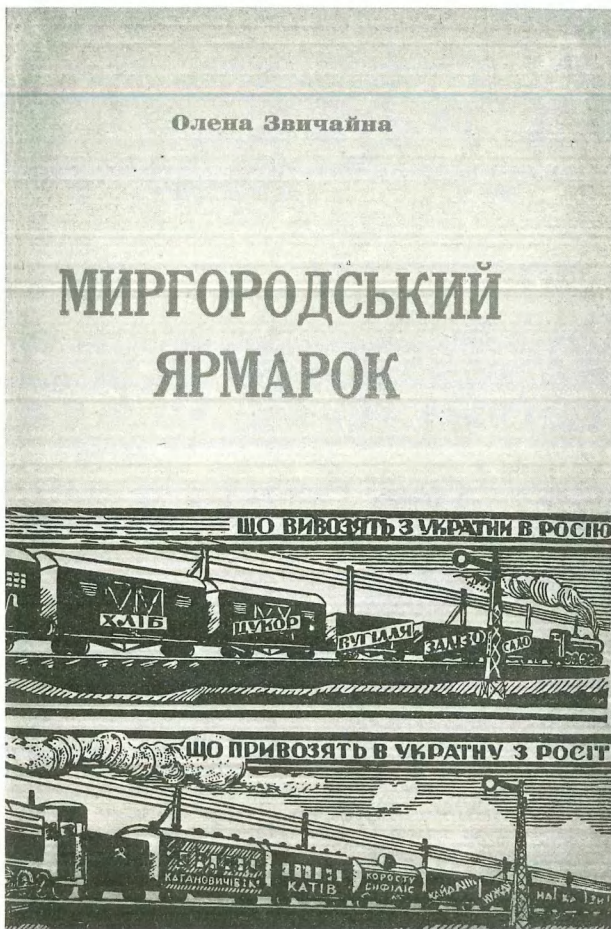
Widener Library  
(*Amy Richmond Sheldon fund*)

156. Teodosii Os'machka.  
*Plan do dvoru: povist'*  
[The Grain Requisition Quota: A Novel].  
(Toronto, 1951).

Widener Library  
(*Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund*)

157. Zosym Donchuk.  
*Prirva: roman*  
[The Abyss: A Novel].  
(Chicago, 1959).

Widener Library  
(*Gift of Kalenik Lissiuk*)



158. Olena Zvychna.  
*Myrhorods'kyi iarmarok*  
[The Fair at Myrhorod].  
(München, 1953).

Front cover.

Widener Library  
(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

159. Mykola Ponedilok.

*Hovoryt' lyshe pole . . . : noveli, narysy, opovidannia*

[Only the Fields Speak . . . : Short Stories].

(Toronto, 1962).

Illustration by Halyna Mazepa to Ponedilok's short story  
"Chorna khustka" [The Black Kerchief].

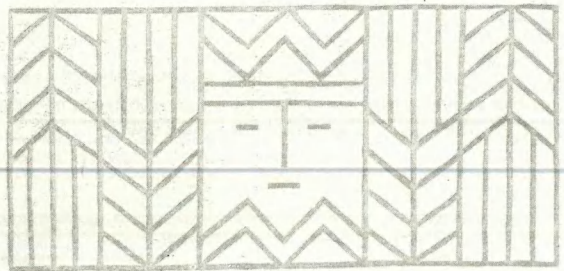
Widener Library

(Gift of Michael Bazansky)



В А С И Ь

Б А Р К А



Ж О В Т И

К Н Я З Ъ

160. Vasyl' Barka.

*Zhovtyi kniaz': povist'*

[The Yellow Prince: A Novel].

(München, 1962).

Front cover. Also issued in French translation: Paris, Gal-  
limard, 1981.

Widener Library

(Gift of Iosyp Hirniak)

161. Pavlo Maliar.

*Zoloty doshch: roman*

[Golden Rain: A Novel].

(Toronto, 1965-1975), 3 vols.

Widener Library

(Keller fund)

162. Mykhailo Lavrenko.

*Dva kolosky: zbirka opovidan' iz velykoï trahedii ukrains'koho  
narodu 1932-1933*

[Two Blades of Wheat: Short Stories About the Years of  
the Great Tragedy of the Ukrainian People 1932-1933].

(New York, 1973).

Widener Library

(Ukrainian Studies fund)

163. Ol'ha Mak.

*Kaminnia pid kosoïu: povist'*

[Stones Under the Scythe: A Novel].

(Toronto, 1973).

Widener Library

(Ukrainian Studies fund)

164. Oleksa Hai-Holovko.

*Smertel'noiu dorohoïu: podii nashoho chasu*

[Along the Road of Death: Events of Our Time].

(Winnipeg, 1979-1983), 2 vols.

Widener Library

(Iwan and Tetiana Stelmach fund)



165-166. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.

167. The Soviet writer Ivan Stadniuk lived through the Famine as a child in his native Ukrainian village of Kordyshivka in Vinnytsia oblast'. His novel *Liudi ne angely* [People Are Not Angels], which first appeared in the December 1962 issue of the Leningrad journal *Neva*, included the first open discussion of the Famine in Soviet literature.

Ivan Stadniuk.  
*Liudi ne angely: roman*  
[People Are Not Angels: A Novel].  
(Moskva, 1963).

Widener Library  
(Keller fund)

168. Ivan Stadniuk.  
*People Are Not Angels*.  
Translated from the Russian by P.A. Spalding and I. Antonenko.  
(London, 1963).

Widener Library  
(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

169. Ivan Stadniuk.  
*Liudy ne anhely: roman*  
[People Are Not Angels: A Novel].  
Translated into Ukrainian by Mykola Shevchenko.  
(Kyïv, 1968).

Widener Library  
(*Gift of Bohdan and Neonila Krawciw*)

170. The well-known Soviet writer Vasilii Grossman (1905-1964) was a native of the Ukraine and worked as an engineer in the Donbas industrial region during the 1930s. In his last novel *Vse techet . . .* [Forever Flowing], Grossman deals with the period of forced collectivization and the Famine from the perspective of the Party activists. Although the KGB intended to confiscate all of Grossman's papers upon his death, the manuscript of his last work survived in samizdat and was published commercially in 1970 by the Russian émigré organization Possev. An excerpt from the English translation follows (no. 171).

Vasilii Grossman.  
*Vse techet . . .*  
[Forever Flowing].  
(Frankfurt am Main, 1970).

Widener Library  
(*National Defense Education Act fund*)

171. "True, they [the Party activists] were under a spell—they had sold themselves on the idea that the so-called 'kulaks' were pariahs, untouchables, vermin. They would not sit down at a 'parasite's' table; the 'kulak' child was loathsome; the young 'kulak' girl was lower than a louse. They looked on the so-called 'kulaks' as cattle, swine, loathsome, repulsive: they had no souls; they stank; they all had venereal diseases; they were enemies of the people and exploited the labor of others. . . .

"And there was no pity for them. They were not to be regarded as people; they were not human beings; one had a hard time making out what they were—vermin, evidently. . . .

"And nowadays I look back on the liquidation of the kulaks in a quite different light—I am no longer under a spell, and I can see the human beings there. But why had I been so benumbed? After all, I could see then how people were being tortured and how badly they were being treated! But what I said to myself at the time was 'They are not human beings, they are kulaks.' . . . What torture was meted out to them! In order to massacre them, it was necessary to proclaim that kulaks are not human beings. Just as the Germans proclaimed that Jews are not human beings. Thus did Lenin and Stalin: kulaks are not human beings. But that is a lie. They are people! They are human beings! That's what I have finally come to understand. They are all human beings! . . .

". . . And, as a Party activist, I was sent to the Ukraine in order to strengthen a collective farm. In the Ukraine, we were told, they had an instinct for private property that



was stronger than in the Russian Republic. And truly, truly, the whole business was much worse in the Ukraine than it was with us. . . .

". . . Moscow assigned grain production and delivery quotas to the provinces, and the provinces then assigned them to the districts. And our village was given a quota that it couldn't have fulfilled in ten years! In the village soviet even those who weren't drinkers took to drink out of terror. It was clear that Moscow was basing its hopes on the Ukraine. And the upshot of it was that most of the subsequent anger was directed against the Ukraine. What they said was simple: you have failed to fulfill the plan, and that means that you yourself are an unliquidated kulak. . . .

"Who was it who then signed the act which imposed mass murder? I often wonder whether it was really Stalin. I think there has never been such a decree in all the long history of Russia. Not the czars certainly, not the Tatars, nor even the German occupation forces had ever promulgated such a terrible decree. For the decree required that the peasants of the Ukraine, the Don, and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their tiny children. The instructions were to take away the entire seed fund. Grain was searched for as if it were not grain but bombs and machine guns. The whole earth was stabbed with bayonets and ramrods. Cellars were dug up, floors were broken through, and vegetable gardens were turned over. From some they confiscated even the grain in their houses—in pots or troughs. They even took baked bread away from one woman, loaded it onto the cart, and hauled it off to the district. Day and night the carts creaked along, laden with the confiscated grain, and dust hung over the earth."

From:  
Vasilii Grossman.  
*Forever Flowing*.  
Translated from the Russian by Thomas P. Whitney.  
(New York, 1972), pp. 142-144 and 148-150.

Widener Library  
(*John Amory Lowell bequest*)



172-174. Photographs taken in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933.

175. In his efforts to reach an all-encompassing historical and philosophical understanding of the Revolution and Bolshevik rule, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn devotes considerable attention to the liquidation of the kulaks, forced collectivization and the Famine. For example, in the novel *V krughe pervom* [The First Circle], the character Rubín, based on Lev Kopelev, who served time in the Gulag with Solzhenitsyn, tries to deal with memories of his youth as a Party activist in the famine-stricken Ukraine.

“It all seemed perfectly natural: to dig up pits filled with buried grain, to keep the owners from milling their grain or baking bread, to prevent their getting water from the wells. And if a peasant child died—die, you starving devils, and your children with you, but you’ll not bake bread! It evoked no pity in him but became as ordinary as a city streetcar when at dawn the solitary cart drawn by an exhausted horse went through the stifled, deathly village.

“A whiplash at a shutter: ‘Any corpses? Bring them out.’  
 “And at the next shutter: ‘Any corpses? Bring them out.’  
 “And soon it was: ‘Hey! Anyone still alive?’



“ . . . He felt a burning pressure in his head. Seared with a red-hot brand. And sometimes he had the feeling that his wounds were retribution, prison was retribution, his illnesses were retribution.

“Therefore his imprisonment was just. But since he now understood that what he had done was dreadful, and would never do it again, and had atoned for it. . . . How could he purge himself of it? To whom could he say that it had never happened? From now on let us consider that it never happened! We shall act as if it never happened!

“What will one sleepless night drain from the miserable soul of the man who has erred?”

From:

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

*The First Circle.*

Translated from the Russian by Thomas P. Whitney.  
 (New York, 1968), pp. 414-415.

Widener Library

(*George B. Sohier Prize fund*)

176. The case of the poet Mykola Rudenko provides striking evidence of the potential for disillusionment and dissent even at the highest level of membership in the Party and the Soviet Ukrainian literary intelligentsia. Disabled for life by wounds received in the course of his heroic military service during the Second World War, Rudenko turned to writing and soon achieved considerable prominence, becoming editor of the literary journal *Dnipro* and later head of the Party organization of the official Union of Writers of the Ukraine. In the early 1970s, at the height of his literary career, Rudenko joined the movement for the defense of human and national rights in the Soviet Union. In 1976 as a leading Soviet dissident, Rudenko became head of the Kiev Helsinki Monitoring Group. Subsequently, he was arrested and in 1977 sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and five years of exile. During his incarceration in a psychiatric ward in early 1976, Rudenko wrote the poem *Khrest* [The Cross]. In this work, Rudenko laments the fate of the Ukraine in a personal encounter with Christ on Ukrainian soil over the corpses of the victims of the Famine. Rudenko is thus the exception to a whole generation of Soviet Ukrainian writers who as children lived through the Famine but have remained silent about their ordeal.

Mykola Rudenko.

*Khrest: poema*

[The Cross: A Poem].

(Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1977).

Front cover, designed by Volodymyr Hruszkewycz.

The text first appeared in samizdat.

Widener Library

(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)





## Part 9: Scholarship on the Famine and on its Historical Context

Until recently, scholarly work on the Famine has been quite limited. The lack of systematic study of a historical event of such magnitude and tragedy is a result of the fact that in the Soviet Union, where the great majority of survivors live and where archival records of the starvation are held, the Famine is a banned subject. The official Soviet position on the subject was dramatically illustrated by Stalin's liquidation of the members of the 1937 Soviet Census Commission and the suppression of the Commission's findings, which reflected the loss of life wrought by collectivization and purges throughout the Soviet Union and showed a catastrophic drop in the number of Ukrainians. Soviet scholarship must work within the limits set by the Soviet political leadership, and this control is especially strong and evident on a subject as sensitive as the Famine. Official statements by Soviet leaders on the cost of collectivization and on the situation in the Ukraine in 1933 are marked by reticence, distortion and the liberal use of euphemism. Even Soviet leaders with a

reputation for "liberalism," such as Nikita Khrushchev or Petro Shelest, displayed a lack of frankness when dealing with the subject. Official histories of Soviet agriculture, collectivization and the Ukraine of the 1930s cannot present an honest or reliable treatment of these topics.

178. "In the process of collective farm construction we did not avoid certain well-known errors. But these were errors of feeling our way, errors caused by inexperience. The Party itself boldly uncovered these errors, spoke openly about them to the people and corrected them. Unfortunately, there are still to this day people who love to play up the costs of this great revolutionary task."

From:

Leonid Brezhnev.

"Rech' tovarishcha L.I. Brezhneva"

[Speech by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev].

In: *Tretii Vsesoiuznyi s'ezd kolkhoznikov 25-27 noiabria 1969 goda: stenograficheskiy otchet*

[The Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, 25-27 November 1969: Stenographic Account].

(Moskva, 1970), p. 21.

Widener Library

(From the Collection of Merle Fainsod)



177. Mass graves outside of Kharkiv, 1933.

179. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1963-1972), Petro Shelest encouraged certain manifestations of Ukrainian cultural life. *Our Soviet Ukraine* is the major statement of Shelest's Soviet Ukrainian patriotism. In 1973, Shelest was purged from the Soviet leadership for an overly assertive Ukrainian stance and an idealization of the Ukrainian past as evidenced in his policies and in his book. In this passage from *Our Soviet Ukraine*, the "liberal" and "crypto-nationalist" Shelest deals with the Famine.

"The workers and peasants of our republic successfully implemented the goals of the first Five Year Plan. The Ukraine, in the brotherly family of Soviet republics, transformed itself into an advanced industrial and collective-farm state. . . . The collective farm system created hitherto unheard-of conditions for the flowering of socialist agriculture, for the cultured and prosperous life of the peasantry. . . .

"In the life of the Soviet land, in the construction of socialism, the years of the first Five Year Plan were heroic and victorious. They were, however, at the same time difficult and complex. An especially difficult situation developed with food supply in 1933. But these difficulties too were overcome."

From:

Petro Shelest.

*Ukraino nasha Radians'ka*

[*Our Soviet Ukraine*].

(Kyiv, 1970), p. 60.

Widener Library

(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

180. The following passage is a typical example of Soviet scholarly treatment of the Famine:

"The great difficulties with which the Ukraine met in those years [the early thirties] were closely tied to the unsatisfactory management of the economies of collective farms, ignorance of the Leninist principle of the [personal] material motivation of collective farmers in communal production, lack of experience in directing large-scale agriculture, the poor condition of live draft power [presumably livestock], the disorganized waging of harvest campaigns and great losses of harvested grain.

"Inadequacies in the collective farms were also the result of the influence and subversive work of remnants of kulakdom that infiltrated the collective farms. Creeping into collective farms, kulaks caused damage to collective farm production. They broke machines, liquidated horses, messed-up the accounting, embezzled and sold collective-farm property and so forth. Many local Party organizations did not uncover the new tactics of the class enemy in time and thereby allowed him to cause serious harm to the collective farm movement.

"It should also be noted that big mistakes were made and the extremes were reached in the course of carrying out a number of economic and political campaigns, especially grain requisitions."

From:

Ivan Hanzha, Ivan Slyn'ko, Panteleimon Shostak.

"Ukrainskoe selo na puti k sotsializmu"

[*The Ukrainian Village on the Path to Socialism*].

In: *Ocherki istorii kollektivizatsii sel'skogo khoziaistva v*

*soiuznykh respublikakh*

[*Outlines of the History of Collectivization of Agriculture in the Union Republics*].

(Moskva, 1963), p. 199.

Widener Library

(*Keller fund*)

181. "The decline in rural population was to some extent the result of the liquidation of kulaks as a class, which led to the deportation of more than 60,000 kulak families from the Ukraine. Finally, the decline in rural population was related to a severe shortage of food products in 1931, 1932 and in the first half of 1933, which resulted from a poor harvest and incorrect planning of grain procurement."

From:

Ivan Slyn'ko.

"Vyrishal'nyi povorot selianstva Ukrainy na sotsialistichnyi shliakh rozvytku"

[*The Decisive Change of the Ukrainian Peasantry to a Socialist Path of Development*].

In: *Istoriia selianstva Ukrain'skoi RSR*

[*History of the Peasantry of the Ukrainian SSR*].

(Kyiv, 1967), vol. 2, p. 175.

Widener Library

(*Keller fund*)

182. "Judging by certain unrelated and contradictory data, the decline of the mortality rate slowed down somewhat in the period of reconstruction of the national economy. In various regions the mortality rate declined at an uneven pace. Thus, it seems the loss of livestock in Kazakhstan in 1930 and the bad harvest of 1932 in the Ukraine actually resulted in a temporary rise in the mortality rate."

From:

Viktor Ivanovich Kozlov.

*Natsional'nosti SSSR: etnodemograficheskii obzor*

[*Nationalities of the USSR: An Ethnodemographic Survey*].

(Moskva, 1975), p. 153.

Widener Library

(*Keller fund*)

The dissident movement of the 1960s and 1970s produced a number of attempts at an honest scholarly treatment of the Famine. Given police repression, the inaccessibility of archives and the lack of conditions necessary for normal work, dissident scholars within the Soviet Union could not write formal histories of the Stalinist period in general or the Famine in particular. Nevertheless, their work is evidence of a deep interest in the subject in certain circles of the Soviet academic world.

183. The Soviet historian Anton Antonov-Ovseenko, son of the commander of the first Bolshevik army sent into the Ukraine during the Revolution, wrote a biography of Stalin and a history of his rule from the perspective of the Soviet political and academic elite. In this passage from the English translation of his work *The Time of Stalin—Portrait of a Tyranny*, Antonov-Ovseenko describes the suppression of the results of the Census of 1937.

“The first Soviet census was taken in 1920, the second in 1926. The population figure reported then was 148.8 million. The demographers estimated the yearly ‘natural increase’ at 2.3 percent, with the rural districts accounting for between 2.7 and 2.8 percent and the urban districts between 1.7 and 1.8 percent. (As I have said, the Soviet population was predominantly rural.)

“The third census was carried out in January 1937. Stalin placed great hopes in it. To show the world one more great achievement of the land of socialism. The natural increase since 1926 should have been about 37.6 million. (Calculating simply, without compounding the percentage:  $11 \times 2.3\% = 25.3\% = 37.6$  million.)

“But the 1937 census results were shattering. There were only about 156 million citizens in our great socialist state after all. The increase had been only 7.2 million. A deficit of 30.4 million. How many of those deaths should be attributed to the prisons and camps and how many to the famine? It’s difficult, in fact impossible, to tell.

“Should the census results be announced? Wouldn’t it be better to denounce them as the product of sabotage and ‘wrecking’? That’s exactly what Stalin did. On September 26 *Pravda* published a communiqué of the Council of People’s Commissars. It seems that ‘extremely crude violations of the elementary principles of statistical science’ had occurred in the census taking. Therefore the government was declaring the census results unsatisfactory.

“The data were immediately confiscated and destroyed, but the figures were still being carried around in the heads of statistical agency chiefs. The first head to fly off its shoulders was that of Ivan Kraval, head of the Central Statistical Bureau. . . . All of Kraval’s deputies disappeared with him. No, I’m wrong—one of them survived. . . .

“Thus, the 1937 census became an *un-thing*. Yet it was awkward somehow to go without a census altogether, especially in the eyes of Western Europe. The Gensek [General Secretary, i.e. Stalin] set a new census for 1939.

The results of this one were more like it. His subjects numbered 170 million—a two-year increase of fourteen million.”

From:

Anton Antonov-Ovseenko.

*The Time of Stalin—Portrait of a Tyranny.*

Translated from the Russian by George Saunders with an introduction by Stephen F. Cohen.

(New York, 1981), pp. 207–208.

Widener Library

(*Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund*)

184. *Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.: The Ukrainian Herald Issue 7-8, Spring 1974.*

Compiled by Maksym Sahaydak; introduction by Robert Conquest; translated from the Ukrainian and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.

(Baltimore, 1976).

Compiled by Ukrainian dissidents in the Soviet Union who wished to document the human losses suffered by the Ukraine under Soviet rule. In this work, based on information culled from official Soviet publications and the testimony of eyewitnesses, special attention is given to the Famine.

Widener Library

(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

The Ukrainian emigration has shown considerable energy in producing scholarship, much of it of the popular variety, on the Famine and Stalinism in the Ukraine. The body of work produced in the Displaced Persons’ camps in Germany in the late 1940s represents the first attempt of a traumatized generation of Ukrainian intellectuals to understand and make sense of the overwhelming events they had experienced. A number of these works were translated and published by Western academic presses.

185. Mykola Kovalevs’kyi.

*Ukraina pid chervonym yarmom: dokumenty i fakty*

[The Ukraine Under the Red Yoke: Documents and Facts].

(L’viv, 1936).

Widener Library

(*Wasył Kyj Family fund*)

186. Stepan Nykoloshyn.

*Kul’turna polityka bol’shevykiv i ukrains’kyi kul’turnyi protses* [Cultural Policies of the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian Cultural Process].

([Germany], 1947).

Widener Library

(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

187. Nester Olezhko.

*Ahrarna polityka bol'shevykiv: sprobа istorychnoho analizu*  
[Agricultural Policies of the Bolsheviks: An Attempt at a  
Historical Analysis].  
([Germany], 1947).

Widener Library

(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)



188. Semen Pidhainyi.

*Ukraïns'ka intelihentsiia na Solovkakh: spohady 1933-1941*  
[The Ukrainian Intelligentsia on the Solovki Islands:  
Memoirs 1933-1941].  
([Germany], 1947).

Front cover.

Widener Library

(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

189. Iurii Lavrinenko.

*Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy Toward the  
Ukraine: An Annotated Bibliography 1917-1953.*  
(New York, 1953).

Widener Library

(From the Collection of Merle Fainsod)



190. Dmytro Solovey.

*Holhota Ukraïny: moskovs'ko-bol'shevyts'kyi okupatsiinyi  
teror v URSR mizh pershoiu i druhoiu svitovoiu viinoiu*  
[The Golgotha of the Ukraine: Muscovite-Bolshevik  
Occupation Terror in the Ukrainian SSR Between the  
First and Second World Wars].  
(Winnipeg, 1953).

Front cover.

Widener Library

(Ukrainian Studies fund)

191. Fedir Pigido.

*Ukraïna pid bol'shevyts'koiu okupatsiieiu: materiialy do istorii  
borot'by ukraïns'koho narodu v 1920-30 rokakh*  
[The Ukraine Under Bolshevik Occupation: Materials on  
the History of the Struggle of the Ukrainian People in the  
1920s and 1930s].  
(München, 1956).

Widener Library

(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

192. George S. N. Luckyj.  
*Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine 1917-1934.*  
(New York, 1956).

Widener Library  
(From the Collection of Merle Fainsod)

193. Vsevolod Holubnychyi.  
"Prychyny holodu 1932-1933 rr."  
[Causes of the Famine of 1932-1933]  
*Vpered* [Forward] (München) 1958, no. 10, pp. 1, 5-6.

Widener Library  
(Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

194. Iurii Lavrinenko.  
*Rozstriliane vidrodzhennia: antolohiia 1917-1933: poeziia, proza, drama, esei*  
[The Executed Rebirth: An Anthology 1917-1933: Poetry, Prose, Drama, Essays].  
(Paris, 1959).

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

195. Viktor Petrov.  
*Ukrains'ki kul'turni diiaci URSS 1920-1940—zherty bil'shovyt's'koho teroru*  
[Ukrainian Cultural Activists of the Ukrainian SSR 1920-1940—Victims of Bolshevik Terror].  
(New York, 1959).

Widener Library  
(Keller fund)

196. Hryhory Kostiuk.  
*Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror, 1929-1939.*  
(München, 1960).

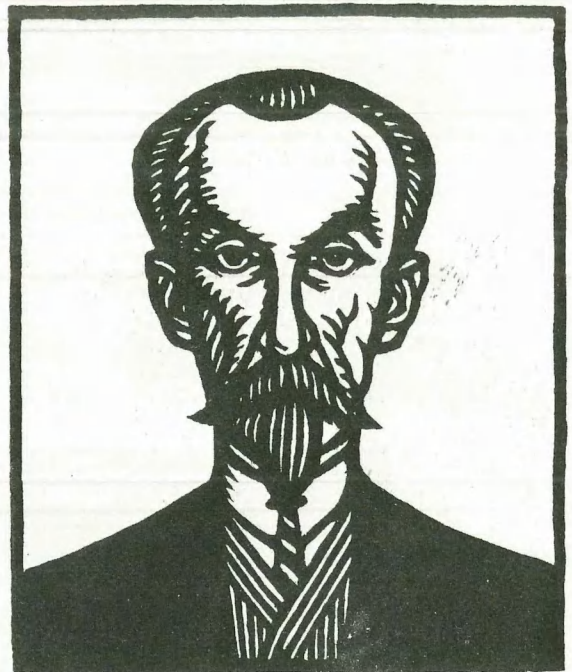
Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

197. Ivan Koshelivets'.  
*Mykola Skrypnyk.*  
(München, 1972).

Widener Library  
(Ukrainian Studies fund)

198. Alexandra Pidhainy.  
"A Bibliography of the Great Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933," *New Review* 1973, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 32-68.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)



МИКОЛА СКРИПНИК  
СТАТТІ І ПРОМОВИ  
ВИДАВНИЦТВО · СУЧАСНІСТЬ · 1974

199. Mykola Skrypnyk.  
*Statti i promovy z natsional'noho pytannia*  
[Articles and Speeches on the Nationalities Question].  
Compiled by Ivan Koshelivets'.  
(München, 1974).

Front cover, designed by Jacques Hnizdovsky.

Widener Library  
(Ukrainian Studies fund)



200. Vasyl' Hryshko.  
*Ukraïns'kyi "Holokost," 1933*  
 [The Ukrainian "Holocaust," 1933].  
 (Toronto, 1978).

Front cover, designed by Bohdan Tytla, from an original painting by Viktor Tsymbal.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

201. Vsevolod Holubnychy.  
 "The Causes of the Famine of 1932-33," *Meta* [Goal]  
 (Toronto) 1979, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 22-25.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

202. Ivan Maistrenko.  
*Istoriia Komunistychnoi Partii Ukraïny*  
 [History of the Communist Party of the Ukraine].  
 (München, 1979).

Widener Library  
 (Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute)

203. Vasyl' Hryshko.  
*The Ukrainian Holocaust of 1933.*  
 Edited and translated by Marco Carynnyk.  
 (Toronto, 1983).

Widener Library  
 (Ukrainian Studies fund)

Although a number of important articles on the human costs of collectivization were published in the 1960s, the Famine occupied only a marginal place in the historical writings produced by the post-war generation of Western Sovietologists. Some saw the Famine as evidence of Soviet economic ineptitude, of squeezing the agricultural South too hard during the massive exertions of the first Five Year Plan. Others viewed it as a means of forcing the peasants into the collective farms. Such interpretations, although certainly not lacking in value, were, however, based on cursory examinations of the Famine in the course of work on other historical problems.

The systematic study of the Famine by Western scholars had to await the early 1980s. A number of conferences were held in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Famine, and students of the Famine have taken part in international conferences on the problem of genocide.

The Famine Project established by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University in 1981 has been most decisive in the organization of scholarly work on the Famine. Members of the Project include Robert Conquest, senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, author of *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* and numerous other seminal works on Soviet history; James E. Mace, research associate at the Ukrainian Research Institute and director of the Project; and S. Maksudov, an exiled Soviet demographer who specializes in the study of unnatural deaths in the USSR under Stalin. Conquest, Mace and Maksudov have conducted basic research, presented preliminary findings in article form, and contributed toward the preparation of the first comprehensive history of the Famine, scheduled to appear in early 1986 under Conquest's authorship. Other aspects of the Project include the publication of memoirs on the Famine, the systematic recording of the testimony of Famine survivors, and the preparation of this exhibition and catalogue.

204. Dana G. Dalrymple.  
"The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," *Soviet Studies* 1964,  
vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 250-284.

This article is the first Western attempt specifically to document and explain the Famine. Unfortunately, Dalrymple's pioneering work was not pursued further.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

205. Dana G. Dalrymple.  
"The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934: Some Further References," *Soviet Studies* 1965, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 471-474.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

206. Bohdan R. Bociurkiw.  
"The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church 1920-1930: A Case Study in Religious Modernization."  
In: *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union*.  
Edited by Dennis J. Dunn.  
(Boulder, 1977), pp. 310-347.

Widener Library  
(Horace Davis fund)

207. Bohdan R. Bociurkiw.  
"Ukrainization Movements within the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1979-1980, vol. 3-4, pp. 92-111.

Widener Library  
(Deposited copy)

208. Jurij Borys.  
*The Sovietization of Ukraine 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination*.  
(Edmonton, 1980).

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

209. Bohdan Krawchenko.  
"The Impact of Industrialization on the Social Structure of Ukraine," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 1980, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 338-357.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

210. Janusz Radziejewski.  
"Collectivization in Ukraine in Light of Soviet Historiography," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1980, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 3-17.

Widener Library  
(William Lyon Mackenzie King fund)

211. James William Crowl.  
*Angels in Stalin's Paradise: Western Reporters in Soviet Russia, 1917 to 1937: A Case Study of Louis Fischer and Walter Duranty*.

(Washington, D.C., 1982).

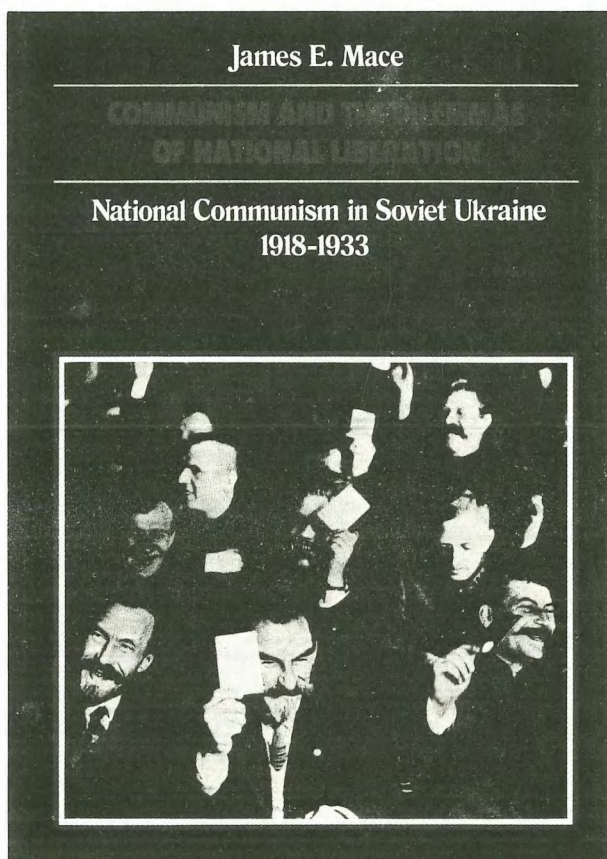
Includes an examination of the suppression of news on the Famine by Duranty and Fischer.

Widener Library  
(Franklin Temple Ingraham fund)

212. Titus D. Hewryk.  
*The Lost Architecture of Kiev*.  
(New York, 1982).

In the 1930s, Stalin waged a massive campaign of destruction of churches throughout the Soviet Union. Hewryk's volume is a catalogue of an exhibition held in the Ukrainian Museum in New York which documented the losses of Kiev in this period.

Fine Arts Library  
(Charles Sumner fund)



213. James E. Mace.  
*Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine 1918-1933*.  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

On front cover, a photograph of Mykola Skrypnyk, flanked by Rykov and Stalin, at the Sixteenth Party Congress, 1930.

Widener Library  
(Deposited copy)

214. James E. Mace.

"The Man-Made Famine of 1933 in the Soviet Ukraine: What Happened and Why?"

In: *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide*.

Edited by Israel W. Charny.  
(Boulder, 1984), pp. 67-83.

Text of a paper delivered at the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, 20-24 June 1982, in Tel Aviv.

215. "Famine—Ukraine—1933."

Program of a conference held at the University of Quebec in Montreal, 25-26 March 1983, and organized by Professor Roman Serbyn.

Participants included scholars from North America and Europe and Famine survivors. Conference papers are being prepared for publication.

216. S. Maksudov.

"The Geography of the Soviet Famine of 1933,"  
*Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1983, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 52-58.

Widener Library  
(*William Lyon Mackenzie King fund*)

217. S. Maksudov.

"Demograficheskie poteri naseleniia Ukrainy v 1927-1938 godakh,"

[Demographic losses of the population of the Ukraine in 1927-1938]

*Forum* (München) 1983, no. 4, pp. 198-212.

Widener Library  
(*Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund*)

218. James E. Mace.

"The *Komitety Nezamozhnykh Selyan* and the Structure of Soviet Rule in the Ukrainian Countryside, 1920-1933,"  
*Soviet Studies* 1983, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 487-503.

Widener Library  
(*Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund*)

\*219. Bohdan Krawchenko.

"The Man-Made Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine,"  
*Conflict Quarterly* 1984, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 29-39.

\*220. James E. Mace.

"Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine,"  
*Problems of Communism*, May-June 1984, pp. 37-50.

See also "Correspondence" by S.G. Wheatcroft and Mace in *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1985, pp. 132-138.

\*221. *The Man-Made Famine in Ukraine*.

Robert Conquest, Dana Dalrymple, James Mace, Michael Novak.  
(Washington, D.C., 1984).

Publication of papers and a discussion by the above-mentioned participants in a conference at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

\*222. Leonid Heretz.

"Oral History and the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933." Paper presented at the Seminar of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 18 October 1984.

During the summer of 1984, Heretz, a graduate student in the Department of History at Harvard and an associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute, interviewed more than fifty Famine survivors for an oral history project directed by James E. Mace and funded by the Ukrainian Professionals and Businesspersons Association of New Jersey. In this seminar presentation Heretz told of the application of the theory and techniques of oral history to the study of the Famine and provided a summary and preliminary analysis of his findings.

\*223. Alfred Alcorn.

"Studies Reveal Extent of 1932-33 'Terror Famine' in Ukraine," *Harvard Gazette*, 26 April 1985, p. 5.

\*224. Robert Conquest.

*The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*.

London: Hutchinson; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

(In press).



## Part 10: Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Famine

Ukrainian communities in the West have commemorated the Famine at regular intervals for five decades. These commemorations center on religious memorial services, the erection of monuments to the victims of the Famine, and the publication of material on the Famine. The 50th anniversary witnessed the most successful, varied and large-scale commemoration. The success and magnitude of the 50th anniversary can be attributed to the growing confidence and sophistication of the Ukrainian community and its driving desire to ensure that the Famine, which occurred half a century ago, not slip from historical memory with the passing of the generation that survived it. Most significant in this regard is the willingness of the Ukrainian community to support the indispensable scholarly work of the Harvard Famine Project, of which this exhibition and catalogue are one product.



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

TERROR AND HUMAN MISERY  
AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET  
RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

225. *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust: In Solemn Observance of the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33.*

Compiled by Roma Hadzewycz, George B. Zarycky, Marta Kolomayets; foreword by Omeljan Pritsak. (Jersey City, N.J.: Ukrainian National Association for the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33, 1983).

Includes articles by James E. Mace, Myron B. Kuropas and Marco Carynnyk; eyewitness recollections; and accounts by Ukrainian dissidents Leonid Plyushch and Petro Grigorenko.

Widener Library  
(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

226. Lesia Kot-Samp.

*The Artificial Famine 1932-1982 Shtuchnyi holod.*

([South Bound Brook, N.J.]: Ukrainian Orthodox League of the United States of America, Ukrainian Affairs Committee, 1982).

Widener Library  
(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

227. *50ème Anniversaire: La Famine-Génocide de 1933 en Ukraine Soviétique.*

(Paris: Comité Central des Organisations Ukrainiennes en France, 1983).

Issued on the occasion of the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Famine, held at the Taras Shevchenko Square in Paris on 4 June 1983. Includes article by Arcadie Joukovsky on press coverage and reaction in France to the Famine.

Widener Library  
(*Ukrainian Studies fund*)

228. Walter Dushnyck.

*50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine: Terror and Human Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism.*

Foreword by Dana G. Dalrymple.

(New York-Toronto: World Congress of Free Ukrainians, 1983).

Front cover.

Widener Library  
(*John Bonk fund*)

**stephen oleskiw**

**the  
agony  
of a  
nation**

R. HLIVKO

**foreword by  
malcolm muggeridge**



**СУЧАСНІСТЬ**

ЖОВТЕНЬ 1983 — Ч. 10 (270)

ДО 50-ЛІТТЯ ГОЛОДУ НА УКРАЇНІ:

В. МОРОЗ: ГОЛОД 33 РОКУ Й УКРАЇНІЗАЦІЯ

В. МАЛІНКОВИЧ: ГОЛОД 1933 РОКУ

Я. МЕНАКІР: ЗАМОРДОВАНЕ СЕЛЯНСТВО

МАКСУДОВ: ДЕМОГРАФІЧНІ ВТРАТИ НАСЕЛЕННЯ  
УКРАЇНИ В 1927-38 РОКАХ

А. ЖУКОВСЬКИЙ: ТОГОЧАСНА ФРАНЦУЗЬКА  
ПРЕСА ПРО ГОЛОД НА УКРАЇНІ

А. БЕЗАНСОН: ПАМ'ЯТАТИ Й ДОСЛІДЖУВАТИ!

229. Stephen Oleskiw.

*The Agony of a Nation: The Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933.*

Foreword by Malcolm Muggeridge.

(London: National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933, 1983).

Front cover, designed by Rostyslav Hluvko.

Widener Library  
(Ukrainian Studies fund)

\*230. Miron Dolot.

*Who Killed Them and Why?: In Remembrance of Those Killed in the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.*

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984).

231. "Special Issue: The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-33," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 20 March 1983, vol. 51, no. 12.

Includes reports on plans for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Famine by the Ukrainian community in the United States.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

232. "Do 50-littia Holodu na Ukraïni"

[On the 50th Anniversary of the Famine in the Ukraine].  
*Suchasnist'* [Contemporaneity] October 1983, no. 10.  
Edited by Ivan Koshelivets'.

Front cover. Includes articles by Ukrainian dissidents and scholars.

Widener Library  
(Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)



\*233. "Special—Genocide—1933,"  
*Échanges: Revue Franco-Ukrainienne* 1983, no. 54–55.  
 Includes articles by scholars and eyewitness accounts;  
 reproduces (p. 5) an engraving by Oleksander Kaniuka  
 (1978).

234. Wsevolod Isajiw.  
 "Mass Murder by Planned Starvation,"  
*Catholic New Times* (Toronto) 3 July 1983, p. 3.  
 Widener Library  
 (Gift of the Author)

235. Adrian Karatnycky.  
 "Forced Famine in the Ukraine: A Holocaust the West  
 Forgot," *Wall Street Journal*, 7 July 1983, p. 22.  
 Widener Library  
 (Charles Warren fund)

236. Bohdan Krawchenko.  
 "Il y a cinquante ans: La grande famine en Ukraine,"  
*L'Alternative* 1983, no. 24, pp. 46–50.  
 Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

237. Viktor Malarek.  
 "Truth About Soviet-Planned Famine Sought by Ukraini-  
 ans," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 28 March 1983, pp. 1–2.

Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

238. Vladimir Malinkovich.  
 "Golod 1933 goda na Ukraine,"  
 [The Famine of 1933 in the Ukraine]  
*Forum* (München) 1983, no. 3, pp. 4–19.

Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

239. Alexander J. Motyl.  
 "The Great Ukrainian Famine,"  
*American Spectator*, August 1983, pp. 24–26.

Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

240. Bohdan Nahaylo.  
 "Famine reports exaggerated,"  
*The Spectator*, 2 April 1983, pp. 17–18.

Widener Library  
 (Faculty of Arts and Sciences fund)

241. Bohdan Osadczyk.  
 "50-ta rocznica Wielkiego Głodu na Ukrainie,"  
*Zeszyty Historyczne* (Paris) 1983, no. 66, pp. 132–144.

Also reprints selected letters from Soviet Ukraine that  
 were received in L'viv and Volhynia in 1933 and published  
 that same year as a pamphlet, "Głód na Ukrainie i jego  
 przyczyny" [Famine in the Ukraine and its Causes], in  
 Warsaw.

Widener Library  
 (Alfred Jurzykowski fund)

242. Stephen Weatherbe.  
 "The Ukrainian Holocaust: Alberta's Survivors Mark the  
 Soviet Destruction of 7 Million People," *Alberta Report*, 31  
 October 1983, pp. 28–33.

Widener Library  
 (Gift of Roman Petryshyn)

\*243. The planning of commemorative activities on the  
 occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Famine by  
 Ukrainian communities in the West prompted the Soviet  
 Embassy in Canada to issue an official response:

" . . . the situation in the Ukraine as well as in other parts  
 of the USSR in 1932 was quite difficult. Yet it was not as  
 critical as it is portrayed in the West. And of course it was  
 not because somebody wanted to make it bad, but  
 because of a number of reasons, drought being the major  
 one. . . .

" . . . the Ukraine had chronically suffered from crop  
 failures, and though there were good years the bad ones  
 came nearly as often. . . .

“The agricultural difficulties in the Ukraine happened to take place during one of the most crucial periods in the history of farming. The transition to large scale collective farming was completely new and untried. Farmers, as well as the party and government officials lacked the experience as to how to organize their work better, hence there were mistakes and omissions. . . .

“The masters of the new anti-Soviet campaign . . . even say that collectivization resulted in a smaller population in the Ukraine. Of course, many families were badly affected, some did suffer, especially those whose husbands and sons were murdered by the Kulak bandits. . . .

“As to the alleged decrease in the Ukrainian population, the argument is as groundless as the whole man-made-hunger campaign. The fact is that in 1929 the Ukraine had a 30.2 million population. Throughout 1932-1933 the population remained at a level of 32 million, which has nothing to do with the widely circulated and televised lie that some 10 million Ukrainians were starved to death. . . .

“The early thirties in the USSR witnessed an historic drive of the whole country to build its own industry, and many huge construction projects were started across the country. . . . But a great number of them were built in the Urals and in Siberia. . . . Hundreds of thousands of people from the Western part of the country left their homes for those industrial projects because there they found jobs and new professional and career opportunities. . . .

“ . . . if the hard times of 1932-1933 are to be remembered, there is one solid reason for that. The droughts in the early thirties were the last to have such an effect on the Ukraine or the USSR. Since farming in the country became collectivized fifty years ago Soviet people, including Ukrainians, no longer fear that poor crops may result in human suffering. We may have a good year or a bad year, but on the whole collective farming undisputably resulted in steady and continuous growth of grain production.”

From:  
“On the So Called ‘Famine’ in the Ukraine,”  
*News Release*, 28 April 1983, no. 60, pp. 1-3.  
Issued by the Press Office of the USSR Embassy in Canada (Ottawa).

\*244. In a statement to the United Nations Third Committee on Item 86, the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination, 19 October 1983, Carl Gershman, the United States Representative in the Third Committee, said the following:

“Indeed, it is noteworthy that this year is the 50th anniversary of the forced famine in the Ukraine—a disaster that claimed some 5-7 million lives and was the direct consequence of Stalin’s effort to collectivize agriculture and crush the nationally conscious Ukrainian peasantry. It should be remembered that the Ukraine was a conquered nation that had formed an independent government in

1918, only to be overrun the next year by the Red Army. In the effort to crush its continuing ardent nationalism, Stalin not only attacked the peasantry but also conducted a purge of the political elite who were accused of advocating “bourgeois nationalism.” One such Ukrainian victim of the Stalinist purge was the prominent Bolshevik Kosior, who was accused of being a “Samostiinik,” a self-determinationist. Significantly, self-determination is such a chimera in the Soviet Union that even this Ukrainian word for an advocate of self-determination is used in a pejorative sense to accuse someone of treason.”

From:  
*Press Release* of the United States Mission to the United Nations, USUN 94-(83), 19 October 1983, p. 4.

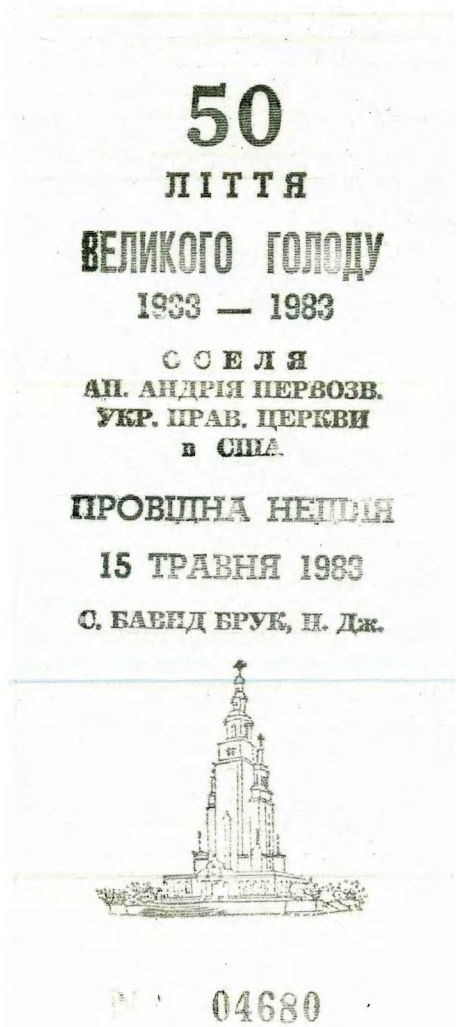
In reply to Carl Gershman, a representative of the Ukrainian SSR Mission to the United Nations, Ivan Khmil’, a historian from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and Famine survivor, issued the following statement:

“The representative of the United States had repeated fabrications about an alleged famine which was supposed to have occurred in the Ukrainian SSR 50 years previously. In that connection, he [Khmil’] wished to point out that the slander had been perpetrated by Ukrainian nationalist bourgeois who had been unable to establish their domination over the Ukrainian people in the 1920s. Those bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists . . . had later moved to the United States and, in order to justify their presence in that country had circulated the lie about the famine.”

From:  
United Nations, General Assembly, 38th Session, Third Committee, 25 October 1983, *Summary Records A/C.3/38/SR.17*, paragraph 37.

245. “The National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33, that was formed and acts under the spiritual leadership of the Ukrainian Churches in the USA, comprises over 60 national organizations, encompassing fraternal, educational, professional, women’s, youth and other organizations and institutions. In its earlier communiques and appeals, the National Committee has informed the Ukrainian community in the United States of the foremost actions planned to ‘remember and make others aware’ of one of the most horrible crimes against humanity—the meticulously planned and brutally carried out murder of 7 million Ukrainian children, women and men, the Great Famine of 50 years ago.

“The main actions, preparations for which are already in full swing, include: national commemoration of the Famine victims at St. Andrew’s Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, on May 15, 1983; mass demonstration and memorial concert in Washington, D.C. on October 2nd; establishment of an information bureau in Washington, D.C. in order to conduct information campaigns among U.S. legislators and foreign embassy officials; dissemination of press releases to Ukrainian communities for use in the local



American press; preparation and publication of documented materials about the Great Famine in addition to those already being released by other organizations.”

From:

“Appeal of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33,” addressed to Ukrainian Americans and issued in April, 1983.

246. “Letter” from the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association to members of its organization in support of the “Appeal of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33,” issued in April, 1983.

247. On 15 May 1983 (St. Thomas Sunday, the first Sunday after Easter, when Ukrainians traditionally visit the graves of the dead and commemorate them in memorial services), over 13,000 Ukrainian Americans gathered at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle to mourn the 7 million men, women and children who died in the Famine of 1932-1933. After a Divine Liturgy celebrated by Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in St. Andrew’s Memorial Church, an outdoor ecumenical requiem service was conducted by clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant churches.

Special commemorative ribbon, distributed to every participant in the memorial services.

248. “Program of the Memorial Concert In Honor of the Victims of the Great Famine of 1932-1933 On the Fiftieth Anniversary of their Martyrdom,” held at the Home of Ukrainian Culture at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center, 15 May 1983. Performances by noted Ukrainian artists included a recitation by Olia Kyrychenko, violin solo by Raphael Wenke, and the Dumka Choir of New York with soloists Andrij Dobriansky, Olena Zamiata and Marta Kokolska.

249. “Spetsiial’ne vydannia v 50-tu richnytsiu Velykoho Holodu 1933-1983”

[Special Edition on the 50th Anniversary of the Great Famine 1933-1983].

*Ukrains’ke Pravoslavne Slovo* [Ukrainian Orthodox Word] 15 May 1983, vol. 34, no. 5a.

Widener Library

(*Gift of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute*)

250. The program of events for the Famine Commemorative Week in Washington, D.C., 25 September-2 October 1983, included the following:

religious commemorative observances in all Ukrainian churches throughout the United States, Sunday, 25 September;

candlelight vigil near the Soviet Embassy every evening, 25 September-1 October;

“The Man-Made Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933,” a documentary exhibition from Widener Library, Harvard University, prepared by Oksana Procyk, Leonid Heretz and James E. Mace, held in the Rotunda of the Cannon House Office Building, 26 September-2 October;

“The Lost Architecture of Kiev,” a photographic exhibition prepared by Titus D. Hewryk, held in the Russell Senate Office Building, 26 September-2 October;

seminar on the Famine at the American Enterprise Institute with speakers Robert Conquest, James E. Mace, Dana G. Dalrymple and Michael Novak, 28 September;

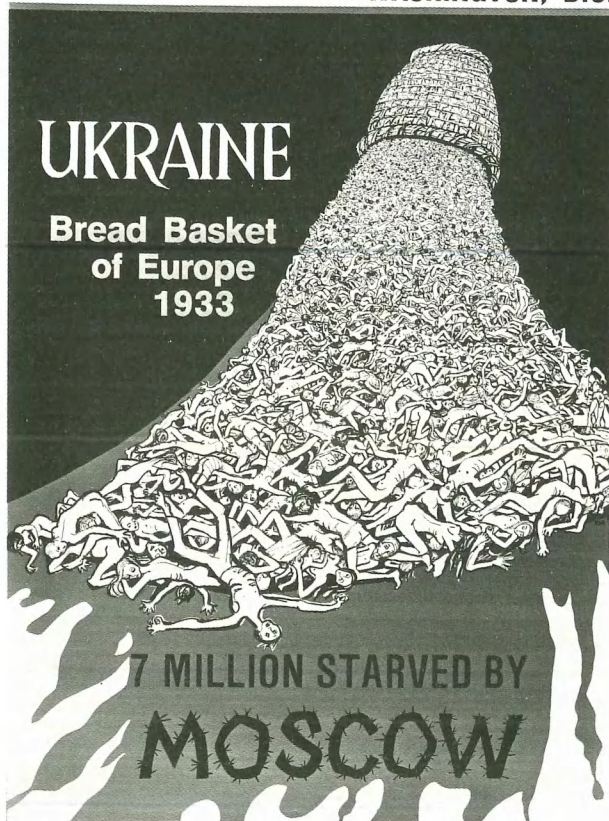
wreath-laying ceremony at the Taras Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C., 1 October;

religious services in memory of the Famine victims, held at Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Washington, D.C., 1 and 2 October;

rally at the Washington Monument followed by a march of protest to the Soviet Embassy, 2 October;

“Memorial Concert” at the Kennedy Center Concert Hall, featuring the Fairfax Symphony Orchestra, William Hudson, conductor; Renata Babak, mezzo-soprano, formerly of the Bolshoi Opera; Andriy Dobriansky, bass, Metropolitan Opera; Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus; Dumka Ukrainian Choir; and premiere American performances of Ukrainian composers Lysenko, Vermenych, Kyreiko and Kytastyi.

**DEMONSTRATION** **OCTOBER 2, 1983**  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.**



251. Poster, designed by Roxolana Luchakowsky-Armstrong. An estimated 15,000 Ukrainian Americans turned out for the rally, and several thousand of them carried copies of this poster on the march to the Soviet Embassy.



252. Buttons from the Washington rally.

253. “The horrible result of the famine—the death of millions of nationally conscious Ukrainians—dealt a severe blow to the Ukrainian nation. With its national elite destroyed and its peasant class either dead or relegated to collective farms, the Ukrainian nation fell victim to a virulent campaign of Russification of its language, culture and institutions. It is a campaign that continues to this day and one which the Ukrainian nation, caught in the grip of Soviet totalitarianism that is Stalin’s legacy, continues to resist.”

From:  
“Famine in Ukraine 1932-33,”  
brochure issued by the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine.  
(Washington, D.C., 1983).

254. Eugene L. Meyer.  
"Ukrainians Commemorate Victims of 1933 Famine,"  
*Washington Post*, 3 October 1983, pp. D1 and D7.

Widener Library  
(Charles Warren fund)

255. During the Famine Commemorative Week, on 27 September 1983, Congressman James J. Florio (D) of New Jersey introduced a bill "To establish a commission to study the 1932-1933 famine caused by the Soviet Government in Ukraine," H.R. 3993, 98th Congress, 1st Session. As stated in the bill, the "purpose of the Commission is to conduct a study of the 1932-1933 Ukraine famine in order to expand the world's knowledge of the famine and provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role in the Ukraine famine." The bill was adopted and Congressman Dan Mica (D) of Florida was named chairman of the Commission.

\*256. *Panakhida za spokii dush zamuchenykh holodom v 1932-1933 r.: z pryvodu vidznachennia trahichnykh rokovyn—50-richchia holodomordu v Ukraini v chas XIV Kongresu Komitetu Ukraintsiv Kanady, nedilia, 9 zhovtnia 1983 r. na ploshchi Manitob's'koï legisliatury* [Requiem for the Repose of the Souls Tortured in the Famine of 1932-1933: On the Occasion of the Commemoration of the Tragic 50th Anniversary of the Famine-Genocide in the Ukraine: During the 14th Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Sunday, 9 October 1983, on the Grounds of the Manitoba Legislature]. (Winnipeg, 1983).

Text of the *Panakhida* was prepared by a special commission of Ukrainian churches in Canada for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

\*257. "Ukrainian Famine Survivor Weeps at Memory of Horrors," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 11 October 1983, p. 3.

About the 50th anniversary commemoration on 9 October 1983.

\*258. Program for the "Unveiling and Dedication of the Monument Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine 1932-33, Winnipeg City Hall, Sunday, June 24, 1984."

Mayor William Norrie conducted the unveiling ceremony, and a memorial service followed celebrated by Metropolitan Andrew of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

\*259. The Winnipeg Famine Memorial, "erected to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine 1932-33," a gift to the city from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The monument is the work of sculptor Roman Kowal.

\*260. Program for the world premiere of *Harvest of Despair: The 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine*, a documentary film produced by Slavko Novytski and Yuriy Luhovy, on 21 October 1984 in Toronto. Film production was sponsored by the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee of the St. Vladimir Institute, Toronto, with assistance from the National Film Board of Canada.

"It is called the forgotten holocaust—a time when Stalin was dumping millions of tons of wheat on the Western markets, while in Ukraine, men, women and children were dying of starvation at the rate of 25,000 a day, 17 human beings a minute. Seven to 10 million people perished in a famine caused not by war, or natural disasters, but by ruthless decree. To commemorate the 50th anniversary of this great tragedy the story is finally being told. Since 1981, the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee has been gathering materials, seeking out eyewitnesses and documenting this unprecedented event. *Harvest of Despair* is the product of this effort. . . .

"In 1932-3, roughly one-quarter of the entire population of Ukraine perished through brutal starvation. *Harvest of Despair*, through its stark, haunting images, provides the eloquent testimony of a lost generation that has been silenced too long. The film leaves a legacy to future generations, an impassioned plea for humanity which is not easily forgotten."

(From p. [2] of the Program)





\*261. Viktor Malarek.

"Graphic Film Documents Ukrainian Famine,"

*Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 27 October 1984, p. E 10.

262. ". . . what the Soviet regime has done in the vil-  
lages is one of the most monstrous crimes in history, so  
terrible that people in the future will scarcely be able to  
believe it ever happened."

From:

"Malcolm Muggeridge and the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-  
33," An interview conducted by Bohdan Nahaylo on 1  
March 1983, Robertsbridge, England.

263. St. Andrew's Memorial Church at the Ukrainian  
Orthodox Center, South Bound Brook, New Jersey, is  
dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Great  
Famine of 1932-33.



## Sources for Illustrations

### Part 1

1. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny 1917-1923 rr.*, p [3] of plates
2. *Ibid.*, p. 95
3. *Ibid.*, p. 331
5. *Velyka istoriia Ukraïny*, p. 783
6. *Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny* 5, no. 2, p. 18
7. *Velyka istoriia Ukraïny*, p. 807
8. *Ibid.*, p. 805

### Part 2

11. *Vaplitans'kyi zbirnyk*, p. [8] of plates
13. Pipes, *Formation*, p. [2] of plates
15. *Ukraine: A Short Sketch*, p. [3]
- 16–17. *Vpered* 1 (1925), p. 91
18. *Ukraïns'kyi politychnyi plakaty*, no. 25
20. *Kul'turne budivnytstvo*, p. 189
21. *Zhinocha volia*, p. 143

### Part 3

29. *Pluh*, p. [1] of plates
30. *Hart*, p. [1] of plates
32. *Vaplitans'kyi zbirnyk*, p. [7] of plates
34. *Ibid.*, p. [1] of plates
37. Tychyna, *Zoloty homin*, p. [5-6]
40. *Vpered* 1 (1925), p. 105
42. *Anatol' Petryts'kyi*, no. 47
43. *Ibid.*, no. 48
44. *Ibid.*, no. 22
46. *Vasyl' Iermilov*, p. [5]
47. Fogel', *Vasilii Ermilov*, p. 98
48. *Ibid.*, p. 99
52. *Vervykivs'ka, Stanovlennia*, p. 138
55. *Anatol' Petryts'kyi*, no. 49

### Part 4

59. Deutscher, *Stalin*, p. [13] of plates
61. *Ukraine: A Short Sketch*, p. [1] of plates
62. *Ukraïns'kyi politychnyi plakaty*, no. 26
63. *Robsel'kor* 1928, no. 2, p. 35
65. Iavdas', *Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na*, p. 35
66. *Ibid.*, p. 133
68. Ernst, *Kyïv*, p. 196
70. Karpovich, *Imperial Russia*, p. [1] of plates
72. *Robsel'kor* 1928, no. 4, p. 16
73. *Ukraïns'kyi politychnyi plakaty*, no. 29
75. Kopelev, *I sotvoril*, p. [12] of plates
77. *Black Deeds*, vol. 2, p. 155

### Part 5

80. Laubenheimer, *Die Sowjetunion*, p. [5] of plates
81. *Ibid.*, p. [14] of plates

82. *Ibid.*, p. [15] of plates
83. *Ibid.*, p. [6] of plates
88. *Ibid.*, p. [2] of plates
90. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [7] of plates
- 91-92. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 379.
93. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [8] of plates
94. Laubenheimer, *Die Sowjetunion*, p. [16] of plates
95. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [10] of plates
- 96-97. Laubenheimer, *Die Sowjetunion*, p. [11] of plates
98. *Ibid.*, p. [4] of plates
- 99-100. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 376
101. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [10] of plates
103. Mariagin, *Postyshev*, p. [22] of plates

### Part 6

107. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 380
- 108-110. *Ibid.*, p. 383
- 114-115. *Ibid.*, p. 382
116. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [8] of plates
121. *Ibid.*, p. [5] of plates
122. *Ibid.*, p. [3] of plates
123. *Ibid.*, p. [9] of plates
124. *Ibid.*, p. [6] of plates

### Part 7

- 133-134. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 373
144. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [7] of plates
145. *Black Deeds*, vol. 2, p. 515
154. *Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny* 1, no. 3, p. 1

### Part 8

159. Ponedilok, *Hovoryt'*, p. 139
165. Laubenheimer, *Die Sowjetunion*, p. [10] of plates
166. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [6] of plates
172. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 378
173. *Black Deeds*, vol. 2, p. 701
174. Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst*, p. 378

### Part 9

177. Ammende, *Muss Russland*, p. [12] of plates

## Bibliography

- Agitator dlia mista: orhan viddilu agitatsii i masovykh kampanii TsK ta Kharkivs'koho obkomu KP(b)U* (Kharkiv) 1932, no. 26-27.
- Alcorn, Alfred. "Studies Reveal Extent of 1932-33 'Terror Famine' in Ukraine," *Harvard Gazette*, 26 April 1985, p. 5.
- Alexander Dovzhenko: *The Poet as Filmmaker: Selected Writings*. Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Marco Carynnyk. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973.
- Ammende, Ewald. *Human Life in Russia*. Introduction by Lord Dickinson. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Life in Russia*. Historical introduction by James E. Mace. Cleveland: John T. Zubal, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Muss Russland hungern?: Menschen und Völkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1935.
- Anatol' Petryts'kyi: *al'bom*. Compiled and edited by Ivan Vrona. Kiev: Mystetstvo, 1968.
- Antonov-Ovseenko, Anton. *Portret tirana*. New York: Khronika Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Time of Stalin—Portrait of a Tyranny*. Translated by George Saunders with an introduction by Stephen F. Cohen. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.
- Barka, Vasyl'. *Le Prince jaune*. Paris: Gallimard, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zhovtyi kniaz': povist'*. Munich: Suchasnist', 1962.
- Biuletyn' Derzhavnoho Vydavnytstva Ukraïny* (Kharkiv) 1929, no. 2.
- The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*. Vol. 1: *Book of Testimonies*. Toronto: Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, 1953.
- The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*. Vol. 2: *The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933*. Detroit: Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime, 1955.
- Bociurkiw, Bohdan R. "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church 1920-1930: A Case Study in Religious Modernization." *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union*. Edited by Dennis J. Dunn. Boulder: Westview Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Ukrainization Movements Within the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1979-1980, vol. 3-4, pp. 92-111.
- Borys, Jurij. *The Sovietization of Ukraine 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980.
- Brezhnev, Leonid, "Rech' tovarishcha L.I. Brezhneva." *Tretii Vsesoiuznyi s"ezd kolhoznikov: 25-27 noiabria 1969 goda: stenograficheskii otchet*. Moscow: Kolos, 1970.
- Budivnytstvo Radians'koi Ukraïny*. Vol. 1: *Za lenins'ku natsional'nu polityku*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, [1929].
- Budivnytstvo Radians'koi Ukraïny*. Vol. 2: *Hospodarche ta kul'turne budivnytstvo*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, [1929].
- Buz'ko, Dmytro. *Kino i kinofabryka*. [Kharkiv]: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1928.
- Carynnyk, Marco. "The Famine the 'Times' Couldn't Find," *Commentary*, November 1983, pp. 32-40.
- Chamberlin, William Henry. "Famine Proves Potent Weapon in Soviet Policy," *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 May 1934, pp. 1 and 4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Russia's Iron Age*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation*. New York: Macmillan, 1944.
- Chervonyi shliakh: chytanka-deklamator*. Kharkiv: Chervonyi shliakh, [1924].
- Chervonyi shliakh: hromads'ko-politychnyi i literaturno-naukovyi misiachnyk* (Kharkiv) 1923, no. 6-7.
- 50ème [Le Cinquantième] Anniversaire: La Famine-Génocide de 1933 en Ukraine Soviétique*. Paris: Comité Central Des Organisations Ukrainiennes en France, 1983.
- Conquest, Robert. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*. London: Hutchinson, 1986; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. (In press.)
- Crowl, James William. *Angels in Stalin's Paradise: Western Reporters in Soviet Russia, 1917 to 1937*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.
- Dalrymple, Dana G. "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," *Soviet Studies* 1964, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 250-284.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934: Some Further References," *Soviet Studies* 1965, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 471-474.
- Deutscher, Isaac. *Stalin: A Political Biography*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Dolot, Miron. *Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust*. Introduction by Adam Ulam. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1985.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Who Killed Them and Why?: In Remembrance of Those Killed in the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984.
- Donchuk, Zosym. *Prirva: roman*. Chicago: Vydavnytstvo Mykoly Denysiuka, 1959.
- Doroshenko, Dmytro. *Istoriia Ukraïny 1917-1923 rr*. Vol. 1: *Doba Tsentral'noi Rady*. 2d ed. New York: Bulava, 1954.
- Duranty, Walter. *I Write As I Please*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Russians Hungry, but not Starving," *New York Times*, 31 March 1933, p. 13.
- Dushnyck, Walter. *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine: Terror and Human Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism*. Foreword by Dana G. Dalrymple. New York and Toronto: World Congress of Free Ukrainians, 1983.
- Échanges: Revue Franco-Ukrainienne: Special—Genocide—1933*, December 1983, no. 54-55.
- Ellan-Blakytnyi, Vasyl'. *Tvory: povne zibrannia*. Compiled by H. Kotsiuba. Edited and with an introduction by A. Khvyliia. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1929.
- Ernst, Fedir. *Kyiv: providnyk*. Kiev: Komitet Sviatkovannia 10-tyrichnoho Iuvileiu VUAN, 1930.
- Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R.: The Ukrainian Herald Issue 7-8: Spring 1974*. Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1976.
- Famine in Ukraine 1932-33*. Washington, D.C.: National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine, [1983]. (Brochure.)
- Fogel', Zinovii. *Vasilii Ermilov*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1975.
- The Golgotha of Ukraine: Eye-witness Accounts of the Famine in Ukraine*. . . . Compiled by Dmytro Solovey. Foreword by Luke Myshuha. Translated and edited by Stephen Shumeyko. New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953.
- Great Britain. Foreign Office, *General Correspondence: Political*, FO 371/17253. "Tour of Mr. W. Duranty in North Caucasus and the Ukraine," William Strang (Moscow) to Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, 26 September 1933, Registry Number N 7182/114/38.
- The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust: In Solemn Observance of the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33*. Compiled and edited by Roma Hadzewycz, George B. Zarycky, Marta Kolomayets. Jersey City, N.J.: Ukrainian National Association for the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33, 1983.
- Grossman, Vasilii. *Forever flowing*. Translated by Thomas P. Whitney. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vse techet*. . . . Frankfurt am Main: Possev-Verlag, 1970.
- Hai-Holovko, Oleksa. *Smertel'noi dorohoiu: podii nashoho chasu*. 2 vols. Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1979-1983.
- Halii, Mykola and Novyts'kyi, Bohdan. *Het' maskul': Natsional'na polityka na Rad. Ukraïni v svitli dokumentiv*. L'viv and Prague: By the authors, 1929.
- Hanzha, Ivan; Slyn'ko, Ivan; Shostak, Panteleimon. "Ukrainskoe selo na puti k sotsializmu." *Ocherki istorii kollektivizatsii sel'skogo khoziaistva v soiuznykh respublikakh*. Edited by V. P. Danilov. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1963.
- Hart: al'manakh pershyi*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1924.
- Harvard University Refugee Interview Project: A schedule, cases 342, 373, 513, 646; B schedule case A4.
- Harvest of Despair: The 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine*. Program for the world premiere of the film *Harvest of Despair*. Toronto, 21 October 1984.
- Heretz, Leonid. "Oral History and the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933." Paper presented at the Seminar of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 18 October 1984.
- Hewryk, Titus D. *The Lost Architecture of Kiev*. New York: Ukrainian Museum, 1982.
- Hirniak, Iosyp. *Spomyny*. Edited by Bohdan Boichuk. New York: Suchasnist', 1982.
- Holod 1933 r. v Ukraïni: svidchennia pro vynyschchuvannia Moskvoiu ukrains'koho selianstva*. Compiled by Iurii Semenko. Munich: Ukraïns'kyi selianyn, 1963.
- Holubnychyi, Vsevolod. "The Causes of the Famine of 1932-33, *Meta* (Toronto) 1979, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 22-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Prychyny holodu 1932-33 rr.," *Vpered* (Munich) 1958, no. 10, pp. 1, 5-6.
- Hryshko, Vasyl' I. *The Ukrainian Holocaust of 1933*. Edited and translated by Marco Carynnyk. Toronto: Bahriany Foundation; Suzhero; and Dobrus, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ukraïns'kyi "holokost," 1933*. Toronto: Dobrus-Suzhero, 1978.
- Humenna, Dokiia. *Dity Chumats'koho shliakhu: roman u 4 knyhakh*. 4 vols. Munich: Ukraïns'ka trybuna, 1948-1951.
- Iavdas', Mytrofan. *Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva: dokume.ty dlia istorii*. Munich: [Kraieva rada UAPT's u Federal'nii Respublitsi Nimechchyny], 1956.

- Isajiw, Wsevolod. "Mass Murder by Planned Starvation," *Catholic New Times* (Toronto) 3 July 1983, p. 3.
- Karatnycky, Adrian. "Forced Famine in the Ukraine: A Holocaust the West Forgot," *Wall Street Journal*, 7 July 1983, p. 22.
- Karpovich, Michael. *Imperial Russia, 1801-1917*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Khrushchev, Nikita. *Khrushchev Remembers*. Translated and edited by Strobe Talbott. Introduction, commentary and notes by Edward Crankshaw. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.
- Khvyliia, Andrii. *Vid ukhylu—u prirvu: pro "Val'dshnepy" Khvyl'ovoho*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1928.
- Khvyl'ovyi, Mykola. *Osin': etyudy 1922-1923 rokiv*. Kharkiv: Chervonyi shliakh, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Syni etyudy*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1923.
- Kolhospnysia Ukraïny: dvotyzhnevnyi zhurnal-orhan viddilu agitatsii i masovykh kampanii TsK KP(b)U* (Kharkiv) 1932, no. 12.
- Kopelev, Lev. *The Education of a True Believer*. Translated by Gary Kern. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *I sotvoril sebe kumira*. Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978.
- Koshelivets', Ivan. *Mykola Skrypnyk*. Munich: Suchasnist', 1972.
- Kostiuk, Hryhory. *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror, 1929-1939*. Munich: Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1960.
- Kot-Samp, Lesia. *The Artificial Famine 1932-1982: Shtuchnyi holod*. [South Bound Brook, N.J.]: Ukrainian Orthodox League of the United States of America, 1982.
- Kovalevs'kyi, Mykola. *Ukraina pid chervonym iarmom: dokumenty i fakty*. Warsaw and L'viv: Skhid, 1936.
- Kozlov, Viktor Ivanovich. *Natsional'nosti SSSR: etnodemograficheskii obzor*. Moscow: Statistika, 1975.
- Kravchenko, Victor. *I Chose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.
- Krawchenko, Bohdan. "Il y a cinquante ans: La grande famine en Ukraine," *L'Alternative* 1983, no. 24, pp. 46-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Impact of Industrialization on the Social Structure of Ukraine," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 1980, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 338-357.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Man-Made Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine," *Conflict Quarterly* 1984, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 29-39.
- Kulish, Mykola. *Dev'ianosto sim: p'iesa*. [Kharkiv]: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1925.
- Kul'turne budivnytstvo v Ukraïns'kii RSR 1917-1927: zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv*. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1979.
- Lang, Harry. "Villages of Soviet Dead Described," *New York Evening Journal*, 16 April 1935, pp. 1-2.
- Laubenheimer, A. *Die Sowjetunion am Abgrund!: Mit zahlreichen Originalaufnahmen des Verfassers u. a.* Berlin and Halensee: Verlag Volkswirtschaftsdienst, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig: Berichte von deutschen und ausländischen "Spezialisten" aus der Sowjet-Union*. 2d rev. ed. Berlin and Leipzig: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1937.
- Lavrenko, Mykhailo. *Dva kolosky: zbirka opovidan' iz rokiv velykoï trahedii Ukraïns'koho narodu—1932-1933*. New York: Ridnyi kraj, 1972.
- Lavrinenko, Iurii. *Rozstriliane vidrozhennia: antologhiia 1917-1933: poeziia, proza, drama, esei*. Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy Toward the Ukraine: An Annotated Bibliography 1917-1953*. New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R., 1953.
- Literaturnyi iarmarok: al'manakh misiachnyk* (Kharkiv) 1929, nos. 5-6.
- Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny* 1929, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 1; 1933, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 18.
- Luckyj, George S.N. *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine 1917-1934*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- Lyons, Eugene. *Assignment in Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937.
- Mace, James E. *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine," *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1984, pp. 37-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Komitety Nezamozhnykh Selyan and the Structure of Soviet Rule in the Ukrainian Countryside, 1920-1933," *Soviet Studies* 1983, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 487-503.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Man-Made Famine of 1933 in the Soviet Ukraine: What Happened and Why?" *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide: Proceedings of the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide*. Edited by Israel W. Charney. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1984.
- Maistrenko, Ivan. *Istoriia Komunistychnoï Partii Ukraïny*. Munich: Suchasnist', 1979.
- Mak, Ol'ha. *Kaminnia pid kosoïu: povist'*. Toronto: Homin Ukraïny, 1973.

- Makohon, Pavlo. *Svidok: Spohady pro Holod 33-ho roku; Witness: Memoirs of the Famine of 1933 in Ukraine*. Toronto: Anabasis Magazine, 1983.
- Maksudov, S. "Demograficheskie poteri naseleniia Ukrainy v 1927-1938 godakh," *Forum* (Munich) 1983, no. 4, pp. 198-212.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Geography of the Soviet Famine of 1933," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1983, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 52-58.
- Malarek, Viktor. "Graphic Film Documents Ukrainian Famine," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 27 October 1984, p. E 10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Truth About Soviet-Planned Famine Sought by Ukrainians," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 28 March 1983, pp. 1-2.
- Maliar, Pavlo. *Zoloty doshch: roman-trylohiia*. 3 vols. Toronto: Noŭi dni, 1965-1975.
- Malinkovich, Vladimir. "Golod 1933 goda na Ukraine," *Forum* (Munich) 1983, no. 3, pp. 4-19.
- The Man-Made Famine in Ukraine: Robert Conquest, Dana Dalrymple, James Mace, Michael Novak*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1984.
- Mariagin, Georgii Aleksandrovich. *Postyshev*. Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1965.
- Markus, Vasyl. *L'Ukraine soviétique dans les relations internationales*. Paris: Editions Internationales, 1959.
- Meyer, Eugene L. "Ukrainians Commemorate Victims of 1933 Famine," *Washington Post*, 3 October 1983, pp. D1 and D7.
- Motyl, Alexander J. "The Great Ukrainian Famine," *American Spectator*, August 1983, pp. 24-26.
- Muggeridge, Malcolm. *Chronicles of a Wasted Time*. Vol. 1: *The Green Stick*. London: Collins, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Malcolm Muggeridge and the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33," An interview conducted by Bohdan Nahaylo on 1 March 1983, Robertsbridge, England.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Russia Revealed"; "Russia Revealed—Crucifixion of the Peasants," *Morning Post* (London) 5 June 1933; 6 June 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Soviet and the Peasantry: An Observer's Notes," *Manchester Guardian* 25, 27 and 28 March 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Soviet's War on the Peasants," *Fortnightly Review*, 1 May 1933, vol. 39, pp. 558-564.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Winter in Moscow*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1934.
- Muzyka masam: orhan Viddilu Mystetsv UPO NKO, Kul'tviddil VURPS'u, TsK LKSM ta Vseukraïns'koho Tovarystva Revoliutsiinykh Muzyk (VUTORM)* (Kharkiv) 1928, no. 7.
- Nahaylo, Bohdan. "'Famine reports exaggerated,'" *The Spectator*, 2 April 1983, pp. 17-18.
- National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33. "Letter of Appeal," Philadelphia, April 1983. (Mimeographed.)
- News Release* [of the Press Office of the USSR Embassy in Canada] (Ottawa) 28 April 1983, no. 60.
- Nova generatsiia: zhurnal livoi formatsii mystetstv*. (Kharkiv) 1929, no. 6.
- Nykolyshyn, Stepan. *Kul'turna polityka bol'shevykiv i ukrains'kyi kul'turnyi protses*. N.p.: By the author, 1947.
- Oleskiw, Stephen. *The Agony of a Nation: The Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933*. Foreword by Malcolm Muggeridge. London: National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933, 1983.
- Olezko, Nestor. *Ahrarna polityka bol'shevykiv: spraba istorichnoho analizu*. N.p.: Nasha knyhozbiirnia, 1947.
- Osadczuk, Bohdan. "50-ta rocznica Wielkiego Głodu na Ukrainie," *Zeszyty Historyczne* (Paris) 1983, no. 66.
- Os'machka, Teodosii. *Plan do dvoru: povist'*. Toronto: Ukraïns'kyi Legion, 1951.
- Panakhida za spokii dush zamuchenykh holodom v 1932-1933 r.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1983.
- Petrov, Viktor. *Ukraïns'ki kul'turni diachi URSR 1920-1940: zhertvy bil'shovys'koho teroru*. New York: Proloh, 1959.
- Pidhainy, Alexandra. "A Bibliography of the Great Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933," *New Review* 1973, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 32-68.
- Pidhainyi, Semen. *Ukraïns'ka intelihentsiia na Solovkakh: spohady 1933-1941*. N.p.: Prometei, 1947.
- Pigido, Fedir. *Ukraïna pid bol'shevyts'koiu okupatsiieiu: materiialy do istorii borot'by ukrains'koho narodu*. Munich: Instytut dlia vyvchennia SSSR, 1956.
- Pipes, Richard. *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923*. rev. ed. New York: Atheneum, 1974.
- Pluh: literaturnyi al'manakh: zbirnyk pershyi*. Edited by Serhii Pylypenko. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1924.
- Ponedilok, Mykola. *Hovoryt' lyshe pole. . . : noveli, narysy, opovidannia*. Toronto: Homin Ukraïny, 1962.
- Postyshev, Pavel. *Sovetskaia Ukraina na poroge 1936 goda: rech' na tret'em slete kolhoznykov-udarnikov Kievskoi oblasti 26 noiabria 1935 goda*. Moscow: Partizdat TsK VKP(b), 1936.
- Pravoberezhnyi, F. [Pigido, Fedir]. *8 000 000: 1933-i rik na Ukraini*. Winnipeg: Kul'tura i osvita, 1951.
- Press Release of the United States Mission to the United Nations*, USUN 94-(83), 19 October 1983.

- Protyrelihiina vystavka "Relihiia chy nauka?": [prospekt]. 2d ed. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1926.
- Pylypenko, Serhii. "Odvertyj lyst do vsix, xto cikavyt'sja cijeju spravou," *Chervonyi shliakh* 1923, no. 6-7, pp. 267-269.
- Radians'kyi teatr: misiachnyk upravlinnia mystetstv NKO (Kharkiv) 1929, no. 1.
- Radziejowski, Janusz. "Collectivization in Ukraine in Light of Soviet Historiography," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 1980, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 3-17.
- Reshetar, John S. *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- Robsel'kor: shchomisiachnyi zhurnal robotnychkykh ta selians'kykh korespondentiv (Kharkiv) 1928, nos. 2, 4.
- Rudenko, Mykola. *Khrest: poema*. Baltimore and Toronto: Smoloskyp, 1977.
- Sanger, Richard H. "Millions Starved in Man-Made Ukraine Famine," *New York Evening Journal*, 1 May 1935, p. 4.
- Shelest, Petro. *Ukraïno nasha Radians'ka*. Kiev: Politvydav Ukraïny, 1970.
- Shostakovich, Dmitrii. *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*. Compiled and edited by Solomon Volkov. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Shums'kyi, Oleksander. "Promova na chervnevomu plenumi TsK KP(b)U." *Budivnytstvo Radians'koï Ukraïny*. Vol. 1: *Za lenins'ku natsional'nu polityku*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, [1929].
- Siryk, Hryts'ko. *Pid sontsem obezdolenykh: uryvky zi spohadiv "Trahediia moiei rodyny"*. 3 vols. Toronto: By the author, 1982-1983.
- Skrypnyk, Mykola. *Statti i promovy z natsional'noho pytannia*. Edited by Ivan Koshelivets'. Munich: Suchasnist', 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zavdannia kul'turnoho budivnytstva na Ukraïni: dopovid' na X z'izdi KP(b)U*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1928.
- Slyn'ko, Ivan. "Vyrishal'nyi povorot selianstva Ukraïny na sotsialistychnyi shliakh rozvytku." *Istoriia selianstva Ukraïns'koï RSR*. Vol. 1: *Vid Velykhoho Zhovtnia do nashykh dniiv*. Edited by I. Kompaniets', Ivan Hanzha and Ivan Slyn'ko. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1967.
- Solovey, Dmytro. *Holhota Ukraïny*. Vol. 1: *Moskovs'ko-bol'shevyts'kyi okupatsiinyi teror v URSS mizh pershoiu i druhoiu svitovoiu viinoiu*. Winnipeg: Ukraïns'kyi holos, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Stezhkamy na Holhotu: vynyshchennia v Ukraïni mil'ioniv liudei v 1929-1933 rokakh*. Detroit: Ukraïns'ka vil'na hromada v Amerytsi, 1952.
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *The First Circle*. Translated by Thomas P. Whitney. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Stadniuk, Ivan. *Liudi ne angely: roman*. Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Liudy ne anhely: roman*. Translated by Mykola Shevchenko. Kiev: Dnipro, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *People are not Angels*. Translated by P. A. Spalding and I. Antonenko. London: Mono Press, 1963.
- Suchasnist'*: *Do 50-littia Holodu na Ukraïni* (Munich) October 1983, no. 10.
- Suslyk, R. L. *Sumni spohady: 1933 rik na Poltavshchyni*. N.p.: By the author, 1951.
- Tawdul, Adam J. "Ex-Soviet Official Charges: 'Russia Warred On Own People'," *New York American*, 19 August 1935, p. 2.
- Tychyna, Pavlo. *Viter z Ukraïny: poezii*. Kharkiv: Chervonyi shliakh, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zolotyi homin: poezii*. L'viv and Kiev: Novi shliakhy, 1922.
- Ukraïna: naukovyi dvokhmisiachnyk ukraïnoznavstva* (Kiev) 1928, no. 3.
- Ukraine: A Short Sketch of Economical, Cultural and Social Constructive Work of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic*. Kharkiv: Vseukraïns'ke Tovarystvo Kul'turnoho Zv'iazku z Zakordonom, 1929.
- The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. Edited by Taras Hunczak. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977.
- "Ukrainian Famine Survivor Weeps at Memory of Horrors," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 11 October 1983, p. 3.
- Ukrainian National Association. "Letter in Support of the Appeal of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine, 1932-33," Jersey City, N.J., April 1983. (Mimeographed.)
- The Ukrainian Weekly: Special Issue: The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-33* (Jersey City, N.J.) 20 March 1983, vol. 51, no. 12.
- Ukraïns'ka kontrrevoliutsiia sama pro svoiu robotu*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1930.
- Ukraïns'ke Pravoslavne Slovo: Spetsiial'ne vydannia v 50-tu richnystiu Velykhoho Holodu 1933-1983*, 15 May 1983, vol. 34, no. 5a.
- Ukraïns'kyi politychnyi plakat*. Compiled by L. V. Vladych. Kiev: Politvydav Ukraïny, 1981.
- Ukraïns'kyi pravopys: projekt*. Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1926.
- United Nations. General Assembly, 38th Session, Third Committee, 25 October 1983. *Summary Records A/C.3/38/SR.17*.

- United States. Congress. House. *A Bill to Establish a Commission to Study the 1932-1933 Famine Caused by the Soviet Government in Ukraine*. H.R. 3993, 98th Cong., 1st sess., 1983.
- Vaplitans'kyi zbirnyk*. 2d rev. ed. Edited by George Luckyj. Oakville, Ont.: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Mosaic Press, 1977.
- Vaplite: zoshyt pershyi*. Kharkiv: Vil'na Akademiia Proletars'koï Literatury, 1926.
- Vasyl' Iermilov*. Edited and compiled by Valerian Polishchuk and Vasyl' Iermilov. Kharkiv: RUKH, 1931.
- Velyka istoriia Ukraïny: vid naidavnishykh chasiv do 1923 roku*. Compiled by Mykola Holubets'. L'viv: Ivan Tyktor, 1935.
- Verbyts'kyi, M. *Naibil'shyi zlochyn Kremlia: zapliannovanyi shtuchnyi holod v Ukraïni 1932-1933 rokiv*. London: Demokratychne Ob'iedannia Buvshykh Represovanykh Ukraïntsyv Sovietamy DOBRUS u V. Brytaniï, 1952.
- Vervykivs'ka, Iryna. *Stanovlennia Ukraïns'koï radians'koï stsenohrafiï*. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1981.
- Visti Vseukraïns'koho Tsentral'noho Vykonavchoho Komitetu Rad robotnychykh, selians'kykh ta chervonoarmiïns'kykh deputativ* (Kharkiv) 8 December 1932; 22 June 1933.
- Vpered: kaliendar dlia Ukraïns'koho robotnytstva* (New York) 1925, no. 1.
- Walker, Thomas. "Russ Babies Felled by Hunger"; "Soviet Plans Starvation by Big Crop Demands," *New York Evening Journal*, 19 February 1935, pp. 1, 12.
- Weatherbe, Stephen. "The Ukrainian Holocaust: Alberta's Survivors Mark the Soviet Destruction of 7 Million People," *Alberta Report*, 31 October 1983, pp. 28-33.
- Wheatcroft, S. G., and Mace, James E. "Correspondence," *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1985, pp. 132-138.
- Woropay, Olexa. *The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933*. Foreword by James E. Mace. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933*. Foreword by Moira Roberts. London: Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *V dev'iatim kruzi*. . . . London: SUM, 1953.
- Zhinocha volia: chytanka*. Kharkiv: Chervonyi shliakh, [1924].
- Znannia* (Kharkiv) 1925, no. 4.
- Zvychaina, Olena. *Myrhorods'kyi iarmarok*. Munich: Liha Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv, 1953.