

# THE HOLODOMOR



AN ACT OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

1932<sup>of</sup>–1933

This booklet examines the primary causes of the greatest tragedy ever suffered by the Ukrainian people, the Holodomor of 1932-33. The authors provide the context for and expose the man-made nature of the cataclysm. They provide an overview of the factual evidence, that the Communist Party headed by Josef Stalin artificially created the famine. The authors provide the answer to the question: Why was the terror famine directed against Ukraine? The brochure describes the premeditation and mechanisms used to implement the Holodomor and how it qualifies as an act of genocide according to the UN Convention of 1948. The brochure is based on extensive research of historical records, primary source documents and eyewitness accounts.

*Authors:*

**Vladyslav Verstiuk**  
**Volodymyr Tylishchak**  
**Ihor Yukhnovsky**

*Translated by:*

**Stepan Bandera**

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**THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL MEMORY**

# **THE HOLODOMOR**



**AN ACT OF GENOCIDE AGAINST  
THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE**

**1932<sup>of</sup> 1933**



**KYIV  
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**The Holodomor** of 1932-33 was a man-made famine engineered by the USSR's Bolshevik regime that took millions of Ukrainian lives. In all of human history, there are few crimes similar in scale, cruelty, cynicism and methods of execution. While the Soviet Union existed, the topic of the Holodomor was taboo. Even survivors were afraid to speak about this tragedy in public. It was not until Ukraine gained independence in 1991 that the truth about the Holodomor was restored to national memory. The Holodomor has become a symbol of national suffering as well as a testament to the nation's ability to survive.

Ukraine's role was crucial to the creation of the Soviet Union. Its population was second only to Russia in size and larger than the populations of all non-Russian republics combined. After the Bolsheviks conquered the independent Ukrainian People's Republic, they established the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkrSSR). The Bolsheviks' experience in fighting the independent Ukrainian National Republic led to the declaration of «Ukrainization» policies in the early 1920s. This was a period of furious infighting among top Communist Party officials that resulted in serious problems for Russian-Ukrainian relations. These problems went beyond ukrainization and included issues of the economy, the Ukrainian-Russian border, formation of armed forces, distribution of powers between Moscow and Kharkiv (the capital of Ukraine at the time). The creation of the USSR in 1922 further subordinated the Ukrainian Republic to the All-Union center. By June of 1923, the Party's central leadership dismissed Christian Rakovsky, the head of Ukrainian Republic's govern-



V. Tsymbal, *Famine of 1933*

ment who supported self-determination for all Soviet republics. In late July 1923, Politburo member Grigory Zinoviev proposed the following to Stalin, who was then the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party: «Ukraine, I think, needs to be significantly strengthened with new, great persons». That paved the path to Ukraine for Stalin's henchmen Lazar Kaganovich, Pavel Postyshev, Vsevolod Balitsky and others.

Stalin's\* totalitarian regime was firmly entrenched by the late 1920s and breaking

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\* *Stalin (Josef Dzhugashvili) – Vladimir Lenin's ally, one of the creators of the Bolshevik party, a professional revolutionary, who was engaged in terrorism and expropriation as a youth. He was arrested and exiled six times. Stalin played an active role in overthrowing the Interim Government of Russia (November 1917). In 1922 he became the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). He used the post to fight for power within the party and country. The father of Communist totalitarianism,*

Ukraine was a priority for the dictator. Stalin wanted to reassert his rule and Ukraine was used as an example to teach the other Soviet republics a lesson. The destruction of Ukraine as a state and a nation was accomplished on multiple levels. The first and heaviest blows targeted the Ukrainian intelligentsia and prosperous farmers.

The ideology of Bolshevism called for the elimination of national and class distinctions in order to build Communism. It used terror to fight against «bourgeois nationalism» and the «exploiter classes». Prosperous farmers were defined as «exploiters». According to Stalin's understanding of social development, well-to-do farmers were to disappear in the process of collectivization, i.e. the institution of the collective farm system. Any farmer who refused to join collective farms was labeled a kurkul. The word «kurkul» (kulak in Russian) was used as political intimidation in the battle against any farmers who resisted Soviet rule. Liquidating prosperous farmers and driving the rest to collective farms was part of the plan to establish complete control over the Ukrainian countryside. Wherever the Bolsheviks encountered resistance to collectivization, they confiscated all food and instituted travel bans. Famine became a weapon of mass destruction against Ukrainians. It damaged the nation's genetic pool. In addition to demographic losses, the Holodomor inflicted moral and psychological wounds to national consciousness that cannot be measured by any number.

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*he considered «the dictatorship of the proletariat» to be Marxism's corner stone. The principles of democracy and divisions of power were alien to Stalin. He placed the Bolshevik Party at the core of all governmental and civic institutions, and entrenched this provision in the Soviet Constitution. Stalin considered state terror and repressive measures to be normal government policies. Massive repressions in the USSR and the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine are associated with his name.*

In November 2006, Ukraine's Parliament adopted the law that recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. The process of passing the law was not easy. There was much resistance and debate. Ukrainian society was faced with the task of fundamentally reassessing its understanding of the causes of the Holodomor, its nature and scale, and properly honoring the memories of millions of victims. Ukrainian society thus made a pledge to future generations and to the entire world: similar tragedies must never be repeated. In his address on November 24, 2007, President Viktor Yushchenko pointed out:

*«The Holodomor resulted not only in suffering and excruciating death. The Holodomor brought fear to the Ukrainian land, and this fear still lives among us. Only the truth about the genocide of the Ukrainian people and honoring the memory of everyone who was senselessly killed can free the nation of this grave legacy».*



G. Shevtsov, *What harvest are we expecting?*

# THE HOLODOMOR – GENOCIDE



B. Pevniy, *Land*

In 1932-33 Ukraine lived through a terrible tragedy: in the breadbasket of Europe, millions died of starvation. The cruelty of the Holodomor lies in the fact that famine was not caused by natural disaster, drought or poor harvest. It was the result of deliberate government policy. By forcibly confiscating food resources, blocking villages and entire regions, banning travel from famine-stricken areas, prohibiting trade in rural areas and using repressions against political opponents, **the totalitarian system created conditions that made life impossible.**

**Bolshevik policies and practices resulted in a crime against humanity as defined by the UN Convention on Genocide.**

Article 2 of the Convention defines genocide as «acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group», including «deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part». **That is why the Holodomor – the man-made famine of 1932-33 – was an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people.**

## Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948.

### Article I

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

### Article II

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

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

### Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

### Article IV

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Communist policies resulted in famine in many areas of the USSR in 1932. But the most repressive measures were used in Ukraine and Kuban, the latter inhabited primarily by Ukrainians. These areas saw the greatest number of victims and were subject to travel bans. The totalitarian regime's goal was to destroy independent Ukrainian farmers, the core of a nation whose traditions and values were incompatible with Communist ideology and thus hostile towards Bolshevism. Stalin realized this early on before the Holodomor when he wrote in 1925: «...Farmers form the main army of the national movement... Without an army of farmers, a strong national movement does not and cannot exist. That is what they mean when they say that the national issue is, in fact, an issue of farmers».

**The Soviet leadership used famine to crush national resistance.** This was made clear by the Politburo's Resolution «On Grain Procurement in Ukraine, Northern Caucasus and Western Oblast», adopted on December 14, 1932. Despite the resolution's title, its authors formulated policies that have nothing to do with agriculture and economics. The resolution spoke about «properly conducting Ukrainization», which involved the closing of Ukrainian-language schools and newspapers in Kuban and persecution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

**The famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine was not caused by a poor harvest or drought.** There was grain in Ukraine. The Soviet government was selling considerable quantities on foreign markets. Distilleries operated at full capacity in Ukraine, processing grain and potatoes into alcohol for export. **1.72 million tons of grain were exported from Ukraine in 1932, and 1.68 million tons in 1933.**

**These volumes could have easily saved the lives of millions.**

*«This 'ethnographic material' should be replaced, cynically said ... a high-ranking official of a local GPU body... However terrible and unbelievable this intention may seem, it should be considered as real*



Victims of the Holodomor, Kharkiv region, 1933 (pictured by A. Vinerberger)

*and is being fully implemented. Through merciless confiscation... the Moscow government caused famine and deprived Ukrainian villages of all means of survival...*

*Based on this, I conclude: the current catastrophe will result in the colonization of Ukraine mostly by Russians. This will change its ethnographic nature».*

Dispatch from Italian Consul  
Sergio Gradenigo,  
Kharkiv, May 31, 1933

*«In under one year, Postyshev has strengthened the authority of the Soviet system in Ukraine, by sacrificing many victims and millions of dead from famine...he has destroyed a dangerous national movement for an indefinite period of time. This is the way the national issue, as it is understood here, was resolved in Ukraine».*

Dispatch from the Consul  
General of Germany in Kharkiv  
January 26, 1934

## DEATHS CAUSED BY THE HOLODOMOR

**The victims of the Holodomor number in the millions.** According to estimates by historians and demographers, **the minimum number of direct and indirect casualties among the population of Ukraine reached 8 million people.**

Implementation of totalitarian policy reached its peak in the winter and spring of 1933, when **tens of thousands of completely innocent people died of famine on a daily basis.** The horror of the Holodomor resulted in an extremely **high death rate among children.** Hoping to rescue their children, farmers broke through police cordons into cities where they simply left their children. Children's homes were «overcrowded», leaving the young to die from famine or illnesses on the streets. Statistics show that in many regions up to two-thirds of children did not show **up for school in September 1933.** In addition to the physical extermination of millions, the tragedy resulted in the destruction of the traditional Ukrainian way of life for many years to come.

*«The Holodomor in the countryside has been written about, but no mention has been made about the famine in Ukrainian cities... My native town of Hadyach fell victim to this terrible crime of Moscow as well. Hadyach residents died right on the streets, their bodies were picked up by wagons and taken away. Sometimes they were still alive; I saw it myself.*

*[...] Bread ration cards were supposedly available in the towns. This was not true. Some people received cards, but not everybody. My father, for example, received no bread card, and famine ruled in our family. We survived because we exchanged our gold belongings at the Torgsin store... In the store at the center of town... there were various foodstuffs on display behind the windows, which could be acquired for gold and silver. Hungry residents of Hadyach were lying and dying there, right in front of the store».*

Yevhenia Fesenko-Kovalska

*«I recall the year 1933. It truly was an act of genocide!*

*Half the residents of Sukha [village] died from famine in just one spring. In the family of Bulat the blacksmith, the elder children ate the younger ones... My friends, the Kysil brothers from Breusiv, my classmates who were unrivaled in mathematics, were at school one day but gone the next: both of them died. Meanwhile hams from the Haleshchynne plant were being sold abroad through Torgsin stores...*

*This was Stalin's eternal sin, his crime that cannot and never will be justified».*

From the diary of writer Oles Honchar

*«The conditions were critical in Ukraine this year – there was a great famine here, or, as authorities call it, a victory for the socialist regime in agriculture [...] According to trustworthy data from official sources, the death toll from famine is estimated at nearly seven million people».*

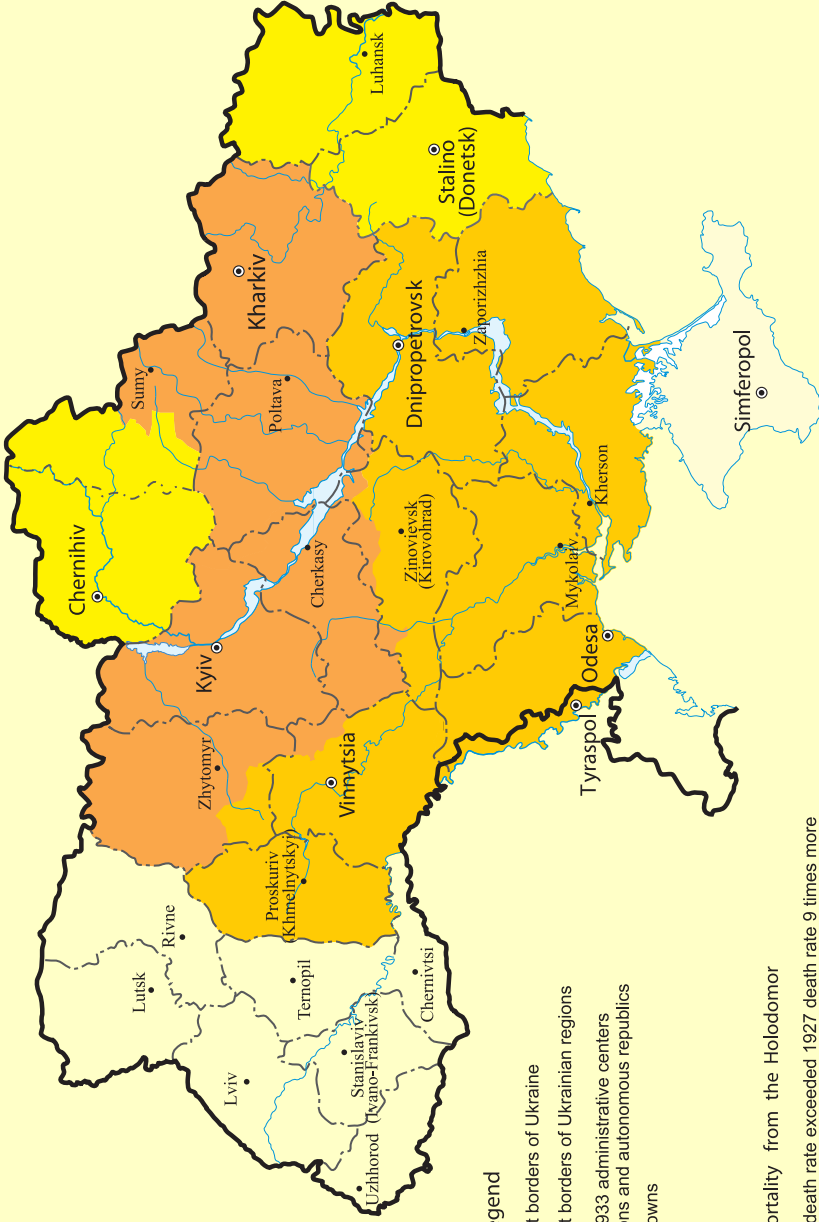
*Dispatch from the Office of Consul General of Germany in Kharkiv*

Dispatch from the Office of Consul General of Germany in Kharkiv  
January 26, 1934



Starving girl with swollen knees  
(pictured by A. Vinerberger)

# THE HOLODOMOR MAP



## Legend

- Current borders of Ukraine
- - - Current borders of Ukrainian regions
- ⊙ 1932-1933 administrative centers of regions and autonomous republics
- Other towns

## Mortality from the Holodomor

- 1933 death rate exceeded 1927 death rate 9 times more
- 1933 death rate exceeded 1927 death rate 6 times more
- 1933 death rate exceeded 1927 death rate 4 times more
- Territories belonged to the Soviet Union but not overlaken by the Holodomor
- Territories not belonged to the Soviet Union at 1933

City-names are presented as of 1933 (current names are presented in parentheses)

Between 1924 and 1940 USSR involved Moldavian ASSR with a territory previously administered within Odesa region and Moldova (Transnistria)

# CAUSES OF THE HOLODOMOR

## The Bolsheviks and Ukraine



Fourth Universal of Ukrainian Central Rada, by which the independence of UPR was declared, 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1918

A powerful liberation movement arose in Ukraine after the February Revolution of 1917. With the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the nation embarked on a course of establishing an independent democratic state. But in November 1917, the Bol-

sheviks led by Vladimir Lenin took power in Russia proclaiming the «Dictatorship of the Proletariat» and «Red Terror». One month later, in early December 1917, Lenin and Leon Trotsky declared war on Ukraine.

**The Bolsheviks viewed Ukraine as a huge resource base. Ukrainian bread, coal, salt and metals were the primary targets of Bolshevik Russia's aggression against the Ukrainian People's Republic.**

In January 1918, Lenin wrote to his allies in Ukraine:

*«...Take the most intense revolutionary steps to send grain, grain and grain!!! Otherwise, St. Petersburg may die...».*

Military actions against Ukraine were dictated by economic and ideological goals. In occupied Ukraine, the Bolsheviks began to translate Communist ideology into state practice later known as «military Communism». It was based on nationalization of industry, demonetization and state regulation of trade, strict state control over food supplies and workforce mobilization. Terror was the key to its implementation. «Food requisitions» were introduced in spring 1919, requiring farmers to hand over

all grain to the state except for the necessary minimum (seeds for sowing, minimal grain for family members and fodder) at extremely low prices fixed by the state. In practice this meant that almost all grain was taken away with very little, if any, compensation. The introduction of «food requisitioning» and accompanying terror resulted in resistance on the part of farmers. The dilemma of personal freedom and Communist coercion became the focal point of the conflict between the government and Ukrainian farmers. Numerous uprisings swept Ukraine as tens of thousands joined partisan units that fought Soviet rule in 1920-21.

**It was the policy of «military Communism» – the complete dictatorship of the Communist regime over the individual – that was the primary cause of the famine of 1921-23** which swept through Ukraine and southern Russia. The Bolshevik government faced the double jeopardy of a paralyzed economy and a large-scale war with the farmers. Under the circumstances, Lenin and the Bolsheviks took one step back from the course of immediately building Communism and adopted the more liberal «New Economic Policy» (NEP). But the limited market activity allowed under NEP was only a tactical retreat in the campaign to build Communism.

In spring 1922, Lenin wrote:

*«The biggest mistake is to think that NEP means an end to terror. We will still return to terror, economic terror».*



## Attack on Ukraine

The national revolution of 1917-21 and the subsequent Ukrainization campaign resulted in the growth of national consciousness among the country's rural population, which accounted for 80.8 % of Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic's entire population in 1926.

The reprieve provided by NEP (1921-28) allowed farmers to rebuild farms ruined by military Communism. Grain and crop harvest yields and cattle stocks began to approach their pre-revolutionary levels. The homestead farming system took root in Ukraine.

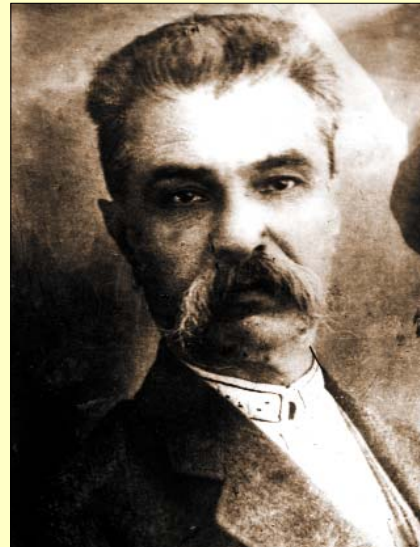
Meanwhile, the Soviet regime gradually grew stronger. A struggle within the Bolshevik hierarchy resulted in the concentration of absolute state power in Josef Stalin's hands. The strengthening of the regime made it possible to reverse the concessions previously made in the national, cultural, social and economic spheres. In late 1927, the XV Convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approved the introduction of collectivization in agriculture. NEP was discontinued in 1928. In January 1928, the government resumed forced grain procurements.

**The Kremlin was particularly concerned about Ukraine. Moscow viewed the powerful national elite and the economically independent and nationally conscious countryside as a very real threat to the USSR's existence.** The Bolsheviks viewed the Ukrainian intelligentsia as a priori hostile to their rule. Ukrainian leaders were placed under constant watch by Soviet secret services. A new phase in the attack on Ukraine began in the second half of 1920s. In March 1926, the GPU state security service issued instructions in a letter entitled «About active Ukrainians», which provided for «monitoring of all Ukrainian public groups [and] active intelligence gathering among leading figures». In September of that year, the Ukrainian republic's GPU issued a secret instruction entitled «On Ukrainian separatism», which expanded upon the directives of the previous letter and defined the cultural activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia as anti-Soviet. The secret services defined any

efforts at nation building as «efforts by Ukrainian chauvinists to instill the spirit of hatred towards Moscow in the countryside». The directive instructed «to combine work among the Ukrainian intelligentsia with work among the rural populace».

GPU documents noted strong «separatist» attitudes among the Ukrainian intelligentsia and farmers. GPU reports indicated that similar attitudes had spread to the armed forces as well. A secret police report «On the spread of farmers' attitudes to the army» dated January 24, 1928 noted that *«in Ukraine, along with the spread of farmers' attitudes [to the army], it is worth pointing out the clearly nationalist nature of these attitudes, which brazenly define the burden carried by Ukraine to be caused by Moscow's 'oppression'»*.

Numerous analytical documents compiled by the secret police concluded that the anti-Soviet mood was widespread in Ukraine and that the republic was on the verge of revolt.



S. Yefremov, UAS academician, was condemned for ULL case, died while in prison

Thus, by the late 1920s, Soviet leaders had realized that their rule in Ukraine was fragile and that the threat of a national uprising was very real. The subsequent changes to economic policies (mandatory grain procurements were reintroduced in January 1928) were accompanied by increased pressure along national lines. From 1928 until the early 1930s, representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were arrested and tried under the pretexts of concocted conspiracies throughout Ukraine. The trial against the «Union of Liberation of Ukraine» (1929-30) in Kharkiv culminated this campaign. This and other fabricated conspiracies (such as the cases against «Ukrainian National Center» and the «Ukrainian Military Organization»)

showed that the Soviet «justice» system specifically targeted nationally conscious Ukrainians.



Felon's dock on the trumped up ULL case  
Kharkiv, 1930

## Collectivization – a Tragedy of the Countryside

The offensive against the Ukrainian countryside began with the liquidation of the most successful private farming operations. Cruel repressions against prosperous farmers, who were labeled «kurkuls», were launched in 1928.

Many dispossessed kurkuls were deported to the north, beyond the Ural Mountains and Siberia, where certain death awaited them. According to statistics compiled by the Ukrainian Republic People's Economy Accounting Department, some **285,000 families, comprising nearly 1 million people, were deported from Ukraine by the mid-1930s.** These deportations were used to sow fear among the farmers who remained.

**Collectivization was launched en masse in 1929. The centuries-old traditions of private farming were destroyed in Ukraine's villages.**

In joining collective farms, every rural family had to turn over all farming equipment and livestock. Farmers were deprived of their most valuable possessions: their ancestral lands. **The end of 1932 collectivized some 70 percent of all homesteads, representing more than 80 percent of Ukraine's arable land.**



Kulaks family is driving out their house,  
Donetsk region, early 1930s

# Farmers' Resistance to Collectivization

Bolshevik policies were met with resistance from farmers. In the spring of 1930, protests and uprisings were commonplace in Ukraine's countryside. Farmers began leaving collective farms, taking back their property and freeing arrested farmers. Armed uprisings against the regime, conducted in the name of national and social liberation, were widespread.

On March 16, 1930, the chief of the Ukrainian Republic Central Political Administration (GPU) Vsevolod Balitsky wrote:

«Yesterday, I arrived in Tulchyn district. The entire district is seized by disturbances and uprisings. Rebellions are currently occurring in 153 villages. Soviet authorities and activists have been completely expelled from 50 villages... Collective farms have been liquidated in most of the district's villages... Armed upris-

ings are taking place in some villages. Trenches have been dug around the villages where armed [men] are preventing entry. In some villages people are singing «Ukraine is still alive»... [national anthem]

Armed resistance was encountered while conducting operations in the villages of Horyachioka and Vilshanka of Myastkovsky raion, where the shootout lasted for three hours. In the village of Balanioka, Bershadsky raion... 500 men took to the forests armed with pitchforks and axes.

The entire district has been divided into operative sectors. Armed units of Communists and GPU cavalry have been assigned to every sector. Orders have been issued to resolutely crush the uprisings...»

In 1930, more than 4,000 uprisings, involving 1.2 million villagers, took place throughout Soviet Ukraine.

країв, пливуть наші грошки і до Індії, в Китаю, Афганістані та серед д  
; видають гроші на агітацію і в Індії, в Китаю, Афганістані та серед д  
Ось куди йдуть наш хліб, наше залізо та вугіль, наші податки, вс  
рок українського народу! Не шкодує Москва грошей на агітацію, та й  
і добуває, а народ український. А чуже добро легко роздавати напра  
і видав московський „совнарком“ більш як один мільярд рублів на ко  
І бідніє наш народ, дарма що працює так, як і раніше працюва  
сь багату достатком Україну зазирає страшний цар-голд.  
Хто з рабунку живе, тому чуже добро на користь не йде. Хо  
зможе, проте що-дня падає той „соврубль“ — червонець; з кожним  
Ось як швидко упадають в ціні большевицькі гроші:  
В році 1926 один червонець був вартий п'ять долярів; в 19  
яри не хотять за нього давати.

## Селяне і робітники України!

Ваші достатки, ваші гроші, ваша праця йдуть на марне  
цяючи, що за ваші гроші й працю запалити революцію на цілі  
є, і нігде революції немає, і гроші совітські обезцінилися.

Народ наш український, що в землі своїй має багатств  
кою руйною!

Хто в неволі — тому завше буде тяжко жити! Тільки  
їйна Україна запевнить нам добробут, лад і достатки!

## Селяне і робітники України!

Не давайте московській комуні хліба, не платіть податків і не п  
благацій!

Геть московську неволю!

Нехай живе самостійна Україна!

Нехай живе Українська Народня Республіка!

**Український Революційний Комітет.**



## The Consequences of Collectivization

Declines in crop yields and agricultural productivity were recorded in the early 1930s. The state's actions had undermined the profitability of farming.

Nevertheless, the government strived to extract as much grain as possible from the countryside. The problems with agricultural production were attributed to «sabotage».

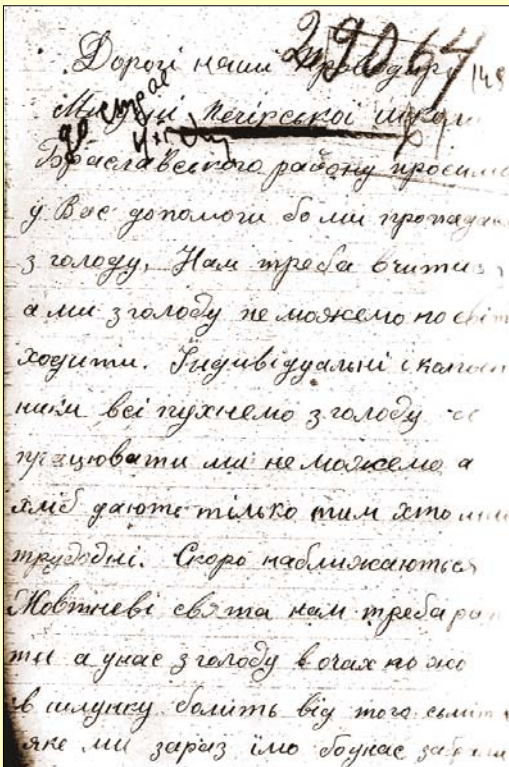
The state procurement campaign turned into a war between the government and the farmers. Nearly half of all crops harvested in the Ukrainian republic were confiscated as grain procurements in 1931. Famine began to arrive in Ukrainian villages in 1931.



Dispossessed kulaks family near ruins of their house, Donetsk region, early 1930s

*A letter from the pupils of Pechersk School, Bratslav raion, to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee regarding the famine:*

November 1, 1931



Dear leaders! We, pupils of the Pechersk School, Bratslav raion, request your assistance because we are dying of famine. While we need to study, we cannot walk anywhere because we are starving. Private and collective farmers alike – we are all swelling from starvation, because we are unable to work and bread is given only to those who have earned workdays. The October holidays are drawing near, we should be rejoicing, but our eyes have turned yellow from hunger and our stomachs are aching from the garbage we're eating. The last kernel of grain, potatoes, beans and anything edible has been taken away from us. While vodka is being made of potatoes, we have nothing to eat. We won't say anything about our clothes and shoes, but implore you to not to kill us through famine. We hope that the Soviet government will not let us die and will not feed us with bullets instead of bread, as the tsars once fed our parents. We believe that the Soviet government will help and save us from death by starvation.

This appeal is being submitted by pupils Mil'hota, Syrokha, Moskaliuk, Mahdych, Pylypenko, Antonyshyna, Vistiak, and others

## KILLING UKRAINE IN 1932-33



I. Stalin

In 1932, the Soviet government planned to punish Ukraine. Stalin's correspondence with his closest allies in July and August 1932 provides evidence of that plan.

*«Pay as much attention to Ukraine as possible...take all necessary measures... to isolate whining and rotten diplomats and ensure that a truly Bolshevik decision is made».*

From Stalin's letter to Kaganovich and Molotov,  
July 2, 1932

*«Affairs in Ukraine are extremely bad. ...Bad from the standpoint of the GPU. Redens lacks the energy to direct the struggle with the counterrevolution in such a large and unique republic as Ukraine... We can lose Ukraine».*

From Stalin's letter to Kaganovich,  
September 11, 1932

Bolshevik policies in Ukraine were goal-oriented and systematic in nature. The goal was to create conditions that doomed millions of Ukrainian farmers to starvation. The first step was the confiscation of all food resources. The second step was the complete isolation of the population and prevention of escape to

search for food. **In the fall of 1932, the Bolshevik government's actions began to clearly display the essence of what is defined as genocide by Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the U. General Assembly on December 9, 1948.**

### Confiscation of Food Resources

In July 1932, the Kremlin established deliberately unrealistic grain procurement quotas for Ukraine. Grain procurement was the forced requisition of grain from agricultural producers by the state. **The unrealistically high quotas, set at levels that were impossible to achieve, provided the formal legal basis for applying repressive measures against those who failed to fulfill grain procurement targets.**

On August 7, 1932, the Soviet government adopted a resolution whereby «embezzlement of collective farm property» was punish-



Search for grain in the peasant yard,  
Donetsk region, early 1930s



V. Molotov

able by death through shooting or 10-year prison terms. In popular lore the resolution came to be known as the «**Law of Five Wheat Ears**», because people were punished even if they were caught with a few spikelets of wheat taken from a field that once belonged to them.

**In the fall of 1932, an extraordinary governmental Grain Procurement Committee, led by the Chairman of the USSR's Council of Peoples' Commissars Vyacheslav Molotov, arrived in Ukraine.** The flywheel of repressions was set into motion. On November 5, Molotov and Mendel Khatayevich, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine, sent a directive to oblast Party committees demanding that prompt and decisive actions be taken to fulfill the August 7, 1932 resolution that mandated «speedy repressions and merciless punishment of criminal elements among the management of collective farms».

On November 18, 1932, under pressure from Molotov, the Ukrainian Party's Central Committee adopted the Resolution

on «Measures to intensify bread procurement efforts». The Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine adopted an analogous resolution on November 20. The resolutions established **in-kind fines** as measures for confiscating food resources and livestock from farms that had «incurred debts» by failing to meet the unrealistic grain procurement targets. **In December 1932 the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) instructed the Ukrainian leadership to seize all available grain resources, including sowing seeds, from Ukrainian villages within the framework of the grain procurement campaign. This order was duly executed.**

Even as the Ukrainian countryside was dying from famine, the Party leadership clung to the official explanation that Ukrainian farmers were purposefully sabotaging the grain procurement campaign. Politburo member Khatayevich declared that 85 to 90 percent of collective farmers were hiding grain. On January 1, 1933, Stalin sent a telegram to Ukrainian farmers in which he openly threatened to use «the severest measures of punishment» against all farmers who did not voluntarily turn over grain they were allegedly hiding from the state. **The telegram accused Ukrainian farmers of sabotage and authorized mass searches and seizure of remaining food resources.** Stalin's New Year's Day telegram



Activists with confiscated grain,  
Donetsk, 1932

was in fact an ultimatum and, coming in the dead of winter, is proof of the famine's manmade nature. Furthermore it was specifically directed at Ukraine, thus closely resembling Lenin's ultimatum of December 3, 1917 to the Ukrainian Central Council. Lenin gave the independent Ukrainian government only 48 hours to fulfill unacceptable and unrealistic conditions, after which he declared war on Ukraine.

Special units of Party activists – so-called «tow brigades» – traveled through Ukraine's rural areas and confiscated food resources. A reporter for the Radianske Selo newspaper described the actions of one such team in the village of Krasnopillia, then Odesa (currently Kirovohrad) oblast, in a December, 1932 article: «*The team goes from one house to another and takes what it wants from everybody but it is unclear where it all goes. There are incidents when all grain is seized and if somebody does not hand over what is left in their house, they are arrested and all their property is confiscated. If you don't comply, you are beaten. If you refuse entry to your home, the door is broken down. In some cases people actually purchased grain, but the brigade members claim 'they stole it from the collective far.' The team simply takes away cabbages, cucumbers and everything from the cellars.*».

**As a result, the vast majority of Ukraine's residents were doomed to starvation. Death from famine, which took tens of thousand lives every day, lasted until the new crop was harvested.**

*«The death toll has increased recently... In the villages most affected by famine, up to 10 deaths occur every day. In these villages, many of the houses are boarded up; in most houses farmers lie motionless and are no good for any work due to their physical condition...»*

Letter from V. Cherniavsky, first secretary of the Vinnytsia Oblast Committee of the CPU(B), spring 1933

*«The number of villagers who died of famine and were picked up off the streets in Kharkiv has grown significantly. In February, 431 [corpses] were collected, 689 in March and 477 in April; the statistics for May are as follows: 182 in the first ten days, 300 in the second ten days and 510 in the third ten days. In total: 992. The number for the first three days of June is 196.»*

Report from the Head of the Kharkiv Oblast GPU  
Z. Kantelson, June 5, 1933



Starved to death on Kharkiv streets, 1933 (pictured by A. Vinerberger)

# Blacklisting



USSR Sovnarkom resolution, which determined blacklisting

In order to punish farmers, Soviet authorities widely applied a special, extra judicial repressive measure called blacklisting. Entire raions, village councils, villages and collective farms were blacklisted for «failing to meet bread procurement targets». Blacklisting was tantamount to declaring a state of emergency and applying a system of coercive measures in targeted communities.

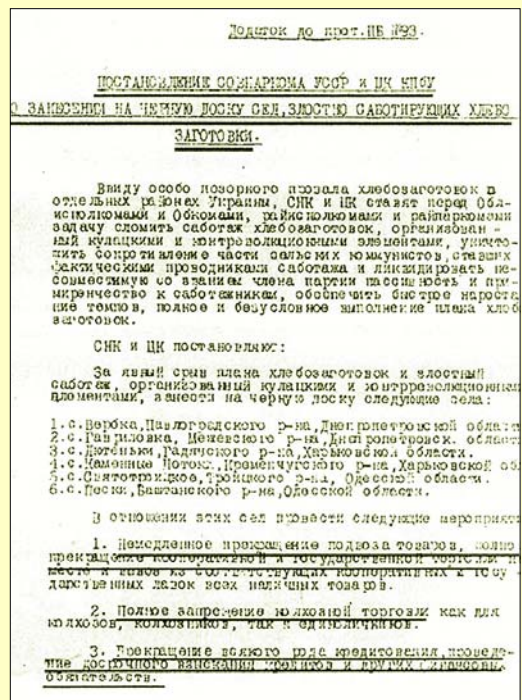
In early November 1932, Kaganovich introduced the blacklisting system in Kuban. Shortly thereafter, the system was duplicated by the extraordinary Grain Procurement Committee in Ukraine. On November 18, 1932, the Politburo of the CP(B)U Central Committee authorized blacklisting those collective farms that had failed to meet bread procurement targets. Repressive measures were introduced against the farms and villages placed on the blacklist: entering and leaving villages was prohibited, delivery and trading of goods was suspended, existing goods were seized from stores and any milling of grain was prohibited. In-kind fines were imposed on farmers. Villages and collective farms were «politically cleansed» of unsavory elements.

On December 6, 1932, the Politburo of the CP(B)U's Central Committee, together with the Ukrainian Republic Council of Peoples' Commissars, demonstratively blacklisted six large villages: Verbky, Pavlohrad raion and

Havrylivka, Mezhyv raion in Dnipropetrovsk oblast; Liutenky, Hadyach raion and Kamiani Potoky, Kremenchuk raion in Kharkiv oblast; Sviatotroyitske, Troyitsk raion and Pisky, Bashtan raion in Odesa oblast.

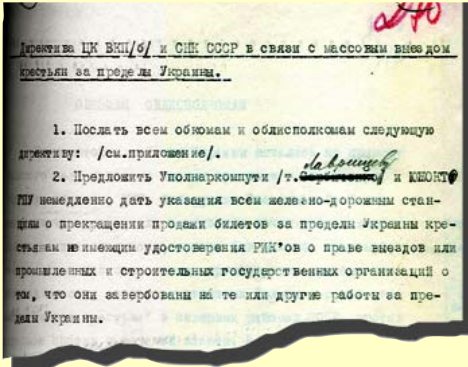
On December 8, 1932, the General Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Stanislaw Kosior reported to Stalin that the republic's Party had authorized the blacklisting of 6 villages and that 400 collective farms had been blacklisted by decision of oblast executive committees. Widespread application of the repressive measures lasted throughout December 1932 and into 1933. Certain villages remained blacklisted until the end of 1933. The practice of blacklisting was also applied to entire village councils that encompassed several villages and hamlets. In some cases, entire raions were placed on the blacklist.

Blacklisting collective farms, villages and entire raions resulted in their complete isolation and expropriation of all food resources, which was **often the equivalent of death sentences for all their residents.**



USSR Sovnarkom and Central Committee of CP(B)U resolution about blacklisting of villages

## Isolation of Soviet Ukraine and Kuban



Central Committee of CP(B)U and USSR Sovnarkom directive about prohibition to leave Ukraine



Peasants leaving villages in order to find food, Kharkiv region, 1933 (pictured by A. Vinerberger)

Famine was observed in Ukraine in 1931 and was evident in early 1932, but the victims did not number in the millions. People managed to survive in 1931 and early 1932 because they fled the areas engulfed by famine. For example, in spring 1932, nearly one third of the population of the Zinoviev raion, or 28,000 people, fled their homes. Current estimates based on historical records indicate that there were 3 million refugees by the spring of 1932. In June 1932, Stalin discontentedly wrote Kaganovich about the tens of thousand

of Ukrainian farmers reported to be traveling across the European part of the USSR and demoralizing other collective farmers with their stories about the state of affairs in Ukraine.

The situation changed dramatically in 1933 when the government adopted measures to limit the movement of Ukrainians. On January 22, 1933, Stalin issued an order that prohibited farmers from leaving the territory of Soviet Ukraine and Kuban «in search of bread» to other areas of the Soviet Union. The sale of train and boat tickets to Ukrainian farmers was prohibited. GPU units blocked the roadways. Those who managed to flee were arrested and returned. In the month and a half after the order was issued, **nearly 220,000 farmers** were arrested. Of that number, **more than 186,000** were forcibly returned to their villages where they were doomed to starvation.

Later that year, roadways into Ukraine's cities were blocked and patrolled to ensure starving villagers were kept out.

### Essentially all of Ukraine was blacklisted.



Peasants in order to find food, Donetsk region, 1933

## Information Ban

Soviet authorities criminally covered-up the facts of the famine. Not a single official reference to this terrible tragedy was recorded. Officially, no famine existed. The USSR's leadership purposefully misinformed the international community. In January 1933, the USSR People's Commissar (Minister) of Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov issued a statement denying famine in the country.

The Soviet regime refused offers of assistance from abroad.

**Stalin's regime attempted to conceal the facts of the Holodomor not only from the outside world but from future generations of Soviet citizens as well.**

On February 1933, when thousands of farmers were starving, local governmental bodies received a strict order: *«All organizations, except GPU structures, are prohibited from keeping records on incidents of swelling from starvation and death from famine».*

Village councils were ordered to not specify causes of death in their registries. A



Peasant starving to death on the outskirts of Kharkiv, 1933 (pictured by A. Vinerberger)

new order was issued in 1934: all civilian registry office death records for 1932-1933 were to be submitted to special units, where most of them were destroyed.

When the 1937 Census showed a significant population drop, the leaders of the Central Statistics Department were arrested. The census results were kept secret for many years. The ban on information about the famine remained in effect in the Soviet Union until 1987.

**The government's efforts to conceal evidence about the famine reveal the criminal intent of Stalin's totalitarian regime in organizing the Holodomor.**

*«One of my works that mentioned the famine of 1933 was taken by censors from the publishing house. It has been on the shelf for a long time. Finally, someone decided to inquire about its progress. The censor-wise man provided the following explanation: 'My own brother and sister starved to death. But... there was no famine' Why? Because no document from that period of time mentions the word 'famine...' In other words, for us, [famine] did not exist, because no such fact was ever recorded...»*

From writer Oles Honchar's diary.

## The Guilty Party

Responsibility for the death of millions of Ukrainians during the manmade Holodomor rests entirely with the top leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR and Soviet Ukraine. Stalin was responsible above all: he was fully informed about the situation in Ukraine in 1932-33 and sent Molotov and Postyshev to strengthen the repressive machinery in the republic. In addition to extracting all food resources, Postyshev was charged with

«cleansing» Ukraine of supporters of Symon Petliura and «Ukrainian nationalists». The scale of judicial repressions applied in Ukraine in 1933 was comparable to the Great Terror of 1937-38. According to official data, more people were arrested in the republic in 1933 than were in 1938. For this reason Postyshev was able to report in January 1934: «the past year in Ukraine was the year of defeating the nationalist counterrevolution».



O. Mykolaets, *Millions of Ukrainian peasants, our forefathers, died of Holodomor, which was created by communists*

## EYEWITNESS TESTIMONIES



*«The famine was artificial by nature. In our village 500 people died, and 750 people died in the neighboring village. We ate pig-weed, reeds; the cattle died – we ate them too. My father was the head of the village council and he ordered the distribution of a glass of buckwheat for every person. My father gave out buckwheat and he was arrested the following day. My father survived, but my mother died in the famine».*

Viktor Petrovych Mikholevsky, Lytvynivka village, Zhashkiv raion, Cherkasy oblast



*«My mother died from famine in 1933, she fell down on the roadside and died... so did my brother, who was still in his crib... We ate nettle, linden, chaff... People were buried without coffins. I saw dead people lying on the roadside. When our mother died, my younger sister was three, and my elder sister was seven... Many people died».*

Maria Yosypivna Kucha, Zhytynyky village, Zhashkiv raion, Cherkasy oblast

*«They wanted to strangle Ukraine. The year 1933 was so terrible. People fell down on the*

*go. They approached their homes, poor as they were, and saw their grain being raked away. What kind of kurkuls were they? They owned some land, had a horse, worked for themselves, but the government ordered their grain raked away. During the famine, some fled, some hid, some survived and some buried their grain – everything happened. It was all done by the government».*

Zinayida Ivanivna Irmolenko, born 1925, Pokrovske village, Troyitsk raion, Luhansk oblast



*«In 1933, my mother, father, sister and three younger brothers died, each was buried separately. When my last brother died, he was taken away and thrown into a pit like a beet. People died in every house. In our house seven people died. I was the only one to survive. I ate and survived. God kept me alive... In our village only three girls and two boys survived. People died en masse».*

Maria Oksentiyivna Sukhomlyn, born 1922, Liudvynivka village, Makariv raion, Kyiv oblast

*«In 1932-33 my family and I lived in Kherson. I remember well the very long queues for bread near the stores. Every person received 200 grams of unbaked black bread with peelings. People began lining up at night with children in their hands. Children had large, swollen stomachs. I saw dead children and swollen mothers. Our family lived on the outskirts, not far from the town's garbage dump. Cars drove up at night*

and dumped cookies, halva, sweets, and herring – from barrels. Bread was thrown away. All this was covered with insecticide and gasoline and set on fire or covered with sand. We were hungry. My mother and I ran to the dump and grabbed everything we could. They beat us with wicker and sticks. Kherson is a port city and we saw grain being loaded onto ships bound for Turkey. There were times when storms crashed the barges against the shore and the wind and waves washed the grain ashore. They poured gasoline and set it on fire. Sometimes the piles of grain were one meter high, and the shore was on fire with grain».

Yevdokia Mykhailivna Poteraiko, born 1920



«My uncle had a small cross, so did my aunt, so they went to Kyiv to the Torgsin store. I had a cow that was not taken away from us because I was an orphan. That is how we survived... A wagon moved through the village, he was lying down and said: 'Don't take me in the wagon, I'm still alive.'... They threw him into the pit, saying: 'You'll die tomorrow.' It was agony, yet they took the grain away. Very many people died!»

Halyna Hryhorivna Kovtun, born 1918,  
Pishchane village, Zolotonosha raion,  
Cherkasy oblast

«The livestock burial grounds also saved our family. A horse died of starvation in the collective farm, my father noticed when it was dumped in the pit, and that night he and my brothers snuck up to the pit, chopped off the dead horse's leg and brought it home. My mother soaked it in water for two-to-three days so it would not smell, and only then was it

cooked and eaten. However, even horse-flesh did not help: my youngest sisters Hanna, Liuba and Nata were the first to die, then my brother Mykhailo died, and then my mother died. We were the only survivors: my elder brother Petro, my father and I. They tried to force my father to join the collective farm, to make him join the commission that took away the last grain from people. He did not want to. So, he was arrested and put in a shed. There he died of dropsy. My brother and I were left alone. We would have probably died as well, but we were taken to a home for children».

Halyna Ivanivna Tkachenko, born 1925,  
Rvenky village, Piatykhatsky raion,  
Dnipropetrovsk oblast



«They severely tormented ordinary people. They took everything: horses, harrows, ploughs, wagons; barns were dismantled. During the famine years of 1932-33, commissioner Isayev arrived; his job was to take away as much as possible from people and ship it out. He said that the country was poor. Whoever does not cooperate will remember the Soviet government for one hundred years, even in their coffins».

Vira Mytrofanivna Konovol, born 1918,  
Hnivan, Tyvriv raion, Vinnytsia oblast

«Those activists took away everything, drinking away and eating all they had seized. They took away cattle, hens, roosters, various tools. They also took away good clothes, which they wore themselves. They took away valuables, mostly from those kurkuls, because the poor had nothing. People were put in jail for a handful of grain, for wheatears cut in

the field, so people called that decree the «law of five wheat ears». This was not allowed and people were persecuted for this. I remember that some corn was not harvested and it was ploughed back into the earth instead of being given to people. Remembering this today makes me scared. People were killed for a glass of grain, tortured, imprisoned for several ears... People did help each other. Sometimes, people who were suffering extremely would find a jar with stewed fruit or grass pancakes or something else on their doorstep. Kind people helped. They tried to do so at night. If someone saw and reported it, these people were immediately sent to jail».

Maria Fedorivna Bila, born 1927, Velyka Oleksandrivka, Kherson oblast



«The activists took away flour and meal. If they found anything in pots, they poured it out. They took away clothes and cattle. There was no place to hide anything. They came with probing rods. They're names were Tymish Kariuk, Khvedko Kurdakh and Lev Liovandovsky. They went upstairs to search for anything».

Olha Vyktorivna Tsymbaliuk, born 1917, Velyka Berezna village, Polonne raion, Khmelnytsky oblast

«There were five girls and two boys in our family. What little grain we had, father hid in the cattle-shed for sowing. But then the brigades started going from house to house. Our turn came. The brigade broke into our house and told father: 'If there is any hidden bread, you'd better tell us, because if we find it, we'll take away everything to the last kernel.' Our family was

large, we were crying, begging them. My father answered that there was some barley for sowing. When my father showed the pit in the cattle-shed with some barley and the wheat in the attic, they took away everything and swept the attic with a broom. Famine began. We searched the woods for some berries, but there were more people than berries. There was nothing. Even grass was torn up. What can be said? People were dying every day. Our family was large. So, we started going separate ways. Our relatives took my elder sister to a mine. My mother took away my younger sister Varia and left her near a children's home in the city of Izium. Later, I was also taken to my sister in Donbas. My sister Paraska died at home, and Dmytro, born in 1912, walked away somewhere, and I do not know where he is to date. Regarding my mother and father, they starved to death at home».

Kateryna Stepanivna Pavlenko, born 1920, Chystovodivka, Izium raion, Kharkiv oblast



«I remember the terrible famine of 1932-33 well. Komsomol members, both women and men, went from one house to another. They've already died. They searched for anything, even in the oven and pots. We were thrown out of our house, so my mother and I went to another house and settled there. My father ran away to Donbas, and it was not until the famine ended that he took us there. My aunt would bake bread from beets, grate the beets and add some flour. They found it somewhere. She would always treat me, share food with us».

Maria Trokhymivna Bulba, born 1913, Hanzhalivka village, Lysianka raion, Cherkasy oblast

## Conclusions

The Soviet campaign of modernization of the 1920s and 30s, called «the great turning point» in the USSR for decades, was in fact a series of terrible crimes which international law clearly defines as crimes against humanity. The crimes included persecution of the free-thinking intelligentsia, prosecution of anyone deemed to be involved in anti-Soviet activities, forced liquidation of private property and its owners, repressions along religious lines and the separation of children from their families.

In the long list of Soviet crimes, the Holodomor of 1932-33 stands out as the most grave and horrific crime committed in the seventy years the USSR existed. The famine was manmade and led to the deaths of millions of Ukrainians. Responsibility for the crime rests entirely with the top leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR and Soviet Ukraine. Stalin was responsible above all. Moral responsibility for the Holodomor also rests with subsequent generations of Soviet leaders who came after Stalin and covered-up the crime.

The fact that the Holodomor of 1932-33 occurred and took millions of lives was officially denied in the USSR until the late 1980s. The truth, however, could not be suppressed forever. Holodomor survivors and their children preserved the memory about the cataclysm to convey the truth to future generations.

During the Thaw of 1960s, the issue of the famine began to first poke through censorship bans and was prominently featured in the publications and statements made by dissidents including Yevhen Sverstiuk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykola Rudenko, and others. A tremendous contribution to preserving the truth about the Holodomor was made by the Ukrainian Diaspora. It was in the West that the first academic publications about the Holodomor saw the light of day. In 1983, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Holodomor, hundreds of events worldwide, including memorial services, academic lectures, workshops and rallies, told the international community about the great tragedy of the Ukrainian people. The Diaspora initi-

ated the creation of a special US Congressional Commission for Studying the Famine of 1932-33. The commission, led by the late Prof. James Mace, worked for many years, gathering and analyzing volumes of evidence. It concluded that the famine was not caused by climatic conditions or sabotage on the part of kurkuls but was the result of deliberate policies drawn up and implemented by Stalin and his closest entourage.

The commission recognized the famine as an act of genocide against Ukraine, both as a state and as a nation. The commission's report was presented to the US Congress in spring 1988, the same time the policies of perestroika and glasnost were in effect in the USSR. After decades of denial, Soviet ideologists and apologists had to admit to the facts of the famine and began opening up Soviet records for examination. The revelation of the truth about the Holodomor gained momentum in Ukraine after independence was gained in 1991. Since then, Ukrainian historians have produced thousands of works on the topic of the Holodomor. Along with historical studies, campaigns have been launched to honor the memories of those who died, to compile lists of victims and to collect eyewitness testimonies from those fortunate enough to have survived. All of these efforts have resulted in the official recognition of the Holodomor as an act of genocide by scores of countries and international organizations.

In 2006, on President Viktor Yushchenko's initiative, Ukraine's Parliament passed the «Law on the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine», which recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. Every Ukrainian citizen should know about the scale of the tragedy that saw millions of our countrymen die like martyrs in their own prosperous land and resulted in thousands of villages and small towns being wiped off Ukraine's map. And this knowledge must be passed on to children and grandchildren, in honor of the memory of those who died and to ensure that such an evil will **NEVER** occur again.

# LAW OF UKRAINE

## on the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine\*

### **The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine resolves:**

In honor of the memory of millions of countrymen who fell victim to the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine and consequences thereof;

In respect towards all citizens who survived this terrible historical tragedy of the Ukrainian people;

In recognition of the moral obligation to past and future generations of Ukrainians and to acknowledge the need to restore historical justice and to strengthen intolerance to all forms of violence in society;

In acknowledgment that the tragedy of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine was officially denied by the Government of the USSR for many decades;

In condemnation of the criminal actions of the totalitarian regime of the USSR aimed at organizing the Holodomor, which resulted in the death of millions of people, the destruction of social values of the Ukrainian people, its age-old traditions, spiritual culture and ethnic identity;

In sympathy with the other peoples of the former USSR who suffered casualties as a result of the Holodomor;

In great appreciation of the solidarity and support on the part of the international community in condemning the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, as set forth in the relevant acts passed by the parliaments of Australia, the Republic of Argentina, the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Italy, Canada, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Poland, the United States of America, the Republic of Hungary, as well as in the Joint Statement on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Holodomor – the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine published as an official document by the 58th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organi-

zation, that was signed by the Republic of Argentina, the Republic of Azerbaijan, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Benin, the Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Republic of Guatemala, the Republic of Georgia, the Arabian Republic of Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Republic of Kazakhstan, Canada, Qatar, the Kyrgyz Republic, Kuwait, Republic of Macedonia, Mongolia, the Republic of Nauru, the Kingdom of Nepal, the United Arab Emirates, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Republic of Peru, the South African Republic, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United States of America, the Republic of Sudan, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, the Republic of Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Jamaica, and also supported by Australia, Israel, the Republic of Serbia & Montenegro and the 25 member-states of the European Union;

In consideration of the Recommendations of the Parliamentary Hearing on Honoring the Memory of the Victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, adopted by Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 607-IV dated March 6, 2003, and the Address to the Ukrainian People of the Participants of the Special Session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of May 14, 2003 on Honoring the Memory of the Victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, adopted by Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 789-V dated May 15, 2003, which recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide of the Ukrainian people resulting from the deliberate actions of Stalin's totalitarian repressive regime aimed at mass destruction of part of the Ukrainian people and of other peoples of the former USSR;

In recognition that the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine corresponds to the

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\* The English version is a courtesy translation made by Stepan Bandera

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide dated December 9, 1948 as a purposeful act of mass destruction of people, to adopt this Law.

**Article 1.** The Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine is genocide of the Ukrainian people.

**Article 2.** The denial of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine in public shall be qualified as a violation of the memory of millions of victims of the Holodomor and humiliation of the dignity of the Ukrainian people, and shall be illegal.

**Article 3.** Government bodies and bodies of local government, in accordance with their powers, shall:

- participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy in the area of reviving and preserving the national memory of the Ukrainian People;

- contribute to the consolidation and development of the Ukrainian Nation, its historical awareness and culture, to the dissemination of information about the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine among Ukrainian nationals and the global community; ensure the studying of the Holodomor tragedy in educational institutions of Ukraine;

- implement measures to perpetuate the memory of the victims of and those who suffered from the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, including to build memorials and to establish memorial signs in settlements in order to commemorate the victims of the Holodomor;

- according to the established procedure, provide access to archival and other materials on issues related to the Holodomor for scientific and community organizations and institutions, scientists, and specific individuals who study the problems of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine and its consequences. .

**Article 4.** The state shall ensure the conditions for carrying out studies and organiz-

ing events to perpetuate the memory of the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine on the basis of the relevant national program. The funds for the implementation of the above-mentioned program shall be annually allocated in the State Budget of Ukraine.

**Article 5.** Final Provisions

1. This Law shall be effective on the date of its publication.

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall:

1) determine the status and functions of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory and ensure that it is maintained at the State Budget's expense as a specially-authorized central body of the executive branch of government in the sphere of restoring and preserving the memory of the Ukrainian people;

2) within a period of three months upon enactment of this Law:

submit suggestions with regard to bringing the legislative acts of Ukraine into line with this Law to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for consideration;

bring its own regulatory and legal acts into line with this Law; ensure that the bodies of the executive branch of government revise and repeal to the regulatory and legal acts, adopted by them, which do not comply with this Law;

3) resolve the issue of building the Memorial to the Victims of Holodomors in Ukraine in Kyiv on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine in accordance with established procedure with the participation of the Kyiv City State Administration.

President of Ukraine  
Viktor Yushchenko

November 28, 2006

No. 376-V

