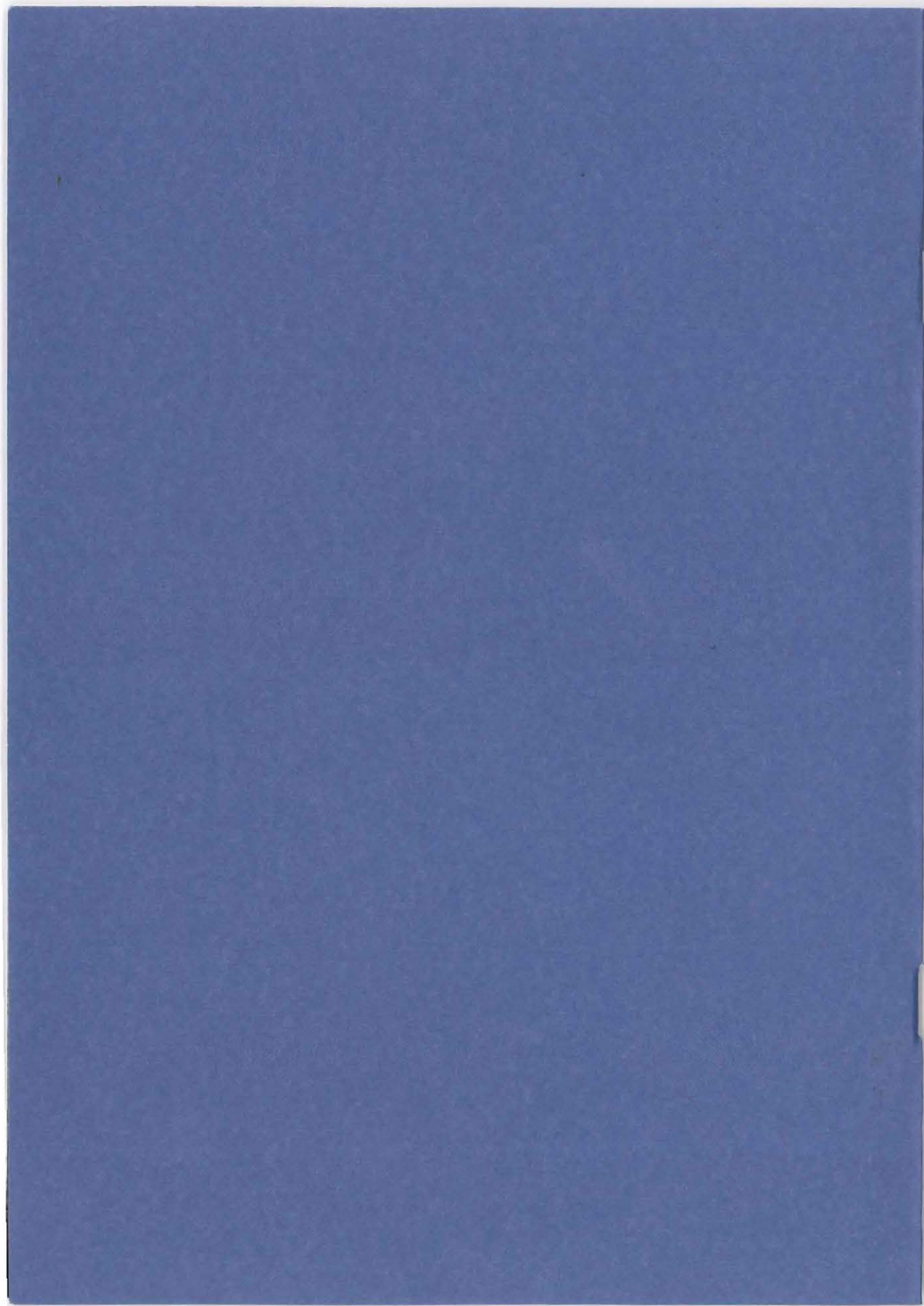




# Holodomor

UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE IN THE EARLY 1930s

Ukrainian Institute of National Memory  
Distributed by Embassy of Ukraine to the United States  
2010





*"I address you on behalf of a nation that lost about ten million people as a result of the Holodomor genocide... We insist that the world learn the truth about all crimes against humanity. This is the only way we can ensure that criminals will no longer be emboldened by indifference".*

**Viktor Yushchenko,  
President of Ukraine**

Starving girl on a street of Kharkiv, the then capital of Soviet Ukraine. Photo by Winnerberger, 1933\*



*Children comprised one-third of the Holodomor victims in Ukraine. Large numbers of children were orphaned and became homeless.*

## WHAT IS HOLODOMOR

### THE HOLODOMOR

(based on two Ukrainian words: *holod* – ‘hunger, starvation, famine,’ and *moryty* – ‘to induce suffering, to kill’) was an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people, committed by the Soviet Communist regime in 1932–33.

**IN THE EARLY 1930s**, in the very heart of Europe – in a region considered to be the Soviet Union’s breadbasket – Stalin’s Communist regime committed a horrendous act of genocide against millions of Ukrainians. An ancient nation of agriculturists was subjected to starvation, one of the most ruthless forms of

\* In order to prevent exposure of the terrible crimes against the Ukrainian population to both the Soviet and foreign public, the repressive Soviet regime posed a strict controls over any trips into the areas hit by starvation. For this reason, there were few photos taken.

***“The Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine (Holodomor), which took from 7 million to 10 million innocent lives and became a national tragedy for the Ukrainian people”.***

Joint statement by 65 UN member states,  
adopted by the 58th UN General Assembly  
on 7 November 2003

torture and death. The government imposed exorbitant grain quotas, in some cases confiscating supplies down to the last seed. The territory of Soviet Ukraine and the predominantly Ukrainian-populated Kuban region of the Northern Caucasus (Soviet Russia) were isolated by armed units, so that people could not go in search of food to the neighbouring Soviet regions where it was more readily available. The result was the Ukrainian genocide of 1932–33, known in Ukrainian as the Holodomor, or extermination by famine.

***“...the mortality rate has been so high that numerous village councils have stopped recording deaths”.***

Letter written by Katsnelson,  
head of the Kharkiv department  
of the OGPU (secret police) to Balytsky,  
head of the OGPU for Ukraine,  
5 June 1933



**Ukraine – the breadbasket  
of the USSR**  
(data from the early 1930s)

Area	452,000 km <sup>2</sup> (2% of the USSR total)
Population	31,1 mln. (20% of the USSR total)
Gross grain harvest	23,2 mln.tons (28% of the USSR total)



Victim of the Holodomor.  
Photo by Winnerberger, 1933

**THE BOLSHEVIK REGIME** had already experimented with the weapon of starvation in 1921-1923, when it took advantage of drought to create famine conditions in Ukraine to crush resistance to its rule. In 1932 Stalin decided to vanquish the Ukrainian farmers by means of starvation and thus break the Ukrainian national revival that had begun in the 1920s and was rekindling Ukrainian aspirations for an independent state. Stalin always believed that the national question was "in essence, a peasant question" and that "the peasantry constitutes the main army of the national movement".

*"There was hardly a home where  
no one had died of starvation.  
The death rate was appalling".*

Yakiv Vilchenko,  
Holodomor eyewitness,  
Kyiv region

**ENFORCED STARVATION** reached its peak in winter-spring of 1933 when 25,000 persons died every day. As a result of the Holodomor from 20 to 25 percent of the population of Soviet Ukraine was exterminated.

**ANOTHER DREADFUL RESULT** of the Holodomor was an extremely high children's mortality rate. In the hope of saving their children, peasants would stole through closed borders guarded by NKVD troops (Soviet secret police agency), and abandon them in urban areas, that were less affected by starvation. In late spring 1933, for example, over 300,000 homeless children were recorded in the Kyiv region alone. Since orphanages and children's shelters were already overcrowded, most of these children died on the streets of starvation and disease. In September 1933, approximately two-thirds of Ukrainian pupils were recorded as missing from schools.

**THE GENOCIDE** that killed millions of people also crippled Ukraine's development as a nation for many generations.

*"My mother buried the children herself. When my brother was dying in February 1933, he pleaded for food; my other brother died in March and my sister died in May 1933".*

Maria Kachur,  
Holodomor eyewitness,  
Zaporizhia region

Holodomor victims  
on a Kharkiv street.  
Photo by Winnerberger, 1933





## **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**

*Approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by  
General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948*

### **Article 1**

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

### **Article 2**

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

## **WHY IS HOLODOMOR A GENOCIDE**

**THE HOLODOMOR** was genocide: it conforms to the definition of the crime according to the UN Convention on Genocide. The Communist regime targeted the Ukrainians, in the sense of a civic nation, in Soviet Ukraine, and as an ethnic group in Soviet Russia, especially in the predominantly Ukrainian Kuban region of the Northern Caucasus.

*"It was the well-organized executions that made the terror by starvation in Ukraine a genocide".*

Alain Besancon,  
Professor of History (Sorbonne, France)



**UKRAINIAN FARMERS** were not deprived of food in order to force them into collective farms; the Bolshevik collectivization process was nearly completed by the summer of 1932. The genocide by starvation was directed primarily against the Ukrainian peasantry as the nucleus of the Ukrainian nation, which had been striving for independence as a state. The Ukrainian peasantry was the carrier of the age-old traditions of independent farming and national values, both of which ran counter to the Communist ideology and aroused the unrestrained animosity of the Bolshevik leaders. Stalin emphasized this point when he declared, "the peasantry constitutes the main army of the national movement; there is no powerful national movement without the peasant army".

**THE NATIONAL ASPECT** of Stalin's policy is clearly illustrated in a Decree signed by him on 14 December 1932, which directly links the poor grain procurements in Soviet Ukraine and the Kuban to the "incorrectly implemented" policy of Ukrainization. This Decree essentially put an end to the possibility of a nationally oriented

development of Soviet Ukraine and the majority-Ukrainian Kuban region that had been launched in the 1920s:

**STALIN'S GOAL** of the genocide was the destruction of the Ukrainian nation.



Starved peasants leave villages in search of food.  
Photo by Winnerberger, 1933

**UKRAINIZATION** was the local version of the Bolshevik regime's general policy of "indigenization", carried out in Soviet Ukraine and the predominantly Ukrainian populated Kuban region of Soviet Russia. Implemented in the 1920s and early 1930s, it was intended as an incentive aimed at shoring up support for Soviet rule in these regions by expanding and facilitating the use of the Ukrainian language in schools, the press, government administration, and cultural life. What in fact happened was that this policy created an atmosphere conducive to Ukrainian national revival.

## STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENOCIDE POLICY\*

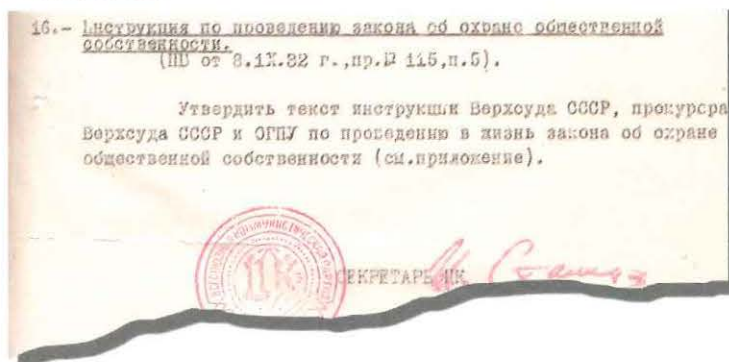
*It should be kept in mind that in 1929–32 before the Holodomor the Soviet Government had confiscated land and households from Ukrainian peasants turning them in fact into slaves of the Communist state.*

### CONFISCATION of grain and all other foodstuffs in rural districts, including food inside the homes

- On 7 August 1932, Stalin promulgated a law, authored by him, on the protection of socialist property, which carried a sentence of death or 10 years' imprisonment for the misappropriation of kolhosp\* property. This law led to mass arrests and executions. Even children caught picking a handful of ears of grain from fields that until recently had belonged to their parents were convicted. It became known as the Law of "Five ears of grain".
- By imposing so-called "fines in kind" on individual farmers and whole villages that had not fulfilled the inflated grain procurement quotas in the fall of 1932, the Soviet authorities could confiscate, in addition to grain, all other foodstuffs.
- Another form of punishment for lagging behind in grain deliveries was the ban on retail trade, introduced in August 1932, making it impossible for peasants to purchase bread.

*"To execute with the confiscation of all property or, given mitigating circumstances, to confine in prison for not less than 10 years with the confiscation of all property for misappropriation of kolhosp and cooperative property... Convicted persons are not entitled to amnesty".*

Resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR, entitled "On the Protection of the Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms, and Cooperatives and the Strengthening of Public (Socialist) Property", 7 August 1932 (known as the Law of "Five ears of grain")



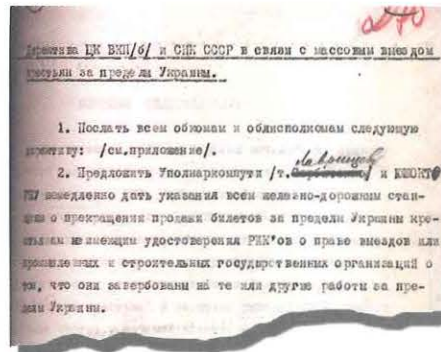
Photocopy of Instruction on Enforcement of the so-called Law of "Five ears of grain", bearing Stalin's signature (title page)

\* Kolhosp (Ukrainian acronym for 'collective farm'): a type of farming enterprise predominant in the Soviet Union, forcibly introduced by the Soviet government, whereby the land, cattle, production tools, etc., nominally belonged to the members of the collective farm, but in fact were under state control. The goal of collectivization was the destruction of individual forms of agricultural production, and the exploitation of its resources and potential in order to industrialize and militarize the USSR.

**ENFORCED ISOLATION of the borders of Soviet Ukraine  
and the Ukrainian Kuban, as well as the blockade of individual areas**

This measure was aimed at preventing starving peasants from fleeing to territories with more benign conditions in neighbouring Russia and Belarus. No such blockade was imposed in any other part of the Soviet Union.

- In the fall of 1932, the authorities introduced a system of blacklists which banned the sale of items such as kerosene, matches, and other consumer necessities to collective farms and individuals designated for punishment for arrears in grain deliveries. After all food and cattle were confiscated, blacklisted territories would be sealed off by NKVD detachments.
- In January 1933, in fulfilment of another of Stalin's resolutions, the borders of Soviet Ukraine and the Kuban were closed by NKVD and militia detachments to prevent peasants from leaving starvation-hit areas in search of food in neighbouring regions of the Soviet Union. During the six-week period after the adoption of the Resolution banning Ukrainians from crossing borders, nearly 220,000 people were arrested for violating the prohibition. The law enforcement authorities forcibly sent over 186,000 people back to their homes to face starvation.
- The sale of tickets for transport by train or boat to peasants was banned. Peasants were prevented from entering urban districts, and were expelled when they did.



Photocopy of a letter of instruction issued on 22 January 1933 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR  
"On Preventing a Massive Exodus of Peasants from Ukraine and Banning the Sale of Transport Tickets to Peasants" (title page)

*"...a massive exodus of peasants 'in search of bread' has started... without a doubt organized by enemies of the Soviet Government. [Therefore, regional executive party bodies in Soviet Ukraine and the Kuban are ordered] ...to prevent a massive exodus of peasants... [Peasants from Soviet Ukraine and the Kuban who have crossed borders to the north] shall be arrested... and deported back to their places of residence".*

Resolution passed on 22 January 1933 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR "On Preventing a Massive Exodus of Starving Peasants"

**STALIN'S totalitarian regime deliberately created conditions for Ukrainians that could not support life. These conditions fully comply with the characteristics of genocide as defined in the UN Convention of 1948.**

**THE HOLODOMOR** was not caused by a bad harvest or by drought. The harvest was sufficient – the Soviet government was exporting large amounts of grain and other agricultural produce. The USSR exported 1.6 million tons of grain in 1932 and 2.1 million tons in 1933.

**STATE DISTILLERIES** in Soviet Ukraine were operating at full capacity during this period, processing valuable grain into alcohol bound for export.

**IN FACT**, almost all the starving Ukrainians could have been saved with the USSR's strategic grain reserve, which contained at least 1.5 million tons. One million tons of grain would have been enough to feed five or six million people for one year.

*“Confidential: An uprising occurred in Nemyriv. Driven by starvation, peasants besieged the Tsentrospyrt [state distillery]. They destroyed the stocked alcohol, shouting that they need grain, not alcohol”.*

Report submitted on 9 May 1932  
by the Secretary of the Tulchyn District  
Party Committee to the Vinnytsia Region  
Party Committee

ПРИЕМ	От _____	пров. № _____	1932	пров. № _____
	Принял _____	Передан _____	В _____	С _____
81, ХАРЬКОВА 416,44,9,18,20, ИСПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВЕННАЯ МСК				
№ _____ сл. _____ го _____ ч. _____ м. ЗАМГБЕСТО КУЙБЫШЕВУ				
Дужден. Печатен	ВАШУ 10812, СООБЩАЮ ДАННЫМ ЗАГОТЗЕРНО ЭКСПОРТХЛЕБА 7, ДЕКАБРЯ ЗАДАНИЕ ВЫПОЛНЕНО 110, ПРОЦЕНТОВ ПО КУЛЬТУРАМ ПШЕНИЦА 23758, ТОНН ТИРЕ 95, ПРОЦЕНТОВ, ЯЧМЕНЬ 38819, ТОНН ТИРЕ 111, ПРОЦЕНТОВ КУКУРУЗА 36920, ТИРЕ 121, ПРОЦЕНТ ТЧК СДЕЛАНО КАТЕГОРИЧЕСКОЕ РАСПОРЯЖЕНИЕ ВЫПОЛНЕНИИ ПОЛНОСТЬЮ ЗАДАНИЯ ПШЕНИЦЕНЧУБАРЬ			

Telegram sent by Vlas Chubar, head of the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR on the 110% fulfilment of the grain export projections (December 1932)

I tramped alone for several days through a part of the Ukraine, sleeping in peasants' huts. I spoke with a large number of workers, among whom unemployment is rapidly growing. I discussed the situation with almost every British, German and American expert. I had interviews with the following:

Letwinoff  
Karl Radtke

The Commissioner for Finance, Grynko,  
the Vice-Commissioner for Light Industry,  
the Vice-Commissioner for Education,

the President of the All-USSR (who has given me a special message to you as a Baptist!),  
the British and the German Ambassadors etc.

The situation is so grave, so much worse than in 1921, that I am amazed at your admiration for Stalin.

Excerpt from the letter of Gareth Jones, former secretary of David Lloyd George (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1916-1922), of 27 March 1933 informing the British politician about the devastating starvation witnessed by Jones during his recent trek through Ukrainian villages. Jones was one of the few Westerners who published true accounts of the Holodomor in the Western press.

**THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT** refused to acknowledge to the international community the starvation in Ukraine and turned down the assistance offered by various countries and international relief organizations. Moreover, these attempts to offer assistance were denounced as anti-Soviet propaganda.

*"What drought was there? This [starvation] was all due to Stalin's orders! He hated Ukrainians and wanted to exterminate them. His henchmen would come and seize everything they could. They were Stalin's thugs. Merciless scoundrels took away all the food from the people".*

Mykola Melnyk,  
Holodomor eyewitness,  
Dnipropetrovsk region

**ON STALIN'S ORDERS**, those who conducted the 1937 population census, which revealed a sharp decrease in the Ukrainian population as a result of the Holodomor, were shot, while the census results were suppressed.

*"[T]he assault by famine on the Ukrainian peasant population was accompanied by a wide-ranging destruction of Ukrainian cultural and religious life and slaughter of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Stalin [...] saw the peasantry as the bulwark of nationalism; and common sense requires us to see this double blow at Ukrainian nationhood as no coincidence."*

Robert Conquest,  
Holodomor scholar (USA)



## WHY STALIN WANTED TO DESTROY SPECIFICALLY THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

**AWAKENED** by a national revolution in 1917–21, Ukraine – with its 1,000-plus-year history and a rich cultural heritage, strivings for an independent state, and experience of fighting for its freedom – continued its fast-paced revival. In 1920s–30s, some of the Ukrainian communists began to seek more autonomy from Moscow and by the late 1920s Stalin felt that the policy of Ukrainization

*“If we do not start rectifying the situation in Ukraine now, we may lose Ukraine”.*

Stalin’s letter to Lazar Kaganovich dated 11 August 1932, which shows his determination to break the growing opposition to his policy of genocide from the Ukrainian peasantry and, in their wake, the Communist Party of Ukraine

had overstepped the limits set by the Kremlin and lost its usefulness for the regime. Ukraine began to pose a serious threat to the integrity of the Soviet empire and its geopolitical aspirations. Against this backdrop, Stalin's regime unleashed an open war against Ukrainians as a nation.

**THE OBJECTIVE** of the engineered famine was to destroy the Ukrainian national idea by wiping out the national elites and their social support base, and then by turning the peasants who survived the Holodomor into obedient collective farm workers – virtually slaves of the state.

**AFTER MILLIONS** of Ukrainians died in their own native land, the authorities resettled tens of thousands of families from Russia, Belarus, and other parts of the USSR to the depopulated lands of Soviet Ukraine. By the end of 1933 over 117,000 people were resettled in Ukraine, at a 105% fulfillment rate.

*"It was Stalin who gave the order to pillage Ukraine, to take away the grain, and export it while our children died by the thousands".*

Mykhailo Prokopenko,  
Holodomor eyewitness, Cherkasy region

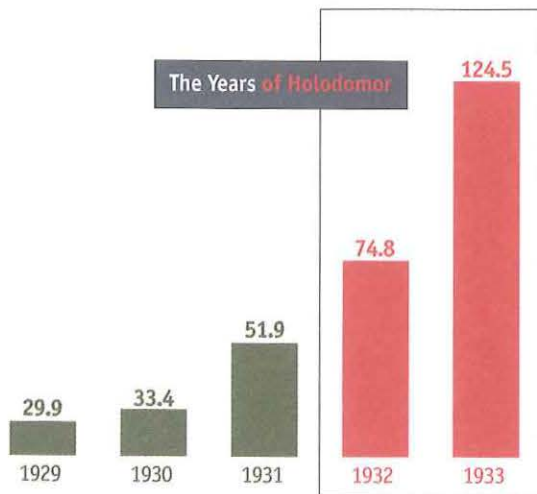
*"I remain convinced that for Stalin to have complete centralized power in his hands, he found it necessary to physically destroy the second-largest Soviet republic, meaning the annihilation of the Ukrainian peasantry, Ukrainian intelligentsia, Ukrainian language, and history as understood by the people; to do away with Ukraine and things Ukrainian as such. The calculation was very simple, very primitive: no people, therefore, no separate country, and thus no problem. Such a policy is Genocide in the classic sense of the word".*

James Mace,  
Holodomor scholar (USA)

Heorhiy Shevtsoy. What Kind of Harvest Will Be (T. Shevchenko). Private Collection of Morgan Williams



**CONCURRENTLY WITH THE HOLODOMOR**, Stalin totalitarian regime conducted large-scale repressions against Ukrainians. The number of arrests in Ukraine was 2.5 times higher in 1932 than in 1929 – and four times higher in 1933, reaching a record of almost 125,000 people.



**ARRESTS DISTRIBUTION IN UKRAINE (in '000)**



Source: Soviet Ukraine State Political Directorate



Excerpt from the telegram – Report on the dispatch of the first resettlers group (26,000 persons with households) from Russia to the devastated by the Holodomor areas of Ukraine (December 1933)

*“Both nations, (the Jews and Ukrainians) were exterminated due to political reasons and only because they were what they were”.*

US Congressman David Roth

*“The aftermath of the present tragedy in Ukraine will be Russian colonization of this country, which will affect its ethnic makeup. In the future, or even in the near future, no one will speak about Ukraine or the Ukrainian people – and, hence, about the Ukrainian problem – because Ukraine will de facto become a territory with a predominantly Russian population”.*

Letter from the Italian consul in Kharkiv, Sergio Gradenigo, to his Ambassador in Moscow (1933)





Victim of the Holodomor.  
Photo by Winnerberger, 1933

## MAIN PERPETRATORS OF THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE

**Joseph Stalin**, Secretary General of the USSR Communist party, the highest-ranking member of the Communist hierarchy and the de facto dictator of the USSR from the mid-1920s until his death in 1953.

**Viacheslav Molotov**, head of the Council for People's Commissars of the USSR (Soviet government). One of Stalin's closest allies, Molotov personally monitored the confiscation of grain in Ukraine.

**Lazar Kaganovich**, Stalin's loyal henchman; Secretary of the USSR Communist party in 1928–39; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine (1925–28); special envoy to monitor grain confiscation in the Northern Caucasus and inspect grain procurement in Ukraine, specifically in the Odesa region.

**Stanislav Kosior**, First Secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine in 1928–38, the actual ruler of Soviet Ukraine.

**Mendel Khataievich**, Second Secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine in 1932–33, vested with "special powers" to monitor the grain confiscations.

**Pavel Postyshev**, Second Secretary of the Ukraine's Communist party Central Committee. Vested with extraordinary powers in January 1933, his main task, as defined by Stalin, was "unconditional fulfilment of the grain procurement plan". After the "plan" was fulfilled, Postyshev became the major initiator and direct manager of the terror and repressions that were directed against the Ukrainian cultural, social, and political elite.

**Stanislav Redens**, head of the GPU – State Political Directorate (secret police) in Soviet Ukraine. He was the chief investigator on the first criminal cases fabricated against starving Ukrainian peasants.

**Vsevolod Balytsky**, replaced S.Redens as a head of the GPU in Soviet Ukraine. He initiated most of the cases against starving peasants, sentencing them to death on trumped-up charges. He played a leading role in exterminating the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the "Terror" of the mid-to-late 1930s.

Victims of the Holodomor.  
Photo by Winnerberger, 1933



## SYSTEM OF 'BLACK LISTS' – STALIN'S STARVATION 'GHETTOS'

A SYSTEM OF BLACKLISTS was introduced in the fall of 1932. Villages that failed to deliver the imposed amount of grain were placed on so-called blacklists and then encircled by armed detachments, so that all movement of goods was halted. Then, all the food within the blockaded areas was confiscated.

**GRAIN PROCUREMENTS** still continued in blacklisted collective farms and villages until all foodstuffs were confiscated. Peasants living in blacklisted villages were thus condemned to starvation; in effect, this was a death sentence.

*"Carry out the following measures with regard to collective farms placed on blacklists.*

- a) *Put an immediate halt on the delivery of goods, stop all local cooperative and state trade, and confiscate all goods from cooperative and state stores.*
- b) *Institute a complete ban on collective farm trading, with regard to collective farms and both collective and private farmers..."*

Resolution of the Political Bureau  
of the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of Ukraine  
"On the Intensification of Grain  
Procurement", 18 November 1932



**GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE**

**THE ISOLATION OF VILLAGES** and confiscation of all their food forced people to consume cats, dogs, and the carcasses of other dead animals. There were even cases of cannibalism among those who were driven mad by starvation.

**ALMOST** all of Soviet Ukraine was turned into a starvation 'ghetto'.

Replica of the minutes of a meeting of the Vinnytsia Region Party Executive Committee, held in November 1932, during which 6 districts, 31 kolhosps and individuals in 38 villages were placed on blacklists

Will Not Forget! Genocide in Ukraine.  
Cover page of the programme commemorating victims of the Holodomor. Pittsburgh, PA, published by UCCA.  
Private Collection of Morgan Williams

*"They took away everything. If they found food, they took it away. This was a decision by the Party and the government. If you hid some food, they could send you to Siberia".*

Kateryna Panchenko,  
Holodomor eyewitness, Kharkiv region

*"Even if people had hidden a few beans or peas, everything was confiscated. I think the Holodomor of 1933 was deliberate and planned; God spare us from reliving it again".*

Ksenia Datsenko,  
Holodomor eyewitness, Cherkasy region

**З ПРОТОКОЛУ ЗАСІДАННЯ ПРЕЗИДІУ ВИННИЦЬКОГО ОБЛІВНИКОВОМУ БЮРО СТАН ХЛІБЗАГОТІВЦІВ В РАЙОНАХ ОБЛАСТІ 19 листопада 1932 р.**

СЛУХАВІ: І. Про перебіг хлібзаготівель по районах області (Док. тов. Сьомошківськ).  
ПОСТАНОВИЛИ: І. Занести на чорну дошку:

**DISTRICTS** РАЙОНИ

Брацлавський, Литовський, Любарський, Немірівський, Станіславський, Чуднівський.

**INDIVIDUALS** ОДИНОСВІТКИ

Степанівський С.Р., Вороняцького району; Заспівницький, Антоновичський С.Р., Каспівського району; Губинський, Нерівський, Гайсінського району; Ябунівський, Деражнівський району; Волосо-Крисинський, Соколийський, Крижанівського району; Світрянський, Сиротинський, Смирнівського району; Ніковський, Бердичівський М.Р.; села: Зезен, Хмельницького району; села: Степанів, Козирівка, Барського району; села: Мокшівка, Крушівка, Мухоморського району; села: Петрівка, Копитівського району; села: Гуляївка, Гринівського району; села: Васильків, Медвільського району; с. Розалогівка, Голаринівка, Шаргородського району; с. Горюхівка, Рудівка, Пичинського району; с. Мигурівка, Тульчинського району; с. Штрап, Лисівка, Яворницького району; с. Олександрівка, Марківка, Горішнього району; с. Олександрівка, Ярми, Кожань, Могилів-Подільського району; с. Кричківка, Дунайського району; с. Соболівка, Янова, Тетівка, Киршівка, Тетіївського району, с. Пирівка, Ігнатовського району; с. Росомов, Тростянець, Антоновичського району.

**KOLHOSPS** КОЛГОСПИ

І. "Нове життя", "Вороняцький" Світрянського району, "Шлях Леніна", "Шлях до соціалізму" Крижанівського району; ім. Косіора Гайсінського району; Істківко-Червинський, Пашківський, Калитинського району; ім. РСЧА с. Олександрівка Вороняцького району; Хмельницький, Бердичівський М.Р.; колгосп с. Лозина Хмельницького району; "Більшовик", Барського району; Воєнівський колгосп Мухоморського району; ім. Державинського, Копитівського району; с. Кожань, Гринівського району; с. Ігнатовичівка, Шаргородського району; с. Косівка, Червоної гірської, Заспівницького району; с. Олександрівка, Яворницького району.

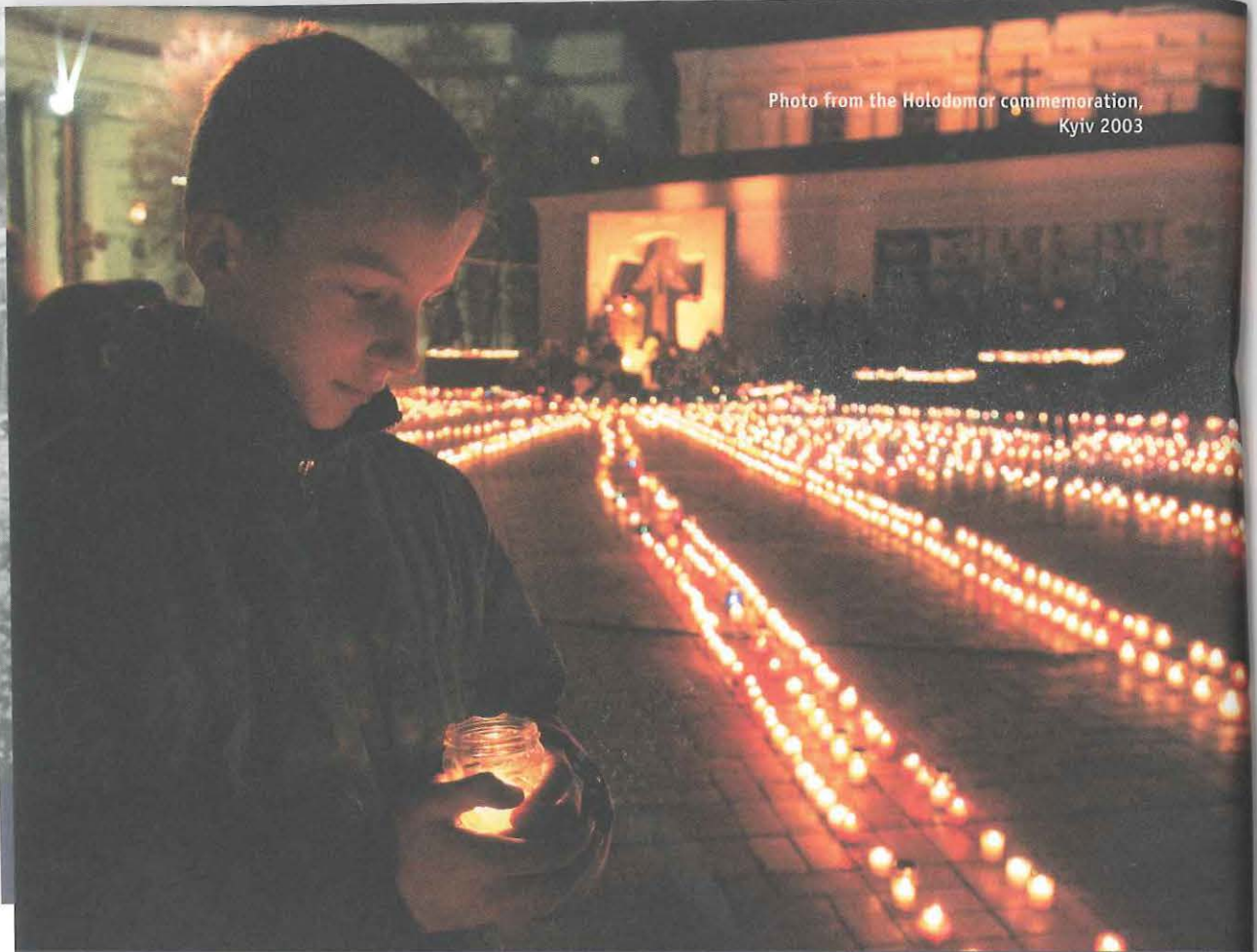


Photo from the Holodomor commemoration,  
Kyiv 2003

## **WHY UKRAINE IS PRESSING FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE HOLODOMOR AS GENOCIDE**

**THE GOAL** of bringing the Holodomor to international attention is to pay tribute to the millions of innocent victims, to condemn the crimes of the Soviet Communist regime, to restore historical justice and to obtain international recognition of the Ukrainian genocide.

**BY MAKING THE CASE** of the Holodomor as genocide, Ukraine seeks to increase the international community's awareness of the fact that engineered famines are still being used as a weapon, and through this awareness to help prevent such deplorable acts elsewhere in the world.

**THE PARLIAMENT OF UKRAINE**, the Verkhovna Rada, called for international recognition of the Holodomor as genocide in its three Resolutions adopted during 2002–03.

**ON 28 NOVEMBER 2006**, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine passed a Law declaring the Holodomor as genocide.



Photo from the Holodomor commemoration, Kyiv 2006

*"The issue is clear to me. I need not refer to the UN definitions, for in my own village more than half of the inhabitants perished. I consider it genocide".*

**Oleksandr Moroz,**  
Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada  
(Parliament) of Ukraine

*"The Holodomor is a tragic moment in the history of our people, and causes pain in the hearts of all Ukrainians. Our losses were enormous – we lost at least seven million of our compatriots. This was not just a heavy blow to the nation's gene pool. In essence, the existence of the Ukrainian nation was placed in doubt".*

**Viktor Yanukovich,**  
Prime Minister of Ukraine

*"The Holodomor was deliberately organized by Stalin's regime, and must be condemned publicly by the Ukrainian society and the international community as one of the largest – in terms of the number of victims – genocides in the world".*

**Leonid Kuchma,**  
President of Ukraine (1994–2004)

*"I speak of a horrendous crime that was committed in cold blood by the rulers of that period. The memories of this tragedy must guide the feelings and actions of Ukrainians".*

Address by Pope John Paul II  
to Ukrainians on 23 November 2003,  
on the 70th commemoration  
of the Holodomor

To date, the legislative bodies of Australia, Canada, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, and the USA referred to the 1932–1933 Holodomor as Ukrainian genocide.

The House of Senators of **ARGENTINA**, on 23 September 2003, commemorated the victims of the Ukrainian Holodomor, "organized by the Soviet totalitarian regime".

The Senate of **AUSTRALIA**, on 28 October 2003, recognized the starvation in Ukraine as "one of the most heinous acts of genocide in history".



Photo from the Holodomor  
commemoration, Kyiv 2006

The Senate of **CANADA**, on 19 June 2003, called on the Canadian Government "to recognize the Ukrainian Famine/Genocide of 1932–1933 and to condemn any attempt to deny this historical truth as being anything less than a genocide".

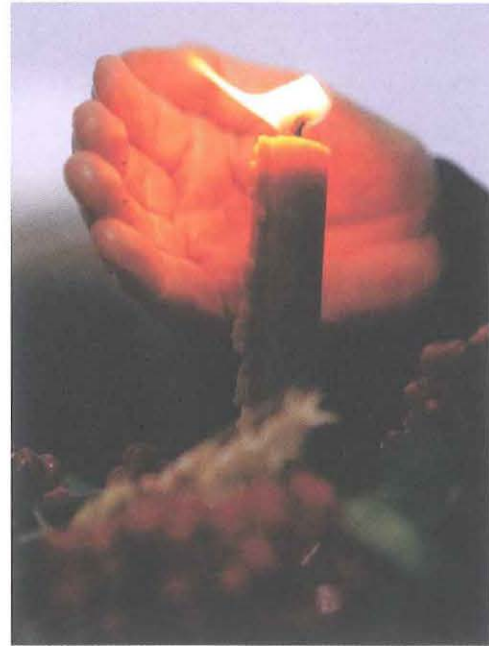
The Parliament of **ESTONIA**, on 20 October 1993, condemned "the communist policy of genocide in Ukraine".

The Parliament of **GEORGIA**, on 20 December 2005, stated that "the totalitarian Bolshevik regime... committed a deliberate genocide against the Ukrainian people".

The National Assembly of **HUNGARY**, on 26 November 2003, commemorated "the terrible tragedy of mankind and victims of genocide in Ukraine" – "artificial and intentional famine, caused by Stalin's Soviet regime".

The Sejm of **LITHUANIA**, on 24 November 2005, declared that "Stalin's communist regime carried out deliberate, thoroughly planned genocide of the Ukrainian people".

The Senate of **POLAND**, on 16 March 2006, stated that the "the Holodomor was intentionally designed by the despotic Bolshevik regime". The Senate



upheld "the position of Ukraine regarding the need to declare 1932–1933 Great Famine as an act of genocide". The Sejm of Poland condemned, on 6 December 2006, "the totalitarian regime responsible for genocide".

The **UNITED STATES** Congress in 2003 referred to the Holodomor as genocide, quoting the 1988 US Congress Commission on the Ukraine Famine official report. The report reads "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932–1933".

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The purpose of this booklet is to increase the international community's awareness of the Ukrainian genocide in 1932-1933 – the Holodomor. Although significant efforts have been made to gather the most up-to-date information this work continues.

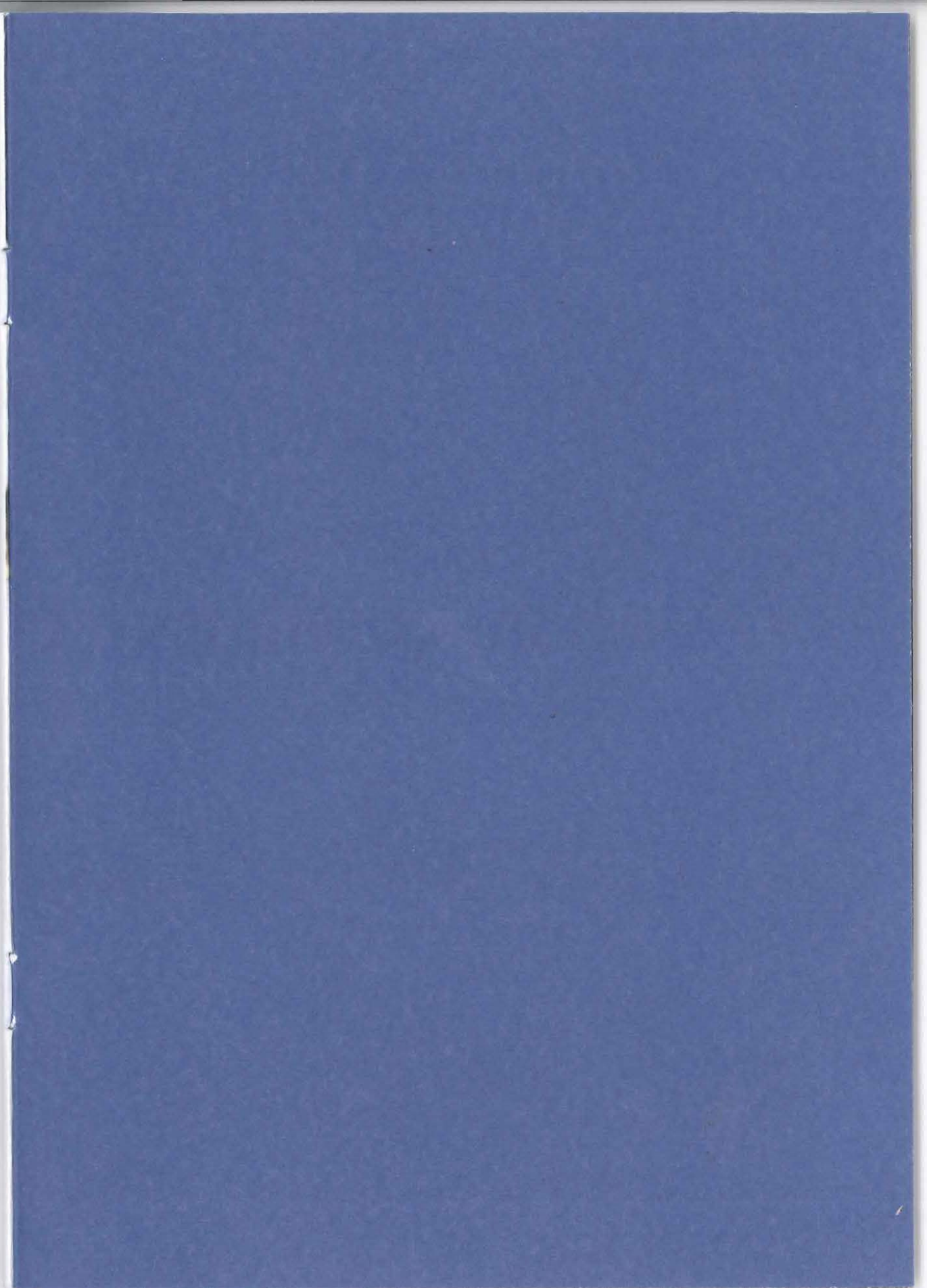
Witnesses' statements, used in the booklet, are taken from the "Lessons of History: the 1932-1933 Holodomor" web-site ([www.golodomor.org.ua](http://www.golodomor.org.ua)), created by the Ukraine 3000 International Charitable Fund.

Photocopy of Gareth Jones' letter to Lloyd George of 27 March 1933 is taken from "The Gareth Jones Archives – [www.garethjones.org](http://www.garethjones.org)" (Original Research, Content & Site Design by Nigel Linsan Colley).

Cover: fragment of poster "Candles of Memory" by Tetyana Maleha.

Holodomor period photos were given by the Institute of Ukrainian History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Photos from press-service of the President of Ukraine are used in the booklet.



In the early 1930s, in the very heart of Europe—in a region considered to be the Soviet Union's breadbasket—Stalin's Communist regime committed a horrendous act of genocide against millions of Ukrainians. An ancient nation of agriculturists was subjected to starvation, one of the most ruthless forms of torture and death.

This tragedy was called by Ukrainians –

# Holodomor