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SPECIAL ISSUE: THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33

Community leaders commemorate famine at multi-ethnic Chicago meeting

by Paul M. Basile and
Luba V. Tolucho Markowy

CHICAGO — More than 70 white ethnic, Black, Hispanic and Asian ethnic leaders met at a Chicago Ukrainian restaurant recently to commemorate the man-made Great Famine of 1932-33 that took 7 million Ukrainian lives.

The multi-ethnic coalition met February 15 at Galan's Ukrainian Cafe in the neighborhood known as the Ukrainian Village on Chicago's Near Northwest Side.

The meeting was organized by the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education and was attended by Dr. Myron Kuropas, a consultation organizer and supreme vice president of the Ukrainian National Association.

"The consultation brings together a diverse group of ethnic leaders who work, in coalitions, to solve problems and support common causes," said Edwin Cudecki, consultation chairperson and director of the Bureau of Foreign Languages for the Chicago Public Schools.

The gathering at Galan's constituted the largest multi-ethnic meeting in the consultation's 12-year history. The guest list included business and community leaders, government officials, artists, scholars, educators, lawyers, and other professionals from Illinois' Black, Chinese, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Puerto Rican and Ukrainian American communities.

Mr. Cudecki called the meeting together so that this group could learn about the Ukrainian American community and commemorate the 50th anniversary of Stalin's man-made famine.

"This is the first time that Ukrainian Americans have reached out to other ethnic leaders to tell what it meant to have this terrible thing happen to us," Dr. Kuropas said.

Dr. Kuropas' program featured the UNA-commissioned film "Helm of Destiny," which traces the growth of the Ukrainian American community and, in it, tells the story of the famine.

Other Ukrainian Americans present at the gathering were Julian Kulas, vice president of Chicago's Ukrainian Congress Committee and attorney for Walter Polovchak; Michael Okhansky, UNA District Committee chairman; Stephen Sambirsoky, Ukrainian radio announcer; the Rev. Peter Guhalo of St. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catho-

... so that this tragedy will not be forgotten

The horror of millions of people dying of starvation and malnutrition while available food was being exported from Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 will never be forgotten. I am very pleased that The Ukrainian Weekly is devoting a special issue to remembrance of the Great Famine of 50 years ago, so that this tragedy will not be forgotten.


This year, Ukrainians throughout the world are observing the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine of 1932-33, Stalin's planned destruction of the Ukrainian nation in which 7 million men, women and children perished. This special issue of The Ukrainian Weekly is dedicated to the solemn anniversary of this Soviet-perpetrated genocide and to the memory of its victims.

We are sending copies of this special issue — which includes a 12-page pull-out section on pages 3-14 — to all U.S. senators and representatives in order to inform them about this holocaust of the Ukrainian nation, and to all Svoboda subscribers in the hope that they will share this special issue with their non-Ukrainian friends and thus make them aware of the Great Famine.

National committee on Ukraine's Great Famine to solicit funds for memorial observances

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The financial committee of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33 has announced that $100,000 will be needed to mark the 50th anniversary of the Soviet-made Great Famine in which 7 million Ukrainians perished.

This conclusion was reached at a meeting of the committee held on Saturday, March 5, at the main office of the Ukrainian National Association. Present were the chairman of the national committee, Prof. Petro Sherba, financial committee chairman Edward Popoli, and George Powstoschen, Stephen Procyk and Ulana Diachuk, financial committee members.

As reported earlier, the Great Famine commemoration ceremonies will include two main events. The first is scheduled to be held at South Bound Brook, N.J., at St. Andrew's Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church on May 15. The second program will be held in Washington on October 2 and will include a manifestation at the Taras Shevchenko Monument, followed by a demonstration and procession to the Soviet Embassy, and later that afternoon, a commemorative concert at the Kennedy Center. A documentary film about the famine is also planned.

The financial committee's goal is to collect the needed funds through individual contributions as well as from Ukrainian institutions and organizations.

The committee has reported that it is in the process of planning a fund drive, which will soon be announced.

D.C. action committee on famine established

WASHINGTON — A public meeting was held on Sunday, February 27, in the parish center of the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family to solicit the support of Washington's Ukrainian community in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine of 1932-33. This Ukrainian holocaust, created by Soviet authorities, claimed the lives of over 7 million victims.

As a result of the meeting, a special Washington Action Committee was elected in order to facilitate preparations for the solemn national observance of the Great Famine anniversary.

The meeting commenced with an
Imprisoned dissident’s wife subject of slander in Soviet newspaper

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—Svitlana Kyrychenko, wife of imprisoned Ukrainian dissident Yuriy Badzio, was arrested in Kiev on January 26, 1982. She was accused of slander, an offense which carries a maximum sentence of two years in prison. Ms. Kyrychenko, who at one time worked at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as a malcontent who was “enraptured with her own persona” and who wanted to stand out among others. In her quest for “recognition,” she befriended and then married Mr. Badzio after leaving her first husband, whom the paper described as “modest and humble.”

In attempting to gain the coveted attention of the West, Ms. Kyrychenko approached her husband’s imprisonment and the attention it has received in the West for political gain. Ms. Kyrychenko’s husband, a well-known socialist theoretician, is currently in the fourth year of a seven-year labor term, followed by a permanent labor camp for premeditated inhumanity, of psychological torture, of terrorizing the spirit and exhibiting moral contempt for culture.

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The Great Famine in Ukraine: 1933-34

Eyewitness account
The horror of the famine

The following eyewitness account of the Great Famine was given by Ivan Klymko and recorded by Dmytro Solovey in 1949.

It was published in "The Gogolova of Ukraine," a 43-page booklet published in 1953 by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

If we were to merely note here that 60 percent of the populace of the Lukashiv Grange starved to death in 1933, the bare figure itself would not give any idea of what it truly represented. Therefore, to the reader some idea of the horror of those days, I shall by way of example give the case history of the families on our farm. No one among them knew whether he would survive the famine or not. For that matter, neither did I. (CH: Back in 1933) He bought half of my house and lived there. He was a member of the kolhoz (collective farm). In 1933 his whole family consisted of five persons: he, his wife, daughter, 11 years old, and two sons, 6 and 4, respectively. His wife, Sanka, was an activist. During the famine she made trips either to Mykhorod or Poltava for food, and sometimes managed to return with some. Vasily worked in the kolhoz, but gradually, from lack of food, grew too weak to keep on working. It was either late in March or early in April, when the farms were already being plowed, I noticed that soon after Vasily had gone to work he and children were not at home then, as they had gone foraging for food. About an hour and a half later, my niece, 4, came running over and said to me:

"Please take me over to Grandfather Vasily. They say Mikolka had died and I want to take a look."

Mikolka was the youngest son of Vasily. Although I had a bad headache, I took her home. Entering the house and opening the door to the room, I was momentarily blinded by the sun shining in from the window opposite us. Holding my niece with my right hand, I reached over with my left hand for the doorpost. Instead I touched something dripping down on his chest. In sudden fright at the sight I dashed outside, unbuttoning my coat along with me. The first thought that crossed my mind was that Vasily had gone crazy and hung his children, or maybe he might murder us also.

Having led the child a safe distance away, I cautiously returned back to the house. Seeing the door I called out:

"Vasy! Are you home? Where are you?"

Vasily came into the room from the adjoining one. I again retreated outside, not knowing what to expect from him. When he appeared on the stoop, I asked him:

"What are you doing Vasy?"

"I hung my boy."

"And where's the other one?"

"He's in the storeroom. I hung him."

"Why did you do it?"

"Because I have nothing to eat."

Everytime Sanka comes with some bread she gives it to the children. Now that the truth is known, she said to give me some...But don't say a word about this, Ivan! Please don't say a word about this."

I realized that the family was already a goner, and therefore did not notify the council. To what avail? What difference would it make? I called my brother over for advice, and then called the neighbors (they consisted of five women), and we buried the boys.

Since we had no coffins, we just evened out the walls of this improvised grave. But I had put straw on the bottom, laid out the corpses on it, put a board over them, and then shovelled in the earth. The father just walked around in silence, watching what we were doing.

About two or three days later, I called my niece, 4, home. Father, Sanka, returned home with the daughter. Coming over to me she anxiously asked:

"By what right did you bury my boys in such a fashion? Who allowed you to do that?"

I became alarmed. After all, she used to be an activist, and could cause trouble. So I replied soothingly:

"I was afraid that Vasily would eat them. We had nothing left, and he and the people were witnesses to it. And if you want to see them, I'll open up the grave."

I did not tell her, however, that Vasily had hung the boys. That was business to tell her, not mine.

Two or three days later, Byrza arrived. Sunday 1st May days arrived. One morning before dawn, together with Hrytsko Luchka and his son, we started out for Kharluk, in order to buy bread there. None was to be had in Poltava anymore, while in Kharkiv they were selling at staggering high prices the so-called "commercial bread."

We had gone some five kilometers toward the railway station when all of a sudden, we heard a desperate cry:

We listened intensely. It sounded like the wife of Tupkalko, whose house stood about a kilometer and a half from the station.

We started to run in that direction, shouting so that she would know that help was on the way.

We arrived there. It appeared that there were two women and some small children there. They were stable, built alongside the house, there was a cow. Thieves evidently had been trying to get away with it.睇ing the noise they were making, had dug a hole alongside the railway, climbed inside an old chimney that stood there, climbed up through it to the roof, got out the roof began to cry for help.

Her cries and our shouts had evidently scared them.

That incident held us up for awhile, so that we missed the train, and had return home. By this time it was already dawn.

Since Vasily had not been seen for quite some time, we decided to step in.

What a situation. We knocked on the door, but no one

(Continued on page 4)
America's "Red Decade" and the Great Famine cover-up

by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas

Dr. Kuropas has served as special assistant to President Gerald R. Ford and as a legislative assistant to Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.). At present he is vice president of the Ukrainian National Association.

In 1933, Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany. As early as 1942, his secret services had identified some 10 million civilians, including 6 million Jews and 4 million Gypsies, Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other ethnic groups as a sufficient target to fulfill a diabolical dream.

While World War II ended and the full extent of Hitler's horrors was finally revealed, the civilized world demanded justice. Thousands of Nazis and Nazi collaborators were hunted down, tried and executed for crimes against humanity. The criminals were punished, but the Nazi nightmare lingered on in human memory in such recent stories as TV documentaries. Even today, in 1983, Nazi collaborators are being brought to trial to demonstrate that no man is above the law. But what is the price, genocide shall not be unpunished. It is in remembering that we must always be careful that genocide shall never again become a policy of national government.

For Ukrainians, however, the Nazi Holocaust was only half of the genocide story. The other half is the Great Famine, a crime orchestrated by Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union. Power. No one has ever been hunted down for that crime. No one has ever been tried. No one has ever been executed. In contrast, many of those who willingly and diligently participated in the wanton destruction of some 7 million innocent human beings are alive and well and living in the Soviet Union.

Since the system which initiated the abuse was very much intact, there is little likelihood that they will ever have to face an international tribunal. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that Communists have escaped justice as one of their strategies. Cambodia and Afghanistan are but two examples.

Unlike the Nazis, the communist leaders did not have to face a war in any form in which they were used to fighting. The war trained individuals to fight a war and prepare for it. The second world war trained individuals to fight a war and prepare for it. The second world war trained individuals to fight a war and prepare for it. The second world war trained individuals to fight a war and prepare for it.
THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33

1932-34 Great Famine: documented view

by Dr. Dana Dalrymple

The article below was originally published in the scholarly journal Soviet Studies in January 1984. We serialize it here in The Weekly with the permission of the author, an agricultural economist employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

PART I

"Food is a weapon." — Maxim Liviuin, 1921!

Introduction

The Soviet Union has made much of its own process of rapid economic development. It has, however, said little about the famines which have followed. Perhaps most severe of these was the Great Famine which raged from 1932 to 1934.

Although this famine appears to have resulted in the death of approximately 5 million people — placing it well among the worst famines of all time — it is scarcely known today. The Soviet Union, in fact, has never admitted that the famine existed.

American and English studies on the USSR occasionally mention a famine in Ukraine but generally provide few or no details. Yet, previous famines in the USSR have been acknowledged by the government and have been well recorded elsewhere. Why the difference?

The answer seems to be that the famine of 1932-34, unlike its predecessors, was a man-made disaster. It was an almost direct result of the economic and social policies followed by the Soviet government during its first five-year plan. The rapid program of rapid industrialization the government felt that it needed to collectivize agriculture quickly. The disruptions growing out of collectivization led to the famine and the death of millions of peasants.

Obviously this is not a point that the Soviet leaders would wish to emphasize. And, in fact, they did such a good job of keeping knowledge of it that for years they knew of the famine, and even some otherwise well-informed students of the Soviet Union suggest that the famine was of little consequence.

This paper attempts to clarify the record by presenting a comprehensive and documented view of the man-made famine of 1932-34.

There was a famine there?

At the outset it must be admitted that there has been some question as to the existence and magnitude of the famine of 1932-34.

A. Conflicting views

There are basically two schools of thought on the famine. On the one hand, there have been those who have admitted to some hunger in the Soviet Union during this period, but no famine. And on the other hand, there is a considerably larger group which has presented evidence of a famine of very substantial magnitude. The Soviet government itself has apparently never acknowledged or even mentioned the famine (with one possible exception) and it has not been directly referred to in Soviet literature until just recently.

Those who did not "see" the famine may be divided into two groups: (1) those who had one reason or another to hide it; and (2) those who saw the famine but did not report it.

The first group (1) consists of socialists who were blinded by the success of the Soviet plan, and/or visiting dignitaries who were given a Potemkine view of the situation. This column hopes to remind and inform Americans and Canadians of this terrible crime against humanity.

By bringing other events worldwide into the picture as well, the column hopes to give a perspective on the state of the world in the years of Ukraine's Great Famine.

PART V

June 1932

On June 2, 1932, Svoboda reported that, according to Pravda, the official newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, a large portion of the recently harvested crops had spoilt. Pravda said the reason for the spoilage was disorganization on the part of the Soviet grain farms due to lack of skilled laborers responsible for overseeing the delivery of crops. Half a million tons were wasted and a special commission had been appointed to look into the situation, Pravda reported.

On June 6, Svoboda reported on news published in a British daily, The Manchester Guardian, which had sent its Moscow correspondent to investigate the food situation throughout the Soviet Union and in Ukraine. After traveling through various cities, towns and villages the correspondent confirmed his hunch that provisions were very low throughout the area.

He reported that it was only through government connections that workers in Leningrad, Moscow and other large cities received the groceries they needed. He noted that the peasants found themselves in a situation much worse than that during the years of the revolution, and not much better than during the 1921-22 famine in Ukraine. The correspondent provided details about the situation in Ukraine: conditions in the villages were so bad that people who lived in Leningrad, Moscow and other large cities sent food parcels to their families and friends in Ukraine in order to save them from starvation.

According to the correspondent, the reason for the catastrophic situation in Ukraine was that collectivization of the peasants' farm land had greatly hampered the sowing and harvesting of grain. What little was produced, was transported across the border into the city and the city's surrounding areas. The peasants suffered the most, he reported.

On June 11, a news item from Berlin was published in Svoboda under the headline: "The hunger in Ukraine increases. Ukrainian peasants, the backbone of the Ukrainian nation, go hungry."

The Moscow correspondent of the Berlin paper traveled to Ukraine and described the situation he encountered there: "It is not due either to a locust invasion, or a drought, or war: it is not even the plague that has brought on the hunger of the peasants."

He said that the expected harvest was small and the food industry brought on by the collectivization instituted by the Communist government in Ukraine had caused a shortage of food and that Ukrainian peasants ventured into the cities and

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Famine proves potent weapon in Soviet policy

by William Henry Chamberlin

Mr. Chamberlin was the Christian Science Monitor's Moscow correspondent for 30 years. In 1976 he wrote the following account of the Great Famine in Ukraine. The story appeared in the May 29, 1934, issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

"No, he is an individual peasant." So here was one man — his name was Savchenko — whose passive stubbornness defied even Kalinin's "ruthless school," who refused to go into a collective farm, even after almost all the members of his family had perished.

My companions the previous winter spent in the collective farm and the state agronomes, had nothing to say. Smooth-tongued officials in Moscow might assure inquiring visitors that there had been no famine, only little food difficulties here and there, due to the wicked machinations of the kulaks. Here on the spot in Zhuke, as in a dozen other Ukrainian and North Caucasian villages which I visited, the evidence of large-scale famine was so overwhelming, was so uniformly confirmed by the peasants that the most "hard-boiled" local officials could say nothing in denial.

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Everywhere a tale of famine

Some idea of the scope of the famine. My companion, the priest, was stubbornly and unsuccessfully concealing the evidence from the outside world by the Soviet authorities, may be gauged from the fact that in three widely separated regions of Ukraine and the North Caucasus which I visited — Poltava and Bylyka, Ternek and Kropotkin in the North Caucasus — mortality, according to the estimates of such responsible local authorities as Soviet and collective farm presidents, ranged around 10 percent. Among individual peasants and in villages far away from the railroad it was often much higher.

I crossed Ukraine from the southeast to the northwest by train, and at every station where I made inquiries the state or local authorities as Soviet and collective farm presidents, ranged around 10 percent. Among individual peasants and in villages far away from the railroad it was often much higher.

Unquestionably, the poor harvest of 1932 was attributable in some degree to the widespread discontent among the peasants, subjected, as they were at the time, to constant requisitions, at iniquitous prices — which the peasants practically compelled by the necessity for raising capital for its grandiose, new industrial enterprises, to squeeze out of the peasants a good deal more than it could give them in return — of their grain and other produce by the authorities, and driven against their will into an unfamiliar and distasteful system. The Communists saw in this apathy and discouragement, sabotage and counter-revolution, and, with the ruthlessness peculiar to self-righteous ideologists, they decided to teach the peasants a lesson.

A new movement...But there are no humanitarian restrictions in the ruthless class war which, in the name of socialism, it has been waging on a considerable part of its own peasant population; and it has employed famine as an instrument of national policy on an unprecedented scale and in an unprecedented way.

At the moment it looks as if the famine method may have succeeded in finally breaking down the peasant resistance to collectivization. In 1921 the peasants were strong enough, acting no less effectively because they had no conscious union or organization, to force the government to give up its "NEP," or New Economic Policy, with its security of individual farming and freedom of private trade, by withholding their grain and bringing the towns close to starvation.

Now the tide of revolution has rolled beyond the NEP stage, and in 1933 the Soviet government, quite conscious of what it is doing, is deliberately trying to drive the peasants enough foodstuffs to provide at least minimum rations for the towns and to turn the towns into a great weapon against the peasants themselves.

The horror...

(Continued from page 3)

answered. We looked through the window and saw nothing. We then decided to go around the house and look through a small window over the oven. As usual, the oven window was high, so I leaned over and told Hrytsa Luchko to climb up on my back and take a look. He clambered up and pushed his face against the window pane. Lying on the overstuffed new Vasily and his little daughter, Sanka was not at home. Hrytsko knocked on the window and shouted, but there was no response. Evidently both were dead.

Both of us then went over to the iron oven and started actively to push the iron roof of Lukan's house. Returning with him we forced the window open and climbed inside. Both father and daughter had been dead for quite a good while as the odor evinced.

Peter Lukashenko and Hrytsko Luchko proposed that we dig a hole and bury them. Remembering the unpleasantness I had with Sanka about the boys, I refused.

Four or five days later Vasily's wife returned. Where she had gone, where she had been, what she had brought back...I do not know. She came huffing and puffing over to do something."

"Come and bury them, Vasyly and you have daughter died,

To which I replied:

"This time bury them yourself, for there is such a stink there that I could not possibly return there!"

Now you have to dig a grave. All the neighbors were around. They gave Sanka a blanket, and with it she went inside. I don't know how she managed to drag the bodies off the overstuffed and put them on the blanket, but she did it. Then we, tying cloths around our noses and mouths, kept inside and had the corners of the blanket dashed outside and threw the corpses into the hole. We quickly filled in the hole, for the stench was unbearable.

Soon after Sanka came over to me and asked whether I would mind if she could remove the iron roof of Lukan's house, for she wanted it in order to buy bread.

"Do what you want. But after what has happened in that house, neither my wife nor I can ever live there anymore," I replied.

I journeyed somewhere then. Sanka ripped the iron roof from her half, with it she bought bread, ate it and died from it... When I had returned there was no one of the Vasily Luchko family left. The famine had wiped them all out.
Eyewitness accounts

The following eyewitness accounts were first published in the second volume of "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book," published in 1955 by the Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime. The first volume appeared in 1951. In many cases, eyewitnesses used the initials rather than their full names because they feared reprisals against family members still living in Ukraine or Eastern Europe. The acronym NKVD used in many of the stories refers to the Soviet secret police as it was known before it became the KGB. The acronym GPU refers to the military intelligence service.

Dangered by hunger, mothers eat their children

Andriy Mel'nyk reports this story of a mother in northeastern Ukraine.

Luka Vasylyovych Bondar lived in Bilosyvka in the district of Chernohvsky in the region of Poltava. He was 38 years old, married, and had two children. His family was representative of the class of poor peasants.

In March of 1933 Luka, although distressed with hunger, went away to some distant villages in search of something to eat, and did not return.

About a week later his wife Kulina died of starvation and the collective farm brigade removed her body to the cemetery.

After she was interred, the neighbors saw what had happened to her daughter Vaska, who was not known to have died. They entered Kulina's house and began to search for the child. In the oven they found a pot containing a boiled liver, heart and lungs. In the warming oven they found a large saucepan filled with fresh salted meat, and in the cellar under a barrel they discovered a small hole in which a child's head, feet and hands were buried. It was the head of Kulina's little daughter, Vaska.

And there is also this horrific story. Nikolai Filimovych Sviridenko, from the village of Kharkivtsi in the Peregvydylsk district, said that poor people who did not own any land before the revolution, after the revolution Nikolai was given a piece of land, married his Natalka, and set up housekeeping. He had two small children.

During the winter of 1932-33, the government, conducting its grain-gathering operations, relieved them of the last two potatoes that they had. Nikolai, like many other peasants, was starved for some time and finally perished.

In February 1933, the neighbors noticed that for two or three days there had been no sign of life in Nikolai's dwelling. Accordingly, three women entered the house through the unlocked door. On the mud floor they saw Nikolai's corpse, while the dish-washed, hunger-distended Natalka lay nearby. No children were to be seen.

The neighbors asked Natalka how she came to die. "I was feeling very hungry. There's an iron pot on the porch. Bring it in. It has food in it."

One of the women went out to the child's father and warned him not to eat the little fingers of a child protruding from a small pot standing on the floor. She screamed in fright. The other woman came out, and removed the whole tiny hand from the whitish liquid in the pot.

They began to question the woman, "Where are your children, Natalka?"

"They're on the porch," replied Natalka, whose reason had been unbalanced by hunger.

Nikolai and Natalka had murdered their children and eaten the first one, but had not yet begun on the second. Nikolai was dead, and Natalka was taken to jail after this, but she also died three days later.

Proof as to how widespread cannibalism had been in Ukraine at that time can be furnished by such facts as these: in the Lukianovka jail in Kiev they had a separate building for "maneaters." Among the prisoners in the Solovki Islands in 1938 there were 325 cannibals of 1932-1933, of whom 75 were men and 250 women.

J.P. Mazyna, an eyewitness, now residing in Denver, tells of the case mentioned by W. H. Chamberlin. "I witnessed the discovery of a slaughter-house of children in Poltava. It was a small building in the center of the city. Right next to it were: railroad cooperative store No. 1, a railroad first-aid station, a pharmacy and a building for the homeless. A band of criminals lured small children, killed them, salted the meat, and in the cellar under a barrel they discovered a small hole in which a child's head, feet and hands were buried. It was the head of Kulina's little daughter, Vaska.


Special trains secretly transport thousands of bodies

This is described by M.D. an engineer who worked on the railroads in the Northern Caucasus.

Early in 1933 from Kavkaz station in the Northern Caucasus, every morning at a fixed hour before dawn two mysterious trains would leave in the direction of Mineralnyi Vody and Rostov. The trains were empty and consisted of five to 10 freight cars each. Between two and four hours later the trains would return, stop for a certain time at a small way station, and then proceed on a dead-end spur towards a former ballast quarry. While the trains stopped in Kavkaz, or on a side track, all cars were locked, appeared loaded and were closely guarded by the NKVD. Nobody paid any attention to the mysterious trains at first; I did not either. I worked there temporarily, being still a student of the Moscow Institute of Transportation. But one day, conductor Kh., who was a Communist, called me quietly and took me to the trains, saying: "I want to show you what is in the cars." He opened the door of one car slightly, I looked in and almost swooned at the sight. I saw was full of corpses, piled at random. The conductor later told me this story: "The station master had secret orders from his superiors to comply with the request of the local and railroad NKVD to have machinery to draw two trains of empty freight cars. The crew of the trains was guarded by the NKVD. The trains went out to collect the corpses of peasants who had died from famine, and had been brought to railroad stations from nearby villages. Among the corpses were many persons still alive, who eventually died in the cars. The corpses were buried in the remote section beyond the quarries.

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Progress report: forthcoming book on collectivization and the famine

by Dr. Robert Conquest

Dr. Conquest, senior research fellow and scholar-curator of the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, is working on a book on the collectivization terror and the famine. The following is a progress report on the work, which is jointly funded by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian National Association.

In physical terms, about a third of the manuscript is now in draft, though not yet assimilated to the general narrative. I expect to have a full draft in the late fall.

This work so far has, of course, been largely one of research, reading and extracting. I was much struck by the sheer bulk of the evidence. Material bearing directly on the famine of 1932-33 is impressively large. And in addition to what was already available, I have been the fortunate recipient of many letters and documents sent me by a number of Ukrainian correspondents on all aspects of the subject.

It has been necessary to master various diverse fields, in particular the economic side, but also to gain a broad and full understanding of the situation of the peasantry in the centuries preceding the revolution.

Yet the main problem is to consider accurately, to make a balanced assessment of the state of public knowledge of the whole matter in the West — and I mean among educated people. It is true that, generally speaking, not much of it is at present known, or thought about: the most that those outside the circle of students of the Soviet phenomenon tend to know is that Stalin crushed the peasantry and that this involved a famine (and that the collective farm system thus produced is inefficient).

Even among those more closely concerned with study of the Soviet Union the remnants of myths inculcated by E. H. Carr and others persist — in particular the notion that economic rationality was applied by the Kremlin to solve, if in an arbitrary way, the agricultural problem.

Fortunately, within the much smaller circle of economists studying collectivization, there have been in the past 10 or 12 years a number of accomplished experts in economics who have yet had the sense to see the irrationalities involved. Their insights, written in a complex fashion for a professional audience, have yet to be mediated in a general book to the general Western public, and it is only part of the subject, of course, yet a significant part.

Neither the expert analyses of the economic side, nor the heartrending documentation of first-hand accounts of the human suffering have so far gained the public attention it deserves in the public arena. That is to say, the book is to be comprehensive, cumulative, readable and objective.

This is a major both of publication and of the evidence proper. One example of the way in which the truths are developing are made irresistible even to skeptics, is confirmation from Soviet sources. Every time one can produce such it destroys any residual notion in the reader’s mind that the account is from one-sided sources.

On the casualty figures, Soviet demographers are implicitly confirming the death rate; on deportations, Communist party books have published a “number of families taken to some northern oblasts; on the general results, a number of recent Soviet fiction writers and others have written about such things as, for example, that those put in charge in the villages were the local drunks and ne’er-do-wells.

I believe that virtually every assertion or account which might be suspect as “anti-Soviet propaganda” can now be supported by evidence published in Moscow or Kiev. The effect of this on the skeptical Western mind cannot be underestimated. And we are also fortunate, in a different vein, in having an increasing number of first-hand accounts by former 25,000’ers or Komsomol members — for example that of Lev Kopelev.

I may now go down in sketch the development of the actual book.

• My introduction begins with a brief general statement on the holocaust we shall be examining: of the whole Ukraine in 1933 turned into one giant Belsen; of millions of women and children dying in their villages, and millions more in exile and labor camp in the Far North; of widespread fields and shrunken herds; of ruthless and well-fed party and police officials enforcing the

the beginning of 1927. The peasantry is in reasonably good condition, and the Ukrainian nationality has gained a certain relaxation from Marxist centralism. For the peasant, the sufferings of the past years seem to have ended at last. I then develop the history on which he looks back: the peasant’s condition in the time of Stolypin; the emancipation; the varieties of land holding; the special situation of the Ukrainian peasant; the Stolypin reforms; the revolution; war communism and the first “requisition famine” in 1921; the peasant victory of the NEP (New Economic Policy).

• II. Next we consider the history and motivations of the other element — the Communist Party. I expound the whole animus of Marxist-Leninism against the peasantry, seen as both intrinsically backward and as immediately hostile to “socialism” and progress; and at the same time the bulwark of nationalism. I develop the way in which the Marxist view insisted on a “class struggle” in the villages where none naturally existed, and so imposed the dekulakization terror, both dreadful from the point of view of humanity and disastrous economically.

• III. And now, as the peasant prosperity, the Communist Party — in spite of a vacillating minority in the leadership — plans to recover the initiative in its unquenched determination to crush his independence.

The new wave of “dekulakization” or “dekulturization” begins. We trace the fallacious economic arguments against a free market in grain; we follow the intra-party struggle; we look at the crash decisions of 1929. IV. We turn now to the villages, with scores of individual stories of the kulak executions and deportations, and the great struggle of the first months of 1930, when the peasant this time not a victory, but at least a temporary stand-off.

• We go on to the accent on religion, in both hierarchical and individual village detail, but also as the destruction of the deeper life and culture of the peasantry,

VI. In 1931-32 the party’s grip on the countryside strengthens again. And in 1932-33 comes the massive assault on Ukraine. We show this as a conscious decision to crush the Ukrainian people; first developing the concomitant history of the rise and destruction of the “national” Communist element, and the ravaging of the cultural institutions and elites — even of the bard bands of the countryside. We turn once more to the villages, but this time not as a preliminary to the whole book, the terror-famine itself: both the general picture, authenticated by oculars (and later Soviet accounts), but above all the scores of individual stories, the seizure of the crop, the laying waste of Ukraine and the Kuban (and we look at the special cases of the Kazakhs and Ukrainians). We readily prove by several approaches the fact, sometimes doubted, that the famine was localized in Ukraine (and a few lesser regions) as a conscious and genocidal decision of Stalin and the Communist leadership. This is, as I have said, the aspect of the whole tragedy which is least understood in the West.

• VII. We turn to the children, rehearsing the history of the “bezporiznaya” of the 1920s, and now the new wave of orphanage, first starving, then dispersed, with their fate either in OGPU killings or imprisonment in “homes” or assimilation to the criminal world. And, of course, the spiritual degradation of the Pavlik Morozov type is covered.

• VIII. Then, we review how the world saw it. There was sound reporting by many, but the secrecy or disinformation efforts of Moscow was imposed upon the Herriots and other disgraceful dupes, so that, at least among those well-affecting to the Soviets, a distorted picture emerged.

• IX. Then we estimate the death-toll, the extent of the massacre, which warrants a separate chapter. I believe it can now be proved beyond all criticism that the total excess mortality of the “dekulakization” of 1929-30 and of the famine of 1932-33 must have been around 14 million, including several million children. This figure used to be considered (even by many specialists) too high, but the evidence seems irresistible.

• X. And so to the aftermath — a short history of a Soviet Union with a cripple; further, a short history of Ukraine in the 1930s and 1940s (with the 1947 famine). Finally there is an assessment of what the economic and blooded destruction of human life means in our understanding of the present Soviet regime and leadership.
**THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33**

**Profile:** James Mace, junior collaborator of Robert Conquest  
by George B. Zarycky

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — For Dr. James Mace, who is doing research for Dr. Robert Conquest's upcoming book on the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, the project has become, in his own words, the culmination of "a historian's dreams."  

This year marks the third year as a post-doctoral fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the 31-year-old native of Oklahoma became involved with Ukraine studies after a visit to the Soviet Union and, consequentially, the famine project? According to Dr. Mace, his interest was spawned while he was a long-haired undergraduate at Oklahoma University from 1965 to 1969.  

Like many of his compatriots, he was an opponent of America's involvement in Vietnam and, at this time, particularly interested in world politics about national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles in modern history. This, in turn, led him to study political science and comparative government at Case Western Reserve University and to Soviet and East European studies, learning Russian along the way.  

Of the numerous published accounts, of which Dr. Mace said have been largely "ignored by the non-Ukrainian public," he cited "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book," as a particularly valuable source of information. Yet, he added that quite often published eyewitness accounts are understated and dramatic, a fact that has caused many scholars to shy away from them as "unobjective."  

"You want to put three exclamation points at the end of every sentence," Dr. Mace said in explaining the emotional tenor of many published eyewitness accounts. "You want to have titles that drip blood because you saw people dropping, you saw the bodies."  

Soviet sources have also been of "great worth," he said, particularly those published by the centers of power itself. "After all, they were the ones who had blacklisted, and noted the seizure of grain, denunciations of local officials who had made their collections, that was the essence of the whole point," he said.  

Mace: The famine "plays a role in Ukrainian history analogous to the Holocaust in Jewish history."  

In Dr. Mace's view, the famine "marked the end of a limited autonomy" in Ukraine, personified in the 1920s by Mykola Skrypnyk, a leader of the Ukrainian and its idioms. "I wish I had experienced the revolution," he said.  

"You have to put together the personal and the social, the political and the economic, " he added. "On the social level, the state was a much more central force; on the political level, you had to destroy the Ukrainian nation by imposing starvation within the framework of dekulakization."  

In Dr. Mace's view, the famine "played a role in Ukrainian history analogous to the Holocaust in Jewish history."  

The working title is "The Collectivization Terror Famine," but that may yet be changed in the final version, he said.  

As to the book itself, Dr. Mace said that it is one-third complete, and should be published at the earliest by the end of the year but more likely in early 1984. A publisher has yet to be named, and the final draft should fall between 300 and 400 pages, although it may be longer. The working title is "The Collectivization Terror Famine," but that may yet be changed in the final version, he added.  

When asked why he felt the project was important, Dr. Mace said that understanding the famine represents a "dispensable step in understanding the Soviet Union and how it was created."  

"It is also important to understand that it happened," he said. "There is an intrinsic importance to the past. This is particularly important because it not only affected millions of acres, but affected the destruction of the European nation more numerous than the Poles, and its temporary destruction is an important factor and even as a social entity."  

In Dr. Mace's estimation, the famine occurred when Ukraine, long a nation of nomadic and semi nomadic origin, was emerging as a modern nation. In his view, Ukraine in the 1920s was a "sociologically complete society," with its elites, a solid industrial working class and, with the advent of Ukrainianization, Ukrainian-language schools, newspapers and other social institutions. The famine was all the more devastating because of "stating a body blow" to this," he said.  

For this reason, Dr. Mace says, the famine "plays a role in Ukrainian history analogous to the Holocaust in Jewish history," adding that it is "the national tragedy of Ukraine."  

He attributed much of this fact to the "killer of the Ukrainian national history," which has caused many historians to shy away from them as "unobjective."  

In addition, he pointed out that, unlike the Holocaust, which was verifiable through the moment Allied troops liberated the death camps and saw the horrors with their own eyes, there is little hard documentation easily available to the general public, "but virtually under the noses of the international community."  

The sheer magnitude of the crime in a sense precluded its believability, he said.  

Dr. Mace admitted that his new found celebrity status in the Ukrainian community "identified with the depredations of the Gulag," but he quickly added that the Ukrainian community has been "very positive and supportive."  

"I have immediate plans for the future including the publication of his book, "Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine 1918-1913," which he likened to "a baby after being pregnant for five years."  

He also indicated that he would like to write his own book on the famine, from the perspective of his own area of expertise.  

"There's never going to be just one book on the famine," he said, adding that he would like to go on studying Eastern Europe, preferably Ukrainian history.  

"I have no plans to be in teaching," he said in a challenging task of documenting the unknown "crime of the century."  

Dr. James Mace; Dr. Robert Conquest's junior collaborator on the forthcoming book on the Great Famine.
THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33

Ethnic, community leaders on famine

Reprinted below are letters written by ethnic and community leaders to UNA Supreme President John O. Flis on the occasion of the solemn 50th anniversary of the Great Famine. The letters are the result of a February 15 meeting organized by the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education to commemorate this genocide of the Ukrainian nation. It was moderated by Dr. Myron B. Karupas, UNA supreme vice president.

The American Jewish Committee

I wish to join with the many other voices which have expressed their sympathy and understanding as the Ukrainian people mark the 50th anniversary of the suffering and tragic death of millions of their countrymen during the famine they were compelled to endure.

The memories of people who are united by their common recollections helps give strength to their future. As we reach across our barriers to understand and appreciate each other’s memories, we can gain new strength from each other and look to a future of greater understanding and solidarity in our concerns for justice for all.

We are reminded at this time that 50 years have passed since the famine of 1933. All free men and women share the sense of sorrow and loss of the Ukrainian people.

We would like to express the hope that our communities will work together toward the day when tragedies of this nature will be non-existent anywhere in the world.

Stanley Balzekas Jr.
executive director
Chicago

Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation

The board of directors, staff and the Assyrian people we serve, of the Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation wish to extend our most sincere sympathy on the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian famine of 1933.

As a persecuted ethnic group, we, Assyrians of the Middle East, understand the sense of loss your ethnic group has felt, as well as still feel at this time. It’s a shame that 5 to 7 million human lives paid for the Soviets’ starving economy in 1933. What’s worse is that this event went unnoticed by the rest of the world, and could very well happen again, unless the world is made aware.

Therefore, the Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation has pledged to join with Ukrainian Americans and others to make the world aware of the great human tragedy that befell Ukraine in 1933.

May God continue to watch over the Ukrainians of the United States and those throughout the world. For he is the world’s light, in which all of us follow. All of his people will never perish.

John Yonan
executive director
Chicago

Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture

The suffering of the Ukrainian people for centuries under the Russian tsars and now the Russian Communists, is one of the tragedies of mankind. The man-made famine which the Russian Communists perpetrated in Ukraine in 1933, should unite people of the free world to work for freedom for Ukrainians, Lithuanians and other oppressed people of the world who are compelled to endure the Russian imperialist rule.

The descendants of East Europeans in America must continue to work in informing their fellow citizens of the realities of life in the USSR. Freedom for the captive nations will be a long-term process: we must keep vigilant, maintaining the spark of freedom for those less fortunate.

If I can be of any help in the future, please call on me.

Stanley Balzekas Jr.
president
Chicago

German American National Congress

The German American National Congress sympathizes with the Ukrainian Americans when you recall the terrible fate of Ukrainians 50 years ago, who died of hunger while Stalin confiscated all the grain, which these Ukrainians grew and produced, and used it for purposes foreign and alien to Ukrainians. As German Americans, whose fatherland also still lies divided, we know very well of the humiliations, deprivations and injustices which can be inflicted upon a nation and its peoples.

Elbeth M. Seewald
national president
Mount Prospect, Ill.

Illinois Commission on Human Relations

I pledge today to join with your efforts to publicize the sad commemoration of the 1933 man-made famine which cost the lives of millions in Ukraine. For too long, silence and cover-ups have allowed the world to ignore tragedies such as this which have shaped the histories of many nations. That the past is prologue is a fitting phrase as we remember that millions of Ukrainians died so that the Stalin regime could export grain and buy foreign goods which came from the Western world.

It is urgent that the world know the Ukrainian story as we see once again, throughout the world, the deliberate manipulation of economies to lower standards of living and set people against one another.

It’s a special note that the observance of the 1933 famine should occur during Black History Month. There is so much about Ukrainian history that parallels Afro-American history — the massacres, the race riots and the economically forced oppression. Today, many Blacks are among the poor who face a “write-off” of the so-called “underclass” in America.

As the U.S. and other Western nations conclude new trade deals, business and industrial leaders must be sensitized to the possibilities that once again human suffering may be the incentive for trade with the Soviets. Already there are reports of slave labor being used to work on the Siberian pipeline.

You work is cut out for you. God bless your efforts.

Connie Seals
former director
Chicago

Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education

Along with many of my colleagues in diverse ethnic communities, I am writing to assure you that I will work to make people aware of the great human tragedy that befell Soviet Ukraine 50 years ago this winter.

It is no small wonder that those responsible for this outrage have strived so assiduously to hide this monstrous deed.

It’s incredible that in this so-called enlightened 20th century when man has produced, and used it for purposes foreign and alien to Ukrainians. As German Americans, whose fatherland also still lies divided, we know very well of the humiliations, deprivations and injustices which can be inflicted upon a nation and its peoples.

John Yonan
executive director
Chicago

Japanese American Citizens League

As the U.S. and other Western nations conclude new trade deals, business and industrial leaders must be sensitized to the possibilities that once again human suffering may be the incentive for trade with the Soviets. Already there are reports of slave labor being used to work on the Siberian pipeline.

Edwin Cudecki
chair
Chicago

Lithuanian American Council Inc.

As you commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine, we, Lithuanian Americans, join you in your sorrow.

We know very well the horrors inflicted by Stalin first in Ukraine and then in Lithuania.

We shall work with you in informing the world of this great human tragedy.

Kazys Sidlauskas
president
Chicago

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

May I, together with many other who share my concern, express my sorrow in relation to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian Famine of 1933.

This tragic episode in our world’s history has been too long kept under wraps.

(Continued on page 11)
THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33

Ethnic, community leaders...

(Continued from page 10)

All people concerned with human tragedy not only hope but pledge that they will assure the world that the Ukrainian Famine of 1933 was an event that will never happen again.

Arthur R. Velasquez
member, board of directors
Chicago

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

History continues to remind us of how deadly silence can be to those who would be their brothers' keepers if they but knew of the suffering. Remembrance of the millions who perished in the 1933 man-made famine can bind us together in a worldwide vow — never again, anywhere.

James H. Lucien
executive secretary
Chicago branch

The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs

At the January 22, 1983, meeting, the board of directors of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (NCUEA) unanimously revolved:

To support and to urge inter-ethnic solidarity in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine. NCUEA urges all to rally support in the face of the unspoken evil and terrible suffering caused by the Great Famine.

NCUEA resolved that: It is time to call attention to the heretofore neglected, ignored and brazenly denied fact that the Great Famine in Ukraine was caused by the conscious and willful Soviet public policy.

NCUEA exhorts all to remember the 50th anniversary of the "man-made" famine of 1932-33. As we acknowledge the enormity of this demonic atrocity — 6 million dead — we are moved first to weep, then to pray, but finally to proclaim: never again shall silence entomb cries for justice; never again shall a people be sacrificed on the chopping block of public policy; never again shall we shatter human solidarity which binds together all people as valued variants of a common humanity.

John A. Kromkowski
president
Washington

Polish National Alliance of the U.S. of N.A.

It is certainly a tragedy that there is a blot on the entire world, when Stalin deliberately starved to death 5 to 7 million Ukrainians. We share this sorrow with you. We certainly feel the way you do, that this should be brought out into the world, so that they can understand the cruelty and the inhumane treatment by the leadership of the Soviet Union.

We certainly will join with you and all the others to make the world aware of this great human tragedy that befell Ukraine in 1933.

Please keep me informed.

Aloysius A. Mazewski
president
Chicago

State of Illinois, Office of the Governor

On the 50th anniversary of the man-made famine in Ukraine, I join you and all Ukrainian Americans in commemorating this tragedy.

Ukrainians have suffered greatly under Communist rule and it is important that the famine they have endured should not be forgotten, for those who easily forget the tragedies of the past are more easily persuaded to turn a blind eye to the injustices in the future.

Through our perseverance and recognition of past tragedies of this kind, we will help to prevent injustices such as the one in Ukraine from happening again in the world.

Gov. James R. Thompson
Springfield, Ill.

United Hellenic American Congress

The United Hellenic American Congress, an umbrella organization comprised of some 280 Greek organizations in the United States, wishes to share in the sense of the loss Ukrainians feel on the anniversary of the man-made famine by the Stalinist regime of Communist Russia in 1933, in which millions of innocent people lost their lives. As president of UHAC, I wish to express our solidarity with Ukrainian Americans on this tragic anniversary and offer our pledge to work with you and other groups in making the world aware of this great human tragedy which befell Ukraine.

As an organization devoted to the promotion of human rights and equality for all people we decry such genocidal events which are all too quickly forgotten by the world, similar to the Armenian and Greek massacres by the Turks, among others. We pledge ourselves to keep alive the memories of these terrible episodes that demonstrate "man's inhumanity to man" so that they would never be repeated again. We conclude by offering our prayers that the future will bring about a free and independent Ukraine.

Andrew A. Athens
president
Chicago

Zionist Organization of Chicago

We share the sorrow of Ukrainians throughout the world as they commemorate the 50th anniversary of the man-made Ukrainian famine of 1933.

We share in the sense of loss Ukrainians feel on the anniversary of this man-made famine and pledge to join with Ukrainian Americans and others to make the world aware of the great human tragedy that befell Ukraine in 1933, so that such events will never happen again.

Nicholas Reisman
president
Chicago

St. Andrew's Memorial Church: monument to famine victims

"The memorial church is a very modest cross on the graves of the millions of victims of the Great Famine — the graves that were plowed under by the enemy." These were the words of Archbishop Mykolaj of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church on October 10, 1986, the day of the dedication of St. Andrew's Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Located in South Bound Brook, N.J., at the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the dedication of St. Andrew's, the First-Called Apostle, the church was erected as a monument to those Ukrainians who died in the quest for liberty and national independence for their homeland — and especially to the 7 million victims of Stalin's planned annihilation of the Ukrainian nation, the Great Famine of 1932-33. It is the only monument dedicated to these victims.

The idea of a memorial church — and of the entire Ukrainian Orthodox Church — was conceived by Archbishop Mykolaj, who today, as metropolitan, heads the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. St. Andrew's Church, designed by George Kodak to showcase traditional Ukrainian Church architecture, is the centerpiece of the 100-acre Ukrainian Orthodox Church that houses a seminary, print shop, cemetery, administrative offices, library and the newly built Home of Ukrainian Culture.

Each year on St. Thomas Sunday, or "Prosvita Nedelia," thousands gather at the center to honor the dead. This year's observances on May 15 are dedicated to solemn observances of the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine. The day's program will include divine liturgy, memorial services, commemorative speeches and a memorial concert program.

IN NEXT WEEK'S WEEKLY: a special feature on St. Andrew's Memorial Church.
The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-33

1932-34 Great Famine (Continued from page 9)

While the harvest of 1933 alleviated the situation considerably, famine did not immediately disappear from the Soviet Union. Famine continued from late autumn of 1933 through, at least, the summer of 1934. We have less knowledge of this phase of the famine than of 1933 because of a renewed and even more thorough general blackout. Yet there were several breaks in the curtain.

Cardinal Innitzer predicted on August 19, 1933, that the famine would last another two or three years. And it appears that famine did exist in severe proportion in the late autumn of 1933. Harry Lang, a Russian-born correspondent from the Jewish Daily Forward, who was armed with a letter from Sen. Borah, repeated his charge that ... Russia is suffering a severe famine, concluding with a sardonic congratulation to the Soviet Foreign office on its skill in concealing the true situation in the USSR.

This later observation was reflected in a comment in July by Pierre Berland, Moscow correspondent for Le Temps, and an article by Belov concurs, August 21, 1933, p. 1.

"The silence of the press on this point is one of the most curious phenomena of contemporary Russia. A sort of written siege has been imposed on the Soviet Union, a written blockade, when millions died. Shocking as this news was, it attracted little attention and was largely dismissed by The New York Times, and the London Times.

In the interim, little had been reported about the famine except in the London Times and even admitted semi-starvation conditions, even though the nature of the catastrophe is an open secret. The intermittent little that had been reported about the famine was the result of pressure from the London Times and other British papers in its efforts to get news from the famine areas. The famine was treated as a political issue, with little regard for the suffering of the people. The famine was covered by correspondents in the famine areas, and reports were filed with the London Times and other British papers. The famine was treated as a political issue, with little regard for the suffering of the people.

In early July, Richard Sallet, an American, charged that famine was causing terrible suffering, but his allegation was largely ignored. The famine was covered by correspondents in the famine areas, and reports were filed with the London Times and other British papers. The famine was treated as a political issue, with little regard for the suffering of the people.

The famine was described by Thomas Walker, who was armed with a letter from Sen. Borah, as "Soviet Harvest Difficulties," The Times (London), August 21, 1933, p. 1.

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1932-34 Great Famine...
(Continued from page 12)

But even at that, the outlook for the autumn and winter was still not good. One group felt that "...millions of people will die of starvation in the coming winter..." and felt that the government's efforts were not forthcoming. 21 This same pessimistic outlook was expressed by Ammende, Hilaszky and Walker. 7

We also know that actually carried over into 1935 is not known, but certainly the food situation continued to be unfavorable.

C. Areas and groups affected

We have so far discussed only the existence and timing of the famine. Now we shall turn to a closer examination of the areas and groups most directly affected.

The famine was most severe, it seems to be generally conceded, in Ukraine, the North Caucasus (particularly in the Kuban), the middle and lower Volga, and in Kazakhstan. In general the famine was most severe in the grain-growing regions. It was there that collectivization was most complete.

As Schiller put it: "The regions which were the best qualified to bear the collectivization had to suffer the worst under the conditions of the collectivization policy." 74 Lyons adds that: "Where the force was the greatest, the reaction was the greatest; the tragedy was in direct proportion to the force of the reaction." 75 A related problem of these one-crop areas was that they had less livestock than other areas to fall back on for consumption when their grain was expropriated.

The pattern was much the same in Kazakhstan. There nomadic tribes such as the Kirgiz or the Kazakh were particularly vulnerable to the loss of livestock because of the constant struggle to obtain food when food is short, the cattle can be slaughtered, thus (a) providing meat and (b) freeing feed for human consumption. 76 , 77

The famine in these areas, however, little is known, but certainly the food situation in the Kuban, the middle and lower Volga, and in Kazakhstan. Due to Kazakhstan's isolation, however, relatively little is known about the problem.

Scattered famine reports were also noted for Central Asia, White Russia, 78 and to a relatively lesser extent, elsewhere in the USSR. 79

It is difficult to compare famine areas, areas in common with Kazakhstan, the area and the population in the grip of starvation exceeded the famine of 1921. 80

The famine, as has been suggested, was particularly severe in the Ukraine. This was quite the reverse of the usual pattern, but then it was quite an unusual famine. And of those who died in the cities, many, if not most, were refugees from the rural areas who (in 1932) had been forced to urban areas due to the collectivization process, the Soviet state was not able to support them any better than it had the rural poor. In fact, the Soviet state was far behind in its spring sowing.

The people themselves assumed an entirely different constitution to the people. The two young leaders of the coup, Pribilovskiy and Pridi, denounced the government. They were the leaders of the coup, Pribilovskiy and Pridi. They were the leaders of the coup, Pribilovskiy and Pridi.

Eyewitness...
(Continued from page 7)

Compassion on a train: passengers and displaced

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The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-33

America's "Red Decade"...
(Continued from page 4)

The first reliable report of the catastrophe to reach the outside world was drafted after which vodka and wine were ordered "in a hurry" to handle the story. A statement from the Soviet press censor, to determine how pictures of the horror taken by German correspondents in the Baltic states would be handled, was one of the few stories postponed for a few days. Finally, durty consistently penned "food shortages" but insisted that any famine was "too insignificant a phenomenon to warrant one's undivided attention."... Durty's, of course, was aware of the situation in Ukraine and confessed as much to The New York Times book reviewer, critic John Chamberlin, a Communist sympathizer. Believing, as he later wrote, that "the Russian Revolution would not alienate a Communist sympathizer," he reasoned, "I was accepting, equally, a post of immense strategic importance in the further service of that cause. ..."

When his story broke, the American press corps, whose members had seen pictures of the horror taken by German correspondents, was “sobered by their home offices for more information. Angered as much by excess as by its dilatory portrayal of Soviet life, a group of American correspondents met with Comrade Konstantine Umansky, the Soviet press censor, to determine how best to handle the story. A statement was drafted after which vodka and wine were ordered as a gesture down to celebrate with Chamberlin Umansky.

The agreed-upon format was followed... faithfully by Durty. "There is no such famine," reported The New York Times on March 30, 1933, "but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition." When the government's efforts persisted and rumors grew, a few days finally admitted "food shortages" but insisted that any famine was "too insignificant a phenomenon to warrant..."

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Fortunately, not all members of the American press corps in Moscow were involved with the cover-up. A notable exception was the Soviet Union's official newspaper, Pravda: The Ukrainian Congress Committee, 1934), pp. 66-67.

19. Ibid., p. 37.
20. Ibid., p. 48.
21. Ibid., p. 197.
22. Ibid., p. 241.
23. Ibid., p. 572-580.
28. See Chicago American (March 1, 1933).
33. Cited in Ibid., p. 162.
34. See Sovoboda (February 6, May 25, June 11, July 14, 1932).
36. The Ukrainian Weekly (November 22, 1933).
Political prisoners. (Continued from page 2)

D.C. action... (Continued from page 1)

imprisoned dissident's... (Continued from page 2)

IMPRISONED DISSIDENT'S... (Continued from page 2)

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There are frequent instances of what might be called ideological revenge. A prisoner is deprived of his participation in collective protests, especially signing human-rights documents and appeals which might be regarded as the most serious form of a wide range of repressions — up to and including several months of imprisonment for participation in a small number of years in the special prison in the city of Chistopol. For example, one of the real reasons for incarcerating the prisoner Natalie Pylypenko in Chishtopol in September 1981 was his attempt to send a congratulatory telegram (in a perfection manner) to the Begin of Israel on the latter's election to his post.

As far as publication abroad is concerned, the KGB officers are conducting repressions among prisoners in connection with our appeal to you, Mr. President, for your inauguration. Antanas Terliatskas was warned that he and the other authors of this appeal might receive new prison terms for their action.

Punishments were meted out to all 16 members of the "strike of despair," who were placed in the camp, the relatives of Henrich Altunian, Nora Grygorian and Ogornikov were turned back and not permitted to meet with their husbands, and there was allegedly no available room for the meeting: Grygorian was placed in the punishment cell on the eve of his expected release; Altunian's wife was told that she could not meet with her husband, because their marriage had been annulled.

Repressions and privations stalk us at every step. Our correspondence is reduced to a very harsh punishment fine sieve. Every step. Our correspondence is that is, visits with our relatives. Since we are deprived of what is most precious to us, even fresh fruit."

In this regard, the article noted that during the discussion that took place in the camp, the relatives of Henrich Altunian, Nora Grygorian and Ogornikov were turned back and not permitted to meet with their husbands, and there was allegedly no available room for the meeting: Grygorian was placed in the punishment cell on the eve of his expected release; Altunian's wife was told that she could not meet with her husband, because their marriage had been annulled.

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Community leaders...

(Continued from page 1)

Community leaders... Community leaders... Community leaders...

“Consultation,” said Julian Kulas, vice president of the Illinois Consultation, “is still intact.”

Ultimately, public awareness of this past tragedy will further the cause of human rights for present-day Ukrainians, according to Anthony J. Cudecki, a Polish American, and Ross Harano, president of the Japanese American Citizens League.

“This is our way of letting people know that the Ukrainian people exist and that they want their freedom,” Mr. Cudecki said. “As the world becomes aware of this horrible act that was done in the name of progress, we hope that it takes into account the people that they are dealing with today,” he said. “The system that brought about the Great Famine is still intact.”

In its 12-year history, the consultation's ethnic leaders are concerned about the defamation of their ethnic character, the consultation steering committee meetings like the one organized around the 1932-33 Great Famine in Ukraine, ethnic leaders can identify important issues and learn more about each other. These meetings give many Americans an opportunity to express their concerns and be listened to with compassion, Mr. Roth said.

“These sharing events” consultation members gain valuable insight into what motivates a particular ethnic group.

“To understand a group, you must understand their sorrows as well as their joys,” Dr. Kuraspa said. “You can’t understand how a Jew feels about Israel until you know about the Holocaust; you can’t understand the response of Greek Americans during World War II, or the perception that Blacks played no role in American history.”

Connie Seals, former director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, explained upon this in her letter to Mr. Fils, writing; “The beauty of it is that parallels such as the one around the Black community must also learn to Counter the misconceptions that others have of them,” Mr. Gibson said. “The lack of information about the Ukrainian famine is akin to the perception that Blacks played no important role in American history.”

For a variety of reasons, neither the American academic nor journalistic communities have been sensitive to Ukrainian and its issues. Ukrainian Americans have been fighting an uphill battle to change this for many years,” Dr. Kuraspa said. “With the help of other ethnic leaders, we hope to make more headway. The UNA-produced film ‘Helm of Destiny’ will help us tremendously in telling the Ukrainian American story.”

Myron B. Kuraspa, UNA supreme vice president; Maynard Wishner, national president of the American Jewish Committee; the Rev. Walter Klymchuk, pastor of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral; and Edwin Cudecki, chairperson of the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education; are seen above at a Chicago ethnic leaders’ meeting devoted to the Great Famine.