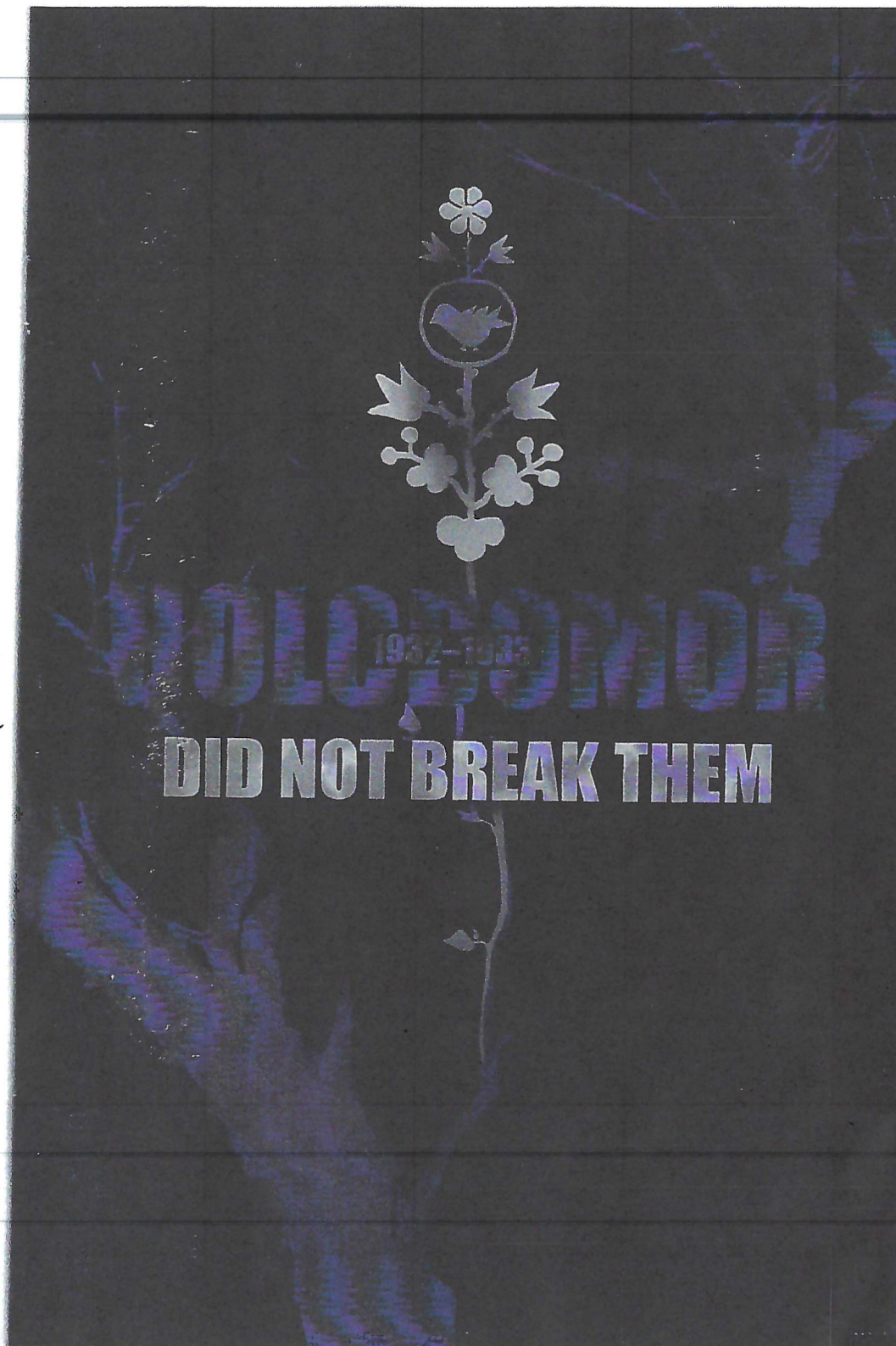


cover  
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first page



## HOLODOMOR DID NOT BREAK THEM

"We can lose Ukraine!" Stalin wrote in fear in the summer of 1932. He was afraid of losing Ukraine as a resource base without which the dream of building a mighty industrial empire capable of conquering the world would never come true.

He decided to execute Ukraine in order to retain it. It was an attack against everything the dictator hated – freedom, self-reliance and unique cultural identity.

Despite the informational blockade that concealed the crime, it was a public execution. This was obvious to those who were doomed, those who lived in the Stalin empire, those who quietly shared the horrifying details of the period with others. Foreign leaders received reports about it from intelligence services and diplomatic corps as well as read articles of brave journalists in the leading international media.

The murder of an entire nation in peacetime had to become a chilling warning to others: the power of the "great leader" had no bounds, while his actions will not be punished.

Famine became the weapon of choice of Stalin's genocide that claimed lives of millions of Ukrainians. It also gave him the opportunity to kill those who survived the mass murders.

They were killed as Ukrainians. Having survived the Holodomor, they refused to speak their mother tongue and honor old customs and traditions, transforming into faceless Homo Sovieticus.

They were killed as individuals, as they became people without sense of dignity and turned into cogs in the totalitarian machine. The result of the



Holodomor was millions of dead and deserted Ukrainian households, but also the empty souls of those who survived 1933.

The people were afraid to recall the horrors they witnessed. It was not merely a fear of punishment but the memories of self before 1932. It was painful to even wonder what they would become if it were not for the Holodomor that ruined their lives and deprived of personality.

Yet the genocide did not break everyone. There were those who survived both physically and spiritually. Despite seeing how their families and friends died from starvation, and looking in the Death's eyes and feeling its animalistic nature, they refused to yield. The Holodomor did not force them to betray their national identity. Soon they resumed living despite the trauma of 1932-1933 and repressive realities of the Soviet regime. They became artists, writers and prominent scientists.

They have not forgotten the Holodomor, yet these memories did not obstruct their personal development.

The men and women knew they are living lives of the millions who perished physically and spiritually. They were the champions of unique culture that enriched the world's diversity. Stalin lost because of them. The Holodomor did not break Ukraine.

After decades of persecution, Ukraine rose to its feet and put an end to the totalitarian empire in 1991. Today, Ukraine confidently breaks attempts to revive this empire again. It defends its own borders and those of Europe. We are the nation that refused to yield to genocide.

**Volodymyr Viatrovykh**  
*Historian, Director of Ukrainian  
Institute of National Remembrance*

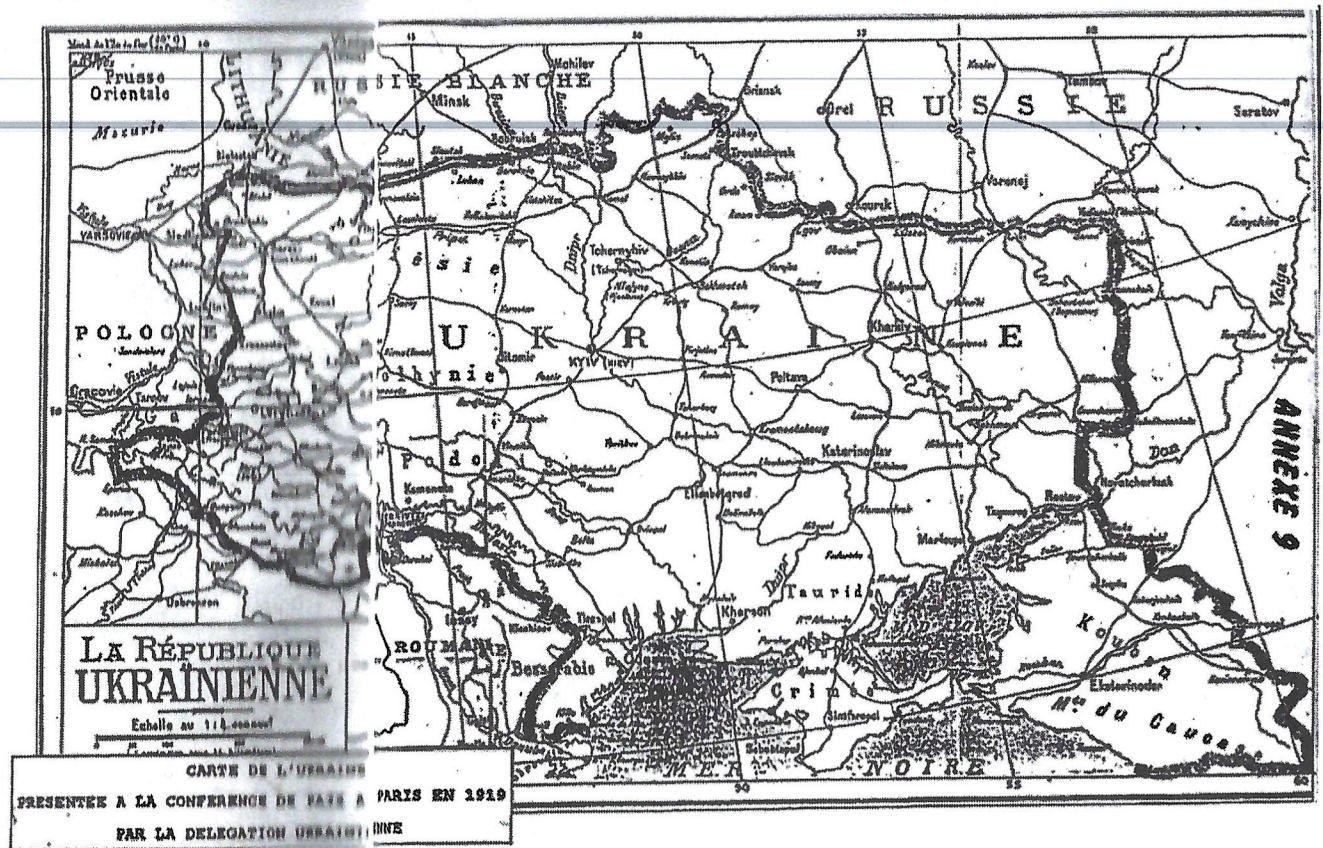
# BACKGROUND OF THE HOLODOMOR

## WHAT?

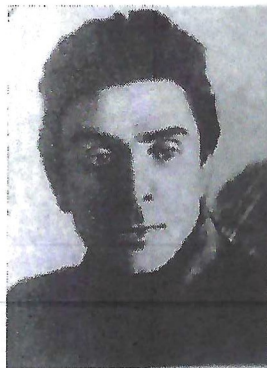
Holodomor is a Ukrainian term meaning killing by starvation. This is the name given to the national catastrophe of 1932 - 1933, which claimed millions of lives. The famine did not emerge as a result of natural disasters such as drought or crop failure. This was part of a deliberate policy of the Communist regime aimed at physical elimination of the Ukrainians. According to the UN Convention on Genocide Prevention and Punishment of 1948, this policy was a crime against humanity.

## WHY?

After the October Revolution of 1917, the Communists managed to seize power in most areas of the former Russian Empire. In particular, they occupied the newly independent Ukrainian People's Republic after a brutal struggle that lasted for several years. The Communists secured control over Ukraine by making some concessions to the Ukrainian national movement in the area of culture, as well as set up a Communist puppet regime, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Ukrainians took advantage of this cultural autonomy. In the 1920s, Ukraine experienced a rapid development of European-focused modern culture; Ukrainians created a national education system based on the idea of Ukraine as an independent economic actor. From the late 1920s, the Communist authorities consolidated their power and launched an offensive against the Ukrainian cultural uprising. Stalin embarked on a program of rapid industrialization. The paramount goal was to create a powerful mil-



UKRAINIAN STATE IN 1919



MYKOLA KHVYLOVY, A UKRAINIAN WRITER, CAME OUT WITH A SLOGAN AWAY FROM MOSCOW! IN THE 1920S. IN 1933, HE COMMITTED SUICIDE IN PROTEST AGAINST THE STALINIST POLICIES OF OPPRESSION.

itary-industrial complex and technically equipped army so that the Communist state could dominate the international scene. Stalin eliminated any kind of opposition to his authority through a powerful repressive apparatus. Although Ukraine enjoyed only a brief period of independence in 1917-1921, there was fierce resistance against Communism. There was a Ukraine-oriented educated elite as well as economically independent peasantry with strong national consciousness. The Stalinist regime perceived the Ukrainian question as an existential threat to the Soviet Union, opting for a horrifying tactic – death by starvation.

**OVER 352  
THOUSAND  
HOUSEHOLDS  
WERE  
ELIMINATED  
IN UKRAINE,  
TERRORIZING  
AROUND  
1.5 MILLION  
PEOPLE.**

### **HOW?**

The origins of the Holodomor were initiated by Moscow Communists led by Stalin back in the 1920s. In January 1928, the Communists introduced compulsory grain procurements. The state took most (or even all) of grain harvests from farmers at much reduced prices. At the same time, the regime started a campaign against a class of wealthy peasants known as the kulaks. The so-called dekulakization envisaged confiscation of property, land and forceful eviction of peasants. Most of them had been deported to Siberia.

EXPELLING THE KULAKS  
FROM THEIR HOUSES IN  
DONETSK REGION, EARLY  
1930s.



**“ON SUNDAY EVENING SHE  
GAVE BIRTH TO TWO GIRLS.  
ON THURSDAY, THEY WERE  
DRIVEN OUT OF THE HOUSE,  
AND THE BABIES WERE TAKEN  
AND THROWN ON SNOW. THEY  
SAID WE HAD NO RIGHT TO TAKE  
ANYTHING FROM THE HOUSE.  
AND SHE CRIES, THE LITTLE  
ONE IS STANDING BESIDE HER,  
AND WHERE SHOULD SHE PUT  
THOSE TWO? THEN SHE WAS  
TOLD TO TAKE THE PILLOWS.  
SO SHE BROUGHT THE PILLOWS  
OUT, THEY HELPED HER DO IT.  
AND THEY PUT THE PILLOWS ON  
THE SNOW, AND SHE PUT THE  
CHILDREN. THEY SAID TO THEIR  
VILLAGE COUNCIL, THERE IS NO  
RIGHT TO LET ANYBODY INTO THE  
HOUSE”.**

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED  
STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,  
INTERVIEW SW73

**“WHEN I WAS ARRESTED, THEY HELD ME IN PRISON FOR ALMOST A YEAR ... THEY CLAIMED I WAS A MEMBER OF THE [ANTI-COMMUNIST] UVO (UKRAINIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION), THEN THE [ANTI-COMMUNIST] POV (POLISH MILITARY ORGANIZATION). ALL BECAUSE I TAUGHT AT THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE AND THE POLISH ONE WAS NEARBY. THEN THEY SAID THAT I WAS AN OFFICER. I SAID I COULD NOT BE AN OFFICER, AS MY YEAR OF BIRTH SHOWS I WAS A YOUNG BOY AT THE TIME”.**

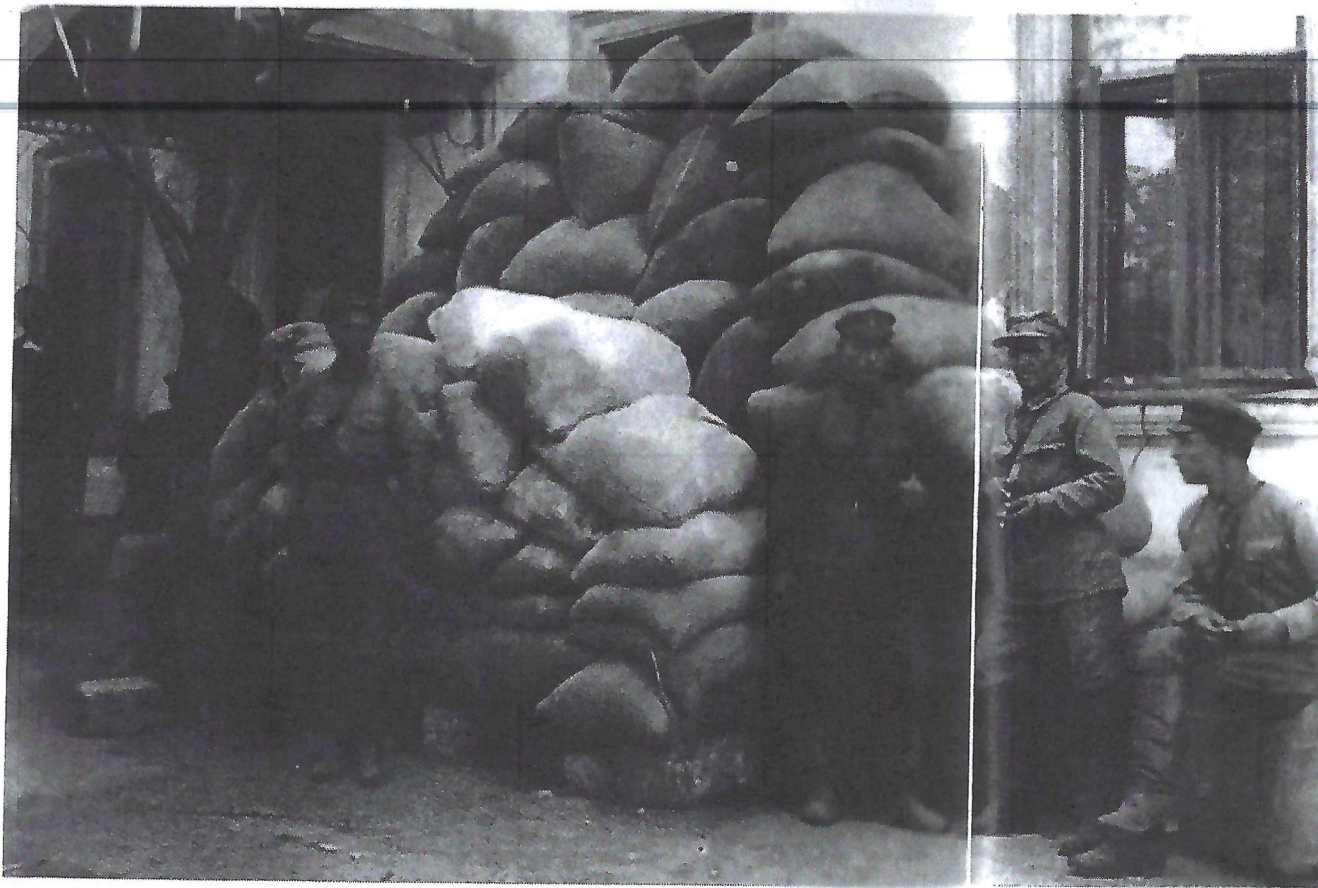
EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, INTERVIEW LH 57



CONFISCATION OF LIVE-STOCK FOR A KOLKHOZ, DONETSK REGION, EARLY 1930s.

In 1929 the Communists started a drive toward wholesale collectivization. Independent private farms were forced to unite in state collective farms also known as the kolkhoz. Members of collective farms were forbidden to benefit from the products of their work.

Forced collectivization caused mass protests and uprisings all over Soviet Ukraine. Throughout 1930 there were more than 4,000 mass anti-state demonstrations in Ukraine. According to historians, about 1.2 million peasants took part in protests. Resistance was brutally suppressed. By October 1931, 68% of farms and 72% of arable land had been collectivized and became state-owned.



**August 7, 1932** – The resolution on “protection of socialist property” is adopted. It acquired notoriety under a common name of the law of five spikelets because it was used to imprison people who collected as little as a handful of grain left after the entire harvest was counted.

Collective and individual farms were devastated after grain procurements in 1931. In the spring of 1932, over 100 thousand Ukrainians died from starvation. Massive loss of life could have been avoided. It was crucial to reconsider excessive grain procurements, declare the famine-affected regions as areas of humanitarian disaster, and launch a large-scale relief program.

By contrast, the Communists tactic became even more ruthless that led to genocide.

**July 1932** – Soviet authorities impose deliberately unrealistic plans for grain procurements on Ukrainian households.

KGB AGENTS WITH  
CONFISCATED GRAIN,  
KHERSON, 1932.

**“TWO WOMEN WENT INTO THE FIELDS IN THE SPRING TO PICK UP SOME BLACKENED SPIKELETS LEFT UNDER THE SNOW. THOSE SPIKELETS WERE BLACKENED; THEY PICKED THEM UP AND THEN WERE STOPPED ON THEIR WAY AND EXILED TO SIBERIA FOR 10 YEARS”.**

**HO  
LODO  
MOR**

TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED STATES  
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,  
INTERVIEW LH 36

October 1932 – Vyacheslav Molotov, Head of the Soviet government, arrived to Ukraine from Moscow with a special commission on grain procurement. His mission was to intensify repressions and increase grain expropriation from Ukrainian peasants.

November 18, 1932 - Fines are introduced in Ukraine. All food and cattle are confiscated from households that have "outstanding debts" because of unrealistic grain procurement plans.

HO  
LODO  
MOR

In the same month, the Soviet authorities organized special teams to search and confiscate foodstuffs and cattle from private households. The campaign involved the entire personnel of police, security agencies and local members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth.

A GROUP OF COMMUNISTS WITH CONFISCATED GRAIN. DONETSK REGION, 1932.

**"THE 'ACTIVISTS' LOOKED FOR BREAD. IT WAS A COMMUNIST-ORGANIZED TEAM AND ALL OF THEM HAD STICKS. THEY WALKED ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD, POKED WITH A STICK AND STROKE WITH A HAMMER, LOOKING FOR HIDDEN BREAD. ONCE THEY HAVE FOUND IT, THEY IMMEDIATELY EXILE YOU FOR HIDING THE BREAD".**

TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED STATES  
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,  
INTERVIEW LH52



**“OVER NOVEMBER AND  
DECEMBER 1932, THEY TOOK  
ALL THE GRAIN, POTATOES;  
EVERYTHING, INCLUDING BEANS  
AND ALL THAT WAS IN THE  
ATTIC LIKE SMALL DRIED PEARS,  
APPLES, AND CHERRIES”.**

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED  
STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,  
INTERVIEW LH63



A “blackboard regime” similar to the boards of infamy is introduced across Soviet Ukraine. If a village or a district were put on a blackboard, a militarized blockade was immediately introduced, which was often tantamount to a death sentence for its residents.

**Late November 1932** – Soviet security agencies designed a secret operation to neutralize anyone who might oppose bread requisitions. The operation covered 243 Ukrainian districts.

**Early December, 1932** – The second stage of killing by starvation begins. The Communist regime accuses Ukrainians of sabotaging grain procurements and plotting an uprising. Senior Soviet functionaries, Lazar Kaganovich and Pavel Postyshev, arrive from Moscow to increase grain procurement.

THE CONFISCATION OF  
GRAIN FROM PEASANTS,  
DONETSK REGION, EARLY  
1930s.

**HO  
LODO  
MOR**





December 14, 1932 - The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of the People's Commissars of the Soviet Union adopted a secret resolution "On grain procurement in Ukraine, North Caucasus and Western Region." It allowed elimination of Ukrainian schools in the Russian Kuban region and mass persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals. The resolution, once again, confirms that the man-made famine focused on destroying Ukrainian national identity.

Late December 1932 - All grain stocks and even seeds were taken from Ukrainian villages.

A SPECIAL SQUAD LED BY THE KGB SEARCHES FOR HIDDEN RESERVES, MYKOLAYIV REGION, DECEMBER 1932.

**"... THESE TEAMS WENT TO THE COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND INDIVIDUAL OWNERS; THEY TOOK AWAY EVERYTHING THEY HAD. IF THEY FOUND A HANDFUL OF MILLET, THEY WOULD TAKE IT AWAY. IF THEY FOUND A HANDFUL OF PUMPKINS, THEY WOULD TAKE IT AWAY. AND IF THERE WERE CABBAGES, PICKLED BEETS, POTATOES IN CELLARS, THEY WOULD TAKE EVERYTHING".**

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, INTERVIEW LH08

January 1, 1933 - the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopts a special resolution on applying the toughest repressions against anyone who does not hand over bread. Massive searches deprive farmers of the last remains of food, sealing their fate to slow death by starvation.

**DEATH RATES  
IN JUNE OF 1933  
UKRAINE:**

**EVERY  
DAY**

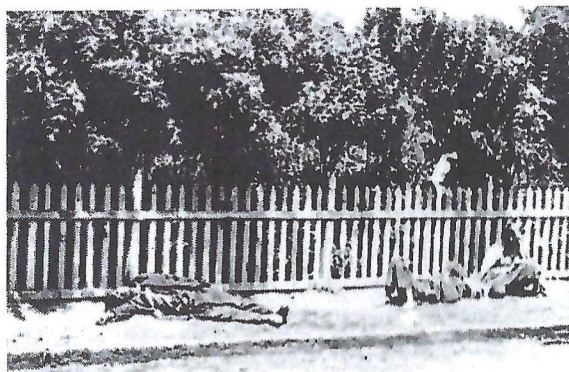
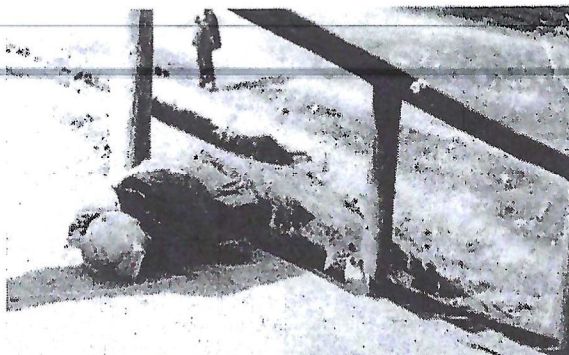
**- 34,560 PEOPLE**

**EVERY  
HOUR**

**- 1,440 PEOPLE**

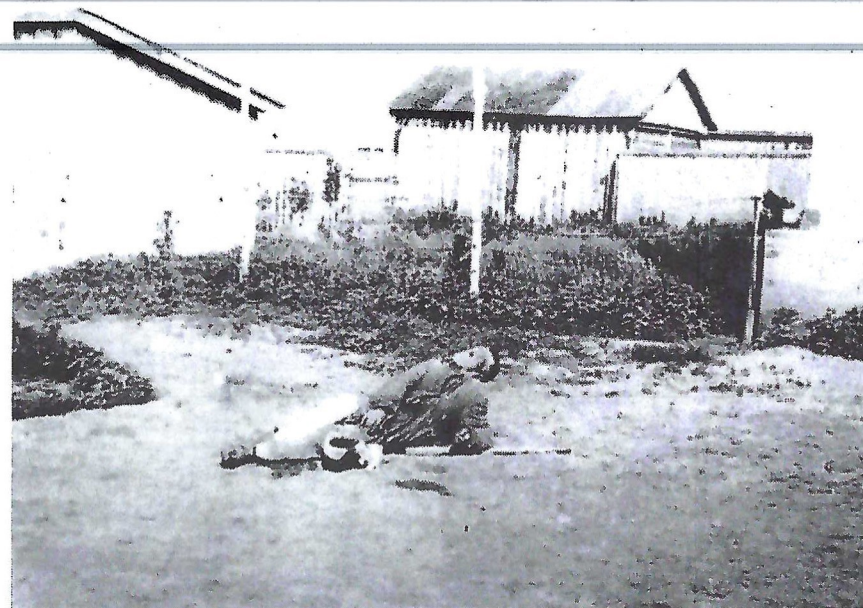
**EVERY  
MINUTE**

**- 24 PEOPLE**



January 22, 1933 – Joseph Stalin issues a directive prohibiting farmers to flee the famine-stricken territories in Ukraine and Kuban to other areas of the Soviet Union. In the first six weeks of this directive over 186 thousand peasants were forcibly driven from their homes and doomed to die from starvation.

June 1933 – the death toll in Ukraine reached its climax. According to demographers, over 1 million people died from starvation in June.



STREETS OF KHARKIV,  
THE CAPITAL OF THE  
UKRAINIAN SOVIET SO-  
CIALIST REPUBLIC IN THE  
SPRING 1933.

**“JUST AS YOU LEAVE KHARKIV  
WHERE THE UKRAINIAN BORDER  
ENDS, PEOPLE DID NOT DIE FROM  
HUNGER AT ALL. OUR UKRAINI-  
ANS WENT THERE, AND THE KGB  
PEOPLE WERE ALREADY WAITING  
THERE, CHECKING WHO YOU ARE  
AND WHERE FROM, AND TOOK  
PEOPLE TO SIBERIA. ALTERNA-  
TIVELY, A FIGHT WOULD BREAK  
OUT ON THE BORDER BECAUSE  
YOU ARE NOT ALLOWED TO CROSS  
IT. YOU SEE, IT SEEMS WE ARE LIV-  
ING IN ONE STATE BUT YOU ARE  
NOT ALLOWED TO LEAVE”.**

**HO  
LODO  
MOR**

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED  
STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,  
INTERVIEW SW10

**August 1933** - the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party resolved to establish an All-Union Resettlement Committee in order to resettle collective farmers from Russia and Belarus to Ukrainian villages where everyone died from famine. By the end of 1933, over 100 thousand people were resettled.



**“IN POLTAVA REGION, NEAR KYIV, THERE WERE ALSO VILLAGES, WHERE EVERYONE DIED; THEY HAVE SENT RUSSIANS TO THE PLACE. THEY DID NOT RESETTLE UKRAINIANS FROM OTHER PLACES THERE, BUT REAL [ETHNIC] RUSSIANS”.**

A VILLAGE IN KHARKIV REGION IN THE SUMMER 1933.

**1933** – The Communist regime unleashed massive political repressions under of pretext of fighting against bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism. Their scope is commensurate with the scale of the Great Terror of 1937-1938. According to official data, over 124 thousand people were arrested in Ukraine in 1933, which is more than during political purges of 1938. Then the Communist Head of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Pavel Postyshev said that 1933 was “the year of when the nationalist counter-revolution was defeated.”

EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, INTERVIEW SW01-SW02

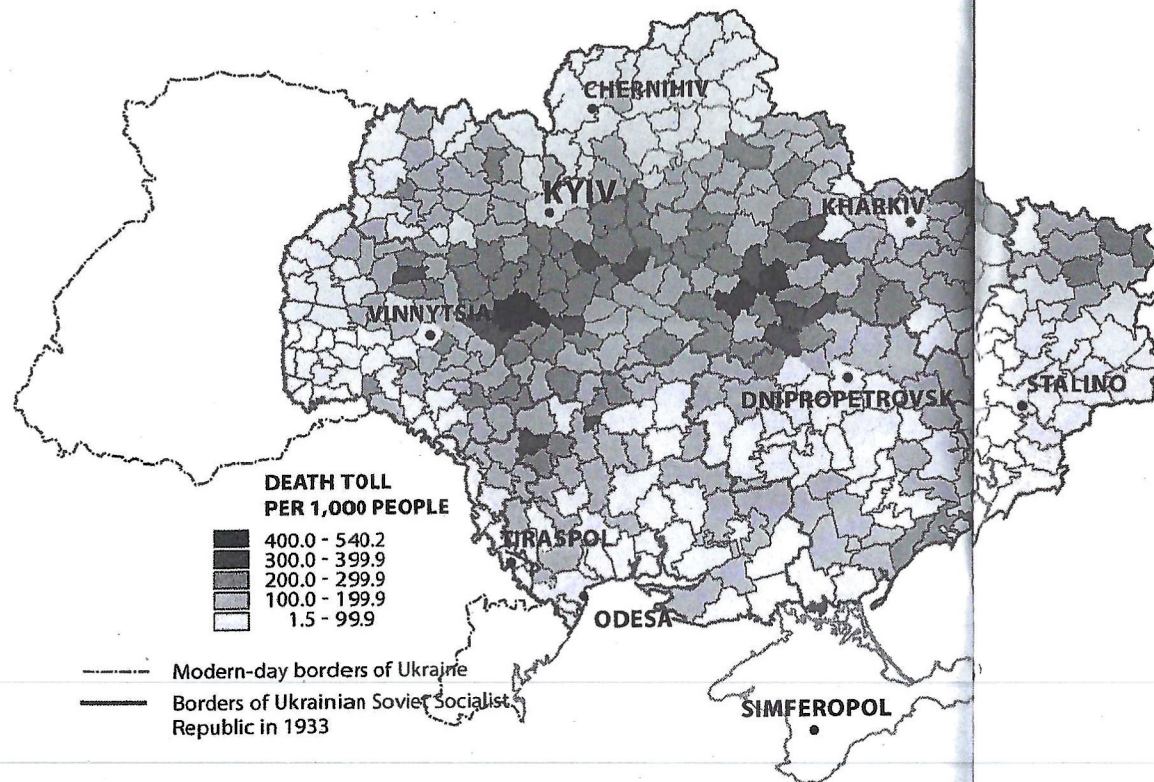
**HO  
LODO  
MOR**

## CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE

These terrible crimes and the deliberate policy of hiding their consequences made it impossible to estimate the exact number of innocent people who died from famine in 1932-1933.

**Millions of Ukrainians died from starvation.**

TOTAL DIRECT FAMINE LOSSES OF POPULATION PER 1,000 BY RAION IN UKRAINE FOR 1933 (BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF THE GREAT FAMINE PROJECT OF HARVARD UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE)



**HO  
LODO  
MOR**



A UKRAINIAN CHILD IN 1933.

The most chilling feature of the Holodomor was the high death rates among children. In many Ukrainian regions, around two thirds of children did not arrive to schools in September 1933.

The Communists turned hunger into a weapon to kill Ukrainians on a large scale. This crippled natural demographics for many decades as well as led to moral and psychological changes in public consciousness. Hunger undermined the traditional Ukrainian way of life.

As a result of the Holodomor, Ukrainian society became, and has largely remained, traumatized, like other post-genocide societies. Tens of millions of survivors went through unbearable suffering and could not completely recover from their experiences. Their resistance was broken, and the fear that famine can return remained for decades, resulting in a loss of confidence and initiative. Famine trauma passed from parents to their children on a conscious and subconscious level.



OUTSKIRTS OF KHARKIV,  
SUMMER 1933.

However, the Communist regime was unable to completely transform the Ukrainians into homo sovieticus. Ukrainians' struggle for freedom continued long after the 1932-1933 tragedy and finally, on August 24, 1991 Ukraine declared independence. Over 90 percent of Ukrainians supported the decision.

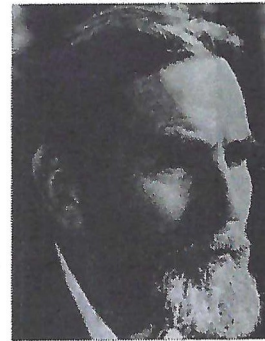
## THOSE WHO SURVIVED THE HOLODOMOR

A man-made Terror Famine of 1932-1933 destroyed millions of human lives. The fate of the great nation was crippled forever. The horrors of the Holodomor inflicted deep wounds in several generations of Ukrainians. But the Communist regime failed to achieve its ultimate goal of complete subjugation of Ukraine. Among the ruined lives, there were those who did not lose dignity and faith. They have carried the love of Ukraine and hope for a better life throughout the sufferings of the Holodomor.

Some had a mission to tell the truth about Holodomor to the whole world and future generations, while others contained the pain of the past in their hearts, enriching Ukrainian science and culture with their works. There were people who fought against the regime. Those who weren't crushed by the Holodomor had their own path. They cherished traditions and honored the dead, including those perished by famine and never forgot about their roots. Most importantly, these people retained their creative powers.



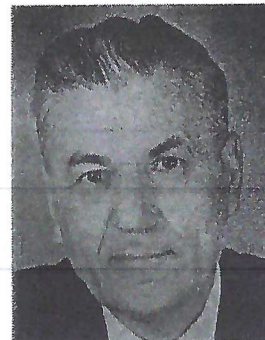
NONNA AUSKÁ (1923-2013), WRITER AND DOCTOR. HER FATHER, OLEKSANDR FEDORIVSKY, WAS A RENOWNED SCIENTIST AND PROFESSOR OF THE KHARKIV UNIVERSITY. SHE LIVED THROUGH THE HOLODOMOR IN KHARKIV. SHE EMIGRATED TO THE WEST AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, LIVING IN WEST GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES. NONNA WORKED AS A DOCTOR AND WROTE ABOUT HER CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES DURING THE TERROR-FAMINE IN HER HOLODOMORNYA.



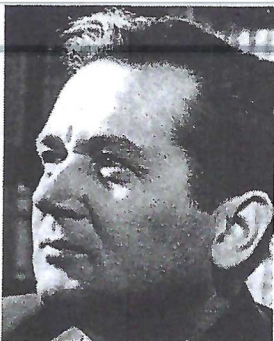
VASYL BARKA (1908-2003), WRITER AND TRANSLATOR. BARKA WAS BORN IN POLTAVA REGION AND WORKED AS A SCHOOLTEACHER IN KUBAN. IN 1932-1932, A 24-YEARS-OLD BARKA WAS ON THE VERGE OF STARVATION. HE DESCRIBED THE HOLODOMOR IN HIS NOVEL ZHOVTYI KNYAZ [YELLOW PRINCE] THAT TOLD A STORY OF ONE UKRAINIAN FAMILY. THE FRENCH DAILY NEWSPAPER LE MONDE RECOGNIZED THE YELLOW PRINCE AS "THE BEST NOVEL ABOUT ONE OF THE HARDEST TOPICS WRITTEN IN POSTWAR EUROPE" (1967).



KATERYNA BILOKUR (1900-1961), ARTIST. SHE SURVIVED THE HOLODOMOR IN HER HOME VILLAGE IN PYRIATYN AREA. IN 1946-1947, BILOKUR FAMILY EXPERIENCED FAMINE AGAIN. HER PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS WERE REFLECTED IN THE PAINTING TSAR-KOLOS. PABLO PICASSO WAS IMPRESSED BY HER WORKS AND SAID, "IF WE HAD AN ARTIST OF SUCH A LEVEL OF MASTERY, WE WOULD FORCE THE WHOLE WORLD TO TALK ABOUT HER!"



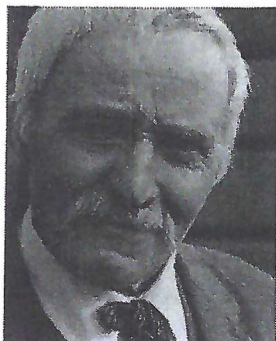
DMYTRO BILOUS (1920-2004), A UKRAINIAN POET. BORN IN KURMANY VILLAGE, SUMY REGION IN A RURAL FAMILY WITH 11 CHILDREN. IN 1933, KURMANY WAS LISTED IN "BLACK SLATE" DOCUMENTS [FOOD SUPPLY BAN TO PARTICULAR VILLAGES AND TOWNS]. DMYTRO WAS SAVED THANKS TO HIS BROTHER WHO HAD TAKEN HIM TO THE KHARKIV LABOR COLONY PRESIDED BY ANTON MAKARENKO. WHEN THE NAZI GERMANY INVADED THE SOVIET UNION IN 1941, DMYTRO BILOUS ENROLLED IN THE RANKS OF THE RED ARMY AND WAS WOUNDED ON THE FRONTLINE. HE BECAME A PROMINENT POET AFTER THE WAR. BILOUS'S MOST FAMOUS COLLECTION, DYVO KALYNOVE [THE CRANBERRY MIRACLE] BROUGHT HIM THE TARAS SHEVCHENKO AWARD.



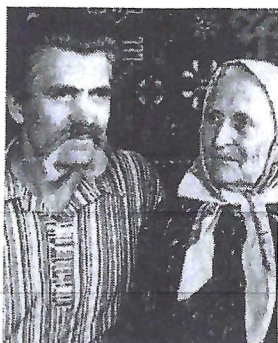
OLES HONCHAR (1918-1995), WRITER, LITERARY CRITIC AND CIVIL ACTIVIST. BORN IN LOMIVKA VILLAGE (PART OF MODERN-DAY DNIPRO) HE SURVIVED THE HOLODOMOR AS A TEENAGER BECAUSE OF HIS GRANDMOTHER. LATER HE BECAME A FAMOUS WRITER. HONCHAR'S NOVEL STOKOZOVE POLE (1936) [THE FIELD OF MR. STOKIZ, WHICH LITERALLY TRANSLATES AS "MR. ONE HUNDRED SHEEP" IN DEFIANCE OF THE SOVIET DE-KULAKIZATION POLICY AGAINST WELL-TO-DO PEASANTS] WAS BANNED FOR PRINT AND LATER HEAVILY CENSORED UNTIL HARDLY ANYTHING WAS LEFT FROM THE ORIGINAL. HONCHAR WROTE ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES OF THE 1932-1933 TRAGEDY IN HIS DIARY.



ANATOLIY DIMAROV (1922-2014), WRITER. BORN IN HARASKA VILLAGE IN POLTAVA REGION IN A FAMILY OF WELL-TO-DO TEACHER. THE FAMILY WAS DE-KULAKIZED AND THE PARENTS HAD TO DIVORCE. THE MOTHER CHANGED FAMILY NAME OF HER CHILDREN TO SAVE THEM FROM REPRESSIONS. ANATOLIY WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WRITERS IN SOVIET UKRAINE WHO WROTE ABOUT DE-KULAKIZATION AND THE HOLODOMOR. DIMAROV RECEIVED TARAS SHEVCHENKO AWARD FOR HIS NOVEL BIL TA HNIIV [PAIN AND ANGER]. HE STARTED USING HIS REAL SURNAME, HARASYUTA, ONLY AFTER THE RESTORATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE.



OPANAS ZALYVAKHA (1925-2007), ARTIST AND DISSIDENT. BORN IN HUSYNKA VILLAGE, KHARKIV REGION. IN 1933, HIS FAMILY FLED TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO RELATIVES IN A BID TO ESCAPE THE HOLODOMOR. IN HIS LATER YEARS ZALYVAKHA REDISCOVERED UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND CREATED SEVERAL PAINTINGS ABOUT THE TERROR-FAMINE.



LEVKO LUKYANENKO (1927), FAMOUS CIVIL ACTIVIST, DISSIDENT AND POLITICAL PRISONER. HE WAS BORN IN KHRYPYTKA VILLAGE, CHERNIHIV REGION. HIS FATHER HID A FEW POTATOES THAT SAVED YOUNG LEVKO FROM DEATH BY HUNGER. LUKYANENKO BECAME THE LEADER OF NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT BETWEEN 1960-1990S, SPENT 25 YEARS IN SOVIET PRISONS AND LABOR CAMPS AND FIVE MORE YEARS IN SIBERIA EXILE. HE IS THE CO-AUTHOR OF THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCUMENTS IN UKRAINE'S MODERN HISTORY – THE DECLARATION OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY OF UKRAINE AND THE ACT OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE.



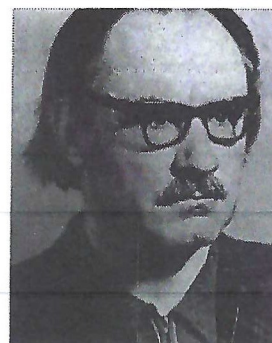
YEVHENIYA MIROSHNICHENKO (1931-2009), PROMINENT OPERA SINGER, PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF UKRAINE. BORN IN KHARKIV REGION SHE SURVIVED HOLODOMOR AS A YOUNG GIRL AS HER FATHER WORKED AT THE LOCAL MACHINE TRACTOR STATION. YEVHENIYA MIROSHNICHENKO WAS A PRIMA DONNA OF THE KYIV OPERA. SHE PERFORMED ON THEATER STAGES IN EUROPE, CANADA, THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.



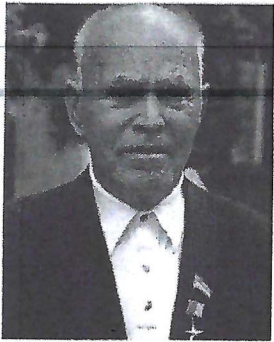
MYKOLA RUDENKO (1920-2004), POET, PHILOSOPHER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST. BORN IN YURYIVKA VILLAGE, LUHANSK REGION. HIS FATHER DIED IN A COALMINE. THE FOOD KIT GIVEN FOR THE PASSED MINER RESCUED THE WHOLE FAMILY DURING THE HOLODOMOR. RUDENKO BECAME A PROMINENT POET IN POSTWAR SOVIET UKRAINE. DESPITE THE THREAT OF LOSING ALL OFFICIAL PRIVILEGES, HE JOINED THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT AND SPENT SEVEN YEARS IN SOVIET LABOR CAMPS AND FIVE YEARS IN INTERNAL EXILE. RUDENKO DESCRIBED THE HOLODOMOR IN THE POEM KHREST [CROSS], POEMS AND RECOLLECTIONS.



YEVHENIYA SAKEVYCH-DALLAS (1925-2014), FAMOUS MODEL, CIVIL ACTIVIST. SHE WAS BORN IN KAMYANA BALKA VILLAGE, MYKOLAYIV REGION. HER PARENTS WERE WELL-TO-DO PEASANTS THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES DEPORTED TO SIBERIA IN 1931. YEVHENIYA WAS NURTURED BY HER OLDER BROTHERS AND SPENT SOME TIME IN THE ORPHANAGE. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, SAKEVYCH-DALLAS LIVED IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE PURSUIT OF MODELING CAREER. SHE DESCRIBED HER LIFE IN THE BOOK "... OUR SOUL SHALL NOT PERISH: THE FATE OF AN ORPHAN IN THE UKRAINE'S HOLODOMOR"



IVAN SVITLYCHNYI (1929-1992), LITERARY CRITIC, TRANSLATOR AND DISSIDENT. SVITLYCHNYI FAMILY LIVED IN POLOVYNKINE VILLAGE, LUHANSK REGION. TO SAVE THE FAMILY HIS MOTHER MOVED TO DONBAS AND WORKED THERE. IVAN SVITLYCHNYI GRADUATED FROM THE KHARKIV UNIVERSITY WITH DISTINCTION, WORKED IN THE ACADEMIA AND PUBLISHING HOUSES, BECOMING ONE OF THE YOUNGEST NON-CONFORMIST LITERARY CRITICS. SOVIET AUTHORITIES PERSECUTED SVITLYCHNYI FOR HIS NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC CONVICTIONS. YET, NEITHER HOLODOMOR, NOR YEARS IN LABOR CAMPS COULD BREAK IVAN SVITLYCHNYI.



MYKHAILO SIKORSKY (1923-2011), HISTORIAN, ETHNOGRAPHER, FOUNDER OF THE PEREYASLAV NATIONAL HISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PRESERVE. HE WAS BORN IN CHYHYRYN AND SOON BECAME AN ORPHAN. AFTER GRADUATING FROM THE KYIV UNIVERSITY'S HISTORY DEPARTMENT HE BECAME THE HEAD OF THE LOCAL HISTORY MUSEUM IN THE CITY OF PEREYASLAV-KHMELNITSKY. SIKORSKY ALSO FOUNDED THE BREAD MUSEUM DEVOTED TO THE HOLODOMOR



OLEKSA TYKHYI (1927-1984), PHILOSOPHER, LINGUIST, POLITICAL PRISONER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST. BORN IN IZHEVKA VILLAGE, DONETSK REGION HE SURVIVED THE HOLODOMOR AS A CHILD. GRADUATED FROM THE MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY'S PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT AND LATER TAUGHT AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ZAPORIZHIA AND DONETSK REGIONS. SOVIET AUTHORITIES IMPRISONED TYKHYI THREE TIMES FOR HIS PROTESTS AGAINST THE SOVIET INVASION OF HUNGARY IN 1956 AND THE POLICY OF RUSSIFICATION. HE WAS AMONG THE FOUNDERS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP AND CHAMPIONED THE HOLODOMOR.



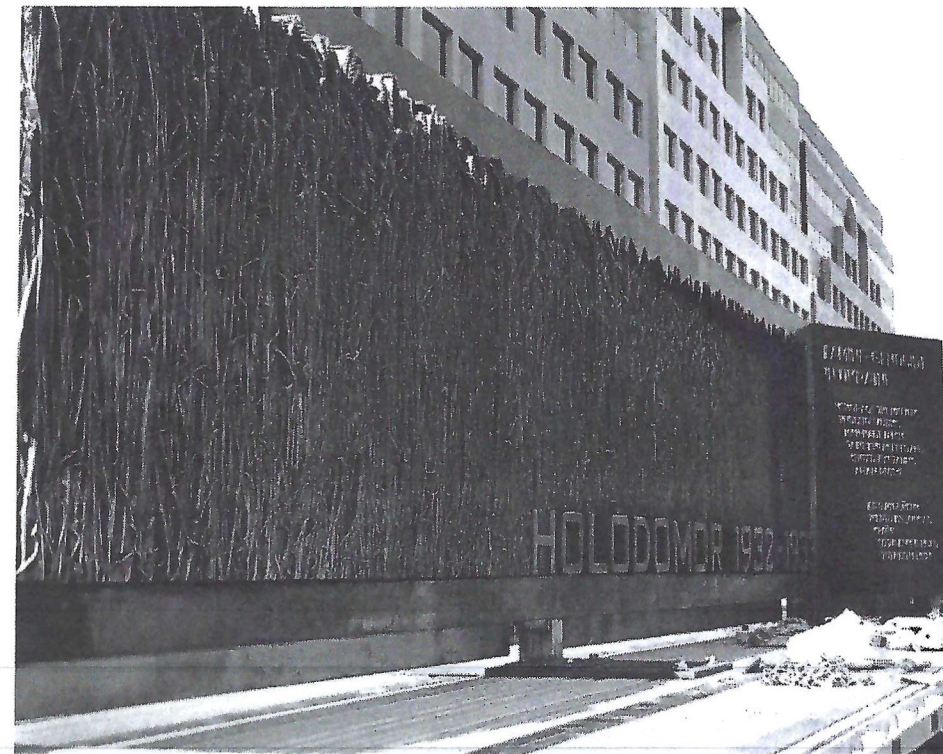
BORYS KHANDROS (1923-2006), PLAYWRIGHT, JOURNALIST AND WRITER. HE SURVIVED THE HOLODOMOR THANKS TO HIS MOTHER'S "FOOD DELICACIES" – PANCAKES MADE OF SUNFLOWER LEFTOVERS, FLOUR AND NETTLES. LATER HE DEPICTED HIS OWN EXPERIENCES IN A NUMBER OF DOCUMENTARY FILMS, COMPILED DEATHLY LETTERS WITH PLEAS OF HUNDREDS OF UKRAINIAN PEASANTS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AUTHORITIES. HIS SCRIPTS, BOOKS AND INTERVIEWS LAID THE ROAD OF MEMORY ABOUT THE HOLODOMOR.

## HOLODOMOR

In 1988, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians established the International Commission of Jurists to investigate evidence of the 1932-1933 Holodomor, its origins, consequences and organizers. The Commission included highly qualified lawyers, experts in international and criminal law from Sweden, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Belgium, France, the United States and Canada. Commission members concluded that the 1932-1933 Holodomor was an act of genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

All these revelations eventually pressurized the Soviet Union into admitting the fact of the 1932 – 1933 Terror-Famine. In 1988 – 1989, prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the first memorials to the Holodomor victims were set up in Kyiv region and Kharkiv.

IN NOVEMBER 2015, A MONUMENT COMMEMORATING 1932-1933 HOLODOMOR VICTIMS WAS OPENED IN WASHINGTON D.C.





After restoring Ukraine's independence in 1991, Ukrainian scholars took the opportunity to study the Holodomor. In 1993, the Holodomor anniversary was commemorated at the national level for the first time, 60 years after the tragedy.

In 1998, the Decree of the President of Ukraine established the Holodomor Victims Day. It is observed every year on the fourth Saturday of November. On this day, as soon as it gets dark, Ukrainians light candles in their windows in memory of all those killed by famine.

In 2003, on the 70th Holodomor anniversary the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in its Resolution recognized this crime as genocide against the Ukrainian people. The same year, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States Congress issued a Resolution recognizing the Holodomor in Ukraine as an act of terror and mass killing targeted against the Ukrainian nation. In 2006, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a law recognizing the Holodomor as genocide against the Ukrainian people. In November 2008, the National museum «Holodomor victims memorial» was erected in Kyiv.

In 2009, Ukraine's Security Service opened a criminal case on the famine in Ukraine based on the presence of the characteristic features of genocide. In January 2010, the Kyiv Court of Appeals recognized the events of 1932-33 as an act of genocide organized by Joseph Stalin and his entourage.

In 2015 the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a special act which condemned the Communist totalitarian regime, together with the regime of the Nazis. By its next law, the Parliament has opened full access to the archival documents of the Soviet punitive authorities in order to ensure that the past, like the history of the Holodomor, would never become a subject to censorship and manipulations.

Today, academic debates on the Holodomor continue both in Ukraine and in the United States. The list of notable universities and scholars engaged in Holodomor Studies include the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of Alberta University; Andrea Graziosi (Italy), Nicolas



THE NATIONAL MUSEUM «HOLODOMOR VICTIMS MEMORIAL» BECAME THE MOST RECOGNIZABLE SYMBOL OF THE MEMORY OF THE COMMUNIST GENOCIDE AGAINST THE UKRAINIANS.

Werth and Stephane Courtois (France), Roman Serbyn (Canada), Norman Naimark, Mark von Hagen, Timothy Snyder, Alexander Motyl and Bohdan Klid (USA). In November 2015, a monument commemorating 1932-1933 Holodomor victims was opened in Washington D.C.



UKRAINIAN  
INSTITUTE  
OF NATIONAL  
REMEMBRANCE



UKRAINE CRISIS  
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