

WHITE BOOK

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**Printed for the
Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist
Terror**

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THE BLACK DEEDS OF THE KREMLIN

A *WHITE BOOK*

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BOOK OF TESTIMONIES

UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION OF VICTIMS OF
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST TERROR

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PREFACE

The present white book on the black deeds of the Kremlin differs from ordinary white books in that it is not an official government publication. Although Ukraine has not one but two governments, one of them, the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic is in exile and is not recognized by other states, while the other government, that of the Ukrainian S.S.R., is a puppet of Moscow, acting against the interests of the Ukrainian people.

Therefore, in their own defense, the people themselves had to write this book. The first volume of this white book is published by the Ukrainian people, or rather by those Ukrainians who, during the Second World War, were fortunate enough to escape from the gloomy realm of the Kremlin tyrants and who are now living in a free world.

Only a few of the one hundred contributors to the present volume are writers by profession. Almost ninety per cent of the testimonies were written by those who never in their lives had anything published. They were or are peasants, farm laborers, workers, or clerks. Now in a free country, they relate their stories of life under the Soviet regime truthfully and simply. They wrote their testimonies so that the world might learn not only about their past experiences, but also about the similar fate meted out to thousands of their fellow countrymen who had remained in the U.S.S.R. They wrote it in order to warn others, farmers and workers like themselves, not to be misled by communist propaganda.

The authors contributing to this book have also provided the funds for its publication. Now working in Canadian industry, fanning, and forestry, they have made generous gifts from their own savings in order to make the appearance of this book possible. A list of all those donating \$100 and more is given in the appendix.

It is little wonder that the book itself is motley and

uneven. The editor's aim has been to preserve as much as possible the original ideas and expressions of the contributors.

The sponsors of this book encountered many obstacles in the path leading to publication, but these were overcome by the generous support given by good Ukrainian and Canadian patriots. In particular our thanks are due to Mr. Stephen Pawluk, President of the Ukrainian Branch, Canadian Legion in Toronto, for his unstinted encouragement of our project and his aid in the fund raising drive. We are also greatly indebted to Professor G. W. Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan who kindly consented to write the introduction.

To all organizations and individuals who have helped in the publication of the first volume of the white book I wish, on behalf of the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, to express our sincere gratitude.

S. O. Pidhayny

INTRODUCTION

This book has been written for the use of all those who are seriously interested in the present state of world affairs and who are deeply concerned in re-establishing conditions of approximate justice and stability. It is a collection of narratives by Ukrainians relating their own experiences under the Communist regime. Some of the narrators are men of education and training. Some are humble folk who tell in their own way what they themselves saw and experienced. Most of the stories are related with emotional intensity which only people who have passed through similar experiences can fully appreciate. The people speak for themselves, since they have been fortunate enough to survive and escape to lands where freedom of speech is possible. They speak also for the silent, who will never have the opportunity to voice the agony of mind and body which they are enduring. They speak as well for the dead, those uncounted millions, who were bruised, crushed and annihilated that a revolutionary theory prevail and that a system of domination should be established.

This is not the first such book to appear. Indeed there has been a number of similar accounts already published, told by victims of Soviet oppression. Why should there be another book to compete for the time of busy people who are trying to work out practical solutions to immediate pressing problems? The answer to this question is three-fold.

The first answer lies in the fact that the people who write this book feel a burning obligation to insist that the Western World should realize that what seems so remote and fantastic to the inhabitants of that world has actually happened in the Soviet Union and is still happening. They are shocked by the unawareness which still seems to prevail in spite of previous accounts.

The second answer lies in the deep conviction which they share that the particular Ukrainian aspect of Soviet oppression

has been deliberately minimized or overlooked. The Ukrainians were the first non-Russian people to feel the terror and oppression directed from Moscow. That persecution has never ceased.

The third answer to the question lies in the hope of the writers that they can in some way contribute to the liberation of their beloved Ukraine. How this can be brought about, or what form it should take, are aspects of the exceedingly complex problems of high politics and diplomacy which they themselves cannot know or manage. But they state what they do know. They do not expect impossible crusades or heroic gestures which complicate still further rather than solve. But they do expect that a living, suffering, dynamic people, reflected in their narratives, should not be forgotten by those who think in terms of abstract principles and systems, or by those excessively prudent folk who seek to gain ultimate stability by sacrificing basic principles of humanity and justice.

Thus it will be well worth-while for busy and practical people to re-vivify their memory by reading this direct, human documentation of Soviet horror and persecution.

University of Saskatchewan

Geo. W. SIMPSON.

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Transliteration of Ukrainian used in this book:

a — a	л — l
б — b	м — m
в — v (before vowels) and w (after vowels at the end of syllable or word)	н — n о — o п — p р — r
р — h	с — s
г — g	т — t
д — d	у — u
е — e	ф — f
є — ye	х — kh
ж — zh*	ц — ts
з — z **	ч — ch*
и — y	ш — sh*
й — y (before vowels) and i (after vowels) **	я — shch ю — yu
і — i	я — ya
ї — yi	ь — not transliterated
к — k	

*) Doubling of these consonants in endings “-жжя”,
“-шша”, “-ччя” is omitted.

**) Surname endings “-вич”, “-ий” are written “-vich”,
“-y”, and all words ending in “-ий” with “-iy”.

Apostrophe is used only to indicate that two adjoining letters should be pronounced separately, e.g. Roz'hin should be read Roz-hin (pronounced nearly Rose-heen) and not Kozh-in.

“Київ”, “Одеса” are written “Kiev”, “Odessa”. All other place names in Ukraine follow the above rules with their Russian equivalents which are spelled differently given in the index.

Russian names are written in accordance with the rules for the transliteration of Russian. The spelling of Russian place names is that used on the maps published by the National Geographic Society in Washington, U.S.A.

**CHAPTER
III.
COEEECTIVIZATION, LIQUIDATION OF
KURKUE CLASS AND FAMINE**

Y. Maslivets



COLLECTIVIZATION AND "KURKUL" LIQUIDATION

The Communist Party Convention's resolution to collectivize all individual small farms received very wide publicity in the Soviet press in December, 1929. In the wake of this convention one hundred thousand active communists from industrial centres in Russia were mobilized and sent to the villages in Ukraine. The villages soon became the target of large detachments of militia and GPU. The local communists were ordered to remain at their posts and acted there as guards together with the Komsomol.

Being employed at that time in the land division of the local administration, I was also called upon to assist and was sent to the village of Birký in the Zinkiw county of the Poltava region.

The village had about 300 individual farmers and close to 6,000 inhabitants. Four collective farms were supposed to be organized there which at first were called "Societies for Common Land Cultivation" and later "Village Farming Co-

operatives". The mobilized promoters of collectivization were divided into four groups which had common headquarters. The leader of the group in which I was engaged was F. Kramarenko, district judge from the town of Zinkiw, a communist, 55 years of age. (He was later, in 1937, arrested and exiled to Kolyma).

The first step taken was a meeting of all farmers in the village soviet building, at which the secretary of the county party executive Udovychenko informed everyone that the Central Communist Party Committee and the government in Moscow had given orders that all enemies of collectivization should be deprived of their citizenship rights, their properties confiscated and handed over to the collectives as a basis for collectivization. Going into details there were 64 such farmers found in the village of Birký who became the first victims of this "voluntary" collectivization. The chairman of the village soviet, the local communist Semen Velychko, read the list of these farmers. They were: Mykyta Gontar, Avram Korobka, Hnat Lewchenko, Mytrofan Minyailo, Mykhaylo Mykytenko, Levko Polakiw, Trokhym Savisko, Andron Storozhenko, Roman Yablunowsky, and many others. The actual "dekurkulizing" action was entrusted to a special brigade composed of the local dregs of humanity, such as idlers, gamblers, criminals and other unsavoury characters, who became a bulwark of the Soviet regime in the villages.

Thus by the end of December all those destined to be dekurkulized were driven out of their homes with the exception of Roman Yablunowsky who had six small children, and for whom I interceded before the leader, Kramarenko, asking that he be allowed to remain in his home through the winter months.

At the time when these so-called "kukkul families", driven out of their homes in winter, were roaming the outlying parts of the village looking for shelter, a meeting at which attendance was compulsory was called to announce to the villagers the party and Kremlin government decision to dekurkulize an additional 20 farmers. The assembled farmers were also told that dekurkulizing of the 64 farmers on the first list had been completed and threatened that, in case of continued resistance to collectivization, the village soviet and the party committee would be forced to resort to further dekurkulizing action.

The prisons were filled with farmers who had failed to

attend meetings or had criticized the collective system of farming. There they were shown "to be in error" and, when released, most of them joined the collectives.

Besides these measures those unwilling to join the collectives were forced to do so by taxes in produce and money imposed on them. This was the so-called "plan do dvoru" (individual farmer plan). The deadline for paying such a tax was 24 hours after receiving the order, but very often the order was delivered only a few hours before the deadline, and sometimes not at all. When the time of payment passed and the tax had not been paid, the property was sold to the village soviet (in the absence of the owner) at assessment prices in the village records. These properties were sold at ridiculous prices of 50 to 200 rubles each, when the taxes imposed according to the "individual farmer plan" amounted to 5,000 rubles in money alone. Besides this the sales were held at night and the farms were sold to the communist leaders or their henchmen who later resold them at high prices of 2,000 rubles or higher.

By the end of March, 1930, 75% of the village of Birký was collectivized, the management organized and the work begun. Thus, the bulk of the Ukrainian farmers was forced to join collective farms by means of terror and blackmail.

In spite of strong militia and GPU troop detachments in the Ukrainian villages at the time the farmers did not limit themselves to passive resistance, but met force with force and lawlessness with lawlessness. In January, 1930, the GPU chief was attacked and severely wounded close to Birký. Burning of collective farms was also resorted to. In March all the buildings of the collective, "New Way", burned to the ground and 47 horses, cows, sheep and pigs were lost. Houses of dispossessed "kurkuls" which became the property of the communist leaders, shared the same fate. F. Mykytenko, a communist leader from Birký, was attacked and badly mauled.

One Sunday at the beginning of March, a meeting of all the villagers was held in the yard of the village office in Rirký. The representative of the county authorities was addressing the crowd when some one whispered from behind the crowd, "They are being taken away". Everyone turned away from the speaker to watch two armed men convoying Roman Yablunowsky's family, dispossessed and expelled, from their homes. The mother had a baby in her arms and two children, a little bigger, were holding on to her dress. The

father led two children by the hand, and the eldest girl, behind, carried a bundle of clothing. The crowd of farmers, seeing this, could not restrain itself from weeping which, growing in intensity, turned into a loud sobbing.

The farmers expected that the expulsion of the kurkuls from their homes would spell the end of the punishment meted out to them because, after all, they were innocent. There were still in Birký, about **400** homeless persons from babies to old people, 85 years of age, to remind everyone of the heinous crime of the Kremlin rulers.

The people were wrong. On March 14, during a heavy snowfall, an order was posted on the building of the village soviet forbidding anyone to give shelter and comfort to the kurkuls. Armed bands, militia and GPU, scattered all over the village began to expel the dekulakized from their improvised dwellings and to take them to a gathering point. Small children and old people, unable to walk, were put on wagons. Then a column was formed which moved sadly out of Birký in the direction of the village of Sorochyntsi. There, about three miles from Birký, close to the forest, were great ravines formed by the action of water in bygone ages, called Redkovi Pechery (Radish's Caves). These caves received the first victims of collectivization, who were forbidden to return to the village. There were about three hundred persons in the group, including **36** children and **20** old people. The ground was still thickly covered with snow, and it was cold. It would be hard to describe the despair of the cave dwellers. But when evening twilight enveloped the tragedy of these people, shadows began to appear here and there who, hiding from each other, were surreptitiously trying to locate the new tenants in the ravines. They were afraid of stumbling on the GPU watchmen. Having located the objects of their search, the shadows would give them the things they brought, food, and sympathy that comforted the unfortunate and kept the spark of hope alive.

When the GPU and communist leaders discovered that the villagers were helping the victims, they sent additional GPU policemen who surrounded the "camp" and began a search. This was on Saturday of the same week. All food, consisting of bits of dried bread, corn, millet, flour, beans, potatoes, beets, onions, etc., was confiscated, put on two wagons and hauled away. These products were in small sacks from **5** to **12** pounds in weight. It was, undoubtedly, taken to

"grain collection points" as an additional supply for the insatiable Russian rulers. The gang who carried out this order repeatedly bragged how they had robbed the terrorized people and of the booty they had obtained.

Some of the people in Radish's Caves who had no small children or old people to take care of, sensing that their situation would not improve, ran away from the camp to the industrial centres. It was difficult to get work, but after a long wait they did, as a rule, get some jobs. But even there they were persecuted and, when found out, they were deported to concentration camps in the far North or in Siberia.

On April 18, two hundred human wretches who remained in the ravines were herded together by the police and driven to the railway station of Abazowka where trains were awaiting them. All of them, with tens of thousands of others like them, were loaded into boxcars and, under a strong GPU guard, were shipped to the far North.

Y. Maslivets

WHAT DID UKRAINIAN FARMERS GAIN FROM COLLECTIVE FARMS?

All the farmers who joined the collective* work for a whole year without remuneration and are responsible for carrying out government plans. Accounts with members of the collective are settled on January 1 each year.

All members, men and women alike, have a quota of work to perform each day and are credited with "1" (one day) when they do it. In some cases the credits are expressed in hours, that is, 8 hours a day. When quotas are not completed the credits are correspondingly marked as $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$. When a member habitually fails to complete his quota or do his work properly, he is punished by subtraction from his account of a few days already credited to him.

After harvest and threshing, the grain is hauled to state collection points as "farm product taxes" to the state. This is called, in the official Soviet press and in circulars, a "fulfilling of the first Soviet commandment".

In 1932, in the county of Zinkiw, of Poltava province, these taxes amounted to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre.

In the collectives of the village of Birký in the county of Zinkiw, the assessment was as follows:

	Area in acres	Tax in bushels**"
The collective "Bolshevik"	2,965	20,576

* We use simple form "collective" instead of "collective farm", a translation of the Russian "kolkhoz" or the Ukrainian "kolhosp", as a more convenient term.

** Changed from metric to English measures, basing calculation on the following equivalents: 1 hectare — 2.471 acres, 1 kilogram — 2.2046 pounds. 1 bushel — 60 pounds, as for wheat, though rye, barley and other grains were cultivated to some extent. Fractions are dropped as insignificant.

The collective "New Life"	2,718	17,637
The collective "New Way"	2,418	16,535
The collective "Socialist Way"	2,471	18,739

It must be added here that the above acreage included pasture, gardens, hoe crops and fallow land, which decreased the actual area under grain crops by 10 - 18% of the total.

Besides this basic state grain collection plan, the collective farm had to pay additional farm product taxes: 25% of the total yield to the "M.T.S." (Machine-Tractor Station) and "voluntary sale" to the cooperative, in addition to the state taxes. The government fixed prices were low, and the transaction was voluntary only in name, that is, in reality



Women weeders on a collective farm in the province of Dnipropetrowske.

it was an ill concealed robbery of the farmer, legalized by the administration. The M.T.S. tax was paid only by those collectives which were served by the stations, and consisted of 5.2 bushels per acre to the seed reserve, 2.2 bushels to an insurance fund and 2.2 bushels to the fodder reserve. The grand total of these "taxes" in the collectives in Zinkiw county amounted to 21.14 bushels per acre of all land under cultivation.

An average yield of grain in this district was $19 \frac{1}{3}$ bushels of winter grain and $14\frac{1}{8}$ bushels of spring grain per acre. Not until the state requirements were satisfied was the remainder of the grain divided among the members of the collective according to the number of days of work each had to his credit. But quite often there was no remainder

to divide, and in 1932 the yield was not sufficient to satisfy the taxes and other state requirements. As the members of a collective are responsible for the payment of taxes, they were forced to give to the state small supplies of grain they kept for their own use. The discovery and confiscation of small amounts of grain held by the farmers was entrusted to brigades composed of communists and communist youth (komsomol). In this way, all the grain was taken away from the collectives. Individual farmers were treated even more severely. The taxes imposed on them were 5 to 10 times greater than the amount of grain they harvested that year. This was the infamous "individual farmer plan" which led to the liquidation of all individual farmers who were, in addition, treated as "kukuls" had been in the previous years.

Such were the causes behind the great famine in Ukraine.

Government prices for grain collected from the collectives were as follows:

	Rubles per bushel
Rye, according to quality	1.31 to 1.42
Wheat, according to quality	1.47 to 1.77
Barley, oats, buckwheat, millet	1.10 to 1.50

At the same time, the prices of these grains raised on state farms were 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater though the workers producing them were paid starvation wages.

In addition to produce taxes, the collectives had to pay taxes in money which often were so high that the money received for what was left of the grain was insufficient to pay them.

It is obvious that collectives built on such principles, and with such a system of accounting were a "paying proposition", though they made their members the poorest people in the world.

The general financial records of the collective were kept separately from the accounts of the members, and were often juggled to present a false picture of their welfare. The members were debited for all personal services they received, such as using a team to go to town or to get fuel, going to a doctor or hospital, the plowing of a garden, creamery by-products (skimmed milk, whey, etc.), kindergarten and many others. During the year these things added up to large sums which appeared in the records as part of the income of the collective. When there was any grain left at the

end of the year, it was also divided among members and recorded as income.

Having thus arrived at the total income, **15 - 35%** was kept as a reserve fund for the collective, **10 - 15%** as a cultural fund, **3 - 10%** as a relief fund, and about **10%** for other "funds". In this way about 70% of the income was kept for further development of the collective, and for the state. The remainder was divided by the total of "work days" and each member was credited with a certain sum of money as his yearly wage.

These earnings quite often did not cover the indebtedness of the member for the personal services he received from the collective.

The value of a "work day" in the Zinkiw county collective in **1932** was from **.10** to **1.20** rubles. In order to increase the income of the collectives and the value of a "work day", which was very necessary for propaganda abroad, the collectives were ordered to raise many other seed grains not included in the government price regulations, and to supply these to the members. Following these orders, the collectives began to raise a good deal of sunflower seed, which afterwards sold to the members as sunflower seed oil at 4 to 5 rubles a pound. Pigs were slaughtered, and the meat sold at **3.60** to **6.80** rubles a pound. Prices for the private use of teams, firewood, straw and other things were also raised. Besides this the collectives took subcontracts from government agencies to do lumbering or land drainage, for which they were paid in cash, and credited their members with "work days".

As a result of this, the income of the collectives and the value of a "work day" were increased, but the material conditions of the members did not improve at all. Financial statements showed huge sums as income of the collectives, and the increased value of the "work day". These statements, widely publicized in the Soviet press, were calculated to impress gullible readers abroad. They were handed to some visiting foreigners who, afterwards, would spread propaganda at home about the happy and prosperous life in the Ukrainian collectives. These people did this, perhaps, in good faith, because they did not see the accounts between the members of the collective and the government, showing how many "work days" or "ones" each received, and how much grain they received for their "ones" and how

much went to the government and at what price. How did this price compare with the value of "work days" they had been paid for in money?

So in spite of great sacrifices and resistance, the Ukrainian farmers fell a prey to Russian imperialism, a form of material misery and lawlessness hitherto unknown.

E. M.

COLLECTIVIZATION

Cold twilight, that would soon change into real darkness, covered the village of Velyki Solontsi in the county of Novy Sandzhar, in the Poltava region. The first autumn frosts that came in the wake of heavy rains made the roads very rough. A quiet evening.

Then the stillness is broken by the rattle of wagon wheels over the frozen bumps. It comes nearer, growing in intensity, and a wagon appears, then another, and yet another, a whole line of wagons. They turn to a wide road that leads to the town of Kobelyaky.

At this time, that is the end of November, 1932, I was working in Velyki Solontsi together with my husband, and I knew from my own observation what was happening around us in the village, and in the whole district.

This was the time of collectivization and of attacks on individual farmers. The "centre", that is Moscow, sent to Ukraine 25,000 party "activists" who, upon their arrival, formed commissions and brigades to promote the boon of collectivization. These brigades, formed from the poorest and most bolshevized elements, were sent to the villages with instructions to establish collective farms by convincing farmers that the individual way of farming was part of the bourgeois capitalist system, built on exploitation; that it could not exist in a country which had a Soviet form of government; and that farming in a small way was wasteful, and in a big way it exploited the poorer farmers. Only the nationalized, collective way of farming would bring happiness to all.

The farmers were lectured at "ten-house"^{*} meetings

* Meetings held in every tenth house.

every day till twelve o'clock at night, and sometimes till morning. They sat, listened, asked questions, smoked and dozed in the heavy atmosphere, nodded their heads in agreement that perhaps it would be a better way, but did not want to agree to nationalization of their possessions.

The first step to success in collectivization was made when the land and home of a prosperous farmer, Andriy Sepity, who lived in the very centre of Velyki Solontsi, close to the church, were confiscated. This property formed a basis for the collective farm, which received the name "Granit" (granite). The poorest farmers, that is the landless and those having little land of their own and, of course, all the activists who joined the communist party, flocked to it. The latter believed that a change in farming practices and in the social order would surely bring happiness to the working people.

Out of 500 farmers only 18 - 20 joined up, and even these were reluctant, the next day, to drive their cattle and take their farm implements to the collective.

Sepity was banished to Siberia, his wife and children driven out of their home, and they disappeared. Yet even this harsh measure did not make people join the collective farm. As a last resort, the communists formed a committee of three which prepared a list of "kukuls", enemies of the Soviet government.

This list contained 52 names. I do not remember them all now, and can give only a few. The victims were: Yukhym Chmykhalo; Panas, Yukhym and Petro Dikhtyar; Halushka; Kryven; Polycarp, Petro and Danylo Kybkalo; Vasyl, Hryhoriy and Stepan Pudlo; Vasyl Sepity, brother of the first "kukul", Andriy; Ivan and Petro Spivak.

When all the men on the list had been taken away, the authorities realized that at last they were on the right track, and the families of the obstructionists were taken away at night to escape observation. Women and children were ordered on to wagons, and dumped off on the sandy stretch along Vorsklo river from the village of Shchorbiwka to Kuneva Hill, close to Kobelyaky. Tired and terrified, they were thrown out like garbage, in the hope that they would perish there from cold and hunger.

"All kukul dirt must perish here," said the secretary of the communist party centre, and ordered the teams to return home. "Those that would comfort and help the ene-

mies of the Soviet government shall themselves be regarded as enemies. Let them freeze!"

The poor souls were forbidden to leave the place, and had to remain on that wasteland. In the morning, mothers dug deep holes in the ground, lined them with dry weeds and leaves and made covers out of osier-willow that grew on the river bank. The holes sheltered their children, destined to become a sacrifice on the altar of collectivization. Making fires close to the holes they sat there forlorn, wrapped up in a few rags that they had managed to save from their homes.

But the collectivization was a success. The five collective farms initially planned were slowly being filled with people who chose the lesser evil of the two: to lose everything and do forced labor for "trudoden",* or go to Siberia, be separated from one's family and thus sentence it to inhuman suffering and death.

"Long live collective farming and a happy joyful life!"

* Working day.

D. T.

GRAIN COLLECTION

Another phase of Soviet enterprise, before collectivization, was grain collection. Revolution and reconstruction exhausted grain reserves, and grain collection brigades were formed to go from house to house and buy grain at a very low price set by the government. These brigades were made up of Komsomol members, party members and rural professionals: teachers, doctors and their assistants. But brigades thus made up were too easy on the farmers, not efficient enough in this kind of work, too "soft", and special "shock brigades" were thus organized to do grain collecting in a bolshevik manner.

The free trade in grain was not satisfactory. It could not meet all demands and more and more grain was needed. Besides this, it was planned to make the farmer join a collective farm and he would not do this as long as he had some grain of his own. So "contributions" were invented as a means of robbing the farmer of his surplus, that is, each farm was supposed to supply a certain quantity of grain, potatoes, vegetables, meat, etc.

To be sure, well to do farmers paid more, the poorer less, and activists still less. The contributions had to be delivered at a certain specified time and at "collection points". Now the real tragedies began. There were some farmers who gave all the grain they had, but who were still short of the prescribed quota. Then they bought grain at market prices to satisfy state demands and avoid persecution. But as soon as grain quotas were satisfied, a farmer would get an order to pay more. He could not meet this additional demand and had to sell his property, or be dekulakized, in which case his land and other property was confiscated and

he himself exiled. A great many people were treated in this manner.

Seeing that there was no way to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the authorities, and as a sort of passive resistance to robbery, the people began to conceal their grain. Suitable hiding places were found in gardens, fields, behind false walls, under stoves or in sheds, leaving in the house a small quantity, sufficient only for a few days.

Then the grain collection commission started a house to house search for grain. Special tools were made for this purpose, consisting of long rods with sharp points. These were thrust in suspected places and the grain, if found, was confiscated. As punishment, potatoes and other vegetables were also taken away with the argument "This kurkul has more hidden some place. Let him dig it up and eat it."

Having cleaned out the village, the commission was glad if it "went over the top", that is, collected more than the authorities required. But the people were left without bread and even without potatoes. What could they eat? Cows and pigs were gone to fulfil "meat collection" quotas or were nationalized, grain and potatoes were taken away by the grain collection commission. Those that saved some corn did not go hungry and were satisfied, but others looked starvation in the face.

Then people started to sell their household effects and such clothing as had escaped the keen eyes of the collectors. Embroidered towels, shirts or fur coats were either sold or exchanged for peas, beans, lentils to feed themselves and their children.

Now the "workers government" showed its true colors. "Shock brigades" were organized to squeeze out the last ounce of grain from the people, and the search ordeal was renewed. Perhaps some had taken out grain from concealment or had been lucky enough to buy some. The collectors broke insolently into the houses, especially of those people suspected of being potentially dangerous to the authorities, or not loyal enough, and they searched everywhere, in trunks, stoves, chimneys, shelves, in store rooms, sheds, etc. When anything was discovered they scattered it on the floor and enjoyed the sight of weeping children gathering grains of lentils or beans from the dirt. Little sacks of seed that the women carefully preserved for spring sowing were taken away.

These "shock brigades" committed many cruel robberies, after which they boasted of having no pity for the "kukuls". Especially zealous in this work were Maria Derevyanko, komsomol member Didenko, and midwife Evrosinia Antonowna Pysarenko. Abusing the inmates in the most vicious and indecent terms they would not only pry in every nook and corner, but would pull out from the ovens pots with cooked beans or peas, or conduct a personal search of the farm women looking behind every seam in their clothing. Once I heard this midwife bragging about her heroism and I could not help saying: "Have you no consideration at all for the hungry people and especially the children? Have you no shame before them?" Her answer was: "The Soviet government has no sympathy to waste on its enemies. I, as a Soviet citizen, am obeying its orders." This soulless toady spied, listened and informed. If anyone had a little food she would at once call the brigade to search for it and take it away.

The inevitable result of this government policy was that many people found themselves in tragic circumstances. They ground dried corn cobs without grain, or leaves, or mixed chaff with food. Children busied themselves gathering peels and fruit stones on the rubbish heaps. Then cats, dogs, hedgehogs and carrion were eaten, and nobody gave them any help or sympathy.

But the activists received additional rations for having done food collection over 100 percent.

P. Hlushanytsya



KREMLIN'S CRIMES IN THE VILLAGE OF NOVOSELYTSYA

I was born in the village of Novoselytsya, in the county of Popilnyaka of the Zhytomyr region in Ukraine. I grew up there. The following lines, in which I wish to relate events in my native village should be considered true to the facts, subject only to the usual human weakness: I have forgotten some details.

The first victims of communist persecution in 1928 - 1929 were the following 29 farmers:

1. Pavlo Boyko;
2. Maksym Chub, 5 persons in the family, owner of 16 acres of land;
3. Todos Chub, had 8 acres of land;
4. Oleksa Dmytrenko;
5. Rodion Dmytrenko, family of 5;
6. Trokhym Dmytrenko, 6 persons in the family, had 19 acres of land;
7. Domakha, 3 in the family, 8 acres;

8. Hryhor Dzhus;
9. Ivan Hladun;
10. Motrya Hladun, a widow, thrown out of her house,
11. Todos Hlushanytsya;
12. Ivan Honishewsky, 2 in the family, $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land;
13. Stepan Honishewsky, 6 in the family, 19 acres of land;
14. Dmytro Honishewsky, a family of 7 persons, had $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land;
15. Motrya Hulchan, a widow. Her husband fought in the bolshevik army in Kazan and died for the Soviet cause. The widow was granted building materials for a house in recognition of her husband's services to the state. Her son, Oleksander, helped her to build the house. They had 8 acres of land. All their property was confiscated, and they were thrown out of their home;
16. Ivan Hulkó and his son, Trokhym, were driven out of their home. Ivan was 74 years old and his wife, Anna, 70. Trokhym was 29 and had two small children;
17. Fed Kryvynchuk, 4 persons in the family, 11 acres of land;
18. Anton Matash was serving a term in prison in Bila Tserkva when his wife and two children were driven out of their home. They were barefooted in the snow, but the villagers were forbidden to shelter them. They had 11 acres of land.
19. Vasyl Matash, 8 in the family, the oldest child 17 years of age, 19 acres of land;
20. Omelko Matash thrown out of his house;
21. Yakiw Mykhalchenko;
22. Pavlo Nahorniyak, 5 persons in the family, $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land;
23. Obozuchka;
24. Mykhailo Palamarchuk;
25. Andriy Ryndych, 6 persons in the family, 11 acres of land;
26. Yakiw Ryndych, 70 years old, had only $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land but was thrown out of his house with his wife, and both died in a ditch. The people were afraid to give them shelter and disobey orders of the party and the government;
27. Musiy Sydorchuk and his son, Ivan were exiled. They had $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land;

28. Hryhor Vyruk was sent to concentration camps with all his family. He had 4 children, the oldest 14 years old, and 12 acres of land;
29. Anton Yalovitsky was driven out of his house in winter-time and arrested. He escaped from prison at Ivano-Voznesensk. He had 9½ acres of land.

Having small farms, none of these 29 farmers were "kulaks" that is "exploiters of the working class", but all of them perished from exposure, in prisons or in exile.

A new wave of terror, gripped the village in 1932. The new regulation issued August 7, 1932, called for summary execution of persons committing the "crime" of gleaning. This "law" and grain collection took additional toll of human lives.

Anna Berezowska, a widow, was sentenced to a prison term with hard labor. She was detained in the jail in Bila Tserkva.

Opanas Berezowsky was arrested and executed when 25 pounds of wheat were found in his possession. This grain was gleaned in the fields by his ten year old daughter, Ans-tice, but this did not make any difference. He left a widow with three children.

Kost Berezowsky was expelled from his house in winter-time. He had three small children, the eldest only 8 years of age. They found shelter in a cave.

Levko Berezowsky was arrested and sentenced to a ten year term in prison because the search revealed 44 pounds of wheat ears in his house. These ears were gleaned in the field by his mother, when the grain was already stooked. He left his wife with three children, his mother and a sister.

Petro Hlushanytsya died in prison.

Oleksander Khalchenko also had about 40 pounds o' gleaned wheat ears in his possession, but he escaped before his arrest to the Murmansk region, and did not fall into the hands of the NKVD. He was sentenced in absentia to a ten year term.

Todos Matash was sentenced to a ten year term, and sent to build the White Sea — Baltic Canal where he died. His crime: 44 pounds of wheat ears gleaned by his sister-in-law, Kylyna. She begged and protested that it was her wheat but this fact was ignored.

Yakiw Mykhachenko drew a two year term in jail.

Mykhailo Palarmarchuk, sentenced to a two year term,

was serving it in the Bila Tserkva prison. When released he died from hunger on the way home.

Lukash Syrenko was hobbled in irons and led, barefoot in wintertime, at 22 degrees below zero to a hole in the ice where his body was repeatedly dunked in the water. He was asked to reveal where he had buried his grain. This method of questioning was devised by members of the grain collection brigade, consisting of party members sent from Moscow, Kovbasa and Tarakhonov, chairman of the village soviet Zadorozhny, head of the collective farm Fedir Mykhalchenko, Hryhor Khidchenko, Malashov (a Russian) and Falbushenko.

The following were exiled, but survived and came back: Prokip Dmytrenko, Stepan Honynuk, Ivan Khiktotashka, Maksym Matash and Metodiy Nahorniyak.

The toll taken by the White Sea — Baltic Canal construction at this time was as follows:

Terentiy Boyko — died,
Oleksa Dmytrenko,
Danylo Dmytrenko — died,
Tykhon Hlushanytsya — returned,
Hnat Holyshevsky — died,
Stepan Holyshevsky — died,
Trokhym Horpinevich — died,
Hryhor Kozyk — died,
Ivan Kozyk — returned,
Vasyl Matash — died,
Todos Matash — died,
Hryhor Ryndych — died,
Trokhym Shabatiw — died,
Nychiper Sydorchuk — returned after 3 years,
Fedir Sytnyuk — returned after 3 years.

Thus eleven out of sixteen men perished building a canal designed to bolster the Soviet economy.

The famine year of 1933 was perhaps the hardest in the history of the village, used as it was to terror and suffering. Here is the list of people who died from hunger:

Andriychuk Ivan
" Khrasyna
" Tykhon
Antosyevich Lena
" Hryhor
Babchuk Kylyna
" Vasyl and son

	„	Stepan
Barvitska	Melania	
Barvitsky	Ayram	
„	Oleksa	
„	Andriy and all his family	
„	Hryhor	
„	Ivan	
„	Ivan	
„	Karpo	
„	Maksym and son	
„	Semen and daughter	
¹⁷	Todos was buried alive	
„	Trokhym and son	
¹⁷	Zachar	
Boyko	Petro	
„	Platon	
„	Trokhym and baby	
30	„	Viktor and his 2 sisters
Bushavytsya	Nikyfor and three children	
Chernetsky	Dmytro and 2 children	
40	„	Ivan and 2 children
Dmytrenko	Andriy	
„	Danylo	
„	Petro	
Fed		
Hlushanytsya	Andriy	
„	A.	
„	Mykola	
50	„	Paraska
Holyshevsky	Vasyl	
^{,1}	Fedor	
Khalchenko	Mykola and his wife	
Khywruk		
Korotyniuk	Oleksander	
„	Maria	
„	Dora	
Kozyk	Oleksander	
60	Kucher (a woman)	
Kupashnyk	and his wife	
Kuzym	Demyd and his wife	
Kuniber	Panas	
Kytsuts	(a woman)	
Labunsky	Oleksander	

		Petro and 2 children
70	"	Platon
		Malenko (child)
		Manushyna Kylyna
		Matash Andriy, his wife and 2 children
	"	Arkhyp
80	"	Panas and his wife
	"	Vasyl
	"	Lazar
	"	Yavdokha
	"	Maksym
	"	Petro
	"	Viktor
		Mykhalchenko Oleksander
90	"	Yakiw, his wife and 2 children
	"	Matrona
	¹¹	Mykhaylo
	¹⁷	Todos and son
		Nahornjak Kyrylo and 2 children
		Paran Oleksander
		Petryk Petro
100		Pinkiwsky Lukash
		Polyvyan Fedir
		Prytulak Vasyl
	"	Khyma
		Rychmydyn Motrya
		Ryndych Yakym
		Sabatyn Vasyl
		Shabatyn Anton
	"	Ivan
110		Sirenko Demyd, his wife and 2 children
		dlywka Vasyl, his wife and brother
	"	Kyrylo
	"	Havrylo
	"	Ivan and his mother
120		Stebliwska (a woman)
		Storozhuk Arsen
	"	Denys
	"	Levko
	¹⁷	Mykyta
	"	Pavlo
	"	Prokip and child
		Stozhuk Eva

- 130 Strilchuk Fedir and wife
Sydorchuk Danylo
" Maria
" Mykola
" Sylrna
" Danko
" Trokhym
- 140 Tymkushcha, mother and 3 children
Vdow Oleksander
Volynets
Vuyko Pavlo
Yawtushenko Yukhym
Zhuk Omelko
Zymny Maksym
147 Zytny Pylyp
- Although there were more than 147 victims of Soviet planned famine, our losses were proportionately smaller than in the neighboring villages. Curiously enough, many people were saved from death by the dead in the Roman Catholic cemetery which was in our village. Rich people used to be buried there before the revolution and, married or single, they had gold rings and other jewellery buried with them. Our villagers secretly opened the graves, and thus obtained gold for which everything could be bought at the Torgsin store. In the villages of Rohizno, Yakhny, Polovetske, Trylisy, Krasny Lis, Shamrayiwka, Buky, Stryukiw and Holubyatyn almost all the people died from hunger and GPU troops had to be sent there to bury the dead.
- One day, when I came to the grain yard of our collective farm I happened to see Panas Vitawsky, whose duty it was to collect the dead and bury them. The state paid him 9 ounces of bread for each corpse he buried. He always tried to bury more, to get more bread. When Todos Barvitsky, a boy 13 years of age, saw Vitawsky he began to run away. But a hungry swollen boy was no match for the husky and better fed Vitawsky. He fell into the ditch and Vitawsky caught him by the foot, hit him on the head with the whip handle and threw the body on top of the corpses gathered the previous evening. I protested: "So, you bury live people now, too?" He said: "He'll die tomorrow anyway, and I'd have to come to this part of the village again. I can't do that. I'll have to go to other places, and in the meantime his body will lie here."

The arrests were renewed in 1937. The following villagers were the victims: Oleksander Eutymovich, Stepan Holishewsky, Klym Matash, Kyrylo Matash, Ivan Matash, and Danylo Sychynsky.

In 1939, the Russian troops were sent to "liberate" Poland from the big landowners and, having completed their task there, they began to "liberate" Finland.

During the exchange of prisoners after the Finno-Russian war, it became evident that many of those who were regarded as killed or lost were really prisoners of war in Finland. Their wives, who had received pensions from the government, were now ordered to reimburse the government and pay taxes because their husbands were not killed but were "traitors" to the motherland. Seven such "traitors" were sentenced to life terms at hard labor: Dmytro Boyko, Stepan Hlushanytsya, Zinko Kuchereshko, Pavlo Kyrylyuk, Fanasiy Motronyuk, Khorka Mykhalchenko, and Tymko Zhuk. The eighth "traitor", Yakiw Holishewsky, was executed and all his property confiscated.

Stepan Chorny

HOW I WAS DEKURKULIZED

I had a small farm in the hamlet of Lychmariw in Hadyach county of the Poltava region in Ukraine.

In 1930, the Russian communist government launched its farm collectivization drive, which met with determined opposition from the individual Ukrainian farmers.

A detachment of Russians who called themselves "moskvichi", that is, natives of Moscow, was sent to our hamlet from Russia. It was under the orders of one Osipov, also a "moskvich".

Commander Osipov added to his gang some local bad characters, mostly Kussians, and having trained them, began his collectivization activities. The method was to demand from farmers large amounts in taxes, which many of them could not meet. If, in rare cases, a farmer met these demands a still higher tax was imposed, often greater than the value of his whole property.

I was also taxed a few times in 1930, and in the end could not pay. This led to my arrest. I was called out to the village soviet on December 30 and put under lock and key. When I was tucked away in jail, Osipov confiscated all my property and my wife and child were driven out of the house. They were not allowed even to take any clothing or food with them. Sometime later, Osipov released me from arrest and told me where I could find my family.

When I came to the place indicated by Osipov, I found there two other families crowded in a small hut. There were 17 persons. These families suffered the same fate as mine, their property was confiscated and mothers and children driven out of their homes. One of the men, Kryvonis, died from heartbreak when he came back from the prison and the other, Hvozdyka, was sent to slave labour in concentration camps in Siberia. I was fortunate enough to escape from the hamlet and reach Donbas.

F. Fedorenko

DISAPPEARED WITHOUT TRACE

There is a state farm about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the town of Ivankiw, in the Kiev region. I cannot recall its name but I know of a fellow who worked there.

He was Mykola Prokopovich Shkuratenko, who was employed at the farm for a long time as a bookkeeper. Before that, he had served a long prison term in Kiev jail for his membership in the Union for the liberation of Ukraine (SVU). As a bookkeeper he was a very reliable and honest worker, one of the best on the farm. But in 1937, during the bloody Yezhov regime he was suddenly pounced upon by the NKVD-ists, and disappeared without a trace.

The general opinion was that he had been arrested, as were many others, for having been a member of the SVU, and had been promptly executed in one of the prisons.



P. V.

COLLECTIVE FARMING

The above picture shows collective farmers in Ukraine. Note the rope harness, the bent and hungry horses, a stick for a whip in the hands of the first woman, and the cows in the last plow which have to drag the plow and fulfil a milk quota as well.

Women do the plowing because their husbands are "building socialism". All of them are barefoot and look wretched in their rags and tatters. The man standing apart is the overseer. He appears to be well off. Doesn't he remind you of the manager of an estate in the days of slavery?

Members of the collectives composed many songs about such henchmen of the enslaving regime. A little sample:

Green corn waves new shoots
Though planted not long ago.
Our brigadier sports new boots
While we barefoot go.
Oh, oh, oh, . . . (unprintable)
Why should we lie
When we have no shoes.

Thus do the people "respect" the promoters of Stalin's classless society.

F. Fedorchenko

TRAGEDY OF DANYLO ARTEMENKO

A large farm called Snizhne, which belonged to the collective administrative unit of Novo-Mykolaiwske in the county of Ivankiw in the Kiev region was owned by Danylo Artemenko, one of the best farmers in the district. He was born in the village of Karpyliwka in a poor family, and was Illiterate. Settling on the farm, he became quite prosperous in spite of a large family of 13, because he was very industrious and a good husbandman.

The first misfortune in the family was when Danylo's son, Volodymyr, to avoid being drafted into the Red Army, smoked a lot of tea leaves and died.

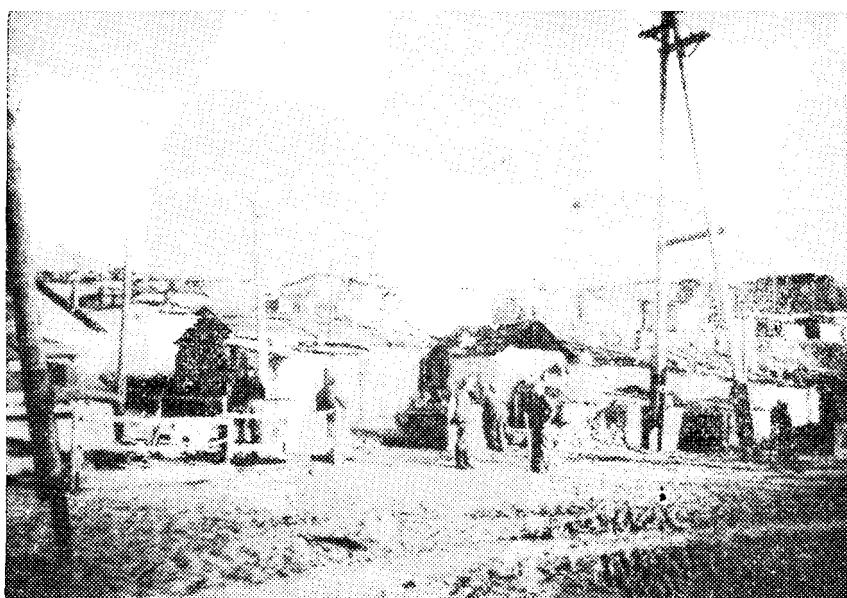
Four years later, in 1931, the whole family was arrested, and exiled to the city of Izhevsk in Russia. All were sentenced to hard labor.

During this arrest one daughter, Anna Artemenko, decided to escape with her husband. They took a team of horses and drove away, but were caught by the communists in the village of Domaniwka. The communists took everything away from them, and put them under arrest. Anna's clothes were taken away and she was thrown naked into a deep basement, which was flooded. She became hysterical with fear, standing knee deep in water in a dark place and fighting off frogs or other vermin that flocked to her. This treatment lasted 24 hours, and at first she was heard to cry but her cries were completely ignored. When she was at last released, she had completely lost not only her voice, but her sanity as well. A few days later she died from pleurisy, and her husband was sent to a concentration camp.

Anna's sister, Natalia Artemenko, was thrown out of her house with three small children. Her household effects

became the booty of the raiding party of communists, windows were boarded up, and the house locked. Then Natalia went to her father's house, which stood empty in the forest.

But the communists found her there. A drunken communist gang broke into the house one winter night, tied Natalia's hands behind her back and beat her mercilessly. After this, they threw the poor woman into a snow drift. Her children were also thrown after her through the broken windows. Not satisfied with their work, the communists made a pile of icons, books, kitchen utensils and furniture



Living quarters of the workers of "Azovstal" in Mariupol.

in the middle of the house and set fire to it. By morning, Artemenko's house was a heap of ashes.

Trying to save her own and her children's lives, Natalia went back secretly to her former home, locked up by the communists. But the next day she was discovered and murdered there, together with her two-year old child. The other two children were ordered to get out. The perpetrators of this crime were communist party members: Yedlitsky, county commissioner, Yesip, a gypsy halfbreed, and his

relative Andriy Tsarenok, a Ukrainian drunkard. This happened in the fall of 1932.

Ten years later, when the Germans occupied Ukraine, Natalia's husband, who had managed to conceal his identity and thus remained free, returned home and found his two children. His joy was shortlived. They were caught by the Germans and sent to the notorious German concentration camps to perish there, and their father Petro Sydorenko was murdered in 1943 by the communist underground. When he was searched after the arrest, a Bible and other religious books were found in his possession. This "crime" required special punishment. He was led into the forest, his eyes gouged out, tongue and nose cut off, hands broken and then shot at close range. When people found his body on June 1, 1943, they could hardly recognize their good neighbor.

Artemenko's other children all died in the Izhevsk camp. The old mother, Hapa Artemenko, died of grief when she learned of the death of her last son, Vasyl.

The old man, Danylo Artemenko, managed, by some miracle, to return home. I met him once in his native district. He acquired a horse, and wanted to do a bit of farming by himself. But the Germans confiscated the animal, poor as it was. Then Danylo threw bags over his shoulder, and became a beggar.

Such was the fate of one "dekurkulized" Ukrainian family.

Hnat Sokolowsky

ANTI-COLLECTIVE UNREST IN UKRAINE

1. Ukrainian Villages against Bolshevism

The bolshevik pressure on the individual farmers, inaugurated in 1929, met, in Ukraine, with spontaneous resistance. The farmers did not give all the grain the government demanded from them, and they tried to hide it in likely places, usually in the ground. There were no volunteers to join government sponsored collective farms. On the contrary, this idea met with ridicule among the farmers.

Being aware of this attitude, the bolshevik authorities began to woo those groups which could be used in subduing the farmers, former "red guerillas", "komsomol"*, and also the village poor, organized in "Poor Farmers Committees", welding them together as tools in terrorizing the farmers. The leaders of these pro-communist bands were usually party members, village school teachers, and officials in the county seats. But these measures were not successful.

In some cases resistance came out in the open. A typical case was that which happened in the village of Vizirka in the Odessa region. The authorities sent there an old bolshevik, Rashkov. This fellow bitterly attacked in his speech the so-called "enemies of the Soviet government" who sabotaged government enterprises. He threatened people with prison terms for "counter-revolution". The farmers did not argue with the speaker. Men quietly smoked their pipes. The initiative fell to the women. They fell upon Rashkov, tore off his clothes and gave him a good thrashing as a liar and instigator and, in the end, took him under guard to the county seat.

* All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

In many other villages the farm women also played an important role in protecting villages from bolshevik pressure. These frequent cases of resistance sometimes acquired the character of real "rebellions".

Having met with such resistance, the party and the Soviet government sent to the villages 25,000 party members and government officials, specially selected gangs of bolshevik cutthroats. This step by the government brought real tragedy to the farmers. These "special commissioners" had extraordinary powers, and were ruthless. The villages were terrorized but still resisted.



A family from the region of Dolyna, Galicia, "liberated" by the bolsheviks in 1939. Before 1939 it had 60 acres of land. In 1944, during the second "liberation" the father of the family was shot. The mother and her sons are now in a collective farm.

The first serious case of unrest, which had the earmarks of insurrection, happened in the Dnister valley in the district of the villages of Hradonytsi and Troitske. It was put down by armed Odessa militia, and party activists. The insurgents were imprisoned. Their fate is unknown.

Extraordinarily strong resistance to collectivization was shown in the region of the city of Sicheslaw in the county

of Pawlohrad. All the people here, irrespective of their economic or social differences, stood firm against the bolsheviks because oppression by the Soviet government had become unbearable.

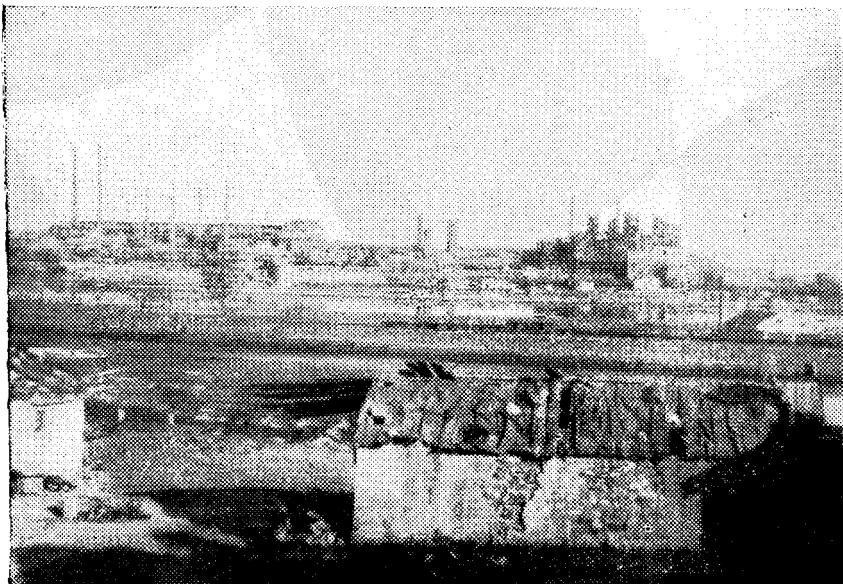
The insurrection began in 1930, in the little hamlet of Osadchg in the county of Mezhiw in the region of Dnipro-petrowske. It soon spread to the counties of Mezhiw, Vasylkiw, Blyznyuky and Pawlohrad. The insurgents were in sympathy with the aims of the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU), a secret organization with widespread ramifications. This insurrection spread so wide that armed insurgents came within six miles of Pawlohrad, in which the 30th Red Army division was stationed at that time. It was under the command of Myasoyedov. But the red troops did not take the field against the insurgents, though the government demanded such action from the divisional command.

I myself, and a few others, knew at the time that the leader of this insurrection was carrying on negotiations with the commander of the division, Myasoyedov. All had hoped that the division would join the insurgents, giving them support. But when things came to a head, the Soviet authorities arrested Myasoyedov and all his staff. The division was not used to put down the insurrection. Well armed detachments of GPU troops and militia from Kharkiw, Zaporizhya and Dnipropetrowske, augmented by local party members, also armed, were thrown against insurgent farmers armed mostly with forks and scythes. Very few had firearms, most of them relics from the years of civil war, or taken from the bolsheviks in skirmishes with the enemy.

The bolshevik revenge after the defeat of the insurgents was terrible, even in this land of constant terror. The leader of the insurrection vanished, but the GPU vaults were crammed full with insurgents taken prisoner. In one village alone, Dmytriwka, in the county of Vasylkiw, 100 persons were arrested, among them Anna Ivanchenko, Hryhory Korobsky, Yawtukh Kononenko, Serhiy Pawlenko and others. Most of them were never seen again.

The mass arrests which took place over the whole of the insurrection area did not deter people from opposing collectivization. The arrests, and new methods of forcing farmers to join collective farms, led to widespread burning of collective farm grainyards and other buildings. The authorities met this manifestation with new mass arrests. Then the author of this account was also made prisoner.

All the arrested farmers were put in a special prison. I happened to be locked in cell number 6, which already was crammed with 83 men. To lie down was absolutely impossible. The examinations and the beating of prisoners lasted all night through. The investigation was conducted by "examiner" Ignatiev. This man was a sadist and looked like a real hangman. He enjoyed beating and torturing defenceless farmers. The daily food ration in the prison consisted



In the foreground — the "houses" of the workers, seen against the factories in Mariupol.

of seven ounces of bread and a half rotten herring. No water. Only strong individuals could withstand such treatment and torture.

The GPU chief in the county of Vasylkiw was Kuchennkov, who was even worse than Ignatiev. He used to get "confessions" from those prisoners whom Ignatiev could not "split".

After a month of such "examination" in the Vasylkiw prison, we were taken to a provincial penitentiary in Dnipropetrovsk and from there, with broken ribs, teeth knocked out and jaws split, we were sent to concentration camps.

I did not reach our destination because, taking advan-

tage of a stormy night, I escaped from the transport at the railway station of Ulyanovka. My escape went unnoticed. Then I managed to get hold of some documents and remained free from **1930 - 1936** living in many localities of the Soviet Union.

In the fall of **1934**, I came to Horliwka in Donbas, and learned there that my father had been sentenced to ten years for this insurrection, my brother to eight, and that my mother, with four younger children, had been driven out of her home. This was very bad news.

But more bad news was on the way. One of the workers at the Shcherbaniwka mine, where I was employed, recognized me as his former co-villager. I was caught, and the GPU sentenced me to five years in concentration camps in Kolyma.

S. Sosnovy

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FAMINE

The famine of 1932 - 1933 was needed by the Soviet Government to break the backbone of Ukrainian opposition to complete Russian domination. Thus, it was a political move and not the result of natural causes. The year 1932 was similar to previous years, as far as climatic conditions were concerned, for there was sufficient precipitation and plenty of sunshine. The acreage under crops also was about 2.5 million acres greater than in 1927 or 1928. It amounted to 64,240,000 acres.

The yield that fateful year was good. The amount of grain harvested in 1932 was 463,705,500 bushels, more than adequate to feed the whole population and leave reserves for seeding, which required about 88 million bushels. This would have left more than 375 million bushels for the needs of the population. If divided among the population it would have provided 11.5 bushels or 690 pounds of grain for each man, woman and child in Ukraine. Such an amount of grain would have been sufficient to feed, not only people but cattle as well. This fact, based, as it is, on official Russian statistics, cannot be refuted.

What then was the reason for the famine? There was plenty of food for all, but famine nevertheless gripped this rich agricultural country. The truth is that the famine was planned and carried out by the Soviet Russian Government. The Russian government confiscated by force all grain that was in the hands of the farmers. In order to stop the farmers from hiding even a few pounds of grain in the walls of their houses or in the ground, the Soviet Russian police invented special long iron rods to probe the walls of the dwellings and the surrounding yards of the farmers, trying

to find the last few handfuls of grain hidden by the starving population. In this way, people were left without any food whatever. The famine of 1932 - 1933, artificially created by the Russians in Ukraine is unequalled in the history of Europe for intensity of horror and the great number of men,



The Famine of 1933 — by M. Dmytrenko.

women and children who perished from starvation. Dictator Stalin achieved his purpose. In villages, on roads and fields, numberless swollen bodies of men, women and children who had died of starvation could be seen. The land was filled with the groans of the hungry and the pitiful cries of children. There were cases of cannibalism, where men,

driven by the insanity of a great hunger, ate human flesh.

The Soviet Russian Government, during all that frightful time, strictly prohibited anyone to write or speak about the famine. Officially, it was asserted that the population lived in plenty. If someone received a food parcel from relatives abroad, it was, as a rule, returned, accompanied by a note stating that such help was not needed in Ukraine.

Offers from the Red Cross and other philanthropic or-



The house of Petro Pyrih, in Hulayivka, near Lubni. Three neighbors came to bury the dead family, victims of the famine in 1933.

ganizations were rejected with the sarcastic advice that they should help their own unemployed.

The granaries of Ukraine were overflowing with wheat, but not one pound from these millions of bushels was released for the starving population. People died in the midst of plenty.

What was the price paid by Ukraine for Russian rule during the famine? How many perished?

The statistical and economic yearbook on agriculture in Ukraine, printed in Kharkiw in 1939, states that the normal yearly increase of population in Ukraine was 2.36%. The

census of 1926 shows that Ukraine then had a population of 29,042,900. According to this information the Ukrainian population should have grown from 32,580,700 to 33,406,100 persons in 1933. In January 1934, it should have reached 34,258,000 persons. If the Ukrainian population had increased in the normal way and without a famine, it should have totalled 38,426,000 persons in 1939. However, the last census of 1939 shows that the population of Ukraine, in the older boundaries, amounted to only 30,960,200 persons.

This proves that as a direct result of the artificial famine the Ukrainian population was cut down by 7.5 million persons. This includes the millions that died of starvation and the subsequent decrease in population due to the famine. Even Soviet Russia statistical data, published in the Soviet Russian yearbooks for 1932 and 1934, show that the actual number who died from starvation during the famine was not less than 5.8 million and that more than 2 million more were missing as a result of the famine.

Five million constitutes about 18.8% of the total Ukrainian population. India is noted for its widespread periodical famines. During the last famine in India, which was unusually large, about 3.5% of the whole population died. The worse famine in India never rose above this percentage. But in Ukraine, Soviet Russia created a famine that was five times worse. During the first world war the number killed, in proportion to the population of the countries at war was about 0.99, while in Ukraine during peace time and in about 8 - 9 months, 18.8% of the entire population was lost. About 1,000 Ukrainians died every hour during the famine. These facts speak for themselves. They prove that Stalin and his henchmen will not be deterred by crimes of any proportion from keeping power in their hands for the glory of the Soviet Russian empire.



P. Lykho

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON THE FAMINE IN THE UKRAINE

The communist agents of the Kremlin try to deny that, in 1932 - 1933, a terrible famine raged in Ukraine, a famine of immense proportions dreadful in its aftermath; a famine organized by the government and the party. Following instructions from Moscow, these paid and "voluntary" agents propagated and still propagate the fairy tale that there was no famine in Ukraine at that time, and if there were some isolated cases, then "it was the fault of those who suffered hunger", as they must have brought it upon themselves; "they buried and destroyed their grain, took away their stock, did not want to work and . . . died of undernourishment . . ." — after all, the government and the state had nothing to do with it.

It is difficult to imagine anything more cynical. All these revolting lies and calumnies are spread to whitewash the genocidal gang in the Kremlin and to absolve them from the guilt of such a terrible crime.

Now, on this side of the iron curtain, there live thousands of witnesses of the famine in Ukraine of

1932 - 1933; yes, thousands of witnesses, who did not "observe" the famine from afar, but actually suffered it. Thus, when we find any who would defend the guilt of this heinous crime, or those who no matter how hard they try, find it difficult to believe that such a "fantastic" occurrence could ever take place, we, the living witnesses of the Moscow crime, are ready to stand before any responsible tribunal and testify. . .

We quote below, in their entirety, documents never before published, which should prove helpful as evidence of our accusation that the famine of 1932 - 1933 was engineered by the Russian Communists, that is by the Party and by the government; furthermore, the documents bear witness to the fact that this famine was organized specifically in Ukraine in order to achieve a certain political aim.

The history of the discovery of these documents is as follows, in the finder's own account.

In September 1941, the demoralized Red Army retreated panic-stricken before the thrust of the German Wehrmacht. The Germans had crossed the Dnieper at Kremenchuk in the South and at Chernyhiw in the North. At the line Poltava — Konotip — Bakhmach — Cherkasy five Soviet armies were surrounded. All attempts to break the circle were without success. After two fruitless tries the potentiary of the Council of Defence, by order of Stalin, Georgi Malenkov, late at night on the 14th of September 1941 left the headquarters in Piryatyn to fly in two planes to Kharkiw. The command was taken over by the commanding officer of the OUVU (Special Ukrainian Army Corps) Kirponis, who was killed, together with the staff, near the villages of Haika, Zhdani, Melechi and Yuziwka. This valley was later named by the population of that country "the valley of death" as thousands of Red Army men met their death there. But the most tragic loss was that of 700 soldiers, who had been sent by Kirponis on trucks and tractors in a "psychological attack" against the German tanks. The seven hundred killed were chiefly the higher, middle and lower command contingent of headquarters of the southwestern front.

After the destruction of the headquarters and command staffs of the armies under Kirponis, the trapped armies sur-

rendered, only a very small group of them escaping. The great 'Kiev ring' prevented the Soviet civil authorities from fleeing. Almost all the staff of the central, provincial, county and village civil authorities had to remain. As a result of this the county civil authorities of Chornukhy were not only prevented from fleeing, but also from destroying secret documents. The descent of a parachute commando battalion aided in this, sealing off all escape routes from Piryatyn to Chornuchy, Lochvitsya, Hadyach. And so, later, the secret documents were discovered. The German military



A little cannibal.

authorities had no interest in them, and a good opportunity was at hand to study and use the documents. The files consisted of secret and top secret material from: 1. The Chornukhy County Party Committee (raipartkom), 2. Chornukhy County Branch of the NKVD (raividdil NKVD) and Militia, 3. Special Branches of the Chornukhy County Executive Committee (raivikonkom), 4. Chornukhy County

Military Committee (raivoenkomat), 5. Chornukhy County Prosecuting Office, 6. Chornukhy Branch of the State Bank, 7. Chornukhy RINGO (County Inspecting Office of Peoples' Domestic Economy Inventory). The documents of the South-western Front Headquarters were immediately taken over by the German authorities.

The documents were found in the forest. They had been prepared for evacuation but later had been hastily buried. All the safes and iron trunks were counted by the Germans, who opened them in the presence of the new local authorities to whom the documents were handed for safe keeping.

"Given this opportunity", writes the discoverer of these documents, "I was able to examine them over a long period of time, and to acquaint myself thoroughly with them. I was especially interested in documents relating to the famine of 1932 - 1933. I selected and made copies of them in order to be on the safe side".

Below, certain documents are quoted in their entirety (omitting secret codes, but retaining dates and numbers).

Moscow-Kremlin, TsK VKP (b)

20. I. 1933, No. 26/.....

Top secret, Letter

To the Secretary of TsK KP (b) U (Central Committee of Ukrainian Communist Party of Bolsheviks)

Comr. S. V. Kosior.

Copy: To the Secretaries of Provincial Committees, of City Committees, and of County Committees; OGPU and the Prosecutor of the Republic.

With regard to the project of Stocking Grain I order the selling of forage grain for cash for the horses of kolkhozes in Ukraine. Take severe measures for the reception, transportation and custody of the grain forage in kolkhozes. This forage may be used exclusively in the period of the Spring Sowing Operation of the current year. Pay specific attention to the stock-piling of grain forage in kolkhozes, not allowing its use for any other purpose. The persons guilty of stealing, unnecessary spending and malfeasance are to be brought to justice without mercy, according to the law of August 7th, 1932. Report on the execution of this order to the Central Committee on the 20th of February of the current year.

* * *

Kharkiw, 22. 5. 1933 yr. No. 17/.....

Top Secret, Series

To all heads of provincial branches of OGPU-USSR and provincial prosecutors.

Copy: To county branches of the OGPU and county prosecutors.

The Department of Codification of Laws of the Narkomjust (Department of Justice) of USSR gave the following explanation in its letter of 15th of May of the current year under No. 175-K:

Whereas the present criminal code does not cover punishment of persons guilty of cannibalism, therefore all cases of those accused of cannibalism must immediately be transferred to the local branches of OGPU. If cannibalism was preceded by murder, covered by article 142 of the Penal Code, these cases should be withdrawn from the courts and from the prosecution divisions of the Narkomjust system and transferred for judgement to the Collegium of the OGPU in Moscow. Accept this order for unwaiving and correct execution.

Peoples' Vice Commissar of OGPU — Ukrainian SSR

Karlson (signature)

Prosecutor for the Republic

Michailik (signature)

* * *

Moscow-Kremlin, TsK VKP (b)

17. 6. 1933 year, No. 79/

Top secret, Series

To the Secretary, TsK KP (b) U,

Comr. S. V. Kosior.

Copy: To the Secretaries of Provincial Committees, of City Committees and of County Executive Committees of the Party.

Because, for some time, we have allowed our stocks of grain to be thrown away, some of the naive comrades from among the lower ranks of the party and government officials have mistakenly eyed the stores of the Grain Stock Project. It should be realized by these comrades that the Central Committee of the Party has done everything in this respect. It

is high time that they should learn to think like the progressive people of our period, but in their thinking they are still reminiscent of the characters in Gogol's novels. The Central Committee of the Party and I, personally, wish to have this explained to them once more.



This Ukrainian woman was the last surviving member of a once well-known family from the village of Berezotocha, near Lubni. Her husband was executed, and her sons were deported to Siberia where they died. She herself fled to another province, but returned to her native village before her death. She died of hunger during the Russo-Finnish war.

The Central Committee of the Party recommends these comrades to bear in mind and never forget the mistakes committed by them last fall, when, as a result of the slackening of control among the lower branches of government in the kolkhozes of the Ukraine, tens of thousands of hundred-weights of valuable grain were thrown away. Therefore all the efforts and attention of these comrades should be directed towards stocking grain and delivering the grain to the state. This year's crop may exceed our expectations, but still this does not give us any right to use our "neprzapasí" (stock pile).

Once again we categorically repeat our former directions, that only 10% of the total threshed grain may remain in kolkhozes, and this, according to present directives, may be used for the subsistence of the kolkhozeworkers, until the plan for deliveries to the state, for payment in kind to the MTS, and for seed and forage stores has been completely fulfilled. Therefore, you are now completely faced with the immense responsibility for the lower Party ranks and Soviet officials. For the last time you are reminded that any repetition of the mistakes of last year will compel the Central Committee to take even more drastic measures. And then, if you will pardon my saying so, even their old party beards will not save these comrades.

— (facsimile — J. Stalin).

The documents which have been quoted here, orders from Moscow signed by Stalin himself, show that the famine of **1932 - 1933** in the Ukraine was created by Moscow — by the Communist Party and the Government. The documents are characteristic in the sense that they mirror the situation throughout Ukraine.

One of the documents sheds light on the whole situation. Cases of cannibalism were so numerous that Moscow had to interfere officially, so as to conceal this terrible phenomenon: the Commissariat of Justice of USSR circulated a special letter (No. 175-K) in which it explained what should be done in cases of cannibalism. The hearings of these cases in the courts would not only cause unwelcome publicity, but data concerning such terrible crimes and the famine in Ukraine in general would appear in the files of the courts all over Ukraine.

On the basis of a study of the files, and an interrogation

of employees of the Soviet government institutions it was possible to compile the following data on the results of the famine in Chornukhy county.

Natalka Hasukha, the longtime head of the county branch of ZAHS (Acts of Civil State) and the senior inspector of Chornukhy RINGO (County Inspection Office of Peoples' Domestic Economy Inventory), communist Serhiy Dubovy gave in their testimonies data as to the number of people who had died of famine during 1932 - 1933:

On the 1st of January 1932 Chornukhy county had a population of 52,672; on the 1st of January 1934 the population of the county was 45,714.

The actual increase in population in these years was as follows: 1932 — 315; 1933 — 114; total — 429.

Taking into account the actual increase in population of this county — 429 persons — 53,101 individuals should have been living there on the 1st of January 1934; the 52,672 persons of 1. 1. 32 plus 429 actual increase. If this number — 53,101 be taken and the number of inhabitants as of 1. 1. 34 be subtracted from it, we get the following result: 53,101 — 45,714 — 7,387, which shows the decrease in population of Chornukhy county.

On the basis of a study of vital statistics (birth, death, marriage, etc.) registered in the files of ZAHS and RINGO — it was calculated that the number of people who perished in the famine were as follows: children up to 18 years of age — 3,549, men — 2,163, women — 1,406. Total — 7,113.

It should be mentioned that only a very small number of the inhabitants was able to leave the country since movement was forbidden and the rule was severely enforced. Trains, too, were guarded.

The situation in the Chornukhy area was typical of that existing in the country as a whole.

Mykola Prychodko

THE YEAR 1933 IN SOVIET UKRAINE

Ukrainian newspapers everywhere abroad have given a full account of the tragic events of 1933 -- the most terrible year of starvation in the country's history.

Unfortunately, few writers in the USSR dared put on paper any account of the suffering and privations of that year. They could not, for even a mention of the famine brought swift retribution by murder from the NKVD, or slave labor in Siberia.

For, officially, there was no famine. Stalin very graciously refused all offers of aid from foreign countries, assuring them that no famine existed in the Soviet Ukraine: the whole USSR lived in the utmost contentment and abundance. Communist papers abroad, ever-willing slaves of Moscow, outdid each other in spreading this convincing reply throughout the world.

Yet, in 1941, when the Germans entered Ukraine, they found in the Academy of Science in Kiev the true statistics of the crops harvested in 1932. These figures proved, statistically, that the yield was sufficient to feed the Ukrainian population for 2 years and 4 months. There was no natural cause of this famine; it was purposely created to break the resistance of the farmers to the collective farm system.

All the grain of 1932 was loaded into special trains as soon as it was threshed, and it was immediately appropriated by the government. The carloads rolled northward to feed the bureaucrats of Moscow, or to be exported to finance plans for communist revolution in China and other countries. The Ukrainian farmer received only the screenings from the threshing machines.

During the latter part of 1932, the farm women added potato peelings, weeds, anything to stretch the loaves of

black bread. With the coming of 1933, even these meagre additions were unavailable. People ground the bark of trees, scratched roots from the frozen ground, searched hopelessly for any substance which would keep body and soul together.

Helpless, despairing, they died by thousands, by tens of thousands, yes, by millions. The statistical bureaus were ordered to register the deaths as resulting from prevalent "digestive ailments", not from starvation.

Peasants who could still stand on their feet, gathered their few belongings and flocked to the cities. Here a person could exchange an artistically embroidered shirt, a most



Year 1933 in Kharkiw — by A. Leybovych.

highly-prized possession, for a single loaf of bread. Beautiful priceless rugs, heirlooms through generations, could be bought for a few pounds of flour. The Russian elite covered their walls and floors with such treasures.

Through the streets of Kiev, Kharkiw, Dnipropetrowske, Odessa and other cities, the miserable hulks of humanity dragged themselves along on swollen feet, begging for crusts of bread or searching for scraps in garbage heaps, frozen and filthy. Each morning wagons rolled along the streets, picking up the emaciated remains of the dead. Often even the undershirt had been stripped from the corpse, to be exchanged for a slice of bread.

Those who were lucky enough to reach Moscow had a better chance for survival. Here were more scraps of bread, made of Ukrainian wheat, on the dumps; here one could

also buy a little food on the black market.

The difficulty was to get there. On the trains and in the stations the GPU, in their red and blue caps, halted every traveller, demanding his official travelling permit. Those who could not produce them were arrested.

At this time my friend S., was working as an assistant in the October Revolution Hospital. Having completed his medical studies in 1931, he now worked in the surgical division. One evening he invited me to visit him in the hospital, promising me an unusual spectacle. When I arrived he took me to a large garage in the yard. A guard unlocked the door and we entered. S. switched on the light and I beheld an unforgettable picture of horror.

Piled like cord-wood against the walls, layer upon layer, were the frozen corpses of the victims picked off the streets that morning. Some of the bodies, I later learned, were used for dissection and experiments in the laboratories. The rest were simply buried in pits, at midnight, in nearby ravines out of sight of the people.

"This, my friend", S. whispered softly, "is the fate of our villages".

I was too unnerved to utter a word. With unbelieving eyes I could only stare at the hundreds of outstretched frozen hands which still seemed to be begging for bread, begging for life.

S. turned out the lights and we departed without a word. The guard slammed the door and locked it behind us. Slowly we walked home, speechless and shaken, but with mutual understanding between us.

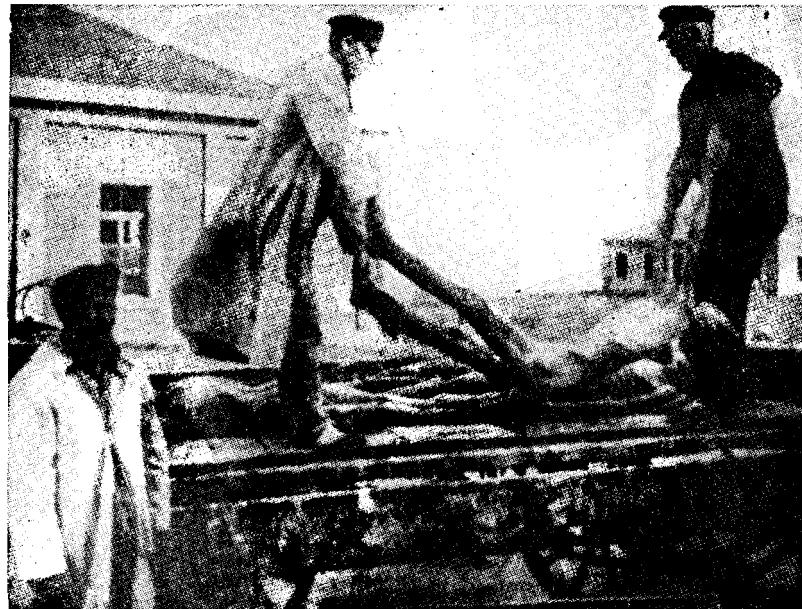
It seemed ages before I could rid myself of the horror in that garage, sixteen years after that fateful October Revolution for which the hospital was named. Even years later I once awoke in cold sweat from the nightmare of that ghoulish experience.

There is another unforgettable incident which I witnessed in that year of 1933. It happened in the spring, as I was riding on the train from Kiev to Uman. At the Monasteryshche station 12 farm laborers came aboard, their faces bloated with starvation, tattered and dirty, all on their way to work on a state farm. With them was a young lad, about 14, his hands tightly pressed against his chest, inside the shirt.

Like a pack of wolves, the men gathered around the

boy, their hungry eyes glued to the hand at his bosom. The lad tightened his grip upon his possession — a slice of black bread — and stared back with frightened eyes at the fierce, unshaven, swollen caricatures of human faces around him. To a man, they were urging and pleading with him to share the bread with them. Tomorrow, they promised, there would be boiled potatoes at the farm, maybe even bread!

The hungry boy stoutly refused. His mother, he explained, had somehow procured that one slice for him and had admonished him to save it for tomorrow.



Victims of the famine being thrown into a pit.

The tragic scene ended when the twelve men, as though electrified by a command, fell upon the lad and tore away the bread which crumbled and scattered over the floor. The starving, snarling, human beasts tore the crumbs out of each other's fingers, scratched them out of crevices, as though in a paroxysm of insanity. The hungry youngster sobbed bitterly, but for the men he had already ceased to exist.

By this means, **1933** brought death to the villages of Ukraine. Many places which had formerly boasted of popu-

lations from 2,500 to 3,000, now counted some 200 to 300 inhabitants. Later, the government transported whole colonies of Russians into these villages, where the families occupied the vacant lands and to this day plow and till the rich black loam of Ukraine.

The tougher farmers, who survived the deadly famine and lived to see the following harvest, were sentenced to ten years of Siberian slave labor if they so much as picked a pocketful of wheat heads, to chew the half-ripened grains for nourishment. This crime was known as "theft of socialist property".

Over seven million Ukrainians died in that artificially created famine. If the statement seems far-fetched, the reader need only look into "The Small Soviet Encyclopedia" of 1940 and under the heading Ukrainian SSR note this fact: in the 1927 census Ukraine had a population of 32 million; in 1939 (12 years later), only 28 million. Where did the 4 million disappear and where was the natural increase in population, which should have numbered another 4 or 5 million people? What became of those 8 or 9 million Ukrainians? The only answer is: The famine of 1933 and Siberia.

Even so, the figures were unquestionably falsified by Moscow, for in 1937 a census was taken, which revealed a still greater deficit. The man responsible for these figures was the well-known member of the Academy of Science in Kiev, Ptukha. In 1938, during my imprisonment in Kiev, he was sentenced to 25 years in jail for his "errors" in the census figures. His assistant, Professor Pustokhod was sentenced to 15 years for the same crime. Ptukha received a "re-schooling" and the statistics were modified to suit requirements in 1939.

Unable to tolerate further the tragic plight of their people, two of Ukraine's outstanding communists, Mykola Khvylovych and Mykola Skrypnyk, who had upheld the Revolution with heart and soul, committed suicide. They had realized too late the falsity, the duplicity, of the communist ideals which they had so earnestly believed in and preached.

Today, amidst the abundance of Canada, it seems incredible, impossible, that my enslaved countrymen actually lived and suffered through the ghastly tragedy of 1933.

I. D-ko

ULYTA

The Zamriy family lived in Dubyniwka street in the village of Medvyn in Kiev province. Ilko Zamriy spent his youth in the service of the big landlord, Malewski, on his farm "Dibriwka".

He married an orphan girl, Ulyta Dubyna, who had also grown up in the service of Mr. Malewski. After the wedding, Ilko separated from his father, who gave him about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land on which the young couple built a cottage at a little distance from the road.

After the revolution in 1917, the family received more land, bought a cow, a horse and some pigs. Ulyta began to raise geese and save the feathers, looking forward to the future when she would have to give a dowry to her daughters. They became more prosperous and lived a happy, contented life.

But good things never last. The collectivization robbed them of their land, their cow and their horse while Ilko, with Ulyta and the children, became as poor as ever he had been. Then came the dreaded dark year of 1933. The communist zealots in the village, bolshevik turncoats, especially Havrylo Zamriy, carrying out party grain collection ordered the confiscation of all food, sweeping away the last handfuls of grain.

Then came the famine. People swelled and died. There was no one to dig graves in the cemetery, make coffins or bury the dead. Holes were dug around cottages, bodies were dragged to them and covered with earth like cattle.

Dubyniwka Street, considered more prosperous than other parts of the village, did not escape the famine. The Plaksuns, all of them shoemakers, died, all four families,

Semen, Kost, Zachar, and Mykyta. Tymotey Stupka, who had returned to his native land from the United States in 1922, died, and all his family. The same lot overtook the families of Stepan and Omelko Dubgna. All members of the family of Yawtukh Mytyai, a very skilled locksmith, died and also the families of Borsuk, Khamlenko, Markelanko, Polyvgany, Radzykhowsky, Shabaturenko, Sobko, and Sukhoplis. A few survived, mostly women, but, as a rule, only one in a whole family.

Ilko's family was no exception. All of them swelled with hunger and died, Ilko, his eight daughters and his son, Trokhytm. Only Ulyta and the eldest daughter survived. The daughter was married, but lived with her parents because her husband, Hrytsko Zavedenko, was serving a prison term.

One day, a woman, Mrs. Smilyk, also on the verge of starvation, came to visit with Ulyta. She went into the house, but no one saw her come out. Her son became alarmed when he could not find his mother and notified the police. Ulyta said she did not know where Mrs. Smilyk was, but her behaviour at the time awakened suspicion among those present and they began a search which revealed a pot of boiled meat in the oven and a dish of salted meat in the cellar. This was all that was left of Mrs. Smilyk. Ulyta and her daughter, Tanaska, were arrested and taken away. Their further fate is unknown, though there was a rumor later on that they had been shot at Bohuslaw.

The famine took its greatest toll among the poorer people, who were the object of special care at the beginning of the communist rule. They formed the so-called "committees of poor farmers" and helped the communists to dekulizize their neighbors who were a little better off. Being uneducated and self-centered, they kept away from the town and industrial centres where the more active elements could get at least a little help during the famine. They were those in whose name the communists made their "social revolution" and who destroyed the more active and propserous farmers. The family of Ilko Zamriy belonged to this group of people.

I. Kh-ko

HOW I LIVED THROUGH THE FAMINE OF 1933

I am a son of a farmer from the once prosperous Poltava region. My parents had 25 acres of land, a team of horses and two cows. There were nine persons in the family. We joined the collective farm when our neighbors did and our land, horses, cows and farm implements were taken away. Three months later we were notified that we were classed as "kukuls" and were subject to "dekukulization of the third category", that is, we had to vacate our house. Soon village "activists" appeared, sealed our house and everything in it, and took us to the hamlet of Matviytsi where all "kukuls", destined to die of hunger with the poor natives of that place, were taken.

Before we were hustled out of our home, my father managed to conceal some grain in the leggings of his boots and we lived on this for a few days in the hamlet. Then came the ordeal by hunger. There was no food, and our bodies began to swell. It was at the time when hordes of "grain collectors" invaded the villages and searched for concealed stores in the ground, in granaries, stables, orchards, fields and even wells.

My father died on the road near the hamlet and his body lay there for ten days; nobody buried him, because the dead lay scattered everywhere. My mother could not bury him because she too had become swollen with hunger; her body was covered with sores and she was very weak. She could hardly walk and the seven hungry children beside her looked even worse than she did. The things we had to eat. Even now the memory haunts me and a lump rises in my throat. Merciful God, forgive me!

I don't know where or when my father was buried. After

his death, one day my mother and three little sisters joined him. Before they died the little darlings stretched their tiny hands asking pitifully for some food. All of us were small, we could not bury our mother and sisters, and their bodies lay in the house a long, long time. Three other sisters and I were still alive, but we could not walk, only crawl. We would crawl thus to our mother and lie beside her. Then about two weeks later our mother's body began to move with a mass of maggots, we managed to roll it on to a ladder and drag it out of the house.

R. SOVA

THE YEAR 1933 IN UKRAINE

During the famine I was employed as an economist in the planning division of a county in Southern Ukraine and I have first hand knowledge of this great tragedy and the main reasons and causes behind it.

Soviet literature dealing with methods of planning states solemnly: "A plan is a directive based on scientific facts". Then there is a detailed discussion of these "scientific facts".

The total yield of grain from the cultivated area in the county in 1931 was 735,000 bushels and the grain collection plan called for 1,100,000 bushels.* It was stated that the provincial planning commission included in this figure remainders from previous years in spite of the fact that these had been taken away every year since 1927. A member of the Politburo, the commissar of agricultural stocks in the USSR government in Moscow, Mr. Mikoyan, was sent to the county to make the grain collection campaign more effective. The county party executive was headed by Popov, who answered Mikoyan's question in regard to the feasibility of collecting the planned amount of grain: "Even if we sweep the whole county with a broom we won't find so much grain in the district." The Moscow dignitary did not say anything to this, but Popov was soon removed from his post.

During the period of intensive grain collection in Ukraine in 1930 - 1932 Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian industrial centres mobilized thousands of party members, variously known as the "ten thousand", the "twenty-five thousand" etc. brigades, to carry out the Kremlin directives because local Ukrainian communists were not strong enough to do it. Upon many occasions I saw the last ounce of grain,

* 20,000 and 30,000 metric tons in the original.

flour, and even peas and beans, taken away from the farmers.

Extraordinary beastly measures were applied in the case of more prosperous farmers. Not only were all their food stores, land and homes confiscated, but even most of the clothing; then the whole family would be put on a wagon and taken to a designated place. In our county hundreds of families, made destitute in this manner, were dumped in a sandy stretch of land near the village of Klusiwka, where they were supposed to dig holes for shelter during the cold, late autumn weather. Later on most of them were shipped north, to cut forests in the Murmansk district whence only a few individuals returned.

These cruel acts of terror and violence were committed on the express orders of the central Russian authorities in Moscow. The new chairman of the county party executive, Volkov, said to a circle of trusted persons: "Either I am crazy and don't know at all what's happening around me or some others are insane. . . Why punish the children?"

The vital statistics for 1932 were sent by the county executive to a special branch of the NKVD in the district. I was able to find out from the secretary, B., that 11,680 persons had died in the county in 1933. At the same time there were less than twenty births. Taking into consideration the total population of the county, which was close to 60,000, the famine took the lives of 19.4% or one-fifth of the total. Not only families, but whole villages died out. Katerynoslaw province suffered most, especially in the north, along the river Orel, where village soviets ceased to exist because the people had died. In the village of Chernytchana, in the county of Nekhvoroshch, which counted 200 homes, not a soul survived.

Towards the end of the spring, in 1933, there were sporadic cases of cannibalism. I knew of 9 such cases in our county. The spring proved to be more fatal than winter. As soon as green shoots appeared the hungry people would fall on them and, as a rule, die from stomach disorders.



Year 1933 in the Province of Poltava — by A. Leybovych.

V. K-o

THE YEAR 1933 IN POLTAVA

I lived in the city of Poltava in 1933. Hordes of hungry farmers, who came to the city hoping to get a crumb of bread to save themselves from starvation, were lying in the streets. I learned from the secretary of the city council that every day close to 150 dead bodies of famine victims were gathered up in Poltava. They were mostly farmers. My friend told me also of cases of cannibalism that were known to him.

S. Lozovy

WHAT HAPPENED IN HADYACH COUNTY

Having received from comrade Kolotov, boss of the county seat, instructions to establish a commune, the chairman of the village soviet, Tereshko Myshchachenko, took great pains to carry them out. He gave them wide publicity and, as a further incentive, put his name first on the list of commune farmers. Another reason was comrade Gapon from the city of Orel who certainly would have been made chairman if Tereshko failed in his "duties".

This was in 1930. The village of Kharkivets then numbered 780 individual farmers. Out of this number, only four followed his lead and joined the commune. It was easy for them to do so because they had never had places of their own, or else had sold their houses shortly before the instructions were received.

But this venture was still-born. Even these four, having tasted commune life for one season, turned against it and began to think of leaving it.

The authorities, aware of the fact that people were reluctant to join a commune, changed their tune and began to encourage a "collective farm" idea. With this object in view, there appeared Demen Karasyuk from the city of Tambov. He spoke a Russian-Ukrainian jargon, while his family spoke only Russian. Karasyuk appropriated the house of "serednyak"^{*} Brychko and sent him to Siberia, where the poor fellow was worked to death six months later. Thus, began collectivization and the liquidation of "kukuls" as a class.

Rallies were held in the centre of the village each day, at which communists from the county seat agitated for col-

* "Serednyak" — Middling rich — the farmers were divided into classes: poor, serednyak, rich, kurkul.

lectives. But people did not want to join them and said so, arguing that the government had divided the land against them. And every day GPU agents arrested two to three men.

The village soviet, seeing that people did not want to attend these rallies, hired a boy of 12 to go around with a list and ask people to sign promises that they would attend the gathering. This measure was not successful because men would hide, and their wives would sign their own names arguing that the law gave both sexes equal rights. They also caused a lot of confusion at the rallies by causing a terrible noise. The GPU stopped this by sentencing Maria Treba to one year in jail.

Then the communists changed their tactics. The farmers were called out individually. Under threat of reprisals they were asked to sign papers agreeing to have their property nationalized.

The farmers began to sell their livestock and horses. Their unwillingness to join the collective was stimulated by the fact that people from the neighboring counties of Komyshany and Myrhorod, from villages already collectivized a year ago, came to the village begging for bread. This was an indication as to what they could expect from a collective farm and "communist socialism".

The taxes had to be paid in kind and those who paid them received additional demands, sometimes even greater than the first time, to pay with their products, especially grain.

Seeing no end to this the people began to hide their grain and potatoes if they had any left. A new arrival from the Hadyach Centre, comrade Shukhman, who was commissioned to collect grain in three or four counties, gave orders to form "buksyor brigades" who had authority to manhandle every farmer until he gave all his grain to the State. These brigades were supplied with special tools made in advance in some factory to facilitate the "grain hunt". These were steel rods about $\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, three to ten feet long, with one end sharpened to a point and the other equipped with an oval-shaped handle. Some had a kind of drill on the end instead of a point. The "buksyors" would attack piles of straw, first of all sticking their rods into it to see if sacks of grain were hidden in it. The other tool was used to drill in the gardens and other likely places. The grain

when found was, of course confiscated and the owner was forbidden to remain in Ukraine and was sent to Russia (Sollowky, Siberia, etc). The collective farmers did not hide the grain they received for their "days of work" because there was very little of it.

In October, 1932, comrades Shukhman and Kolotov organized a "Red Column". Commandeering about 60 farm wagons they filled them with toughs and sent them to the villages. Coming to a village, the toughs would scatter, go to the houses of collective farmers and ask how much grain each had, pretending this was only for registration purposes. When the information was in hand, teams would come up to each house and the grain would be taken away. When all the farmers were robbed of their grain, the wagons would be decorated with banners and slogans which proclaimed that the farmers had voluntarily, and in an organized manner, given their grain to the State.

This "red column" passed through villages to be observed, but was always under NKVD protection. When guards were absent, the columns would run into the woods or be robbed by former prisoners who escaped. Such columns took their toll from all the neighboring villages.

It should be observed here that the communists robbed people not only of grain but also of potatoes and any other thing that could be eaten. In some cases farmers were ordered to thresh the straw when the records showed a yield to have been poor. Combating the communist menace, farmers would leave some grain in the straw by breaking the teeth in the cylinder of the threshing machine. Sometimes they succeeded in concealing up to 30% of grain which remained unthreshed in the straw. They hoped to thresh out this grain later, and thus save themselves and their families. But cases when farmers, in desperation, burned the straw together with the sheds were common.

Searches and arrests led people to despair. The indignation reached its culminating point on November 21, 1932, when great unrest in the village made the village soviet and all the buksyors flee to the county seat for protection. The collective flew to pieces in half an hour. It was exclusively the work of women. They took their horses and cattle home, and the next day went to the approximate location of their former fields because all field boundaries were destroyed.

The communists were prompt in checking the incipient

rebellion. They arrived in force in GPU cars next night, arrested five persons and ordered that all collective farm property be returned. This order was carried out.

A stranger was now the chairman of the village soviet. Nobody knew where he came from, though he had a Ukrainian name, F. Boyko. He began to continue the work of his worthy predecessor, paying special attention to the Ukrainian movement for independence. "This is the work of our arch-enemy, Petlyura", he said. Then he tried to find out who had served in Petlyura's army.

Alarmed by the prospect of inevitable doom which was approaching, the people carried off, one night, all the grain from the collective grain stores, covering their tracks with pepper to protect themselves from detection by GPU hunting dogs. Some went to the forest to gather acorns, but this practice was soon stopped by Boyko who declared the woods to be State property. It was forbidden to go there.

It was impossible to grind grain in the mill because government grain quotas were not fulfilled. The farmers constructed hand mills and stampers. Boyko issued an order for the immediate arrest of the constructor of these machines, O. Khrynenko, but he was warned in time and ran away to Donbas. His wife was thrown out of the house, and it was locked by the GPU. Then she was tortured to reveal the whereabouts of her husband and the hiding place of gold (money). She gave them **230** rubles in gold, but did not know where her husband was, and died in their hands.

The former chairman of the village soviet, Tereshchenko, sold his house to buy liquor. He then took a house from Petro Yarosh, and with the assistance of Boyko, managed to have the Yarosh family exiled to the region of Sverdlovsk where all eight persons in the family died from hard labor and ill treatment. Another case was that of F. Shobar, who did the same thing with the brothers Mykola and Stepan Nedvyha. One of these escaped and the other perished in Siberia together with his family of ten persons.

A week or so later the GPU arrested the following families: Borobawko — 5 persons, V. Brychko — 7 persons, Ostap Ilchenko — 5 persons, Nykyfor and Zakhar Koroniwsky — 3 persons, Kryvozei — 4 persons, Vasyl Mashok — 3 persons, O. Perepadya — 4 persons, K. Riznyk — 7 persons, Shyka — 4 persons, Elysey Taras — 6 persons, Vasyukno — 4 persons and others. All of them received life terms with

hard labor and were sent 280 miles north of Sverdlovsk. In 1942, 5 of these returned and said that all the others had died from hard labor and scurvy. They were fortunate to get forged papers and escaped to Donbas, where they worked in the mines. They did not stay long in any place, because as soon as they cleared a patch in the forest and built barracks and other buildings, they were sent to another place in the wilderness 18 to 24 miles away where the same thing was repeated. The direction was always north, further north. Their address was: Sverdlovsk 5, Letter G.

"There are no "kukuls" now, and presumably no Petlyura partisans, and we can build up our collective farms in peace," said Eoyko. "But you should keep in mind that there are many "near-kukuls" whom we have to watch and if they are going to harm our Soviet government, we'll send them after the others." He again held meetings urging people to join a collective farm. The government took away grain and meat for taxes. There were no cows or sheep in the village.

In the evening of November 2, an unknown group of farmers attacked a "buksyor" brigade. Makar Verba was killed, and three men ran away. The next day the GPU confiscated all the shotguns in the village. The attackers were not caught. Eoyko then threatened that the Soviet Red Army would come and wipe out all the farmers.

The people were terrified. It was hard to find a farmer who did not serve a jail term. Practically all joined the collective farm now, only twelve swore that they would not do it, and did not till 1941. But these were all women and children whose husbands and fathers were exiled to Siberia.

After the fall of 1932, it became customary to go around and beg for bread or food from the neighbors. These beggars were usually children and old people.

A new "buksyor" brigade appeared in the village, more cruel than the first one.

In the spring of 1933 one third of the people in the village were starving. The others had a little food, and ate once a day to keep from swelling. To save themselves and their families from starvation, men began to offer their properties for sale or in exchange for food. Some went to Kharkiw, Kiev or Poltava to bug a little food and came back

disappointed. Those cities were no better than Hadyach. Then they went to Moscow, Stalingrad, Voronezh and Orel where food could be obtained. But the GPU soon found this out and the people were searched on the trains, food confiscated, and they themselves were charged with speculation. Then an order was issued that no farmer would be allowed to travel by train without a permit from the county soviet executive.

In March, 1933, all the people from the collective farm went to the authorities, asking for bread. They were not allowed even to enter the courtyard.

On March 28, 1933, we were shocked by the news that Myron Yemets and his wife, Maria, had become cannibals. Having cut off their children's heads, they salted them away for meat. The neighbors smelt meat frying in the smoke issuing from their chimney and, noticing the absence of children, went into the house. When they asked about the children, the parents began to weep and told the whole story. The perpetrators of this act argued that they would have children again. Otherwise, they would die in great pain and that would be the end of the family.

Chairman Boyko arrested them himself, and about six hours later the GPU began to question them. "Who has so cunningly persuaded you to do this, kulkuls, near-kulkuls or Petlyura henchmen? You know that this is the work of our enemies to cast dishonour on our country, the Soviet Union, the most advanced country in the world. You have to tell us who did it!" Hoping to save themselves in this way, the accused pointed to Pavlo Lytvynenko, who was supposed to have said: "If you have nothing to eat, butcher children and eat them!" Lytvynenko was arrested and shot as an example to the others. Myron and Maria were sentenced to ten years in prison. However, they were shot about three months later because even the Soviet government was ashamed to let them live.

At the end of March or the beginning of April, a big department store was opened in Hadyach on Poltavska Street, by the park, across the street from Lenin's monument. It was called "Torgsin". Stocked very well even with goods from abroad, it had one fault, that of selling only for platinum, gold, silver or precious stones. The prices were: For 10 gold rubles one could buy there $17\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread, 22

pounds of buckwheat cereal, 6 2/3 pounds of millet and 10 herrings.

As soon as people learned about this, all who had any gold or silver flocked to the city. There was a queue eight abreast and $\frac{1}{3}$ mile long before the store. There always were 50 - 70 persons who could not get in before the store closed for the day. They spent their nights on the sidewalk disregarding cold, storm or rain. Thefts were very common, but most died from hunger or stomach cramps after eating too much and too greedily the food they bought. The corpses were removed every morning by a GPU truck.

I also stood in line with my mother. There I saw with my own eyes ten dead bodies thrown on the truck like so many logs and, in addition, three men that were still alive. The dead were hauled to Hlyboky Yar ("Deep Ravine") and dumped off.

None of the clerks in this store were Ukrainians and the store belonged to the State.

A month later, in April, this store was broken into and robbed. Half an hour before the opening, an alarm was given that the store was robbed at daybreak. The militia with dogs began to search the people waiting in the queue. All who were a little stronger, had little or no swelling and, perhaps, some gold, were arrested and taken to the building of the county executive committee which was quite close and had a large basement. The prisoners were searched and the gold coins or any other valuables, if they had any, were confiscated. Other NKVD agents, without dogs, did the same.

One woman, Maria Bowt, had a golden "ship" awarded her husband during the Russo-Japanese war for her husband's bravery in saving a ship of the Russian fleet. She was also arrested during this "investigation" and was sent to work at construction projects in Komsomolsk on the Amur river close to the Pacific Ocean. All trace of her vanished. The "ship" must have been taken to swell the Russian treasury or went into the pocket of some NKVD agent. Two weeks later, it was discovered that the real culprits in this case were the clerks, in collusion with the militia. They were not punished because they had false documents prepared in advance, and they escaped arrest. This explanation was given out by comrades Shukhman and Kolotov.

This department store had its bad and good sides. The Russians robbed the people of practically all the gold they

had. On the other hand, it saved many people's lives because 6 - 11 pounds of grain often saved one from starving to death. Those who had no gold for food died like flies, or went to the cemeteries in search of corpses.

The most critical point was reached just before harvest. More and more people starved to death each day. Everything was eaten that could be swallowed, dogs, cats, frogs, mice, birds, grass, but mostly thistles, which were delicious if the plants were about 15 inches high and cleaned of spines. Many people went to "graze" and often died on "grazing fields".

When rye ears began to fill out and were at least half full, the danger of death from starvation receded. The people cut ears of grain in the fields, dried them and rubbing them down they ate the precious green grains.

The communists now began to combat "grain barber menace", that is, people who cut ears of grain with scissors. Mounted guards and others on watchtowers protected the grain from the "grain barbers". One of these watchmen, Fanasiy Hursky, killed a fellow who dared to "steal government property". But the "barbers" struck back in some cases. Some of them sawed through the props under the tower of Ivan Palchenkov when he was asleep. When the wind blew, the tower toppled down and Ivan was killed.

In the spring of 1933, 138 persons died in the village of Kharkiwtsi. In comparison with other places this was very good. A great many people died from diseases caused by hunger, especially dysentery. There was only one child born at that time in the whole administrative unit to which Kharkiwtsi belonged.

The 1940 - 1941 school year saw no beginners at all, while previously there were about 25 each year. The new school principal, a communist, saw the implication, and to save face made first grade out of children a year younger if they were a little better developed than the others. The same thing happened in other neighboring villages.

The orphans who survived the famine were taken to a children's home in the village. They were well cared for and most of them grew up properly and reached maturity in the years 1939 - 1941. The boys raised in these homes when inducted into the army in 1941 were the first to desert with arms and go back to avenge themselves on the communists in their home villages, who deserved punishment.

In 1934 the communists, continuing their fight with individual farmers, gave them the worst land, mostly low lying and flooded in the early spring, but their taxes were increased and they had to pay 50% more than their brothers who joined the collective. All who could not meet these high payments were, in 1935, sentenced to twelve years forced labor in the region of Karaganda in Central Asia. The persecuted were: Semen Hursky — 4 persons, Yykhym Hursky — 2 persons, and Petro Perepadya — 4 persons. The families (12 in all) who joined the collective farm and remained there till 1941, fared little better than the exiles.

The people tried to find some protection from collectivization from the dignitaries in Moscow. Andriy Kolisnyk, angered by the harsh treatment of the local authorities, went to Moscow to find justice. He managed to get an interview with Madame Krupskaya and Kalinin and to present his complaints. They told him to return home, that his case would soon be investigated. To be sure, it came on the heels of his return home. Two weeks later he received an order to be ready in 24 hours for departure to a sparsely settled district at the mouth of the river Ural. He was sent there to join a state farm instead of the collective farm at home.

June 8, 1938, at night, the village was again visited by the NKVD. One man, Korniy Riznyk, threw snuff tobacco into the eyes of two agents who came to arrest him, pushed them into a ditch over six feet deep which was by the house, and escaped. The shots of the agents, blinded by tobacco, went wild. But with others they were more successful. Seven villagers were arrested: T. Bokhan, Mykola and Zachar Koroniwsky, Mykola Riznyk, Semen and Amrosiy Shyk, and Semen Treba. No reasons were given for these arrests, only Treba was asked if he remembered that in 1918 he rang church bells to warn people and have them prepare a defence against communist troops.

This echo of the events of 1918 - 1920 referred to the fact that at that time the villages of Sara, Rashiwka, Lutenga, Lysiwka and Kharkiwtsi organized a defence against the communist invaders. They built barricades on roads leading into the villages from plows and harrows to prevent a communist cavalry attack and fought with arms in hand. But in the end they had to give in to the much stronger enemy. The Russians then burned half the villages and killed half the people.

Out of these seven, only one man survived, Zachar Korniowsky. He returned to the village in 1941 and said that he was left in Uman and the others were sent on to unknown destinations.

Two or three days before the arrival of the Germans, the people lynched many of their former tormentors, 12 were hanged or killed and two had heart attacks from fear and died unpunished. Karasyuk ran away with his family and could not be found. Gapon was sent to a new post in Western Ukraine, district of Lutsk, in 1939 - 1940.

When the Soviet army returned in 1943, four persons were hanged the first day and Hrytsko Khaba, K. Leonid and Petro Petrovich were sentenced to 25 years exile in Siberia, in the Omsk region where they may be still working, if they are alive.

Those that were taken to Germany during the war as "ost-arbeiters", both boys and girls, were not allowed to return to their native village but were sent to coal mines in the Ural Mountains. My sister, Tina, is there. Only married men or women were permitted to return to Khar-kiwtsi.

F. Svatiwsky



THE SPRING OF 1930

Collectivization came to us!* in the early spring of 1930,. At the end of March, our family was thrown out of our own house, our household goods confiscated, and we were taken by the communist militia to Yarky.

Between nine and ten o'clock, two wagons appeared in our yard and that of our neighbor, Petro Yarovy. The women began to lament, and became so hysterical that they had to be put on the wagons.

"To leave our own houses and go? Where? What did we do? What are we punished for?"

Their lament fell on the deaf ears of the fanatical GPU agent Zozulya. "Hurry, there is no time to lose with this riff-raff," he shouted.

The way to Yarky led over Valuyky highway through the village of Karmazyniwka, beyond which, at a distance of about four miles was a ravine, Yarky, the future place of residence for "kukuls". At the bottom of this ravine was a sluggish little stream which supplied water. The forest was over two miles away.

The NKVD men were pleased with their day's work. The people were taken to this ravine and told to get out. There was no building of any kind, nor any tools to build one. "All 86 persons have no right to leave this ravine or go

* County of Svatyiw of the Voroshylowhrad region.

further than a mile and a quarter from it," said the NKVD leader. "There is water in the bush, you can use it. You can also work as much land as you can. Now is your chance to prove you did not live by exploiting others. If you break these regulations, you'll be arrested."

There were 21 families in the group. The night was cold and children suffered most; the older people built fires and spent the night sitting around. With the break of day some started to dig holes in the ground, others went to the forest to get wood, and before sunset two dugouts were half ready. Women and children had shelters.

These "houses" were holes in the ground with a few logs laid over them. These, in turn, were covered by twigs and grass and topped with a layer of dirt. By the end of one month in that place, each family had its own dug-out.

The names of the people sent here were: Panas Boyko, Vasyl Serdyuk, Kost Fesenko, Vasyl Rybalka, Oleksiy Rybalka, Pylyp Hruzdo, a widow with her son Fedir and a fellow from the village of Kuzemiwka whose name as well as those of many others, I forgot.

The people worked for a whole summer on the land. My father planted ten acres of watermelons. The cooperative bought **132** tons of these, promising to pay **45.45** rubles per ton, that is 6,000 rubles for all the watermelons they took from us. My father never saw this money.

Other families also worked hard for a whole summer and raised sufficient food for the whole winter. We began to lead a new life, and never mentioned what happened. Being very poor, we consoled ourselves with the thought that we were safe because we had next to nothing that could be taken away from us. Some planned to build real houses the next spring. Dug-outs could be used for chicken-coops. A few even acquired some livestock.

Winter that year was stormy, and blizzards tied people to their dug-outs. They were quite safe there, or so they thought. At the end of February, they had visitors: activists and village soviets and NKVD agents. The communists were looking for something. All were drunk and as vicious as a pack of hungry wolves. Disregarding the presence of women and children, they began to abuse the inmates in indecent terms and say: "No matter how much you're knocked down, you creep out again... We'll show you how to start "kukul" business again..." Nobody dared to say anything and this passiveness made the communists still more angry.

They began to destroy things. The clay fire places and ovens were knocked down, pillows ripped open and feathers blown away by the storm.

The problem now was: What to do? Where to loo' for protection? Opinions were divided; one group wanted to leave the place, go away and get lost in some far away place; and the other wanted to remain. This matter was discussed for a month.

Then a group of 19 young men and four girls left the place in the dead of night. They hoped to earn their living by working in industry.

They worked at first as day laborers, and later managed to get false passports and become regular factory workers. Many became skilled in their work, sent for their relatives to Yarky, and helped them to get work and become established in new occupations.

This did not last long. There came a purge, all workmen were screened: Who is he? Where did he come from? What is his social background? They could not remain in their jobs with their false documents.

In the spring of **1934** these "migrating birds" had to fly again. Some went to Crimea, others to Caucausus, Central Asia or Siberia, changing again their name, place of birth, occupation, etc.

In spite of these precautions, most of them fell again into the net of the NKVD. They were sentenced to five years in the concentration camps. Among these unfortunates was my brother,

A. S.

THE FAMINE

In the fall of 1930 the authorities made a list of my father's possessions and arrested him. The rest of us were marked for deportation to Siberia. My elder brother and sister took us smaller children and our mother, at night, to another county. There we spent most of the wintertime in a hole which supplied sand for the neighborhood. Late: we had to flee still further, to a cottage belonging to my mother's parents, where we lived secretly in the loft.

When the communists robbed the people of their grain in 1932, our mother died from hunger. Three of us were left; I was 11 and my sisters were 8 and 6. We lived in a cottage that was not heated, and we ate whatever we could beg from the people. At that time my father was released from prison and joined us. He came to us swollen with hunger, like thousands of others in the village. In the spring of 1933 when the snow melted, I went with my father to dig in the fields for half-rotten beets or to gather grain at the site of grain stacks.

I. Kh.

MACHUKHY

I was born in the village of Machukhy, in Poltava province, in a farm family consisting of **13** persons. In **1928** my parents, and my brothers and sisters over **18** years of age, were disfranchised because father some years ago had belonged to a group of church elders. Two years later, all our property was confiscated. Then older members of the family went away to find some employment and four of us little children remained at home with our mother. In December **1930**, we were thrown out of our cottage and were not allowed to take anything with us. That winter we lived a nomad life in our native village, and in the spring went to Poltava where father was employed as a construction worker. There we lived in privation and hunger till **1933**.

At that time the grim reaper had a bountiful harvest. Walking the streets of the city one saw dying people every **50** to **100** steps. The sanitary branch used to send wagons at night to collect corpses. My father died from hunger on March **15, 1933**. I dug a grave with the help of my younger brother, and buried my father. In June of the same year when I, as a son of "an enemy of the people" was in prison, my mother died, also from hunger.

Sometime after my release from prison I visited my native village of Machukhy. It had been very big, close to **2,000** homes. During the famine the population dwindled to about half. My relatives told me that younger and stronger folks ran away to Donbas looking for work there. Those that were fortunate enough to do this survived. I also learned that many villages and hamlets literally had ceased to exist, all the people in them dying in **1932-1933**. For instance, in the village of Soroky, where **50** families lived before, not a soul remained alive. Their cottages were soon after torn

down by the neighboring collective farm. Some men from the village of Lakhy were exiled to Solowky, and the rest died out. In the hamlet of Lebedi, where 5 families consisting of 31 people lived, all died, and almost the same fate overtook the hamlet of Hety with 4 families (37 persons) among them four relatives of my mother. Only 2 persons survived in the latter hamlet. The hamlets of Tverdokhliby (5 families) and Malolitka (7 families) died out. Three persons from the hamlet of Boruny managed to run away to industrial centres, and were thus saved from the doom which over took the remaining members of the three families who lived there.

In Machukhy, among those families whom I knew personally, 126 persons died from hunger.

Y. P.

FAMINE IN MOLOCHANSKE

During the famine in Ukraine I lived with my husband! and two children in the county town of Molochanske, in the district of Melitopil, lecturing in the agricultural and public schools. It was already apparent in the fall that famine was inevitable. The authorities requisitioned all grain and other food supplies from the villages. In October the teachers were each given a sack of potatoes and then nothing till the new crop was harvested the following year. My husband was getting 11 ounces of bread and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pints of soup a day at the factory where he worked. This food had to be divided into four, and was absolutely insufficient. Soon my son, seven years old, swelled up and lay in bed, while my husband looked like one of the living dead.

When March arrived the people turned black and died, but we were forbidden even to mention the word "famine". Bodies of the dead lay in the orchards and on the streets of Molochanske. In the village of Terpinnya, close to Melitopil, which raised only fruit, all the people either died or were scattered all over the country. The place was completely deserted, quite dead. Later, Russian colonists from the Orel district settled there.

I had parents in Lviv, then in Poland. One day, in despair, I wrote a letter to them asking them to send some money to Torgsin that I might buy a little food. Some time later my husband went to Melitopil and brought some food from Torgsin.

But my letter asking for help was not forgotten by the NKVD. Four years later when my husband and I were arrested, this letter figured as one among many other charges. I was sentenced to ten years in exile, my husband was also sent away, and my sons went to "children's homes". one in Donbas and the other near Kherson.

V. L.

NIZHEN FAMINE SKETCHES

The district of Nizhen is flat with a low horizon and plenty of sky. Someone, sometime, compared it to Holland.

During the war for the independence of Ukraine much blood was shed there, both of her sons and of her enemies. Kruty is there, where three hundred heroic young Ukrainians faced overwhelming odds to shield Kiev from the enemy. And as late as 1923 a detachment of Soviet militia was mowed down near the village of Berkiyiwka, by those who had refused to give up the fight.

The bolshevik leaders tried to make much of the "red guerillas" in the district of Kropyvnyky, Tochony and Osy-penko. Even a "Red Guerilla Collective" was organized near Nizhen, only to be liquidated in the fated years of 1932 and 1933. Thus, Ukrainian communists who helped Russians gain control of Ukraine were later rewarded by them as oppositionists.

Troyitsky Cemetery

The disaster of 1933 did not pass by this gentle corner of the Ukraine, even though in the province of Chernyhiw it was not as acute as in Poltava province and other southern and central provinces of Ukraine.

However, trucks loaded with dead bodies became a common sight on the streets of quiet Nizhen during the first months. Every morning at daybreak they were in a hurry to go, and tarpaulin coverings would quite often be lifted by the wind to reveal their horrible loads. The people already knew what was hidden under them and were not as scared as they were at first, but the trucks themselves felt uneasy and wanted to dump their loads into some hole near

the Troyitsky Cemetery, prepared the previous night, as soon as possible.

Cannibalism

Chernihiwska Street is close to the cemetery. Quiet, covered with smooth green grass, wide, as all the streets in our towns are. The militia uncovered here a "meat combine" with a great variety of processed meats. They were sold everywhere, at the railway station, on the public market. The sources of supply were children or teenagers who had not lost much weight. The marinated remains of the body of a stout wagon driver, known by everyone in the town, were found in another, similar butcher shop.

In a cul-de-sac close by a mother, became insane from hunger, killed her child with a knife and having eaten a little herself, died in terrible agony.

The centre of the town boasts of "Torgsin", a universal departmental store. The show windows display everything that may satisfy either primitive hunger or the most capricious taste. All of it is of Ukrainian origin, except the expensive woollens and silks, products of industries discouraged in Ukraine because she is to remain a source of raw materials. Everything may be had for gold or silver. The country is thus drained of the last remnants of gold, wedding rings, gilded picture frames, monograms, etc.

From the "closed rationing centres", especially organized for the Soviet bureaucracy, the NKVD agents and party members carry away white bread, sugar, chocolate, butter. Centres for higher officials of the county party executive are not as well stocked and those for the intellectuals only supply them with enough food to keep body and soul together.

The Children Arrange For The Funeral

My friend M., a student at the Arts Academy in Moscow, also a native of Nizhen, visited with me today. This is his first visit for a year. Always jolly, his face now has a greyish tinge and his eyes burn with fever. He cannot bear any longer to see corpses lying in the streets. There is no such thing in Moscow. In the Russian villages he did not see a single corpse, or a child swollen with hunger. Why does Ukraine suffer so terribly? Being alone with me he is not afraid to make a horrible guess: The famine was pur-

posely planned to break down the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers.

He saw two little children, swollen from hunger, slowly move their heavy feet, carrying the rudely made coffin of their youngest brother. He helped them carry it, assisted in the burial and gave them the last bit of bread he had received for making posters for the military division. Weeping with powerless rage, he cursed and cursed. Then he drew from the folder a sketch of that funeral. Goya, immortal master, the terrors of your times pale in comparison with those of Stalin!

In The Frunze Collective Farm

A walk to the green suburb of Owdiyiwka does not calm one down. Again a funeral, the deserted homes of farmers who had loved them, dead bodies of members of the collectives and others, a few of the dead lying by the road, one of them already in a state of decomposition.

Why such inefficiency? He was beaten to death. Not being a member of the collective farm, the hungry fellow had stolen a little flour. The party leaders in the collective used this incident to incite the hungry, bad tempered members who were near to breakdown. They were fed just enough to keep them alive in this "shock" collective. They behaved like beasts. Chasing him with dogs they fell upon him and belabored him for a long time, enjoying it, perhaps because of their despair and anger at the situation in which they were involved. That night they robbed the seed reserves of the collective.

In the club of the collective the artist, our friend S. S., is painting frescoes. In order not to die from hunger, to get some thin beet soup and sometimes a piece of dark material resembling bread he "glorifies" the organizers of famine. Look at one of them and you'll see the hateful face with the thick mustache, the industry, the tractors. But at home the pictures shown only to trusted friends are different: a dead landscape with dead people; a hungry, almost dying, woman at the window of a railway car going somewhere; a whole family begging, a dead landscape as a background with red ravens, a father dying before the cottage.

Yesterday 5 persons died in the Frunze "shock" collective and today 8. How many died outside? Young girl students sent out to collect grain often hear when they go near some cottage: "Don't go there. They are all dead!"

Educational Institutions

The old teacher has tears in his eyes telling of the girl student who cried today during the lecture, "I cannot bear any more. . ." Then the whole class in the normal school began to cry. Then this incident was hushed up somehow. One cannot speak of this aloud, — there are ears everywhere.

The building of the Nizhen lyceum is fronted by a white colonnade. Gogol was educated here. Now it is a place where future pedagogues are trained, mostly farmers' sons and daughters. More and more often they cannot answer the questions put to them. "My memory is weak", "I did not grasp the question", "I cannot work", — they say. Some lay in bed for hours. To say "I am hungry" is not permissible in spite of the fact that in the student's dining room one gets only a little mouldy flour or rotten cabbage, sometimes with a cockroach or two. If you complain you have to face the severe look of the huge principal, S. Porada: "What! Hungry? You are spreading Hitler propaganda, you promote class hatred" and he's gone.

It is even worse when the matter reaches the ears of the party monitor, agent of the "state security organ", and secretary of a party cell in the normal school, comrade Pirogov. Small in stature from a congenital deformity, with a cruel face, he nourishes a pathological hatred of all that is Ukrainian. He is a friend of Porada and assistant to the principal Tykhy, those two exemplary traitors, but he watches them. Later on, in 1934, after Skrypnyk's suicide, he'll crucify them together with the whole Ukrainian communist party, professors, but just now traitors are useful. The successful execution of the famine pressure on Ukraine depends to a great extent on such traitors. They are privileged persons who get food from "rationing centres", they are everywhere, in every collective farm, institution, school. The hungry students accompany the departure of this triumvirate with looks full of the deepest hatred.

In some forgotten corner of the building Karpo Arkhypovich quietly dies, the old librarian of the lyceum, which boasts of over 200,000 volumes. His tall, slim figure standing in the door protected the library from vandalism in the days after the revolution. "I won't let you in," he would say, no matter who controlled the town. No one dared to touch his holy of holies. He loved his work; he dedicated his life to it. Only generous industrious natures are able to

do this. Karpo Arkhypovich would find, in a few minutes, any book that was needed without consulting the catalogue, and professors would often turn to him instead of trusting the catalogue, which was not a very reliable guide. Breathing hard before his death he said: "Chaos in Ukraine, we'll all perish". His son Vasyl roamed the rooms like a sad shadow. He and his mother also saw the grim reaper approaching (their legs began to swell up).

After Karpo Arkhypovich, another old worker died, Shamin, a heroic old figure who had served the lyceum for 50 years, and a few girl servants died. When someone remarked that they had died from hunger, Pirogov spat out: "What? Famine? Counter-revolution!"

I. I. Koval

TWENTY YEARS OF IDHACONIC LAW

The law for the protection of socialist property, promulgated by the Soviet Government on August 7, 1932, that is, 21 years ago, involved a transformation so unheard of, in the nature and extent of its extermination of the Ukrainian people, that it may safely be termed "genocide".

The law said: "The rapid growth in economic strength of the socialist division of agriculture makes the enemies of the socialist state mad with rage and hatred. The remnants of the kurkul elements are using all possible means to ruin it, in order to hinder the development and strengthening of our socialist state. One very widespread method is the stealing of socialist property. Taking all the above into consideration, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has decided to punish every theft of socialist property, irrespective of circumstance and material value, by five years of imprisonment in the distant concentration camps and with confiscation of all property of the defendant and higher punishment, if necessary, to obtain the greatest measure of social justice."

At first it was hard to grasp fully the significance of this "law". Its real meaning and aims became clear only after the Russians began to put it in practice.

Truly, these were terrible times for the Ukrainian people, and the effects of this law were frightful. Robbed of the last ounce of grain by the state planned grain collection, which was carried out ruthlessly by sweeping the granaries to get the last grain, the people remained without food. The farmers and their families went into the fields, now bare, to glean and thus get at least a few handfuls of grain. But pioneer — komsomol brigades whose task it was to protect

"socialist property" hunted them down and, calling in those organs of "justice", the militia, and the NKVD, arranged for public prosecution in the courts.

And so these unfortunate toilers, the Ukrainian farmers, who had been robbed of all food, were dragged to trial for stealing "socialist property", based on the law of August 7, 1932.

I shall never forget one incident which overshadows everything else I saw. The wife of a member of the collective farm in the village of Orliwka in the county of Kulykiw, province of Chernyhiw, having six little children to feed, went, with another woman whose husband had been killed by the NKVD during the collectivization drive, into the fields to find a few ears of grain. Her husband was sent east for committing a "crime" against the Soviet government. They had each picked up only two or three ears when the pioneer brigade caught them and brought them before the militia officer, who took them to court. The poor women were both sentenced to imprisonment in the concentration camps of the far North of the Soviet Union.

Another member of the collective in the same village was sentenced to ten years in concentration camps for picking up ten onions from the garden of the collective!

This law of August 7 was a prologue to the infamous artificial famine in Ukraine. The late fall of 1932 was especially terrible. Older people, children and weaker individuals began to die by the thousand. In May of 1933, only a few score people remained alive in villages whose population a year before had run into hundreds or even thousands. For instance, in the villages of Orliwka, Smolanka and Hrabiwka there were 45 to 50 persons left, who looked as if they had risen from their graves. Before the famine these villages had housed more than 3,000 to 4,000 people. In some counties all the villages were marked by black banners, to show that there was hardly anyone left alive. University students were sent from Kiev to these villages to gather in the crops, which were very good that year.

The village and city streets in Ukraine were littered with hundreds of dead farmers, victims of famine. There was no one to bury these toilers of the soil who fed the country.

At this time the French minister, Herriot, passed through Ukraine on his way to Moscow but he was not allowed to see the dire straits of the Ukrainian people. The day he was due to arrive in Kiev, all the stores on the route he was to

take in the city were filled with bread and other food which was not for sale. The NKVD took great pains to remove from the streets leading to the railway station to the opera* house all the victims of famine. Mr. Herriot saw only "prosperity" at a time when hundreds were dying from hunger in the "European Market" in the city. So Herriot did not see any of the citizens of the country with which he desired friendly trade relations.

During the preparations for Mr. Herriot's visit I happened to see how one of the Russian gauleiters, P. P. Postyshev, was directing operations on Tymofiyewska Street, near No. 13. He ordered the NKVD men who were protecting him to arrest those who were staring at the newly-built shop benches, filled with bread and other food. The sale of the food was forbidden, and the NKVD guards watched the shops day and night to protect them from attack by the hungry people until the visit was over. As far as I know such precautions were taken all along Mr. Herriot's route from Kiev to Kharkiw and beyond, as far as the boundary of Ukrainian territory. This happened at a time when the yield was above average. The statistical data definitely proved that Ukraine, having an average yield, can feed almost the whole of Europe.

* From the railway station along the b ~~levard~~ and Bezzakowska Tymofiyewska and Fundukleyewska streets to the city opera house

J. Chmyr

SPEAK RUSSIAN OR STARVE

I am a native of Kiev province, from the village of Bridky in the administrative unit of Parada.

In June, 1931, I was drafted by the bolshevik government for compulsory work in the city of Marupil to build the Lenin Factory named "Azovatel". There were many others brought here from Ukrainian villages, about 400 people, and we were lodged in the former Theological Seminary building under the watchful eyes of the NKVD.

The living conditions in that place were dreadful. Our daily ration consisted of 11 ounces of bread and some thin soup (balanda). Dirty rags on the bare floors, full of crawling lice, served for beds. We did heavy work under these conditions, dug ditches and carried bricks.

Close to the seminary was a separate enclosure, protected by barbed wire, in which 4,000 priests and 36 'deviationists' were being detained. They fared even worse than we did. All of them were completely naked, hungry, and during hot spells they were not allowed enough water to drink but were forced to do the heaviest work. Numbers of them died every day.

At the first opportunity that presented itself, after three months of this living hell, I ran away. To remain at large I had to work at some very heavy jobs, and be constantly on the lookout for NKVD men.

I came home on April 5, 1932, and there learned that the NKVD was again looking for me as a traitor and deviationist. I had to go away. I thought that I might get some work in Donbas and lose myself there. But when I came to the railway station on April 11 I was not able to buy a ticket to the place I wished. The only way left was to go

to Moscow to work at the construction of the Moscow-Donbas railway line.

There were others in the same predicament. We were told by the employment agent: "You have two alternatives, to go and work at railway construction, or starve".

Ten days later we made up our minds. Transportation charges, amounting to 34 rubles per person, had to be paid in advance. That night we were loaded in boxcars with a double row of bunkbeds. Each car had to accommodate 110 men and we were rather crowded. The next day our train, with a human load of 4,000 was dispatched to Moscow. Not an ounce of bread or a drop of soup was given us while we were on the way and the result was that by May 1 eight had died. They died from hunger.

We were not allowed to get off the train in Moscow, but were taken to the town of Kashira 75 miles away. Since we were such a long time without food 370 more died on the way.

We spent four days in Kashira being organized for work, but still there was no food. Then we began to beg, but those who could not speak Russian did not get any help. The Russians would say: "I won't give you any bread if you cannot ask in Russian. Go back where you came from, and perish there from hunger!"

Twenty-five others and I were sent with the railway survey party from Kashira back to Moscow. We surveyed 67 miles in 30, days, and each night stayed in a different village.

I had an opportunity to observe the life of the "muzhiks" in the Russian villages. It was different from life in the Ukrainian villages. Each farmer had, on the average, 4 horses, 6 cows, sheep and pigs, while in Ukraine the people had been deprived of all their possessions and were starving. The Russians had bread, meat, and potatoes were rotting in the farm yards. No one dreamed of any famine here!

I worked here for a year. Towards the end I lived in a Moscow suburb, and saw Ukrainians come to buy bread, which they tried to take back to their dying families in Ukraine.

I left Moscow on April 20, 1933, after having provided myself with 79 pounds of bread. When about to leave I met two women from my native village who had come to Moscow to buy bread. Our journey was uneventful until we reached Bakhmach on the Russian-Ukrainian border. Here, all the passengers were ordered by the NKVD to go to the customs

office, where the officials took away my bread, leaving me only 9 pounds. This was in consideration of the fact that I had been working in Moscow, but my countrywomen were not only robbed of their bread but were themselves detained for "taking" bread away from Russia.

These two unfortunate women left hungry children at home. Their husbands died from hunger, and the children were alone. They never came back.

After my arrival in my native village I was ordered by the village soviet chairman, a Moscow henchman, Klym Komiychenko, to oversee a brigade of women, swollen from hunger, whose task it was to sow and weed sugar beets. Practically all the people in the village were suffering and swollen, many were already dead from hunger. The work these hungry women were doing was too hard for them, and they would fall down and die. It was terrible to look at them, the skin cracked and water oozed out. The peak of mortality was reached just before the harvest.

Then another man and I were ordered to roam over the village and gather up the corpses. Cannibalism raised its ugly head, mothers ate their children and wives their husbands. Nastya Kyzyma ate her husband, Andriyan, and one child, and then she and her remaining five children died. Osadchy's wife ate him when he died, and then told the neighbours that she had buried his bones behind the cottage. The hot weather hastened the decomposition of the bodies and the stench in the village was unendurable. About twenty people died every day and there was no one to bury them. Four men were steadily employed at the cemetery, digging graves. We brought in the dead on the wagon like logs. No one lamented their deaths because their families or relatives lay sick or were already dead. The NKVD agent, a Russian, was telling us what to do. People were buried worse than cattle. If I should, by some miracle, return to my native village I would be able to find all those holes where more than half the people in the village were buried.

I worked at this collection of the dead for two months, and then myself swelled with hunger. All I had to eat during that time was 3½ ounces of bread and a small potato a day and lack of other foods, especially meat and fats, began to affect my body. I ate nettles, lambs quarters, locust flowers and drank water. My body swelled so badly that I could walk no longer, I could only crawl along.

But luckily for me, the ears of rye began to fill with

a milky substance. I greedily sucked the ears and the swelling abated. In Moscow I had weighed over 200 pounds, but now I was only 106. Slowly my strength returned. I could walk, and in four weeks was out of danger, thanks to the ears of rye.

Then I managed to get hold of some forged documents, and I went to Donbas. I never went back to my native village.

V. Hai

COMMUNIST TERROR IN VLASIWKA

I remember the time in **1932** when many wagons appeared on the street and, nearing our cottage, stopped. I was young at the time and no one objected when I went among the wagons. All the drivers were strangers to me.

Then some important people arrived, and asked the chairman of the village soviet, Tverdokhlib: "Where is he?" "Ran away, the son of . . ." was the answer, "but we'll catch him!"

The chairman then fell upon my mother and hit her in the face. She fell down and began to cry from pain and fear, and all of us children imitated her.

I realized that they were looking for my father, and warned him to go as far away as he could. When I came back our house was empty: grain, cattle and everything else had been cleaned out by the activists. This happened in November, **1932**.

Ours was not the only family to meet with such disaster. Most of our neighbours were robbed of their grain, cattle, poultry, clothes and any other personal property they owned. As a result of this "grain collection drive", the people had nothing to eat and in the spring of **1933** were forced to gather peels, roots, corn cobs, all kinds of leaves and weeds. Some of these were poisonous, and many died. The worst time came when spring work was begun. The people were driven to work by force, and had no time to gather leaves or weeds for food. They swelled and died by the dozen each day. The leaders of the collective farm took steps to bury the dead. Then it was discovered that 17 families had died out completely by the beginning of May.

At the end of May, some of us were driven to the village

of Pyrky in Shchomiw county, to work there. There were twenty five of us, but four died before we reached our destination. They were: Ivan Debely, Hrytsko Prokopenko, Kyrma Shvydky and Oleksiy Valakh.

Working there we received once a day a thin mixture of flour and water. I was there with my sister and on the third day we succeeded in running away. When we came back to our village we learned that people had found human meat at Mekhey Prokopenko's place, that of their two children. Later, Prokopenko confessed that they had eaten their two children and two strangers, a man and woman, who had asked them for a night's lodging.

After hearing of this tragedy, I went to the state farm "Ryzhiy". On the way there I saw many corpses. They were naked, and no one covered them up. They did not want to give me work at the state farm because I had no evidence to prove that my social background was acceptable. I had to shift for myself as best I could.

When I returned home all my family were alive, but death had taken a terrible toll in the village. Here is a partial list of the dead:

Khomenko Hordiy, his wife and son,
" Khymka and his daughter Falozhka,
" Stepan and his wife,
Motyk Hrytsko,
Motyk Nestor and 2 children,
Mykhel Ulyana,
Ostolemey,
Prokopenko Trokhym,
Ryabykha Svyrydon,
Shatsky Hrytsko and his son Mykola,
Shvydky Ihor, his wife Platonida and 2 children,
Stetsyuk Ivan,
Sydorenko Pavlo and his wife,
" Semen and his children, Petro and Olena,
Valakh Odovka,
" Yakiw,
" Paraska,
Vowk Ivan and his wife, Ulyana
All of the families of:
Baydachenko Makar — 4 persons,
Chykal Ivan — 6 persons
Hotsenko Karpo — 5 persons,
Khomenko Ivan — 4 persons,

" Petro — 6 persons

" Taras — 6 persons

Lysak Ostap — 4 persons

" Sylvester — 7 persons

Prokopenko Levko — 4 persons

Stas Ananiy — 3 persons

" Myron — 4 persons

There were others, but I cannot now recall their names.

In the hamlet of Bochaniwka, close to our village, all 12 families died from hunger.

Petro Drobylko

THE CURSED THIRTIES

This happened in 1933, in that part of the village of Smila called Chudniwtsi, in the county of Sumy.

There were four persons in the Chernukha family, father, mother and two daughters. They had been "dekurkulized" and driven out of their cottage. Then they built a dug-out, and were thrown out of that, too. Nobody dared to give them shelter because Stalin's henchmen had declared that if anyone gave a night's lodging to a "kukkul" he would also be regarded as a "kukkul".

Later on, when they found some kind of shelter, the old man, Andriy Chornukha, disappeared, but no one looked for him because the communist authorities really hoped that our people would be wiped out in one way or another. Sometime later the daughter, Marta, disappeared. Nobody searched for her either. The family now consisted only of the mother and the youngest daughter, who was ten years old at that time. This girl would not sleep at home, and ran away at the approach of evening. She told people that her mother had already eaten her father and her sister Marta, and now once more there was nothing to eat, and she was afraid that her mother might kill her, too.

When the militia learned of this, a search was made and two heads were found, that of the father, Andriy Chornukha, and of her daughter, Marta. The militia took the heads and the mother away and a little later, the youngest daughter also. No one knows what happened to them after that.

Thus, after long privations and tortures, Andriy Chornukha's family found shelter and eternal peace. Up till that time love and peace had reigned among them. The respon-

sibility for their tragedy must be laid at the door of **Stalin** and his gang.

This was not an isolated case that happened only in my native village. Similar tragedies were common all over Ukraine.

I am almost illiterate and write in a simple manner, but what I write is true, and truth, they say, shall overcome evil.

Ivan Shewchuk

A LETTER FROM A WIFE

I was fortunate to be serving in the eighth rifle regiment, stationed at that time (**1933**) in Feodosiya.

One day, during a meal in the messhall, I received a letter from my wife who lived in the village of Barashne. We did receive letters occasionally. My wife's letter ran as follows:

"My dear and beloved Ivan,

"We are still alive, but almost all the people in our village are swollen with hunger except for the head of the collective, brigadiers and activists. I can hardly move on my swollen feet. You should see how our boy looks! The only thing that saves us is milk, some mouldy two year old buckwheat, beets and leaves of linden trees. The cow serves four families, I milk her only every fourth day and the other three days she is milked by our neighbours.

"In Ivan Buhay's family all have died. Seven of them lay dead when the brigadier came to call them to work. Stepanyda is also dead, the one called "Fyorka", who belonged to the collective farm "Bolshevik", and all her family of four. I am writing this about our neighbours, but the same thing is happening in all the villages and perhaps all over Ukraine.

"Don't leave us half dead without help! Save us!"

Before I had finished reading the letter to my friends, it was seized by the political instructor, and in the evening I was called to the regimental office and ordered to denounce the letter the next day, in front of the political instruction class. I had to say that the letter was not written by my wife, because she was unable to write, but that it must be the work of class enemies, kurkul enemies, whose aim was the disruption of the Red Army.

The statement was written by the political instructor.

My wife and son did not live to receive any help from me.

F. Fedorchuk

HOW COMMUNISTS DECEIVE FOREIGN MISSIONS

Many people from Ukraine, that is those who could move around, and had some money to spend, travelled to Orel and other Russian provinces to buy bread. These travellers were especially numerous during the last two weeks of June, 1933, when the weather was fine. Since the railway station of Lozova was a junction, everyone had to change there, and as the trains were crammed with people some had to wait their turn to board them. The waiting period was never less than two weeks, often longer. Those returning home with a little food for their families would consume their scanty purchases and, unable to get home and lacking any other food, starved to death in and around the station.

At this time the Turkish mission, on its way home from Moscow, wished to have a meal at the station restaurant at Lozova. But the station was full of people with bags, dead bodies, swollen human shadows, full of rubbish, alive with lice. The GPU sent trucks and gathered all the dead and those who were still alive but unable to walk, and took them to an unknown destination. The rest of the ragged human mass, who could walk, were taken about 18 miles out of the city and forbidden to return under threats of a fate worse than death, which meant interrogation in the cells of the GPU.

Then the station was cleaned and all kinds of food was brought from Kharkiw, with pretty round-cheeked girls as waitresses. To complete the deception, the station was filled with a "public", also from Kharkiw, dressed in new clothes, gaudy neckties and hats who briskly walked around as if on some business of their own. All wore smiles on their faces.

The station restaurant was also filled with people, who sat at the tables loaded with all kinds of wine, fish, fried chicken and caviar. As to prices, I only remember that fried chicken cost 25 kopeks.*

When the Turks arrived they saw clean, prosperous-looking people at the station and the restaurant filled with customers eating whatever they desired. One fellow hardly touched the chicken which he had ordered and pushed it aside as if disgusted with it. The Turks were surprised and nonplussed. Perhaps they had expected to see something different. But they had a very inexpensive meal in Ukraine in **1933**, even though they did not see any of the famine then raging in the country. Or maybe they did see it somewhere else.

* 100 kopeks — 1 ruble — 25 cents at the present rate of exchange.

F. Fedorchuk

3,441 DEAD IN RYAZHSKA

The village of Ryazhska is situated in the corner of Poltava province formed by the boundaries of the provinces of Kharkiw and Dnipropetrowske. It was very big, numbering, before the famine of 1933 9,000 persons. Many of these died in that fateful year, and people often wondered what the total was. It was impossible to find out during Russian rule, but when the Germans came a thorough investigation revealed that the total had reached the terrifying number of 3,441 persons.

The elders of the village received permission from the German authorities to raise a monument to the dead victims of the famine. A big mound was built in 1942 on the site where a church had stood till 1933. It was topped by a huge oaken cross bearing the inscription: "In memory of 3,441 victims of the bolshevik regime, in the year 1933".

Then on Whit Sunday that year a requiem mass was held, attended by practically all the villagers. There were many speakers after the church services but the most heart stirring was that of the lady teacher who made almost 5,000 people cry, and some faint.

I, too, remembered then my brothers and sisters and their children. Sixteen of them fell victim to the insatiable Russian imperialism disguised as socialism striving for the betterment of the human race.

I. Mariupilsky

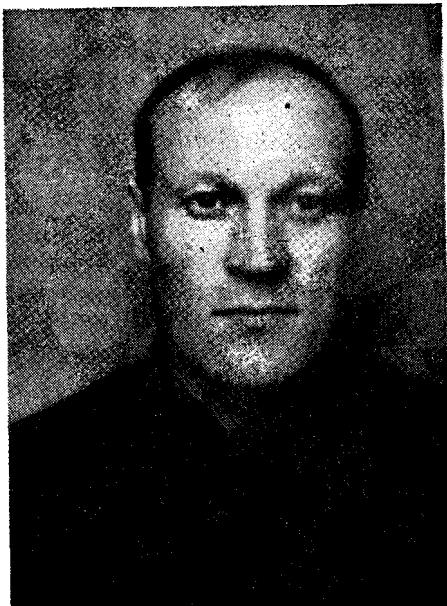
THE GIRL WHO BEGGED FOR BREAD

In **1933** I was living in Mariupil.

One day, as I waited in a queue in front of the store to buy bread, I saw a farm girl of about **15** years of age, in rags, and with starvation looking out of her eyes. She stretched her hand out to everyone who bought bread, asking for a few crumbs. At last she reached the storekeeper. This man must have been some newly arrived stranger who either could not, or would not speak Ukrainian. He began to berate her, said she was too lazy to work on the farm, and hit her outstretched hand with the blunt edge of a knife blade. The girl fell down and lost a crumb of bread she was holding in the other hand. Then the storekeeper stepped closer, kicked the girl and roared:

"Get up! Go home, and get to work!" The girl groaned, stretched out and died. Some in the queue began to weep. The communist storekeeper noticed it and threatened: "Some are getting too sentimental here. It is easy to spot enemies of the people!"

Mykola Shtefan



THE LETTER

I was ten years old when armed bands called "cheka" began to raid villages in Ukraine. One day these "chekists" suddenly appeared in our hamlet.* Our neighbours ran away from their homes, but our family for some reason was caught in the cottage. It was hard to understand them, not only because they spoke a different language, but because they were drunk. Shouting insults they shot at the ceiling or the floor and then fell upon my father and elder brother and began to beat them. My mother tried to protect my father and brother. The result was that soon all three of them lay insensible on the floor in their own blood, beaten by the thugs' gun butts. Having taken all those things which caught their fancy, the chekists departed.

After some time my mother and my brother regained consciousness and, a little later, my father. He had a large white beard which seemed to have become still whiter now;

* Hamlet of Chewy-Bychky in the county of Kozelsk in Poltava province.

it looked like a white poster with a large red spot of dried blood.

After this incident we were almost sure that the chekists would not disturb us again, but we were wrong. They did come again, — the same gang. They set fire to our cottage and other buildings, took my father and elder brother, and departed. On the way my brother was ordered to get off the wagon and take 50 steps to one side. They were getting ready to shoot him, but just before the command to fire was given my brother dashed away in the evening twilight, and vanished in the nearby ravine. Hundreds of shots failed to reach him. Then they fell upon my father, beat him up on the way and then, in the cheka quarters in Kreminchuk they killed him. They threw his corpse into the street and ordered the village soviet authorities of Pryhariw to take it back to our hamlet. We were glad that my brother had escaped, but on the Saturday before Whit Sunday the cheka detachment caught him together with his friend Ivan Kuzmenko, by Sytnyk pond in the county of Kozelsk. They were shot on the spot. I saw their bodies, mutilated and shot many times.

Now only my mother, my two younger brothers and myself remained. I went away. There were many such waifs and strays as I was at that time. After a while I went back and helped my mother to build a small cottage, and by 1929 we again had a horse and cow, and began farming again in cooperation with a neighbour.

Then they came again, — a different gang this time. I did not wait to be caught, and ran away before they arrived. My mother and brothers managed somehow till 1932 when all of them were driven out of the cottage, the horse and the cow confiscated and the elder of my two brothers was sent as a "class enemy" to a concentration camp in northern Russia. He was not alone, Maksym Bychok, Trokhym Cheryms, Pavlo Khvydrya, Semen Starchyk and many others kept him company. The menfolk exiled, the grain swept away, my mother and brother wandered from house to house.

I obtained forged documents, changed my name and worked at the railway station in Donbas. By sending a letter through other people I received one in return from my brother:

"Greetings, dear brother!

"We were very glad to receive a letter from you. Maybe you will remain alive. Mother and I lead a very hard

life. Mother has become so thin and weak that she can hardly walk, and we are in dire straits, walking from one collective or state farm to another from morning till night, but they drive us away and will not give us work. Mother's legs have begun to swell and it makes me very sad to think that soon I shall be left all alone. My legs have not swollen yet, but they are aching. The pain is so sharp sometimes that I have to try very hard not to cry, because mother may feel bad about it. To add to this it is getting colder and we have no clothes, mother has no shoes at all and mine are almost gone. No money to buy them, and yet there are no shoes in the stores. Collective and state farms are about to finish threshing and all the grain is hauled to the railway station. When it gets much colder and the snow covers the ground then we will perish because it will be impossible to glean and we have not a single grain to keep us alive in winter. Even now we are so hungry that sometimes I faint. We ask you, dearest brother, to send us a loaf of bread if you have money to buy it, if not please send us all the crumbs and small pieces of bread that may be left from your meal. It does not matter if they are very small or are burned, we'll eat them here, because mother and I are so hungry. I will remain grateful to you for this help until I die!

"Your brother Fedir and Mother".

Having read this letter I sold everything I could, got permission to stay away from work for a few days, bought food and went to visit my mother and brother. But before I even entered my native hamlet I was arrested, because they had been hunting for me for a long time and were ready. They took me to the county seat and thence, with three others, to a deportation camp near Kiev, called Lenin's Smithy. Then we worked on Trukhaniw island, near Kiev, building a bridge across the Dnieper and at the end of 1932, we were sent in sealed boxcars beyond Baikal to build new mines and dig coal.

Ten long dreary years passed thus. Very few of those comrades who had arrived with me in the sealed cars were still alive. But I returned.

When I came to Chervy-Bychky I could not find anything. The site where our cottage had stood was plowed up. My mother and my brother died waiting for me to bring them food, — died from hunger. — and no one could tell me where their grave was.

Sava Shynkarenko

BLACKLISTED

The village of Verbky lies about 3 miles north of Pawlohrad, in the province of Dnipropetrowske, on the river Samara. Of considerable size, it is cut almost in half by the highway leading to Lozova and by the railway in the western end.

It was the autumn of 1932. Almost all the villages in Ukraine, like Verbky, failed to fulfil the grain quotas, which were raised impossibly high just for this purpose.

At this terrible time Verbky was one of those very backward villages whose names appeared on the country's black list. All the villages were decorated by huge black boards on which the names of people, of whole villages, or of industrial plants appeared. Everyone and everything that was regarded as backward and harmful to administration plans was thus branded by the bolshevik leaders. All those black-listed were subject to public abuse, received less food and were persecuted at every step. Briefly, they were candidates for prison terms and all the other forms of punishment.

At this time the village was teeming with "commissioners" sent by the higher party organs to do a thorough job of successful grain collection. They were strangers from the central provinces of Russia: Bugrov, Pukhteyev, Avtomonov, army commissar Teplov, Senin from the militia, and others. They were loyal pets of Stalin, who had no mercy for the poor people in the county.

The brigades they organized cleaned out the collective farms of all their grain. But the quantity collected fell far short of the plan. Then these brigades invaded the homes of the members of the collective and began to "collect" everything, the grain the people received as their yearly

wage for work in the collective, as well as handfuls raised in their gardens. All windmills were closed, the only village store was closed, and the people were forbidden to leave the place. Watchmen encircled it and a boycott of the village was proclaimed. The county seat, Pawlohrad, was decorated with posters urging people to "Boycott Verbky" and stores displayed the warning: "Verbky people stay out!"

Mr. Pukhyeyev sits at the table. He is drunk and in a belligerent mood. Banging his fist on the table he shouts at the widow, Anna Solod:

"Only till tomorrow! If you don't deliver 220 bushels of grain by tomorrow we'll scatter all your rubbish heap to the winds!"

"Where can I get it? Even now we have nothing to eat."

"You first of all deliver to the state, and then think about yourself!"

The next day a sign appeared on the white walls of the widow's cottage: "Shame to the saboteur and enemy of the grain collection plan!" It was illustrated by a cartoon. A whole brigade of seven men went to search for grain. They scattered everything in the cottage, demolished the oven, dug the earthen floor, but there was no grain hidden anywhere. The widow fainted from grief and despair and the children ran away.

The whole village groaned in the Russian talons. Seeing no way out from the unbearable situation Dmytro Chapla, Pavlo Volyn and Petro Yawtushenko hanged themselves. The latter scribbled before committing suicide: "I cannot live any longer in this hell."

These dreadful events were followed by many arrests. More than 200, men were put in prison or sent to concentration camps in Siberia. Those who gleaned in the fields because they had nothing to eat, those who did not welcome the officials, those who had little hand mills, in short all whom the Russians disliked for one reason or another — all were arrested. They were charged with "counter-revolutionary activities." The Moscow bullies were assisted by Ukrainian turncoats: Havrylo Lytvynenko, Ilko Moronets and Petro Trotsenko.

Later, in the fall, the whole management of the collective "Lenin's Memorial" was arrested for trying to protect people as much as they could. Their names were: Roman

Kolisnyk, Yakiw Lytvynenko, Yukhym Shpurenko and Ivan Trotsenko (**Mamay**). They were sentenced to 6, 8, and 10 years in the far concentration camps.

Others also received similar treatment: Oksana Vasylchenko was sent for three years to a concentration camp for gleaning; Danylo Demchenko, Sofron Kotenko, Panko Shynkarenko and Tyshchenko and many others were sent away for being politically unreliable, — they talked “counter-revolution” — when all these people did was to complain that life had become much harder since they were forced to join collective farms.

These persecutions were followed by a terrible famine which lasted till the next harvest. The toll was 997 persons out of a total of 7,000. There were only two births.

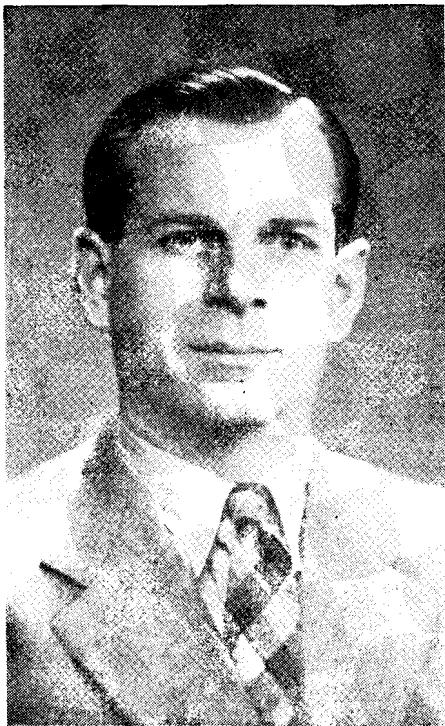
I cannot forget the date April 30, 1933. A beautiful sunny day, cherry orchards in bloom. Only to live! But a wagon loaded with the dead moves slowly and all is gone. That day 20 villagers were buried in a common grave.

I remember some of their names: Maria Buzoverya; Matviy Kolisnyk and all his family: Ivan, Pelagia and Dmytro; Khoma Ponomarenko; Ilko Ryabukha and his family: Petro, Maria and Ulyana; Panas Tkachenko; and many others.

That year the whole family of the young poet Hryhoriy Chapla died. His father, one of the poorest in the village, was the first to join the collective farm “Zirka”. When the poet, who taught public school in the village of Khandeleyiwka in the neighbouring county, came home to help his kin he found all of them dead. The thatch on the cottage was half gone, windows broken. The number of such deserted cottages grew and grew.

The people in Verbky were dying out. The same thing happened in the neighbouring villages. It was at a time when government granaries were bursting with grain.

Oleksander Hai-Holowko



THE TRAGEDY OF VIKNYNA

The village of Viknyna is situated at the meeting point of three provinces: Vynnytsya, Kiev and Odessa. The district in which Viknyna, with its 900 families and total population of 5,000, lay was rich in deep black chernozem, covered in summer with a sea of rye and wheat crops.

This village was unaffected by the famine of 1921, like the neighbouring villages. In spite of the fact that the meddling of the Russian administration with people's lives, their religion, their traditions, their customs and laws was keenly felt by them, on the whole the village led an industrious, carefree and happy life until the fall of 1929.

Then, in December 1929 and January 1930, two meetings were held which all the villagers had to attend. These fateful meetings profoundly affected the lives of all in the village. Although they opposed it for a long time, in the end

the farmers, intimidated and terrorized, passed a resolution to collectivize the whole village. To convince the farmers that they were wrong and that Stalin's pronouncement "to destroy the class of kurkuls by means of total collectivization" was right, the authorities dispossessed and sent to Murmansk concentration camps the best and the most industrious farmers with their families, including babies and little children. These people were, in the eyes of the occupying power, the greatest obstacle to collectivization. The unfortunate families as far as I remember were: the Borutski,* the Chornovoly, the Dobrawski, the Kucheryavi, the Netrebchuky, the Oliynyky, the Pidvysotski, the Stari (brothers nicknamed Honchari), the Zaiky, and others. Individuals who managed to escape from exile later told the grim story that on the way to Murmansk forests all the babies and little children froze to death and that their bodies were, on orders of the GPU guards, cast out from train into the snow along the railway tracks. Later many older people were dealt with in the same way and the remainder perished in the camps.

In February 1930, when the collectivized cattle began to die off and the farm implements to rust in the snow, there was the so-called "women's rebellion". Desperate women armed with pokers, hay forks and oven irons fell upon the collectives with great shouts, tongue lashings and curses addressed to the Russian occupants and in a moment the collective ceased to exist. They took their property, which had not been destroyed back home. A few days later special GPU detachments and militia arriving in the village arrested a score of people, mostly the poorest ones, who regarded themselves as more privileged and did not fear the bolsheviks as much as the others. Some of them were summarily executed and the others were sent to Siberia. The rest of the "rebels" were forced, under threat of execution, to return the cattle and farm implements to the collectives. The farmers obeyed the order, but did not go back to the collectives themselves. Only a few formerly prosperous families remained in order to save themselves from "dekurkulizing", which meant total loss and deportation. Lacking human hands for work, horses, cattle and farm implements, much of the collectivized land became fallow, only producing giant weeds about seven feet high.

In 1930 - 31 the Russian occupants tried to break down

* Plurals.

people's opposition to collectivization by exorbitant taxes, but the people went to extremes to pay them in order to remain "induses", — the derisive name for individual farmers. The same thing happened in the neighbouring villages. This caused the failure of total collectivization. The Russian emissaries and local activists became raving mad because failure to carry out the orders of the Moscow polit-buro meant that they themselves would be liquidated. Such was the situation at the beginning of **1932**.

Before the harvest in **1932** the individual farmers received assessment notices. The farmers from the anemic collective farm also received one. The amounts of taxes in these notices ran into astronomical figures and caused a widespread lament in the village, as if there were a dearth in each family. Such taxes could not be paid even if all the available land were cultivated and the yield the highest possible. But to remain free the people, in despair, delivered to the state collection point, into which the church was converted, all the grain they could scrape up at home. The farmers from the puny collective farm did not reach even one third of the amount demanded as taxes. Soon after, the village swarmed with GPU agents and militia. At the hastily called meeting of the villagers the Russian "twenty-five-thousander" openly called them saboteurs and accused the village of being a nest of counter-revolution. Then "grain collection brigades" were organized which fell upon the farmers with zeal and the "vykachka" (rolling out of grain) began.

Two or three days later these brigades cleaned the village of the last ounce of grain, actually applying brooms so as not to leave a single grain behind. But they did not limit themselves to grain alone, — scanty remains of food, flour, crushed cereals, little bags and jars of peas and beans left for seed, ready made bread, cakes, etc. — all were gone. Looking for hidden food stores, stoves, beds, earthen floors in cottages, grain barns and stables were wrecked by digging and probing, in short all likely places suspected by the bolshevik investigators of concealing food. Men's pockets were turned out and women were searched for grain hidden in their dresses. The trunks were opened and bolts of homespun linen, furs, embroidered towels, kerchiefs were tucked away under the overcoats of the "investigators." The effect was not unlike the action of a terrible hurricane which destroyed or carried everything away from the village.

Facing the spectre of famine, some began to thresh again the straw already threshed once in order to find a few grains. But even these grains, found by great toil, were more often than not seized by the communists who kept watch over the village day and night. Some were fortunate enough to glean little stores in abandoned fields, to find a few potatoes overlooked by the diggers or some roots of beets, but many paid for breaking the law of August 7, 1932, which was added to the Stalin criminal code under the innocuous title of "law for the protection of socialist property."

The remnants of food which people were able to hide only lasted till Christmas. The victims helped each other, but in spite of this fact many swelled up at Christmas time and some died from hunger. It is worth noting here that the first to suffer and die were the poorest who, after "grain collection", had literally nothing left and lived by begging for food or by baking "bread" out of crushed corn cobs. People who were better off felt the famine less acutely and the most prosperous were still better off because as a rule they managed to hide a little grain for food.

The events which took place in Viknyna after Christmas, when the scanty grain supplies were exhausted, followed each other in rapid succession.

Most of the hungry people who remained in the village soon caught and ate all the dogs and cats.

The real hunger fever and the mass exhaustion of the people began in March and lasted till the new harvest. During this period the walking corpses gnawed the bark off the trees, ate all kinds of roots, buds and the furry catkins of pussy willows, then turned to weeds such as goosefoot, dock and amaranth, both raw and cooked. An epidemic of dysentery added to the suffering and people began to die in increasingly greater numbers, first of all men and children. The first cases of cannibalism appeared.

In every second or third house lay dead men, women, children and older people. Driven by the village soviet authorities, the half-dead loaded the dead like logs on the wagon and buried them in common graves. The doors and windows of the empty cottages were nailed by boards put crosswise. Every second or third cottage was thus decorated. Soon the paths leading to these dwellings were covered with vegetation and in the orchards, in which most of the trees were cut for fuel in wintertime, and in the fence-

less yards, — fences, too, were used up for heating purposes, — the weeds grew up to the roofs.

Some of the tragic events in Viknyna made an indelible impression on my memory.

Among the first victims of famine towards the end of 1932 was the Taranyuk family: father, mother and three sons. Two of the latter were members of the Komsomol and actively assisted in "grain collection". The father and mother died in their cottage and the sons under neighbors' fences.

At this time six persons died in the Zverkhanowsky family. By some miracle a son, Volodymyr, and a daughter, Tatyana, survived.

The swollen blacksmith, Ilarion Shewchuk, who, in January **1933** came to the village soviet to ask for help, was lured to the fire hall and murdered with staves. The murderers were: Y. Konofalsky, chairman of the village soviet, his assistant I. Antonyuk and the secretary V. Lyubomsky.

The poor widow Danylyuk and her sons had a very tragic end. Her dead body was eaten by maggots and the two sons, Pavlo and Oleksa, fell dead begging for food. Only the third son Trokhym survived, by being able to find some food in the city.

Porfir Neterebchuk, one of the most industrious farmers, lamed by hard work, was found dead by the church fence.

An old man, Ivan Antonyuk, died when his daughter Hanya fed him with "bread" made from green ears of grain which she had secretly cut in the fields in spite of the watchfulness of the village soviet authorities.

Oleksa Voitsyekhowsky saved his and his family's (wife and two little children) lives by consuming the meat of horses which had died in the collective of glanders and other diseases. He dug them up at night and brought the meat home in a sack. His older brother, Yakiw, and his sister-in-law died earlier from hunger.

The brothers Kondra, Konon and Teofan Stary and all the members of their families died after eating soup made of lamb's quarters.

But the most horrible deed, which moved even the half-dead who were near death themselves, was committed by the letter carrier, Trokhym Soloviychuk. In despair and fear of death, he began to eat the corpse of his wife and feed his three children with it. Then the same fate over-

took his two younger children. The oldest child learning somehow where his little brothers had vanished and sensing that he might be the next victim, ran away. Both the village as well as the county authorities were aware of this horrible case of cannibalism but they hushed it up and liquidated those who dared to talk about it.

It would be no exaggeration to assume that out of 4,000 people in Viknyna, — that is exclusive of those who were exiled, shot or vanished in 1929 - 1932, — more than a third died of famine, artificially created by the Russian occupant. The tragedy of some of the neighboring villages was even greater. In Kocherzhynsi, 4½ miles from Uman, all the people died with the exception of a few of the village soviet authorities who saved themselves by official "food rations".

The above are only a few authentic facts concerning the tragedy at Viknyna. Many others will come to light when the satanic iron curtain is no more.

O. P. Chernyawsky

"RECEIVER"

When, on orders of the Russian communist gangsters, death was reaping rich harvests in Ukraine, I was living at Piwdenna Railway Station in Poltava. Having found refuge in Canada, I now feel free to tell the truth about the communist practices, the more so because literally all my relatives had been exiled from Ukraine to distant concentration camps before I left the country.

In March 1933 many new farmers could be seen arriving every day. They came from far and near, leaving their cottages and villages despoiled of everything, escaping from hunger and hoping to get some work and food in the city and thus save themselves and their children. These people dreamed all the time of food: to have a good meal and die! They could not think of anything else, which was exactly what the Russian communists wanted. Hungry, they often walked more than one hundred miles, dragging their children along. Most of them fell and died on the way. Every-day crowds of children cried at ihe station, looking for their lost parents.

At that time the chief of the NKVD detachment entrusted with the "protection" of this section of railway was Vasylewsky. He was also at the head of a NKVD tribunal which decided whether someone was to live or die and this they accomplished in about three minutes.

The tribunal was dissatisfied with the crowds of children at the station and decided to have a "receiving car" where all of them would be placed. The next day an open railway car was switched off to a side track, the floor was littered with straw, and a few minutes later there were 47 children in it. The trio ordered the chefs in the restaurants to take turns feeding the children.

I worked as a common laborer in restaurant No. 1, and I was the first person to feed the children in the "receiver". When the door was opened by the guard I gave the food to the children, some roasted grain "coffee" and a little bread. This was at 8 in the morning, March 25, 1933. In a corner of the wagon there were four children. The eldest boy, about 12 years of age, held a little sister and two other sisters clung to his side. They cried, and asked the elder brother for food and said they were cold. "Where is our mother?" they asked. They did not ask about their father because they knew he had died a few months ago. The boy quieted them though he also was near tears, "Mother will come soon and we'll go back home." Looking at me he asked: "Why doesn't my sister move and why is she so cold?" I told him that she was dead. The boy began to cry and became hysterical, but in the end I persuaded him to give me his dead sister. I was ordered to take the body to a wagon that stood ready near the station. The tragedy I saw in that car unnerved me so much that I could not help shedding a few tears. The NKVD guard gave me a nasty look when he saw me wiping my eyes and must have thought, "This snake in the grass should be liquidated!"

The dead bodies of the children were thrown into holes, just as they were, and covered with earth. This procedure became so common at that time that nobody paid the slightest attention to it. It is quite cold in the month of March in this district, some ice and snow still lingers on, and the children had to sleep in unheated, open, dirty freight cars, half naked. Every morning a score or so bodies of children who had died from hunger and exposure would be removed from this "receiver". Any sanitary help was out of the question. There was no room in Ukraine for some people and their children.

Yar Slavutych

CANNIBALISM AND EXILE (STORY OF ONE VILLAGE IN 1933)

I wish to tell you what happened in a village in the Novo-Shewchenkove district of the county of Dolyna near Kryvy Rih.

This administrative unit was made up of five villages: Novo-Shewchenkove, Obytoky, Utishne, Khutir and Blahodatne. 300 farm families lived there and the total population was a little over 1,000 persons. The most prosperous farmer in the neighborhood had, in 1929, no more than 74 acres of land, and the poorest 12½, that was the basic allotment per person.

When collectivization got under way, in 1929 - 1930, the bolsheviks dealt with each farmer who did not wish to join the collective farm according to the "individual farmer plan", that is each had to deliver to the state a quantity of grain and pay a tax in money, both of which were far above his means. Those who did not meet these demands were "dekurkulized". I was an eye witness of the "dekurkulizing" of the village of Khutir which was composed of only seven prosperous families. Being very industrious, these families were very prosperous. Each of them had a team or two of horses, two or three cows and around 30 acres of land. Their unwillingness to join the collective farm afforded the bolshevik henchmen an excuse to "dekurkulize" them.

One night in June 1932, there arrived in the village a few wagon loads of members of the "komsomol" chosen from among the sons of the poorest farmers. They were accompanied by armed militia from the county seat and by the communists, some of local origin and some imported from Russia. They surrounded Khutir in such a way that escape was impossible. Each person in the village was or-

dered to take only clothing he could wear and the rest, — pillows, rugs, blankets, trunks full of linen and five coats, — were loaded on the wagons and hauled to the club in Novo-Shewchenkove where all these things were appropriated by the participants in the raid. Cows, horses and the remaining grain stores were taken to the collective farm. At daybreak all seven families were loaded on the wagons and, with children crying and women lamenting, they were taken to the railway station of Uysun and thence to Solowky or into the Arkhangelsk region. I was fortunate. Though only **15** at the time, some neighbors' boys and I made a hole in the boxcar and escaped into the fields soon after the train left Kharkiw. A few months later, under cover of night, I visited my native Khutir. It was completely deserted. The tin roofs were torn away, doors and windows removed from the cottages. The village was overgrown with weeds man high. Black polecats with glittering eyes made their nests in the ruined cottages and storerooms, once so prosperous and peaceful.

The same year, from the Novo-Shewchenkove district about one hundred families were banished into central Russia, to Vologda and Arkhangelsk, and to Siberia. This was one third of the total population. One man, Kropyvyyahy, hanged himself in despair. Many others ran away to Kryvy Rih, Zaporizhya, Donbas, Caucasns and Central Asia, where they laboured hard for miserable pay.

In the fall of **1932** the local communists, directed by Russians from the county seat, did a thorough job of grain collecting for the state. Hardly an ounce of it escaped their searching eyes and in the early spring of **1933** a real famine raged in the villages. There were cases of death from starvation and malnutrition. Out of **300** farm families there remained no more than **150**. The people became ill or insane and died en masse. There was no help from the county. There were five cases of cannibalism, one of them a woman I knew personally. It was Vekla from the village of Obytoky, formerly a prosperous and hospitable woman whose daughter attended the public school in Novo-Shewchenkove with me. I used to protect this girl from the dogs when we walked home from school and her mother, Vekla, would generously feast me with sweet red apples. This woman, crazed by hunger, killed her daughter and lived for some time on cooked meat. A few days later when the veil of insanity lifted from her brain she realized what she had

done, and running out into the street confessed to the crime. Arrested by the village authorities, she was judged in closed court and sent to Solowky.

Two cases of cannibalism were also recorded in the neighboring village of Shulichene and in the hamlets east of the forest near the village of Huriwka.

That terrible year (1933), from April to July, 23 persons died of hunger in the Novo-Shewchenkove district. I verified this figure from the records of the village authorities. The cause of death was, in every case, stated to be some disease and in no case was a death from hunger mentioned by the communist authorities. It was the same everywhere, in spite of the fact that there were villages in which all the people died out.

The free world should know the truth about Ukraine, which did not break during these terrible times but endured, and now raises her voice in protest and demands a reckoning with Russian Communism.

Prof. M. Mishchenko

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF FAMINE

The year **1933** afforded a vast field for observation of the mental and physical effects of famine upon human beings. It was forbidden to talk, much less to write about them, and they did not become an object of a special research. It was held that in a country of socialism, where everything was foreseen and planned, there could not be any famine.

This official view was strictly observed by the press, and it refrained from mentioning the famine even when thousands lay dead on the pavements of the cities. There was no registration of deaths, no medical help or food given to the people. The hospitals, when a few lucky individuals from the famine-stricken mass managed to get in, did not issue any reports and were strictly forbidden to give the true cause of sickness and death.

Hunger exhausts the reserves of energy in a body. Vitaly important and necessary amounts of sugar and fat are lost. The body becomes more and more worn out. The skin becomes thin, assumes a greyish color and wrinkles. A human being seems to get old from hour to hour. Babies look like old people. Their eyes become big, assume a serious and severe immobility. Distrophic processes sometimes cause a far reaching drying of the tissues, and the sufferer resembles a skeleton wrapped in skin. But, more often, the tissues distend and legs, hands and face swell up. The skin cracks, and wounds appear which are very slow to heal. The body loses strength. Insignificant physical effort causes extreme fatigue. To carry on the most necessary functions of life — breathing and heart beat — the organism uses up its own substance, albumen, that is, it consumes itself. The nervous system becomes weak and coordination of the phy-

siological processes is disturbed. The least effort causes heart fatigue and faster breathing. The pupils in the eyes become bigger. Then comes the famine diarrhoea, which is very dangerous because the least exertion at this time causes paralysis of the heart. This frequently happens while walking, going up stairs or trying to run. General weakness increases, and the sufferer cannot sit up in bed or move at all. He falls into a drowsy state which may last for a week, until his heart stops beating from exhaustion.

The mental changes are even more far reaching. The cortex, in its weakened condition, loses control of the lower centres, the seat of the inherited instincts. The food instinct, excited to too great activity, affects the change'd consciousness and gains absolute domination over the personality. This instinct dictates new laws of behaviour and still more, changes the spiritual outlook. Family ties are loosened, and friendly feeling to other members is lost. The father abandons the family, which breaks up and scatters. The children are especially sensitive in this respect, they feel the helplessness of their parents and run away. Becoming independent, they form gangs of the homeless. They not only feel helplessness but also some danger. For instance, here are some replies given by children in a psychiatric clinic during the famine. Asked how he came to the city, a boy, seven years old, says:

"My father died and mother swelled and could not get out of bed. She said: 'Go and find food for yourself!' and I went to the city."

A boy 8 years old: "Father and mother died, only my brothers were left, there was nothing to eat and I went away from home."

A boy 9 years old: "Mother died and father swelled up and moved around. His looks scared me and I ran away."

A boy 9 years old: "Mother said 'Save yourself, run away to the city!' I turned back twice, because I did not want to leave mother. But she begged me and cried, so I had to go."

A boy 8 years of age: "Father and mother lay all swollen up, and I ran away."

These children came from villages 30 - 45 miles distant and were picked up on the streets because they showed some nervous and psychical disorders. But there were very few so "fortunate" as to land in hospitals. Most of them were picked up at night by the mobilized NKVD trucks,

taken far away from the city, and dumped into a deep precipice.

This was going on at that time in the capital of the "Ukrainian socialist republic" in the city of Kharkiw.

The death rate among those who happened to be taken to hospital was very high. But even when they recovered they felt unhappy and indifferent for a long time, never mentioned their parents, showed no longing or sadness, spoke of tragic family events without emotion, just like any other happenings of everyday Soviet life.

But in the political significance of the famine the children were well oriented, whispered among themselves and manifested great shrewdness and adaptability to life.

Towards the end of the famine, under pressure of the silent disdain of the people and the condemnation in the press of democratic countries, the NKVD organized a huge concentration camp for children, "death barracks" whispered the people, where tens of thousands of farm children picked up in Kharkiw, were gathered. The death rate in these barracks reached 40%. An attempt was made here to separate them from the children of "kukuls". But almost all the children said they were the offspring of heads of collective farms. Only one older girl, 13 years of age, to show her contempt, stoutly declared that she was a "kul's" daughter.

All these manifestations show great changes in personality, indistinct orientation and diminished clarity of mind. For instance, in the village of Surmachiwka, in the county of Hlynsk, in the Chernyhiw region the hungry mother made a fire in the stove in the daytime, called a ten year old son, her only one, and began to tie his hands saying: "Keep quiet, don't shout, because people will hear."

The mother had over-estimated her strength, the boy tore away and called in the neighbors. When arrested, she did not deny her intentions and realized what she had been about to do. She would sit quietly not noticing anybody or start weeping, which resembled a howl. A whole gamut of various feelings could be distinguished in her crying, profound misery, boundless sorrow, and perhaps a feeling of frustration, dictated by the overwhelming pathological feeling of hunger. She vanished in the cells of the NKVD.

Seven years later it became apparent that the increase of children in 1933 was so insignificant that there were no children to start school. Then the number of Ukrainian

schools was reduced and only the net of Russian schools remained unchanged.

Thus a combination of these physical and mental changes causes complicated and characteristic disturbances of the whole personality, which are totally different from other psychoses afflicting human beings. In psychiatry, there is nothing that could be specifically defined as a "psychosis of hunger" because such a famine as Ukraine suffered has never been observed in the centres of European civilization. It could have happened only as a result of a consummate blend of Soviet socialism with Russian imperialism, both unsurpassed in their anti-humanitarianism.

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