List of Short Titles

The following sources, which occur repeatedly in this Reader, are cited by short title in the Table of Contents and in the text:

1. *XVII s"ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheeskoi partii (b) (1934)*

*XVII s"ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheeskoi partii (b) 26 ianvaria – 10 fevralia 1934 g. Stenograficheskii otchet* (The Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party [Bolshevik], 26 January–10 February 1934. Stenographic Record) (Moscow: Partizdat, 1934)


3. *Famine in Ukraine (1934)*

*Famine in Ukraine* (New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, 1934)


*The Great Famine in Ukraine, 1932–33* (Toronto: Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Volodymyr, 1988)


Documents excerpted from this source have been checked against the original texts, and the translations have been slightly revised in almost every selection.


19. Soviet Ukraine Today (1934)

*Soviet Ukraine Today* (Moscow and Leningrad: Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, 1934)


21. Tragediia sovetskoi derevnii (2001)

22. We’ll Meet Again in Heaven (2001)
We’ll Meet Again in Heaven: Germans in the Soviet Union Write Their Dakota Relatives, 1925–1937. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Ronald J. Vossler (Fargo, N.D.: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, 2001)
Table of Contents

List of Short Titles

Introduction. Bohdan Klid and Alexander J. Motyl

Note on Transliteration

Acronyms, Abbreviations, and Terms

1) SCHOLARSHIP

Introduction

- Liudmyla Hrynevych, “Stalins'ka ‘revoliutsiia zhory’ ta holod 1933 r. iak faktory polityzatsiï ukraïns'koï spil'noty” (Stalin’s “Revolution from Above” and the Famine of 1933 as Factors in the Politicization of Ukrainian Society), Український історичний журнал (Ukrainian Historical Journal), 2003, no. 5. Excerpts, pp. 50–53, 56–63. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.


2) LEGAL ASSESSMENTS, FINDINGS, AND RESOLUTIONS

Introduction


3) EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS AND MEMOIRS

Introduction


• Stepan Baran, “Z nashoї tragediї za Zbruchem” (About Our Tragedy beyond the Zbruch), *Dilo* (Lviv), 21 May 1933, p. 1. Translated by Bohdan Klid.


4) SURVIVOR TESTIMONIES, MEMOIRS, DIARIES, AND LETTERS

Introduction


• “Zhinka z Ukraïny opovidaie pro holod i liudoïdstvo” (A Woman from Ukraine Tells of Famine and Cannibalism), *Ukraïns'kyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice, Winnipeg), 13 September 1933. Excerpts, pp. 1, 5. Translated by Alexander J. Motyl.

• Petro Shovkovytsia, “Zhakhlyva diisnist’” (Terrible Reality), *Chas* (Time, Chernivtsi), 18 March 1933, p. 3; 19 March 1933, pp. 2–3. Excerpts. Translated by Bohdan Klid.
• Letter from Adam and Rosina Ketterling to Johann and Dorothea Ketterling. In We’ll Meet Again in Heaven (2001). Excerpts, pp. 194–95.


5) DOCUMENTS

Introduction

Soviet Government, Communist Party, and Secret Police Documents


• Telegram from the secretary of the Zinovivsk [Kirovohrad] City Committee, AUCP(B) [sic], Mikheenko, to V. M. Molotov on the course of grain procurement, 1 January 1932. In Tragediia sovetskoi derevni (2001). Excerpts, pp. 239–41. Translated by Bohdan Klid.

• Political summary of unpublished letters from the “Reading Office” of the newspaper Izvestiia TsIK SSSR i VTsIK (News of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee) for February–March 1932. Not before 31 March 1932. In Tragediia sovetskoi derevni (2001). Excerpt, p. 312. Translated by Bohdan Klid.

• Internal memorandum from the Deputy People’s Commissar of Agriculture of the USSR, A. V. Grinevich, to the People’s Commissar of Agriculture of the USSR,


- Resolution of a joint meeting of the Bureau of the Poltava City Committee of the CP(B)U and the City Party Control Commission at a closed session on the speech by CP(B)U member Poltavets containing a declaration on the famine and the oppression of peasants and workers in the Ukrainian SSR, 11 June 1932. In Holod-henotsyd 1932–1933 rokov v Ukraini (2005). Excerpts, pp. 94–95, 97. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.


- Resolution of the Politburo of the CP(B)U on sending a telegram to the CC AUCP(B) about the provision of food aid to Ukraine, 17 June 1932. In Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraini (1990), p. 183. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.


- Telegram from the AUCP(B) and the CPC USSR to the CC CP(B)U and the CPC UkrSSR on ensuring the fulfillment of grain requisitions by collective farms and individual peasant homesteads, 21 June 1932. In Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraini (1990), pp. 186–87. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.


Letter from the leadership of the Secret Political Division of the GPU Ukrainian SSR to the head of the SPD OGPU, Georgii Molchanov, on an attempt by Ukrainian scholars to inform the historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky about the famine in the Ukrainian SSR, 10 September 1932. In Rozsekrechena pam’iat’ (2007). Excerpts, pp. 291–92. Translated by Bohdan Klid.


“Pro robotu z kolhospnym aktyvom. Postanova TsK KP(b)U vid 18 lystopada 1932” (On Work with Collective-Farm Activists. Resolution of the CC CP(B)U of 18 November 1932), Komunist (Kharkiv), 20 November 1932, p. 1. Translated by Bohdan Klid.

“Postanova TsK i TsKK KP(b)U vid 18 lystopada 1932” (Resolution of the CC and CCC CP(B)U of 18 November 1932), Komunist (Kharkiv), 21 November 1932, p. 1. Translated by Bohdan Klid.

From a speech by Lazar Kaganovich at a joint meeting of the enlarged bureau of the North Caucasus Territorial Committee of the AUCP(B) and the bureau of the city committee and activists of Rostov-on-the-Don, 23 November 1932. In Komandyry velykoho holodu (2001). Excerpts, pp. 286–89, 291–92. Translated by Bohdan Klid.


Resolution of the CC AUCP(B) and CPC USSR on grain procurements in Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the Western Oblast, 14 December 1932. In Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine (2008). Excerpts, pp. 65–68.

Resolution of the CC AUCP(B) and CPC USSR on Ukrainization in the Far Eastern Region, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Central Black Earth Oblast, and...

- Resolution of the CC AUCP(B) and CPC USSR on grain procurement in Ukraine, 19 December 1932. In Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraini (1990), p. 295. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.

- Telegram from Kaganovich to Stalin on the need to cancel the CC CP(B)U resolution of 18 November 1932, 22 December 1932. In Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine (2008). Excerpts, p. 70.


- Telegram of 28 December 1932 from Joseph Stalin to members of the CC and Presidium of the CCC AUCP(B), other Communist Party and OGPU bodies. In Narodna viïna (2011). Excerpts, p. 234. Translated by Bohdan Klid.

- Letter from the CC CP(B)U on the mandatory delivery of all collective-farm grain reserves, including sowing seed, to fulfill the grain-procurement plan, 24 December 1932. In Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine (2008). Excerpts, p. 71.


- Order from the CPC USSR and CC AUCP(B) on preventing the mass flight of starving villagers in search of food, 22 January 1933. In Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine (2008). Excerpts, pp. 85–86.

- Resolution of the Politburo of the CC AUCP(B) on strengthening the CP(B)U Central Committee and oblast organizations, 24 January 1933. In Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine (2008). Excerpts, pp. 88–89.


- From operational order no. 2, GPU Ukrainian SSR, on the need to liquidate the insurgent underground before beginning sowing, 13 February 1933. In Rozsekrechena pam 'iat' (2007). Excerpts, pp. 511–12. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.

- Stanislav Kosior, “Ob oshibkah i nedochetakh v organizatsii khlebozagotovok na Ukrainе” (On Errors and Shortcomings in Organizing Grain Procurements in Ukraine), Pravda, 15 February 1933. Excerpts, p. 3. Translated by Bohdan Klid.
• “Vyshe znamia proletarskogo internatsionalizma!” (Raise Higher the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism!). Lead editorial in Pravda, 10 March 1933, p. 1. Excerpts. Translated by Bohdan Klid.
• From a memorandum of the CC CP(B)U to the CC AUCP(B) on progress in preparing spring sowing, some reasons for the difficult food situation in a number of oblasts and raions of the republic, and measures to aid the starving, 15 March 1933. In Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraini (1990). Excerpts, pp. 441–44. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.
• S. V. Kosior, “Results and Immediate Tasks of the National Policy in the Ukraine: Report by Comrade S. V. Kosior to the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, November, 1933.” In Soviet Ukraine Today (1934). Excerpts, pp. 34, 72–74.
• Pavel Postyshev, Speech delivered at the Seventeenth Congress of the AUCP(B), 27 January 1934. In XVII s"ezd Vsesoiznoi Kommunisticheski Partii (b) (1934). Excerpts, pp. 65–67, 69, 71. Translated by Bohdan Klid.
• Stanislav Kosior, Speech delivered at the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), 30 January 1934. In XVII S"ezd Vsesoiznoi Kommunisticheski Partii (b) (1934). Excerpts, pp. 197–99. Translated by Maksym Motorenko and Bohdan Klid.

**British Foreign Office Documents**


• German Foreign Office Documents

• Italian Foreign Office Documents

• Polish Foreign Office and Intelligence Service Documents


• Excerpt of a report from Napoleon Nalewajko to Jerzy Niebrzycki about the situation prevailing in Ukraine, 18 November 1933. In Pomór w “Raju Bolszewickim” (2009). Excerpts, pp. 131, 134. Translated by Bohdan Klid.


• Reaction to the Famine by NGOs and Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union


• “Memorandum of Ukrainian Organizations to the President of the United States Concerning the Recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics,” Svoboda (Jersey City, N. J.), 30 October 1933, no. 252, p. 1.

• Soviet Denials and Related Documents (1930s to 1980s)

6) LITERATURE: PROSE, PLAYS, POETRY

Introduction

PROSE


PLAYS


POETRY


• Dozhylasia Ukraïna….: Narodna tvorchist’ chasiv holodomoru i kolektyvizatsii na Ukraïni (Ukraine Has Come Down to This…. Folklore in the Times of Famine and Collectivization in Ukraine), ed. I. Buhaievych (Kyiv: Ukraïns’kyi pys’mennyk, 1993), pp. 7, 11–12, 15. Translated by Alexander J. Motyl.


• “Narodni prymovky pro ‘Shchaslyve kolhospne zhyttia’” (Folk Rhymes about “Happy Collective-Farm Life”), Holos Ukraïny (Voice of Ukraine, Kyiv), 10 September 1993. Translated by Alexander J. Motyl.

7) Bibliographic Note and Guide to Further Research
Note on Transliteration

In this Reader, a modified version of the Library of Congress Romanization system has generally been used to transliterate Ukrainian and Russian personal and geographic names. Details of the system are posted on the Library of Congress website (http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html). Names beginning with iotated vowels (Я, Є, І, Й) are transliterated with an initial Y (Ya, Ye, Yi, Yu), and adjectival endings of masculine surnames (-ський, -ський) are simplified as -sky. The soft sign (š, transliterated ’) is indicated only in transliterated titles of publications. In texts translated for this Reader and selections published in recent decades, the spelling of personal and geographic names has been standardized according to Ukrainian usage (e.g., Dnipro, not Dnieper; Kosior, not Kossior; Kyiv, not Kiev).

A different approach has been taken with regard to English-language texts published at the time of the Holodomor and in decades immediately following it. These selections are grouped in the “Eyewitness Accounts and Memoirs” and “Survivor Testimonies, Memoirs, Diaries, and Letters” sections. Since there was no standard transliteration practice at the time, and Ukraine was conventionally treated as a region (“the Ukraine”), the imposition of modern standard forms would tend to undermine the authenticity of such writings. Consequently, personal names in these two sections are reproduced as originally published, with modern forms provided in brackets as necessary (e.g., Hatayevich [Khataevich]) on first mention in the selection. Personal names whose spelling does not differ greatly from the modern standard (e.g., Budyenny [Budenny], Marusya [Marusia], Petlyura [Petliura]) have been left as published. Older English forms of Ukrainian place-names, based mainly on Russian and French practice, have also been reproduced as published. In order to avoid the ubiquitous provision of bracketed modern forms, the principal place-names and variant spellings encountered in this Reader are given below for the reader’s convenience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ukrainian place-name</th>
<th>Variants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berdychiv</td>
<td>Berdicheff, Berdichev</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bila Tserkva</td>
<td>Byelaya Tserkov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chernihiv</td>
<td>Chernigov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnipropetrovsk</td>
<td>Dniepropetrovsk, Dnipropetrowske</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donets (Basin, River)</td>
<td>Donetsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharkiv</td>
<td>Kharkiw, Kharkoff, Kharkov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyiv</td>
<td>Kieff, Kiev</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mykolaiv</td>
<td>Nikolayev</td>
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<tr>
<td>Myrhorod</td>
<td>Mirgorod</td>
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<tr>
<td>Odesa</td>
<td>Odessa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zaporizhia</td>
<td>Zaporozhe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms, Abbreviations, and Terms

(Russian words and terms not used as English words in the text are italicized)

All-Union CP(B), AUCP(B) – All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)

CC – Central Committee
CCC – Central Control Commission
CEC – Central Executive Committee
Cheka – Chrezvychainaia komissiia (Extraordinary Commission): Soviet secret police
CP(B)U – Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
CPC – Council of People’s Commissars
CPSU – Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU – Communist Party of Ukraine

GPU – Gosudarstvennoe politcheskoe upravlenie (State Political Administration): Soviet secret police
GULAG – Glavnoe upravlenie lagerei (Chief Administration of Labor Camps)

KGB – Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security): Soviet secret police

kolkhoz – kollektivnoe khoziaistvo (collective farm)
Komsomol – Kommunisticheskii soiuz molodezhi (Communist Youth League)
korenizatsiia – indigenization
krai – region
kraikom – regional committee
kulak – literally, “fist”: highly elastic Soviet propaganda term for well-to-do peasant
kurkul’ (Ukrainian) – kulak

Makhnovite – derogatory Soviet term for followers of Nestor Makhno, a Ukrainian peasant anarchist leader who fought both Bolshevik and White forces during the Civil War (1918–20)

NKVD – Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs): Soviet secret police

obkom – oblastnoi komitet (oblast committee)
oblast – province
OGPU – Ob”edinennoe gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie (All-Union State Political Administration): Soviet secret police
okrug – district, region

nationally conscious Ukrainians, as well as real or imagined anti-Soviet elements in Ukraine; Petliurowshchina – the Petliura movement

raion – county
RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Shumskyite – derogatory Soviet term for followers of Oleksander Shumsky, Ukrainian commissar of education (1924–27), accused by Stalin and Kaganovich of forcing cultural Ukrainization on the Russian proletariat
sovkhoz – sovetskoe khoziaistvo (state farm)
Sovnarkom – Sovet narodnykh komissarov (Council of People’s Commissars)
stanitsa – Cossack town or settlement in the North Caucasus
SVU – Spilka vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine)

Torgsin – Torgovlia s inostrantsami (All-Union Association for Trade with Foreigners)
TsK – Tsentral’nyi komitet (Central Committee)

UkrSSR – Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VKP(B) – Vsesoiuznaia Kommunisticheskaia partiia (bol’shevikov) – All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)

ZAGS – Otdely zapisei aktov grazhdanskogo sostoianiia (Civil Registry Offices)