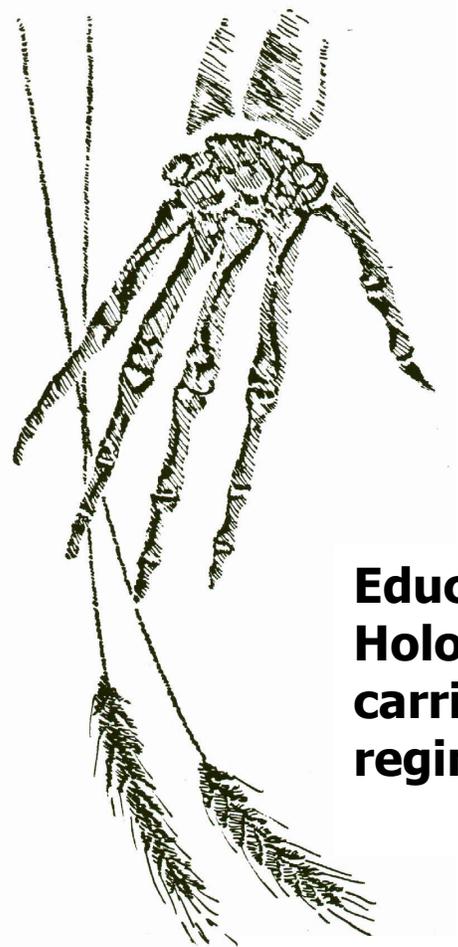




THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR, 1932-1933

A CURRICULUM and RESOURCE GUIDE for EDUCATORS*



**Educational materials on the
Holodomor, the Famine-Genocide
carried out by Stalin's Communist
regime in Ukraine.**

Image: Roman Zavadovych

*Prepared by Professor Myron B. Kuropas, Ph.D., public member, Ukraine Famine Commission, with the assistance of the Ukraine Famine Commission, Dr. James Mace, Director, and the cooperation of the Ukrainian Genocide Foundation, Mr. Nicholas Mischenko, President.

Illinois School Code
Holocaust and Genocide Study*
(105 ILCS 5/27-20.3)
(from Ch. 122, par. 27-20.3)

“One of the universal lessons of the Holocaust is that national, ethnic, racial, or religious hatred can overtake any nation or society, leading to calamitous consequences. To reinforce that lesson, such curriculum shall include an additional unit of instruction studying other acts of genocide across the globe. This unit shall include, but not be limited to, the Armenian Genocide, the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine, and more recent atrocities in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sudan.”

*House Bill 312 Amends the Illinois School Code to mandate study of the Armenian Genocide, Famine-Genocide in Ukraine, and the genocides in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda and Sudan. HB 312 was passed by the Illinois House on 3/1/2005 and by the Illinois Senate on 5/11/2005. The changes are expected to take effect on 8/9/2005.

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OVERVIEW

The 20th century was a time of great human tragedies. Some Americans are aware of the Armenian Genocide of 1915. Most Americans are aware of the Holocaust of 1939-1945. Many are familiar with the Cambodian Genocide of 1975 and the Rwandan Genocide of 1994. Few Americans, however, have heard of the Holodomor/Genocide which took place in Soviet Ukraine in 1932-1933.

Holodomor means “death by starvation.” Although we will never know the exact number who died in Ukraine during this period, the Ukrainian government today estimates that, taking into account data related to the demographic consequences of the famine, “Ukrainian losses resulting from the famine of 1932-1933 total no fewer than ten million people”. This campaign, purposefully orchestrated by Joseph Stalin and his Soviet cohorts, included summary executions for hoarding grain and deportations for resistance*.

What is a genocide? Article 2 of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

Was the Holodomor a Genocide? Raphael Lemkin, Polish-Jewish emigre, lawyer, educator and the person who coined the word “genocide”, believed that it was. “The classic example of Soviet genocide,” he wrote, “its longest and broadest experiment, is the destruction of the Ukrainian nation”. The Soviet genocide against Ukraine and its people consisted of a four-pronged attack according to Professor Lemkin: the destruction of the Ukrainian intellectual class, the brains of the nation; the annihilation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the soul of the people; the methodical elimination of Ukrainian peasant farmers, the heart of the nation; and the dispersion of the Ukrainian people and their replacement by others.**

Why is the Holodomor Unknown? There are two reasons: The Soviet Union never admitted its existence and many correspondents in the West, primarily Walter Duranty of the New York Times, were complicit in covering it up.

What are the Implications of the Holdomor in Today’s Geopolitical World?

The Soviet genocide against the Ukrainian people was part of a centuries-old pattern of behavior by Moscow’s rulers. The Soviets were following in the footsteps of their Czarist predecessors who denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian nation. The return of Russian chauvinism under President/Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the rehabilitation of Stalin in today’s Russia, the questioning of Ukraine’s right to exist as an independent nation by many Russians, as well as the continued denial of the Holodomor/Genocide by Russian governmental officials, are troubling developments, not only for Ukrainians but for all freedom-loving people throughout the world. ***

The purpose of this curriculum guide for educators is to acquaint them with this tragedy.

Myron B. Kuropas, Ph.D.

*See: *Not To Be Forgotten: A Chronicle of The Communist Inquisition in Ukraine, 1917-1981* (Kyiv, 2003) p. 43. Also see Valentina Kuryliw, “The Ukrainian Famine/Genocide-‘The Holodomor’ 1932-1933”, *The Unknown Genocide: The Ukrainian Holodomor 1932-1933*, 2008. p.7.

**Steven Jacobs, “Raphael Lemkin and the Holodomor: Was It Genocide?” *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine*, edited by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk (Kingston, Ontario, 2008) pp.159-170.

***”Truthful History”, *Kviv Post* (November 25, 2009). Also see Tony Halpin, “The Kremlin has long been setting the scene for Stalin’s rehabilitation”, *Times Online* (December 4, 2009).

1932-1933: THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR

A Teacher's Curriculum Guide

Rationale:

During the winter of 1932-33, some ten million Ukrainians living in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) died of forced starvation. They perished during a Genocide Famine (hereafter referred to as the "Holodomor", the current Ukrainian term used to identify the calamity) engineered by the Soviet government which had three major objectives in that part of its expanding empire:

1. To annihilate a significant portion of that segment of the Ukrainian population which had most vociferously and openly resisted increasingly oppressive Soviet rule.
2. To terrorize the surviving Ukrainian population into submission to Soviet totalitarian domination.
3. To provide funds for Soviet industrial expansion from the sale of expropriated Ukrainian wheat and other foodstuffs to the rest of the world.

Just as the Jewish Holocaust is not simply a "Jewish issue", the Holodomor in Ukraine is not simply a "Ukrainian issue". Both genocides have universal implications. The Holocaust is an example of genocide perpetrated by an overtly racist, fascist regime which had as its avowed purpose the annihilation of the Jewish people. The Ukrainian Holodomor is an example of genocide perpetrated by a Communist regime which, while calling itself internationalist, was contaminated by Russian chauvinism. For Russian Bolsheviks, Ukrainian ethno-cultural self-assertion was a threat to both the primacy of Russian culture in Soviet affairs, and to the centralization of all authority in the hands of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin.

Although the Holodomor in Ukraine is one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against a single nation in the 20th century, the West is hardly aware of it ever having taken place. This is so for four reasons:

- 1) consistent denial by Soviet officials;
- 2) conscious cover-up by influential Western correspondents reporting from Moscow;
- 3) a dearth of information about the Soviet Union's crimes within its own borders, crimes that since the collapse of the Soviet Union appear to be fading from public consciousness, both here and abroad;
- 4) an information vacuum regarding Ukraine and its people among American academics, the mass media, and the general public where the prevailing view was that Ukrainians were Russians who spoke a Russian dialect. Even though Ukraine has been an independent nation-state since 1991, this perception, still promoted by many Russian intellectuals, remains an accepted fact in many American circles.

Among the many conclusions reached by the United States Government's *Commission on the Ukraine Famine* in their 523-page report on the Holodomor in 1988, the following are the most significant:

1. "The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 was caused by the maximum extraction of agricultural produce from the rural population."
2. "Stalin knew that people were starving to death in Ukraine by late 1932."
3. "Attempts were made to prevent the starving from traveling to areas where food was more available."
4. "While the famine also took place during the 1932-1933 agricultural year in the Volga basin and North Caucasus Territory as a whole, the invasiveness of Stalin's interventions of both the fall of 1932 and January 1933 in Ukraine are paralleled only in the ethnically Ukrainian Kuban region of the North Caucasus."
5. "Official Soviet allegations of 'kulak sabotage' upon which all 'difficulties' were blamed during the Famine are false."
6. "The Famine **was not**, as is often alleged, related to drought."
7. "The victims of the Ukrainian Famine numbered in **the millions**."
8. "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed **genocide** against Ukrainians in 1932-1933."¹

If we are ever to comprehend genocide in all of its dimensions, it is imperative that this sordid chapter in the history of man's inhumanity to man be brought to light, especially since this tragedy is still being denied by the new Russian government.

The Russian government which "has inherited the Soviet Union's diplomatic and foreign policies, its embassies, its debts, and its seat at the United Nations, continues to act as if it has not inherited the Soviet Union's history," writes Anne Applebaum in *Gulag: A History*. "Russia inherited the trappings of Soviet power - - and also the Soviet Union's great power complex, its military establishment, and its imperial goals."²

¹ "Executive Summary", *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932-1933: Report to Congress* (Washington, D.C.:United States Government Printing Office, 1988), pp. vi-vii.

² Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History*, (New York: Doubleday, 2003), pp. 568-572.

GOALS & OBJECTIVES

GOALS:

1. To comprehend the historical events which precipitated Ukrainian resistance to Russian and Soviet domination.
2. To understand the precipitating factors which led to the Holodomor and their impact on the Ukrainian people.
3. To examine the reasons behind the lack of information regarding the Ukrainian Genocide Famine in the West.
4. To appreciate the nature of Soviet and Russian disinformation.
5. To identify other events which were similar to the Holodomor in Ukraine.

OBJECTIVES:

The student will:

1. Describe how the Grand Duchy of Muscovy became the Russian empire.
2. Describe how the Soviet Union inherited the Russian empire and the methods it used to maintain and expand its territorial size.
3. Describe how and when Ukraine became part of the Russian and Soviet empires.
4. Describe Ukrainian resistance to Russian and Soviet rule and the use of enforced starvation as a weapon of national subjugation.
5. Explain how and why Western correspondents attempted to cover up the Forced Famine in Ukraine in collusion with the Soviet disinformation campaign.
6. Compare and contrast Stalin's Holodomor to Hitler's Holocaust.
7. List and briefly describe other instances of genocide perpetrated or inspired by the Soviet Union.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. Soviet Union

A. Soviet Imperialism (1918-1991)

1. The Birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
2. Soviet Russian Totalitarianism
3. Soviet expansion

II. Ukraine and Its People

A. Early History

1. Kyivan Rus' (988-1240)
2. Galician/Volynian Rus' (1200-1349)
3. The Cossack Republic (1550-1775)

B. Modern History

1. The First Ukrainian National Republic (1918-1921)
2. Ukraine under the Soviets
3. Stalin's Genocide Famine

III. The Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor and the Free Press

- A. Walter Duranty and The New York Times
- B. Louis Fischer and The Nation
- C. Malcolm Muggeridge
- D. William Henry Chamberlin
- E. Gareth Jones

IV. Was Ukraine's Holodomor Really an Act of Genocide?

V. Ukraine in Recent Times and the Second Ukrainian National Republic (1940-Present)

VI. Food as a Political Weapon

- A. Ethiopia
- B. Cambodia
- C. Afghanistan

SOVIET POLICY AND THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR

Ukraine was formally incorporated into the USSR as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR) in 1922. The Communists were aware that resistance to their regime was deep and widespread. To pacify the Ukrainian people and to gain control, Moscow initially permitted a great deal of local autonomy to exist in the UkSSR. The newly established Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the new All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, non-Communist national institutions of great importance, were both permitted to continue their work until the end of the 1920's.

All of this changed once Stalin came to power. Stalin wanted to consolidate the new Communist empire and to strengthen its industrial base. Ukrainian national aspirations were a barrier to those ends because even Ukrainian Communists opposed exploitation by Moscow. In Stalin's eyes, Ukraine, the largest of the non-Russian republics, would have to be subdued. Thus, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. Ukrainian bishops, priests and thousands of Christian lay leaders were sent to Siberian labor camps, the so-called "Gulag." Hundreds of thousands, possibly over a million, of Ukraine's intellectual leaders - writers, university professors, scientists, and journalists - were liquidated in purges ordered by Stalin. Not even loyal Ukrainian Communists were exempt from Stalin's terror. By 1939, practically the entire (98%) of Ukraine's Communist leadership had been liquidated.

Hardest hit by Stalin's policies were Ukraine's independent landowners, the so-called "kulaks" (*Kurkuly* in Ukrainian). Never precisely defined, a kulak was a member of the alleged "upper stratum" of landowners. In reality anyone who owned a little land, even as little as 25 acres, came to be labeled a kulak. Stalin ordered that all private farms would have to be collectivized. During the process, according to Soviet sources, which are no doubt on the conservative side, some 200,000 Ukrainian families were "de-kulakized" or dispossessed of all land. By the summer of 1932, 69.5% of all Ukrainian farm families and 80% of all farm land had been forcibly collectivized.

Stalin decided to eliminate Ukraine's independent farmers for three reasons:

- (1) farmers represented the last bulwark of resistance to totalitarian Russian control;
- (2) the USSR was in desperate need of foreign capital to build more factories, and the best way to obtain that capital was to increase agricultural exports from Ukraine, once known as "the breadbasket of Europe";
- (3) the fastest way to increase agricultural exports was to expropriate land through a process of farm collectivization and to assign procurement quotas to each Soviet republic.

During the collectivization process, Ukrainian farmers resisted vigorously, often violently, especially when the GPU (secret police) and militia forced them to turn their land over to the government. Thousands of farmers were killed and millions more were deported to Siberia to be replaced by more trustworthy workers.³

³ Myron B. Kuropas, *The Ukrainians in America* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1972) pp. 32-36. Also see James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Hryhory Kostyuk, *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine' A Study of the "Decade of Mass Terror"* (London: Atlantic Books, 1960) p. 129; Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr M. Nekrich, *Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present*, Translated from the Russian by Phyllis B. Carlos (New

To increase exports and to break the back of remaining resistance, Moscow imposed grain procurement quotas on Ukraine that were 2.3 times the amount of grain marketed during the best year prior to collectivization. Laws were passed declaring all collective farm property "sacred and inviolate." Anyone who was caught with any food was subject to execution as an "enemy of the people" or, in extenuating circumstances, imprisonment for not less than 10 years.⁴ To make sure the new laws were strictly enforced, special "commissions" and "brigades" were dispatched to the countryside. In the words of one Sovietologist:

The work of these special "commissions" and "brigades" was marked by the utmost severity. They entered the villages and made the most thorough searches of the houses and barns of every peasant. They dug up the earth and broke into the walls of buildings and stoves in which the peasants tried to hide their last handfuls of food. They even in places took specimens of fecal matter from the toilets in an effort to learn by analysis whether the peasants had stolen government property and were eating grain.⁵

Stalin succeeded in achieving his goals. The grain harvest of 1932 was greater than in 1931, providing more monies for industrial expansion. The cost to Ukraine, however, was catastrophic. Grain procurements continued even though it was clear to Soviet officials that more and more people were going hungry in the Ukrainian countryside. The result was inevitable. A man-made famine—the Holodomor, the magnitude of which staggers the imagination—struck Ukraine and still the Soviet government failed to provide relief. Detailed and documented descriptions of the horrors which prevailed in the rural areas of Soviet Ukraine have been presented by Ukrainian eye-witnesses, Congressional reports, and various newspaper accounts. Thomas Walker, an American journalist who traveled in Ukraine during the Holodomor, left us an especially graphic account of the situation in one rural area:

About twenty miles south of Kiev, I came upon a village that was practically extinct by starvation. There had been fifteen houses in this village and a population of forty-odd persons. Every dog and cat had been eaten. The horses and oxen had all been appropriated by the Bolsheviks to stock the collective farms. In one hut they were cooking a mess that defied analysis. There were bones, pig-weed, skin, and what looked like a boot top in this pot. The way the remaining half dozen inhabitants eagerly watched this slimy mess showed the state of their hunger. One boy of about 15 years, whose face and arms and legs were simply tightly drawn skin over bones, had a stomach that was swollen to twice its normal size. He was an orphan; his father had died of starvation a month before and he showed me the body. The boy had covered the body with straw, there being no shovels in the village since the last raid of the GPU. He stated his mother had gone away one day searching for food and had not returned. This boy wanted to die - he suffered intensely with his swollen stomach and was the only one of the group who showed no interest in the pot that was being prepared.⁶

The Soviet government has preserved the greatest secrecy concerning the exact number of persons who perished in Ukraine during the Holodomor, but an analysis of recently revealed Soviet census data comparing 1939 with 1926 figures suggests that no fewer than ten million men, women, and

York: Summit Books, 1986) pp. 232-244, 299-301; Robert Sullivant, Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962) pp.149-233; Clarence Manning, Ukraine Under the Soviets (New York: Bookman Associates, 1953) pp. 103-148.

⁴James Mace, "The Man-Made Famine of 1932-1933; What Happened and Why," The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1983) p. 29.

⁵Manning, op.cit. p. 97.

⁶The Chicago American (March 6, 1935).

children perished.⁷ According to American Sovietologists and other experts on the Stalin era, the famine need never have occurred.

Despite the meager harvest, the peasants could have pulled through without starvation if there had been substantial abatement of the requisition of grain and foodstuffs. But the requisitions were intensified rather than relaxed; the government was determined to "teach the peasants a lesson" by the grim method of starvation...⁸

By the beginning of the winter all the grain, including the seed grain of the farms in Ukraine, had been seized by the government. The peasants lived on the last remaining potatoes, killed their last remaining livestock, they slaughtered cats and dogs, ate nettles and linden leaves. The acorns were all gone by January, the people began to starve. By March no food at all remained, and they died. The children died first, mostly the younger children, followed by the older people, then usually men before the women, and finally everyone else.⁹

⁷ Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, The Time of Stalin: A Portrait of Tyranny (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1981) p. 65.

⁸ William Henry Chamberlin, The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944) pp. 59-60.

⁹ Robert Conquest, et. al., The Man-Made Famine in Ukraine (Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1984) p. 4.

ORGANIZING THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR¹⁰

The Holodomor and the deaths from starvation in the villages of Ukraine were very well known to Moscow in the spring of 1932.¹¹ Under normal circumstances the Soviet government and the Communist party would have been prepared to prevent the repetition of a similar catastrophe in the ensuing years of 1932-1933. The government and the party could have done so, but this was not their plan; Moscow had foreseen an increased sharpening in the struggle with the peasantry for agricultural products and livestock and had, therefore, prepared well in advance all their organizational efforts to promote an artificial famine and to step up the genocide.

The following was done to accomplish the desired results:

1. Plans for grain-collections were prepared for Ukraine, in spite of the actual state of the harvest yield and of the food requirements of the population. Thus, a determined effort was made to strip the peasantry of all grain.
2. A special effort was issued to expropriate the entire village economy, including that of the smallest peasant. The peasants were forbidden under pain of death, to utilize the products of their toil, regardless of whether they belonged to a collective farm or not.
3. A special law was enacted to establish a commercial blockade of the Ukrainian villages in most of the regions of Ukraine.
4. Special laws were enacted to bind all toilers, workers and peasants to specific places of employment. A passport system was established to prevent the peasants from seeking employment outside their village, thus depriving them of the right to produce food from other sources.
5. Ukraine as a whole, and especially the Ukrainian peasantry, was placed under a special transportation blockade, thus depriving the population of the opportunities to travel in quest of food.
6. The authorities made strenuous efforts to conceal the existence of the Holodomor in Ukraine, not only from the outside world, but also from other national groups in the USSR.

The summer of 1932 in Ukraine was notable for the sharp conflict between the authorities and peasants for bread. The government tried to get as much food out of Ukraine as possible; the peasants, on the other hand, did everything in their power to prevent this and to keep as much as possible for themselves.

Some of the collective workers, individual farmers, and collective farms completed their quotas in full. But, in general, the majority of Ukrainian farmers did not fulfill the plan and used all possible means to evade it.

The government then embarked upon forcible collection of food from the collective farms, collective farmers, and independent farmers who had not given up their quotas. According to the central directives, it was proposed that every village should, depending on its size, be divided into a number

¹⁰ Taken from: S. O. Pidhainy, Editor-in-Chief, The Black Deeds or the Kremlin: A White Book, Volume 2, The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 (Detroit: DOBRUS, Globe Press, 1955) pp. 433-434; 34-37.

¹¹ After the 1931 harvest, outbreaks of starvation occurred in a number of regions in Ukraine.

of subdivision (hamlets, etc.) and to each of these a special brigade was assigned, whose task it was to complete the plan of forced collections.

As a rule such a brigade consisted of a number of the presidium of the village soviet or a party representative, and two or three local "activists" (this latter group would include former red partisans, former hoboes, ex-convicts and such), and there would also be an additional member from the board of the local cooperative stores. Depending on local conditions the composition of the brigade would sometimes differ; if the quotas were large and poorly executed, they would include a larger number of party representatives from the regional, district or central offices. Quite often teachers, students and clerks from village and district offices would be compelled to join. The groundwork of the organization of such brigades was laid in 1930 and 1931 and they were constantly improved upon. As a rule the man in charge would be an outsider, a special functionary dispatched from the county, region, or capital. Every brigade had at least one "specialist" charged with uncovering hidden foodstuffs with the aid of a large sharp-pointed steel prong.

These brigades went from house to house, day after day, looking for hidden food. They searched homes, attics, cellars and all farm buildings, barns, stables, pens and hay stacks. They would measure the thickness of the wall under the oven, to find if there was grain concealed in the foundation. They knocked on floors and walls and whenever the sound was dull they would pry the place open. Sometimes whole walls were pulled down, ovens wrecked, and the last grain taken away when anything was found. The collection was characterized by acts of wanton destruction and extreme cruelty. Every brigade had its headquarters, manned by a special staff. Farmers were hauled to headquarters and there subjected to all-night interrogations with beatings, water-treatment, and semi-naked confinement in cold cells. At that time, many instances of torture were noted.

The methods employed were many and varied. A former scientist of Kharkiv University, C. R. (who is now in the United States) received the following description of an action from his father, a local peasant of Lysiache, Karliv county near Poltava:

"My son-in-law did not join the collective, so in the fall of 1932 a production-tax of 100 poods (1 pood = approximately 36 pds.) of grain was levied on him. He paid this in full. Then, just before Christmas, an additional 200 poods was levied. He did not have the 200, he did not even have 20, so he was threatened with jail for failing to pay. He sold a cow, a horse, and some clothes, bought the necessary 200 poods and paid the tax. Then in February, 1933, the local authorities notified him that he had to surrender another 300 poods. He refused to pay this third assessment, because he had nothing left and was himself starving. A commission then came to his house to look for food. Of course they did not find anything except a little bag of inferior grain and a pot of beans, which they took. The only thing he had left was a sack of potatoes. This last food went fast, and then ... "

Local activists who took part in the search for food for confiscation naturally bypassed their own homes, and thus succeeded in keeping some small reserves for themselves. The emissaries sent down to collect grain from the larger centers then changed their method of operation so that brigade members would not work in their own villages. When working among strangers they would be more thorough and not let one house get by without a search. This explains why even many activists died as a result of famine in the spring of 1933. Their food had also been taken away from them.

Eyewitnesses from all parts of Ukraine tell similar stories about food collections conducted in the fall of 1932 and the spring of 1933:

"All edible products were requisitioned" - village of Zorich, Orzich county,

Poltava region.

"They took away everything that could be eaten" - village of Vepryk, Hadyach county, Sumy region.

"All bread was requisitioned, and even peas, down to the last kilogram" - village of Uspenivka, Khmiliv county, Mikolayiv region.

"They took grain, potatoes, and beets almost to the last kilogram" - village of Sofievka, Nove-Mirhorod county, Odessa region.

"Everything, literally everything was taken, they did not leave one kilogram of bread" - village of Strizavka, Rzhyshev county, Kyiv region.

There are known cases where, in the winter of 1932-1933, commissions charged with confiscating foodstuffs from the farmers examined human fecal matter in order to establish what the people were eating, because although people were swearing that they had nothing to eat, they were still alive! People who, in this manner were proved to have been consuming grain bread had to flee in order to escape persecution.

Conditions under which the plans for grain collection were being implemented in 1932 can best be illustrated by the fact that a single Pavlohrad county near Dnipropetrovsk, consisting of 37 village soviets and 87 collective farms, had a team of 200 collectors sent down from the county party committee, and almost a like number from the county Komsomol committee.

THE UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR IN PERSPECTIVE

Adapted from Robert Conquest's classic work on the Holodomor¹²

The Soviet assault on the peasantry, and on the Ukrainian nation, in 1930-1933 was one of the largest and most devastating events in modern history. It was a tremendous human tragedy - with many more dead than in all countries together in World War I. It was a major economic disaster. And it was a social "revolution from above," as Stalin put it, which wholly transformed a major country.

Yet these events have not to this day been fully registered in Western consciousness. There is a general knowledge here that some sort of catastrophe struck, or may have struck, the Soviet countryside, but little more. This minimum has percolated over the decades, from eyewitnesses and victims; and more recently from the fact that almost every work by the many talented Soviet writers who have come (or whose unofficial writings have come) to the West has a least a passing reference to the rural terror and its hideous consequences, taking for granted events which to them are part of a known background.

But the events are both complex and unfamiliar to Westerners. The very concept of a peasant is strange to American and British ears. The Ukrainian nationality, subjugated to be merely part of the Russian Empire for a century and a half, enjoying only a few years of precarious and interrupted independence after the revolution, and then again becoming merely part of the USSR, does not declare itself to the Western observer as the Polish or even the Latvian nations are able to.* Even the Communist Party, its ideology and its motivations, is for us an alien and not easily understood phenomenon.

The facts of the assault on the peasantry, and on the Ukrainian nationality, are complex. Essentially, it was a threefold blow. "De-kulakization" meant the deportation of millions of peasant farmers identified by Soviet authorities as "kulaks" [independent farmers with as little as 16 acres of land]. "Collectivization" meant the herding of the rest of them into collective farms. And in 1932-1933, the collectivized peasantry of the Ukraine and adjacent regions was crushed in a special operation by the seizure of the whole grain crop and the intentional starvation of the villages. We see no single, and simply describable and assignable, event, but a complicated sequence.

Most important of all, a great effort was put into denying or concealing the facts. Right from the start, when the truth came out from a variety of sources, the Stalinist assertion of a different story confused the issue and some Western journalists and scholars were duped or suborned into supporting the Stalinist version. Nor have the Soviet authorities yet admitted the facts. A contemporary novel [*Forever Flowing* by Vasily Grossman] published in the former USSR briefly describes the terror-famine, and later notes: "in not a single textbook in contemporary history will you find reference to 1933, the year marked by a terrible tragedy."

Lenin had devised a Marxist analysis of village life, a division of the peasantry into "kulaks," "middle peasants" and "poor peasants" plus a "village proletariat." This implied a "class struggle" in the village which in fact failed to occur, but was thereupon imposed by the representative of the cities.

**It was not until 1991, when Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union, and more recently during the Orange Revolution of 2004-2005, that the world began to identify with Ukraine as an open and democratic nation.*

¹²Most of the information on this and the next three pages is taken from: Robert Conquest. [The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine](#) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

The most lethal invention was the "kulak." This word - "fist" - had in reality been used by the Soviet administration to label a very small class of village moneylenders, all of whom had disappeared by 1918. Lenin transferred it to the richer peasantry. These too were wiped out by 1920. The term was then used to define the more prosperous survivors.

From 1918 the attempt was made across the entire Soviet Union to abolish the market, and get grain by forced requisition. By 1921, peasant resistance, expressed in widespread - indeed almost universal - peasant uprisings had brought the regime to the point of collapse and Lenin, with the "New Economic Policy" (NEP), restored the market system. The ruined peasants who then worked indefatigably to restore their fortunes, thereby saved the country: but the more they prospered, the more they were regarded as "kulaks" by party ideologists.

The party hated the kulak as the main obstacle to socialism. In reality, as is often admitted in party literature, the middle peasants and even the poor peasants almost always adhered to the same political positions. However, party doctrine required a "class enemy," and the term kulak, precisely because it was never clearly defined, was marshaled to this end.

Lenin died in 1924, and Joseph Stalin consolidated power soon after that. In the first years of his reign, the peasantry had gradually restored the economy, and soon Stalin felt strong enough to strike at the kulak. During the winter of 1929-1930, almost ten million kulaks - men, women and children - were deported to the arctic from around the Soviet Union. These supposedly "rich exploiters" owned around \$150 worth of property. A typical kulak would have something like 12 acres, a cow, a horse, ten sheep, a hog and about 20 chickens on a farm supporting four people.

The kulak category was later broadened to include "sub-kulaks" who were not kulaks by party definition, except that they shared kulak "attitudes."

In the villages, teams headed by Communists from the cities, supported by GPU men (secret police) held violent denunciation sessions to meet their quota of kulaks. Even now these latter were often defended by poor villagers, who themselves were then labeled "sub-kulaks."

Some 100,000 kulaks were shot. The remainder (except for the very old who were left to their own devices) were evicted from their homes, and marched to the nearest railway. Huge lines of peasants converged on the trains which took two to three thousand people in cattle cars, on journeys lasting a week or longer, to the arctic. In the unheated cars, death, particularly of infants, was common. On detraining, they might spend some time crammed starving into the confiscated churches of Archangel or Vologda, or go straight to their destinations - typically being marched for several days to a clearing in the forest and told to make their own homes. About three million died in the early stages, predominantly young children. The survivors either had to create farms in the frozen wilderness, or were sent to work on such projects as the Baltic-White Sea Canal, on which about 300,000 died (and which was never of any use).

The kulaks and subkulaks, of course, included all the natural leaders of the peasantry, especially those resistant to the new collectivization. After their removal, the bulk of the remaining peasants were forced into the collective farms.

There was much resistance. Sporadic armed uprisings involving whole districts took place, especially in Ukraine and the North Caucasus. But scythes and shotguns could not prevail against the armed forces of the GPU. They were ruthlessly suppressed. But so was more peaceful resistance.

The one peasant tactic which had a measure of success was the astonishing "women's rebellions"

[*babski bunty*]. Peasant women would resist confiscation of their cows, and the authorities were often at a loss as to how to respond (see page 19 below). The peasants' main reaction, however, was to slaughter the cattle. In a few months, over 40% of the country's cattle and 65% of the sheep had been destroyed. Stalin's policy lay in ruins. Like Lenin, in March 1930 he made a tactical retreat. Peasants were now allowed to leave the collective farms. Sixteen million families had been collectivized. Within a few weeks, nine million left.

But they were not allowed their land back. They were given rough ground at the edge of the plowed land. Then heavy taxes were imposed on them. A huge new wave of de-kulakization removed the more recalcitrant. And over the next two years, the bulk of the land was again collectivized. The system was inefficient from the start, and the countryside soon presented, as Soviet Nobel Prize novelist Boris Pasternak described it, "such inhuman, unimaginable misery, such a terrible disaster, that it began to seem almost abstract; it would not fit within the bounds of consciousness."

The collective farm system, the Soviet Union's agricultural mainstay, was an economic disaster. Even in the 1950s, the new mechanized farms were admitted to be producing less than the pre-World War I *mouzik* [peasant] with his wooden plow. A schematic idea had failed, at enormous human and other cost.

De-kulakization and collectivization were virtually complete by mid-1932. It was then that Moscow launched the third and most lethal of its assaults - the genocide famine against the peasants of Ukraine and some neighboring areas, in particular the largely Ukrainian Kuban.

Soviet Academician Sakharov refers to Stalin's "Ukrainophobia." But it was not an irrational Ukrainophobia. In the free elections of November, 1917, Ukraine had voted overwhelmingly for national parties. The Bolsheviks got only 10% of the vote, and those were mainly in Russified industrial centers. Over the next few years, independent Ukrainian governments rose and fell. Twice Bolshevik governments were established by Russian troops, but only on the third attempt was the country finally subdued. The first two efforts had made virtually no concession to nationalism. The view of Lenin and his subordinates was that the Ukrainian language was merely a peasant dialect. It was only after bitter experience that it was seen that Ukraine could not be mastered without some recognition of its national feeling.

Just as the peasants were temporarily placated by the New Economic Policy, so was the Ukrainian nation. Over the next eight or nine years, Ukrainian culture was allowed to flourish, and high officials and supporters of the former independent Ukrainian government were given posts. But there were always Moscow's complaints and apprehensions about the national tendencies thus encouraged. Thus, starting in 1929, a violent mass purge was initiated first of non-Communists, then of Communist cultural and political figures. During the years that followed, some 200 of the 240 published authors in Ukraine were shot or died in camps, together with a wide swath of all other intellectuals, from agronomists to language specialists.

But in Stalin's view "the national problem is in essence a peasant problem." Thus, the persecution of Ukrainian culture was accompanied by an attack the peasant bulk of the nation. Furthermore, the peasantry of Ukraine and contiguous areas had also been the foremost in resisting collectivization. They therefore emerged, as it were, as a double target. Stalin's Secret Police Chief in the Ukraine, Balitsky, spoke of a "double blow" at the nationalists and the kulaks.

The Ukrainian countryside had already, in 1931-1932, suffered grain requisitions which left it on the point of famine. In July 1932 Stalin issued the decisive decree: 6.6 million tons of grain were now to be delivered. The figure was far beyond possibility. Ukrainian Communist leaders protested, but were ordered to obey. As Soviet novelist Vasily Grossman puts it, "the decree required that the peasants of Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their little children."

By November 1, 1932, 41% of the delivery plan had been fulfilled, and there was nothing left in the villages. There were again protests from leading Ukrainian Communists who told Stalin that famine was raging. They were rebuffed and ordered to find the grain. "Brigades" with crowbars searched the peasants' houses and yards. A little hidden grain was sometimes found, and the peasant would be shot or sent to a labor camp. But in general, the villages were now living on all sorts of marginal edibles - cats and dogs, buckwheat chaff, nettles, worms, ground bark.

The borders between Ukraine and Russia were blocked by police posts which prevented bread being brought back. About a third of Ukraine itself was officially blockaded so that not merely bread, but no supplies of any sort, could enter. In the Ukrainian cities a small ration was issued, but in the countryside nothing at all was given.

The cities were barred to the peasants by guard posts. Even so, when the last food had gone, many peasants managed to crawl to city centers. It was forbidden to feed them, or treat them medically, and they either died on the spot or were removed in twice weekly roundups.

Back in the countryside, while any strength remained, families would come to the railway lines in the hope of being thrown a crust. Arthur Koestler,¹³ who was then in Kharkiv, describes these events: **"the stations were lined with begging peasants with swollen hands and feet, the women holding up to the carriage windows horrible infants with enormous wobbling heads, stick-like limbs and swollen pointed bellies ... "**

They returned to die in the villages. One need only envisage famine scenes as in the world today, with a single difference - that no aid or relief organizations were present trying to alleviate things: Indeed, it was illegal - even in the villages - to suggest that famine, let alone genocide, was taking place.

Infants like those described by Koestler were particularly vulnerable and many died. Children of 7 or 8 often also died, either at home or rounded up into special centers and given some, largely inadequate food. But many, after their parents died, joined the wandering bands of the *"Homeless Ones"* and lived by petty pilfering. Others, indoctrinated in the Party's "Pioneers" organization, were used by the authorities to help harass the peasants. Some became much publicized heroes by denouncing their own parents.

One of the most moving descriptions of the genocide famine is by Vasily Grossman, a Soviet Jewish correspondent. His mother was killed at Auschwitz, and he himself wrote the first documentary description of the Nazi death camps, The Hell of Treblinka, and was joint editor of the Soviet section of the Black Book on Nazi atrocities (never published in the Soviet Union). He gives us, in his novel Forever Flowing*, the most harrowing description and indictment of Stalin's slaughter of the Ukrainian peasantry, and quite explicitly makes the parallel with Hitler, adding that in the Stalinist case it was a matter of Soviet people killing Soviet children. And the death toll was indeed on a Hitlerite scale.

****Everyone was in terror. Mothers looked to their children and began to scream in fear. They screamed as if a snake had crept into their house. And this snake was famine, starvation, death...Only famine was on the move. Only famine did not sleep. The children would cry from morning on, asking for bread. And what could their mothers give them—snow? And there was no help. The Party officials had one answer to all entreaties: 'You should have worked harder, you shouldn't have loafed.'"** Vasily Grossman, *Forever Flowing*, translated by Thomas P. Whitney, (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972) pp. 153-154.

¹³ Arthur Koestler was a Hungarian-born British writer whose novel Darkness at Noon analyzed the psychology of victims of Stalin's 1930s purges.



One of the countless mass graves of victims of the Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor

A census taken in January 1937 was suppressed and the census board was shot as (in the words of an official communiqué) "**a serpent's nest of traitors in the apparatus of Soviet statistics.**" They had, *Pravda* stated, "**exerted themselves to diminish the population of the Soviet Union.**"

During Khrushchev's time a later head of the Census Board wrote sardonically that the State Planning Commission had been very incompetent in its population predictions, having forecast 180.7 million for 1937 when the real total was 164 million. This enormous discrepancy can be reduced to about 11.5 million for various reasons (for example, children unborn owing to prematurely dead parents). Of this, the genocide famine deaths accounted for the greatest amount. Over 3 million had already died during dekulakization, and about 1 million (out of some 4 million) Kazakhs had perished as a result of the banning of their nomad life and resettlement on desert "farms."

To this 11 plus million we must add over 3 million for the peasants in labor camps during the 1937 census (many of whom perished there later) for a reasonable estimate of approximately 14.5 million victims of the entire anti-peasant and anti-Ukraine campaign. The total dead in all countries during World War I was under 9 million.

There have been many useful books, usually of a specialist nature, about one aspect or another of the Stalinist revolution in the countryside, and many individual testimonies have also appeared; but there has not previously been a general history covering the whole phenomenon.

Yet the material only needed to be brought together. We have literally hundreds of first-hand accounts, from victims and from officials, from foreign Communists and from journalists: that is, first-hand observers. We have official material, both from the early 1930s and from the Khrushchev period, which strongly indicates much of the truth. And we have fiction, from the orthodox Sholokhov in the 1930s, through novels published in the USSR in Khrushchev's time and even in the early 1980s, to say nothing of samizdat and émigré work, in which the events are presented in only slightly dramatized form.

All of them tell, or contribute to, the same story. Every point made here can be overwhelmingly documented. Soviet history - and the world today - cannot be properly understood without full knowledge of such major determining events as those described above.¹⁴

¹⁴ Excerpted from Congressional testimony presented before the United States Ukraine Famine Commission in Washington, DC on October 8, 1986.

***More on the Women's Rebellions ("Babski Bunty")**

"In 1933, when Stalin called for a cow in every peasant household (partly to placate collective farm women and partly to mask the famine), he acknowledged the opposition of peasant women to collectivization by remarking 'Of course, not long ago Soviet power had a little misunderstanding with collective farm women. This business was about cows.' The 'business about cows' became a national phenomenon in the late 1920's and 1930's evolving well beyond the confines of the 'little misunderstanding.'"

"Lazar Kaganovich, a politburo member and one of Stalin's closest allies, said 'We know that in connection with the excesses in the collective farm movement, women in the countryside in many cases played the most 'advanced' role in the reaction against the collective farm movement.'"

"Men pushed women to protest against collectivization because the authorities were less likely to take physical action against women. ("Make a fuss, Matrena, nothing will happen to you."). "Officials were unlikely to arrest women, even when fifty of them broke up a meeting by shouting 'Down with the collective farms! Give the speaker a thrashing!' Bring back the Tsar!"¹⁵

In his summation, Professor Conquest wrote:

- 1. The cause of the famine was the setting of highly excessive grain requisition targets by Stalin and his associates.**
- 2. Ukrainian party leaders made it clear that these targets were too high.**
- 3. Targets were nevertheless enforced.**
- 4. Ukrainian leaders pointed this out to Stalin and his associates and the truth was made known to him and them and to others.**
- 5. The requisitions were nevertheless continued.**
- 6. Grain was available in storage in the famine area but was not released to the peasants.**
- 7. Orders were given to prevent peasants from entering the towns.**
- 8. Orders were given to prevent food, legally obtained, being brought over the borders of Soviet Ukraine.**
- 9. Bread rations, albeit low ones, were established in the towns but not in villages.**
- 10. The fact of the famine has been established by witnesses including high Communist officials, local activists, foreign observers, and the peasants themselves. (*Robert Conquest, op. cit., p.320.*)**

¹⁵ Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels Against Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) p.183-184; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) pp. 65-66

PRESS COVER-UP of the UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR

"The failure of Western newspapers to do all that they could to inform their readers about conditions in Russia was never more apparent than during the Holodomor. Although the home newspapers were aware of the travel restrictions placed on their correspondents at the start of 1933, there was no outcry from them. Moreover, while there were clues enough even before the travel ban that conditions were not satisfactory in the countryside and that there might be a food shortage, only the most conservative newspapers in the West gave the early reports of famine the attention they deserved. It was almost as if the Western press itself was willing to accept a role in the (*genocide*) famine cover-up. The role of the *New York Times* in the dismal press coverage of the Soviet Union seems to have been especially onerous. While the Times was (and is) widely regarded as one of the world's best newspapers, its reputation for accuracy and fairness was clearly not deserved in the case of its coverage of the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1933."

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, DC: University Press of America, 1982) p. 198.

* * *

"Americans who suppose that editors are inclined to cheer their correspondents in the fearless pursuit of truth have a naively idyllic view of modern journalism. They forget that the principal commodity of the newspapers is news, not truth, and the two do not always coincide."

Interview with Eugene Lyons, July 17, 1972. Cited in Angels in Stalin's Paradise, op. cit. pp. 197-198.

* * *

Examples of press cover-ups of the Genocide Famine by Western reporters:

1. MASSES IN SOVIET LOOK TO FUTURE - Walter Duranty

"Enemies and foreign critics can say what they please. Weaklings and dependents at home may groan under the burden, but the youth and strength of the Russian people is essentially at one with the Kremlin's program, believes it worthwhile and supports it, however hard be the sledding."

Taken from: "Masses in Soviet Look to Future," New York Times (December 19, 1932).

2. RUSSIANS HUNGRY BUT NOT STARVING - Walter Duranty

"There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition."

Taken from "Russians Hungry But Not Starving," New York Times (March 31, 1933).

3. BIG UKRAINE CROP TAXES HARVESTERS - Walter Duranty

“This visitor has just completed a 200-mile trip through the heart of Ukraine and can say positively that the harvest is splendid and all talk of famine now is ridiculous.

Everywhere one goes and with everyone with whom one talks - from Communists and officials to local peasants - it is the same story: "Now we will be all right, now we are assured for the winter, now we have more grain that can easily be harvested."

This ‘now’ is significant. It contrasts with ‘then’ - last winter - which, they will tell you ‘was hard’. Hard it was and the correspondent saw empty houses that bear witness - people ran away to find work and food elsewhere.

The populace from babies to old folks, looks healthy and well nourished...”

Taken from: Walter Duranty, "Big Ukraine Crop Taxes Harvesters," New York Times (September 18, 1933).

4. THE ISSUE OF RESPONSIBILITY: THE PEASANTS WERE TO BLAME - Louis Fischer¹⁶

“The peasants brought the calamity upon themselves. Yet one can understand what prompted this suicidal action. The Bolsheviks had launched the ambitious Five Year Plan. It had to be financial. It was to cost something like forty-two billion rubles. That colossal sum had to come from within the country, for foreign nations refused loans and gave limited credits at usurious rates. The workers and the peasants had to pay. The worker paid in the form of reduced consumption goods. The peasant paid in the form of huge taxes. In many cases, the government took thirty, even fifty, indeed even sixty percent of his crop. Without such high-handed measures, the city could not have been industrialized quickly and foreign obligations could not have been met. But the result was that the peasant said: What is the use of plowing, planting and harvesting when the authorities seize a large part of my crop?...

It was a terrible lesson at a terrific cost. History can be cruel. The Bolsheviks were carrying out a major policy on which the strength and character of their regime depended. The peasants were reacting as normal human beings would. Let no one minimize the sadness of the phenomenon. But from the larger point of view the effect was the final entrenchment of collectivization. The peasantry will never again undertake passive resistance. And the Bolsheviks - one hopes - have learned that they must not compel the peasantry to attempt such resistance.

In the final analysis, the 1932 famine was a concomitant of the last battle between private capitalism and socialism in Russia. The peasants wanted to destroy collectivization. The government wanted to retain collectivization. The peasants used the best means at their disposal. The government used the best means at its disposal. The government won.”

¹⁶ Taken from: Louis Fischer, Soviet Journey (New York, 1953) p. 172. The author, a journalist, sympathized with the Soviets in the 1930s.

THE NEW YORK TIMES COVER UP!

The most egregious cover-up of the Holodomor was by New York Times Moscow foreign correspondent Walter Duranty. Duranty knowingly lied in his American news reporting and yet in a full spoken report of his trip to Ukraine to the British Embassy in 1933, he painted a different picture of the Holodomor, stating: "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." In his report Duranty thought it "quite possible that as many as 10 million people may have died directly or indirectly from lack of food..."¹⁶

In 2003, Professor Lubomyr Luciuk of Canada's Royal Military College, launched an international campaign to have Walter Duranty's 1932 Pulitzer Prize rescinded by the Pulitzer Prize Committee and returned by the *New York Times*. The result was another example of press obfuscation. In the words of historian Professor Roger Daniels:

"For a while both *The Times* and the Pulitzer Prize committee tried to stonewall, but there was too much heat from the rest of the media. The *Times* publisher, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr...commissioned Columbia University Professor Mark von Hagen, a respected scholar of early Soviet history, to investigate and report on Duranty's stories for 1931 on which the Prize was based. Perhaps the publisher hoped that von Hagen's Columbia ties would influence him to be soft on the Board; but the Pulitzer Prizes are an appendage of Columbia University, and, as American historians have noted over the years, a statistically disproportionate number of Prizes in history have gone to Columbia historians. If such were his hopes, von Hagen's damning report...could have given him no satisfaction and provided a rationale for revoking the Prize..."

The Board refused to revoke the Prize to Duranty...It judged that "there was not clear and convincing evidence of deliberate deception, the relevant standard in this case." Sulzberger's support of the Board was based on even less judicious reasoning: he acknowledged that Duranty's work had been "slovenly" and went on to argue, incredibly, that revoking Duranty's prize would be akin to the "Stalinist practice to airbrush purged figures out of official records and histories...None of those supporting the revocation had suggested any such thing..."¹⁷

New York Times publisher Arthur Sulzberger feared that the Pulitzer Board would set "a precedent for revisiting its judgments over many decades."*

¹⁶ British Embassy Dispatch (September 30, 1933). Cited in S. J. Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist, Walter Duranty: The New York Times's Man in Moscow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) p. 221

¹⁷ Lubomyr Luciuk, ed., *Not Worthy: Walter Duranty's Pulitzer Prize and the New York Times* (Kingston, Ontario: Kashtan Press, 2004). For an overview of the political climate in the United States during the 1930's, see "America's Red Decade" in the same volume.

**New York Times* (October 23, 2003)

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS TO BLAME

A number of foreign correspondents who traveled to Ukraine during the Holodomor reported the horrors honestly. Among the first were Malcolm Muggeridge and Gareth Jones who wrote for the *Manchester Guardian*. Both were vilified by Walter Duranty and others of his ilk.

Of the historic responsibility of the Soviet government for the Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor of 1932 -1933 there can be no reasonable doubt. In contrast to its policy in 1921-1922, it stifled any appeal for foreign aid by denying the very fact of the Holodomor and by refusing foreign journalists the right to travel in Ukraine until it was all over. The Holodomor was quite deliberately employed as an instrument of national policy, as the last means of breaking the resistance of the peasantry to the new system where they were divorced from personal ownership of the land and were obliged to work under conditions which the state may dictate to them and deliver up whatever that state may demand of them.

William Henry Chamberlin reported for the *Christian Science Monitor* and later for the *Guardian* as well. He actually traveled to Ukraine, witnessed the Holodomor, and wrote about it in his book, *Russia's Iron Age*, published in London in 1935.

"The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some this school was quite ruthless". In this cryptic understatement President Kalinin summed up the situation in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, from the Soviet stand point. The unnumbered new graves in the richest Soviet agricultural regions mark the passing of those who did not survive the ordeal, who were victims of this "ruthless school."

The Soviet government could easily have averted the famine from its own resources if it had desired to do so. A complete cessation of the export of foodstuffs in 1932 or the diversion of a small amount of foreign currency to the purchase of grain and provisions would have achieved this end. The Soviet attitude was pretty adequately summed up by Mr. Mezhuev, President of the Poltava Soviet, who said to me: ***'To have imported grain would have been injurious to our prestige. To have let the peasants keep their grain would have encouraged them to go on producing little.'***

SOVIET DENIALS

The Soviet Union never openly acknowledged the Genocide/Holodomor

During an interview in 1986, Viacheslav Molotov, one-time foreign minister of the Soviet Union, was asked about the Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor..

Q-"Among writers, some say the (*genocide*) famine of 1933 was deliberately organized by Stalin and the whole of your leadership."

A- "Enemies of communism say that! They are the enemies of communism! People who are not politically aware, who are politically blind... I twice traveled to the Ukraine ... Of course I saw nothing of the kind there. Those allegations are absurd. Absurd!"¹⁸

In 1983, the year Ukrainians commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Genocide Famine, the following statements were issued by Soviet Embassy officials in North America:

"The representative of the United States had repeated fabrications about an alleged (*genocide*) famine which was supposed to have occurred in the Ukrainian SSR fifty years previously. In that connection we wish to ... point out that the slander has been perpetrated by Ukrainian nationalist bourgeoisie ... They later moved to the United States and, in order to justify their presence in that country, had circulated the lie about the famine."¹⁹

"Recent stories in the Western news media try to create an impression that there was an artificially created famine in the Ukraine in 1932-33 because Ukrainian farmers, allegedly, resisted collective farming.

Indeed the situation in Ukraine as well as in other parts of the USSR in 1932 was quite difficult. Yet it was not as critical as 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."²⁰

¹⁸ Albert Resis, editor, *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics, Conversations with Fliex Chuev* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993) pp. 243-244.

¹⁹ Taken from a statement by Ivan Khmil, representative of Soviet Ukraine at the United Nations, October 19, 1983.

²⁰ News Release, Office of the USSR Embassy in Canada, April 28, 1983.

WAS UKRAINE'S HOLODOMOR REALLY A GENOCIDE?

Both the U.S. Ukraine Famine Commission and the Ukrainian Parliament have agreed that the Holodomor in Ukraine was a genocide. A senate resolution (S.R. 202) was introduced by Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R; CO) "expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the genocidal Ukraine Famine of 1932-1933." A similar resolution (H.R. 356) was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Henry Hyde (R; IL). Both resolutions state that the forced famine was a genocide perpetrated against the Ukrainian people by the Soviet government.

According to Radio Liberty, officials in the Russian Embassy in Washington had contacted officials at the U.S. Department of State and in Congress in an effort to block passage of the resolutions arguing, among other things, that the resolution "testifies to the lack of understanding on the part of American lawmakers of the juridical essence of the term 'genocide'."²¹

What really is the "juridical essence of the term genocide"?

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide of December 9, 1948, has this to say:

"Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as: 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."

The French Criminal Code goes even further, defining genocide as:

"The deed of executing a concerted effort that strives to destroy, totally or partially, a national, ethnic, racial or a group that has been determined on the basis of any other arbitrary criterion"²²

Clearly, the Holodomor in Ukraine meets all of the U.N. criteria, as well as the French definition if we consider the Soviet designation of "kulak" as an "arbitrary criterion."

"Here the genocide of a 'class' may well be tantamount to the genocide of a 'race,'" writes Martin Malia. "The deliberate starvation of a child of a Ukrainian kulak as a result of the famine caused by Stalin's regime 'is equal to' the starvation of a Jewish

²¹ *The Ukrainian Weekly* (September 21, 2003).

²² Cited in Martin Malia, "Forward: The Uses of Atrocity," Stephen Courtois, et. al, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999) pp. 7-8.

child in the Warsaw ghetto as a result of a famine caused by the Nazi regime."²³

The question that has yet to be answered revolves around punishment for Communist crimes against humanity. The world is still searching for Nazi war criminals almost sixty years after the Nazi empire was crushed.

"In contrast to the Jewish Holocaust," writes Martin Malia, "it has been impossible for victims of Communism and their legal advocates to keep the memory of the tragedy alive, and any requests for commemoration or demands for reparation are brushed aside."²⁴

Martin Malia believes there are three reasons for this:

- 1) Fascination with the whole notion of revolution. It is fashionable, even today, to nostalgically remember the International, the red flag, the raised fist, even the hammer and sickle. Che Guevera still lives as a symbol of revolution and change for the better. Some American intellectuals still praise Fidel Castro.
- 2) The participation of the Soviet Union in the destruction of Nazi Germany. The defeated Nazis became the "Supreme Evil" while the Allies, the Soviets included, became symbols for the "Great Good." Soviet jurist sat in judgment of Nazis during the Nuremberg trials. Even today people speak about the "liberation" of Eastern Europe by the "glorious" Red Army.
- 3) The immortalization of the Jewish genocide. This **"single-minded focus on the Holocaust as a unique atrocity has also prevented an assessment of other episodes of comparable magnitude in the Communist world. After all, it seems scarcely plausible that the victors who had helped bring about the destruction of a genocidal apparatus might themselves have put the very same methods into practice."²⁵**

The person most responsible for the United Nations definition of the crime of genocide was Rafael Lemkin, a Polish lawyer of international fame who coined the term "genocide" in 1943, and popularized it with his book *Axis Rule in Europe*. His significant, albeit little-known essay, **"Soviet Genocide in Ukraine"**, written in 1953, recently appeared in the first issue of *Holodomor Studies*. According to Professor Lemkin, Soviet behavior in Ukraine constitutes a genuine genocide because of four factors:

1. The Soviet attack on the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the "brain" of the nation. Ukraine's intelligentsia was liquidated during the 1920's and 1930's.
2. The Soviet destruction of Ukrainian religious institutions, the "soul" of the nation. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was obliterated between 1926 and 1932. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was formally eliminated in 1946 soon after the Soviet invasion of Galicia.

²³Ibid, pp.8-9

²⁴Ibid., p. 19

²⁵Ibid., pp. 22-23.

3. The destruction of Ukraine's peasant farmers, the repository of the tradition, folk lore and music, the national language and literature, in short, the national spirit which occurred during the famine of 1932/1933.
4. The fragmentation of the Ukrainian people by the addition of foreign peoples and the dispersion of Ukrainians throughout Eastern Europe. "Between 1920 and 1939 the population of Ukraine changed from 80 percent Ukrainian to only 63 percent," wrote Professor Lemkin.²⁶

As of March, 2008, the parliament of Ukraine and nineteen other governments have recognized actions of the Soviet government against its own citizens as acts of genocide.

In his ground-breaking book, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, Yale professor Timothy Snyder wrote:

"Famine had struck parts of the Soviet Russia as well as much of Soviet Ukraine in early 1932 or early 1933. Nevertheless, the policy response to Ukraine was special and lethal. Seven crucial policies were applied only, or mainly in Soviet Ukraine:..."

1. In November, 1932, "peasants were required to return grain advances that they previously earned by meeting grain requisition targets."
2. "Peasants who were unable to make grain quotas were now required to pay a special tax in meat."
3. Soviet authorities introduced "a black list" that required collective farms that had not met their targets "to surrender fifteen times the amount of grain that was due in a whole month...Communities on the black list had no right to trade, or to receive deliveries of any kind from the rest of the country."
4. The justification for this terrorization was articulated by Ukraine's security chief as "the result of a plot by Ukrainian nationalists- - in particular, of exiles with connections to Poland."
5. In December 1932, The Soviet politburo assigned a new quota for Ukraine to be reached by January 1933. "Now, hundreds of thousands of starvation deaths later, Stalin sent Kaganovich to hold the whip hand over the Ukrainian party leadership...This was a death sentence for about three million people".
6. "As starvation raged throughout Ukraine in the first weeks of 1933, Stalin sealed the borders of the republic so that peasants could not flee and closed the cities so that peasants could not beg."
7. In January of 1933, Stalin demanded that even the seed grain in Ukraine be seized to meet the annual target. "This left the collective farms with nothing to plant for the coming fall."²⁷

"The bottom line", writes Stanford professor Norman M. Naimark, "is that Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and their ilk were convinced that the Ukrainian peasants as a group were 'enemies of the people' who deserved to die...that should be enough to conclude that the Ukraine famine was genocide."²⁸

²⁶ Rafael Lemkin, "Soviet Genocide in Ukraine", *Holodomor Studies* (Volume 1, No. 1, 2009), pp.3-8.

²⁷ Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010) pp. 39-45

²⁸ Norman M. Naimark, *Stalin's Genocides* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) p. 79.

FOOD AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

The genocide by artificial famine initiated by Stalin in Ukraine in the 1930's has had many Communist imitators during the 20th century.

Ethiopia was taken over by a Communist regime in 1974. Under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam, thousands, perhaps millions of people, mostly Eritreans seeking independence, were allowed to starve to death while the government spent millions of dollars on military armaments.²⁶

Cambodia was taken over by the Communist Khmer Rouge in 1975. During the next three years the government of Pol Pot was responsible for the death of some 2 million men, women and children through a program of planned execution and forced starvation.²⁷

Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet Union in 1979. Unable to subdue the Afghan countryside, the Soviets began a program of genocidal suppression which included "killing of the civilian support population, terrorizing and driving of the survivors, and creating famine conditions."²⁸

As in the past, the Western press has paid relatively little attention to these horrors and when it has, as in the case of Ethiopia, the Communist regime's culpability was hardly mentioned. In Ethiopia, the press reported drought as the major cause of the famine.²⁹

As Western food and medical supplies flooded in, the Soviets sent arms. Grain rotted on docks and in warehouses because the only available trucks belonged to the army which did not consider food transport for the starving a priority. Wheat ships were made to wait at anchor offshore while Soviet freighters unloaded arms, ammunition and tanks.³⁰

²⁶ "Murder by Hunger", *The Wall Street Journal* (January 10, 1985). Also see Stephane Courtois, op.cit. pp. 683-695.

²⁷ *The Twentieth Century: An Almanac*, edited by Robert H. Ferrell (New York: World Almanac Publication, 1985) pp. 435-436; Also see Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Eighties* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983) pp. 654-656 and Stephane Courtois, op. cit. pp. 577-635.

²⁸ Allen K. Jones, "Afghan Refugees: Five Years Later" Washington: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1984).

²⁹ "Human Element, Not Drought, Causes Famine," *U.S. News and World Report* (February 23, 1985).

³⁰ "Famine Aid: Were We Duped?" *Reader's Digest* (October, 1986).

UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE/HOLODOMOR VOCABULARY

Annex

To incorporate (a country or other territory) within the domain of a state; to obtain or take for oneself.

Assimilate

To make similar; to absorb into the culture or mores of a population or group.

Atheist

One who believes that there is no God.

Authoritarian

Characterized by or favoring absolute obedience to authority, as against individual freedom: an authoritarian regime.

Collectivization

To organize (an economy, industry, or enterprise) on the basis of collectivism (the principles or system of ownership and control of the means of production and distribution by the people collectively, usually under the supervision of a government.)

Communism

A system of government in which the state plans and controls the economy and a single, often authoritarian party holds power, claiming to make progress toward a higher social order in which all goods are equally shared by the people; the Marxist-Leninist version of Communist doctrine that advocates the overthrow of capitalism by the revolution of the proletariat.

Despotism

A government or political system in which the ruler exercises absolute power.

Dictator

One holding complete autocratic control; one ruling absolutely and often oppressively

Disinformation

Deliberately misleading information announced publicly or leaked by a government or especially by an intelligence agency in order to influence public opinion or the government in another nation.

Displaced Person

One who has been driven from one's homeland by war or internal upheaval.

Dissident

One who disagrees, disagreeing especially with an established religious or political system, organization, or belief

Expropriation

To deprive of possession; the action of the state in taking or modifying the property rights of an individual in the exercise of its sovereignty

Genocide

The deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group.

GPU

The Soviet secret police which was succeeded by the NKVD and eventually the KGB. All Soviet internal security systems were ruthless.

Gulag

A network of forced labor camps or prisons in the former Soviet Union, especially for political dissidents; a place or situation of great suffering and hardship, likened to the atmosphere in a prison system or a forced labor camp.

Holodomor

The term is a combination of two words: the noun “holod” meaning “hunger, famine, starvation” and the transitive verb “moryty” which can be variously translated as “to waste, debilitate, exhaust, kill.” The expression “moryty holodom” (“to exhaust somebody by food deprivation”) was found in official Soviet documents of the Stalin era. The neologism “holodomor” in the sense of “artificially organized starvation” began to be widely used in the 1980s. For some people the term refers exclusively to the famine of 1932/1933. For many Ukrainians today, however, “Holodomor” is a synonym for “Ukrainian genocide”, the destruction of the Ukrainian nation, a genocide in accordance with the UN definition.

Komsomol

Russian term, from Kommunisticheskii Soyuz Molodezhi - Communist Union of Youth; a Russian Communist youth organization.

Kulak (Kurkul in Ukrainian)

A farmer characterized by Communists as having excessive wealth; an independent land owner in Ukraine with as little as 6 desiatins (approximately 16 acres). At the beginning of the collectivization campaign in 1929, the Communist party decided to “liquidate the kulak as a class.” This meant confiscation of property and deportation. By March 10, 1930, 11,374 peasant families had been arrested and deported from 11 regions targeted for rapid collectivization in Ukraine. During the entire collectivization campaign, some 60,000-100,000 (300,000-400,000 individuals) were deported.

Nationality

The status of belonging to a particular nation by origin, birth, or naturalization; A people having common origins or traditions and often constituting a nation; Existence as a politically autonomous entity; national independence; national character.

Reparation

Compensation in money or materials payable by a defeated nation for damages to or expenditures sustained by another nation as a result of hostilities with the defeated nation.

Samizdat

The secret publication and distribution of government-banned literature in the former Soviet Union.

Slave Labor Camp

A prison camp where forced labor is performed.

Totalitarian

Of, relating to, being, or imposing a form of government in which the political authority exercises absolute and centralized control over all aspects of life; the individual is subordinated to the state, and opposing political and cultural expression is suppressed.

SUGGESTED STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The activities listed below are general in nature and can be used at any grade level at the teacher's discretion.

Review human behavior during the Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor using survivor accounts as well as reports by observers. Are there any commonalities?

Write an essay about natural famines in the world and compare them to the Genocide/Holodomor in Ukraine.

Some historians have argued that the Holodomor in Ukraine was not a genocide. What arguments can be used to argue against this position?

The present Russian government still refuses to recognize the Holodomor in Ukraine as an act of genocide. Why do you think that is? Contact the Russian Embassy in Washington, D.C. to get Russia's side of the issue.

Discuss the nature of disinformation. What can citizens in a free society do to combat it?

Research the present situation in Russia and Ukraine. How are they the same? How are they different?

What is the root cause of genocide?

Why do you think that those guilty of participating in the Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor have never been tried or convicted for their crimes? Research this topic on the internet and write a report.

Extension Questions: Drawing Comparisons to other 20th Century Genocides

Compare and contrast the Soviet Genocide/Holodomor against Ukrainians with Hitler's Holocaust against Jews. What are the similarities? What are the differences?

Compare and contrast the British Empire with the Soviet Russian Empire. How and why did the British behave differently from the Russians?

Compare and contrast the Genocide/Holodomor in Ukraine with the Irish Potato Famine.

Compare and contrast Soviet Russian Genocide against Ukrainians with the Turkish genocide against Armenians.

Early in 2009, a genocide was reportedly taking place in Darfur. Where is Darfur? Who were the victims? Who was doing the killing? Is anything being done to stop the genocide? Is there anything that we, living in a free society, can do to prevent similar genocides in the future? Discuss your ideas in a research paper.

Suggested Activities for Advanced Grades:

Background for Activity #1 (requires 3-4 weeks of class time)

The United States and the former Soviet Union were two societies that proclaimed a commitment to “equality” among its peoples. Although Americans enshrined this goal in their 1776 Declaration of Independence, its actual realization has been a long and painful process involving a bloody Civil War followed by a series of constitutional and legislative initiatives. Some Americans believe that complete “equality” has yet to be attained.

The Soviet Union had a far more ambitious goal than the United States regarding equality for all. The Soviet leadership planned to achieve equality quickly and “scientifically.” Unfortunately, the process involved brutal suppression and the death of millions of Soviet citizens.

Student Goal: An understanding and appreciation of the significant differences between the American and Soviet experiences in striving for equal rights for all.

The American Experience:

Abraham Lincoln wrote the following in 1855:

As a nation, we began by declaring that “all men are created equal.” We now practically read it, “all men are created equal except Negroes.” When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read “all men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.” When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty.

Teacher Activities:

Hand out copies of Lincoln’s speech. Do NOT tell students who wrote it. Let them brainstorm who might have written it and ask them questions about how they can support their answer (language, style, etc.) Can they pinpoint the time based on the vocabulary used, reference to the Know Nothings, etc?

Ask students to identify the document that states “all men are created equal.” Have a copy of the Declaration of Independence for them to read. Have students analyze the above speech as a response to the Declaration of Independence.

Once students have identified Lincoln as the author, analyze the speech in light of the time period (who were the Know Nothings?), Lincoln’s presidency, the Civil War, and Lincoln’s role in the emancipation of the slaves.

Martin Luther King declared the following in 1963:

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of

hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the night of their captivity. But one hundred years later, the Negro is still not free...

Ask students to identify the author of these comments. Can they pinpoint the site of these remarks by King's reference to the "symbolic shadow"?

Distribute a copy of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.
Discuss its significance in the history of the civil rights movement.

Have students analyze the following phrase in the speech: "I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." Ask if we have achieved this goal. Why or why not? What still needs to be done?

Have students write a paper on the American experience regarding "equality" in America. Urge them to include their own or their family experiences.

The Soviet Experience:

V.I. Lenin wrote the following in 1920:

Under the guise of the equality of the individual in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal and legal equality of the property-owner and the proletarian, the exploiter and exploited, thereby grossly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the plea that all men are absolutely equal, the bourgeoisie is transforming the idea of equality, which is itself a reflection of relations in commodity production, into a weapon in its struggle against the abolition of classes.

Teacher-Led Activities

Distribute copies of Lenin's writing. Do NOT identify the author. Let students brainstorm who might have written it. **Ask** them to support their answers based on the language used (commodity production, exploiter, exploited, etc.)

Once students have identified the author, analyze the remarks. **Identify** terms such as "proletarian" and "bourgeois".

Ask students to define what Lenin meant by "equality". What did he mean when he wrote about "commodity production" and the desire of the middle class "against the abolition of classes." Why did Lenin despise the middle class?

Ask students to discuss "class envy". Did class envy play a factor in the Holodomor?

Write the following definition of "class conflict" on the board: "underlying tensions or antagonisms which exist in society due to conflicting interests that arise from different social positions." **Discuss** the concept from the Marxist perspective. **Ask** what role class conflict played in the Soviet Union? How did Stalin define "enemies of the people"?

Further

Article 36 of the 1977 Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics states that all citizens have “equal rights.” The Constitution further states that:

Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating students in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism...Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy or racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law.

Student Questions to be answered in writing:

1. Were the laudable goals described above ever achieved in the USSR? Write a paper describing the social and economic differences that existed among the various Soviet republics.
2. Write a paper describing how “Soviet patriotism” and “socialist internationalism” are related. What were the implications for the development of separate identities within the Soviet framework?
3. Write a paper contrasting Soviet nationality policy in theory and in practice.

Article 17 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution included the following statement:

In the USSR, the law permits individual labor in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services for the public, and other forms of activity based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families. The state makes regulations for such work to make sure that it serves the interests of society.

Teacher-Led Activities

Distribute copies of the above statement and discuss its meaning with students. **Ask:** Do you believe individual labor should serve the interests of society? Discuss the pros and cons of regulation in an economic system such as ours. **Ask:** Do you believe America needs more regulation of its economic system? Why or why not?

Socialists define “class” in terms of its relationship to the “means of production.” Discuss “class envy” and how it leads to “class conflict.” **Ask:** Given what we know about human nature, can “equality” ever be achieved? **Ask:** Do you think it is fair that some students receive higher grades than others? Why or why not?

Have the class read “Animal Farm” by George Orwell. Lead a discussion of the book focusing on the following “commandment”: “All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others.”

Have the class read “Lord of the Flies” by William Golding. Lead a discussion on the implications of living without rules. Teacher discussion materials are available from edHelper.com.

Student Activities

Write a short paper contrasting the basic premises of socialism and capitalism. Do you think America will ever become a socialist nation? Why or why not?

Write a paper contrasting and comparing the Holodomor and the Holocaust, two examples of genocide in the twentieth century. How are they similar? How are they different?

Write a paper about personal morality and the role of religion. What role, if any, did religion play in the Holodomor? What role did religion play in the Holocaust, especially among the “Righteous” who risked their lives to hide Jews from the Nazis. Can people develop a moral foundation without deep religious convictions?

Write a research paper about *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty and other correspondents in the West who tried to cover up the Holodomor in their dispatches. Why did they do it? Which correspondents wrote the truth? Why weren’t they believed? Do you think that some reporters and foreign correspondents today tend to twist the truth in their stories? If yes, give examples. Interview a reporter/writer from your local newspaper and include your impressions in your paper.

Write a discussion paper outlining your views regarding the prevention of future genocides.

Write a research paper on Raphael Lemkin. Be sure to include a brief biography, his definition of genocide, and his relationship to Ukraine. What is the current United Nations definition of “genocide”?

Write a research paper regarding the debate surrounding Holodomor victims. Most Ukrainians familiar with the Holodomor believe at least 10 million men, women, and children starved to death. Others believe that fewer people died of starvation. How were these numbers determined? Write a research paper examining the evidence. Be sure to include your own conclusions.

Grades 7-9

Teacher Activities

Survey the ethnic backgrounds of classmates. Have students talk about the reasons their ancestors came to America. How many of them were fleeing oppression in their homelands? How many were seeking greater economic opportunity in America? **Lead** a class discussion.

Invite the son or daughter of a Holodomor survivor to your classroom to talk about what she or he learned about the genocide from their parents. Lead a discussion to determine what attributes the parent had to have in order to survive. Be sensitive in your questioning.

Practically every American has heard about the Holocaust. Some Americans have heard about the Armenian and Rwandan genocides. Few Americans have heard about the Holodomor. Why is that? Write a research paper outlining reasons for your answer.

Student Activities:

Imagine yourself living in Ukraine during the Holodomor. You have an aunt living in the United States. Write a letter to that aunt describing your life in Ukraine. Draw a picture to go along with your letter.

Write a paper outlining the role of journalists in writing and printing the truth about events. Why is it important that they be well-informed about their topics? Which journalists lied about the Holodomor? Which journalists wrote the truth? What was their fate?

Find a person who survived the Holodomor (Displaced Person or offspring) and interview that individual. Displaced Persons were refugees who fled to the West, during World War II fearing Communist occupation of their homeland. This is a long-term (4-6 week) project that culminates with the writing of a paper that could include a biography of that person, the escape route, personal reflections, family photos, newspaper articles, and the later contributions of that person to her/his adopted country. The student's reflections on the value of the project should also be included.

Appropriate Class Activities for Grades 7-9 and Beyond:

1. Reading and discussing the novel "Animal Farm" by George Orwell is appropriate for all grade levels.
2. Viewing and discussing films are excellent ways to either introduce the Holodomor or as culminating activities. The following films are highly recommended. All are readily available.
 - a. "Harvest of Despair", produced by the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee.
 - b. "Red Empire, Volume Four, Enemies of the People". Produced by Vestron Video. Available from Amazon.com
 - c. "Yanks for Stalin", A History Channel Production. Offers an excellent portrait of Americans who moved to the USSR to work during the Great Depression. Available by calling 1-800-344-6336.
 - d. "Joseph Stalin: Red Terror, A Biography Channel Production. Available by calling 1-800-344-6336
 - e. "Lord of the Flies", a Hollywood film available from Amazon.com.

EDUCATOR RESOURCES

LEARN MORE ABOUT UKRAINE'S HOLODOMOR OF 1932-1933

(1) Visit the Ukrainian National Museum's *Ukrainian Genocide Exhibit*

The Ukrainian National Museum is located in the heart of Chicago's century-old Ukrainian Village. The museum houses an impressive collection of Ukrainian artifacts. The Ukrainian Genocide Gallery contains a large collection of 1932-1933 Ukrainian Genocide/Holodomor documents, artwork and recently declassified photographs from the former Soviet government. The Museum library houses articles, pamphlets and books in both English and Ukrainian on the Holodomor as well. Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation-USA brochures are available free of charge at the Museum.

The Museum hours are: Thursday - Sunday 11:00 AM to 4:00 PM
Monday - Wednesday By Appointment

School tours may be arranged by calling (312) 421-8020.

The Ukrainian National Museum is located at 2249 West Superior Street in Chicago, IL 60612.

The museum has a parking lot and is easily accessible via CTA bus route 66.

(2) Visit the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation – USA Website www.UkrainianGenocide.com

This recently launched website contains a growing number of witness accounts, a history of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Genocide, a reading list and recommended websites to assist you with further research.



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Harvest of Despair: The 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine. Produced by the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee with the assistance of the National Film Board of Canada. Directed by Slavko Nowytski, this 55-minute film has won numerous awards for documentary presentation at film festivals throughout the world. (available for purchase via <http://www.yevshan.com>)

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This curriculum guide was provided to you by the Ukrainian Genocide Famine Foundation – USA.

*In memory of
the over 10,000,000 Ukrainians whose lives were ruthlessly taken away during 1932-1933
and
the late Dr. James E. Mace -
the foremost researcher of the Ukrainian Genocide Famine of 1932-1933.*

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For additional copies please e-mail: ugff-usa@sbcglobal.net