

Civil society of Western Ukraine and Europe in the context of the Ukrainian Holodomor events of 1932-1933

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the Holodomor national tragedy of 1932-1933 in the context of the reaction to it by the population of neighboring Ukraine and more distant countries, as well as international organizations. It is emphasized that the Holodomor was a deliberate action of the communist authorities against the Ukrainian peasantry as a source of disobedience to the authorities and national resistance. It is shown that despite the efforts of the Bolshevik government to hide the glaring facts of the famine and the conformist support of the majority of foreign journalists accredited in the USSR, this information still received publicity in the world thanks to individual journalists of influential British newspapers and the work of foreign embassies and consulates in the USSR. It provoked a civil wave of help in various countries, but did not cause official condemnation of the Bolshevik policy by the member states of the League of Nations and the Catholic Church as an influential player in the international politics of the time. The role of public organizations and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the organization of assistance to illegal refugees from Ukraine and protest movements condemning the policy of the USSR towards Ukrainian peasants is considered. It was concluded that the first and subsequent recognitions of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine as genocide at the level of influential countries and international organizations, as well as the criminal proceedings carried out in Ukraine on the fact of committing the crime of genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine as a crime against humanity permit modern Ukrainians not only to consolidate the memory of the Holodomor as a significant historical narrative for the entire society, but also to re-understand this traumatic experience, renewing the nation and its values and outlook guidelines.

KEYWORDS

*Ukrainian Socialist
Soviet Republic,
Holodomor-genocide,
1932-1933,
Galicia*

Introduction

The system of national traumas occupies an important place in the system of Ukrainian identity. And in this sense, the artificial famines of the 20th century, organized by the Soviet authorities with the aim of genetic extermination of Ukrainians, especially the famine of 1932-1933, which entered national and world history under the name Holodomor, claim a prominent place in the identification map and in the historical memory of Ukrainians. The Holodomor began to enter the Ukrainian ethnic and national historical memory from the end of the 1980s, but it had little effect on the outlook of the majority of Ukrainian citizens. It mainly influenced those who were already nationally oriented and interested in the history of their own land. For those who started valuing their national identity only before the threat of its actual loss due to Russian aggression, this event and the perception of the Holodomor as a genocide is only gaining importance as a unifying axis of Ukrainian history.

Modern researchers of the Holodomor history of 1932-1933 - S. Kulchytskyi (2008a,b), O. Veselova, V. Marochko, O. Movchan (2000), A. Kulish (2007), V. Serhiychuk, O. Nezhiviy (2007), S. Tsvilyuk and others – devoted a lot

of space in their studies to defining and revealing the significance of this event for the modern worldview discourse. Likewise, many works are devoted to the historical and legal analysis of the Holodomor with the aim not only to establish the most accurate number of victims, but also to unfold before the world community the scale of mental and intellectual losses of Ukrainians due to this tragedy.

The result of the large-scale research work of historians, lawyers and social scientists and the promotion of these results by politicians is the recognition of the Holodomor by the governments of many countries of the world as a genocide of Ukrainians. This process of recognition in the modern context of the Russian-Ukrainian war is only intensifying - in 2022-2023, the list of such countries was expanded by twelve countries: Belgium, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, the EU Parliament, Ireland, Iceland, Moldova, Germany, Romania, Slovenia, the USA, France, the Czech Republic. At the same time, the general scientific analysis of the Ukrainian national tragedy should be continued, including in the context of regional studies, in particular as a study of the reaction to this tragedy by the population of neighboring

Ukraine and more distant countries. The new archival materials introduced into scientific circulation show that despite all the efforts of the Soviet government to close the borders for exit and for the penetration of information about the famine of 1932-1933, almost immediately this event began to be covered in the foreign press, public activists and those who managed to escape from the clutches of the Soviet regime. An important narrative of our study is also showing the efforts and measures of International and world organizations in recording and perpetuating this event, establishing it as a crime against humanity in the historical memory of humanity and international law.

Research methods

The grounds and regularities of the artificial famine in Ukraine during the specified period are retrospectively presented in the subsection "Some archival and documentary evidence about the Holodomor 1932-1933". When covering the reaction of the international community to the events of the famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 (subsections "Famine and European states", "Reaction of the population of Galicia and Bukovyna to the famine in the Ukrainian SSR 1932-1933"), it seemed to me the most appropriate to use a historical and legal approach, the specificity of which consists in the correlation of historical reality (event) with its consolidation in legal acts that characterize the regularities and peculiarities of the existence of a state or an international organization. In addition, it permits to show the reaction of the international community in its dynamics, to find out the subjects of international publicity regarding this event, and to present the Holodomor event itself through the objective conditions of its perception by the population and civil society of certain countries. The subsection "Holodomor in Great Ukraine in national and international law" covers international and national political and legal documents, on the basis of which the official investigation of the genocide crime in Ukraine in 1932-1933 was carried out.

Results and Discussion

Some archival and documentary evidence about the Holodomor 1932-1933

The start of the Holodomor organization in Ukraine was laid by the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the People's Commissars Council dated August 7, 1932 "On the protection of property of state-owned enterprises, collective farms and cooperatives and the strengthening of public (socialist) property" and secret instruction for the application of this resolution. The instruction was signed on September 13, 1932 by the head of the Supreme Court of the USSR A. Vynokurov, the prosecutor of the USSR P. Krasikov, the deputy Chairman of the OGPU I. Akulov (*Mykhaylychenko, Shatalina, 1992*). This was a direct instruction of Stalin and his closest entourage about the unfolding undeclared war against the peasants.

For its practical implementation, a commission led by V. Molotov came to Ukraine in October 1932 (*Vasilyev, Shapovalov, 2001*). The DPU bodies became the shock fist of Soviet repression against the "class enemy", the Ukrainian peasantry. On November 19, 1932, a meeting of the heads of all regional bodies of the DPU of the USSR was held, at which it was planned to carry out a massive operational action against the "Kurkul-Petlyur"

elements that "disrupt the main measures of the Soviet government in the countryside"¹².

At that time, the bodies of the DPU of the USSR were headed by Comrade S. Redens. Party committees came to the aid of the OGPU, which directed brigades of activists to seize grain from the peasants. Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Odesa, Donetsk, and Vinnytsia regions³ were covered by the Chekist operation. Communists and representatives of the authorities who resisted or untimely fulfilled the instructions of the party were tried by the triumvirate at the collegium of the DPU of the USSR (*Hunchak, 1993*).

There were cases of interference in determining the guilt and punishment of J. Stalin personally. Thus, in connection with the "Orikhiv case" about the sabotage of grain harvests in the Dnipropetrovsk region⁴, Y. Stalin gave the instruction: "Immediately arrest and reward them according to their merits, i.e. give them 5 to 10 years in prison each."⁵

The All-Union population census on January 6, 1937 (a control round was carried out until January 11) was conducted under the strict control of the NKVS of the USSR, which was responsible for deliberate evasion of registration, overestimation of the number of believers, correct indication of nationality. Initially, the census was recognized as exemplary, and the head of the Central Department of National and Economic Accounting of the USSR State Plan I.A. Kraval was awarded the Order of Lenin. Subsequently, the census materials were confidential and partially stored in the SBU GDA under the label "Completely Secret".

After all, during the census, it turned out that during the 10 years of Soviet rule, 1927-1937, the population of the USSR decreased. The negative dynamics was 84.7% in 1937 compared to 1926. The census of 1937 was recognized as "counter-revolutionary", conducted by "enemies", "Trotskyists". Among those arrested and later shot was O. Asadkin⁶, an ethnic Russian, head of the Department of National Economic Accounting of the USSR, member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, director of the Research Institute of Economics, a Bolshevik since 1904, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the URSR², who during the interrogation on August 25, 1937, said that before the census began, he had informed the Central Committee of the CP(b) about the estimated population of the USSR within the limits of 35 million⁷. In this way, he tried to convince fellow party members of the lack of natural population growth, which indicated the wrong course of the party in the countryside. Further, Asadkin pointed out that the 1937 census established the population of the USSR at

¹ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Fund 16. List 25 (Y. 1951). File 3. Page 73.

² Ibid. Fund 9. File 666. Page 58.

³ Ibid. Fund 42. File 9. Page 72.

⁴ Orikhiv district now belongs to Zaporizhzhia Region

⁵ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Fund 16. List 25 (Y. 1951). File 3. Page 105.

⁶ *Oleksandr Mykolayovych Asadkin*, born in 1885, arrested on 07.05.1937. The visiting session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on 09.01.1937 found him guilty of crimes under Art. 54-6, 54-7, 54-8, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and issued a sentence – the highest measure of punishment (execution). The sentence was carried out in Kyiv on September 2, 1937.

⁷ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Fund 6. File 43187-fp. Page 26-27.

29 million 218 thousand, which, compared to the 1926 census, is a decrease by 6 million people⁸.

Researchers determine the period of Holodomor-genocide from April 1932 to November 1933, 17 months (*Holodomor yak zasib...*, 2004). During this terrible period, 25,000 people died every day in the USSR. Foreign and domestic researchers cite different figures of the dead during the Holodomor of 1932-1933, from 5 to 10 million and 14 million indirect victims who died of exhaustion, typhus, gastrointestinal poisoning, cannibalism, repression, suicides, mental disorders, somatic diseases. The mass extinction of the rural population of the USSR is directly related to the communist terror policy of the Stalinist regime. In 1940, no one could go to school - children of the new generation were not born for several years straight, and those born died at an early age (*Danylenko, 2010*).

The RAGS were instructed not to register the death of children under the age of 1. On February 16, 1933, an instruction was received prohibiting civil status registration authorities from registering deaths from starvation, except for the GPU (State Political Administration). Village councils stopped indicating the cause of death when registering deaths. In 1934, the RAGS received an order to send all the death registration books for 1932-1933 to the special units of the GPU, where most of them were liquidated (*Danylenko, 2008*).

In the USSR, the ban on information about the famine in the USSR/URSR of 1921-1922, 1932-1933, and 1946 was valid until 1987.

In the archives of Ukraine and abroad, there is no accurate data on human losses during the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in the URSR. Researchers operate with data that are of approximately unknown origin and cannot be taken as fact. Thus, a teacher from Kharkiv O.M. Radchenko, in his diary for the years 1930-1935, refers to a confidential conversation with an employee of the statistical department of the city of Kharkiv and points to 6 million people who died from hunger (*Danylenko, 2010: 325*).

Holodomor and European powers.

At the beginning of the famine in Ukraine, the population of the West was given insufficient information about the famine in the USSR. Newspaper articles were of an ambiguous nature. The crime of the Soviet communists against their own population was hushed up. In March 1933, the information blockade was broken. The first were two British journalists, Gareth Johnson and Malcolm Muggeridge. The latter is a journalist of the liberal edition "Manchester Guardian". Their articles were published in March 1933. Muggeridge learned about the Holodomor in October 1932, having stopped trusting Soviet statistics. Both journalists wrote about cases of cannibalism. Malcolm Muggeridge tried to get information about the famine directly. Foreign journalists accredited in Moscow did not support his impression of what he had seen and heard about the starvation of Ukrainians. At that time, American journalists went against professional ethics, showing unscrupulousness and immorality, trying to please the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Comrade Umansky, fearing to lose accreditation. New York Times journalist Walter Duranty demonstrated his pro-Soviet position especially clearly.

According to the documents of the Branch State Archive of the SBU, during the Holodomor, diplomatic missions of Poland - consulates in Kharkiv and Kyiv - operated in the territory of the USSR; Germany – consulate general in Kharkiv and consulates in Odesa and Kyiv; Italy – consulate general in Odesa and vice-consulate in Kharkiv; Turkey – consulate in Odesa; Japan - consulate in Odesa.

Foreign embassies and consulates tried to obtain the terrible statistics of deaths from hunger on their own. Thus, in the official annual report for 1933, the German consulate in Kyiv maintained the figure of 7 million Ukrainian peasants who died of starvation. In the Kyiv and Vinnytsia regions, consular officials spoke of 2 million dead (*Kudryachenko, 2008; Papuha, 2018*). Italian diplomats in May 1933 named the probable number of starvation victims in the USSR as 19-15 million (*Papuha, 2018: 49*).

The Polish consul in Kyiv in July 1933 in a report, referring to the information of the employees of the Consulate General in Kharkiv, as of June 1, 1933, indicates the number of people who died of hunger as 10 million people, singling out Poltava Region (*Papuha, 2018: 48-49*). As an example, the situation of the Polish population in Odesa region, where 17,000 Poles lived, should be cited. Collectivization covered from 90 to 100%. Polish national collective farms were formed here. During the harvest, some Poles were sentenced to various types of punishment for stealing ears of grain that were collected in the field. Polish youth called for terror against the communists, who drove people to starvation. Among the Polish population, emigration sentiments have increased. Letters were sent en masse to Poland with the desire to leave the territory of the USSR. Many Poles who illegally tried to cross the Polish-Soviet border were detained and sentenced⁹.

The issue of the Holodomor in the USSR in September 1933 was brought up for discussion at the 76th session of the League of Nations. An unofficial meeting of 14 members of the League of Nations took place on September 29, 1933 behind closed doors, without the press. Representatives of only 4 countries came forward for active measures to save the starving and famine victims in the USSR: Ireland, Spain, Germany, and Norway.

The rest of the countries limited themselves to the appeal to the international organization of the Red Cross. Western countries were informed about the famine in the USSR, but they did not want to go into conflict with the USSR. The Soviet Union officially denied the famine. In January 1933, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR M. Litvinov made a special official statement about the absence of famine in the country. The representatives of the European countries motivated their inhumane decision by the fact that the Ukrainians themselves do not express their will and the URSR is not a member of the League of Nations.

And already on September 15, 1934, 30 states invited the USSR to the League of Nations, 4 more states expressed their readiness to support such a step, 4 expressed their opposition (Switzerland, Argentina, Belgium, and Portugal). During the voting, the result was as follows: "for" - 38, "against" - 3 (Netherlands, Portugal, and Switzerland), "abstained" - (Argentina, Belgium, Cuba, Luxembourg, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela). Thus, on September 18, 1934, the USSR became a permanent

⁸ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Fund 6. File 43187-fp. Page 91-92.

⁹ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Odesa. Fund 65. File 63. Vol 12. Page 246-257.

member of the League of Nations. And it turns out that 38 countries of the world accepted the USSR into this international club, which was created to ensure the rights of national minorities and to resolve territorial conflicts in the world, ignoring the fact of the Holodomor in the USSR in 1932-1933.

The Vatican did not officially recognize the Holodomor in the USSR either.

The border with Poland was blocked by railway troops of the DPU. It was practically impossible to get out of Poland or get to Poland. Hundreds of starving people tried to reach the shores of Bulgaria and Romania by water. Germany sought to provide material and financial assistance to ethnic German colonists in Ukraine. The German consulate in Odesa reported on numerous cases of coercion of collective farm workers to write statements about refusal of aid from abroad. During 1933, the consulate did not issue a single visa based on a Soviet passport. The Soviet authorities "hermetically sealed off" the local population from the outside world¹⁰.

The Committee for Aid to the Starving in Ukraine worked in Berlin, headed by Yelyzaveta, the daughter of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi.

The miserly aid in products and in foreign currency that went to the USSR from Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia was regarded as a humiliation of the Soviet government, manifestations of "anti-Soviet agitation" or "espionage". The authorities of the DPU recorded all the recipients of such assistance and transfers through a total perustration of foreign correspondence, with relevant consequences.

Ukrainians in exile considered the famine of 1932-1933 to be the most terrible form of communist terror in terms of the number of victims, a planned and prepared colossal famine disaster.

The reaction of Galicia and Bukovyna population to the famine in the USSR in 1932-1933.

In 1932, Romanian Bukovina was the first to see Ukrainian refugees fleeing the Soviet "paradise" from starvation, where food and seed material were forcibly taken from them. The flow of refugees increased in winter, when the Dniester froze. The most truthful source about hunger and starvation were the refugees from the USSR.

The first mass anti-Soviet protests against the famine of 1932-1933 took place in Bukovyna, which at that time was part of the Kingdom of Romania. Chernivtsi became the center of this protest movement. On August 7, 1933, at a meeting of public organizations in Bukovyna, the Ukrainian Public Committee for Assistance to Ukrainians in the USSR was established. Heads of UKGD elected Antin Kyryliv - chairman, Mykhailo Atamanyuk - secretary. The committee included two Bukovynian parliamentarians of the Romanian Parliament, Volodymyr Zalozetskyi and Yuriy Serbyniuk (*Zhuk, 1933*).

On Saturday and Sunday, August 26-27, 1933, the local gendarmerie, the prefect of police I. Yakoban and the mayor (head) of Chernivtsi Dimitriy Marmelyuk tried to ban memorial services and dissuaded the local population from protest actions in the city, which nevertheless took place on Monday, August 28 1933¹¹. Prior to this, the Protestants received the consent of the police prefect of

Chernivtsi, in agreement with the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kingdom of Romania, to hold a memorial service and speeches of the local population in support of Transdnieper Ukraine. On the day of the service, the local gendarmerie blocked all roads to the city and did not let people through.

Only memorial religious events took place, in which up to 5,000 people took part. At that time, the coverage of important socio-political events of Bukovyna Ukrainians took place at the pages of the independent magazine "Chas". As early as January 1933, this newspaper published the first articles about the famine in the Dnipro region¹².

The people of Bukovyna organized a collection of funds for the starving, disseminated information about the Holodomor in the USSR for the international community, for Ukrainian public and political organizations in Europe and the world.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the UNDO (Ukrainian People's Democratic Union) dated April 24, 1933 condemned the policy of the USSR against the Ukrainian peasants. Through Galician periodicals and their own newspaper "Dilo" based on letters from relatives from the USSR, testimonies of eyewitnesses who managed to cross the Soviet-Polish and Soviet-Romanian borders, the Party members spread the truth about the famine¹³.

In the summer of 1933, the largest number of protest actions, which were actively supported by the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), took place in Galicia. On the initiative of the UGCC, a memorial day for those who died of hunger in the Ukrainian SSR was introduced – October 29.

On July 14, 1933, the Ukrainian Socialist-Radical Party¹⁴ and the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party¹⁵ in Lviv founded a joint committee, which at the end of July 1933 was reorganized into the Ukrainian Public Committee for the Rescue of Ukraine, which included up to 44 local organizations. This committee, in a practical sense and measurement, carried out the most activities.

On July 24, 1933, the bishop of the UGCC appealed to the faithful with the appeal "Ukraine is in death convulsions." The revocation was signed by Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytskyi and the bishops of the UGCC of Galicia. On July 30 of the same year, the appeal was printed in the weekly "Meta" in Lviv, it was read in all churches¹⁶.

The priests asked to spread true information about the famine, called on the faithful to organize aid. 35 Ukrainian parties and organizations responded to the appeal of the higher clergy of the UGCC, which founded the Ukrainian Public Committee for the Rescue of Ukraine, which became the main coordinator of all actions to help the starving. The work of the committee was headed by Dmytro

¹² Stalin, the red dictator. Executioner of Ukraine. Time. Independent magazine. Chernivtsi July 20, 1933. No. 1367.

¹³ Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Lviv. Fund 581. List 1. File 34. Page 15.

¹⁴ *USRP (Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party)* is the second largest and most politically influential party in Western Ukraine in the interwar period. The number of members is more than 20 thousand. It was formed in 1926 in Lviv at the Congress of the Ukrainian Radical Party and the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. Acted in Galicia in 1889-1939. The head of the party was I. Makukh.

¹⁵ *USDP (Ukrainian Social Democratic Party)* was active in Galicia from 1889 to 1939. The head of the party was M. Hankevich.

¹⁶ Ukraine in throe.Meta. Weekly. Lviv. 30.07.1933. No. 30 (122). P. 1.

¹⁰ Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. Fund 13. File 161. Vol. 7. Page 20-21.

¹¹ For mourning services and a protest event. *Time. Independent Journal*. Chernivtsi 1933. August 30. No. 1401.

Levytskyi. An executive committee was elected under the leadership of Vasyl Mudry, deputy chairman of the UNDO party.

On October 17, 1933, the UGCC appealed to believers with a pastoral appeal to take an active part in celebrating the Day of Mourning and Protest, which was designated as October 29, 1933. This date later acquired a pan-European nature.

In its turn, the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in the person of Metropolitan Dionysius (Kostyantyn Mykolayovych Valedynskyi, 1876-1960), the head of the Orthodox Church of Poland, was pro-Russian and was in an ethnic conflict with the local population, who demanded the nationalization of the ROC. The Orthodox Church took a wait-and-see position, except for Volyn Bishop Polycarp (Petro Dmytrovych Sikorskyi, 1875-1953), the only Ukrainian among the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church. The priests of the Russian Orthodox Church did not go further than ministering the Divine Service and praying for the victims of the Holodomor.

All public events against the Holodomor were anti-Soviet in nature. Special public organizations and committees were created to organize and hold protest actions. Despite the active participation in the actions of the UGCC (the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church), the Vatican did not officially respond to the Holodomor in Ukraine and did not initiate rescue actions. The UGCC became one of the largest active religious institutions that did the most to spread information about the famine in Greater Ukraine in 1932-1933.

The most influential newspapers in Lviv were the Ukrainian-language "Dilo" and "Novyi Chas". In 1933, the UNDO's daily newspaper "Dilo" published 199 articles on the Holodomor in the USSR. The daily newspaper "Novyi Chas" published four letters from the victims, which they placed in an article entitled "The nation is dying", where they indicated the number of people who died of hunger – 10 million. The Chernivtsi newspaper "Chas" used a similar figure in July 1933, citing the facts of cannibalism.

In the autumn of 1933, the publishing house "For Ukraine" was founded in Lviv, specifically to reflect the situation in the Ukrainian SSR, where in the first issue, at the first page, a map was placed indicating the territories of the Ukrainian SSR affected by the Holodomor¹⁷.

In Volyn, the Volyn public committee to help the starving in the Ukrainian SSR was created separately.

Thus, in the territory of Galicia, which was part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there were three public committees to provide aid to the starving in the Ukrainian SSR. The protests in August-October 1933 were spontaneous in nature. Thus, in the autumn of 1933, 38 protest actions organized by party and public organizations took place in the Lviv waywodeship (province). The protesters recognized the Bolsheviks as the culprits of the famine (Papuha, 2018: 106). The main types of protest were:

1. Actions in the form of public appeals, appeals, resolutions, dissemination of information, memorial services, prayers, public meetings, religious services.
2. Appeal to international organizations, including the League of Nations, the most influential in the interwar period, whose headquarters were in Geneva, Swiss Confederation.
3. Organization of assistance to victims, attempts to provide material assistance, collection of funds.

¹⁷ Map of famine in Ukraine. For Ukraine. Lviv. Nonparty political fortnightly, October 1, 1933. No. 1-2. P. 1.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) did not join the legal protest measures, considering them ineffective. Ukrainian nationalists resorted to terrorist acts, killing on October 21, 1933 in Lviv a representative of the Soviet consulate of the USSR. Mykola Lemyk, a member of the OUN, carried out the assassination. According to Ukrainian nationalists, this drew the attention of the international community to the famine in the USSR¹⁸. Galicians perceived the assassination as a natural response to the criminal actions of the Soviet authorities against the Ukrainian peasantry.

In Galicia, in addition to the aforementioned Committees for the Rescue of Ukraine, the Union of Ukrainian Women tried to help the starving people in the USSR.

Holodomor in Greater Ukraine in national and international law.

In 1986, the Commission of the US Congress recognized the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine as genocide. The commission headed by the American researcher James Mason established the fact of genocide against the Ukrainian nation. On the initiative of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine was created, headed by the professor of the Swedish Institute of Public and International Law, Yakub Sanberg. Lawyers gave a legal assessment of the crime committed against the Ukrainian peasantry, classifying it as genocide.

The first official mention of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine can be found in 1989 in the preamble of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Reconstruction program. During the "snow-break" of the 1960s, Ukrainian dissidents Yevgenyi Sverstyuk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykola Rudenko tried to sharpen the attention of Soviet society about the famine of 1921-1922, 1932-1933, 1946-1947.

In 1992, the Association of Holodomor Researchers was created in Ukraine, which in December 1998 submitted a statement-petition to the Prosecutor General of Ukraine to initiate a criminal case based on the fact that the crime was committed. At that time, the national criminal law lacked an evidential basis for the committed crime, as well as a legislative interpretation of genocide. Currently, since 2001, the Ukrainian Criminal Code contains Art. 442 "Genocide", a crime to which the time limit for prosecution is not applied, regardless of the time of its commission.

The Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine is a classic manifestation of the genocide of the Ukrainian people¹⁹. The state "red" terror of the Soviet government against Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR, in addition to the Holodomor, also organized the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia ("shooting revival", beginning in May 1933), the liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (January 28-29, 1930).

On May 14, 2003, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VRU) at a special meeting adopted the Address to the Ukrainian People, which states: "... the Holodomor was deliberately organized by the Stalinist regime and must

¹⁸ Po zamachu na konsulat sowiecki we Lwowie. Ilustrowany kuryer codzienny. № 298. 27 pazdernika 1933. S. 2.

¹⁹ Law of Ukraine "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine". 2006. *Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady*. 2006. No. 50. Art. 504; Decree of the President of Ukraine "On measures in connection with the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine" 2007. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/250/2007#Text>.

be publicly condemned by Ukrainian society and the international community as one of the largest acts of genocide in terms of victims in world history".

On November 7, 2003, 36 UN member states adopted the "Joint statement of the delegations of UN member states on the 70th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine 1932-1933", in which they expressed their condolences to its victims and called on all UN member states to pay tribute to the memory of those who died in that tragic period of history²⁰.

The delegation of the Russian Federation joined the common statement, however, at the next 59th session of the UN General Assembly, it emphasized: "further discussion of this subject in the UN is counterproductive". Today, 21 UN member states at the level of their parliaments have recognized the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people.

On November 1, 2003, at the 34th session of the UNESCO General Conference, which includes 193 countries, the Resolution on "Commemoration of the Holodomor Victims in Ukraine" was unanimously adopted. The General Conference appealed to UNESCO member countries to disseminate information about the Holodomor by including it in educational and scientific research programs in order for future generations to learn the lessons of this tragic page of history. The term "Holodomor" was first recorded, which means the policy of the communist-Bolshevik regime, killing by starvation in Ukraine and is not identified with the term "famine", which then covered the Volga region, the North Caucasus, Kazakhstan and other regions of the USSR. UNESCO created a mechanism for disseminating information about the 1932-1933 Holodomor in Ukraine among the world community²¹.

On November 4, 2005, the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko signed the Decree "On Honoring the Victims and Casualties of the Holodomors in Ukraine"²², in which he clearly outlined the priority tasks of the central and local bodies of executive power to implement specific effective measures to honor the memory of the victims, foster respect for the historical past.

The first legal act of Ukrainian legislation that qualified the Holodomor as an act of genocide was the Law of Ukraine "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine", adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on November 28.11.2006²³. The law became the political and legal basis for conducting a large-scale official investigation of the genocide crime in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

On May 22, 2009, on the fact of committing the crime of genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, as a crime against humanity, the head of the 1st department of the Main Investigative Department of the Security Service of Ukraine, lieutenant colonel of justice V.M. Udovychenko commenced criminal case No. 475. 136 potential defendants were examined in the case. Investigative and operative groups conducted work in 17 regions of Ukraine. The investigative file included 253 volumes. On December 22,

2009, the case was transferred to the General Prosecutor's Office, which referred the case to court on December 31, 2009.

In addition to Ukrainian criminal legislation, Art. 442, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (CCU), international legal acts became the basis for criminal prosecution: 1. European Convention "On the Protection of Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" of November 4, 1950, Art. 7. The Convention was ratified by the Verkhovna Rada on 17.07.1998. It came into legal force for Ukraine on 11.09.1998. 2. The International Covenant "On Civil and Political Rights" of 1966. Ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on 19.10.1973. "UN Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity" dated November 26, 1968. Ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on March 25, 1969.

In the course of the pre-trial investigation, they proved the deliberate intention of the USSR leadership and the Communist Party to destroy a part of the Ukrainian nation, the bearer of the Ukrainian code – the peasantry. The evidence base served as:

1. Ukrainian peasants were forbidden to leave the territory affected by famine. The regime of "isolation" was controlled by the military units of the Chief Political Administration (GPU). Ukrainian peasants were blocked in starving villages and deprived of any chance of salvation.

2. The heads of local bodies and collective farms who tried to help the starving suffered repressions.

3. During the mass extinction of Ukrainians, sufficient amounts of grain were kept in state reserves, which were not used to save the starving people of Ukraine. In such conditions, the USSR continued to export grain at dumping prices.

4. The Soviet authorities did not recognize the fact of the Holodomor, refusing international charitable aid.

On January 13, 2010, the Court of Appeal of Kyiv recognized the proven fact of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. In particular, the resolution states:

1. The Soviet government and the party leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine (b) planned the famine with the aim of suppressing the national liberation movement and preventing the building of an independent Ukrainian state;

2. The Holodomor was committed by forcibly removing all food products from Ukrainian peasants and depriving them of access to food, artificially creating conditions that led to the physical destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry, the absolute majority of Ukrainians;

1. The Holodomor was committed as one of the stages of a special operation against a part of the Ukrainian nation, since it was the Ukrainian nation that had the right to self-determination by leaving the USSR, which was enshrined in the Constitution of the USSR in 1924;

2. The Holodomor was committed by the leaders of the party leadership of the VKP(b) and CP(b)U, among whom seven persons played a particularly important and active role in the commission of the crime: Stalin (Dzhughashvili) Y.V. – Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), Molotov (Skryabin) V.M. – Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Council of Labor and Defense, L.M. Kaganovich – head of the agricultural and transport departments of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), Postyshev P.P. – the second secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b)U and the first secretary of the Kharkiv Regional Committee of the CP(b)U, Kosior S.V. – General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, Chubar V.Ya. – Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

²⁰ Joint statement of the UN member states' delegations regarding the 70th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933. URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_g07#Text.

²¹ UNESCO resolution on "Commemoration of Holodomor victims in Ukraine". URL: https://www.rbc.ua/ukr/news/genkonferentsiya_yunesko_priynala_rezolyutsiyu_o_pochtenii_pamyati_zhertv_golodomora_v_ukraine__1193918011

²² Decree of the President of Ukraine "On commemoration of the victims and victims of the famine in Ukraine". URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1544/2005#Text>

²³ Law of Ukraine "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine". 2006. Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady. 2006. No. 50. Art. 504.

of the URSR, M.M. Khataevich – secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the CP(b)U.

Documentary evidence became:

1. 3,456 found and declassified documents of the Soviet authorities and the Communist Party, including those directly signed by J. Stalin;
2. testimony of 1,730 witnesses and victims of criminal acts of the totalitarian regime;
3. 857 mass graves where Holodomor-genocide victims are buried;
5. 400 found and declassified documents of the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (GDA SBU), which confirm the organization of artificial hunger;
6. archival documents of the diplomatic missions of Poland, Germany, Italy, Great Britain;
7. archival materials that confirm the mass resettlement of ethnic Russians to Ukraine;
8. video and photo materials of Holodomor events (Danylenko, 2008).

The National Book of Memory of the Victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 (combined volume) recorded 601,079 facts of starvation deaths from 10,440 villages, towns, and cities of the USSR (*Natsionalna knyha...*, 2008). 3,186 books of registration of death certificates in 1932-1933 became material evidence in the criminal case.

21.01. 2010, the decision of the Court of Appeal of Kyiv entered into force, stating that in Ukraine in the period of 1932-1933, the Soviet totalitarian regime committed a crime – the genocide of the Ukrainian people. A crime that is not subject to the statute of limitations²⁴.

The Holodomor of 1932-1933 was a planned action politically aimed at the physical destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry, one of the methods of deliberate destruction of the national opposition in the URSR, deliberate destruction of the bearers of the national spirit – the Ukrainian peasantry. This is a crime against humanity that has no statute of limitations.

Conclusions

Thus, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in the USSR, artificially organized by the communist regime headed by Y. Stalin, led to the mass death of millions of Ukrainians, the vast majority of whom were peasants. It was the Ukrainian peasantry, as opposed to the formerly united proletariat, that was the source of the government's disobedience and national resistance. And it is precisely the attempt to destroy the peasantry that is determined not only by the mass seizing of grain and any food in the villages, but also by the obstacles that the authorities put in the way of peasants' emigration from dying villages to the cities, or the refusal of the Bolsheviks to provide targeted humanitarian aid for Ukrainians, which was offered by international public organizations.

Information about the famine in Ukraine, despite the efforts of the Bolshevik government to hide these glaring facts and the conformist support of the majority of foreign journalists accredited in the USSR, still received publicity in the world thanks to individual journalists of influential British newspapers and the work of foreign embassies and consulates in the USSR, which independently collected statistics of the hungry deaths in Ukraine. It pro-

voked a civil wave of help in various countries, but did not cause official condemnation of the Bolshevik policy by the member states of the League of Nations and the Catholic Church as an influential player in the international politics of the time.

At the same time, the countries that shared a border with the territory of Soviet Ukraine at the time – Romania (Bukovyna) and Poland (Galicia) – widely participated in helping illegal refugees, and also collected and transferred funds for the starving, spread information about the Holodomor in URSR for the international community with condemnation of the policy of the USSR towards the Ukrainian peasants. The UGCC carried out great assistant, informational and pastoral work, collecting donations to help the starving, spreading the appeal of the church leadership "Ukraine in the throes of death" to all parishes, conducting collective prayers for the salvation of the starving.

Since 1933, on the initiative of the UGCC, first in Galicia, and then in other places of Europe, the Day of mourning and protest against the famine in Ukraine began to be celebrated.

The first and subsequent recognitions of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine as genocide at the level of influential countries and international organizations, as well as the criminal proceedings conducted in Ukraine for the commission of the crime of genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine as a crime against humanity allow modern Ukrainians not only to consolidate the memory about the Holodomor as a significant historical narrative for the entire society, but also to survive this traumatic experience, renewing the nation and its values and worldview guidelines.

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²⁴ *Institute of National Memory of Ukraine* URL: <https://old.uinp.gov.ua/publication/postanova-apelyatsiinogotsudu-mista-kiyeva-za-kriminalnoyu-spravoyu-porushenoyu-za-faktom>.

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Громадянське суспільство Західної України та Європи в контексті подій українського Голодомору 1932-1933 років

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У статті національна трагедія Голодомору 1932-1933 рр. розглянута в контексті реакції на неї населення сусідніх з Україною та більш далеких країн, а також міжнародних організацій. Акцентовано увагу, що Голодомор був свідомою акцією комуністичної влади проти українського селянства як джерела владної непокори та національного спротиву. Показано, що попри намагання більшовицького уряду приховати кричущі факти голоду та конформістську підтримку більшості акредитованих в СРСР зарубіжних журналістів, ця інформація все таки отримала розголос у світі завдяки окремим журналістам впливових британських газет та роботі в СРСР іноземних посольств і консульств. Вона збурила громадянську хвилю допомоги в різних країнах, але не викликала офіційного засудження більшовицької політики з боку країн-членів Ліги Націй та Католицької церкви як впливового гравця тогочасної міжнародної політики. Розглянуто роль громадських організацій та Української греко-католицької церкви в організації допомоги нелегальним біженцям з України та протестних рухів із засудженням політики СРСР щодо українських селян. Зроблено висновок, що перші і подальші визнання Голодомору 1932-1933 в Україні геноцидом на рівні впливових країн і міжнародних організацій, а також проведене в Україні кримінальне провадження за фактом скоєння злочину геноциду 1932-1933 рр. в Україні, як злочину проти людяності дозволяють сучасним українцям не тільки закріпити пам'ять про Голодомор як значущий для всього суспільства історичний наратив, але й переусвідомити цей травматичний досвід, оновивши націю та її ціннісно-світоглядні настанови.

Ключові слова: Українська соціалістична радянська республіка, Голодомор-геноцид, 1932-1933, Галичина.

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