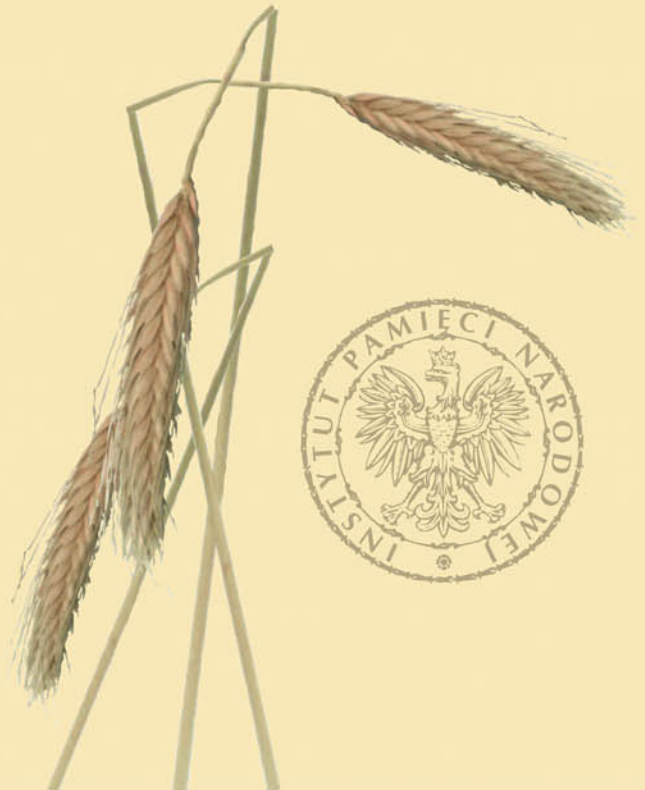


POLAND AND UKRAINE  
IN THE 1930's–1940's

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# HOLODOMOR

## THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932–1933



**Poland and Ukraine in the 1930's – 1940's**  
**Unknown Documents from the Archives of the Secret Services**

**Holodomor**

**The Great Famine in Ukraine**  
**1932–1933**

The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission of the Prosecution  
of Crimes against the Polish Nation  
Ministry of Interior and Administration, Republic of Poland  
The Security Service of Ukraine Branch State Archives  
Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies  
at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

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## **The Great Famine in Ukraine**

### **1932–1933**

Warsaw–Kiev 2009

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## PREFACE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

The struggle of the Ukrainians to establish an independent statehood towards the end of World War I, and in its immediate aftermath, proved futile. The majority of Ukrainian territories was incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Ukrainians were exposed to brutal terror brought by the fight with the alleged counterrevolution, exposed to collectivization of agriculture and Sovietization of the society. With the end of the civil war, the ruined territories of Ukraine were deprived of a chance for economic and social revival. The 1920's brought about drastic impoverishment of the entire society, particularly in the countryside, as one of the most fertile regions in Europe witnessed a plague of hunger. The culmination of those tragic events took place in the early 1930's when the deliberate, destructive and merciless policy of Soviet rule brought the disintegration of agriculture, chaos and wide-spread poverty, resulting in unconceivable tragedy for the Ukrainian people. The famine afflicted on the citizens of Soviet Ukraine at that time, due to its scale and severity, came to be known as the Great Famine.

The Great Famine of 1932–1933 marks the gravest catastrophe in the history of the Ukrainian nation. It is an equally unique tragedy in the modern history of Europe. No other words seem proper in regard to the millions of victims of hunger and atrophy or their slow and painful death by starvation. The tragedy of the dying Ukrainian families and villages was all the more horrible, as it was witnessed by a civilized, yet strikingly indifferent Europe.

The documents, which are gradually being uncovered in the archives, give proof to the claim that the Holodomor was genocide carried out by the Stalinist regime against the Ukrainian nation. And although Ukrainians, along with people of other nationalities, including Polish, living in Soviet Ukraine had experienced widespread repression, the Great Famine remains an unprecedented tragedy in the history of Ukraine and Europe. For decades, the knowledge of those dramatic events was clouded in lies. At the very time that the famine was spreading, the authorities of the USSR were already staging a propaganda campaign not only in the Soviet Union, but beyond its borders as well, through communist parties and left-wing elites. Thus, the knowledge of the actual scale of the tragedy of the Ukrainian countryside and its people could hardly reach the public.

It was only when Ukraine regained its independence that historic justice could be given to the victims of the Holodomor. Poles are taking an active part in those efforts. On 16 March 2006, the Polish Senate adopted a resolution on the anniversary of the Great Ukrainian Famine in which it expressed its “solidarity with the Ukrainian position that the Great Famine of the years 1932–1933 be recognized as genocide.” Equally, the Lower House of the Polish Parliament, in a special resolution adopted on 6 December 2006, expressed “its deepest compassion for the citizens of Ukraine” and the hope that “the memory of this crime’s victims will serve as a warning against all forms of totalitarianism, which left a painful

imprint on European history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly that of Poland and Ukraine.” With those resolutions, Poland joined the ranks of nearly thirty countries whose governments and parliaments agree that the man-made famine inflicted on Ukraine in the 1930’s needs to be recognized as a crime against humanity.

The year 2008 marks the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the height of those tragic events. For that reason, the President of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, declared the year 2008 as a year of remembrance of the Holodomor’s victims. It is thus with great satisfaction that we witness the publication of primary sources, the majority of which remained unknown to researchers until today, that present the true scale and scope of this tragedy. The cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian researchers and historians, as well as between public institutions, in this special year confirms the conviction that our common future, the future of Poland and Ukraine, is not only strengthened by our governments or parliamentary institutions, but that it is founded on the ever more in-depth understanding of the history of these two nations.

I am strongly convinced that this publication, constituting an important academic achievement, will foster the Polish-Ukrainian understanding and cooperation, while the English version of the publication will contribute to disseminating the knowledge of Ukraine’s history throughout Europe.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Lech Kaczyński', written in a cursive style.

Lech Kaczyński



## PREFACE BY THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE

The unique documents collected in this volume shed new light on the tragic events in Ukrainian history. The thus far closely guarded documents reveal today not only the complete perspective on one of the greatest humanitarian catastrophes in the world, but equally give witness to the heroism and unwavering character of the Ukrainian nation.

The Great Famine of the years 1932–1933, perpetrated by the totalitarian regime, took the lives of millions of our compatriots; thus, without any hesitation, we can claim that it was a deliberate, merciless and cynical genocide.

The communist regime in Ukraine aimed to destroy the substance of the nation and the roots of Ukrainian identity, as well as to devastate the hard-working Ukrainian countryside. One goal reigned over those aims: suppressing the struggle for freedom and preventing the rebirth of the statehood.

Yet all the efforts of the enemy ended in defeat. The Ukrainian nation, in spite of enormous loss, endured and emerged victorious. The work of entire generations of Ukrainian patriots at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought about Ukrainian independence.

The crimes against humanity do not fall under a statute of limitations. The Holodomor, being recognized as genocide committed by the communist dictatorship, will be tried in accordance with appropriate laws and subject to the verdict of the international community. This is the only way for us to prevent similar tragedies in the future.

Ukraine greatly appreciates the fact that many countries of the world have recognized the Holodomor as a genocide committed against the people of Ukraine. Our motto, “Ukraine remembers, the world acknowledges!” thus becomes ever more vivid.

Over sixty countries have signed the declaration proposed at the General Assembly of the United Nations condemning the perpetrators of the crime against the Ukrainian people and paid homage to its victims. A similar declaration was issued by the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE. We view those statements made by the international community as an expression of widespread solidarity with our country.

I wish to share my deep gratitude for our Polish friends – politicians, researchers, journalists, social activists – who have joined us in the efforts to uncover the scope of the genocide to which the Ukrainians fell victim in the years 1932–1933.

I strongly believe that the work devoted to those efforts will constitute our common contribution in strengthening the ideals of justice, democracy and humanism advocated by today’s Europe and the entire civilized world.



Viktor Yushchenko



## FROM THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

The Great Famine of the years 1932–1933 is a unique event in the history of Ukraine, and even today this tragedy is a cause for heated reactions. This publication, which is the seventh volume in the series entitled “Poland and Ukraine in the 1930’s – 1940’s. Unknown Documents from the Archives of the Secret Services”, presents archival materials of the Polish and Ukrainian secret services on the situation in Ukraine during that dramatic period.

In the years of the Stalinist regime, the Ukrainian nation was exposed to cruel repression. Today it can be stated with certainty that among all the “brotherly republics” of the former USSR, Soviet Ukraine suffered the heaviest losses in human life. Questions continue to arise concerning the sources and the circumstances in that catastrophe, as scholars in various countries work to provide credible answers to those issues. A dispute over the number of the victims is an element of that process.

One claim is indisputable: the Ukrainian famine of the years 1932–1933 can neither be forgotten nor ignored. It was an important link in a chain of catastrophes which struck Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It came to be reflected in the declarations adopted by the governments and parliaments of numerous states which recognize the famine of the 1930’s as genocide committed against the people of Ukraine. On 28 November 2006, such a resolution was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and on 16 March 2006, a similar document was adopted by the Senate of the Republic of Poland, followed, on 6 December 2006 by the Lower House of the Polish Parliament.

Knowledge of the Holodomor is growing constantly, as new documents are made public, disclosing the activities of the top leaders of the USSR in the years 1932–1933 and the working methods of the local apparatchiks, particularly those with roots in the Soviet party nomenklatura of the Ukrainian SSR. This knowledge fosters understanding of the mechanisms behind the crime and understanding of the means through which the Stalinist regime would destroy the Ukrainian nationhood, justifying it with the necessity of social modernization while, in fact, aiming to completely subordinate and humiliate Ukraine. The documents made available give clear proof to the doctrinal and immediate motive driving the communist establishment while allowing for the reconstruction of the contemporary situation both at the macro- as well as the micro-level. It is worth emphasizing that different regions of the USSR in the years 1932–1933 would witness much different approaches taken by the authorities to fit with the specific conditions of each region.

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The available Ukrainian literature on the subject is truly voluminous. A list of the most fundamental syntheses and monographs would run for many pages.

In the émigré circles – in Canada, the United States and Germany, Ukrainian researchers have pursued the subject of the Holodomor since the 1930's. In Ukraine, for understandable reasons, the matter, as well as the issue of Stalinist repression, would only come forth as a subject of research at the very end of the 1980's. Pioneering work has been undertaken by professors Stanislav Kulchyt-sky<sup>1</sup>, Yuriy Shapoval<sup>2</sup>, and others<sup>3</sup>. An important contribution to the understanding of the rationale behind the Holodomor, how it was carried out and what were its effects in Ukraine in the first half of the 1930's came with the work of a number of scholars: Canadian – Professor Roman Serbyn<sup>4</sup>, Italian – Professor Andrea Graziosi<sup>5</sup>, American – Professor Terry Martin<sup>6</sup>, and French – François Meslé and Jean Vallin<sup>7</sup>. Recent years have witnessed growing interest in the Holodomor of 1932–1933 among German historians<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See: С. Кульчицький, *До оцінки становища в сільському господарстві УРСР в 1931–1933 рр.*, «Український історичний журнал» 1988, no. 3; Idem, *1933: Трагедія голоду*, Kiev 1989; Idem, *Ціна «великого перелому»*, Kiev 1991; Idem, *Між двома війнами*, Kiev 1999; Idem, *Чому він нас знищив? Сталин и український Голодомор*, Kiev 2007; Idem, *Голодомор 1932–1933 рр. як геноцид: труднощі усвідомлення*, Kiev 2007.

<sup>2</sup> See: Ю. Шаповал, *Чого нам боятися?*, «Правда України», 20 September 1987; Idem, *Luegen und Schweigen. Die unterdrueckte Erinnerung an den Holodomor*, “Osteuropa”, no. 54, December 2004, pp. 131–145; Idem, *The Significance of Newly Discovered Archival Documents for Understanding the Causes and Consequences of the Famine-Genocide of 1932–1933 in Ukraine* [in:] T. Hunczak and R. Serbyn (eds.) *Famine in Ukraine 1932–1933: Genocide by Other Means*, New York 2007, pp. 84–97. See also: В. Васильєв, Ю. Шаповал (eds.), *Командири великого голоду. Поїздки В. Молотова і Л. Кагановича в Україну та на Північний Кавказ. 1932–1933 рр.*, Kiev 2001; Y. Shapoval (ed.), *The Famine-Genocide of 1932–1933 in Ukraine*, Kiev–Kingston 2005; *Голодомор 1932–1933. Матеріали до бібліографії*, <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/>.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Голод – геноцид 1933 року в Україні: історико-політичний аналіз соціально-демографічних та морально-психологічних наслідків. Міжнародна науково-теоретична конференція. Київ, 28 листопада 1998*, Kiev 2000; *Три голодомори в Україні в ХХ столітті: погляд із сьогодення. Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції*, Kiev 2003; В. І. Марочко, «Торгсин»: *золота ціна життя українських селян у роки голоду (1932–1933)*, «Український історичний журнал» 2003, no. 3; В. Васильєв, *Ціна голодного хліба політика керівництва СРСР і УРСР в 1932–1933 рр.* [in:] В. Васильєв, Ю. Шаповал (eds.), *Командири великого голоду. Поїздки В. Молотова і Л. Кагановича в Україну та на Північний Кавказ. 1932–1933 рр.*, Kiev 2001.

<sup>4</sup> R. Serbyn, *The Ukrainian Famine of 1932–1933 as Genocide in the Light of the UN Convention of 1948*, “The Ukrainian Quarterly”, vol. LXII, no. 2, Summer 2006, pp. 186–210.

<sup>5</sup> A. Graziosi (ed.), “*Lettere de Khar'kov.*” *La famine en Ukraine et dans le Caucase du Nord à travers les rapports des diplomates italiens, 1932–1934*, “Cahiers du monde russe” 1989, no. 1/2; Idem (ed.), *Lettere da Kharkiv. La carestia in Ucraina e nel Caucaso del Nord nei rapporti dei diplomatici italiani, 1932–1933*, Torino 1991; Idem, *Conseguenze e implicazioni della “grande carestia” del 1932–1933* [in:] *La morte della terra: La grande “carestia” in Ucraina nel 1932–1933. Atti del Convegno Vincenzo, 16–18 ottobre 2003*, Roma 2004; Idem, *До читачів українського видання «Листів з Харкова»* [in:] *Листи з Харкова. Голод в Україні та на Північному Кавказі в повідомленнях італійських дипломатів, 1932–1933 рр.*, Kharkiv 2007.

<sup>6</sup> T. Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*, Ithaca–London 2001; Idem, *The 1932–1933 Ukrainian Terror: New Documentation on Surveillance and the Thought Process of Stalin* [in:] *Famine-Genocide in Ukraine 1932–1933*, Toronto 2003.

<sup>7</sup> F. Meslé, J. Vallin, *Mortalité et causes de décès en Ukraine au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2003, Ukrainian edition: С. Пирожкова (ed.), *Смертність та причини смерті в Україні у ХХ столітті*, Kiev 2008.

<sup>8</sup> See the special edition of the periodical “Osteuropa”: *Vernichtung durch Hunger: Der Holodomor in der Ukraine und der UdSSR*, “Osteuropa”, no. 54, December 2004.

It seems equally proper to note the work of an American scholar, James Mace, who came to Kiev at the beginning of the 1990's and continued his research there for several years. Mace would frequently touch on matters relating to the Holodomor, analyzing its various aspects<sup>9</sup>.

An undeniably important contribution to a more wide-spread public knowledge of the problems of collectivization and famine came with Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine* (New York 1986)<sup>10</sup>. Seventeen years after the publication of Conquest's monograph, a collection of utmost importance was released in Ukraine by a group of Ukrainian researchers under the title *Голод 1932–1933 років в Україні: причини і наслідки* (Kiev 2003).

Pointing to primary sources, the most valuable collection is found in the second volume of *Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні очима істориків, мовою документів* (Kiev 1990), which includes the Communist party documents from the Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine (TsDAHO). Documents from that archive, along with those from the State Archive of the Poltava Oblast (DAPO) have been published in a collection of texts by Dmytro Solovey on the matter of the Holodomor<sup>11</sup>. Another work of great significance for researchers was the *Колективізація і голод на Україні, 1929–1933, Збірник документів і матеріалів* (Kiev 1993), which includes documents from the Central State Archive of the Highest Organs of Government and Administration (TsDAVO). A number of documents from the TsDAVO were also published in the 1989–1990 issues of «Український історичний журнал».

In Ukraine, recent years have brought the opening of a number of archives, including the Separate State Archive of the Security Service of the Ukraine (HDA SBU). In 2006, a collection of primary materials which had been denied to researchers for all those years were declassified. Thus, the employees of the Soviet security services have unwillingly turned out to be the period's chroniclers, with the documents prepared by them serving as witness to the contemporary situation in the Ukrainian countryside, transmitting the orders issued by the authorities and their own efforts at implementation, giving accounts of the growing social unrest, administering repression aimed at pacifying said unrest and undertaking efforts to prevent the “leakage” of true information regarding the nature and scope of the famine. Some of those documents have been published in a collection of primary sources by the employees of the SSU<sup>12</sup>.

Among all the primary sources, two other publications merit noting. *33-й: Голод. Народна книга-меморіал* (Kiev 1991), which comprises accounts of the

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<sup>9</sup> Compare: *День і вічність Джеймса Мейса*, Kiev 2005.

<sup>10</sup> Ukrainian edition: *Жнива скорботи. Радянська колективізація і голодомор*, Kiev 1993.

<sup>11</sup> Ю. Шаповал, О. Юренко (eds.), Д. Соловей, *Сказати правду. Три праці про голодомор 1932–1933 років*, Kiev–Poltava 2005.

<sup>12</sup> *Розсекречена пам'ять: Голодомор 1932–1933 років в Україні в документах ГПУ-НКВД*, Kiev 2007 (second edition – Kiev 2008).

witnesses of the events<sup>13</sup>, and *Український Голокост 1932–1933, Свідчення тих, хто вижив* (v. 1–2, Kiev 2003–2004).

The documents regarding the famine that have not been published in Ukraine should also be mentioned. A particularly important publication is that of the documents of the British Foreign Office commemorating the 55<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the great tragedy: *The Foreign Office and the Famine. British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932–1933* (Kingston–New York 1988). The same year marked the release of primary sources from the German Foreign Ministry, collected under the title *Der ukrainische Hunger-Holocaust. Stalins Verschwiegener Völkermord 1932/1933 an 7 Millionen ukrainischen Bauern im Spiegel geheimgehaltener Akten des deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes* (Sonnenbühl 1988). In the year following that anniversary, an Italian scholar, professor Andrea Graziosi, published reports by the Italian diplomats who served in Soviet Ukraine<sup>14</sup> at that time.

The Polish literature on the subject is much less voluminous than the Ukrainian, even though publications on such issues as collectivization in the Ukrainian SSR were already available before WWII. Polish researchers would also have the opportunity to take up the subject only after 1989. The issues of collectivization and the famine resulting in its aftermath have been explored primarily by Robert Kuśnierz and Czesław Rajca<sup>15</sup>. A short article on that very subject has been published by a renowned scholar of Polish-Ukrainian relations, Ryszard Torzecki, in the “*Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze*.”<sup>16</sup> As for the Polish minority in the Ukrainian SSR during the famine, two publications of primary sources are available: *Glód i represje wobec ludności polskiej na Ukrainie 1932–1947. Relacje* (Lublin 2005), and *Polacy na Ukrainie* (part 1: 1917–1939, v. 1–5, Przemyśl 1998–2005).

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Following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in October 1917, Vladimir Lenin and his party consequently strove to increase the territory of the “Soviet State.” One of the principal objects of that expansion was the newly established The Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR). In January 1918, the Bolshevik army made its first attempt at occupying Ukraine. Each entry into the Ukrainian territories was followed by a wave of bloody terror justified with a fight against the

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<sup>13</sup> French edition: 1933, *L’année noire. Témoignages sur la famine en Ukraine*, Paris 2000.

<sup>14</sup> A. Graziosi (ed.), “*Lettres de Khar’kov.*” *La famine en Ukraine et dans le Caucase du Nord à travers les rapports des diplomates italiens, 1932–1934*, “*Cahiers du monde russe*” 1989, no. 1/2.

<sup>15</sup> R. Kuśnierz, *Propaganda radziecka w okresie Wielkiego Głodu na Ukrainie (1932–1933)*, „*Dzieje Najnowsze*” 2004, no. 4; Idem, *Ukraina w latach kolektywizacji i Wielkiego Głodu (1929–1933)*, Toruń 2005; C. Rajca, *Glód na Ukrainie*, Lublin 2005; Idem, *Zagłada chłopów na Ukrainie w 1933 roku*, “*Zeszyty Majdanka*” 1993, vol. XV.

<sup>16</sup> R. Torzecki, *Wielki glód na Ukrainie w latach 1931–1933*, “*Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze*” 1994, vol. 2.

“Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist counterrevolution.” As a result, the Bolsheviks managed to gain control over a significant part of Ukraine, establishing an allegedly independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Towards the end of 1922, the partly reestablished empire had been given a federal form as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of which the Ukrainian SSR was an integral part.

Until 1921, the territories occupied by the Red Army, including Ukraine, had seen the implementation of the so called war-time communism policy which sanctioned the requisition of all surplus agricultural products from the peasants. In fact, it came down to complete confiscation of the entire produce of the countryside farms. This resulted in a growing economic collapse, which, further strengthened by the drought of 1921 and the war effort, led to a famine striking Russia and Ukraine, among other regions, in the years 1921–1923.

The famine, as well as the growing discontent among the peasants, forced Lenin to proclaim the New Economic Policy (NEP) in March 1921. Claiming for a long time that there was no famine in the Ukrainian SSR, Lenin would only exacerbate the situation by continually increasing the quota of grain to be sent to the starving Volga Region, Moscow and Petrograd.

As a result of the Holodomor, political and social life, as well as any forms of active resistance against the Bolshevik policies in Ukraine, were entirely paralyzed.

Following the introduction of the NEP, the Ukrainian countryside could profit from a degree of economic freedom. Parallel to this, the Bolsheviks pursued a policy of “reaching to the roots” – which, in the Ukrainian SSR, would at first take the form of Ukrainization – a policy of national and cultural liberalization that aimed to bring the mainly non-Ukrainian party and state apparatus closer to the people. This in fact improved the situation in the Ukrainian SSR, as well as in the entire USSR. Yet already by 1926, the fight against the “Ukrainian nationalist counterrevolution” became one of the predominant goals of the local branch of the Bolshevik special service – the State Political Directorate (GPU) of the Ukrainian SSR.

The goal was pursued by means of collecting operational materials concerning the principal supporters of the “Ukrainian nationalist counterrevolution” – intelligentsia, high clergy and the faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), the socially active inhabitants of the countryside and the army staff, particularly those who, in the years 1917–1921, served in the Ukrainian Central Council, the army of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA), the UNR army, or who participated in the revolutionary movement. This was followed by the next phase, with a policy of acting on the “discrediting materials” – or in other terms, turning to mass-scale political repression.

The process of communization of the Ukrainian SSR through the destruction of the fundamentals of Ukrainian rural community life, or the collectivization of individual farms, was met with active resistance from the wealthy and prospering farm owners (“Kulaks” and “Sredniaki”). This had an effect on the social engagement of the nation-oriented intelligentsia, which always cultivated close ties with

the people, holding the flag of advocate of peasants' interests. Those circles thus grew strongly critical of Bolshevism.

The problem of most crucial importance was that of grain supplies. Towards the latter months of 1927, the Secretary General of the CC AUCP(b), Joseph Stalin, carried out the decision to force the peasants to give their grain supplies to the state under the threat of stigmatizing the insubordinates as "enemies of Soviet authority." They would be subject to a variety of sanctions – beginning with a fine and going as far as a complete confiscation of property, "dekulakization" and deportation.

Crop failure, brutality in dealing with the peasants and state-controlled purchasing of grain all led to a deterioration of the market for food produce. In many of the administrative regions of the Ukrainian SSR, particularly the south-western ones, which had already experienced similar calamities in the period 1921–1923, the year 1928 brought famine<sup>17</sup>. Even this could hardly stop Stalin. In the years that followed, he would escalate the violence further.

In the period spanning from 1929 to 1934, the organs of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR have opened a number of group criminal cases directed against: the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (ALU, 1929–1930), "the counterrevolutionary pest organization active in Ukrainian agriculture" (1930), "the officers' counterrevolutionary organization" ("Vesna", 1930–1931), Ukrainian Nationalistic Center (UNTs, 1930–1932), Peasants' Labor Party (TSR, 1931), Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO, 1932–1933), Polish Military Organization (POW, 1932–1934) and many others.

As a result of those operations, thousands of people suffered from repression, among them many representatives of the old Ukrainian pro-communist intelligentsia, who had left a permanent mark on Ukraine's political history (in the efforts to establish Ukrainian statehood in the years 1917–1920), and who played an important social role in various areas of life under the Ukrainian SSR – in science, education, culture, as well as in managing various spheres of the economy, including agriculture.

In parallel, a decisive blow was dealt to the Ukrainian peasants – "Kulaks", "Kulak and Petliura-supporting elements" – thus breaking the political backbone for a potentially recreated Ukrainian People's Republic or any other democratic statehood in Ukraine. The mass repression, through manipulation of state-controlled grain purchases and confiscation of all produce from peasants, aimed against the Ukrainian countryside, which was by default a security zone for all those "counterrevolutionary risings", was turned into total terror – a terror by hunger.

"Dekulakization" of farms and the elimination of the so-called Kulaks, or wealthy peasants, was an integral part of collectivization. "Dekulakization" served two principal purposes: the land and stock taken away from the "Kulaks"

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<sup>17</sup> Researchers estimate that up to three million people suffered from starvation at the time, see: С. Кульчицький, *Між двома війнами*, Київ 1999; *Голодомори в Україні 1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947: Злочини проти народу*, Київ 2000.



became the fundamental material for the newly created kolkhozy and sovkhozy, while serving as a warning for those who did not want to sign up to collective farms. Thus the “Kulaks” were to become a justification for unlawful methods pursued by the government with which peasants were forced to enter the collectives and give the grain to the state. The Bolshevik rule, unable to fight the peasants openly on the “*khlebozagotovka* front” (the forced grain deliveries), needed a make-believe enemy – the “Kulak”. Soviet law did in fact produce a definition qualifying individuals as “Kulaks”, or their agents, yet in the Bolshevik reality, any and every peasant “could be fitted” into that definition.

On 30 January 1930, the CC AUCP(b) issued a decree on the fight with the “Kulaks”. The Bolshevik authorities divided the “Kulaks” into three groups. The first one included the “counterrevolutionary Kulak activists”, who were to be eliminated immediately – shot or deported to labor camps. This mainly included those peasants who were active in the insurgency movement and the anti-kolkhoz opposition, as well as those who, for example, were responsible for initiating attacks on party activists or stealing communized property. The second category included the wealthiest of the “Kulaks” and “middle-size landowners” (Russian: *polupomieshtchiki*), who were subject to deportation to far-away regions of the USSR. According to the decree of the CC, “Kulaks” in that category, once deported, were to be put to work in agriculture or industry. The third category encompassed the “middle-class” farm owners, who were to be deported beyond the borders of the kolkhozy. They were to be given land in the villages in which they formerly lived or other villages in the same region. They would only be left with the most basic means of production to be able to work their land. In their new place of living, the “Kulaks” of this category were allowed to form communities of no more than 10–20 families.

In total, according to the data from 1934, the “policy of eliminating the Kulaks” in the Ukrainian SSR led to a collapse of some 200,000 “Kulak” farms. This constituted a vivid example of the war waged by the Bolshevik authorities against the peasants<sup>18</sup>.

The method of introducing collectivization resulted in helplessness, anger and at times resistance from the peasants. Some of the farmers sold their farms and escaped to towns. Those who stayed would often ruin what belonged to them. There was large-scale destruction of farming tools. Some would set their own property on fire and kill the livestock so as not to turn it over to the kolkhoz for free. At times there would be fighting when the helpless peasants took to arms. In order to pacify the people, militia and the GPU forces were supported by the army.

In a report describing the political situation in the Ukrainian SSR resulting from “the intention to eliminate the Kulaks as a social class” in the period from

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<sup>18</sup> Радянська Україна на новому піднесенні. Політичний звіт ЦК КП(б)У XII з'їздові КП(б)У. Доповідь тов. П. П. Постишева, «Комуніст», 24 January 1934. For 1 June 1930, the number of “dekulakized” estates totaled 90 thousand.

20 January to 12 February 1930, the Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, Vsevolod Balytsky wrote that in January, some 37 demonstrations took place, bringing together 12,000 people. On 9 February 1930, 11,865 people were arrested, with peasants participating in 40 military acts in response to the policy of “dekulakization”. According to the data compiled by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for 19 March 1930, only in the period from 1 February to 15 March 1930, 25,000 peasants were arrested for participating in anti-Soviet manifestations, of which 656 were shot and 3673 deported to labor camps<sup>19</sup>.

Balytsky was even forced to preside over the “operational staff” established with the aim of combating the protests in the countryside and personally directed their pacification in various regions of Soviet Ukraine. In order no. 74 issued by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR (dated 31 March 1930), Balytsky underlined that “on 19 March 1930, thanks to the organs of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR and with active participation of the poor and peasant activists, the operation of deporting the “Kulaks” from the Ukrainian regions subject to total collectivization has been completed. In spite of a really tight schedule, lack of experience in conducting this type of mass operation, as well as numerous difficulties, the action of deporting the Kulaks from Ukraine has been conducted in a satisfactory manner. The work has been completed in a timely manner and the plan regarding the number of deportations from Kulak farms has been exceeded [...]”<sup>20</sup>

The primary goal of collectivization of farms was to guarantee an undisrupted supply of grain to the state. Despite the ruin inflicted on Ukrainian agriculture as part of the quota supplied by the Ukrainian SSR, approximately 7.7 million tons of grain were sent out in 1930 and 7 million in 1931<sup>21</sup>. The harvests brought, respectively, 23 million tons in 1930 and 18 million tons in 1931<sup>22</sup>. Besides the losses, which in 1931 amounted to approximately 30–40% of the harvest<sup>23</sup>, over half of the harvested grain was sent out from the Ukrainian SSR. According to some calculations, the peasants were left with an average of 300 grams of grain a day per person<sup>24</sup>. However, before the grain could reach the peasants, the set quota needed to be fulfilled, the kolkhozy had to stock supplies and pay for all kinds of services. Thus, it was only to be expected that in the winter of 1931–1932, Ukraine would be struck by famine.

Soviet Ukraine, together with the regions of North Caucasus, supplied over half of the grain harvested in the USSR. In 1931, Stalin pointed out that in Ukraine “a number of fertile regions were on territories struck by destruction and hun-

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<sup>19</sup> A. Graziosi, *Collectivisation, révoltes paysannes et politiques gouvernementales à travers les rapports du GPU d’Ukraine de février – mars 1930*, “Cahiers du monde russe” 1994, no. 3, pp. 579–580.

<sup>20</sup> HDA SBU, Spr. 2174, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> R. Kuśnierz, *Ukraina...*, Toruń 2005, p. 102.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Compare: “Pravda”, 7, 9 July 1932.

<sup>24</sup> B. Малінкович, *Голод в Україні*, «Сучасність» 1983, no. 10, p. 19.

ger.”<sup>25</sup> Regardless of that fact, the Kremlin still believed that the Ukrainian SSR held vast supplies of food produce, allegedly kept hidden from the state by the kolkhozy and individual farms. Already by 1931, the state-administered plans for grain purchases had been limited for many of the mountain regions of the Urals, the Volga Region and Kazakhstan, yet not for Soviet Ukraine or North Caucasus. In 1931, Ukraine delivered less grain than in 1930, while over 150,000 people died in the republic<sup>26</sup>.

Disregarding the disturbing statistical data, in January 1932, Stalin absolutely demanded that the plans for state-administered purchasing of grain to be fulfilled. In a special decree of the CC AUCP(b), the month of February 1932 was overly hailed as the month of victorious completion of the *khlebozagotovka*. At the turn of March, Ukrainian villages witnessed large numbers of people starving, while in towns, parents would abandon their children, the most dramatic sign of the oncoming catastrophe. This, however, put no halt to the policies pursued by communist authorities. Disregarding the hunger, in the winter and spring of 1932, the Bolshevik government placed only a slightly less demanding quota of grain to be supplied by Ukraine. It amounted to 6.3 million tons, which in itself was unrealistic. According to the official statistical data, in July 1932, the Ukrainian SSR managed to fulfill a mere 15.6% of the plan for grain deliveries<sup>27</sup>.

Aiming to increase the grain supplies, ever harsher means of repression against the peasants were instituted. The most drastic step came with a decree dated 7 August 1932, prepared personally by Stalin, later approved by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR, “On safeguarding the property of state-run companies, kolkhozy, cooperatives and the strengthening of social (socialist) ownership.” The decree provided for the death penalty by shooting and a confiscation of the entire property as a punishment for stealing the property of the kolkhoz or cooperative or goods carried by ships and rail. Under mitigating circumstances, this could be turned into a minimum of 10 years jail sentence with a confiscation of the entire property. Those sentenced for the above crime could not be subject to amnesty.

The abovementioned decree also provided for a sentence of 5 to 10 years in a labor camp for “Kulak-capitalist elements” who have used physical force and threats against kolkhozniki in an attempt to convince them to leave the kolkhozy, or who have threatened to do so. The decree allowed for punishing people with a death sentence or years of imprisonment for even the smallest offense. Thus, it came to be called the “law of five spikes”, as one could be shot or sent to a labor camp for the theft of even the most minute amounts of grain or other produce, which was “socialist property”.

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<sup>25</sup> Quoted in: В. Васильєв, Ю. Шаповал (eds.), *Командири великого голоду. Поїздки В. Молотова і Л. Кагановича в Україну та на Північний Кавказ. 1932–1933 рр.*, Київ 2001, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> С. Кульчицький, *1933 рік: сталінський терор голодом*, «Урядовий кур’єр», 8 November 2002.

<sup>27</sup> R. Kuśnierz, *Ukraina...*, Toruń 2005, p. 109.

By 1 December 1932, in the Ukrainian SSR, 17,710 people had been sentenced for the theft of grain<sup>28</sup>. In a period between mid-August and beginning of December 1932, 1,000 people had been sentenced to death (with 245 executed), 74% of those tried were sentenced to imprisonment (10% of them receiving a 10-year sentence and the same amount receiving a sentence of between 5 and 10 years)<sup>29</sup>. However, it was not only the courts which punished the peasants for stealing. There were numerous cases when local activists, guarding the “socialist property”, would lynch those suspected of or caught stealing the kolkhoz property.

Aiming for a more effective transfer of quota, harsher repression was also inflicted on the kolkhoz management, as well as on party and state activists. This was particularly the case in regions where the grain was not supplied to the purchasing centers. The villages, which did not fulfill their quota, would face various restrictions: products would not be supplied, trade would cease with all products removed from the shops supplying the village; kolkhoz trade would be stopped, no credits would be given or former credits would have to be repaid immediately. On numerous occasions, other financial obligations of the kolkhozy, the kolkhozniki or individual peasants would be executed. The authorities of Soviet Ukraine also turned to other forms of repression, for example, to “purging” the kolkhozy of “counterrevolutionary elements” which were allegedly responsible for disruptions in grain deliveries to the purchasing centers.

Stalin gave a clear manifestation of his dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in his letter dated 11 August 1932, addressed to Lazar Kaganovich. He expressed his doubt in the loyalty of the party organization in the Ukrainian SSR while demanding that Ukraine be made to turn over the grain that was – in his claim – hidden, disregarding all and any potential victims. Pursuing drastic “purges” was to free the society from “Ukrainian nationalists”<sup>30</sup>.

Despite consequent repression, the grain deliveries at the purchasing centers did not increase. In order to reach a breakthrough in that area, Stalin sent a special commission to the Ukrainian SSR charged with increasing the effectiveness of the purchasing mechanisms. Thus, in October 1932, Mendel Khatayevich and Ivan Akulov traveled to Soviet Ukraine. In spite of their presence, Ukraine managed to fulfill only 20.1% of the monthly plan for October. In respect to the yearly plan, it fulfilled a mere 38.5% of its provisions<sup>31</sup>.

Due to unimpressive “results” of the work undertaken by the abovementioned commission, on 22 October 1932, the CC AUCP(b) reached a decision to send an “extraordinary commission” to the Ukrainian SSR headed by Vyacheslav Molotov. Similar commissions were established for North Caucasus, headed by Lazar Kaganovich, and for the Volga Region, headed by Pavel Postyshev. It seems worth mentioning that in the view of Russian researchers, the work of the Postyshev

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<sup>28</sup> TsDAHO, F. 1, Op. 20, Spr. 5399, pp. 20–23, and Spr. 5491, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> TsDAHO, F. 1, Op. 20, Spr. 5491, pp. 172–174.

<sup>30</sup> *Сталин и Каганович. Неизданная переписка. 1931–1936*, Moscow 2001, p. 274.

<sup>31</sup> Compare: “Pravda”, 24 September 1932.

commission was not characterized by the same degree of brutality as the work of the Molotov commission was. In turn, the pursuits of the Kaganovich commission struck hardest the Ukrainian inhabitants of Kuban.

Despite Molotov's efforts, the Ukrainian countryside proved unable to fulfill the grain quota placed upon it. Thus, on 30 October 1932, the quota for the Ukrainian SSR was decreased. Nevertheless, by 1 December 1932, Soviet Ukraine was only able to fulfill 63.1% of the yearly plan.

In light of these developments, Stalin called on the Chairman of CP(b)U, Stanislav Kosior, and the Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee, Vasily Stroganov, to travel to Moscow. As a result of their meeting, the CC AUCP(b) and the government of the USSR, on 14 December 1932, ordered the party and government authorities of the Ukrainian SSR to cease the *khlebozagotovka* policy by the end of January 1933. Kosior and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, Vlas Chubar, were personally charged with overseeing that the deadline was met<sup>32</sup>.

Five days later Moscow decided to aid the authorities of Soviet Ukraine. Aiming to "achieve a breakthrough in the *khlebozagotovka* policy", the Kremlin's representatives – Pavel Postyshev and Lazar Kaganovich, were sent once again. The former was charged with a mission to eliminate what euphemistically was called "temporary economic difficulties". Postyshev, who in fact would manage the Ukrainian SSR until 1937 (Kosior's position as the formal leader of the CC CP(b)U was weakened), would blame the very Ukrainians, particularly "Ukrainian nationalists and "Petliura-supporters", for the famine. Postyshev, along with other party activists sent from Russia to "strengthen the cadres", set themselves to exploiting the Ukrainian countryside, while, at the same time, "purging" the party and the society<sup>33</sup>. In those efforts they were joined by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, headed by Vsevolod Balytsky. By the fall of 1932, a "mass attack on the class enemy" was advancing, together with an operation of "disclosing counterrevolutionary centers, responsible for sabotage and dismantling the state-run grain purchases and other politico-economic endeavors."

It was not long before a "counterrevolutionary organization" whose members turned out to be the agricultural specialists was uncovered in Ukraine. Soon it was linked to other organizations in Moscow, Rostov and Minsk. Those arrested were charged with participating in an organization spanning all over the territories of the entire Union, and which aimed, according to the official statement, "to ruin the farming and instigate famine in Ukraine." On 11 March 1933, the College of the OGPU of the USSR sentenced to death 35 alleged members of the organization. It is worth noting that between November 1932 and January 1933, the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR eliminated 1,208 "sabotage groups" in the *kolkhozy*<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Ф. Рудич (ed. et al.), *Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів*, Київ 1990, p. 291.

<sup>33</sup> Ю. І. Шаповал, *Україна 20–50-х років: сторінки ненаписаної історії*, Київ 1993; *Розсекречена пам'ять: Голодомор 1932–1933 років в Україні в документах ГПУ-НКВД*, Київ 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Ю. І. Шаповал, В. А. Золотарьов, В. Балицький. *Особа, час, оточення*, Київ 2002, p. 193.

Yet all this brought no breakthrough, and by 1 January 1933, the Ukrainian SSR only managed to fulfill 74.5% of the yearly plan. As a result, Stalin decided to make changes in the leadership of the CP(b)U. In its decision, dated 24 January 1933, CC AUCP(b) stated that Ukraine's party organization was not able to manage the tasks of organizing and implementing the grain delivery plan. A particular critique was directed at the party leadership of three Oblasts: Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv. Once again, Moscow made the decision to "strengthen" the Ukrainian party structure, and particularly the three abovementioned regions. Postyshev was nominated to the position of Second Secretary of the CC KP(b)U and the First Secretary of the Oblast Party Committee in Kharkiv. Khatayevich was promoted to the position of the First Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk party organization, while Yevgeny Weger took the same position in the Odessa Oblast<sup>35</sup>.

Despite the changes made to the party leadership, the grain quota was not met. On 5 February 1933, CC AUCP(b) declared the end of state-administered grain purchasing in the Ukrainian SSR. From the 1932 harvest in Ukraine, 260.7 million poods of grain were sent out, including 217.9 million from kolkhozy and individual farms. Only in two oblasts of Ukraine – Vinnytsia and Kiev – did the kolkhozy and individual farms manage to fulfill the grain quota (decreased on 30 October 1932) placed upon them<sup>36</sup>.

The policies pursued by the Bolshevik leadership and the local activists, ruthlessly depriving the peasants of not only grain but equally all food products, led in the end to a mass-scale famine, reaching its tragic climax in the spring of 1933.

The local party apparatchiks, as well as representatives of the GPU and the militia, would regularly pass on the information about the famine. According to incomplete data reported by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on 12 March 1933, "food problems" were registered in 738 Ukrainian towns and villages. 11,067 families (17,308 persons) were reported to be starving, and 2,487 people starved to death<sup>37</sup>. At the end of February 1933, the GPU Department for the Kiev Oblast prepared a report for the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR noting that 93,636 adults and 112,199 children were starving in this oblast alone. 47,392 persons were reported to have swellings from starvation, while 12,801 died from hunger<sup>38</sup>.

The data from the official registers did not give a full account of what was happening in Ukraine. It needs to be remembered that during the famine, deaths would often remain unregistered so as "not to inspire panic".

To escape death by starvation, people ate anything that was edible. Marfa Zatuliviter from the Chernihiv Oblast recounts: "It was a terrifying spring in [19]33. People would feed on grass, just like cattle. [...] A third [...] would die from

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<sup>35</sup> *Итоги хлебозаготовок и задачи КП(б)У в борьбе за поднятие сельского хозяйства Украины. Доклад тов. Ст. Косиора на пленуме ЦК ВКП(б)*, «Известия», 15 February 1933.

<sup>36</sup> ТсДАНО, Ф. 1, Оп. 20, Spr. 237, p. 145, and Spr. 281, p. 201.

<sup>37</sup> Ф. Рудич (ed. et al.), *Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів*, Kiev 1990, p. 429.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 399.

hunger.”<sup>39</sup> An official of the communication department with the CC KP(b)U wrote in his report, dated 1 April 1933, that in the village of Zagrodovka, in the Vysokopilsky Raion, the inhabitants walked around with sacks and collected food, carrion and grass. All dogs and cats had been killed and eaten, and people were even stealing them from one another<sup>40</sup>.

When there was no more food to be found in a given region, mass-scale deaths were the reality. A villager from Ukraine would write in a letter to his parents living in Poland: “There is such poverty here that it could not get any worse. Every day, 8–9 people die of starvation. People kill and eat one another. Do not think that I am writing foolish things. I am writing the truth.” One other witness to the events, who also had a family in Poland, wrote: “There are 10–20 people dying in the village every day. I am sure that I will not live through this. At times I think that it would have been better to die at war with my companions than now by starvation.”<sup>41</sup>

The first acts of cannibalism were already reported by early March of 1932. Many of them were committed by parents who, by killing one of their children, hoped to save themselves and their other children from death. There were also organized groups murdering people, who would then be eaten. Yet it is difficult to offer any estimates on the number of acts of cannibalism that occurred during the Great Famine in Soviet Ukraine.

The head of the Kiev Oblast GPU would file a report, dated 12 March 1933, informing the Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR that he receives 10 or more reports daily on acts of cannibalism committed in the region. According to that document, 69 acts of cannibalism preceded by murder and 54 cases of corpse-eating had been registered in the Kiev Oblast in the period between 9 January and 12 March 1933. The report underlined, however, that “this data is clearly incomplete, since in reality such cases are much more numerous.”<sup>42</sup> A different report by the Kiev Oblast GPU revealed that prior to March 1, up to 72 acts of cannibalism and 65 acts of corpse-eating had been registered<sup>43</sup>.

A similar situation also characterized other regions of Soviet Ukraine. In the Kharkiv Oblast, before 1 March 1933, nine acts of cannibalism had been reported, by 1 April 1933 – 58, by 1 May 1933 – 132, by 1 June 1933 – 221. In the Vinnytsia Oblast, by 7 May 1933, 71 acts of cannibalism had been reported<sup>44</sup>.

As the famine grew stronger, growing numbers of peasants began leaving their villages in search of a better future. There were mass-scale migrations to

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<sup>39</sup> «Літературна Україна», 27 July 1989.

<sup>40</sup> Ф. Рудич (ed. et al.), *Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів*, Kiev 1990, p. 479.

<sup>41</sup> «Новий час», 6 May 1933 and 3 June 1933.

<sup>42</sup> Ф. Рудич (ed. et al.), *Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів*, Kiev 1990, pp. 434–435.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 400. Slightly different data has been reported by the People’s Commissariat for Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR. By 14 March 1933 it had registered 64 cases of cannibalism preceded by murder, and 59 cases of corpse-eating.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 511, 532.

towns, with people searching for jobs in industry and looking to purchase food. It was most readily available in special shops – *torgsins*<sup>45</sup>, where products could be bought with foreign currency, gold, silver or other precious metals. In some towns and villages, people would rob graves to get gold and other valuables.

The Stalinist regime was most threatened by the fact that peasants took to fleeing the regions struck by the famine. In June 1932, in one of the letters addressed to Kaganovich, Stalin manifested his discontent with the fact that “tens of thousands of Ukrainian kolkhoz peasants continue to scatter around the entire European territory, thus disintegrating the kolkhozy from within with their complaints and whining.”<sup>46</sup> The Stalinist leadership, not knowing how to deal with the mass peasant migrations from the countryside, issued a decree introducing internal passports on 27 December 1932. Without a special residence permit, no one was allowed to stay for more than 48 hours away from their place of permanent residence. Peasants, with very few exceptions, were not even entitled to passports, and thus were forbidden to leave their home villages. The militia was ordered to detain all peasants who were caught in train stations and towns.

On 22 January 1933, Stalin and Molotov sent a directive to party and state organs in which they underlined that the migration process, which accompanied the famine, was perpetrated by “the enemies of the Soviet rule, Esers and Polish agents with the aim of spreading enemy propaganda against kolkhozy and the entire Soviet rule among the peasants in the northern regions of the USSR.” Thus, the administrative organs, organs of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR and the GPU in North Caucasus were ordered to take the necessary steps to prevent mass migrations from the countryside to other regions. To ensure that those steps were effective, the transportation units of the OGPU USSR were issued appropriate orders<sup>47</sup>.

Following the decision made by the central authorities, on 23 January 1933, the CC KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR banned the peasants from leaving the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. Furthermore, in the fall of 1932 and winter of 1933, with the help of internal army detachments and militia, the

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<sup>45</sup> *Torgsin* – All-Union Association for Trade with Foreigners. On 29 June 1932, an All-Ukrainian Bureau of *Torgsin* was established. A network of shops had been operating earlier, serving not only foreigners but USSR nationals as well. Food and other products could be bought with hard currency. With time, the main goal of the *Torgsin* was narrowed to taking gold and other valuables away from the people; it was with that aim that the network of shops was expanded. In October 1933, 263 branches were operational, each possessing a number of small shops (kiosks), purchasing centers and branch offices. In 1931, the *Torgsin* network managed to transfer 6 million rubles in hard currency to the State Treasury, in 1932 a further 50 million, and in 1933 – 107 million rubles in hard currency rubles. The peasants would bring in silver and gold crosses, wedding rings, earrings and other family valuables. In a single day, some centers would acquire as much as 800 kilograms of gold, all of which was classified as the lowest category of purity, although a higher one would be put down in the registers. Of the 107 million rubles in hard currency, 86 million came from internal revenues. See: В. І. Марочко, «Торгсин»: золота ціна життя українських селян у роки голоду (1932–1933), «Український історичний журнал» 2003, no. 3; Е. Osokina, *Torgsin – de l’or pour l’industrialisation*, “Cahiers du monde russe” 2006, no. 4.

<sup>46</sup> *Сталин и Каганович. Неизданная переписка. 1931–1936*, Moscow 2001, p. 179.

<sup>47</sup> *Трагедия советской деревни. Коллективизация и раскулачивание. Документы и материалы в 5 томах. 1927–1939*, vol. 3. (Конец 1930–1933), Moscow 2001, pp. 634–635.



borders of the Ukrainian SSR were blocked preventing all food produce transports. The border blockade also made it impossible for individual persons to bring in food products from the RSFSR and BSSR into the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. The regime thus turned Ukraine into a starving ghetto. None of the other Soviet republics at the time were subjected to such sanctions.

As mentioned, the Bolshevik authorities did not recognize the famine as a reality – neither in Ukraine nor in any other region of the Soviet Union. In the USSR, the official propaganda and the officially published statistical data were not only silent on the subject of the famine in the early 1930's, but equally avoided any references to “hunger”. Instead, there would be references to “unregistered deaths”. Thus, with few exceptions, there were no precise statistical records regarding the number of victims of starvation, while the available data was inaccurate and prone to underestimations. It also needs to be accounted for that those charged with updating the birth and death registers would often themselves die of starvation, leaving no one to attend to statistical records. In numerous cases when deaths were in fact registered, the recorded cause of death was the following information: “age”, “weakness”, “not known”, as well as more striking ones: “lied down to rest and died”.

The famine of 1932–1933 was man-made. It was not a result of some cataclysm – war, drought, etc. – but a consequence of Bolshevik policies towards the countryside.

The crime that followed, which once again falls on the shoulders of the Bolshevik leadership, was that the authorities did not officially recognize that the famine was occurring in the country and that they rejected any outside help – both from Ukrainian organizations as well as international ones<sup>48</sup>. However, it is true that most of the western countries, wishing to keep the relations with the USSR on the best possible footing for economic reasons, as well as due to the growing threat from Hitler's Germany, held the position that the famine was Bolsheviks' internal problem. Nevertheless, one could hear individuals in the West speaking the truth about what happened in Ukraine. For example, on 21 November 1933, Malcolm Muggeridge, a correspondent for the “Manchester Guardian”, wrote: “Regarding the famine, an honest observer can not claim that the villages which I visited suffer from famine today, yet equally it can not be denied that the famine occurred, and not on an insignificant scale, mainly in April and May... We can readily assert that no other province suffered more than Ukraine and North Caucasus.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> For more on the subject, see: P. Кусьнеж, *Участь української громадськості Польщі в допомогових та протестаційних акціях проти голодомору в Україні*, «Український історичний журнал» 2005, no. 2, pp. 131–141; Idem, *Львівська українська преса про голодомор в УСРР*, «Український історичний журнал» 2006, no. 3, pp. 199–209; R. Wysocki, *Postawa społeczności ukraińskiej w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej wobec „wielkiego głodu” na Ukrainie w latach 1932–1933*, “Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska” 2005, vol. LX, sectio F, pp. 451–464; Й. Пануга, *Допомога українців Польщі потерпілим від голодомору 1932–1933 рр.* [in:] П. Орленко (ed.) *Три голодомори в Україні в ХХ ст.: погляд із сьогодення. Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції (7 XI 2002 р. у Київському національному університеті ім. Т. Шевченка)*, Kiev 2003, pp. 233–251.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in: Ю. Шаповал, *Невигадані історії*, Kiev 2001, pp. 84–85.

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This volume presents documents that, in their majority, were never published. Thus they should contribute to increasing knowledge and broadening the collection of available primary sources for further research on the famine in 1930's in Ukraine and the USSR.

This collection comprises 230 documents. They include documents of the Polish intelligence, diplomatic corps, police and administration which are part of the collections of the Central Military Archive (Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe – CAW) in Warsaw (33 documents), Archives of Contemporary Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych – AAN) in Warsaw (5 documents), Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (Центральний державний історичний архів України – TsDIAL) in Lviv (3 documents), State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (Державний архів Івано-Франківської області – DAIFO) in Ivano-Frankivsk (20 documents), State Archive of the Volhynia Oblast (Державний архів Волинської області – DAVO) in Lutsk (17 documents), State Archive of the Ternopil Oblast (Державний архів Тернопільської області – DATO) in Ternopil (18 documents), as well as documents prepared by the security organs of OGPU/NKVD of USSR from the SSU archive (134 documents). A number of the documents (from AAN and CAW) have been published previously<sup>50</sup>.

The documents from the SSU archives comprise mainly agentura reports, guidelines, statements, but also protocols of interrogation conducted by security service officers, as well as indictment documents prepared by investigating officers. Among the most interesting materials are the two documents regarding a visit paid by a French statesman, Édouard Herriot to the Ukrainian SSR (documents no. 138, 139). Alongside reports on the former Prime Minister's visit to Odessa and the information on the operational security steps taken regarding the visit, there are also accounts of local community reactions to that event.

Among other documents from the SSU archives, those produced by the PP OGPU Crimea merit particular attention. They give witness to the scope of activity carried out by the security organs operating beyond the Ukrainian SSR which were nevertheless directly involved in perpetrating the catastrophe. A vivid example of the scale of the Bolsheviks' counterrevolutionary psychosis at the time when the famine was decimating the population of Ukraine is given by a document produced in January 1933 in Moscow, informing about the illegal organizations uncovered and eliminated by the OGPU of the USSR (document no. 93).

Especially interesting are the documents of the GPU presenting information and agent reports on the German minority in the Ukrainian SSR (among them

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<sup>50</sup> R. Kuśnierz, *Głód na Ukrainie w latach 1932–1933 w świetle zbiorów Archiwum Akt Nowych oraz Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego w Warszawie*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 2007, no. 2, pp. 129–159; Idem, *Pomór w „raju bolszewickim”. Głód na Ukrainie w latach 1932–1933 w świetle polskich dokumentów dyplomatycznych i dokumentów wywiadu*, Toruń 2008.

documents no. 40, 42, 80, 87, 99 and 187). Polish readers will certainly have their attention drawn to the document no. 59, reporting the state of affairs in one of the Polish colonies in the Odessa Oblast. The numerous agent reports concern the oblast's Polish school, its teachers and students.

The documents presenting the views and opinions of foreign diplomats, witnesses to the developments in the Ukrainian SSR at the end of 1920's and in the first half of the 1930's are also exceptional in their significance. As is known today, the Soviet security organs created an effective information network, possessing agents even among the staff of diplomatic representations. Their reports give an account of the statements as well as the views of the consular personnel regarding the deepening crisis, collectivization and the resulting famine. Moreover, a portion of the documents from the German diplomatic missions was acquired by the GPU through operational methods. Those primary sources give clear proof that the GPU had extensive knowledge of what, when and how information was being communicated by the embassies to their respective ministries of foreign affairs in regard to those nations that had established diplomatic relations with the USSR. Those documents from the SSU archive have been supplemented with diplomatic and intelligence reports acquired by Section II of the Main Staff of the Polish Army, held in the Polish archives.

This collection comprises documents which give an account of the growing crisis in Ukraine when the authorities began its uncompromising attack on the peasants. Stalin's "great breakthrough" (the swift industrialization and forced collectivization) represented such a reckless change of policy that it was bound to arouse the dissatisfaction and opposition of all social classes. Stalin's reforms resulted in opposition within the Bolshevik party, even among its leadership. It thus comes hardly as a surprise that the authorities met resistance from the peasants, a fact that did not escape the western diplomats from diplomatic missions. According to one Italian diplomat, offering his opinion in July of 1930, "before 1928 one could think that the government will be capable of escaping the crisis, yet now, with the last failed undertakings relating to collectivization which have aroused strong opposition from the people, it is evident that the Soviet authorities will not cope with the tasks ahead" (document no. 13).

Observing those events as they unfolded, officials from the Japanese Consulate, traveling in 1929 around the selected regions of the Ukrainian SSR, would report of the food shortages and that, even after taking into account the devastating effects of the war which had only just ended, the standard of living of the people was further deteriorating (document no. 5). Already by the year 1928, the staff of the Italian Consulate, writing analytical reports on the authorities' policy towards the peasants, made references to the coming famine (document no. 3). In 1930, Turkish diplomats pointed out that the USSR was exporting food produce for hard currency instead of feeding its own nation, with the entire population being forced by the government to suffer from starvation (document no. 13).

As can be ascertained, foreign diplomats had sufficient information, which gave credibility to their assessment of the developments in agriculture, both in

the USSR and in the Ukrainian SSR. This is quite clear from the cover letter produced by the OGPU of the USSR, sent in January 1930 to GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, which accompanies a copy of a report by the German Consul in Odessa. The report concerns the state-administered purchasing of grain<sup>51</sup>. The collected documents and materials confirm most of the pessimistic estimates presented by the staff of the foreign diplomatic representations regarding the deteriorating socio-economic conditions and the growing hunger which resulted. Those sources, as well as the accounts of the persons living under those conditions, among whom it is worth mentioning Ivan Slinko from Myrhorod, who sent Stalin a letter criticizing the latter's policy towards the countryside (document no. 8), give a better understanding of the premises behind the oncoming tragedy.

The famine, which struck Ukraine in the winter and spring of 1932, did not escape the attention of Polish diplomats. "I report – the Polish Consul in Kiev wrote on 11 May 1932 – that with each day I receive ever more reports on the famine in regions on the Right-Bank Ukraine, which is particularly severe in the countryside. According to most recent reports, in towns such as Vinnytsia and Uman each day there are cases of people being picked up from the street, having collapsed from feebleness and atrophy. The situation is supposedly worse in the countryside, where according to a reliable source, plundering and murder for food are a daily occurrence" (document no. 27).

A number of diplomats pointed that the particularly catastrophic situation in the Ukrainian SSR was much different than in the southern oblasts of the RSFSR. The Polish Consul General, traveling from Kharkiv to Moscow in May 1933, reported as follows: "What struck me most during the entire voyage was the difference in how the countryside and fields of Ukraine look, compared to the neighboring CChO (Central Chernozem Oblast) or even the unfertile regions of Moscow. Ukrainian villages are in a state of visible demise, hollowness, abandonment and utter poverty, the cottages are in ruin, often with torn-down roofs, new dwellings are nowhere to be found, children and elders are mere skeletons [...] Having found myself thereafter in the CChO (mainly in the areas of Kursk and Oryol), I had the impression of having arrived from a Soviet state to Western Europe. There are many more fields that were plowed and sowed, villages are clean, more neat, cottages renewed and people in relative well-being and one sees the cattle grazing (document no. 118).

Equally telling are the words of the Japanese Consul in Odessa, who in June 1932 traveled through the USSR. The diplomat remarked that "[...] the Ukrainian peasants, as compared to peasants in other republics, make a miserable impression both because of their torn clothes as well as the emaciated appearance and pleas for charity; even on main stations, peasants, their wives and children hold out their hands for alms, asking for bread" (document no. 38).

The changing of communist leadership of Soviet Ukraine did not escape the attention of foreign diplomats either. An accurate assessment of the situation is

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<sup>51</sup> HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 22, p. 234.

to be found in the report from the Polish Deputy Consul in Kiev, Piotr Kurnicki, written in 1933. Considering that the key to the Bolsheviks' success was their "disregard for the resources and sacrifices" Kurnicki stated: "All of this was made possible by bringing in large numbers of newly made communists who mainly have no ties to the loc[al] people, or are captured by theoretical reasoning to such a degree that they have almost become fanatical, taking on any order, closing their eyes to all effects it will have on the people" (document no. 179).

The general situation in 1933 did not offer hope for improvement. In one of his reports, the German Consul in Odessa noted: "[The people] have lived through and, to a large extent, forgotten the atrocities of last spring. The communist rulers do not let the peasants remember their misfortunes for long, and they achieve it by having one misfortune succeeded directly by another so, willingly or not, old ghosts are forgotten" (document no. 187).

A number of documents in this collection relates to the reactions of the Ukrainians living in pre-WWII Poland to the situation in the Ukrainian SSR, with the growing effects of the Great Famine and Bolshevik repression. The circles involved in the Ukrainian National Movement (UNDO, USRP) declared the day of 29 October 1933 to be the day of national mourning and protest against the brutal repression which took place in the Ukrainian SSR.

Moreover, the documents in this volume confirm that both the meetings taking place in the "Prosvita" reading rooms, as well as the presentations delivered by the representatives of the Ukrainian community on the catastrophic situation in the Ukrainian SSR and on the history of Ukraine, were of interest also to the Polish police.

In the aftermath of the assassination of an official from the Soviet Consulate in Lviv, which was carried out on 22 October 1933 by a member of the OUN in protest against the Great Famine, under strong pressure from Soviet diplomacy, the Polish Minister of the Interior banned the organization of public gatherings and demonstrations on 29 October 1933 (document no. 160). The ban did not apply to the Greek Catholic Church, which held its ceremonies with no interference from the police. Polish authorities were afraid of the intensified campaigning by the OUN during the meetings and the possibility that the mourning might turn into anti-government demonstrations.

Polish documents supply some information regarding a brief meeting which took place on 29 October 1933, in Stanyslaviv, attended by a member of the Polish Parliament, Milena Rudnicka. In her statement, Rudnicka presented the steps that had been taken to inform public opinion around the world of the situation in Ukraine. She noted that many countries support the idea of assisting those suffering from hunger in the Ukrainian SSR (document no. 165).

The tragedy of the Ukrainian nation was taking place behind the veil of an "exported lie" with which the authorities in the USSR aimed to convince the world that in the "country of the Soviets" there was simply no place for hunger. Still, by 14 January 1933, in response to the numerous enquiries coming from abroad, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Maxim Litvinov,

issued a special statement saying that the rumors of a famine in the Soviet Union were not true.

This further motivated the Ukrainian émigré circles in their efforts to reach the international community with a true picture assessment of the situation in the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, the émigré government representative of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Olexandr Shulgin, addressed the Grain Commission, established by the London Economic Conference, with the following words: "Today, when the Advisory Committee decides on the amount of grain to be exported by the USSR, we beg of you, in the name of universal human values, to prevent all forms of food export, and in particular grain from the territories of the USSR. That grain should lawfully be given to all those who have sown and harvested it, and who are nevertheless dying of starvation – the peasants of Ukraine and Kuban. Thus, we strongly protest against such exports which can be called criminal."<sup>52</sup>

Stalinist diplomats were skillful in countering strong protests against Soviet internal policies. The Soviet Union would host visits of such personas as the former French Prime Minister, Édouard Herriot (on 26 August 1933, he arrived by ship in Odessa, from where he was transferred to Kharkiv and Kiev), writers Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse or Bernard Shaw. All of them would claim not to have seen any famine in Ukraine. It is clear that the Soviet authorities intentionally manipulated reality, presenting the general well-being of the kolkhozy and inviting the foreign guests to visit bakeries working at full capacity. All this was to attest to the carefree life in the countryside. However, as the officers of the security services would themselves confirm, the people were fully aware of the scope of lies and manipulations perpetrated by the Stalinist propaganda. One of the workers from Odessa would give his account of the visit by the former Prime Minister of France: "Today, Herriot arrived in Odessa. Our authorities are scared and want to pull the wool over the foreigners' eyes, that – he says – we have socialism. I saw a militia officer run into the greengrocer's and give a stupid command to immediately get rid of a line of people standing in front of the shop. It is clear that Herriot does not know what is happening here" (document no. 138).

Among the documents collected in this volume, it is worth pointing out the report by Dr. Lev Chykalenko regarding the famine in the Ukrainian SSR and the relief to those threatened by starvation. Chykalenko presented a detailed analysis of the political and economic causes behind the tragedy and its repercussions. He further wrote about the Ukrainian Émigré Committee for Relief to the Starving Ukraine, established in Poland with the Ukrainian Central Committee, and compared it with parallel structures in other countries. In his words: "Considering that the government of the USSR does not want to admit to the famine in the devastated countries it conquered, reaching them with direct relief is highly difficult. Taking into account that fact, the émigré committees have drafted a certain plan

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted in: Т. Гунчак, *Голодомор 32/33 – біль серця всієї України*, «День», 1 August 2003, no. 132.

of action. All of them have set out to collect, under their closest control all sorts of materials, mainly letters from Ukraine, which hold information regarding the famine and the various misfortunes plaguing the Ukrainian nation. Enquiries are being made with those who managed to escape or foreigners traveling back from Ukraine who have seen the hunger with their own eyes. Those committees are collecting addresses of the more renowned people in Ukraine for whom help with supplies is essential and necessary. The main effort is put on establishing a fund, stressing that no matter how significant the donations to that fund, relief in the form of products or money will be sent to the starving families only in individual and exceptional cases, with most of the funds being spent on propaganda and informing the international circles about the unfolding famine in Ukraine and the role of Soviet policies in perpetrating it” (document no. 196).

In 1934, during the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of AUCP(b), Stalin declared that in 1933, in the USSR, employment rose. Soon after that event, the secret documents were cleansed of all references to the problem of famine. The guilty had been found and the entire issue became taboo. The German Attaché for agriculture would comment on the subject with the following remark: “Victory has been gained by the government, the peasant brought to his knees” (document no. 202).

Yet the Great Famine, as the recently discovered documents attest, was still a very real problem at that time. In April 1934, Deputy Counselor for Commerce in the Polish Embassy in Moscow, Jan Łagoda, traveled through the Ukrainian SSR, visiting Kiev, Korosten, Zhytomyr, Berdychiv, Koziatyn, Uman. “I observed – he wrote – that in the regions I have visited, the village people are starving. Clearly hungry people are to be found in large numbers, at train stations there are many abandoned children who feed on what they can. [...] As a result of these observations, I can state that the hunger in the regions on Right-Bank Ukraine exists on a wide scale, [...] Due to that, there has been an epidemic of pernicious influenza which, as was the case in 1918 in the West, is extremely dangerous. A great many people have died from influenza. The events of last year’s famine have not disappeared from people’s memories, in the train cars they only talk of famine” (document no. 197).

What is more, the famine remained in the memory of not only those who have suffered from its cruelty. The authorities also remembered and kept the witnesses of the Great Famine under special surveillance. Numerous documents give accounts of the punishments inflicted on those who dared to recall those traumatic events. It can be seen in the case of a priest in the Christ Nativity parish of Yaroslavka village, Father Hryhory Litvinovich, who, in June 1934, would write to inform his superiors that the majority of the faithful of the parish had died of starvation. He was required to give detailed explanations to the officers of the NKVD. During an interrogation in 1935, Litvinovich stated: “In my letters, I have in fact written to Poland reporting that in my parish, as well as in the neighboring villages, there is great hunger and high mortality rates, and as a result the people have become much poorer and thus do not offer material support to the clergy, as they need the support themselves. I wrote about all this, sending it abroad, at-

tempting to show our true situation, hoping to receive material aid from abroad. With my letters, I never intended to discredit Soviet authority, but I was driven by my own material motivations” (document no. 215). Litvinovich was arrested on 11 February 1935, and in May of that year, indicted by the Special College of the Vinnytsia Oblast Court and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment.

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The previous volumes of the publishing series were a bi-lingual publication – in Polish and Ukrainian, with the latter retaining the Russian-language documents in their original form. Volume seven is supplemented with an English translation that will allow a much wider audience to become acquainted with this unique collection of documents.

The English publication has been prepared based on the Polish version of the volume, which with respect to Polish documents, has been edited into modern and consistent form, with punctuation and abbreviations changed according to modern rules. The apparent errors in Polish spelling, orthography and grammar have been corrected without additional comment and thus appear in the English translation. However, the style has been retained, leaving some stylistically awkward passages (major ones have been footnoted with: *As in the original*). Proper names have retained their original Polish spelling and any misspellings, which were verifiable, have been corrected and footnoted with information about the error. Unverifiable proper names have retained their original spelling, without any attempts at changing them into a more probable form, thus avoiding any unnecessary confusion. The Polish documents have also retained English transcription of Russian or Ukrainian words used by the document’s author (ex.: *trudoden* or *besprizorni*).

Slightly different rules have been applied to the translation of Russian or Ukrainian documents from the Polish language. Once again the main aim was to preserve, as much as possible, their original style, retaining the colloquial or official language, depending on the nature of the document. A number of Russian words remained not translated but have been given English transcription. They are words, which in the 1930’s would be used by foreigners writing about the situation in the Bolshevik Russia (see ex.: documents produced by the staff of the foreign diplomatic missions in Soviet Ukraine), and which are already an element of particular language in the literature concerning the Great Famine (ex.: *khlebozagotovka* or *yedinolichniki*).

The graphic layout of the documents has largely been made consistent, retaining a degree of particularities characteristic to individual registers. All distinctions in type-written documents (uppercase, spacing, typewriting, underlining) have been eliminated, with appropriate information given in footnotes. The only exception relates to the documents produced by the GPU, and later the NKVD, where uppercase has been retained in writing surnames, as a typical character-



istic of the registers of the two institutions (this concerns only typewritten documents, in handwriting this rule was usually disregarded). If a document has been written on a form or letterhead, appropriate information is supplied in the caption and footnotes.

Information regarding handwritten comments, underlining or corrections in parts of the text, has been given in footnotes (with the exception of several documents which are draft papers – not all handwritten corrections have been footnoted, due to their large number), while endorsements and other notes pertaining to the document and concerning its administrative circulation, have been described in the caption. The caption also includes additional information about the document, such as its original language.

In the English volume, with regard to Polish documents, names of persons have retained their original Polish writing, with the exception of well-known historical figures, whose names have been written in English (ex. *Sheptytsky*, *Khomyshyn*).

With regards to Russian documents, names of persons have been transcribed into English, according to the commonly accepted rules. In those cases where in a Russian document a reference to a Polish name was made (with a footnote), names of those persons have been transcribed into English with the original spelling in Polish given in brackets in the footnote, ex. *Miloshevsky* (*Zdzisław Miłoszewski*).

Names of locations which are within Polish borders today, have been written in Polish (ex. *Przemyśl*), while the names of locations which today are within the borders of Ukraine (including those which prior to WWII belonged to Poland) have been transcribed from Ukrainian into English (ex. *Lviv*, *Mykhaylivka*). This applies to all geographic names.

Warsaw–Kiev, October 2009



# DOCUMENTS



## No. 1

### After 1 August 1928, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by representatives of the Italian Consulate

To the report of KRO  
Od[essa] Obl[ast] Division GPU  
for the period from 1 April to 1 August-[19]28

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Italian Consulate<sup>a</sup>

[...]

MERIANO<sup>1</sup>, in a conversation with local professors, expressed his view on the grain crisis. In MERIANO's opinion, the very fact of the grain crisis occurring in Ukraine is a particularly strange phenomenon and he does not know how to explain it. "After all, last year was a good year – MERIANO states – and the communists enjoy a well-deserved reputation of talented organizers. Perhaps – states MERIANO – such phenomena can be explained by the fact that in the USSR, everyday life is planned by workers and cooks." The panic-dominated attitudes of people standing in lines can not – according to MERIANO – be explained either, while he ironically remarks that it is quite probable, that such state of affairs is caused by the people being "organized and disciplined" in the USSR.

Consul MERIANO was present on 1 May when local authorities hosted a parade.

Seeing the military organization *Osoaviakhim*<sup>2</sup>, he ironically pointed out to his collaborator DANATI<sup>b3</sup> that the USSR only talks of disarmament but [acts] to the contrary – getting armed and militarized.

In mid-June, the consul received a ciphered telegram, and having read it, called on DANATI enquiring whether there had been an uprising or general unrest regarding lack of bread supplies in Odessa or the oblast.

[...]

According to information from s/s [...], LETTO<sup>4</sup> continues visiting the consulate. In a conversation with s/s [...], LETTO, cursing the Sov[iet] authorities and

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *In the original: DONATI.*

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Ernesto Meriano (born in 1896 in Turin, died in 1934 in Kabul), Italian poet, writer, diplomat; representative of the futurism school; from January 1928 Italian Consul General in Odessa, later employed in the Italian Embassy in Rabat; later in Afghanistan.

<sup>2</sup> Society for the Support of Defense, Aviation and Chemical Construction – a social, patriotic, military organization, established in the USSR in 1927; it was to support the military training of civilian population and give support to the Red Army.

<sup>3</sup> Giorgio Danati, from 1928 head of the economic department in the Italian Consulate in Odessa.

<sup>4</sup> Antonio Letto, inhabitant of Odessa, Italian citizen working in the Italian Consulate in Odessa in the capacity of an expert on issues relating to fruit imports from Italy.

system, stated that among the people there is great exasperation caused by the undertakings of the Sov[iet] authorities, particularly in regard to the grain exports abroad, and the lack thereof on our market. In LETTO's words, in the Crimea, c<sup>c</sup>20 Red commanders, acting against the Sov[iet] authorities, have been shot for a similar undertaking<sup>c</sup>.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] ad interim Od[essa] Okr[ug] Division<sup>a</sup> GPU  
(—) KRIVIETS<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> KRO  
(—) SHOSTAK-SOKOLOV<sup>6</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 419, T. 1, Cz. 2, pp. 429–441.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>5</sup> Yefim Kriviets (1897–1940), from 21 October 1927 assistant to the Chief, later Chief ad interim the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 9 May 1930 Chief of the Information Department of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv, from 20 March 1931 assistant to the Chief of the Kiev Operational Sector of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 20 September 1931 Chief of the Secret Political Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv.

<sup>6</sup> Petro Shostak-Sokolov (1896–1937), from May 1927 Chief of KRO of Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from September 1930 assistant to the Chief of the Information Department of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv, from April 1931 Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Department in the Secret Political Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv, from December 1931 Deputy Chief of the Donetsk Operational Sector of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

## No. 2

### After 1 October 1928, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by an employee of the Italian Consulate

To the report of KRO  
Od[essa] Okr[ug] Division GPU  
for the period from 1 August to 1 October [19]28

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Italian Consulate<sup>a</sup>

[...]

[LETTO], speaking to s/s [...] stated that the peasants are now starving. The taxes levied on them are too high. In CRK, the bread is of poor quality, there is no oil, no products. All this, according to him, is a proof of insolvency of the governing circles in the USSR and of inappropriate policies pursued by them. There is no oil here, while oil and seed used for its production are being sent abroad. Not long ago, 1,500 poods<sup>1</sup> of oil have been loaded – as far as is known to him – on one steamship alone. He does not understand how people can keep silent and not react in an appropriate way. Overall – from what he said – the communists, through their actions, are themselves strengthening the counterrevolution.

[...]

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 419, T. 1, Cz. 2, pp. 456, 459.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> A Russian measure of weight equivalent to 16.38 kilograms.

### No. 3

#### After 1 January 1929, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by an employee of the Italian Consulate

To the report of KRO  
Od[essa] Obl[ast] Division GPU  
for the period from 1 August to 1 January [19]29

T[op] secret

<sup>a</sup>-Italian Consulate<sup>a</sup>

[...]

Once again, in a conversation with the same s/s [...] VERNETTO touched on the subject of issuing bread allowances and declared that bread of such poor quality is given out to the people because the best quality flour is being sent abroad. It is so in order to make the foreigners think that "if we are sending flour of such good quality, we keep here flour of even better quality." However abroad, as he states, there are no fools who would believe this. Regarding the fact that flour is scarce here and its import is forbidden, in the end we should expect famine and that something will actually happen. All this is taken into consideration abroad.

[...]

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 419, T. 1, Cz. 2, pp. 471, 477.  
Copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*



## No. 4

### After 19 January 1929, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Kiev Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by representatives of the Polish and German Consulates

<sup>a</sup>-Operational work<sup>a</sup>

[...]

On 19 January, there was an evening event at the consulate organized by KRAYEVSKY<sup>1</sup>. The entire staff of the consulate was present, and from the German c[onsulate] – SOMMER<sup>2</sup> and VOLNY<sup>3</sup>, accompanied by wives and guests [...].

BABINSKY<sup>4</sup> touched on the subject of the peasants' situation in Ukraine. He said that every day he has an opportunity to deal with Polish peasants and literally all of them complain about the problems with their material situation. He thus drew a conclusion that the peasants' situation in Ukraine is extremely difficult. A lively discussion followed between BABINSKY and SOMMER. The latter attempted to prove that BABINSKY's conclusions were inappropriate. He himself, [that is] SOMMER, also happened to deal with peasants, who lately had been paying him visits quite often due to their [desire] to emigrate to Canada. Most of the peasants who visit him are those old, pre-revolutionary poor who are now prospering smallholders; each of them holds savings of no less than 5,000 r[ubles], or more, and apart from that perfectly functioning farms. All of them

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Kravevsky (Wincenty Krajewski) (born 18 November 1888), diplomat; in the years 1921–1926 employed with the Consular Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from November until the end of 1926 in the Polish General Commissariat of the Free City of Gdańsk; later again in the MFA, from February 1927 till October 1930, Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev, later, until 1932, in the Polish Consulate in Marseilles; later head of bureau in the Personnel Department of MFA; in the years 1935–1939 councilor in the cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; from November 1939 till November 1940 in the Polish Embassy in Bucharest; in the years 1940–1945 member of the board of the Committee for Relief to Poles in Turkey, in parallel from August 1941 till August 1945 in the mission of the Ministry of the Interior at the Polish Embassy in Istanbul, in the years 1945–1946 responsible for closing down of the mission of the Ministry of the Interior; from 1947 till 1954 in the Committee for Education of Poles in Great Britain.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Sommer, in the years 1928–1933 German Consul in Kiev, later Consul General in Leningrad.

<sup>3</sup> Volny, secretary of the German Consulate in Kiev.

<sup>4</sup> Babinsky (Mieczysław Babiński) (born 8 September 1891), diplomat; in the years 1918–1919 in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; from 1919 till 1921 in the Polish Consulate in Kurytyba; in the years 1921–1926 in MFA, in parallel from 1922 till 1923 assigned to the Presidium of the Council of Ministers; from May 1926 till the end of September 1930 Head of the Polish Consulate in Kiev; later in the Polish Consulate in Daugavpils; from 1935 in the Consular Department of MFA; in the years 1938–1939 councilor in the Polish General Commissariat of the Free City of Gdańsk.

complain about not being able to leave because they are not allowed to take their savings with them. If the Sov[iet] government did not impose high taxes on them and offered the possibility of expanding their farms, this would greatly decrease the number of peasants emigrating abroad.

[...]

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 430, T. 20, p. 127.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 5

### After 1 February 1929, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by representatives of the Japanese Consulate

To the report of KRO  
Okr[ug] Division of GPU

<sup>b</sup>-Top secret<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-for the period from 1 October [1928] to 1 February [19]29<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Japanese Consulate<sup>b</sup>

[...]

Regarding the food crisis observed in a number of oblasts in the south, SHIMADO<sup>1</sup> explains that it has resulted not merely from unfavorable meteorological and climatic conditions but he points to a significant role played by insufficient help being given to the peasants by the decision-makers, through agricultural tools, seeds, etc., as well as by [insufficient] instructions given to the countryside people by experienced specialists.

In a conversation on current issues, SHIMADO claims that CRK is selling bread of better quality than previously but also that white bread is still extremely expensive.

SHIMADO believes that all agricultural products are very expensive in Odessa, while in Japan, where the population density is far higher than in Ukraine, and the ground rent very expensive, [agricultural] products are much cheaper.

NOGUCHI<sup>2</sup>, who was present during the conversation, stated that he completely does not understand how, with such high prices of supplies, most of the workers and officials manage to get by, when they earn 60–75 rubles in monthly wages.

[...]

During a journey along the Dnieper [River] and to Kharkiv [...], interested in our sovkhozy, and particularly in the “Shevchenko” Sovkhoz, SHIMADO traveled to pay a visit to the aforementioned sovkhoz. Later, sharing his experiences, he declared that he had expected to see a collective farm managed with modern, improved methods, while in reality he saw something much different. According to him, the Sovkhoz named after Shevchenko<sup>c</sup> is in fact a machine park serving the plots formerly belonging to landowners, now given to the peas-

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: “Shevchenko” Sovkhoz.*

<sup>1</sup> Shigier Shimado, from March 1927 Japanese Deputy Consul in Odessa, from February 1930, First Secretary in the Japanese Embassy in the USSR in Moscow.

<sup>2</sup> Iosio Noguchi, from 1927 secretary in the Japanese Consulate in Odessa, from 1930, Deputy Head of the Japanese Consulate in Odessa, later in Japan.

ants for cultivation. The center plows, sows and organizes harvests, receiving a third of the yield for its work, which is quite convenient for the center.

Asking himself the question, what thus is the responsibility of the peasant – owners of those plots of land, SHIMADO assumed that they might in fact have some other work duties – herding cattle, growing fruit, etc., yet since nothing of that kind has been organized, therefore, [in his view,] the peasants most probably attend work in the household. The material situation of the peasants there, in SHIMADO's words, is invidious; during his journey to the steppe, he saw many horses that had died of hunger. The official from the administration who was responsible for showing SHIMADO around confirmed that this was a bad year as far as fodder for the peasants' cattle is concerned, which is why the "Dairy Company" only distributed milk to children.

The sovkhoz management, due to the threat of crop failure from the drought, decided to dedicate a significant part of the area to vineyards and has already started plowing the soil for grapevine seedlings, which in three-year time – from what the manager says – will give first grapes.

SHIMADO had doubts regarding the changes made from agriculture to grapevine harvests at this particular time when exporting valuable [resources] abroad is essential for acquiring hard currency.

According to him, it was uncertain that the fruits of Russian vineyards would be able to compete with those of other countries and take over the foreign markets as a substitute for Ukrainian grain.

NOGUCHI, who was present during the conversation, noted that mechanization and automatization in agriculture, on the scale pursued by Sov[iet] authorities, does nothing to contribute to the growing welfare of the peasants. In NOGUCHI's opinion, due to a more widespread use of machines, there is a growing number of unemployed peasants who would have always found work on the farms previously.

Such a system could, in his view, bring good results, sooner or later, yet now it only contributes to large costs, burdening the already strained budgets of the countryside's inhabitants.

On 20 November 1928, SHIMADO and NOGUCHI paid a visit to the Italian Vice-Consul.

[...]

In a conversation with the Vice-Consul, SHIMADO stated that the Sov[iet] authorities undertake ever new ventures which, after a time, are reexamined and in their place, new ones, completely different from the previous ones, are instituted. SHIMADO explained it with a fact that the state employees had no experience and are not [the] right [people] for their posts.

Touching upon the issue of anniversary celebrations of the October revolution, SHIMADO noted that the celebrations this year were carried out with less enthusiasm than in the previous year – in the streets, there was none of that merry holiday spirit which could be seen in the previous year; also the number of people in the streets was not particularly high. To a significant degree, in SHIMADO's opinion, this was due to the rather unfavorable economic situation of the broad

masses of people. While state industry and commerce generally grow on a wide scale, having perhaps an effect on the financial resources of the state, individual groups of workers and peasants, due to economic collapse, suffer from a variety of shortages, which is reflected in the attitudes of the masses. SHIMADO added that a majority can not even find comfort in the hope of better future and even though all power, the entire administration and all means have been given to the proletariat, and the years of civil war and unrest have passed, the material situation for the majority has not improved but gradually declined.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief] ad interim Od[essa] Okr[ug] Division<sup>b</sup> GPU  
(—) KRIVIETS

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>b</sup> KRO  
(—) SHOSTAK-SOKOLOV

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 418, T. 1, Cz. 3, pp. 582–586, 592.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 6

### 24 September 1929, Odessa. Letter from the German Consul in Odessa, Paul Rot, reporting on the situation in sovkhozy

<sup>a-</sup>German Consulate<sup>-a</sup>  
Odessa, 24 September 1929

Translation from German

<sup>a-</sup>Dear Cit[jiz]en Professor!<sup>-a</sup>

Today I had a visit from a former <sup>b-</sup>landowner, a German from a neighboring Yekaterinoslav Guberniya<sup>1</sup>, who has been positively recommended to me<sup>-b</sup>. Prior to the war, he had had a perfectly functioning farm of 1,900 tithes<sup>2</sup>.

An impoverished man driven away from his property, he has <sup>b-</sup>in the past years worked in five different sovkhozy in the Kherson and Yekaterinoslav Okrug,<sup>-b</sup> yet because of denuncements, he would always lose his work due to his social background.

I have taken advantage of his visit, which had a different purpose, and <sup>b-</sup>inquired of him about the situation in sovkhozy,<sup>-b</sup> noting his experience as an old farm holder.

I was quite surprised by his answers. I have no way of checking this information and although <sup>b-</sup>the aforementioned person is completely trustworthy,<sup>-b</sup> his information is not enough to prepare an official report.

That is why I am forwarding you the information acquired from him in the form of [unofficial] material.

In the opinion of the aforementioned man, <sup>b-</sup>sovkhozy, as agricultural enterprises and commercial undertakings, do not fulfill the goals set ahead for them<sup>-b</sup> for the following reasons:

1) The sovkhozy employ too many [people who are not] specialists. Two years back, a landowner was a sovkhoz manager, now only a party member can become a manager, even if he has no knowledge whatsoever of farm-related issues. An experienced landowner can only serve as an assistant to the manager.

2) The sovkhoz receives directives regarding its work from the Center and never has the courage of countering them.

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<sup>a- -a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b- -b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> The Yekaterinoslav Guberniya ceased to exist in October 1922, becoming part of the Kremenchuk and Zaporizhia Guberniyas, while the administrative division into guberniyas and uyezds ceased to exist in Ukraine in 1925 after okrugs and raions were introduced.

<sup>2</sup> Administrative measure of land area used in Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The difficulty with making calculations according to modern measures arises from the fact that there were two tithes: the taxing one amounting to 1.09 ha, and the so called large tithe of 1.45 ha.

If the sovkhos is capable of plowing 2,000 tithes but has been ordered to plow 4,000, it will plow 4,000 at the cost of not fulfilling the appropriate schedule, thus not sowing the plowed soil, which becomes covered with weeds.

3) The work done by the sovkhos is slowed down by the bureaucratic regime.

There are cases where out of 30 tractors, 27 or 29 are unusable.

Too much time is wasted on getting a permit allowing workers to be directed to help the sole mechanic, despite time being so precious during the sowing season.

Due to bureaucracy, the sow[ing] materials are sometimes delivered so late that the deadline required for the sow has passed.

4) The sovkhos management shows no initiative of its own, it is merely required to meet the received directives.

Thus the sovkhos becomes dependent on all the shortcomings of the apparatus, unable to take any action on its own.

The man with whom I had the conversation does not reject the concept of the sovkhos as such. To the contrary – he believes that by introducing rational economy, success can be achieved.

As regards the present system, <sup>b</sup>he thinks it to be completely unproductive and offering no possibility of becoming profitable<sup>b</sup>.

With best wishes  
Yours ROT<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Translated from German: translator<sup>a</sup> KIGLER

<sup>a</sup>In conformity:

Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Department of Spec[ial] Division

Lieutenant of State Security<sup>a</sup>

(—) SHNAYDER<sup>4</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 10, pp. 29–31.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>3</sup> Paul Rot, from 1928 German Consul in Odessa.

<sup>4</sup> Abram Shnayder (1899–1942), from 1922 with the GPU, serving in Zinovievsk, Mykolaiv, Tiraspol, Mohyliv Podilskyi, Melitopol; from 5 April 1931 representative of the 4<sup>th</sup> Department of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, from 1 December 1935 Chief of the 4<sup>th</sup> Department of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, Chief of the 4<sup>th</sup> Department of the Secret Political Div. of UNKVD in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast; from 8 July 1938 till 13 June 1942 was respectively, the Chief of the 8<sup>th</sup> Dep. 4<sup>th</sup> Div. of UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, Chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dep. 3 Div., Deputy Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. of UNKVD for the Kharkiv Oblast.

## No. 7

### 15 November 1929, Kiev. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement by the German Consul

3<sup>rd</sup> gr[oup] KRO

15 November [19]29

Ger[man] Con[sulate]

[...]

“I had an opportunity – he [SOMMER] states – to visit different towns in Ukraine (near Zhytomyr, near Odessa). I had a look at all those sovkhozy, kolkhozy and communes, but I found very few things comforting for the Bolsheviks. I have noticed: the lack of discipline in management, [lack of] planning, practical habits, above all with the management responsible for those independent econ[omic] units; lack of appropriate stock, and where it was appropriate its numbers were not; lack of trust among the peasants and mutual understanding between the very members of those econ[omic] organizations. In any case, the Bolshevik advertising on their modernizing construction and restructuring of villages and dwellings based on new principles does not reflect the truth. Too many theoretical concepts, both in regard to a general assessment of a given issue as well as statistical data. It seems to me – he continues – that all those ideas of collectivism are better applied in the central and northern regions of Russia than here in Ukraine, although back there things also look chaotic. I have information that many collectives, see the older people, and particularly women, leave, claiming: »Why should we work for younger women who, on top of that, have children? The work in the collective, they say, is of no benefit to us under such conditions and with such division of labor.«”

With a dose of indignation, he talked of criminal wastefulness of the managing organs as regards the crops and grain storage. He gave concrete examples of events he himself witnessed – of the methods of unloading and storing crops, as well as grain and potatoes taken from peasants by force.

He also talked of his conversation with a communist from the Volga Region. He took this communist, in his own view, for a decent man. This decent communist told him the following: “Please imagine, Mr. Consul, the following situation in which a party member finds himself: you are delegated every so often to the countryside in order to carry out a propaganda effort explaining the *khlebozagotovka*<sup>1</sup> and the establishment of collective farms. And now you have this general meeting in a large village. You step out and start explaining, talking of all the benefits and advantages arising from the collective farms. They listen or do not. You’re done. Then a peasant activist (or: »Kulak«) steps out and proves to you and to all, referring to numbers, the difference between the benefits of an individual farm as compared to the Soviet collective farm. It often ends with your entire elo-

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<sup>1</sup> The purchasing of grain by the state administration.



quence being of no value to anyone and in effect you are personally responsible for not showing enough of initiative in your work. As a result, you are left waiting for the first purge to be swept away by a shameful broom. It is better to anticipate it and leave of your own will (the true face of a decent communist).

With indignation and distaste he told me of the following cases:

a) Near Odessa, in one of the German colonies, the communists were abusing a certain widow who had three little children. What could have been taken away from her based on the <sup>a-</sup>general-Kulak principles<sup>a</sup> had been taken. The remains have been spitefully stolen – partially through self-taxation, partially when her property was registered – with the help of Bolshevik agents. The scoundrels did not rest satisfied until they had driven the aforementioned widow to utter poverty. This endless abuse of a defenseless woman had such consequence that, driven into desperation, the mother went into the forest and first hanged her children and then herself. And this was not – from what they have said – the only such case. Such scandalous occurrences are numerous. “And all this is done in the name of carrying out the modernizing line and the tactics of the mad Bolshevik despot (STALIN) with his slave-minded and uncritically devoted band of thieves of national wealth.” It was with such a pacifist attitude, Christian and altruist feelings, that he ended his tale.

<sup>b-</sup>Note<sup>b</sup>: I mention all those details in order to express the most complete and thorough picture as to the character, form and essence of our conversation.

b) “It was on the 24<sup>th</sup> – either September or October – when I was visited, here in this very office, by a German colonist (German citizen) with a complaint against unbearable oppression and persecution by the local authorities, asking if I could possibly help him. When that German returned back to his home on the 25<sup>th</sup>, he had been completely robbed. In a single day he has lost all of his belongings. For what reason? For the alleged delay in repaying the money owed (fines) and for unwillingness to join a collective farm.”

He concluded this story with the following remark: “They still know little, too little, in West[ern] Europe about the real state of affairs in today’s Soviet countryside.”

c) He continues: “From the whole variety of scandalous facts I would like to mention yet another one. This scene took place in one of the villages in the Odessa territories. It was a man and his wife who were the objects of abuse. The man, found guilty under to Bolshevik law, was forced into an empty barrel which was then closed and dropped from a hill. This was to state that this is the way the communists fight foreign element and the enemies of Soviet rule.

The wife of the ill-fated man was treated no better. They took her into the forest, found an enormous ant-hill and, threatening to beat her, forced her to sit naked on it. So greatly unbelievable are the means of introducing socialism, means which were perhaps used in the Middle Ages, and if so, rather rarely.”

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

It was with great indignation and fury that he told me of the hardships of 6,000 German colonists in Moscow trying to emigrate from the Bolshevik Fatherland to Canada. For over a month, those German colonists had been waiting for permission to leave. A number of them came from Siberia, the areas around Semipalatinsk and Chelyabinsk, as well as the Volga region. They were given the opportunity to sell all their belongings and leave for America via Riga. Now it appears that the permit was valuable only as far as Moscow, where a whole range of new requirements were imposed, the fulfillment of which was a prerequisite for continuing the journey. Those requirements included a fee of 220 r[ubles] for issuing a foreign passport. In short, the demands set on the emigrating Germans have gone beyond their means. Apart from all that, the Bolshevik central authorities imposed a strict deadline for the emigrants. The persons who had not left the borders of the [Soviet] Union by that deadline would be deported back to the place of their prior residence. The situation – from what he said – was truly horrible. If help from the outside did not arrive in time, the aforementioned emigrants would find themselves at a dead-end.

From what he told me, the German Representation in Moscow had taken proper steps on that matter. There was the option of Germany paying the sums demanded by the Bolsheviks (buyout) in order to retrieve a large group of excellent and outstanding agricultural specialists from under the communist yoke. “Yes, this shameful deed will not benefit the Soviets. It is a shame of the worst kind, bordering on cynicism.”

Later, in a naturally appropriate form, the following questions have been put forth: “Do you think that the remaining German colonists from southern Ukraine, the areas around Khortytsia, Melitopol, Orekhov, Berdyansk and oth[er places], would be capable of spreading western culture in case of a change of the present system? Don’t you think that Russification and Bolshevik proletarianization of those already not entirely true Germans can bring harmful results? Would it not be better, from that very perspective, to turn to all available means to support the emigration of those German colonists from the Sov[iet] Union? It seems to me, that under today’s conditions, it would be entirely proper and [carried out] in due time to spare no efforts in supporting the emigration tendencies.”

As far as those 6,000 people are concerned, he also said something to the point: “From the information I have received, it is clear that the escape of 6,000 peasants is only the beginning of mass departures of German colonists from the Sov[iet] Union, due to unfavorable conditions for individual farms.”

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 38, pp. 111–112.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 8

**20 April 1930, Myrhorod. A letter by a member of AUCP(b), Ivan Slinko, regarding mistaken party policies, addressed to the Chairman of VTsIK, Mikhail Kalinin**

<sup>a</sup>-Enclosure<sup>a</sup> no. 7

Com. KALININ

Respond to my letter through a newspaper article.

To justify its clumsy mistakes, the CC of Bolshevik bureaucracy is searching for a way out and wants to cover up its mistakes at all costs, [throwing] the collectives some shameful scraps, etc., and the government listlessly executes the will of the monarch STALIN. Can a unified collectivism be build on shameful scraps and repression against the peasants? What advantage and what benefits for the state will come with the Stalinist collectives if you exempt the collectives from almost all taxes, moving the main burden onto the average individual? It is a different matter with mass-scale crediting of the collectives, and now, when the revenues from farms are falling, it is complete rubbish.

Our task is to organize a large collective farm in order to achieve the maximum benefits and product surplus for the state, not losses. The collectives built according to Stalinist principles can only bring in loss, and the Leninist collectives, built on technical fundamentals, will gradually and voluntarily bring in significant profits for the state.

Did LENIN intend to build united collectivism on nags and oxen? No, he did not. He strived for and taught that collectivism needs to be built using tractors and electricity, gradually and wisely, as the cultural level of the peasants rises, reaching the level of, let us say, the German peasant, voluntarily, at the initiative of the peasantry itself, under our management. Only then will collectivism acquire a real and solid character.

This winter, who was guilty of forced collectivization if not the impostor STALIN, while the guilt was placed on us, the rank and file party activists. This was mean and vile on the part of the CC goofs who thoughtlessly follow the will of the monarch STALIN.

Can unified collectivism be build in four years in a country where five different systems of national economy exist, a country which is still inhibited by savage nationalities for whom it will take decades to bring in the light of education? No, this can not be done.

Can we turn a blind eye to the mass arrests of peasants, even the poorest or those just getting by, even the Red partisans?

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

Never before, under no government, were the prisons as full as they are now. The prison built in Lubny was to serve some 120 prisoners, yet now it has 1,350 per[sons]; Romny, designed for 180, houses 2,000 per[sons]. What do you think, com[rade] KALININ? Is it good? Think and respond. LENIN said: “Strength of the authority – trust of the masses”; and now there is no trust whatsoever. Because of this mistaken policy pursued by the party, I resign and join the ranks of the People’s Revolutionary [Party], with which we will build socialism in our country and win against the dictatorship of the bureaucracy.

Till we meet again, with a socialist greeting,  
true to the socialist idea  
SLINKO Ivan G.

Ukrainian SSR, town of Myrhorod

Long live free work on a free land.  
Death to those who take away the freedom of the working people.

20 April [19]30

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity:<sup>b</sup> (—)

<sup>c</sup>-18 August [19]30<sup>c</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 68068-FP, T. 1, pp. 203–203 v.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Handwritten.*

**No. 9**  
**10 May 1930, Kiev. Fragment of an operational report by the Kiev Okrug**  
**Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding issues**  
**of interest for the German Consul**

3<sup>rd</sup> gr[oup] KR Department

T[op] secret  
10 May [19]30

Ger[man] Con[sulate]

SOMMER expressed his surprise to see me in his consulate: almost all of his acquaintances are afraid to pay visits, since those who visit consulates are being arrested (not long ago two business partners of the pharmacist were arrested).

I told him that I was forced to pay a visit by the hopeless circumstances in which DETERING-SHMIDT found herself, having been seriously abused by the Fin[ancial] Department, which has registered all her belongings as a guarantee for her former husband's debts. It turned out that SOMMER had already written to the Department [of] Foreig[ners] regarding this case, yet the manner of response had outraged him and he intends to pursue the matter no more.

As concerns the German colonists in Ukraine, he considers their situation to be catastrophic since many of the farms had been ruined by the forced collectivization; many of the colonists (Kulaks and middle-size farmers) had been deported, their families left with no home or bread and no way to help them either. The colonists' desire to leave for Germany is great, but he is helpless and can do nothing for them.

SOMMER learned from the Polish Consul that on Poland's northern border there had been cases of mass-crossings by the peasants, but now the border guard has been greatly strengthened and the "gap has been eliminated".

SOMMER is very interested in the food crisis, which most probably is continuously getting worse, and, as can be assumed, will be of catastrophic scale since the villages have been left with nothing (individual farms have been robbed of everything and the kolkhozy can not be expected to deliver any time soon as they lack organization [of labor]); he is also interested in the mechanism of purges by the Sov[iet] apparatus.

[...]

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 38 pp. 162-162 v.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 10

### 4 June 1930, Kharkiv. Report by the Chief of the Counterintelligence Unit of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the information sent from the Turkish and Japanese Consulates to their home MFAs on the unrest in Odessa

Ukrainian SSR  
a-St[ate] Pol[itical] Directorate  
with *Sovnarkom*<sup>a</sup>  
4 June 1930  
No. 81570  
town of a-Kharkiv<sup>a</sup>

a-Copy<sup>a</sup>  
IV Dep[artment] KRO *razn./szp.*  
To no. 370053  
Series “K”

a-Ch[ief] of the Okr[ug] Division of GPU  
Odessa<sup>a</sup>

Regarding the consulates of for[eign states]

From a close secret source, we know that the Turkish and Japanese Consulates in Odessa have informed their respective embassies and min[istries] of for[eign] affairs about the unrest which took place on May 22 of this year and was caused by the food crisis.

In the Turkish report, there is information that a crowd of 6,000 persons, comprising mainly women from the suburbs of Slobodka and Peresyp, plundered a number of state-run grocery stores and a large restaurant located on Deribasovskaya street, and was dispersed by OGPU troops which have also carried out a small number of arrests.

In the Japanese report, the unrest is described in a more intensive language; it noted that a crowd numbering 1,000 persons plundered bazaars, canteens and grocery stores, and that large units of mounted militia have been sent to pacify the unrest.

In conclusion, they point out that despite a prompt pacification of unrest, the general atmosphere in the town remains agitated.

Ch[ief] KRO GPU Ukrainian SSR – DOBRODYTSKY<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Nikolay Dobrodytsky (1899–1942), from March 1924 Chief of the Counterintelligence Unit of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv, from September 1930 Deputy Chief of the Special Unit of Ukrainian MD in Kharkiv, from 25 October 1931 Chief of the Special Div. of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR and Special Div. of Ukrainian MD; in September 1932 moved to the OGPU USSR. Last post (from October 1937): Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. of the NKVD Karaganda camp. Rank: Senior Major of State Security (1935). Died in Karaganda.

<sup>a</sup>Representative<sup>a</sup> KRO – ARKALBALST

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 635, T. 3, p. 48.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 11

### 21 June 1930, n.p.p. Protocol of interrogation of an inhabitant of the village of Gontsy, Vasily Maluta by an officer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR

21 June 1930

interrogated by the senior representative of the SO GPU  
of the Ukrainian SSR, Bieschinsky,  
Maluta Vasily – testified:

I was born in 1904 in the v[illage] of Gontsy in the Lubny Okr[ug], father – a Kulak peasant, before the revolution owner of 40 tithes of land, moreover seasonally renting from three to six tithes from other peasants. Also dealing as a wagoner – signing contracts for the transportation of grain with [grain] purchasing commercial agents.

Following the revolution, all of his land was taken away and our family received the per capita amount of land – seven tithes. From that moment on, I came to consider my father's farm as a middle-sized one.

I attended the village school; upon its completion I went to the higher elementary school and following that, to the seven-year school. In 1920, having completed 7<sup>th</sup> grade, I ended my education due to illness.

In the same year, I began learning the craft of tailoring, at first at home in the v[illage] of Gontsy; later I worked for some time in the town of Lubny.

As part of the draft <sup>a-a</sup>for registrants born in<sup>a</sup> 1904, that is in the year 1926, I began my basic service in the Red Army as a writing apprentice in the Lubny OVK, from which I was transferred to the Kiev warehouse for expl[osive materials] as a senior writing clerk. From the warehouse I was transferred to the Kiev School of Communications.

While stationed in Lubny, I joined the LKSMU, having concealed information as to my social background. In Kiev I joined the AUCP(b), although when I was accepted as a candidate for the party, I again did not say anything about my Kulak background. During my service in the Red Army, I did not break the ties with my family. My father's farm benefited from the exemptions [given to] Red Army members – I would send home the appropriate documents.

In May 1929, I returned to spend my short-term leave in the v[illage] of Gontsy and learned that none of my family had voting rights. At that point, I made the decision that I would not be able to conceal my social background back at school and upon my return from leave, I filed a statement on my Kulak past with the party [center], yet I withheld the information about having no voting right. At the end of June 1929, during a purge in the party, I was excluded from a group of candidates for the AUCP(b) as a son of a Kulak who concealed his social background and

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<sup>a-a</sup> Was: of the year.



constituted an element that is ideologically alien to the party. Some one month after I was excluded from the party, an order arrived calling for my expulsion from the school. Making no appeal to higher party authorities, I then left for my home in the v[illage] of Gontsy.

It was here for the first time that I felt the hard-line approach to Kulaks – not only was I deprived of the opportunity to stay in the party and to finish the school, but I was also excluded from social work in the village and deprived of the right to vote – I thus became somewhat of an outlaw.

I started looking for a solution to the situation in which I found myself. The first thing I should have acquired in my struggle for existence – the right to vote.

Having declared to my father that I would not be able to live with him on one farm, risking remaining “on the margin” – I went to live with an old impoverished peasant, Smietanko Siemion, with whom I remained related only in a formal way. However, my moving in with Smietanko did not help me regain my rights – my request was not favorably met by the voting committee; thus I saw that I was unable to regain my place in the society.

I considered this to be pure bureaucratism and unfounded abuse, typical of the local Soviet authorities.

I was overtaken by anger which turned into anti-Soviet attitude.

It came not only as a result of my personal situation: exclusion from the party, demobilization from the army, deprivation of voting rights, but rather was a result of a whole series of earlier doubts which were revived by the undertakings of the Sov[iet] authorities and the communist party that I could observe in the countryside.

It concerns the following issues:

- a) the campaign of grain purchases – autumn of 1929,
- b) collectivization,
- c) the elimination of Kulaks as a social class.

<sup>b</sup>-*Khlebozagotovka*<sup>b</sup> was carried out with complete disregard for the actual capabilities of all peasants in regard to supplies. Setting the limit for the peasants at 8–10% was not normal since this group, comprising the most wealthy farmers, could not meet the entire burden placed on it in the plan for grain purchases and those farms which in the past would supply great amounts of grain were going bankrupt. This situation had negative consequences for the agriculture as such, since the peasants were losing the incentive to develop.

<sup>b</sup>-Collectivization<sup>b</sup> was carried out strictly by force. Only the initiating group was formed on voluntary basis, while middle-sized farmers were pressured to join the kolkhoz, fearing that similar steps would be undertaken against them as against the Kulaks. Speaking colloquially – the kolkhozy were organized with a stick in the hands of the organizers. I looked at the policy pursued by the party from the following perspective: if you do not join the collective, you will be driven out of the world. Such was the perspective shared by many.

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<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

Regarding this undertaking, that is collectivization, the party had moved from limiting [the influence of] the Kulaks, to <sup>b</sup>eliminating them as a social class<sup>b</sup>.

Yet a mistake was made on this matter. Not even mentioning, that for many, as it was for me, the entire scheme was morally unacceptable – throwing the dekulakized practically out on the street into the freezing weather was a step which, when carried out on a mass scale, was irrational both from the economic and political perspective:

a) Politically, it was irrational because every Kulak, if simple propaganda methods were used, could have been reeducated, turned into a man useful for the society and useful for the building of socialism.

b) The whole undertaking was also irrational from the economic perspective, as it destroyed agricultural enterprise, and the state itself, drawing no profits from dekulakization, lost the benefits it could draw from those who had been dekulakized.

My opinion on the matter is such: there was no need yet to move from the policy of limiting [the influence of] Kulaks to the policy of eliminating them as a social class. Those who were dekulakized should have been given the necessary means of production and the possibility of developing their farms, so that they would become true farmers; then they would give their own produce to the state.

The collectives, on the other hand, should have been developed through assistance given to them by the state and through popularization of their achievements.

<sup>b</sup>Apart from all that, I believe it to be necessary that Kulak kolkhozy should be established on voluntary basis and a campaign of Kulaks' reeducation about collectivization should be undertaken, teaching them about the socialist models of working the land.<sup>b</sup>

It was clear to me that the policies pursued in the countryside, those of the Com[munist] party, are wrong and when I started thinking about it, I came to the conclusion that those mistakes are made because <sup>b</sup>the Communist party, [which is] the only governing party in the country and does not allow any criticism on the part of the whole nation, does not see its own mistakes.

From that a proposition can be drawn, which I support, regarding the legality of all parties in the country with the ruling party not necessarily having to be the Communist party, but rather the one which for a given period has been elected by the entire nation, since in any other case it [would] turn out that we do not have a government by the workers and peasants, but in fact a party dictatorship.<sup>b</sup>

Naturally, my proposition has changed the entire structure of government, as there would be no cases of transferring people to a given post or to social work based solely on party membership, but rather on considering the leadership skills and ability to manage.

<sup>b</sup>Particularly, it would be the countryside which would benefit from this – today it is the so-called activists, who have no authority, that lead and manage the peasants – they are the “people with portfolios”, who do nothing, waste time, set no example of how to manage – and they are entrusted [by the top authorities] the entire responsibility, while an entrepreneurial peasant is not given any managing duties.

Such a state of affairs will naturally not last in the long run. The organs of government should be organized in such a way that once the entire voting system is changed, it is guaranteed that promotion to managerial positions will be offered to people who are respected and trusted by the entire nation – people who know how to manage the economy, who know best how to do it, and not to the time-wasting scoundrels who are so numerous among the activist element<sup>b</sup>.

Thus, before I was enlisted by the People's Revolutionary Socialist Party, my ideological attitude was already shaped so that having read the NRSP program, which I received from Artiukh Nikolay, I joined them with all my will and consciously entered the party ranks, undertaking the work given to me, at first as a simple rank and file member, and later as the member of the reg[ional] bureau (having been elected at a conference in Kholepsy).

Having joined the NRSP, working for this party, I understood and consented to accepting as its members not only those poor and middle-sized farmers, but also those who are of Kulak background.

The fact that I held such a stance resulted from the views on the approach to the Kulaks which I have mentioned above.

<sup>b</sup>The dekulakized, deprived of all means of production, found themselves in an inescapable situation and the only way for them was the path of fighting Sov[iet] rule in the form in which it is pursued today<sup>b</sup>.

The NRSP, having issued its guidelines for defining the Kulak class, maintaining that the Kulaks should be defined not based on the economic performance of the farm, but on the ideology adhered to by its owner, was attractive for the Kulak element which was to be used [in the work] for the good of our common party cause. Naturally, such persons had to conform to the decisions made by the NRSP leadership organs. Such guidelines were presented at the reg[ional] NRSP part[y] conference by the representative of the CC NRSP, Orlik.

Later, when [I carried out] the enlistment for party membership, and particularly for the operational unit, I would often turn to persons coming from Kulak families or of Kulak background in general.

During previous interrogations, I have stated what the work entrusted to me by the NRSP entailed.

The protocol has been accurately drawn up from my statement, in truth with my testimony and read out to me.

(—) V. Maluta<sup>1</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 68068-FP, T. 2, pp. 36–39 v.*  
*Original, handwritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> In a verdict of the Special College of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR from 15 October 1930, Vasily Stepanovich Maluta was sentenced to death by firing squad. The sentence was executed on 5 November 1930 in Kiev.

## No. 12

### 1 July 1930, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the Chief of the Counterintelligence Unit of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement by a representative of the Japanese Consulate

KRO-1 group

Series “K”

<sup>a</sup>From a report of KRO Od[essa] Okr[ug] GPU for the period 1 January – to 1 July [19]30<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief] of the KRO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR – Kharkiv<sup>b</sup>

Concerning the case “Japanese Consulate”

[...]

With SHIMADO’s departure, NOGUCHI has been appointed the Consul’s deputy. [...]

Our informer made a statement to NOGUCHI that in the view of the experts, good harvests are expected and thus the food supplies will improve. NOGUCHI laughed at it and stated that there was nothing to worry about, let the harvests be better and the people will still eat the same “normalized” rationed bread which they were eating last year. The grain surplus will be exported abroad in order to acquire the means for the unfulfilled socialist construction, which at present consumes, at maddening pace, all state assets, giving nothing in return, and which will destroy it at the end if that construction is not stopped in time.

At the informer’s question as to how he sees the explanation offered by com. STALIN regarding the collectivization in the countryside, NOGUCHI stated that there is some truth in those articles, yet the majority of his claims are either dishonest or disregard reality. The government has mobilized all the strengths at its disposal (the party, the Komsomol, the militia) in order to eliminate the Kulaks as a social class, to utterly destroy the individual farms and introduce the communist principles at any price. The newspapers carry out an aggressive attack on the Kulaks daily, while the word “Kulak” is not precisely defined so that in fact a wealthy farmer can be considered a Kulak, but the same goes for someone who owns a cow, a horse and three or four chickens.

NOGUCHI stated that com. STALIN gives proof of his naivety by being surprised that an army of people who are communizing the countryside, who have been sent following a governmental decree, that is by STALIN himself, are taking away the entire property of the peasants who have not signed up for collectivization. Com. STALIN justifies such activities with “dizziness from success”, but

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Handwritten.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

in his, NOGUCHI's, opinion, if the party and Komsomol members suffer from dizziness, it is so not from success but from an unbelievable ruckus and hurrying with threats which they hear everywhere from the leadership at all possible meetings. They know well that inability to implement all-encompassing collectivization, even if carried out against people's will, will have negative consequences for them.

It is a lie, NOGUCHI stated, to declare, as the top organs of the Sov[iet] authority have done, that the local organs have, of their own initiative, forbidden the peasants to sell their products on a private market, confiscating those products and arresting their owners. It is an example of how the mean authorities, not having the courage to claim responsibility for their own orders, are hiding behind the less-important people.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief] Okr[ug] Division<sup>b</sup> GPU  
(—) YEMELYANOV<sup>1</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Chief<sup>b</sup> KRO  
(—) SHOSTAK-SOKOLOV

<sup>b</sup>Senior Representative<sup>b</sup>  
(—) VIEPRINSKY<sup>2</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 418, T. 1, Cz. 3, pp. 658, 663–664, 669.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Aleksandr Yemelyanov, from 1930 Chief of the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU, from 14 September 1931 till 23 May 1933 Chief of the Directorate for GPU Border Security and Military Units, from 23 May 1933 till 10 July 1934 Deputy Chief of this Directorate.

<sup>2</sup> Yosip Vieprinsky (born 1896), from 1929 senior representative of the KRO of the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 1931 Chief of Department in the Kiev Operational Sector of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 1932 Deputy Chief of the Zhytomyr Municipal Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 9 March 1933 Chief of Special Unit of the Chernihiv Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR.

## No. 13

### 26 July 1930, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the Chief of the Counterintelligence Unit of GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding statements by foreigners on the situation in Odessa

<sup>a</sup>-Viepr[insky]-<sup>a</sup>  
KRO-1 group

Series “K”

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief] of the KRO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR – town of Kharkiv<sup>a</sup>

On the reactions of foreigners  
to the events in Odessa

The unrest which took place in recent days in the bazaars in Odessa, and then a partial strike in the hessian factory which was a result of difficulties with supplies, have caused numerous rumors among the foreigners' colonies.

Among the leadership of the Japanese Consulate, statements have been made that, as can be seen, for the Soviet government it is not enough to use physical force in executing and implementing the task of socialist construction because “the government is unable to organize supplies that would give the working class everything it needs.” Cooperatives, as much as the socialization of production, although constituting the necessary leverage for the socialist order, are presently unable to fulfill the most basic needs of the people. There is lack of sufficient number of stores, salesmen and proper management. One of the main mistakes is the almost complete dissolution of private commerce and private initiative, while a private entrepreneur would pose no competition for cooperatives in the Soviet state. He would play a subordinate role, complementing the latter in supplying the people.

Today, when cooperatives are unable to completely fulfill the needs of the people, the role played by the private sector would be particularly beneficial if it was not the object of most comprehensive persecution and repression.”

[...]

The new Consul, TANAKO<sup>1</sup>, having arrived and seeing the queues for bread and food products in Odessa, was utterly surprised by the situation, and when a note from a newspaper was read to him that the harvests and vegetable crops in Ukraine were good, TANAKO stated: “The people will probably not benefit from those good harvests, since with private initiative lacking and those ill attitudes present among the working class, a large part of those harvests will not be collected and valuable food products will be wasted.”

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Bunitaro Tanako (Tanaka), from 26 June 1930 Japanese Consul in Odessa.

The Italian Consul General, TOMASI, is ever more interested in the events which took place in the town, collecting information on the unrest in the bazaars and the strike in the hessian factory, and commenting on them with a claim of weakening authority of the Soviet rule.

According to him, before [19]28, one could think that the government will be capable of escaping a crisis, yet now, with the last failed undertakings relating to collectivization which have aroused strong opposition from the people, it is evident that Soviet authorities cannot cope with the tasks ahead.

The Bolsheviks are losing the remaining trust of the working class and the masses are only now realizing the degree of ruin to which all were driven; wherever one goes, one hears that there is nothing and the people are literally starving.

The efficiency of labor in the kolkhozy is nothing compared to the efficiency of individual farms, and all the individual farmers are often threatened and have absolutely no motivation to develop their farms, which in turn leads to the food crisis that we can now observe.

The Bolshevik party is full of disgusting egoists who are anxious about their own positions and thus do not honestly inform their superiors about the situation in these regions, preferring to paint an optimistic picture.

An Italian by the name of ROGERO, in his own circles, talks about the trains which constantly bring in masses of peasants from the neighboring villages to Odessa. They have been arrested for having set fire to their grain and for the fact that some of them are not willing to walk out into the fields to harvest the crops. ROGERO is delighted with the new fighting methods which the peasants turn to in response to collectivization – sending their wives to all meetings and assemblies for them to take active participation there [while] they attend no such events.

In another conversation, he made similar statements to those made by other employees of the Italian Consulate – that if it was not for the Soviet government, which exports all food products abroad, there would be plenty of everything.

An Italian by the name of VERDI, referring to a conversation about the supply problems, states that the workers do not attend meetings because it is only promises that are made there and nothing given, which he sees to be a sign of the weakening of Soviet authority as well as the loss of influence and trust on the part of the working class.

In the Turkish Consulate, there are daily conversations between the Consul and the Vice-Consul regarding the increase in prices in the Odessa bazaars and lack of products in the CRK shops and *pishchetriesty*<sup>2</sup>. With regard to this, the Turkish officials in the consulate voice numerous unfavorable opinions about “Bolshevik rule”. They continually claim that exporting the food products which are lacking in the USSR, such as sugar or fats by the Bolsheviks can be explained by an enormous crisis which the government is trying to conceal with the aim

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<sup>2</sup> Stores of the Union of Food Industries.

of acquiring hard currency, needed to conduct communist propaganda in such countries as China, India, and others. At the same time, the government forces its own working class and the entire population to starve, disregarding the fact that it is the worst possible propaganda for socialism.

No lesser are [the feelings of] absurdity and anger arising from the supply problems in the Greek colony. And so, in a conversation a Greek woman by the name of PRIMIKIRIO said that she was recently in a house which was also visited by a Russian worker. All present went into endless conversations about the problems with supplies, which are observed in the entire [Soviet] Union, and particularly in Odessa, as well as about the lack of perspectives for improvement. The worker who was present there declared that there was a solution, known to all workers – killing STALIN, who is driving the country to annihilation.

The Greeks coming to the canteen run by the Greek PAPAIOANNIS also had conversations about current affairs – the lack of food on the market and the unrest in the bazaars.

One of the Greeks, referring to the words of his wife who had been present during the unrest in the bazaar, said that one of the women, once the militia arrived at the bazaar, ran up to an officer and screamed at him: “During the time of Nicholas [II] we were shot at for our demands and now you will also shoot at us workers.” The officer responded to that: “You only start the revolution and we will join your ranks and help you with everything.” This promise from the militia was spread over the town, raising the spirits of the gathering crowds.

Commenting on the story told by the worker, the Greeks talk of the impermanence of Soviet rule and discuss the option of leaving the USSR.

We will inform about the attitudes in other colonies.

Chief Odessa Okr[ug] Division GPU  
(—) YEMELYANOV

Chief KRO  
(—) SHOSTAK–SOKOLOV

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 418, T. 1, Cz. 3, pp. 629–633.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*In the top left corner of the document, a rectangular stamp with inscription in Ukrainian and Russian stating: Ukrainian SSR. State Political Directorate. Odessa Okrug Division with the Okr[ug] Ex[ecutive] Com[mittee]. Directorate of the 26<sup>th</sup> Uzhrynychny military division of the GPU. No. 373445. town of Odessa. 26 Jun[e] 1930; next to the stamp a handwritten note: Note concerning Italians, Turks and Greeks was made. (–).*



## No. 14

### 30 July 1930, Odessa. Extract from a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding information obtained by the Japanese Embassy from the Japanese Consulate in Odessa

<sup>a</sup>Extract<sup>a</sup>

from a report by s/s dated 30 July of this year

Being in Moscow, over the course of a conversation with the clerks in the Japanese Embassy, I have learned that the Japanese Consul in Odessa has systematically been informing the embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the difficulties with supplies in Odessa and the related unrest. He informs that despite the food crisis being weakened to a known degree, in the aftermath of the unrest which took place recently, a drastic change can once again be seen since, at the end of July, people were again completely deprived of meat and the workers receive meat only four times a month. The shortage of vegetables is visible as well. In that regard, a mobilization of workers' wives has taken place, who, together with communists and children, have been sent to harvest vegetables. The Consul writes that on an almost daily basis there are cases of people standing in queues and losing consciousness due to hunger. The prices rise constantly and the [bad] situation started to threaten the workers as well.

TANAKO informs that on 24 July in one of the factories 3,000 workers stopped their work, the unrest spreading to other plants as well. Which plants were affected and what were the results of that unrest, I was not told. He did say that the crowd entered one of the districts inhabited by the workers who receive the basic necessities in proper amounts, and plundered the grocery store, hurting the clerks. The exact same attack happened again on 25 July.

TANAKO believes that such excesses will happen more often from now on, but doubts whether they will lead to anything serious. In conclusion, he expressed his opinion that this year the situation on the market is grave enough to compare it to the famine of 1921. As a result, the attitudes among the people are particularly somber.

[...]

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 418, T. 1, Cz. 3, pp. 675–675 v.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

**No. 15**  
**2 April 1931, Vinnytsia. Fragment of an indictment against the alleged**  
**members of the Peasants' Labor Party**

GPU – Ukrainian SSR  
Vinnytsia Operational Sector  
<sup>a</sup>Secret Political Department<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a-b</sup>Top secret<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Indictment<sup>a</sup>

the case against <sup>a</sup>the Podolian saboteur c-r organization operating in agriculture  
(Peasants' Labor Party)<sup>a</sup>

Copy no. ....

town of <sup>a</sup>Vinnytsia<sup>a</sup> 1931

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Approved<sup>b</sup>

Ch[ief] Vinnytsia

Operational Sector<sup>a</sup> GPU of the Ukrainian SSR

GROZNY

2 April 1931

[...]

In October 1930, the Vinnytsia Operational Sector of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR has disclosed and eliminated a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization [comprising] agricultural experts from Podolia.

The roots of the counterrevolutionary activities of this organization reach back to 1923, the year when the Podolian branch of the VAO (All-Ukrainian Agronomic Society) was established, comprising mainly the former employees of the landed gentry, professing ideology alien to the Soviet system.

The fact that the VAO was operating legally was broadly used for c-r activities.

With this aim, the leaders of the VAO remain at managerial posts of the land organs of the form[er] Vinnytsia Guberniya and, sustaining ties between themselves, continue the saboteur activities in the agricultural sector.

Beginning in the period 1927–[19]28, with assistance from the members of the central c-r organization, DOLENKO, VORONIN, KOROTKOV and others, they were organizing saboteur cells in Podolia through the form[er] active members of VAO – GASKONSKY P., PODKUY-MUKHA and others in the former Okrugs of: Tulchin, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia and Proskurov.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

The activities of the regional cells were mainly concerned with <sup>a</sup>-undermining the economic power of the Soviet Union by distorting the key political directives of the party and Soviet authorities in the countryside, directing the development of agriculture towards strengthening individual Kulak farms and preventing the development of the socialist sector in agriculture<sup>a</sup>.

Thereafter, having set the detailed political goals and formally changed the local saboteur cells into TKP centers, their activities are taking a more definite shape, turning towards organized acts of sabotage in all sectors of agriculture: planning, land administration, crediting, machine supplies, etc.

<sup>a</sup>The ultimate goal of the organization is the overthrow of Soviet rule and the establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic<sup>a</sup>.

Aiming to increase the effectiveness of the c-r saboteur activities, the TKP<sup>c</sup> in the Podolia region established links with other c-r organizations: military, veterinary, engineering and technical, as well as others, by having delegated a TKP<sup>c</sup> representative to the United National Political Center.

The abovementioned c-r organizations define [the concepts] and carry out the organization of insurgency cells, while the work on the organization of the insurgency movement also falls with the agronomic organization, as it has direct ties to the Kulak element in the countryside.

The regional cells were directly supervised by members of the All-Ukrainian Central Organization of the TKP<sup>c</sup> in Kharkiv.

[...]

#### <sup>b</sup>I. <sup>a</sup>-Goals and political principles of the organization<sup>a-b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-As its main political fundament, the c-r organization of the Peasants' Labor Party in Podolia aims to strengthen the capitalist private sector in the countryside; in parallel, its goal is to prevent the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

As the ultimate goal of the organization, it has been undertaken to establish a bourgeois democratic republic<sup>a</sup>.

[...]

#### V. <sup>a-b</sup>Decision<sup>b-a</sup>

Based on the above, <sup>d</sup>-to indict<sup>d</sup>:

1) <sup>d</sup>-CHERNIAVSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Stepan Dmitriyevich<sup>a</sup>, [born in] 1878 in Lityn in that raion, son of a clergyman, n/p, married, higher education, Ukrainian, under tsarism – agronomic expert of the Podolia Guberniya, under Petliura – chair[man] of the Podolia Land Office, form[er] chairman of the Podolia branch of the VAO from 1925, h[ead] [of department]: OZU land administration of the Podolia branch of the sugar trust, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

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<sup>c</sup> Was: TPK.

<sup>d-d</sup> Added in wide letter-spacing.

1. He was the leader of a saboteur c-r organization active in agri[culture] in Podolia;

2. Holding a position of responsibility in the land organs, he carried out sabotage in the area of land management and the organization of displacements, farmsteads and [land] distribution;

3. As a representative of the agronomic c-r organization, he was a member of the United National Political Center of Podolia, actively participating in its activities;

4. Following an order from the United [National] Political Center, he carried out work on organizing the insurgency movement,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

2) <sup>d</sup>GASKONSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Pavel Mitrofanovich<sup>a</sup>, [born in] 1893 in the v[illage] of Sofino, in the former Samara Guberniya, son of a wealthy landowner, Russian, higher education, married, participated in NKZ courses in 1927, agronomic expert of the form[er] Tulchin Okr[ug], later as[sistant] to the manager of the Kapustyansk sugar factory, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the TKP saboteur c-r organization, heading the c-r cell in the Tulchin Okrug;

2. Following the directives issued by DOLENKO and VORONIN, he organized the c-r saboteur cell in Tulchin, recruited a zootechnician GASKONSKY Aleksey, planning expert from the Cred[it] Association ZHYGALOVSKY, academic secretary of the *Okrplan* KOSMINSKY and agronomic experts YAKOVETS and YAZHEMSKY;

3. Holding a position in *OkrZU* and serving as an agronomic expert, he intentionally allowed saboteur activities to be carried out by individual members of the c-r cell headed by him as well as personally taking part in undertaking saboteur activities in all sectors of agriculture: planning, crediting, herding, land management, etc.;

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

3) <sup>d</sup>PODKUY-MUKHA<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Yefim Pavlovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1889 in the v[illage] of Podlesne in the Yaltushkovsky Raion, son of a wealthy peasant, Ukrainian, married, higher education, former agronomic expert of a landed property. Under Petliura, chair[man] of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Land Office, f[ormer] secretary of the Podolia branch of the VAO, from 1927 agronomic expert for the Kamianets-Podilskyi Okr[ug], and recently employed with the NKZS of the Ukrainian SSR, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the TKP saboteur c-r organization, heading the c-r cell in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Okrug;

2. Holding the position of agronomic expert for the Okrug, he intentionally allowed saboteur activities to be carried out by individual members of the c-r cell

headed by him, as well as personally taking part in undertaking saboteur activities in all sectors of agriculture,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

4) <sup>d</sup>OLEYNIK<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Ivan Andreyevich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1879 in Studentsy in the Novoushytsky Raion, son of a wealthy pe[as]ant, married, higher education, Ukrainian, form[er] warrant officer of the old army, former agronomic expert of a landed property, from 1921 professor of the Institute of Agri[culture] in Kamianets-Podilskyi, in 1923 was arrested for c-r activity, for the following:

1. He was an active member of the TKP cell in Kamianets-Podilskyi;

2. As a professor of the I[nstitute] of Agri[culture] in Kamianets-Podilskyi, he carried out c-r activities by teaching neo-narodnik concepts during the lectures, which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>not<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

5) <sup>d</sup>ZHYGALOVSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Nikolay Ivanovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1888 in Kiev, son of a (presently) middle-sized farm peasant, Ukrainian, married, higher education, planning expert in the Tulchin Cred[it] Association, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector;

2. Following an order from the head of the Tulchin TKP cell, he recruited the h[ead] of the machine and tractor department of the Tulchin Cred[it] Association – PAVELKO A. M.;

3. Serving as a planning expert in the Tulchin Cred[it] Association, he intentionally directed the financial mechanisms for agriculture towards increasing the wherewithal offered to the individual sector and decreasing the amount of credits for kolkhozy,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

6) <sup>d</sup>MIKLASHEVSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Fiodor Fiodorovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1878 in Stavropol, from nobility, married, higher education, Ukrainian, form[er] warrant officer of the old army, form[er] agronomic expert of a landed property, from 1925 till [19]27 agronomic expert of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Okrug, later instructor with the *Raykooptakhsoyuz* [?] in Kamianets-Podilskyi, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was an active member of a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization in Kamianets-Podilskyi active in agri[culture], which was later formally changed into a TKP cell, heading that cell until 1928, that is until the arrival of PODKUY-MUKHA;

2. He has recruited for the organization the following agronomic experts: LEPENCHUK, KUZEM, KHOMITSKY, LYSKUN and a professor of the I[nstitute] of Agri[culture] in Kamianets-Podilskyi OLEYNIK;

3. Holding the position of agronomic expert for the Kamianets-Podilskyi Okrug, and later instructor with the *Raykooptakhsoyuz* [?] in Kamianets-

-Podilskyi, he carried out saboteur activities in all sectors of agriculture, particularly in chicken breeding,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

7) <sup>d</sup>PAVELKO<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Alfey Mikhailovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1886 in the v[illage] of Prokhorivka in the Zolotonoshsyky Raion, son of clergyman, Ukrainian, married, incomplete higher education, form[er] warrant officer of the old army, form[er] member of USDRP, worked in the Tulchin Cred[it] Association as the h[ead] of the machine and tractor department, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector;

2. Holding the position of the h[ead] of the machine and tractor department in the Tulchin Cred[it] Association, while drafting the 5-year plan and then yearly plans, he intentionally underestimated the [requirement] for modern agri[cultural] equipment needed for the restructuring of the agri[culture], overestimating orders for simple agri[cultural] tools, of which there were plenty in the Okrug (plows, *koritierki* [?], harrows, etc.), which led to a surplus of simple agri[cultural] tools in the spring of 1930,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

8) <sup>d</sup>LEVITSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Nikolay Oriestovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1883 in Kiev, son of an office clerk, Ukrainian, married, higher education, from 1928 till [19]30 academic director of the Experimental Laboratory of the Vinnytsky Raion, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector in the Vinnytsky Raion;

2. Holding the position of the academic director of the Experimental Laboratory of the Vinnytsky Raion, he directed its work towards servicing individual farms, undertaking team experiments, he favored individual, often Kulak farms,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

9) <sup>d</sup>VASIUTYNSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Victor Aleksandrovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1900 in Zatishye st[ation] in the Zakharovetsky Raion, son of a Kulak, Ukrainian, married, higher education, participated in NKZ courses in 1927, from 1926 in the Proskurov OZU of okrug agronomic experts, later a clerk in the Proskurov *Rayplan*, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector in the Proskurov region;

2. Holding the position of okrug agronomic expert, he carried out the saboteur principles of the organization in regard to land management and the establishment of farmsteads, while also using pure variant of seeds which were worthless in the Proskurov region, thus lowering harvests, and in parallel to the economic loss, he created a politically unfavorable situation for the Sov[iet] authorities,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

10) <sup>d</sup>KOROL<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Yefim Ivanovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1895 in the v[illage] of Zvonikha in the Tivrovsky Rai[on], son of a form[er] village policeman, Ukrainian, single, secondary education, under Petliura a writing clerk with the 42<sup>nd</sup> battalion, attended NKZ courses on agri[cultural] org[anization] in 1925, from 1927 an agronomic expert in the Vinnytsia Okrug, recently chair[man] of the Vinnytsia Munic[ipal] Office of OMBIT, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector in the Vinnytsia Okrug;

2. Holding the position of agronomic expert in the Vinnytsia Okrug, when drafting the 5-year plan, he underestimated the scale of collectivization and issued guidelines [in the area] of credits, crop harvesting, cattle herding and oth[ers] directed at strengthening Kulak farms,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

11) <sup>d</sup>KARUSEVICH<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Yosif Yanovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1894 in Siewiersz (Poland), son of an office clerk, Pole, higher education, formerly a representative of the VAO in the Proskurov region, agronomic expert of the Vinnytsia Okrug Land Office, later a clerk in the Vinnytsia *Gosplan*, attended NKZ course in 1926, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Vinnytsia saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agri[cultural] sector;

2. Holding the position of the h[ead] to the Land System Department of *OkrZU*, he intentionally allowed for land management according to the farmstead system in entire communes, resulting in an enormous number of farmsteads, numbering from 70 to 200, being established in the following villages of the Okrug: Chera-pashne, Volodovka, Obodno, and oth[er],

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

12) <sup>d</sup>KOSMINSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Ivan Tikhonovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1891 in the v[illage] of Seliksa in the Penza Gub[erniya], son of a village school teacher, Russian, married, higher education, f[ormerly] member of the AUCP from 1921 till 1924, academic secretary of *Okrplan* in Tulchin, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin saboteur counterrevolutionary TKP cell;

2. Holding the position of the academic secretary of the Tulchin *Okrplan*, he intentionally carried out planning in such a way so as to guarantee the strengthening of the Kulak group's leadership in the countryside, thus disorganizing the planned development of the socialist agricultural sector,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

13) <sup>d</sup>LEPENCHUK<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Aleksandr Konstantynovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1896 in Balyn in the Smotrychevsky Raion, son of a Kulak, married, secondary education,

Ukrainian, raion agronomic expert for the Kupinsky Raion, attended NKZ courses in 1928, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of a saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agri[cultural] sector in the Kamianets-Podilskyi;

2. Holding the position of the raion agronomic expert for the Kupinsky Raion, he carried out saboteur activities in the area of agriculture, following the directives of the regional c-r organization directed towards the increased [development] of individual Kulak farms,

which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully-<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

14) <sup>d</sup>GASKONSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Aleksey Mitrofanovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1899 in the v[illage] of Tagay in the form[er] Ulyanovsk Gub[erniya], son of a wealthy landowner, Russian, married, secondary education, in 1925 attended NKZ zootechnical courses, zootechnician with the Tulchin *OkrZU*, later with the Uman Dairy Association, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin saboteur counterrevolutionary TKP cell;

2. He held the position of zootechnical expert with the *OkrZU*, carrying out saboteur activities in cattle breeding directed towards strengthening the Kulaks, which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>fully-<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

15) <sup>d</sup>YAKOVIETS<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Danil Ignatievich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1902 in the v[illage] of Bachynitsy in the form[er] Mohyliv-Podilskyi Okr[ug], son of a Kulak, Ukrainian, married, higher education, dist[ri]ct agronomic expert for the Mystkovsky Raion, later reg[ional] agronomic expert in Tulchin, father and two brothers deported to the north as Kulaks, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin cell of the saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in the agricultural sector;

2. Holding the position of a rai[on] agronomic expert, and later the okr[ug] agronomic expert, he carried out saboteur activities in the area of planning the land administration, etc., slowing down the growth of the socialist agricultural sector, which is covered by art. 54-10, 54-7 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>partially-<sup>d</sup> guilty<sup>a</sup>.

16) <sup>d</sup>YAZHEMSKY<sup>d</sup> <sup>a</sup>Andrey Vyacheslavovich<sup>a</sup>, born in 1896 in the v[illage] of Berezivka, son of an office clerk, Ukrainian, married, secondary education, attended NKZ courses on agri[cultural] organization in 1928, former rai[on] agronomic expert in Tulchin, was not tried by the court and no investigation was carried out against him for the following:

1. He was a member of the Tulchin cell of the saboteur counterrevolutionary organization active in agri[culture];

2. Following an order from the head of the Tulchin cell, he recruited dist[ri]ct agronomic experts: GRIGOROVICH, MAKSIMCHUK and SATANOVSKY, which is covered by art. 54-7, 54-11 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.



<sup>a</sup>Pleads <sup>d</sup>not <sup>d</sup>guilty<sup>a1</sup>.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>As[sistant] Ch[ief] of Vinnytsia Operational  
Sector GPU and Ch[ief] of Invest[igation] Group<sup>a</sup>  
BZHEZOVSKY

<sup>a</sup>Chief of the Secret Department<sup>a</sup>  
KALINA

<sup>a</sup>S[enior] Representative<sup>a</sup> SO  
SPEKTOR<sup>2</sup>

In conformity with the original:  
S[enior] clerk (—)

[...]

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 107, pp. 1–52.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Yefim Podkuy-Mukha, Pavel Gaskonsky, Fiodor Miklashevsky, Nikolay Zhygalovsky, Stepan Cherniavsky, Danil Yakoviets were arrested on respectively: 5 November 1930, 9 November 1930, 18 December 1930, 20 December 1930, 4 January 1931 (two persons), sentenced on 12 September 1931 by the court troika of the College of OGPU USSR to 5 years' imprisonment (Cherniavsky for 10 years'); rehabilitated in 1960.

Victor Vasutytsky, Yosif Karusevich, Nikolay Levitsky arrested on respectively: 5 November 1930, 23 October 1930, 5 January 1931, sentenced on 14 July 1931 by the court troika of the College of OGPU USSR for 3 years in ITL, freed; rehabilitated in 1997 and 1989.

Yefim Korol and Ivan Kosminsky, arrested on 20 October 1930 and 25 October 1930, in the ruling of the court troika of the College of the OGPU USSR were forbidden to enter Ukraine's border zones, Moscow and Leningrad Oblasts, Dagestan and all regions of the central oblasts, countries and autonomous republics during a period of 5 years; rehabilitated in 1989.

Aleksandr Lepenchuk, arrested on 10 January 1931, sentenced on 14 July 1931 by the court troika of the College of OGPU USSR to 3 years' imprisonment; rehabilitated in 1990.

Andrey Yazhensky, arrested on 10 January 1931, in the ruling by the court troika of the College of OGPU USSR of 14 July 1931, the case was dismissed and Yazhensky freed.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Spektor (1903–1985), from 1920 in the organs of the VChK-GPU, in 1927 assistant to post commander of the 26<sup>th</sup> Border Unit of the GPU in Odessa; from February 1932 operational representative of the Special Unit of the GPU for the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, later until July 1934 Chief of the SPO Dept. of the GPU Div. for the Odessa Oblast; from 15 July 1934 till 1935 Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dept. (later 4<sup>th</sup> Dept.) SPO UGB UNKVD for the Kharkiv Oblast; from October 1937 Deputy Chief of the UGB UNKVD for the Kharkiv Oblast; from April 1938 temporary Chief ad interim of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 26 May 1938 temporary Deputy Chief ad interim of the UNKVD for the Kiev Oblast; from July till August 1938 Chief of the 7<sup>th</sup> Div. 2<sup>nd</sup> Directorate the NKVD USSR; from December 1941 Chief of the Special Div. Northern Fleet; from September 1942 till 1943 Deputy Chief of the Special Div. 2<sup>nd</sup> Reserve Army; from October 1944 Chief of dept. and special group of inspectors in the secretariat of the NKGB USSR.

## No. 16

### 15 February 1932, Kharkiv. Report sent to Section II of the Main Staff regarding food shortages in the Zinovievsk Region

Region of Zinovievsk<sup>1</sup>

The economy of the countryside is in a catastrophic state. V[ery]<sup>a</sup> many farms have been collectiv[iz]ed, yet the collectives have nothing but small stocks of barley. They have nothing to feed to the cattle, they give horses to the peasants, who in turn, also having nothing to feed themselves with, are closing their homes and abandoning their cottages.

In the town of Zinovievsk, barley bread is distributed in return for coupons; wheat and rye have been transported away. The husband of the informer and their four children (youngest daughter 12 years old) receive coupons for 1¼ kg of barley bread per day. The informer herself arrived in Kh[ark]iv and for a couple of m[onth]s now has been living with her daughter, a communist employed with “Traktorstroy”<sup>2</sup>. She showed a letter in which her children from Zinovievsk ask that she only bring bread from Kh[ark]iv, nothing else.

Jadwiga Walczak<sup>b</sup>

15 February [19]32  
(—)

“W”

5/III (—)

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-35, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner added in handwriting: aa “Z”. Text written on both sides of a small piece of paper.*

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<sup>a</sup> *Crossed-out: much.*

<sup>b</sup> *First name and surname in a box.*

<sup>1</sup> Old name Yelisavetgrad, from 1929 Zinovievsk, presently Kirovohrad.

<sup>2</sup> Kharkiv Tractor Plant of S. Ordzhonikidze. The construction started in 1930, the production in 1931. Officially it first assembled wheeled tractors and from 1937 caterpillar type. According to the information passed from the Polish Consulate in Kharkiv to Sect. II of the Main Staff, it housed a military department guarded by the GPU which produced, among others, light and middle-sized machine guns of American type, as well as bottom carriages for 77 (?) mm Russian field guns. According to the informers of the Polish Consulate, the temporary ban on visits to the factory in the first half of 1932 (“Misklit” no. 524 from 13 January 1932) was a result of the intensified war production at the time.

## No. 17

### 1 March 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the activities of the German Consulate

<sup>a</sup>-Ukrainian SSR  
State Political Directorate  
Kiev Operational Sector  
Date ..... 193.....  
No. ....<sup>a</sup>

OO Gr[oup] 1 R/szp  
T[op] secret  
Series "K"

Town of <sup>b</sup>-Kiev<sup>b</sup>  
86390

To  
<sup>b</sup>-Chair[man]-<sup>b</sup> GPU Ukrainian SSR com. REDENS<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Ch[ief]-<sup>b</sup> SOU GPU Ukrainian SSR c. LEONIUK<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Ch[ief]-<sup>b</sup> OO U[krainian] MD and GPU Ukrainian SSR  
c. DOBRODYTSKY  
town of Kharkiv

<sup>b</sup>-Report

regarding the German Consulate for the period from<sup>b</sup> 1 January to 1 March 1932

The countryside, as before, is one of the primary interests for the German Consulate. Much attention is devoted to the campaign in the countryside in

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Letterhead text in Ukrainian and Russian.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> Stanislav Redens (1892–1940), from 1918 with the VChK, from February 1920 till July 1921 Chairman of the VChK in Guberniyas of Odessa, Kharkiv, Crimea; from 12 July 1921 till 11 September 1922 deputy Chief, Chief of the Administrative and Organizational Directorate of the VChK-GPU; from 11 September 1922 till 25 April 1923 Chief of the Crimea Okrug Division of the GPU; from 25 April 1923 till 9 June 1924 Chairman of the GPU of the Crimean ASSR; from 5 May 1924 till 9 June 1924 Chief of the Special Division of the Black Sea Fleet; from 10 November 1928 till May 1931 representative of the OGPU TSFSR, later Chairman of the Transcaucasian GPU; from 17 May 1931 till 25 July 1931 representative of the GPU of the Belarusian MD/Chairman of the GPU BSSR; from 25 July 1931 till 20 February 1933 representative of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR/Chairman of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 20 February 1933 till 10 July 1934 representative of the OGPU of the Moscow Oblast; from 15 July 1934 till 20 January 1938 Chief of the UNKVD for the Moscow Oblast; from 20 January till 22 November 1938 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR. Arrested on 22 November 1938, sentenced to death on 21 January 1940; shot on 12 February 1940, rehabilitated on 16 November 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Foma Leoniuk (1892–1967), from 1918 with the VChK; from 21 July 1928 till 1 October 1930 Chief of the Dnipropetrovsk Okrug Division of the GPU; from 1 October 1930 till October 1931 Chief of the Dnipropetrovsk Operational Sector of the GPU; from October 1931 till 22 April 1932 Chief of the Secret Operational Directorate OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 22 April 1932 till March 1933 Deputy Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from March 1933 till 10 July 1934 Chief of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU; from 15 July 1934 till 20 March 1935 Chief of the UNKVD of the Odessa Oblast; from 20 March 1935 till 9 January 1937 Chief of the UNKVD of the Kuybyshev Oblast. Last post (21 April 1954 – 1 May 1954) – Deputy Chief of the Children's Educational Labor Camps Division of the MVD USSR. General Major 9 July 1945, deprived of military rank on 2 August 1957.

general, and particularly to the activities of the Soviet apparatus in the Ger[man] colonies, the situation in the kolkhozy, and the economic conditions of the colonists. The interests also concentrate on relevant issues which are connected to the activities undertaken by Soviet authorities in the countryside.

With the system used in the consulate, all this information is acquired both by SOMMER personally, in his office, without third persons, by receiving it from permanent informers and in rare cases, from random supplicants, as well as [gathered] by individual employees at his request.

According to the information acquired from the source [...], an employee of the consulate, STRESE<sup>3</sup>, at SOMMER's request, also has "personal conversations" with supplicants in the waiting hall, enquiring about their attitudes, touching on issues of interest to the consulate, from which, at the end of the day, he prepares *memoranda*<sup>4</sup> for SOMMER.

Thus, the consulate is very well informed about the situation in the countryside, and in some cases, on the most important issues it tries moreover – for better reliability – to acquire concrete data and to file reports from the information collected.

As has been reported by the informer [...], in a conversation with him, the Consul raised several issues regarding the countryside, and having received oral information, subtly requested [...], that he presents it in a written form. The same has taken place with the colonist RISTAU who has provided information about the Kulaks which might have been received abroad with suspicion and seen as an overstatement.

The consulate treats its informers well, trying to reward each one in some way, turning to, when necessary, different forms of expressing gratitude. Thus, for example, in the case of its permanent informers, TANENBERG and KUMERFELD (we have informed the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR about them in detail in the annual report), who are not salaried, as reported by the source [...], SOMMER has given them theatre tickets purchased specially for their families. [...]

Gathering information about the grain purchasing campaign, SOMMER had an inhabitant of the Sorochyntsi colony in the Pulinsky Raion involved in this undertaking – a Baptist preacher, VESSEL, about whom we have already reported as an informer of the German Consulate, first in Odessa and later in Kiev. [...] VESSEL delivered information that "in the countryside, communist brigades for *khlebozagotovka* have been formed, arriving one after the other in short time intervals, and what the former barbarians were unable to take away, the next ones will." VESSEL compared *khlebozagotovki* in the Ger[man] colonies to Japanese aggression on China, noting however that the difference lies in the fact that the Chinese are dying with guns in their hands, while the Germans in the colonies do not have such option, as they are unarmed, while individual attempts at military resistance have brought fear-striking marks of the Revolution's sword. He refers

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<sup>3</sup> Georg Strese, receptionist at the German Consulate in Kiev, teacher by profession.

<sup>4</sup> Here: excerpts.

to all members of the brigades as monsters who are untouched by begging mothers and starving children.

Another informer, an inhabitant of the Lidovka colony in the Malynsky R[ai]on, not only confirmed the brigade system used in the process of confiscating surplus grain, but also added that it is peasants' property in general that is being confiscated there, and to prove the fact, he brought a group statement signed by the Germans from the Lidovka colony, which, as far as our source [...] could see, included information on the discussions of that matter among the colonists. SOMMER has warned this informer [...] against the risks associated with group discussions on such matters, which under the most favorable scenario might bring repression.

Upon his visit to the consulate in the second half of February this year, an inhabitant of the village of Vladimirovka, in the Malynsky Raion, SHULTS Alde, passed on information regarding the situation in the kolkhoz and the good crops; he also spoke of the difficult conditions which many of the kolkhoz members have to bear.

The same information was collected by SOMMER from the Okolkovsky national *sielsoviet* in the Cherniakhivsky Raion, from a supplicant, GLAUBITS Asaf, an inhabitant of the v[illage] of Ivanychi in the Cherniakhivsky Raion; the latter spoke only about kolkhozy run by national [minorities] and about crops.

The consulate always makes references to the expulsion of Kulaks as a matter closely related to the establishment of kolkhozy. About information regarding this issue and passed by the informer, KANIETSKA Avgust<sup>5</sup>, we have already reported in detail. Now it has been discovered that a wide range of materials has been presented by a German – a Kulak from the village of Fedorivka in the Volodarsky Raion, RISTAU Eduard (Erich), who in 1930 was subject to displacement as a Kulak, yet managed to go into hiding, while his entire family was deported and now lives in Minusinsk. RISTAU himself had probably visited them privately and upon his return presented a report to the consulate on the living conditions of those who have been deported, implicitly underlining all negative issues (housing conditions, food, mortality rate, etc.). This information has been taken down by SOMMER and later used in a four to five p[age] report for the German embassy in Moscow, as well as in a number of biased articles published in the German press abroad. During RISTAU's visit to the consulate on 17 February this year, SOMMER, once again taking an interest in the materials concerning this issue, questioned RISTAU about persons who would be able to supply additional information on issues of interest to him. RISTAU offered two or three names, of which our source managed to remember one, GNAYZER, who most probably is also an inhabitant of the v[illage] of Fedorivka. SOMMER has written those names down in his notebook.

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<sup>5</sup> Avgust Kanietska, inhabitant of the village of Olshevka in the Volodarsky Raion in the Kiev Oblast.

The personnel of the Soviet apparatus in the ethnic raions and in *sielsoviets* is composed of Germans with pro-communist inclination. Their work drew particular attention from the consulate, and the materials on that subject are collected from nearly all informers of the consulate.

VESSEL (Baptist preacher), who is well-known to you, during his visit to the consulate in February this year passed on information regarding German communists and their activities in the Pulinsky Raion. The same information was supplied regarding the colonies of Rogovka and Solodyri by a different informer, TSELMAN Avgust.

The latter, visiting the consulate in the second half of January of this year with an inhabitant of his village, a German by the name DRIKHEL Nataniel, passed on information regarding the activities of the German colonists, as well as discrediting materials on one of them by the name of OSTER, about whom SOMMER commented on in the presence of our source [...]: "OSTER will soon fall into our hands." The German intelligence probably seeks out similar cases, aiming to recruit the people it needs.

The information regarding the Soviet apparatus in the Volodarsky Raion has been given by a German, MILKE Albert, an inhabitant of the Fedorivka colony, who provided a list of communists and officials. He has supplied a number of names, from which we know NEYMAN Emil, member of the Volodarsky RIK. Recently, SOMMER has been interested in the correspondents of the German newspaper in Pulina, gathering information from the supplicants regarding the authors of the published articles.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-Chief of the Kiev Oblast Division<sup>b</sup> GPU Ukrainian SSR  
(—) ROZANOV<sup>6</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-D[eputy] C[hief]<sup>b</sup> KOO GPU  
(—) KAMINSKY<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Aleksandr Rozanov, actually Abram Rozenbardt (born 1896), from 1918 with the VChK, from September 1921 Deputy Chairman of the ChK in the Poltava Guberniya; from July 1922 Chief of the Secret Operational Unit and Deputy Chief of the Chernihiv Guberniya Division of the GPU; from 1924 Chief of DTO GPU Yekaterynoslav Railway; from January 1925 Deputy Chief of the Donetsk Guberniya Division of the GPU; from July 1925 Chief of the Stalino Oblast Division of the GPU; from 1928 Chief of the Mykolaiv Okrug Division of the GPU and Chief of Special Department of the 15<sup>th</sup> Division; from October 1930 Chief of the Poltava Operational Sector of the GPU; from December 1931 till February 1932 Chief of the Kiev Operational Sector with the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU; from July 1934 Chief of the UNKVD of the Kiev Oblast; from March 1935 Chief of the UNKVD of the Odessa Oblast; from June 1937 Chief of the UNKVD of the Voronezh Oblast. Arrested on 11 July 1937 in Odessa, sentenced to death on 7 September 1937, shot on 8 September 1937; rehabilitated.

<sup>7</sup> Yakov Kaminsky (born 1891), from 1921 with the VChK, in the ChK of the Mykolaiv Guberniya; from 6 January 1921 till 18 January 1923 in the Mykolaiv Guberniya Division of the GPU; from 1923 Chief of the Secret Department in the Secret Operational Unit of the Odessa Guberniya Division of the GPU; from 1924 assistant to Chief of Secret Department in the Secret Operational Unit of the Kiev Guberniya Division of the GPU, assistant to Chief of the Kamianets border detachment of the operational

<sup>b</sup>P [?] Ch[ief] Special Division<sup>b</sup>  
(—) ORLOVSKY

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 40, pp. 167–173.*  
*Original, typewritten on letterhead.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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unit; from 15 September 1926 till 1930 Chief of the Tulchin, Proskurov and Korosten Okrug divisions of the GPU; from 1930 assistant to Chief of the Odessa Okrug Division of Odessa Operational Sector of the GPU; from 27 February 1933 Chief of the Special Unit and assistant to Chief of the Odessa Oblast Division, Odessa Operational Sector of the GPU; from 11 July 1934 Chief of the Odessa Oblast UNKVD; from 28 August 1934 Deputy Chief of the Kharkiv Oblast UNKVD; from 17 March 1937 Deputy Chief of the RKM Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 17 July 1937 Chief of the RKM Directorate NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR. Arrested on 9 March 1938, sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment on 23 November 1939, released from camp on 24 March 1947. Arrested for the second time on 26 January 1949, sentenced to obligatory deportation to Kazakhstan on 27 April 1949; rehabilitated.

**No. 18**  
**8 March 1932, Stanyslaviv. Transcript of the “Junak” periodical  
from January 1932 confiscated by the Polish State Police**

Stanyslaviv Voivodeship Office  
No. BB T. 50/14  
“Junak” no. 1, January 1932

Stanyslaviv, 8 March 1932

For distribution  
Enclosed for information is one copy of the transcript of “Junak” no. 1, dated  
January 1932.

For Voivode:  
(—) Kułakowski<sup>1</sup>  
rep. Chief of Department

Sent to:  
Voivodes of Lviv, Ternopil, Lublin and Lutsk  
Commanders of VI Military District Indep[endent] Inf[ormation] Dep[artment]  
Lviv  
Przemyśl

Attorney with the Reg[ional] Court in Stanyslaviv,  
Stryi and Kolomyia

[Enclosure]

<sup>a-</sup>Transcript<sup>a</sup>

January 1932

<sup>a-</sup>Junak

Published by the Subprefecture of the Land Executive  
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists<sup>2</sup> on the West-Ukrainian territories  
copyright exclusively for the command of Junak groups<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Franciszek Kułakowski, in 1935 head ad interim of the Political Matters and Security Div. in the Social and Political Dept. of the Voivodeship Office in Stanyslaviv; in the years 1936–1938 head of the Political and Ethnic Div. in the Social and Political Dept. of the Voivodeship Office in Stanyslaviv; in 1939 District Governor ad interim in Dolyna.

<sup>2</sup> Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) – an organization established in Vienna in 1929 with the aim of undertaking the struggle for a unified and independent Ukrainian statehood; under the inter-war Poland, OUN was operating illegally, carrying out, among other things, terrorist activities; Chairman of the Ukrainian nationalists’ leadership was, until 1938, Yevhen Konovalets; after his death Andrey Melnyk took over; in 1940 there was a split in the OUN, leading to the establishment of two OUN organizations – one headed by Stepan Bandera, the other by Andrey Melnyk.



[...]

<sup>a</sup>Political review on Dnieper Ukraine<sup>a</sup>

Through terrible repression, the Bolshevik government has taken [away] the last grain [se]eds from the now starving Ukrainian peasants. The continued anti-Ukrainian policies of the Bolshevik authorities now [...] have been tightened. A number of persons suspected of supporting Ukrainian separatism have been imprisoned, deported to Solovki or shot. Here and there, one observes spontaneous local (for now) protests of the Ukrainian peasants, a clear indication that the fighting spirit, the struggle for power is increasing, growing.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 965, pp. 9–10 v.*

*Copy (original cover letter), typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian (cover letter in Polish).*

*In the top right corner of the first page, two illegible notes.*

**No. 19**  
**9 March 1932, Brest-on-the-Bug. Fragment of a report by the Polesia**  
**Voivode for February 1932 regarding illegal border crossings**

<sup>a</sup>-Polesia Voivode<sup>a</sup>

No. BP 14

<sup>b</sup>-Brest-on-the-Bug, 9 March 1932<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Situation report<sup>a</sup> no. 2

<sup>b</sup>-for <sup>c</sup>February<sup>c</sup> 1932<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Border issues<sup>b</sup>

In the reporting period, we have observed a slight increase in the illegal migration movement to the USSR. Those escaping are usually persons suspected of subversive or criminal activities, but also persons who have relatives in Russia, through whom they hope<sup>d</sup> to acquire job position in the industrial plants there. The migration movement in each district is as follows:

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-Luninets<sup>b</sup> [district]: in the reporting period, nine persons have escaped to the USSR from the Luninets district. Among the persons who have crossed the border to the USSR in the past reporting periods, Soviet authorities have deported five back to Poland, of whom [three] came from the Luninets dist[ri]ct, one [from] the Sarny and one [from] the Pinsk district.

On 19 February this year, KOP<sup>1</sup> has detained a Soviet citizen, Kipeć Konstanty, who escaped into Poland, allegedly due to collectivization in the USSR. The aforementioned has been arrested based on a decision of the Luninets district governor, later to be deported back into the USSR. Kipeć, fearing punishment from the Soviet authorities, attempted to commit suicide by hanging during his detention.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 960, pp. 55 v.–56.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>d</sup> *A hardly legible word added in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Border Protection Corps (KOP) – military formation established on 12 September 1924, whose purpose was to protect the eastern border of the inter-war Poland (with USSR, Latvia and Lithuania), later also the southern border (with Romania, Hungary, and finally with Slovakia); in 1938 it numbered some 30 thousand soldiers, recruited mainly in the western voivodeships of Poland, as regards personnel, organizational and training matters, it was subordinate to the Ministry of the Military, as regards financing and border security, it was subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, and from 1938 also to the General Inspector of the Armed Forces (intelligence and tasks in the future war).

**No. 20**  
**25 March 1932, Simferopol. PP OGPU Crimea guidelines on preventing  
abuse during confiscation of foreign currency**

WK/24

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-To all organs of the Crimean GPU<sup>a</sup>  
Exclusively .....

In their activities, the organs of the OGPU encounter a growing number of cases dealing with the confiscation of fo[reign] currency from persons receiving money orders. The local organs of the GPU have arrested persons to whose address valuable transfers of fo[reign] currency have been made from our credit institutions and sent to the USSR through foreign banks. Currency receipts for money orders have been taken away from such persons who were then released, having had their money confiscated without any compensation.

Above that, in the work of our organs and of the militia, there have been cases of arresting persons who have purchased goods in the *Torgsin*<sup>1</sup> shops and the purchased goods being confiscated.

Similar practices, that is of confiscating fo[reign] currency from persons receiving money orders and of confiscating goods purchased by them, have become known both to relatives living abroad and sending money orders in fo[reign] currency as well as to foreign banks, through which such money orders are being sent, and which are in contact with our banks regarding the execution of mutual orders.

Fo[reign] banks are filing enquiries and complaints from persons sending money orders, pointing out that in the USSR, the fo[reign] currencies transferred through Soviet banks are being taken away from the proper addressees of the money orders.

As a result of such practice of confiscating hard-currency and goods purchased (with hard-currency) in *Torgsin* shops, there has been a significant decrease in the amount of fo[reign] currency transferred from abroad to the USSR through individual money orders, accompanied by an intensification of an anti-Soviet campaign for limiting fo[reign] currency transfers to the USSR.

The foreign press, referring to the information received from foreign clients regarding the arrests of their relatives who have purchased goods in the *Torgsin* Union, has already initiated a campaign aimed at discrediting the authority of the *Torgsin*.

The Latvian press has published information on the GPU arresting the persons who receive fo[reign] currency orders from abroad.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> See: Introduction, p. 40.

Such situation is particularly harmful, as it effects fo[reign] currency payments for goods, resulting in serious material loss in the activities of the *Torgsin*, disrupting the execution of its currency plan.

Taking into account that the confiscation of [foreign] currency from persons receiving money transfers is condemnable and harmful, whilst warning the Crimean GPU organs against similar activities, the PP OGPU Crimea <sup>a</sup>-recommends:<sup>a</sup>

1) Under no circumstances to allow for the arrests of persons receiving fo[reign] currency from abroad or to confiscate the goods purchased through the *Torgsin* Union.

2) Operational investigation of persons receiving money orders to be conducted only when there is substantial suspicion of criminal speculation regarding currency or goods at higher prices, and arrests to be carried out only when caught red-handed conducting a transaction.

„<sup>b</sup>-25-<sup>b</sup>” March 1932  
No. ....

PP OGPU Crimea  
(—) SALYN<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKO PP OGPU  
(—) DASHEVSKY

c. Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 329.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Salyn (1894–1938), from 23 January 1930 OGPU representative for the Crimean ASSR, from 15 July 1934 the Chief of the UNKVD for the Crimean ASSR, from 17 December 1934 the NKVD Chief in the Omsk Oblast. Arrested on 10 August 1937, sentenced to death by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR on 28 August 1938, shot; rehabilitated.

## No. 21

### 4 April 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the “Druzag” Russo-German stock trust

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division<sup>a</sup> GPU  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
4 April [19]32

BERNDT, during a conversation he had with STERN, stated as follows:

[...]

2) The undertakings of the licensed [“Druzag” cartel]<sup>1</sup> are extremely profitable since [the cartel] has the right to the free sale of part of the products at market prices. Taking into account the good crops which the [cartel] managed to obtain and the high market prices, [the profitability] is huge, and for that reason, as B[ERNDT] says, taxes are no threat [for the cartel]. According to him, the productivity per hectare came up to 250 poods.

Even if it falls far from the truth and BERNDT has overstated the crop, which approached only 100 p[oods], taking into account the flour prices – 70 rub[les] and productivity of flour – 50%, we would nevertheless arrive at a profit per tithes of 3,500 rub[les].

Before, ..... war profitability ..... <sup>b</sup>-with such crops, that is 100 rub[les]<sup>b</sup>, and the average price of wheat ranging from 1 rub[le] to 1 rub[le] 10 kopeks for every pood, would yield 100–110 rub[les], thus the present day profitability of “Druzag” from each hectare is 35 times higher than before the war, which does not correspond to the slow depreciation of the rouble.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 380-T, p. 89.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> As in the original. Should be: poods.

<sup>1</sup> The Russian-German stock trust “Druzag”.

**No. 22**  
**19 April 1932, Brest-on-the-Bug. Fragment of a report by the Polesia**  
**Voivode for March 1932 regarding illegal border crossings**

<sup>a</sup>-Polesia <sup>b</sup>-Voivode<sup>-b-a</sup>

No. BP 14

Brest-on-the-Bug, 19 April 1932

<sup>c-a</sup>Situation report<sup>a</sup> no. 3  
for March 1932<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a-c</sup>Border issues<sup>-c-a</sup>

In the area of border issues during the reporting period, no significant changes have taken place. The illegal migrations of people across the Polish-Soviet border continues, although on a slightly smaller scale than previously.

The number of illegal emigrants from Poland to the USSR still exceeds the number of those escaping from Russia to Poland and is as follows:

[...]

Four persons have arrived illegally from the USSR to Poland, of whom one was deported back as there were reasons to believe that this person came for intelligence-gathering purposes.

From the testimonies and stories told by the Soviet escapees and Polish citizens returning from the USSR, it seems clear that Russia has been stricken by hunger which is particularly menacing among the kolkhoz workers whose food rations have been decreased to a bare minimum. As a result, [as well as] due to bad management in the kolkhozy, the workers perform their tasks unwillingly and carelessly.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 961, p. 27.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

## No. 23

### 30 April 1932, Sobolivka. Letter from an inhabitant of Sobolivka to family in Poland describing the hard living conditions in the Ukrainian countryside

<sup>a-</sup>Translation from Russian<sup>-a</sup>  
Sobolivka, 30 April [19]32

As the first duty of the letter, I inform you, my dear broth[er] Ignacy, that I have received the letter which you have written me on 21 April [19]32, and which I received on 29 April [19]32, and for which I wholeheartedly thank you. You ask how I am. I will tell you – not well, even though I work permanently, that is all year round. It is v[ery] hard to get by since everything costs so much and I receive only 80 rubles a month in my salary. A pood of rye flour costs 100 rub[les], yet it is nowhere to be found here. Potatoes also cost a lot – 20 rub[les] a pood. A pound<sup>1</sup> of fatback costs 10 rubles; in general one can not buy many things with such pay for work. Dear brother, I have been without a slice of bread for a month now and I am on the verge of dying of hunger. I have received my food ration of 10 pounds for the month, but there is nowhere to buy anything. While Easter Sunday is tomorrow, I have no bread, not to mention meat – since there is nothing at all, it is a beggar's life. Such a life I have not experienced until this year.

Concerning my departure, I can say about the question of me leaving – since I have no funds for it, and I only think of how to survive – there is no point in thinking of the journey. Perhaps I will soon die of starvation, since there is nothing to be bought. You think that I wrote out of my goodness in the previous letter but the necessity forces one to do anything. Yet, there is nothing to write about.

Dear brother Ignacy, you ask about our brother Józef; I will tell you that it has already been a year since I received a letter from him and I do not know of his whereabouts at present. Since my frie[nd] was in Kiev in June last year, he told me that he visited him, and my other friend was there in August and told me that he was no longer at the home in which he had lived before. Presently, I do not know where he might be. I pass my regards to Wania, Ksenia, and all our relatives and friends. I wish you health and happiness. Farewell for now, I remain with warm love for all of you. Signature illegible.

Translated in Stolin, 12 April [19]32 (—) S. Walczuk  
S. Walczuk, senior constable of inv[estigating] s[ervice]

19 May [19]32. In conformity (—) signature  
Chief of the Chancellery

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> The so called Russian pound, measure of weight equivalent to 409.5 grams.

## Stolin District Office

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 96l, p. 67 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*



## No. 24

### After 1 May 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the data collected by the German Consulate on the situation in farming

T[op] secret

<sup>a-b</sup>Report

regarding intelligence gathering matters of various types<sup>b-a</sup>  
[for the period] from 1 March until 1 May 1932

Special Unit of the Kiev Obl[ast] Division of the GPU

<sup>b</sup>German Consulate<sup>b</sup>

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Activities of the German Consulate regarding the countryside<sup>b</sup>

We have dealt in detail with the activities undertaken by the consulate regarding the countryside in the spec[ial] report no. 86390<sup>1</sup>. The consulate, as before, directs its primary interest towards the countryside. All difficulties, as well as all anti-Soviet occurrences or manifestations, are noted in detail, and based on that information, conclusions are drawn regarding the stability of the Soviet authorities. Many from the consulate's employees, particularly SOMMER, are strongly convinced that due to the "hunger" among the peasants, riots will be organised and even before summer, there will be widespread growth of banditry. The opinions of the lower rank officers come down to the view that the moment is near when a general uprising of the peasantry will commence which shall sweep away Soviet rule.

In recent times, detailed material has been received regarding the forced nationalization of cattle [herding], the spring sowing, the hunger unrests being prepared, etc. Following the publication in the press of the order forbidding the nationalization of cattle [herding], SOMMER prepared clippings from Soviet newspapers and selected articles from the German press on the forced nationalization taking place in Volhynia<sup>2</sup>. STRESE, who was charged with gathering the necessary information, declared in a conversation with pastor KENIGSFELD that he knows of concrete facts from Volhynia where the peasants arrived at the *ispolkom* with the order cut out from "Pravda" and the officials from the *ispolkom*

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<sup>a-a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> See: document no. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to that part of Volhynia which fell within the borders of the USSR.

answered them: “Apart from newspapers, we also have our own directives and we follow them.”

According to STRESE’s information, a wife of a certain German, a doctor from the Yahotytsky Raion, has recently sent information to the consulate regarding the horrifying conditions which fell upon the peasants because they, not figuratively but literally, swell from hunger.

More or less similar was the information regarding the countryside presented by the bookkeeper of the Rzhyschiv steam mill, who claims that his is the only mill in the entire raion and still it does not work because there is not [grain to] mill.

You are informed about similar tendencies in the Pulinsky and Volodarsky Raions from our reports.

A man by the name of KNEBEL passed on information regarding a large number of cases of cattle, pigs and horses dying in the kolkhozy, about the cattle being improperly treated and declared that the dead cattle are used for technical purposes.

The wife of the doctor from Yahotytn, KNEBEL and the bookkeeper of the Rzhyschiv mill are being operationally observed.

SOMMER, sharing his impressions regarding the general attitudes in the countryside, stated that he was visited by a priest from Novohrad-Volynskyi who passed on to him [the information] that there is real starvation, the peasants do not even have grain for sowing, [they] are starving in the kolkhozy, and the *yedynolichniki*<sup>3</sup> eat acorns, [that] mortality rate is very high, etc.

This information has been passed on to SOMMER by a pastor from Novohrad-Volynskyi, GERINGE, who has been disseminating similar rumors among Germans from Kiev, speaking moreover about the alleged campaign of the Sov[iet] authorities waged against the German citizens, about rebel attitudes among the peasants and proclaiming the need for the city to give full support to the countryside during an uprising.

Gustav RISTAU, Ionat TOLKMIDT, GNAYZER and oth[ers] known to you through the “<sup>b</sup>-Informers-<sup>b</sup>” case, who visit the consulate – from what STRESE<sup>c</sup> said – claim that as soon as summer arrives, the peasants, having nothing to lose, may start an uprising; going out into the forest and onto the roads, stealing and attacking Soviet representatives and peasant activists.

With such attitudes present in the countryside, the consulate was interested in the information on the winter sowing and how much hope can they offer the peasants. Yet, from what STRESE stated, based on the information gathered from the agronomic specialist IRPE, who had looked into the winter sowing out of his professional duty, the situation seems desperate, as the sows in the Kievsky Raion have suffered from freezing temperatures and thus give no perspective for improved attitudes.

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<sup>c</sup> Was: SHTRAZE.

<sup>3</sup> Peasants running individual farms who have not joined the kolkhoz.

SOMMER, as we already informed, closely follows the growing banditry. Having learned from someone that the Obl[ast] Court will conduct the case against Mayka DOROSHENKO (the case of the LAKHNO-DOROSHENKO gang, active in the Bobrovytsky and Ichnyansky Raions), he twice requested [from our source] the information “about this large political gang”. One of the for[eign] specialists, an engineer, LAUBENGEIMER, at SOMMER’s order, went to have a look at the arrested persons, describing later to SOMMER in most exaggerated terms how the arrested persons were led under strengthened supervision into the building of the Oper[atational]<sup>d</sup> Court, that there were Red-Army veterans among them who have joined the gang, that the escorting officers were very brutal, sitting them on bare ground, etc.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-C[hief]<sup>-b</sup> KOO GPU of Ukrainian SSR  
(—) ROZANOV

<sup>b</sup>-C[hief] Special Unit<sup>-b</sup>  
(—) BZHEZOVSKY<sup>4</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 40, pp. 126–147.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>d</sup> *As in the original. Probably should have been: Obl[ast] Court.*

<sup>4</sup> Yulian Bzhezovsky (1898–1937), Chief of the Special Unit of the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 2 August 1933 Chief of Special Unit of the Kharkiv Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 20 August 1933 Chief of the Poltava Municipal Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR. Last post: Deputy Chief of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR. Major of state security (1935). Arrested on 5 May 1937, sentenced to death on 21 August 1937, shot on 21 August 1937 in Moscow.

## No. 25

3 May 1932, Sobolivka. Letter from an inhabitant of Sobolivka to family in Poland describing the hard living conditions in the Ukrainian countryside

<sup>a</sup>-Translation from Russian<sup>a</sup>  
Sobolivka, 3 May [19]32  
<sup>a</sup>-Copy<sup>a</sup>

Christ Has Risen!

My dear family, I am writing you this 2<sup>nd</sup> letter on the Saturday before Easter Sunday and this 3<sup>rd</sup> day of Easter.

Dear brother, I wish to inform you that I am spending Easter today not happy or good, most of all because I am separated from the family. Second of all, I am spending this Easter <sup>b</sup> fasting, above all without bread, on such products which you, back home, have never seen or will ever see. For example, beets, potatoes and some “soy”, just like lupine that we have back home, that’s how it is, but white as peas and so bad in taste that it is almost uneatable. We have to eat it because bread is a very expensive thing here, common people can not eat it, as it is available only to the rich. A farmer can not eat it at all. Workers are given a bit, but just enough to not be full.

Dear brother Ignacy, here the authorities have taken bread away from the peasants, [it can be] said, to the last grain and now the people are without even a slice of bread. And the authorities insist on saying that the families have hidden bread (grain) and do not want to give it up. The authorities do as follows: they send the so called brigades which come to a man or a farmer and conduct a search so thorough they even look through the ground with sharp metal tools, through the walls with matches, in the garden, in the straw roof, and if they find even half a pood, they take it away on the horsewagon. This passes for life here. I have nothing else to write about, for now farewell.

I send warm greetings to the family, wishing for you health.

Remain. Signature illegible

Dear brother Ignacy, if it is possible, I ask you to send me a package, as it is very needed. There is nothing to eat and one must eat. Write me what is new with you. I await yet another letter.

Translated by (—) S. Walczuk  
Senior sergeant of inv[estigating] s[ervice]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 961, p. 68.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Illegible word crossed out in typewriting.*

## No. 26

### 9 May 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the case codenamed “Boloto”

<sup>a-</sup>515228

Series “K”

9 May 1932<sup>a</sup>

EKO – 2<sup>nd</sup> gr[oup]

<sup>b-</sup>EKU GPU USSR

<sup>c-</sup>Kharkiv<sup>c-b</sup>

<sup>c-</sup>Concerns the case “Boloto”<sup>c</sup>

In accordance with the undertakings planned by us and concerning the case “Boloto” (see o[ur letter] no. 93336, dated 2 April [19]32) and the guidelines of the EKU from 20 April 1932, we have carried out the following:

At the end of the m[onth of] April, agent [...] (in the apartment) had a visit from a man involved in the “Boloto” case, RADCHENKO<sup>1</sup>, who was invited by him to his apartment.

During the conversation [...] RADCHENKO stated: “Recently I have traveled through the raions, where I saw that the fields were completely bare. There is no hope of fulfilling the sowing plans, as there is nothing to sow with, and the peasants do not want to work. Now there is hunger here. The hunger will sooner or later force the people to rise, and the war, which is nearing, will only help that. During that war, the peasants will prove themselves as they have never done before. Now there will not be what was in the past. Now the peasants have elected their people.”

Addressing [our informer] he stated that he [the informer] knows nothing about what is happening around, that all is spent on the military budget, that the Sov[iet] government is building some nonsense like the Irpin earth dams, etc., and those fortifications are not worth a penny, etc.

In conclusion, he stated that sooner or later the Japanese will take Siberia and from the West, no hedges of Irpin [River] will help us while the Poles will sweep them within an hour.

[...]

<sup>d-</sup>D[eputy] Ch[ief]<sup>d</sup> KOO GPU

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> Number and date stamped.

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

<sup>c-</sup> <sup>c</sup> As in the original. Probably a fragment missing.

<sup>d-</sup> <sup>d</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> Ivan Radchenko (born 1897), head engineer of the Kiev Office of the Ukrainian Land Melioration Trust, subjected to operational investigation after his testimonies gave favorable support to the arrested members of the right-wing Trotskyite organization.

KAMINSKY

<sup>d</sup>-Chief<sup>d</sup> EKO  
PAN<sup>2</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-6352, T. 1, pp. 369–370.  
Copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>2</sup> Yakov Pan (1895–1939), from 1923 with the GPU, from 27 February 1923 assistant to representative of the KRO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1 January 1924 assistant to representative, later representative of the EKO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1926 assistant to Chief of the Okrug Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kryvyi Rih; from 1929 assistant to Chief of unit of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, later in the Kiev Operational Sector of the GPU; in the years 1933–1935 Deputy Chief of the UNKVD of the Vinnytsia Oblast; from 7 April 1935 Deputy Chief of the Administrative and Economic Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1936 assistant to Chief of the UNKVD of the Kharkiv Oblast; from 10 December 1937 assistant to Chief of the UNKVD of the Kursk Oblast, later of the Voronezh Oblast.

## No. 27

### 11 May 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Polish Consulate in Kiev for the Polish Representation in Moscow regarding the famine in Right-Bank Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-L. 6913/II-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Polish Consulate in Kiev-<sup>b</sup>

42/pf/32

Regarding famine and sows

<sup>c</sup>-Confidential-<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-11-<sup>a</sup> May [193]2

To Representative of the Republic of Poland

<sup>c</sup>in Moscow-<sup>c</sup>

I report that with each day I receive ever more reports on the famine in regions of Right-Bank Ukraine which is particularly severe in the countryside. According to most recent reports, in towns such as Vinnytsia and Uman, every day there are cases of people being picked up from the street, having collapsed from feebleness and atrophy. The situation is supposedly worse in the countryside, where according to a reliable source, plundering and murder for food are a daily occurrence.

The severe food shortages are not only a fact with the so called *yedinolichniki* (single-person farms), who for a long time have been living on potato peelings, acorns, etc., but even in the collectives.

The supplies to factories have also greatly decreased. Allegedly, this results in ever more numerous disputes occurring between the workers and the administration. The administration in factories, forced to “assaulting” execution of the plan, demands very intense effort from the workers, who demand bread, of which there is none. Such conflicts are to be discussed during the meetings of *fabzavkoms* (the factory committees).

The poverty of the workers has reached such levels that their families are forced to eat products of poor quality, such as bread with peas and potato peelings, which are sold in small baskets in the markets in Kiev at a price ranging from 80 kop[eks] to 1 ruble.

The current state of affairs, according to the informers, can only change for the worse due to inadequate sowings. The winter crop, in their view, will be a disappointment, and the spring crop sowing will most probably be bad. This is primarily a result of the lack of seeds.

*Yedinolichnik* had no seeds because, in most cases, they were taken away from him for different reasons; the collectives in turn, which have received the seeds for sowing, have got them too late and in insufficient quantities, a part of them was consumed and the weight difference filled with sand.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Filled in handwriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Stamped.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Written in uppercase and underlined in typewriting.

The above reasons behind poor sowings need to be supplemented by the shameful work done by the collectivists and the crazed apathy of the single-farmers. The latter are reluctantly proceeding with sowing, arguing that there is no point in sowing since all will be taken away from them and they will be left to starve.

As for potatoes, in a majority of cases, once planted they are immediately dug out by hungry people. Guards are instituted to monitor the fields, yet they are unable to act, as there have been cases of murder committed against the guards, who now go into hiding as soon as they spot approaching vagabonds, leaving them undisturbed in their pursuits.

[...]

In conclusion, it seems proper to mention that the people are growing more convinced that <sup>d-d</sup>Right-Bank Ukraine is to be given back to Poland, and thus it is intentionally being pillaged by the Soviet government of all food<sup>d</sup>.

H. Jankowski<sup>1</sup>  
Polish Consul

Copies for:

MFA – DDK

– || – – P. III

– || – – K. III

<sup>e-c</sup>Main S[taff] S[ection] II (2)<sup>e</sup>

Mil[itary] Attaché Pol[ish] Rep[resentation], Moscow

Polish Con[sulate] Gen[eral], Kharkiv

Min[istry] of Indust[ry] and Commerce

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.3043, pp. 64–65, 67.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner an illegible handwritten symbol and the number 3, circled; in the middle handwritten and underlined number 3, with the date under it: 2/V1 and an illegible signature; below illegible signature and the number R-758; on the left margin a handwritten and underlined note: Head “Russia” Bureau and a nearly illegible word: Withdrawing [?] with a date: 31 V; below a following note: 2<sup>nd</sup> copy to 5<sup>th</sup> Office and a signature; on the last page a receipt stamp: Section II of the Main Staff, Date... L. ... Encl. with handwritten number 6913, numeral 1 and letter W.*

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<sup>d-d</sup> Underlined in handwriting, next to it, on the left margin, vertical line and a note: what a fib!

<sup>e-c</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>1</sup> Henryk Jankowski (born 26 June 1895), diplomat; from January till June 1919 with the Polish Consulate in Odessa; in years 1920–1921 in the Polish Consulate in Cologne, later in the Consular Dept. of MFA; from 1922 till 1928 in the Polish Representation in Moscow; in years 1928–1930 head of the Polish Consulate General in Minsk; from 1 May 1930 till 28 February 1933 deputy head, later head of the Polish Consulate in Kiev; from 2 October 1931 till January 1933 head of the intelligence post with Sect. II of the Main Staff “Kh” (code-name “Marian Ostrowski”) in Kiev; from 1 March 1933 retired counselor of the MFA.



## No. 28

### 13 May 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the abandonment of a village by the peasants

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>op</sup>] secret<sup>a</sup>  
13 May [19]32

I have recently had meetings with many of my acquaintances, and making references to other acquaintances, etc., in the course of conversations, I had the following impression: a systematic escape from the countryside to the cities has started. It is the Kulaks and wealthier farmers who are escaping – the latter, out of fear that they will be taken for Kulaks, are closing down their farms and moving out to the city.

Yet recently, apart from them, many household workers and craftsmen have been moving out of the countryside and into the cities. They find work in factories and other enterprises as locksmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.

[...]

Besides the craftsmen, many people of the countryside intelligentsia, or simply literate peasantry, have been moving out of the countryside and into the cities. During the NEP, they lived in villages, working on their own farms, establishing vineyards or [pursuing] intensive farming of different kinds. Now, with the help of friends, they find work in the cities as accountants, attendance monitors, weight controllers, etc.

It is the youth which is particularly keen on moving from the countryside into the cities. Some seek to apply to a school or attend courses, thus breaking their links with the countryside. Even the (village) teachers are clearly inclined and willing to move to the cities, continuing education being their stated reason for doing so.

[...]

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 537.  
Copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

## No. 29

### 19 May 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding representatives of the Japanese Consulate

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
19 May [19]32

19 May at 11 a.m. TANAKA went to the Dipl[omatic] Agency of the NKID, where he spent about 20 minutes, thereafter returning to the consulate. Not long after his arrival, the chauffeur was ordered to bring the car again, with TANAKA and his wife, MITANI<sup>1</sup> and his wife, and a Japanese who arrived from Moscow on 16 May all getting in. TANAKA ordered the chauffeur to drive to the Khad-jibey estuary. They drove from the 5<sup>th</sup> station out into the steppe, where they stopped the car, picnicked out on the grass, sitting down to have a breakfast of food and wine brought with them from home. As they were sitting and eating breakfast, two workers appeared. TANAKA called on them and gave each an egg and a small piece of bread with caviar. The workers were thanking them for quite a long time and left. After about five minutes, a group of workers approached, some eight persons, who greeted them and started watching them carefully. In the meantime, the Japanese finished eating. TANAKA said something to MITANI in Japanese, upon which MITANI collected what was left of the food and gave it to the workers. One of them said that he did not need it, while the rest grabbed the leftovers greedily, walked away some five to six steps, sat down on the grass and ate all that was there. Having finished, they once again approached the Japanese and thanked them, saying that they have not eaten such bread for a long time. TANAKA then took a picture of them with his camera. As far as I could gather, they were construction workers who were out collecting building stones nearby.

When the workers left, an airplane appeared in the sky above this place, which TANAKA tried to photograph; whether he was successful, I do not know.

Around 2 p.m. they all returned by car to the city.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 66, T. 4, pp. 2123–2123 v.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>1</sup> Sudzeo (Sidzuo) Mitani, from 1930 secretary in the Japanese Consulate in Odessa.

## No. 30

### 27 May 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements by students and teachers of Polish School no. 32

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

27 May [19]32

32<sup>nd</sup> Pol[ish] School

The attitude among the students is presently good with the exception of (five to six) students spreading various deceitful counterrevolutionary ideas, about which I have informed y[ou] earlier and presently. Among certain teachers, that is DRELIN, MIKEVICH, PAVLOVICH, CHKHEYTSE, complaints can be heard – When will all this end and [when] will we live better? Moreover, they say that something must happen before the fall of autumn because the individual farmers did not sow anything and the collectives have fulfilled a mere 30–40% of the plan. When the peasantry have nothing to eat, then this torment will end. That is more or less all.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, p. 11.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Ukrainian, the form in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

## No. 31

### After 1 June 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the information on the situation in the countryside collected by the German Consulate

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>op</sup>] secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a-b</sup>Report<sup>b</sup>

regarding the German Consulate in Kiev  
from 1 July<sup>a</sup> 1932

<sup>a</sup>-The activities of the consulate regarding the countryside<sup>a</sup>

The primary matters constituting the key interest for the German Consulate as far as the countryside's problems are concerned during the reporting period, related to the issues of preparation and carrying out the sowing campaign, the problems with supplies among German colonists and the unrest taking place in the raions of the Kiev Oblast.

In the previous report, we have concentrated on details regarding the sources of SOMMER's information on the difficulties with food supplies. On that issue, SOMMER did not limit himself to the reports from his informers, but also acquired important proof confirming the actual situation in the countryside.

<sup>c</sup>-At the beginning of May of this year, SOMMER was visited by a German woman, ARVELD from Korostyshiv, who told him about the "horrid situation" in which the peasantry found itself, about a whole series of suicides due to hunger [committed] by suffocation, etc.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-A German SHYVY, I believe from the Bila Tserkva region,<sup>c</sup> during a visit to SOMMER, also <sup>c</sup>-informed him about numerous cases of suicide and death from starvation<sup>c</sup> in the Bila Tserkva region, and as proof <sup>c</sup>-brought a piece of bread made from some substitutes<sup>c</sup> which SOMMER would later show not only to the people visiting him, but also to those from the local colony as proof that there is starvation in the countryside.

[...]

The consulate's cook, TSZHU-CHI-LAN, in the course of conversation [...] stated that he received from the Consul a piece of bread to determine its composition, and it turned out to be a mixture of bran, potato peels and some [dried] muck.

In May of this year, during a conversation with [the source], showing him this dried muck, SOMMER stated <sup>c</sup>-that the German colonists are presently suffering from poverty and taking all opportunities to leave for abroad – legally, but where

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

it is impossible – illegally<sup>c</sup>. He underlined that similar tendencies are also present among the countryside intelligentsia. Later in the conversation, SOMMER declared that in the spring, a certain village pastor, together with his assistant, managed to illegally cross the Soviet-Polish border.

Most probably it was pastor RENDAL from Emilchyn, who has illegally escaped abroad and presently lives in Germany. We have reported separately about him to the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, pointing to his ties with pastor BIRTE in Kharkiv.

Still in March of this year, in conversations with TANENBERG and other frequent visitors [of the consulate], SOMMER claimed to be in possession of a broad collection of materials concerning the hunger-driven uprisings and revolts being prepared among the peasants of the Volhynia. Thus, when in the beginning of May he received first news of unrest in the Pulinsky Raion and other raions, he shared this information with all his guests, at the same time collecting and gathering additional accounts in order to inform the embassy in detail.

The unrest was also the subject of conversations SOMMER had through the entire first half of May; he would make note of the villages where they have occurred, the number of participants, the form they took, the degree to which the Ukrainian and German population participated, etc.

<sup>d</sup>10–12 May, following the departure of the permanent informer, an inhabitant of the Solodyri colony in the Pulinsky Raion, FABRITSIUS, our informer has seen a note on SOMMER's table with a list of a number of villages in Volhynia where unrest took place. Apparently SOMMER has been informed of them by FABRITSIUS<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>e</sup>We have also learned that as regards the unrest in the countryside, information has been supplied also by a known informer of the consulate, preacher VESSEL Gotfryd, whom SOMMER thought to be also involved, to a degree, in those matters, fearing at the time that he might be arrested<sup>e</sup>.

A man involved in the case <sup>a</sup>“Informers”<sup>a</sup>, KRIG Artur, who at the time had arrived in Kiev, has informed, in the presence of our source, of the unrest carried out by women in the Pulinsky Raion, and that in Sorochyne order was restored by the workers from the china clay plant.

In fact, the “women's” unrest in Sorochyne was pacified by kolkhozniki, mainly workers from the china clay plant.

A German woman, VERNER Yelena, the owner of a house in Uman, upon her visit to the consulate, also told SOMMER about the unrest taking place near Uman, an effect of difficulties with supplies, during which the crowd broke out the doors and windows in the cooperatives' stores, etc.

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<sup>d-d</sup> Paragraph marked with a vertical line on the left margin, next to it, a handwritten note: Extracts in the files of the Fabritsius case.

<sup>e-e</sup> Paragraph marked with a vertical line on the left margin, next to it, a handwritten note: Extracts in the files of the Vessel case.

<sup>f</sup>Thorough information was also passed by a *yedinolichnik* from the Bogolubivka colony in the Emilchynsky Raion, a German, FENSKE Rudolf, son of Gustav, who has arrived in Kiev. On 13 May, during a meeting with our source [...] in a bazaar in Kiev, he has informed the German Consul of his visit, about the horrifying things which are taking place in the countryside, how the men have convinced their wives to start turmoil<sup>f</sup>, during which they scolded the kolkhozy and shouted “Away with the Soviet rule!” FENSKE has also informed SOMMER as to the attitudes present among the people.

<sup>g</sup>In the second half of May, SOMMER, returning to the issue of the unrest, informed our source [...] about the situation concerning the mass uprisings in the Novohrad-Volynskyi Raion, where gangs have become active, forcing the authorities to dig entrenchments, construct barbed wire entanglements and so on. According to confirmed information, this information was passed on to SOMMER by TSELMAN Karl and DRIKHEL Gustav, both known to you.

We have already reported that the information concerning the sowing campaign, the seed shortages and difficulties with supplies in the Rzhyschivsky Raion has been passed on to STRESE<sup>h</sup> by the bookkeeper of the Rzhyschiv mill. It has now been established that he is a German national by the name of GIPSHER, a former sacristan from the Osykovo colony who arrived some six years ago from Poland, where he had lived for a longer period of time. In Rzhyschiv, GIPSHER is rather a loner, has no friends and occasionally travels to Kiev to attend to some business.

The information concerning the sowing campaign in the Pulinsky Raion has also been passed on by FABRITSIUS Rubin and Gienrikh, who have informed SOMMER about the seed shortage in the raion and that the Solodyri colony is in a particularly bad situation, where the sowing will not take place even if seeds will be supplied, regardless of any pressure from the Sov[iet] authorities, because the people have finally fallen into despair<sup>g</sup>.

An employee of the consulate, STRESE<sup>i</sup>, during a conversation with [our] informer [...] referring to this case, declared that according to the information at consulate's disposal, Volhynia has stocks of sowing seeds at the level of a mere 20–30%.

Preparing a report for the embassy concerning the sowing campaign in Right-Bank Ukraine [and] pointing to the low degree to which the plan has been carried out, SOMMER underlined that, to his great surprise, he must admit that in spite of all the difficulties, there is no “catastrophe” because the state was able to help with the sowing and thus, the plan will be carried out and will undeniably be improved.

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<sup>f-f</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin, next to it, a note: Extracts in the files of the “Informers” case.*

<sup>g-g</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin.*

<sup>h</sup> *Was: SHTEYZE.*

<sup>i</sup> *Was: SHTREYZ.*

Later, during a conversation with [our] informer, SOMMER stated that he has been assured as to the need of very cautious treatment of the radically negative information received from the colonists and supplicants who greatly exaggerate the difficulties and anti-Sov[iet] attitudes in the countryside.

All this apparently does not prevent SOMMER from exploiting all possibilities with the aim of acquiring materials concerning the countryside from those very persons, as well as, in individual cases, from random elements.

In June of this year, the consulate was visited by the consulate's informers known to us, TOLKMIDT Ionatan from the Pulinsky Raion, YANKE Friedrikh from the Potiyevsky Raion, and KRIG Artur from Sorochyne in the Pulinsky Raion, each of whom individually and for a long time informed SOMMER about the situation in kolkhozy, the state of sowings, changes in the *sielsoviet* and other [institutions] of the Soviet apparatus, about food prices, etc. What particularly interested SOMMER was the attitude of the people towards the decree of the kolkhoz trade and how it was implemented in practice on the ground, as well as whether the local authorities were putting any obstacles to free trade by *yedino-lichniki* and kolkhozniki.

On this issue, SOMMER was so persistent as to go personally, and also using STRESE, to the bazaar and find out if the decree had any effect on reviving the commerce on the market and lowering the prices. In his opinion, passed on to [our] informer and in the report for the embassy – “the decree came too late” and brought no genuine effects because there was nothing left to trade. SOMMER referred to a conversation he had with an old peasant while on his way from Zhytomyr to Kiev. The peasant allegedly stated that he “was allowed to trade only when all had already been sold or was lost, and there was nothing left to do but go out into the world, carrying one's fate.”

It is characteristic that SOMMER has recently very often turned to enquiring about the attitudes and the situation in the countryside with the peasants met during his journeys. While at that, as we have gathered, he presents himself and the persons traveling with him as representatives of a foreign delegation who have come to the USSR to learn about the real situation in the countryside. On 26 May, taking advantage of a visit by the agricultural attaché of the German Embassy SCHILLER, SOMMER traveled with him to Korostyshiv. On their way, they have stopped the inhabitants of the village of Kmitovka in the Korostyshivsky Raion, ZHOVTONOSOV Isaak, CHERNIAYEVA Praskovia and KOZHEMIAKINA Ulyana, returning home on a horsewagon. ZHOVTONOSOV, as a person with a generally anti-Soviet attitude and opposing all undertakings carried out by the Sov[iet] authorities, in response to a question about how life treats the peasants and why some of them do not join the kolkhozy, offered a negative assessment of the kolkhozy, underlined the existing barriers facing the *yedino-lichniki* who are not joining the kolkhozy, etc. Having written down everything that ZHOVTONOSOV<sup>3</sup> said, SCHILLER photographed the entire group of peasants, offered candy to them, and left.

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<sup>3</sup> As in the original. Earlier: ZHOVTONOSOV.

At the beginning of May, during a visit to the consulate, an inhabitant of the village of Dunaivtsi in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Raion, employed with the local center for agricultural machines, in response to SOMMER's questions, spoke about the work at the CAM and about the general living conditions in Dunaivtsi.

Describing the work in the CAM workshop, he stated that the agricultural equipment is repaired in an unsatisfactory manner, thus resulting in its frequent malfunctioning and idle time in tractors' operation. He also informed of supply shortages and the resulting negative attitudes of the masses.

We have taken steps to identify this person.

<sup>a</sup>Consulate's influence on the colonists<sup>a</sup>

With respect to the negative attitudes among a part of the German colonists and Germans in general, the consulate takes advantage of those attitudes in order to exercise and strengthen its influence. It zealously distributes chauvinist German literature. As a consequence, in May and June of this year, the employees of the consulate, and even SOMMER personally, have distributed among the Germans an issue of the "Kölnische Zeitung" with an article by "a German observer" in Moscow (probably SCHILLER), proving that the kolkhoz system in the USSR has been a fiasco and that the very collectivization has stricken a blow against agriculture in the USSR from which it can not recover in the coming years.

This article [...] has been distributed among the local colonies by the consulate's employee SCHMIDT Erna, commenting on it in all the various forms. A similar situation occurred with the article entitled "Stolen Goethe" which described the centennial celebrations [of the poet's death] in Moscow using strongly anti-Soviet language.

One of the means of influencing [German colonists] is also the help given to the Germans by the consulate. As informed by SOMMER, in response to his report "On the Needs of the Germans in Right-Bank Ukraine", the Chief of the Eastern Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany took this matter into his own hands, offering SOMMER, for the time being, the ability to give financial assistance to the German citizens.

With that aim, 2,000 marks are assigned each month, part of which he then exchanges into Soviet money and distributes mainly, as can be noted, among his informers.

In June of this year, in the presence of our source, SOMMER has given to the informers – KRIG Artur – 100 rubles, TOLKMIDT Ionatan – 100 rubles and YANKE Friedrikh – 50 rub[les], without them having asked for anything. Moreover, he has promised to give YANKE hard currency for [purchases in] the *Torgsin*.

With the aim of registering the persons to whom SOMMER gives money for [purchase in] the *Torgsin*, at our order [our] informer suggested to him – in order to avoid misunderstandings – depositing this money in the *Gosbank* and giving those persons certificates for the *Torgsin*. SOMMER decided to consult the embassy on the matter first and has received the necessary consent.



[...]

<sup>a</sup>Reactions to the policies of the Sov[iet] authorities regarding the countryside<sup>a</sup>

The most recent undertakings of the Sov[iet] authorities regarding the countryside – [the issuing of decrees:] “On the kolkhoz trade”, “Lowering taxes”, “Purchasing of grain and meat”, etc., have brought about a number of reactions not only from the consulate but also from other official circles in Germany which have forwarded their views on the matter to SOMMER. From what SOMMER has said, he has received a number of letters from Germany in which the undertakings of the Sov[iet] authorities regarding the countryside are perceived as the beginning of the new NEP. Responding, SOMMER has warned against such an assessment on the present situation and has spoken on this subject in a conversation with foreign experts, LEUBENGEIM and MEINS, as well as with KUMERFELD. He intends to write for the embassy a report regarding this matter in which he wants to use the numerous statements from the colonists and kolkhozniki, who discard the NEP and state: “We have nothing to trade”.

SOMMER makes a careful selection of the materials for the report because, due to the tensions between him and the embassy, he fears trouble, about which he has spoken to our informer, telling about the following case: about two years ago, SOMMER sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany a report on collectivization in the USSR, in which he pointed out the fact that it was being carried out under administrative pressures and predicting its failure. His report greatly differed from the view of the embassy on that matter. After some time, SOMMER received a private letter from DIRKSEN<sup>1</sup> in which the latter mentioned that should the difference of views between him and the embassy persist, SOMMER would have to look for a job somewhere else and not in the MFA.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>D[eputy] Ch[hief]-<sup>a</sup>KOO GPU Ukrainian SSR  
(—) KAMINSKY

<sup>a</sup>C[hief]-<sup>a</sup>OO KOO GPU  
(—) BZHEZOVSKY

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 40, pp. 11–32.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert von Dirksen (1882–1955), doctor of law, German diplomat; in years 1907–1910 has traveled extensively, through Africa, among other places; in 1918 sent to Kiev as a representative of the MFA; in 1919 Head of the “Baltic States” office in the MFA; in 1921 Head of the Polish bureau in the MFA; from 1923 till 1925 German Consul General in the Free City of Gdańsk; in years 1925–1928 employee, later Head of the Eastern Dept. in the MFA; from the end of 1928 ambassador in Moscow; from October 1933 ambassador in Tokyo; from May 1938 till September 1939 ambassador in London.

## No. 32

### 9 June 1932, Stanyslaviv. Fragment of a monthly report by the Stanyslaviv Voivode regarding the activities of Ukrainians in Poland

[...]

Stanyslaviv Voivodeship Office  
BB 56 Taj. 34/1

Stanyslaviv, 9 June 1932

<sup>a-b</sup>Political life<sup>b-a</sup>

UNDO<sup>1</sup>

[...]

In Tyshkivtsi, Horodenka district, Piotr Gawtuniak called a meeting on 28 May of this year which was attended by some 260 persons, among them a member of the Polish parliament, Czukur<sup>2</sup>, who presented a comprehensive report. Beginning his address, he thanked the audience for such a numerous turnout and went on to discuss political matters. He raised the issue of the Polish government having to fight the crisis hard and thus being forced by the resulting budget deficit to lower the salaries in administration. Those steps will not lead to the balancing of the budget because the taxes were still not collected and it is difficult to do so in such a hard situation. In response to such state of affairs, the government should lower the profits of the industrialists. Next he went on to describe the situation of the Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia while he complained about the lack of unity and strong organization in the Ukrainian society. He strongly regrets that the petitions prepared at the initiative of the Ukrainian parliamentarians to oppose the decrees on local government and others, with seven million Ukrainians living in Małopolska Wschodnia, garnered a mere 60 thousand signatures, proof of weak organization of the Ukrainian nation. Since, as he argued, only a strong organization can bring about the welfare of the Ukrainian nation, he called for the establishment of individual credit unions and active participation in cultural

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO) – Ukrainian center-right political party active mainly in Galicia, established on 11 July 1925 in Lviv from the joining of UNTP, UPNR and the Volhynia group; the principal leaders: Dmytro Lewicki (chairman from 1935), Wołodymyr Celewicz (secretary general), Wasyl Mudry, Ostap Łucki, Stepan Wytwicki, Wołodymyr Zahajkiewicz; program of UNDO aimed for the establishment of an autonomy within the Polish state and gradually acquiring a broader scope for nationhood; the idea of establishing an independent Ukrainian state was never abandoned; at first negatively disposed towards Polish authorities, later UNDO reached an agreement with the authorities (1935–1938) whereby Wasyl Mudry was the deputy speaker of the Polish Lower House for two terms; the organization was dissolved following the Soviet attack on Poland (1939); revived by the émigré circles.

<sup>2</sup> Jura (Jur) Czukur (born 1899), member of UNDO, from 1933 with FNE; in years 1930–1935 member of the Polish Lower House; arrested in October 1939 by the Soviet security service.

and educational associations while calling for self-defense against exploitation by the Jews.

Following the address by Deputy Czukur, the floor was given to Wasyl Hłuchaniuk, who called for the condemnation of all activities carried out by the supporters of Sel-Rob<sup>3</sup> and described the poverty in Soviet Russia. He illustrated his arguments by reading a letter from his colleague, who for the past 15 years has been living in Soviet Russia.

This address inspired a reaction from one of the participants, Nejiła Michał, son of Dmytro (sup[port]er) of Sel-Rob), who stated, having first admitted to the poverty in Russia, that it is no better here in Poland since those who shout loudest during the protests, once the demonstration is over, go to have a black coffee with the Voivode and forget about the Ukr[ainian] peasant (he referred to the Ukr[ainian] deputies from UNDO, such as Czukur). In response to that, the Deputy declared that he had not visited the Voivode for a coffee and never will since he had drunk enough black coffee while in the army during the war, and Wasyl Hłuchaniuk added that he would rather be a Polish pig than a Bolshevik one, since Poland is a law-abiding country, while the Bolsheviks came to power through terror and hunger.

At Hłuchaniuk's request, a resolution was passed expressing full support for the Ukrainian deputies, and it was unanimously declared that all would strive for the liberation of the Ukr[ainian] nation living beyond the Zbruch River, from the Bolshevik terror, and for eliminating, with all possible means, the communism hidden behind the legal facade of the Sel-Rob party.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 968, p. 7–7 v.; see also: DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 833, p. 13–13 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>3</sup> Ukrainian Socialist Union of Peasants and Workers (Sel-Rob) – established on 10 October 1926 as a result of unification of the Ukrainian Socialist Union of Peasant Association (Sel-Soyuz) and the People's Freedom Party (PNV); a Ukrainian political party collaborating with the communist movement with ties to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, which split in September 1927 into Sel-Rob Left and Sel-Rob Right, as well as Sel-Rob Unity; the party aimed to introduce the socialist system in Ukraine, unofficially it strove for the unification of the Ukrainian territories with the Soviet Ukraine; the activities of Sel-Rob were carried out in opposition to the Polish authorities, Polish non-communist parties and legal Ukrainian parties; the party was active in cultural and educational associations as well as professional and agricultural organizations; principal leaders: Maksym Czumaj, Kyrył Walnicki, Mychajło Durdęło, Stepan Makiwka.

## No. 33

### 9 June 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement on the famine in the village of Kleinliebenthal

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division<sup>a</sup> GPU  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

9 June [19]32

1 June, in the course of the conversation, V. S. MERKLINGER stated that he has recently visited his brother in Kleinliebenthal. Presently, the place is truly stricken by a famine, most of the peasants, they say, have no more grain. Although there is a possibility for good crops, it seems that the peasants are not interested and do not want to work. From his words, they think as follows: why should they work and put in the effort if all will be taken away from them, and if anyone will have something, they will deport him as a Kulak. As regards the recent government decrees on the trade of agricultural products, it – as he says – does not matter anymore, since the people have nothing to trade; and moreover, the decree might well be changed again in the autumn. MERKLINGER believes that the peasants are right and if they turn to sabotage, it is completely understandable to him. Naturally everyone – he says – anxiously awaits political changes, yet no one has a clear idea how and where from might they come.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 461.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

## No. 34

### 14 June 1932, Simferopol. Guidelines from the heads of PP OGPU Crimea regarding the fight against speculators trading grain

<sup>a</sup>-Copy  
Series<sup>a</sup> “K”

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ieffs] of Rai[on] Departments  
and Rai[on] Representatives of GPU Crimea  
Copy: GUMR and Ch[ief] TO OGPU Simferopol st[at]ion<sup>a</sup>

In a telegram dated 10 May [19]32, the representative of OGPU <sup>a</sup>-Crimea<sup>a</sup> has ordered to cease the fight against fencing and concentrate primarily on the fight against speculators trading grain.

Yet, until this moment, EKO PP has received no information on how the fight against grain speculation has been organized and what results it brought: how many speculators have been detained and tried, how much grain has been confiscated and where was it transferred to, how many cases against speculators have been filed in courts, URO and our organs, how many of them have been undertaken, how many finished, and whether there are any group cases?

On this account, we deem it proper to explain that the telegram regarding the ceasing of the fight against fencing does not concern professional fences, but only those persons who are transporting grain for their own use. The professional fences, traders who have ties to the railroad employees and take advantage of those ties to transport grain – as before, should be prosecuted and tried.

The entire experience drawn from the clandestine operation, as well as open activities of our organs, should, to the fullest extent, be used in the fight against professional fences – we should arrange a mass-scale organization of the following: First of all, an informer-based investigation of the ties that have been uncovered during the transportation of the grain by fences, and particularly of the network connecting the fences with the kolkhozniki, as well as the cases when the latter act as agents – speculators trading grain and professional fences; Second, an official, selective control of personal documents of the detained fences through enquires directed to kolkhozy, offices, *s[iel]soviets*, etc., depending on who issued the particular document; Third, setting special tasks ahead for the informers' network in the kolkhozy and among *yedinolichniki* aimed at disclosing names of the kolkhozniki who have ties with the town traders.

Those means in no way include all [possible] ways of fighting with the fences and speculators, as it was our intention to point only to the most important ones.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

We await reports on the course of the fight with grain speculators to be received no later than by 18 June of this year.

<sup>a</sup>-D[eputy] PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
CHARSKY

14 June 1932  
No. 136005/5

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup> EKO PP  
DASHEVSKY

<sup>a</sup>-In conformity<sup>a</sup>:  
Secretary EKO PP BELOUSOV

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 68.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 35

### 14 June 1932, Simferopol. Telegram from the heads of PP OGPU Crimea regarding an order from the Deputy Chairman of the OGPU Gienrikh Yagoda concerning the confiscation of hard currency and valuables

WK/22

<sup>a</sup>-To be opened immediately<sup>a</sup>  
Series “K”

<sup>a</sup>-Security level as with ciphered telegram<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Telegram

Ch[iefs] of Municip[al] [and] Rai[on] Dep[artments]  
and Rai[on] Representative of GPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
Exclusively <sup>a</sup>-for own eyes<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup>-to EKO archives<sup>b</sup>

With the order issued by the Deput[y] Chair[man] of the OGPU, Com. YAGODA<sup>1</sup>, all econom[ic] units of the OGPU have again been charged with the operational task of taking away hard currency and valuables from their owners. In the coming period, we should take away no less than 100,000 in hard currency itself, not counting valuables. For the preparation of the agents network for the operation with the aim of achieving this goal, we have been given time until the first of July of this year.

Assigning particular importance to executing this order, PP OGPU Crimea  
<sup>a-c-</sup>orders:<sup>-c-a</sup>

1) Upon receiving this [telegram], to immediately establish special groups – no smaller than two-per[sons] for the main, and one-person in the remaining rai[on] apparatus – and to develop agent-network activities, engaging in the preparation of all agent-acquired materials presently in progress which concern the owners of hard currency and valuables, as well as attempting to verify new persons in possession of significant amounts [of these].

2) In the course of preparations for this operation, it should be kept in mind that it is to cover only the more important speculators and owners of hard currency, gold and valuables, while, should it occur that they are specialists: doctors, engineers, etc., as well as citizens of for[eign countries], the operation against them may only be carried out after our consent has been issued and after we have

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c-</sup> <sup>c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Gienrikh Yagoda (1891–1938), from 31 July 1931 Deputy Chairman of the OGPU with SNK USSR, from 10 July 1934 People’s Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR; from 26 September 1936 People’s Commissar for Communication of the USSR; from 1935 General Commissar of State Security. Arrested on 28 March 1937, charged with participation in a conspiracy within the NKVD, sentenced to death in a trial against the “right-Trotskyite bloc”, shot on 15 March 1938; never rehabilitated.

received preliminary data from the investigations about the hard currency at their disposal.

Confiscation can not be carried out with regard to valuables of personal use, such as: rings, brooches, earrings, bracelets, watches, etc., which are not, due to their size and purpose, objects of speculation.

Categorically refrain from confiscating silverware, etc., considering the confiscation of silver products only in the case when they are of large size.

3) With the aim of the most complete disclosure of the owners of hard currency, it is hereby ordered for the entire period of preparations for the operation to take maximum advantage of all operational personnel, as well as the entire network of informers at your disposal throughout all divisions, not refraining from bearing the costs of wherewithal transfers to agents, if the need arises.

Be reminded that the success of the planned operation can in fact only be achieved with a most thorough agent-based coverage of the persons designated for operational focus.

4) The most comprehensive economic effects will be achieved only as a result of thorough preparation of agent-supplied materials concerning the persons designated for operational focus and a skillful use of on-the-spot search and interrogation methods with regard to those persons. Due to the fact that a mechanical search usually brings no results, it should be demanded of the hard-currency owners to voluntarily turn over their possessions.

5) During the preparation and working over of the hard-currency owners, carrying out, in principle, all methods and modes of the operation as given in our directives for the previous operation, we once again underline the need to disclose former merchants, factory operators, landowners, bankers, counts, princes, brokers, etc., who have settled down in Crimea. As proven through practice, this group includes the major hard-currency owners. While in this pursuit, it is necessary to take advantage of all former brokers, black-market traders and, most important, agents supplying hard currency to [its] owners. With regard to that, it is recommended to recruit from them the most valuable ones as part of the agent [network].

6) All preparations for the operation against hard-currency owners, both based on the materials from EKO and other groups, <sup>d-</sup>as well as BK<sup>d</sup>, are to be concentrated in EKO groups. No later than by 28 June of this year the lists of all persons designated to be covered by the operation, supplying the basic information about them and the estimated amounts of hard currency and valuables in their possession are to be presented to EKO PP OGPU Crimea.

7) All persons covered by the operation, regardless of the results achieved, should be officially investigated, respecting all regulations of the Criminal Code.

8) Regarding persons from the areas under the supervision of border headquarters found possessing hard currency in large amounts, the cases (respecting operational and economic registers and reports for the EKO groups, regardless of

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<sup>d-d</sup> Underlined in handwriting, on the left margin a note: In the last case, copy for IPO.



the unit, which has produced the relevant materials) should be dealt with through the BK and customs offices, their activities qualified under art. 59-9 of the Criminal Code.

As regards the remaining groups of hard-currency owners – those who turn it over – their activities are to qualify under art. 59-12 of the Criminal Code and the cases for currency and valuables confiscation transferred through EKO PP OGPU Crimea and Spec[ial] College to CIK USSR to take over.

As regards persons who continue to refuse to turn over [hard currency], collect all discrediting materials in investigating files and transfer the cases to EKO PP for their further transfer. In all such cases, the files should include all materials supplied by the agent network.

It is categorically forbidden to pursue operations resulting in penitentiary treatment of elders above the age of 55 and ill persons.

9) Due to the fact that the operation will be carried out throughout the whole of Crimea at the same time, the date for the operation will be given separately.

10) EKO PP is to be informed about the course of the operation through ten-day reports for the 10<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> day of each month, in accordance with the outline sent to you in the directive no. 9305, dated 7 April of this year.

<sup>a</sup>-D[eputy]-<sup>a</sup> PP OGPU Crimea  
(—) CHARSKY

<sup>a</sup>-C[hief]-<sup>a</sup> EKO PP OGPU  
(—) DASHEVSKY

<sup>a</sup>-C[hief]-<sup>a</sup> IPO PP OGPU  
(—) LOMBAK<sup>2</sup>

“<sup>b</sup>-14-<sup>b</sup>” June 1932  
No. <sup>b</sup>-13627/5-<sup>b</sup>  
c. Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, pp. 295–296.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>2</sup> Yohann Lombak (1897–1982), from 1921 with the VChK; from December 1931 till 1 February 1932 Chief of the border defense army units and military units of the GPU PP OGPU Crimea; from 1 February 1932 till April 1934 Chief of the border defense inspectorate and military units of the GPU PP OGPU Crimea; from 13 July 1934 till May 1936 Chief of the Operational Division of the Ural MD UNKVD of the Sverdlovsk Oblast; from November 1937 Chief of the UNKVD of the Kamchatka Oblast. In March 1938 dismissed from the NKVD, from April 1951 till June 1953 and from September 1953 till October 1959 Minister of the Interior of the Estonian SSR; from June till 2 September 1953 headed the chancellery of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Estonian SSR.

## No. 36

### 17 June 1932, Simferopol. PP OGPU Crimea guidelines on carrying out the OGPU tasks regarding the confiscation of foreign currency and valuables

WK/6

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret  
V[ery] urgent<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-To Chiefs of Divisions PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
Exclusively .....

With the order issued by the Deput[y] Chair[man] of the OGPU, Com. YAGODA, the organs of EKO OGPU have again in the coming period been charged with the task of confiscating hard currency and valuables from their owners.

Taking into account that hard currency is primarily owned by form[er] landowners, factory operators, shareholders, counts, princes, guild members, large house owners, speculators and oth[ers], and that the majority of those persons can be traced in [the materials of] y[our] divisions and are known to your [agent] network, the aim is the prompt and effective working out of those persons as owners of hard currency and valuables,

<sup>a-b</sup>-I order<sup>-b-a</sup>

1. All <sup>a</sup>-Chiefs<sup>a</sup> of Divisions of PP, for the period beginning [with] the receipt of this [document] until <sup>a</sup>-the first of July<sup>a</sup> of this year, are to concentrate all their efforts on exposing the aforementioned group of persons and verifying whether they have hidden hard currency and valuables at their disposal.

2. With the aim of carrying out the abovementioned task, to take full advantage of all oper[ational] personnel and the entire [agent] network at the division's disposal, carefully distributing tasks so as not to reveal the operation planned for the coming period as regards those [persons] possessing hard currency.

3. All information supplied by agents, as well as the exposure of owners of hard currency and valuables, which have been collected by the PP divisions, should immediately be transmitted to the Econom[ic] Division of PP to the oper[ative] Representative of group IV, Com. SHYSHA, who will gather all materials concerning the planned operation against the owners of hard currency and valuables.

I stress that we all carry the particular responsibility for executing the order issued to us by C. YAGODA as a task requiring our utmost attention and mobilization of forces.

<sup>c</sup>-17 Jun[e] 1932<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-D[eputy]<sup>a</sup> PP OGPU  
(—) CHARSKY

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Date stamped.*

“ ” June 1932  
No. <sup>d-</sup>13796<sup>-d</sup>  
c. Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 289.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>d-</sup><sup>-d</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

## No. 37

### 28 June 1932, Simferopol. PP OGPU Crimea directive regarding the operation of confiscating foreign currency, gold and other valuables

WK/22

<sup>a-</sup>T[op] secret  
V[ery] urgent<sup>a-</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>Print[ed] 22

Sent 19

No. 25/EKO<sup>b-</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>Directive of the Economic Division  
PP OGPU Crimea<sup>b-</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>c. Simferopol, 28 June 1932<sup>b-</sup>

<sup>a-</sup>To all organs of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a-</sup>

<sup>a-</sup>Exclusively<sup>a-</sup> <sup>c-</sup>in EKO archives<sup>c-</sup>

<sup>d-</sup>28 Jun[e] 1932<sup>d-</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>Cover no. 536<sup>b-</sup>

Supplementing and expanding on directive no. 13627/5<sup>1</sup>, dated 14 June [19]32, concerning the planned operation of confiscating [foreign] currency, gold and oth[er] valuables, [we inform] of the need to consider, in a most careful way, the experiences from the previous operation, and thus accordingly to instruct the personnel designated for preparing and executing the operation, preventing any irregularities. At the same time, it is necessary to stress to those participating in the operation that vigorous action, initiative and determination are the essential prerequisites to confiscating the maximum amount of hard currency, and thus to the successful completion of the task.

Taking into account the previous experiences and aiming to guarantee the full success of the planned operation, the entire municip[al] [and] rai[on] apparatus of GPU Crimea <sup>a-</sup>is obliged<sup>a-</sup> to follow the following guidelines:

1) It is categorically forbidden to take away valuable [items] of household use.

2) The planned operation of confiscating hard currency and valuables will on no account have a mass character and will be conducted in accordance with our guidelines, according to the lists [of persons] designated [for] operational [working out]; [the lists] are to be presented to EKO PP OGPU Crimea by 28 June [19]32.

3) <sup>c-</sup>Persons covered by the operation and arrested at our order, should they not turn over the hard currency or not all of it, are required, for both the person

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<sup>a-</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Adated in handwriting.*

<sup>c-</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

<sup>d-</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Date stamped.*

<sup>c-</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>1</sup> See: document no. 35.

and the preliminary investing[ation] material<sup>e</sup> (decision on the search warrant, arrest, preventive means, protocol of search, protocol of interrogation of the person covered by the operation and, as far as possible, the witnesses), to be delivered within three days to EKO GPU Cr[imea] for further investigation.

4) The experiences of the previous operation have proven that [the cases of] many persons were not prepared thoroughly and those persons were released upon having turned over an insignificant part of their hidden hard currency. This should be taken into account so that future operations, with respect to the arrested owners [of hard currency], are executed more thoroughly.

5) Based on the previous operations, we have observed the need for disclosure of persons who own accounts in foreign banks. With proper agent-based and investigative work, it should be possible, without much difficulty, to recover those means which were taken abroad during the revolution and the NEP.

All organs of the municip[al] [and] rai[on] apparatus should immediately inform GPU C[rimea] about disclosed foreign accounts without undertaking any steps at their own initiative on the ground.

6) The municip[al] [and] rai[on] apparatus is obliged to transmit the information in accordance with the outline sent previously, not once every ten days, but every five days – on the 5<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, etc. [day] of each month.

7) Obligatorily to take account of the soc[ial] group status of the owners, past and present, so as to be able to present a report at the end of the operation with the information regarding the social composition of those arrested.

8) For the report concerning the confiscation [of hard currency], it is necessary to prepare the following materials regarding each arrested person:

a) the protocol of interrogation, including all determined and given [by the accused] biographical information, the conditions in which the currency was kept, the source from which it was purchased, etc.,

b) the act of confiscation of currency, gold and other valuables needs to include a complete list of all that was uncovered and be countersigned with two signatures of OGPU personnel as well as that of the currency owner.

9) The decision to transfer the case to EKO PP needs to include a complete list of all possessions taken away (in accordance with the act) which were subject to confiscation.

Apart from closely following the above-presented guidelines, it is necessary that the organs of OGPU Crimea show a most far-reaching initiative and take advantage of all available means at our disposal with the aim of a most thorough takeover of hard currency, taking into consideration that the main strike should be directed against major owners. <sup>b</sup>The entire amount of hard currency turned over by those arrested and brought from the countryside will be added to the account of y[our] control[ing] number [?]-<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup>D[eputy]-<sup>a</sup> PP OGPU Crimea  
(—) CHARSKY

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup>EKO PP OGPU  
(—) DASHEVSKY

“с-27-с” June 1932

No. ....

c. Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, pp. 280–281.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 38

### June 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the impressions of the Japanese Consul following a trip from Kiev to Odessa

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>1</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>op</sup>] secret<sup>a</sup>

1932

On 21 June, the courses with the Consul have resumed<sup>1</sup>. Above all, I learned about his state of health, and about the journey. [...] Consul's traveling route was as follows: Odessa – Sevastopol – Alushta – Simferopol (by car) – Yalta (by car) – Novorossiysk – Batumi – Tiflis – Baku – Mineralnye Vody – Rostov – Kharkiv – Donbas (Stalino) – Kharkiv – Dnipropetrovsk – “Dnieprostroy” – Kiev – Odessa. He was utterly moved by the fact that [...] 2) the Ukrainian peasants, as compared to peasants in other republics, make a miserable impression both because of their torn clothes and the emaciated appearance and pleas for charity; even on main stations, peasants, their wives and children hold out their hands for alms, asking for bread; 3) the construction of new factories and huge plants, as well as the construction of houses for the workers, particularly in the Donbas, is carried out at a fast pace, and thousands of workers take part in it. It is very expensive everywhere – in Tiflis a modest three course meal (soup with two dumplings, fried mutton and a compote) costs 10 rubles. [...]

On his way back from Kiev to Odessa, a man traveling with him in the same compartment told him about the tragic famine in Ukraine, and particularly in the Kiev Gub[erniya]<sup>c</sup>, where many cases of suicide, caused by the starvation, were noted among the peasants. Those stories, combined with the rain, which did not stop through the entire journey to Odessa, made a grave impression on the Consul.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 66, T. 4, pp. 2240–2241.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. Reference to the Kiev Oblast.*

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the Japanese Consul in Odessa, Bunitaro Tanaka.

## No. 39

### 2 July 1932, Simferopol. PP OGPU Crimea guidelines regarding the fight with speculators on the kolkhoz bazaars

<sup>a-</sup>To be opened immediately

Copy  
Series<sup>a-</sup> "K"

<sup>a-</sup>To all Ch[iefs] of Municip[al]  
[and] Rai[on] Dep[artments] of the GPU  
Copy: Ch[ief]<sup>a-</sup> GUMR Crim[ean] ASSR

Following the receipt of the above directive, without any delay, cease all open fighting conducted by the militia organs against traders on the kolkhoz bazaars. Transmit to the *raykoms* of the AUCP(b) a request to change the order requiring the militia organs, with the aim of fighting with the traders, to set up militia posts on the kolkhoz bazaars and roads. Such decisions were made, for example, by the Dzhankoy RK AUCP(b) and RIK during a joint meeting held on 9 June of this year.

Such step is necessary in order to prevent distortion in the party policy regarding kolkhoz trade and to avert all possibility of scaring the peasants away from the bazaars.

The fight against the traders, as well as against other criminals who harm the socialist structure, should be conducted solely by our organs and only through agent-based operational work. Moreover, this fight can not be ceased or weakened. Thus, we recall our directives regarding the fight against traders, dated 10 May and 14 June, no. 13600<sup>b</sup>, in response to which you have so far not sent any materials.

<sup>a-</sup>D[eputy]<sup>a-</sup> PP OGPU Crimea  
(—) CHARSKY

<sup>a-</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a-</sup> EKO PP OGPU  
(—) DASHEVSKY

2 July [19]32  
32/EKO

<sup>a-</sup>In conformity:<sup>a-</sup> Secretary EKO PP  
BELOUSOV

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 63.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a-</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *Probably should be: 136005/5. See: document no. 34.*



## No. 40

### 7 July 1932, Odessa. Operational report by the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the difficult situation in German settlements

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

7 July [19]32

Beginning with the regulations on forced collectivization of cattle [herding] and ending with the latest AUCP(b) regulations, the attitudes of the people in the German colonies have been grave and depressing. This concerns the following German colonies, located in the following raions of the Odessa Oblast: in the Berez[ivsky] R[aion], the villages of Marinovo, Neykovo, Lichtenfeld, Slepukha and the farmstead of Novoselivka; in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky R[aion], the villages of Warli, Rohrbach and Johannestahl; in the Til[igulsk]-Berez[ovskiy] R[aion], the villages of Suvorovo, the farmste[ads] of Besarabka, Vasylivka and Popelne; in the Komintern[ovskiy] Raion, the villages of Bollary, the farmste[ads] of Novo-Bollary and Irakliyevka<sup>c</sup>; in the Rozd[ilnansky] Raion, the villages of Konoplevo and Sharovo, Bugayevka, Silovka, the farmste[ads] of Martsionivka and Zherebkovo; in the Oktyabrsky R[aion], the farmste[ads] of Muraveynik and Magulsky. The peasants would openly say, “It will come that all of us die of hunger; we have no bread, we have to give up our last cow, we have no pigs, we won’t live off of a couple of chickens and we don’t even have feed for them; the supplies from the cooperative are poor, we have to buy almost everything on the private market, for two years now the artel has not been paying us for *trudoden*<sup>1</sup>, all the grain has been taken away”, etc. Since January, in a number of villages [people] were buying grain, that is corn flour and barley flour; this mainly occurred in the villages of Irakliyevka<sup>c</sup>, Volkovo, Bollary and Novo-Bollary<sup>d</sup> (all four in the Komint[ernovskiy] R[aion]), in the v[illage] of Konoplevo (Rozd[ilnansky] R[aion]) and in the v[illage] of Rohrbach and Johannestahl (both in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky R[aion]).

According to what the inhabitants were saying, many families in those villages were really starving. What resulted was unwillingness to attend work and sabotage. They often said: “Why should we work when there is nothing to eat.” A different consequence of this difficult living situation for many of the citizens is their migration to the cities and industrial centers in search of work. This can

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup> Was: Irakleyevka.

<sup>d</sup> Was: Byellary and Novo-Byellary. In the available literature and on the maps, both versions are to be found.

<sup>1</sup> Daily pay, although with regard to kolkhozniki, *trudoden* expressed a given work-load which could take up to several days.

mainly be observed in the villages of Iraklijevka (in the Komint[ernovsk] R[aion]) and Rohrbach (in the Karl-Liebknechtovsky R[aion]). The third consequence was the unhesitating slaughter of small cattle and pigs; this took place not as a result of saboteur tendencies, but primarily with the aim of providing food. However, another reason figures in those actions: “Why should we feed the cattle and take care of them when they will be taken away anyhow?”

The reasons behind such attitudes and the situation, as the colonists claim, are as follows: 1. Inequality of grain purchase plans. It needs to be noted that most of the peasants put the blame for this situation on the local authorities, not the higher organs of government. In fact, there have been cases when all was taken away with no exceptions: sowing reserves, supplies for community kitchens, the supplies for distribution in return for *trudoden*, as was the case in Iraklijevka (Komint[ernovsk] R[aion]), which has better harvests than all raions which I have visited; in the village of Konoplevo (Rozd[ilnansky] R[aion]) where the peasants each had to give back two poods from the corn (cobs) distributed to them; in the village of Rohrbach, etc. 2. High norms for cattle to be turned over to the meat purchasing centers, as well as for poultry and eggs. 3. Forced collectivization of cattle [herding], which took place in many villages. It could be observed that, particularly in the winter, day and night they would slaughter pigs and calves. For some time, those occurrences were of an epidemic scope. 4. The material helplessness and poor management of many artels. Very often, individual members of an artel would complain that for two years they have not been paid for the *trudoden*, the food rations never suffice, the food in the kitchens is of poorest quality, etc.

More favorable than others were the attitudes and the situation in the Be-rezivsky Raion, which has never witnessed such food shortages as in other raions. The latest directive of the CC AUCP(b) has received a lively reception from the majority of German colonists, and thus has led to a very significant change for the better. Undeniably, many had their spirits raised. Particularly the regulation on the force[d] collectivization of cattle [herding] has been received with much enthusiasm<sup>°</sup>; in spite of an enormous increase in the price of cows in the bazaars, everyone who was capable, tried to buy one. Contrary to what was expected, there was no mass slaughter of cattle for food or for speculation. [People] are saving not only the cattle, but also smaller [animals], saying: “It is time to start attending to the farms, as this will bring us certain profit.” Almost everyone bought a small pig even though the price for pigs is very high. The lowering of prices in the meat and grain purchasing plans has also caused a known good impression. This could be observed in particular as the last quarterly plan for meat purchases was being carried out, having been lowered by many percentage points compared to the previous one. [People] are not very convinced about the effects of the lowered grain purchase plans. They say that in many raions the designated land area has not been sown “because we will have to fulfill the plan for others (and we will

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<sup>°</sup> *As in the original. Probably it refers to the announced withdrawing of the regulation.*

suffer again).” The kolkhoz bazaars in the abovementioned raions are still at the stage of being developed. Prices for all products, with the exception of flour, have fallen. People’s interest in those bazaars is raising each week. They have been particularly impressed by the opening of the *Paytorg* stores in some villages. In the villages of Lichtenfeld and Sleptse (both in the Berez[ivsky] R[aion]), they cannot stop talking about wide variety of ready-made clothes and textile products, nor about low prices. They have told me that the turnout at the Red bazaars is very high. [...]

In the K[arl]-Liebk[echtovsky] Raion I have seen something quite different. Here, naturally, there has been a lack of sufficient explanatory effort, while the negative attitude towards everything can be explained with the particular conservatism of the people (villages of Johannestahl, Rohrbach, Worms – K[arl]-Liebk[echtovsky] R[aion]). I took away the same impression from a visit to the villages of Bollary<sup>d</sup>, Irakliyevka (both in the Komint[ernovsky] R[aion]) and the farmstead of Besarabka (Til[igulsk]-Berez[ivsky] R[aion]). I have seen no liveliness of spirit in those villages. Quite a number of peasants naturally have very little idea about the directives issued by the CC of the party; others approach them with a complete lack of confidence. When asked the questions why they are not buying cows and pigs and why they don’t go to the bazaars, they would respond: “Sooner or later, they will take it all away anyway; why should we then spend our last money on it? In the end there will be nothing left for us. There is nothing in the bazaars: we cannot buy at those prices.” As regards the meat and grain purchases, they simply do not trust the newspapers and say that, one way or another, they will be left without grain. As far as I could gather, the attitudes here have remained as before.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, pp. 447–449.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

**No. 41**  
**9 July 1932, Novgorodok. Fragment of a report by the Voivode  
of Novgorodok for June 1932 regarding local press information  
on the famine in Ukraine**

<sup>a-</sup>Novgorodok Voivodeship  
Office<sup>a</sup>

Novgorodok, 9 July 1932  
<sup>a-b-</sup>Polish press<sup>-b-a</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>No. Bp. 52/1/6/pf<sup>b</sup>

Monthly situation report no. 6  
for the m[onth of] June of this year

“Novgorodok Farmer”

In the reporting period, it continued giving tho[u]ghtful information about the struggle of the people in Soviet Russia with the authorities and letters from the USSR, written and addressed to families in Poland, reporting the misfortune and hunger which reign behind the Red cordon.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 957, p. 44.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a- -a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b- -b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

## No. 42

### 11 July 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the situation and attitudes in the village of Kleinliebenthal

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
11 July 1932

On 5 July, in the course of conversation, V. MERKLINGER stated that he has recently visited Kleinliebenthal and that this place, and the countryside in general, is a witness to things which one can hardly imagine. Here in the city, he says, no one has any idea about the hunger which is there. Everyone says that the peasants do not want to work, but it is not like that – they simply are physically not able to work because they are so drawn from hunger. Besides, they see no perspectives for better future ahead. This, he says, is what the communists have brought Russia down to. He himself, in a way, is also completely unwilling to work because there is no point in making the effort. It is getting worse with each year. “Not counting the brief moment between 1925–[19]27, our situation is constantly getting worse. There is no hope for the future; there is no point in hoping for an intervention, since everyone abroad is busy with their own things, and the hope of an internal revolt is just as faint because our society is too inactive.” There is no hope of improving [the situation] after the harvests because not all the crops will be collected, and moreover they are being destroyed by caterpillars, etc. There are rumors, he says, that as of 15 July, they will stop distributing bread altogether, leaving it all to free trade at the price of 1 r[uble] 20 kop[eks] per pound. And those who have no money, let them rot. Anyway, if you now get a salary of 200 rub[les], it is much less than the old 20 rub[les]. He complained that the “German community” has now altogether come apart – he rarely sees any friends, they hold no meetings, everyone is so busy and depressed that they have no mind for it.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 11, p. 172.*  
*Copy, typewritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

## No. 43

### 14 July 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the case codenamed “Boloto”

EKO – 2<sup>nd</sup> Dep[artment]  
ag[ent] c[ase] no. 190

Series “K”

<sup>a</sup>-575179  
14 July 1932-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-EKU GPU USSR  
Kharkiv-<sup>b</sup>

Concerning the case [codenamed] “Boloto”

Supplementing the m[emo] No. 515228, dated 9 May 1932, regarding the case [codenamed] “Boloto”, we have undertaken the following:

Agent [...] has been ordered to work out the persons whom he has identified at EKU as being members of an econ[omic] counterrevolutionary organization [...].

Therefore, during this period, he has met and spoken with the following:

1. BUNIN Yakov Nikolayevich, for[mer] UTO worker who presently left his place of work and so far remains unemployed. The conversation between them took place in the apartment of [our informer], 1–1½ years since their last meeting. During the conversation, when asked about current events, BUNIN answered as follows: “The general situation today seems to me to be full of haze, chaos, utter poverty and painful experiences of the broad masses, and thus lacking any stable balance in life, ideology, legal norms, the work of the state apparatus or in the trends and guidelines in production and administration. The present system is characterized by a most cruel rule of the theoretical model, disregarding real necessities and the immaturity of the enforced undertakings, as well as discarding the slightest possibility of any criticism or contribution of sensible amendments to the process of implementing this or that undertaking. The result of this is a complete lack of fundamental legal norms, unlimited debauchery of violent lawlessness, suffering of the broad masses of people, both in the cities – and particularly – in the countryside.

We can see that industrialization has become some maniac idea with us. We have built »Dnieprostroy« but we have no consumers for the electricity produced by it. At the same time, millions of people in towns and especially in the countryside are dying of hunger. After all, it is clear to everyone that the Drabov case, with its so called »deviations«, is characteristic not of a particular region or village, but of the entire Soviet Union, and almost every child understands that in this case its only pawns who were put in the dock.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Number and date stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

The elementary masses of communists are known to us – they are the uncultured, cowed, cowardly office clerks, trembling for their part[y] membership, which gives them the right to a privileged existence. Trying to earn merits, this mass, due to its typical incompetence, causes those so called »deviations« and pursues local policies which brings Ukraine – the former provider for the entire country – the hunger of tens of millions and uncultivated, weed-growing fields.

In my opinion, there are three ways out of this situation: a spontaneous internal explosion, an external impulse or, finally, an evolutionary road through personal changes at the top – the recovery and rebirth of general principles and, which is particularly important, of an efficient local policy; yet such a change is hard to hope for, as those responsible for it, can hardly change themselves.

And as far as the part of the intelligentsia in this process is concerned, I think that it will prove unable to play any significant role. The old intelligentsia is dying out, and the new one shares those very traits described above – it is cowed and shows bureaucratic cowardice. And in general, it is the masses, numbering many millions, that have been set in motion and thus, the role of individuals or small groups is of little, if any, importance, as those masses do and will sweep with great force.

As for me and you, we are left to wait for the natural turn of events, flowing with the current, hoping one day to reach safe haven.”

2. SHKABARA Aleksander Stepanovich, employee of the Obl[ast] Office of Land Melio[rat]ion] Trust. This conversation took place in SHKABARA’s apartment, also 1–1½ years after their last conversation, as previous meetings were of a random nature and dealt with work-related matters.

During the conversation, SHKABARA [talked] about himself, presenting his point of view on the current situation in the following manner:

“I live in hunger and generally in silence, thinking only of escaping from Ukraine. As concerns the general situation, I see no way out of this dead end. All around there is poverty, hunger, ruined masses of people and the endless experimenting on the millions-strong mass of living human flesh. It is as in the times of the pharaoh[s] when, still in their prime, they would begin building pyramids on the bones of the slaves. And so now, the pyramid of socialism is being built with cruelty, enormous persistence and similar disregard for the fact that it is being built on living human mass. Perhaps once they build it, if they build it [at all], future generations will have it better, or possibly, as with the Tower of Babel, it will fall; however we and our generation are condemned and will have to perish.

The greatness of the initial idea is accompanied by enormous thoughtlessness, lack of planning and justification of specific actions, undertakings, directives and methods of their implementation. Thus, it is no longer known what is allowed and accepted and what is considered harmful; what is revolutionary and what is counterrevolutionary. Two years ago, many renowned engineers were shot in Moscow because they defended automatic couplers and the use of heavy train engines and rails; now those who are against them are dubbed the enemies of the nation. Also two years ago, the American system of unmanned steam engines was introduced,

and now the engineers are being charged for lack of personal responsibility and tried as counterrevolutionaries. Apart from such lack of a system, everything is marked by general incompetence, breaking of laws and inhuman execution of ill-considered directives, such as collectivization, *khlebozagotovka*, etc.

No, we have to perish. And our descendants? 50% of seven-year-old children suffer from tuberculosis. Due to chronic hunger and constant changes in the system of education aiming for its simplification, the students have become physically and morally handicapped. They do not know nor imagine a way out of this situation. Perhaps, in ten years' time, it will get better. The question remains: will the country survive that long or will it disintegrate? Will we perish under the ruins of the new pyramids and will this be our own fault or due to external intervention?

The intelligentsia, as a social force, is nonexistent. It is gone. All attempts at uniting it are bound to fail. On one side – the GPU organs, on the other – the futility of attempting to direct the force of great masses. I repeat, we will die, but for now, it is necessary to flee Ukraine.”

3. SAKHANSKY – works in the Obl[ast] Indust[rial] Union. The acquaintance with SAKHANSKY is not of a close nature, therefore the conversation between the two was rather general.

According to SAKHANSKY, our country [has been] brought to the state of complete collapse and disintegration by the policies of Soviet rule, and the attitude of the broad masses towards the authorities is openly hostile. Those masses await [but] will not get savior. Particularly the peasantry, in dreams and in reality, sees the coming of the second DENIKIN<sup>1</sup>, Poles and liberators in general, without considering what will it do and how, once liberated. War against the West is a matter of the nearest future, pointing to the concentration of large masses of soldiers on the borders as proof.

His place in those events he summed up with a Ukrainian proverb: “If you keep turning your head, you will escape the hangman’s noose.”

[...]

6. TIULENIEV Nikolay A. – works in Kiev as the representative of the Scientific and Research Institute for Land Melioration in Minsk. The meeting and the conversation took place in TIULENIEV’s apartment, and resulted in TIULENIEV stating the following:

“The fundamental and most profound reason behind the uniquely difficult internal situation that [we] face lies, in my opinion, in the cruel suppression of the very possibility for critical analysis of particular undertakings, as well as assessment of the politico-economic situation in general. If we see it as perhaps understandable, although utterly wrong, with respect to us, the non-party workers with

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<sup>1</sup> Anton Denikin (1872–1947), Russian general, participated in the Russo-Japanese War and World War I; from 1917 commanded the Western Front; detained by the Provisional Government, escaped to the Don region; from March 1918 commanded the Volunteer Army; in 1919 his troops took over Ukraine and carried out an unsuccessful offensive on Moscow; from April 1920 in exile.



a certain cultural upbringing, it is entirely incomprehensible and absurd with regard to the party masses, who are only allowed to voice consent, praise Politburo's directives and idolize the glory of the only leader, the sinless and unattainable, in the highest. As a result, we have many terrible incidents, acts and undertakings which constantly weaken the entire state organism. The country found itself at a dead end, in a state of complete economic disintegration. The masses, powerless with hunger, roam lost throughout the country, seeing no way out of that dead end. I am utterly lost as to how all this relates to that renowned farsightedness and political foresight of the leading organs of the Bolshevik party.

It is my deepest conviction that we face an inescapable catastrophe and Germans, French and other so called imperialists would be fools not to take advantage of this situation. And since they are not fools, the possibility of intervention thus becomes rather unavoidable, and no one will save Russia from the bloody events in the nearest future. Neither STALIN, TROTSKY<sup>2</sup>, nor anyone else. I mention TROTSKY because for me, it is indisputable that sending him abroad, his cooperation with bourgeois newspapers and "internal [attacks] against him [from the press] here, are all merely a subtle move" and a disguise, essentially [aimed at] the growth of communism abroad as a result of his activities agreed upon with STALIN.

Today's intelligentsia, including us, are utterly exhausted, dispersed, powerless and unable to actively express our views and desires.

At this point, on the efforts of establishing any anti-Soviet organizations, I can comment only with such words: »Nobody's that stupid«, and I believe they are pointless. Even if such organizations existed today, I would surely not join them now since I see no point."

[...]

"D[eputy] Ch[ief] Obl[ast] Div[ision]" GPU  
KAMINSKY

"Ch[ief] ad interim" EKO  
KARDASH<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>2</sup> Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), communist activist; in the years 1918–1924 People's Commissar for Army and Navy Affairs of the RSFSR/USSR; later leader of the internal opposition within the Bolshevik party and Stalin's opponent; in 1929 deported from the USSR and later deprived of citizenship; murdered by an agent of the NKVD of the USSR.

<sup>3</sup> Abram Kardash-Grinfeld (born 1897), from 1920 member of VChK organs; from 1 January 1924 assistant to the representative of the Economic Directorate of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 16 April 1926 representative of the Economic Department of the GPU's Odessa Okrug Division; from 3 June 1929 representative of the Economic Directorate of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 22 November 1931 assistant to the Chief of the Economic Department of the GPU's Kiev Operational Sector; from 14 March 1933 the Chief of the 6th Department of the Economic Directorate of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 19 November 1933 assistant to the Chief of the Economic Department of the GPU's Kiev Oblast Division; from 10 May 1934 in the reserve with the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 21 August 1934 Chief of the 4th Department of the Transportation Division UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1935 assistant to the Chief of the Transportation Division UGB NKVD of the

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-6352, T. 1, pp. 417–421.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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Ukrainian SSR, from that year – Chief of the Roads Division in the Kharkiv Oblast UNKVD. Arrested on 20 April 1937, sentenced to 8 years in prison on 14 November 1937. Released in October 1946; rehabilitated in 1956.

## No. 44

### 17 July 1932, [Zaporizhia]. Final decision of the Zaporizhia Municipal Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in the case of Matvey Golovko, worker at the Dnipropetrovsk construction site

<sup>a</sup>Final decision<sup>a</sup>

in case no. 891 concerning GOLOVKO Matvey Polikarpovich<sup>1</sup> from art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code

According to the information available to the Zaporizhia Municipal Division of the GPU, a dekulakized Kulak, GOLOVKO Matvey Polikarpovich, having got a job at the Dnipropetrovsk construction site, conducted at his place of lodging, in a pit-house, as well as at work, among co-workers, a systematic, a[nti]-Sov[iet] propagandist campaign against all undertakings of the Sov[iet] authority and party, exploiting our difficulties in his propaganda.

At the same time, he spread various provocative rumors about the oncoming collapse of Sov[iet] rule, about the planned war, about Japanese occupation of the USSR, etc.

In the course of the conducted preliminary investigation regarding this case, the following has been established:

Kulak GOLOVKO Matvey Polikarpovich has systematically conducted a[nti]-S[oviet] propaganda both in a pit-house, his place of lodging, and among workers against all undertakings of the Sov[iet] authorities, saying: “It is no authority, but a gang. They have profited, they rob peasants to the last [kopek], people starve, they take everything away. Once again there will be corvée, once again there will be a landlord in power, they will once again beat peasants in the future. There is no spark, there are no initiators, there is no life at all, the matters have touched the poor as well; they are also being oppressed. The Jews have taken power into their hands, tying the Russians inside a sack so that we could get to know the land and freedom. The authorities want to turn artels into pigs – the Sov[iet] authority does not need us. The war will come soon, but I will not go to the front; I see whom to crush. I would go and shoot all those bastards. Bloody gangsters, they want to do [us] in completely. Damn the workers who work, better they all leave work, it would all be over faster. The Red Army will go to crush their own; that is why the nation suffers. We lived under the Tsar without “D[niepro]stroy” and we did not walk hungry.”

Moreover, he spreads rumors about gangs of vagabonds roaming around the countryside, about Makhno<sup>2</sup> who is to come soon to crack down, etc.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Matvey Golovko, sentenced on 4 October 1932 by the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Court to 1 year 6 months of imprisonment.

<sup>2</sup> Nestor Makhno (1888, according to other sources 1889–1934), Ukrainian revolutionary ataman, one of the leaders of the anarchist movement. In 1910 sentenced to death by the Odessa Okrug Military

Those listed below have been questioned as witnesses in the case and have stated as follows:

1. LEMISH Ivan Karpovich, 46 years of age, dekulakized, works as a guard in the Consum[ers] Cooperative of the city of Zaporizhia, lives in the 11<sup>th</sup> housing development of Kapust. Balki, pit-h[ouse] no. 39:

It often happens, that a group of wagoners gathers by the pit-houses, some 5 to 10 pers[ons], who exactly, I do not remember, but there was always GOLOVKO to be heard among them. As regards the kolkhozy, he said: "Damn them, there is nothing good there, no order whatsoever, some whipsters manage it all, am I to submit to them – that will be the day. It has hit even the poor. They have already started oppressing the poor. Those whom we have smashed earlier surely are [now] in power and they are the ones to do all this. Earlier, when there was no artel, we lived well and ate bread, yet once the artels were introduced, we started starving. They took the grain and what have they done with it, no one knows; the artel members receive only corn. In the kolkhozy, they make workers work for only a piece of bread, but even this they don't give; they force workers to work, oppressing the peasants, [who] leave the kolkhozy and run away. The war will soon come. Japan will come and then the rule will change."

Once, having just received his salary, the authorities had him pay a lot in taxes and he started screaming: "This is no authority but a gang. They are afraid that we might act; they collect plenty and pay little in salary. They have profited and the people who are to be supported by the state get no bread, hell knows what will happen, surely soon they will stop giving the bread even to the workers."

As regards the loan, after the collecting was done, GOLOVKO stated:

"They took my 100 rub[les], ripping me off, and we have no life because of those taxes, tax after tax. Earlier, when there were Kulaks in the countryside, they would charge the Kulaks, but once the Kulaks were gone, they also started including those farms and people who have joined the kolkhozy – the middle-sized farmers and the poor – in their plans. Now, even though you are impoverished,

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Court, death penalty was soon changed to life sentence in a labor camp. In March of 1917 he returned to the Yekaterinoslav, where he started a wide-spread political and military movement, taking charge of the local workers' and peasants' delegates. At the break of 1917, he formed the Free Peasant Battalions. In 1918, he organized a small revolutionary detachment fighting against the rule of Hetman Skoropadskyi. In the same year, his detachments joined the Bolsheviks, taking part in the battles against Denikin, Petliura's armies and the Entente. In June of 1919 he openly came out in opposition to the Soviet authorities. In the same year, he turned his detachments into the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine. In September-October 1920, during an attack of the Wrangel's armies, he once again stood with the Bolsheviks; yet with Wrangel's defeat, the Soviet command began eliminating the Makhnovist detachments. On 28 August 1921, Makhno, together with 77 members of his detachments, crossed over into Romania and came to live in Bucharest for some time and later in Warsaw, where he was arrested in 1923. During a court trial, he was accused of holding talks with Soviet diplomats concerning instigating an uprising in the eastern voivodeships of Poland and incorporating them into the Ukrainian SSR. He was released due to lacking evidence and at first came to live with his family in Toruń, then in Gdańsk – under constant police surveillance. In 1925 he left for Paris and settled down in Vincennes, keeping in touch with the international anarchist movement. He died in Paris.

they will do the same [to you] as they did to the Kulaks; they will not have any mercy once they see any resistance from you.”

[...]

2. DUDKA Vasily Yakovlevich, born in 1904, middle-sized farmer, n/p, works as wagoner in the VEO, lives in the 11<sup>th</sup> housing development in pit-h[ouse] no. 23.

“I lived with GOLOVKO Matvey for some time as his neighbor. I can recall that once, in 1932, I can not remember the month, when I asked one of the citizens about the credit documents, GOLOVKO cut into our conversation and started saying what do you mean will they give to us if they were the ones to take away from the workers, and you want them to give to us? – further GOLOVKO stated that he had allegedly journeyed to the city of Zaporizhia, where everyone was buying grain, selling even their last shirt – both workers and peasants alike – and in the artels [people] were swelling from starvation; thus, was it not clear that the grain in our country was being finished off. Besides, GOLOVKO was generally dissatisfied with Sov[iet] rule; he said that we were dekulakized without money and that we will dekulakize them with money; whom he wanted to dekulakize – I do not know.”

[...]

<sup>a</sup>-Oper[ational] representative-<sup>a</sup> SPO  
(—) POKHILOV

<sup>a</sup>-Approve: Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup> SPO  
(—) GORETS

<sup>a</sup>-Confirm:  
Ch[ief] Zaporizhia Municip[al] Div[ision]-<sup>a</sup> GPU  
(—) NIKELBERG<sup>3</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Drafted on 15 July 1932-<sup>b</sup>

*HDA SBU, Dnipropetrovsk, Spr. P-398, pp. 14–16.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b-b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>3</sup> Gavriilo Nikelberg (born 1901), Chief of the Zaporizhia Municipal Div. of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1933 till 10 May 1934 assistant to Chief of the EKO of the Kharkiv Oblast Div. of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 10 May 1934 assistant to Chief of the EKO of the Kiev Oblast Div. of the GPU; from 1937 in the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, later Chief of the 11<sup>th</sup> Div. of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 28 June 1937 Chief of the Economic Division, Deputy Chief, later Chief of the Administration and Economic Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR.

**No. 45**  
**19 July 1932, Simferopol. Circular by the Economic Department of PP**  
**OGPU Crimea regarding the fight against abuses in kolkhoz trade**

No. <sup>a-</sup>64/EKO<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b-c-</sup>Series<sup>-c-b</sup> “K”  
c[ity] of Simferopol  
“<sup>a-</sup>19-a” July 1932

<sup>b-d-</sup>Circular<sup>-d</sup>  
Economic Department of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>-b</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>To all  
Ch[iefs] of Rai[on] Divisions  
and Rai[on] Representatives of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>-b</sup>

Due to the growing kolkhoz trade, it has been observed that it is not only individual buyers who are active on the markets, but also trade representatives and agents of various econ[omic] and ZRK entities, undertaking wholesale purchases of agri[cultural] products from the kolkhozniki as part of self-supply.

Recently, abuses have become common in the countryside when the representatives of state or cooperative institutions, conducting purchases from the kolkhozniki, undertake joint dealings, whereby paying prices higher than the market prices for the purchased products. They receive bills (receipts) for sums that are significantly higher than those actually paid. Those deceitful businesses have brought loss to the system of workers' supplies by artificially raising the price levels. The same occurs during the sale of industr[ial] products to the kolkhozniki.

PP OGPU Crimea, in its reports dated 2 July no. 32, and 16 July no. 61, has already drawn your attention to the need for enhancing operational, agent-based activities which should cover kolkhoz bazaars and the organizations conducting trade in them.

Underlining the need to carry out a rigid fight against all kinds of abuse, I caution that undertaking any investigative cases, the responsibility should only be placed on <sup>c-</sup>the representatives of econ[omic] organs<sup>-c</sup> – direct and indirect participants to the abuses.

No investigative cases should be undertaken [against] the kolkhozniki who sell to those representatives their agricultural products; moreover it is categorically forbidden to arrest kolkhozniki selling agricultural products in the bazaars, call on or escort them, as concerns those matters, to the OGPU or militia organs.

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<sup>a-</sup>-a *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b-</sup>-b *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c-</sup>-c *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d-</sup>-d *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

Only under extraordinary circumstances may a kolkhoznik be called upon as a witness in the investigated case.

PP OGPU <sup>b-Crimea</sup><sup>-b</sup>  
SALYN

<sup>b-Ch[ief]</sup><sup>-b</sup> EKO PP  
IVANOVSKY

In conformity: Secretary EKO PP (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 10.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 46

### 25 July 1932, Simferopol. Telegram from the heads of PP OGPU Crimea regarding the fight against speculators and grain traders

<sup>a-b</sup>Copy<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a-b</sup>Telegram<sup>b</sup>

To all Ch[iefs] of Rai[on] [and] Munic[ipal] Divisions  
and Rai[on] Representatives of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>

<sup>c</sup>Exclusively<sup>c</sup> .....

As a supplement to o[ur] circular, no. 61, dated 16 June<sup>d</sup> of this year, “Regarding the fight against speculators and grain traders”, <sup>a</sup>I suggest:<sup>a</sup> restoring the daily fight with fences and black stocks.

<sup>a</sup>Do not disturb<sup>a</sup> the transportation of grain provided only that the person taking the grain away is a <sup>a</sup>worker<sup>a</sup> or <sup>a</sup>kolkhoznik<sup>a</sup> and that he is carrying no more than <sup>a</sup>one pood<sup>a</sup> of grain.

In the case when a worker or a kolkhoznik should be carrying more than one pood of grain, confiscate it <sup>a</sup>without arresting the owner<sup>a</sup>.

The fight against professional fences, as with all other speculators and traders, should be intensified to the maximum, in accordance with circular no. 61, dated 26 December, that is undertake repressive measures and also confiscate all grain on the account of the [grain] purchase plan for the raion in which the grain had confiscated.

In accordance with the above, undertake concrete steps in the fight with fences on the railroads and other centers of transport, as well as on the roads giving access to those centers, entirely avoiding mass operations and searches in trains and on steamships.

Make this directive known to the appropriate secretaries of *raypartkoms* and through *raykoms* of the AUCP(b); mobilize the kolkhozniki and *yedinolichniki* also in the fight against fences.

<sup>a</sup>D[eputy]<sup>a</sup> PP OGPU <sup>a</sup>Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
NELIPPA<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>d</sup> *Compare document no. 45. There: 16 July.*

<sup>1</sup> Yakov Nelippa (born 1892), from 1920 with the VChK; in years 1924–1926 Chief of the Secret Operational Unit of the Stavropol Okrug Div. of the OGPU; in years 1926–1928 Chief of the Secret Dept. of the Operational Div. of the OGPU for the North Caucasus Front; in years 1928–1929 first Deputy Chief of the Oblast directorate in the United Directorate of the OGPU in Vladikavkaz; in years 1929–1932 Chief of the Secret Unit of the 9<sup>th</sup> Rifle Corps of the North Caucasus Military District; in years 1933–1935 Chief of the Secret Operational Unit of the OGPU of the Crimean ASSR, assistant to Chief of the UNKVD Directorate of the Omsk Oblast; in years 1941–1942 assistant to the director of



25 July 1932  
No. 37468

<sup>a-c</sup>In conformity:<sup>-c-a</sup>  
Secretary EKO PP (—) BELOUSOV

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 9.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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factory no. 91, operational group of the UNKVD of the Stalingrad Oblast; from 1943 Chief of the Administrative, Economic and Financial Dept. of the UNKGB of the Stalingrad Oblast; from November till December 1943 Chief of a unit of the NKGB reserve of the Ukrainian SSR; from December 1943 till September 1944 Chief of Investigation Div. of the UNKGB of the Mykolaiv Oblast; from September 1944 till September 1945 Chief of the Administrative, Economic and Financial Dept. of the UNKGB of the Rivne Oblast; from September 1945 till January 1947 Deputy Chief of the "A" Unit of the UNKGB of the Kiev Oblast; from January till August 1947 Deputy Chief of the 4<sup>th</sup> Unit, and Chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dept. of the UMGB of the Kiev Oblast; on 1 August 1947 released from duty due to health reasons.

## No. 47

### July 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a special communiqué of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the political situation and agent-based operational work carried out among national minorities

3<sup>rd</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Group SPO  
Odessa Ob[last]  
Division<sup>a</sup> GPU

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
Series “K”

<sup>a</sup>-Chief<sup>a</sup> SPO GPU Ukrainian SSR  
c. Kharkiv

<sup>a</sup>-<sup>b</sup>Spec[ial] communiqué<sup>b</sup>  
regarding the political attitudes and the results of agent-based operational work  
carried out among national minorities of the Odessa Oblast<sup>a</sup>  
for the period from 1 January to 1 July [19]32

Within the Odessa Oblast, there are three German raions: <sup>a</sup>-Zeltzky, Spartakovsky<sup>a</sup>, border raions (with Romania), <sup>a</sup>-K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky<sup>a</sup>, two Bulgarian – <sup>a</sup>-Olshansky and Blagoyevsky<sup>a</sup>, and one Jewish – <sup>a</sup>-Kalinindorfsky<sup>a</sup> Raion.

[...]

The materials which have been collected on the ground, and which we have received, give witness to a number of shortcomings in the work carried out by the lower levels of the organization in regard to the ethnic policy pursued among the ethn[ic] minorities.

Among the primary shortcomings are those related to not following party directives on the work among ethn[ic] minorities, ignoring the national language and not using it in everyday life, not undertaking mass cultural activities, as well as allowing for distortions in the party line during a number of politico-economic campaigns in the countryside; all this has brought forth unhealthy reactions among a part of the society.

In individual cases, the unhealthy reactions come down to the lack of faith in the government's directives (Zeltzky Raion): “<sup>a</sup>-Because those decisions are given out with the aim of having the peasants purchase the grain and cattle so that later [all] can be taken away<sup>a</sup>” or “<sup>a</sup>-Whether the grain will be collected or not, it makes no difference to us because they will take it all away and we will stay hungry, just as we were before<sup>a</sup>.”

Due to difficulties with supplies, we have noted a tendency for unrest (K[arl] Liebknechtovsky Raion).

<sup>a</sup>-Managing the kolkhozy<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

The collectivization of farms in the ethnic raions, according to the data for 25 June [19]32, can be summed as follows:

1. <sup>a</sup> Zeltzky <sup>a</sup>	Raion	96.5%
2. <sup>a</sup> K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky <sup>a</sup>	—    —	96.7%
3. <sup>a</sup> Spartakovsky <sup>a</sup>	—    —	98.3%
4. <sup>a</sup> Kalinindorfsky <sup>a</sup>	—    —	100.0%
5. <sup>a</sup> Olshansky <sup>a</sup>	—    —	69.7%
6. <sup>a</sup> Blagoyevsky <sup>a</sup>	—    —	88.4%

The ethnic kolkhoz management is highly dissatisfied with the activities conducted by the raion organizations (*raykolkhozsoyuz*). The instructors who are sent do not perform well and give no practical help to the kolkhozy (Zeltzky and K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raions).

The management of some of the kolkhozy is dominated by criminal elements, thus resulting in poor management, distortions in the party line and a number of other criminal activities taking place.

Lack of cultural and educational work, as part of the campaigns carried out in the kolkhozy, is clearly reflected in the situation and the attitudes of the people.

What we have described above can be illustrated with the following information:

<sup>a</sup>Corruption of the councils<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Snihuryevsky Raion<sup>ac</sup>: Chair[man] of the “Ukrainiets” kolkhoz council, YANUSHKEVICH, expelled from the party, when carrying out work aimed at the unification and strengthening of the kolkhoz, during his addresses at meetings would state: “<sup>a</sup>I categorically oppose the joining of the kolkhozy, regardless of the fact that the kolkhozy are small – let them stay that way. In any case, it will bring no good<sup>a</sup>.”

With his address, YANUSHKEVICH contributed to the failure of kolkhozy’s unification.

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: V[illage] of Mangely. The kolkhoz council, headed by chairman LEYBERG, seems completely uninterested in the kolkhoz work. It often takes part in drinking sprees which are organized [by each of the council members] at their homes. The kolkhoz chairman LEYBERG states: “<sup>a</sup>We should first think of ourselves and then about the kolkhoz because if you work in the kolkhoz and don’t think about yourself – you won’t make it<sup>a</sup>.”

Taking example from the chair[man] of the kolkhoz and other members of the council, the kolkhozniki are equally indifferent towards their work, saying: “<sup>a</sup>This is kolkhoz property, we won’t have any profits from it anyhow<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Management errors<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>c</sup> Was: Snihirivsky.

In the Baden kolkhoz (Zeltzky Raion) there is no order or discipline among the kolkhozniki. Many of them do not carry out the work given to them, showing indifference with regard to the stock. Such situation developed only because the council – chair[woman] of the kolkhoz GUN Yelizaveta (party mem[ber]), GETS and oth[ers] – take part in drinking sprees and have no interest in the kolkhoz work. Some of the kolkhoz members (MARDIAN Ivan) pursue the purchasing and slaughtering of cattle and the sale of meat on the market. They rarely attend to their work in the kolkhoz.

It should be noted that no mass cultural activities have been carried out in the kolkhozy mentioned above.

The decree issued by the government and the party Central Committee concerning the *khlebozagotovka*, agricultural tax, meat purchases and oth[ers] has not been explained to the kolkhoz masses.

<sup>a</sup>Lack of management<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The sowing campaign has been carried out in an unsatisfactory manner, without tight and proper management and without mass political activities from the responsible organizations; as a result, the plan has not been fulfilled.

Foreman and a member of the “Strasburg” kolkhoz council EYSINTSIMER has abandoned his sowing work and let his brigade go on Sunday. Asked by party member SHVIDKE why he did so, the former answered: “<sup>a</sup>You party members get convinced by the raion organs, yet you don’t understand a thing. You come and oppress us<sup>a</sup>.”

On 9 June of this year, the *raypartkom* issued a directive on the organization of field work during holidays, yet some councils and kolkhozniki have refused to work during holidays.

The chair[men] of the kolkhoz council PROYFEN and GUN – both party members – did not go to work in the fields during the holidays. Having taken six horses and two kolkhozniki, they started working their own fields, sowing corn.

When the kolkhoznik OKS expressed his discontent with what PROYFEN and GUN have done, he was answered as follows: “<sup>a</sup>We have the right to it since we earned it<sup>a</sup>.”

In some ethnic *sielsoviets* during the sowing campaign, the kolkhoz councils have shown disrespect towards the needs of kolkhozniki, resulting in negative reactions among the latter.

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The secretary of the part[y] cell in the v[illage] of Elzas, PROTSEL, in response to the complaints from the kolkhoz’s poor farmers, GERMAN Yakov and oth[ers], about their inability to fulfill the quotas set for them due to the poor food in the kolkhoz, stated: “<sup>a</sup>You do not want to work – go to America. They have better food there<sup>a</sup>.”

The kolkhozniki from the v[illage] of Strasburg, BERGARDT – middle-sized farmer and FETTIKH – poor farmer, stated: “<sup>a</sup>When the spring comes, they start

screaming about the sowing plans, and during the harvests they demand prompt grain transports to the station. We know only the work and hunger<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Mismanagement<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In the “Nove Zhyttia” kolkhoz, even now, there has been no appointment of people to take responsibility of the various parts of the farm and the work is organized improperly. There are several horses missing from the kolkhoz and nobody noticed this fact.

In the “Vieybauer” artel in the same raion, the kolkhozniki have been using the horses for private business without knowledge of the foremen.

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The chair[man] of the “<sup>a</sup>Stern<sup>a</sup>” kolkhoz (Worms colony) MAUKH P., has categorically refused to accept and carry out the *khlebozagotovka* plan. During a general meeting of the kolkhozniki he declared: “<sup>a</sup>Under no circumstances accept the plan as long as we ourselves are not secured with grain supplies that will last us for the entire year<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The kolkhoz council in the village of Meriyardivka has received 20 poods of seeds of corn for distribution among the needy poor, yet they have been distributed improperly. For example: the corn was given to a middle-sized farmer, SCHELL S., who did not need the seeds, while at the same time SHELL Yosif – a poor farmer who had no seeds at all, was refused the corn.

<sup>a</sup>Corruption of the kolkhozy<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: PIL Kh. Kh., formerly a Kulak, arrested on multiple occasions for making anti-Soviet statements, is a member of the “Spartak” kolkhoz.

The Yosifental col[ony]. TSAKHER M. M., who owned 125 tithes of land before the revolution, is a member of the kolkhoz in that colony.

During the preparations and the spring sowing campaign, some of the low-level officials in the ethnic raion have allowed for distortions in the party line.

Those distortions have, in individual cases, come down to excessive demands during the collection of sowing materials, taking away of the last pounds of seeds from the poor, illegal arrests, fining and beating of the peasants.

For example:

<sup>a</sup>Distortions<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Olshansky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The secretary of the part[y] cell in the v[illage] of Do-broye, <sup>d</sup>GEORGIYEV<sup>d</sup> (émigré <sup>d</sup>from Bulgaria<sup>d</sup>), in the month of February has taken away one and a half poods of corn cobs and eight pounds of meat from a poor and disabled farmer, VIEDELKOV Stepan. At the order from the *Sielsoviet* chair[man] KORECKY, the products have been returned to VIEDELKOV. Thereafter, GEORGIYEV visited the home of VIEDELKOV Ivan when there were only children present, broke the door and took the products.

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<sup>d-d</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

On 28 March of this year, the brigade for harvesting the seeding material, headed by the aforementioned secretary of the [party] cell, GEORGIYEV, visited an impoverished middle-sized farmer, KANTOR, with the intention of taking away two and a half poods of flour, yet found opposition from KANTOR's wife, whereupon GEORGIYEV took out a revolver and beat her.

In the mont[h] of March, GEORGIYEV arrested a middle-sized farmer, FIODOROV Ivan, and kept him, together with Kulaks, in a cold barn.

<sup>a</sup>Cases of beatings<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The RPI representative, ESTERLAN, the chair[man] of the *sielsoviet*, SHPAK, and militia officer VAYSVPOD have beaten up a peasant detained for stealing seeds.

<sup>a</sup>Olshansky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In the v[illage] of Dobroye, a group of activists, candidates for the party, having taken away clothes and food from the Kulaks, have rounded them up in groups of 15 or more in a single house and beaten them.

<sup>a</sup>Unlawful practice of force[d] labor<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The chair[man] of the *sielsoviet* in the v[illage] of Sverdlovo, PENOV, party mem[ber], during the month of May on several occasions carried out the practice of force[d] labor, in some cases lasting for as long as a month (with kolkhoz[niki] STOYAVA Georgy and STOYAVA Nikolay), wanting in that manner, through force[d] labor, to furnish stables for the *sielsoviet*.

<sup>a</sup>Mass sale of cattle<sup>a</sup>

In the same raion, in the v[illage] of Kubanka, the chair[man] of the *sielsoviet*, KOTLIN, has taken away cows from the kolkhozniki at understated estimates. A middle-sized farmer from the kolkhoz, YERGIYEV Dmitry, had his cow taken for 100 r[ubles] of debt (to the bank and the *Traktorcentr* shares). The chair[man] of the *sielsoviet*, KOTLIN, sold the cow for 300 r[ubles].

In the neighboring village of Gildendorf in the Odessky Raion, within the last seven days, 25 cows have been sold using the same methods.

Insufficient, and in some cases very poor work aimed at disseminating and explaining the directives of the party's CC, and distorted explanations offered on those matters by the Kulaks and other enemy elements have led to unhealthy attitudes among a certain part of the kolkhozniki, resulting primarily in a distrustful approach to those decisions made by the party and the government.

The unhealthy reactions occur mainly with regard to the matter of the planned *khlebozagotovka*.

<sup>a</sup>Negative reactions<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A middle-sized farmer of the kolkhoz, SHLOSER Yakov, (Baden colon[y]) as concerns the planned *khlebozagotovka*, states: “<sup>a</sup>I do not know how the people can believe the Bolsheviki and allow themselves to buy pigs and cows. Perhaps Soviet rule has not taught them enough. To await the decreased

[plans of] *khlebozagotovka* and the possibility for the kolkhozniki to buy cattle – as the party and government decrees state – this is precisely what one should not do because those decrees have been issued with the sole purpose of making the people work more in the kolkhozy<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In the v[illage] of Katorzhyno, the Bulgarian kolkhozniki, GANEVICH and CHULAKOV, speak among the people as follows: “<sup>a</sup>With Sov[iet] rule, we only know what they will take away from us. Under the old regime, we did not live through things we live through today under Sov[iet] rule<sup>a</sup>.”

Due to difficulties with supplies, individual kolkhozniki are spreading, besides negative opinions, rumors about war.

For example:

<sup>a</sup>Rumors about war<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Due to difficulties with supplies, kolkhoznik Yohann GETS, a middle-sized farmer, and oth[ers] have been saying: “<sup>a</sup>No one among the peasants intends to defend Soviet rule. The Bolsheviks do not want to fight because they know that they will be defeated in three days. They took the grain for the army because soon there will be war and they will cease oppressing us<sup>a</sup>.”

Kolkhoznik SHMIDGAL says among the peasants: “<sup>a</sup>When will their defeat finally come? Is this authority? They took the grain, robbed the people and deceive them. After the crops come in, they will once again take the grain away and we will come to starve. We should not give the grain this time since the war will start soon anyhow and the communists will perish one way or the other<sup>a</sup>.”

Kolkhoznik PIERIA F. F. (Grossliebenthal colon[y]) states: “<sup>a</sup>The war must come soon, the sooner the better. Is this authority which acts this way? The five-year plan has already worn us out. They are starting to organize the second one and to take money from us<sup>a</sup>.”

Those kolkhozniki who show anti-Soviet attitudes, seeing the situation in the Far East, expect a rapid collapse of Soviet authority, linking it [also] with the crisis in the bourgeois countries which intend to crush Sov[iet] rule.

<sup>a</sup>Provocative rumors<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A member of the kolkhoz, GORKH G. G., stated to the kolkhozniki: “<sup>a</sup>Devil knows, they have been long writing about the war and it has yet not come. For the past fourteen years they have been slow to act and can not handle Russia or introduce order in it. One waits and waits, running out of patience, but let us not despair... We will not be waiting long. In China, entire regions have been destroyed, and the war in China will decide Russia's fate<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Kolkhoz[nik] ROT L. J., commenting on the visit of the Turkish delegation to the USSR, stated: “<sup>a</sup>Russia and Turkey are uniting and preparing for defense because Japan has ended the war in China and will soon start

an attack on us. The end of Soviet rule will come because the situation is getting more intense and [here] there is utter mismanagement everywhere<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Landau colony, Latvian RUDZIN I. G. spreads rumors among the people about the oncoming war. During one of the meetings of the teachers, RUDZIN made an address, stating: “<sup>a</sup>How much longer will you be gathering and discussing various issues, don’t you know that PIŁSUDSKI is in Romania, where they are making preparations for the war with USSR?<sup>a</sup>”

During a campaign to mobilize the means in the ethnic raions, many of the kolkhozniki have been saying that they do not intend to pay and that all the debts should be collected from the kolkhozy.

For example:

<sup>a</sup>Zeltzky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Kolkhoznik GERMAN and oth[ers] are saying: “<sup>a</sup>They demand that we <sup>c</sup>make debts<sup>c</sup> while they do not know that we have worked the entire year and have not received a single kopek. Let them collect the debts from the kolkhozy because we have nothing to buy bread with<sup>a</sup>.”

[...]

In a number of ethnic kolkhozy, as a result of Kulak propaganda, the discontent of the kolkhozniki often takes the form of cattle theft from the kolkhozy.

For example:

<sup>a</sup>Theft of cattle<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Recently, the Bulgarian and German villages have witnessed 12 cases of group theft of cattle.

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Johannestahl col[ony]. Led by a Kulak woman, SHEFER Emma, a group of women has stolen [a herd of] cattle numbering 16 cows.

When a council member, CHARNETSKY, attempted to prevent the theft of cattle, the women declared: “<sup>a</sup>You have been stealing from us. That is why we are taking cattle<sup>a</sup>.”

Those partaking in the theft of cattle have been taken to account for their deeds.

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The member of the “12<sup>th</sup> anniversary” artel, GINKO I. A., a Bulgarian, without knowledge of the artel council took a collectivized horse and a wagon from the kolkhoz. Some of the kolkhozniki have commented on it by saying: “<sup>a</sup>If he will not be made to answer for this, we will also come to take our horses and property<sup>a</sup>.”

A number of the kolkhozy has witnessed cases of kolkhozniki leaving them and attempting to establish individual farms.

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: v[illage] of Vasylivka in the Pavlinsk *sielsoviet*. Members of the “Rosa Luxemburg” kolkhoz, a German, SHVENGLER I. A., together

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<sup>c-c</sup> *As in the original. Should be: pay the debts.*



with oth[ers] have filed declarations of leaving the kolkhoz, giving the following reasons for their decision: “<sup>a</sup>On a number of occasions we have addressed the management with a request to distribute flour, yet we have been refused even though there are flour supplies available<sup>a</sup>.”

A poor farmer, SKRIZHEVSKY Ludwig, a German, has also filed a declaration of leaving the kolkhoz, justifying it with a claim that, as a poor farmer, he has received less supplies than the more wealthy farmers.

The cases of kolkhozniki leaving the kolkhozy have also occurred in the Zeltzky, Spartakovsky, K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky, Olshansky Raions as a result of difficulties with supplies.

No mass exoduses from the kolkhozy have been reported.

#### <sup>a</sup>Individual sector<sup>a</sup>

We have noted false explanations concerning the issue of planned *khlebozagotovka* offered by certain individual [farmers] in ethnic raions.

For example:

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: *Yedinolichnik*, middle-sized farmer KUSTOL, with respect to the decree issued by the party CC on *khlebozagotovka*, stated to the peasants: “<sup>a</sup>Is it true that the *khlebozagotovka* plans have been decreased for the collective and the individual sectors? If only they lived as they write the truth. They issue such decrees, and later take the grain away, leaving the people to starve<sup>a</sup>.”

In the same raion, in the village of Blagoyevo, a middle-sized Bulgarian farmer, YANNI, in a conversation on the issues relating to the difficulties with supplies, stated: “<sup>a</sup>We should have left the artel back in 1930, then we would have grain. But back then we did not want to leave, we supported the kolkhoz, and now here we are, left to starve<sup>a</sup>.”

#### <sup>a</sup>Kulaks<sup>a</sup>

Due to difficulties with supplies in the ethnic raions and the campaign, the Kulaks have carried out anti-Soviet propaganda and spread various provocative rumors.

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A group of Kulaks, Germans from the Torosovo colony – FRIDTS A. A., FIKHTNER A. and oth[ers], have been spreading the following rumors among the poor kolkhozniki: “<sup>a</sup>The Sov[iet] authorities are sensing [their] defeat; observing the events in China, they put pressure on us, wanting to rob us and not give us the opportunity to become stronger. Communists are bandits. They tell the Germans to control themselves and wait patiently. Once Japan takes over China, it will obviously attack the Sov[iet] Union. Then our life will improve<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Grossliebenthal<sup>f</sup> colony – son of a shot Kulak has been addressing the kolkhozniki with regard to the decree by the party CC on *khlebozagotovka*, in following words: “<sup>a</sup>I do not believe a word they are saying.

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<sup>f</sup> Was: Gross-Liwenthal.

I know those liars well, they will take all our grain away again and send it abroad. If we are fools and give it away, as we did last year, we will be done for. It is necessary that they respect us, only then will we be able to save ourselves from death of starvation<sup>a</sup>.”

We have noted the same propaganda carried out by the Kulaks in the Olshansky, Blagoyevsky and Zeltzky Raions.

Due to the difficulties with supplies, the lower-level officials of the Soviet apparatus in the ethnic raions have been prone to misinterpret and have lack of trust in the party decrees concerning the planned *khlebozagotovka* and oth[er] campaigns.

<sup>a</sup>N[ovo]odessky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The RIK secretary, DANILEVICH (émigré from Galicia), discussing the decrees of the party CC, states: “<sup>a</sup>The party CC is afraid of war and thus tries to defuse the attitudes of the people with decrees, attracting the people to its support because the attitudes that were evident thus far were to nobody’s advantage<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A *Centrospart* official in the Grossliebenthalf colony has been voicing his disapproval of the experienced difficulties, stating to the peasants: “<sup>a</sup>Our leaders only speak through the radio because they are afraid to look straight into people’s eyes. They say it all – that we are growing, getting stronger, but in reality we are growing like an onion – with our head down. What the newspapers claim is not the truth. People are starving, and they force them to read newspapers<sup>a</sup>.”

We have noted the same negative opinions among the lower-level Soviet officials in the: Zeltzky, Kalinindorfsky, Blagoyevsky and Olshansky Raions.

Among the lower-level countryside intelligentsia in a number of ethnic regions, we have noted false explanations being offered as regards the difficulties with supplies, which result in school work achieving insufficient levels. Moreover, corruption [of the schools] is taking place. For examp[le]:

<sup>a</sup>Bereslavsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A teacher, BUSH Christofor (German), instead of [undertaking] anti-religious activities, told the pupils: “<sup>a</sup>We can not celebrate but we can bake paskha and paint eggs<sup>a</sup>.”

#### <sup>a</sup>Reactions<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Snihuryevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: A teacher in the village of Kiselivka (Pol[ish] colony) did not participate in the socio-political campaigns. He performs his duties only formally; polit[ical] courses are not taught in the school, as a result of which, the following conversations can be heard among the pupils:

Pupil MARKOVSKY, 5<sup>th</sup> group, says: “<sup>a</sup>The counterrevolution which reigns over us feeds on lies. Last year they wrote that the kolkhozniki will be supplied with textile products, while in fact they were left without bread, naked and made to sell their last possessions for a piece of bread<sup>a</sup>.”

A pupil from the 6<sup>th</sup> group, TURCHANOVSKY Mikhail says: “<sup>a</sup>Everything they say and promise is a lie. We will all come to die before we finish the second

five-year plan. The only one left will be STALIN, who has already brought the destruction of the peasants<sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The Bulgarian seven-year school is head[ed] by a Ukrainian UELSKY, who has a poor command of the Bulgarian language. Some subjects are taught in Bulgarian in this very school. The Ukrainian school is head[ed] by PEYCHEV. Very often the conversations between Ukrainian [and] Bulgarian teachers turn into disputes. We have also noted cases of discontent with the fact that the Bulgarian schools are headed by a Ukrainian and vice versa. The teacher VOLOSHYN has commented on the issue with the following words: “<sup>a</sup>Ukrainization is being pursued in our Bulgarian school<sup>a</sup>.”

It should be noted that the Catholic clergy continues to enjoy great influence among the countryside people and intelligentsia which can be seen primarily by the upturn in the church.

We have noted cases of active manifestations by the clergy with regard to the campaigns pursued in the countryside, recently mainly with regard to the difficulties in supplies.

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Aiming to strengthen religious influence over people, during the mass pastor SHIMKE loses his consciousness, and later, upon regaining it, declares to the people: “<sup>a</sup>It is very difficult to live. I can not stand the abuse that the people receive from those leaders<sup>a</sup>.”

He calls on the faithful to unite with the church and remain calm because changes should come soon.

Similar events have repeatedly occurred both in the church and during funeral processions.

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Pastor LORAN Rafail<sup>1</sup>, in his sermons calls on the people to attend the church. His engagement is particularly active with the children, to whom he says: “<sup>a</sup>First you have to go to church, and then you can go to school<sup>a</sup>.” He often gathers the children and spreads religious propaganda among them.

<sup>a</sup>Spartakovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Pastor LEFLER (Grossliebenthal colony) spreads the following rumors among the people: “<sup>a</sup>The entire Black Sea coast has been purged of people because the military units are arriving there since soon there will be war<sup>a</sup>.”

“<sup>a</sup>Some are leaving the party because they are afraid of a change of government. There are whispers that VOROSHYLOV has killed STALIN for his misconduct<sup>a</sup>.”

We have also noted priests making open manifestations among Germans in the Yosife[n]tal colony as well as in the Landausky and Zeltzky Raions.

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<sup>1</sup> Rafail Loran (born 1872), curator of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Sultz in the Karl-Liebknechtovsky Raion, Odessa oblast. Arrested by the organs of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced on 28 April 1935 by the Odessa Oblast Court to special resettlement in the Caucasus for a period of 10 years. With the decision of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 29 May 1935, the place of deportation was changed to Kazakhstan; rehabilitated in 1992.

In the: Spartakovsky, Zeltzky and oth[er] raions, we have noted a number of cases of anti-Soviet statements being made by the religious population which come down to the following argument:

“<sup>a</sup>War is inescapable. It will free the people from the torment” or: “We await the war as the Jews awaited Moses, who saved them<sup>a</sup>.”

The Swedes, who arrived in the USSR last year after the crop campaign, did not manage to get food supplies [and], as a consequence, are presently enduring hardships. Therefore, such discontent can be observed among them: “<sup>a</sup>Moscow is promising to secure food for us, but in fact they are only feeding us with corn and even that does not always suffice<sup>a</sup>.”

#### <sup>a</sup>Reactions of the Swedes<sup>a</sup>

Swedes SHURBERG and EYERMANKH say:

“<sup>a</sup>We would go back to Sweden, but we know well that the Soviet authorities will not let us go. They promised to give us exemptions for a period of three years, yet already they have put agri[cultural] tax on us. One can not trust anyone. We have to insist on leaving the USSR<sup>a</sup>.”

Pressure has been exerted on the wealthy villages in the ethn[ic] raions during the political campaigns, while at the same time the lower-level [party] officials have allowed for distortions in the party line in certain areas, bringing among a part of the Germans leanings towards emigration and [leading to them seeking] contacts with the consulates.

#### <sup>a</sup>Contacts with the consulate<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The contacts with the consulate are sought by individual citizens of for[eign countries] who make requests for permission to leave for abroad; [the contacts concern] also the correspondence of people (Germans) on the matter of German war loans raised during the German occupation of Ukraine with the colonists.

It needs to be noted that no one among those owning the loan has received anything.

#### <sup>a</sup>Correspondence<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In the village of Blagoyevo, all employees at the managerial [posts] are Bulgarian émigrés. They continue to sustain contact with Bulgaria with the relatives living there, keeping up correspondence with them and receiving mail.

#### <sup>a</sup>Emigration tendencies<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The contact with the consulate and the emigration tendencies have strengthened, particularly during the implementation of the *khlebozagotovka* plan and oth[er] campaigns. Many Germans have filed complaints with the consulate about the reprehensible activities of the local authorities.

<sup>g-a</sup>Rozdilnansky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Recently, many among the German colonists have come to consider emigration to America because a large part of the colonists have relatives there with whom they keep correspondence. In the letters sent to America, [they] write about the situation of the Germans in the USSR, complaining about the hardship and evident distortions.

In a number of ethnic raions (Zeltzky, Spartakovsky), there are many Germans who work as correspondents for foreign newspapers and who receive salaries for that work.

The emigration tendencies have strengthened recently particularly among Germans. There are many people in the Zeltzky Raion (KURTS, RIGEL) who keep systematic contacts with the consulate and who keep considering the possibility of emigrating to America.

The aforementioned people spread following rumors among other [people]: “<sup>a</sup>It is possible to go to America for free and under good conditions<sup>a</sup>.”

As a result of their propaganda activities and rumors, the people discuss the issue of emigration more often<sup>g</sup>.

As regards the agent-operational and preventive activities concerned with all of the abovementioned irregularities, the raion apparatus has informed the RPK secretaries [about them] with the aim of undertaking appropriate steps. Moreover:

<sup>a</sup>Tsebrykovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Four investigations have been closed, all concerning officials who have allowed distortions. The cases have been transferred to the court.

<sup>a</sup>K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In relation to different campaigns, 14 Kulaks have been called to account for their deeds and [they] have been transferred to the court. An agent-based case codenamed “Prussians” has been started.

<sup>a</sup>Rozdilnansky Raion<sup>a</sup>: The case codenamed “Narushitely” is being pursued.

<sup>a</sup>Snihuryevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: Four investigations have been closed and transferred to the court.

<sup>a</sup>Blagoyevsky Raion<sup>a</sup>: In 14 cases Kulaks have been called to account for their deeds.

[...]

Besides that, on our part, we have also informed the oblast organizations about all irregularities which have been allowed in the ethn[ic] raions.

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] of Obl[ast] Division<sup>a</sup> GPU of Ukrainian SSR  
PIERTSOV<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>g-g</sup> *Alongside the fragment, on the left margin, a vertical line and a handwritten note: Did we receive this information from SPO? (-) 8/7.*

<sup>2</sup> Yuriy Piertsov (born 1894), from 1921 with the VChK, from 3 March 1927 Chief of the Mariupol Okrug Div. of the GPU; from 11 March 1929 Deputy Chief of the Special Unit of the Ukrainian Military District; from 5 September 1930 Chief of the Operational Sector of the GPU; from 25 February 1932 till 29 January 1933 Chief of the Odessa Oblast Div. of the GPU.

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] ad interim<sup>a</sup> SPO  
SHERSTOV

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, pp. 470–492.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*Two handwritten notes on the document:* To Com. Chertkov. See p. 22 and 23. Enquire with SPO what those register materials are and discuss with me. (–) 8/7 *and:* To Com. Nilov. Please get in touch with me before talks with SPO. (–) Chertkov. 13/VII.

**No. 48**  
**End of July 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a special communiqué**  
**by the Special Unit of Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian**  
**SSR regarding the correspondence of the representatives**  
**of Deutsche Levante Linie on grain exports from the USSR**

MR  
OO – 2<sup>nd</sup> Dept.  
b-545331<sup>b</sup>

a-Top secret<sup>a</sup>  
Series “K”

a-To Chief<sup>a</sup> of OO UMD and GPU Ukrainian SSR  
city [of] Kharkiv

a-c-Spec[ial] communiqué<sup>c</sup>  
concerning the case “Hamburg citizens”<sup>a</sup>

As a supplement to o[ur] spec[ial] communiqué no. 538307, dated 3 July [19]32, we inform that:

In the m[onth] of July, a large number of German steamships has called on the Odessa port; therefore MEWES<sup>1</sup> and WAGNER<sup>2</sup> have spent a significant amount of time in the port, attending to matters related with embarkation for <sup>a</sup>Deutsche Levante Linie<sup>a3</sup>.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the m[onth] of July, MEWES kept intensified encoded telegraph correspondence with a Hamburg address – ZANTELE [?]. The telegraphed reports contained information regarding the products exported to the various German ports, both from Odessa and from other Black Sea ports.

In one of the telegrams, MEWES informs that *Vnieshtorgtrans* is unable to send its representative to Odessa, therefore he is leaving for Moscow at the end of the m[onth], from there to Hamburg, and expresses the hope that he shall be in Hamburg by 8 August.

We have also undertaken perustration of three letters from MEWES addressed to the <sup>a</sup>Deutsche Levante Linie<sup>a</sup> in Hamburg, in which he reports:

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b- b</sup> *Number stamped.*

<sup>c- c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Karsten Mewes, representative of the German steamship association “Deutsche Levante Linie”.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, secretary of the representative’s office of “Deutsche Levante Linie”.

<sup>3</sup> Die Deutsche Levante Linie (DLL) – est. 1889, German shipping company serving the lines connecting German ports (primarily Hamburg) with the ports of Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and the Black Sea. Around 1920, Deutsche Levante Linie became part of HAPAG. In 1935 it became independent of the mother company. After World War II, the company once again began operating, yet in 1956, the majority of shares were obtained by Hamburg Südamerikanische Linie, which in 1970 merged with DLL.

1) According to information at my disposal, the Russian seeds will be delivered to the Black Sea ports at the end of August [or] at the beginning of September of this year. Estimating the quantities seems impossible to him, yet the fact that the delivery will be made remains set. MEWES underlines that due to decreased land area for sowing as compared to the previous year, smaller quantity of seed will be exported. The latter circumstance results, according to MEWES, from the increased interest of the state organization for seed exports “Eksportkhleb” in regular steamship connections of <sup>a</sup>“Deutsche Levant Linie”<sup>a</sup>. That is why MEWES proposes that “Eksportkhleb” be addressed directly with a proposition for long-term agreement of three to six m[onths]. At the same time, for the return journey of the ships anchored in the port, MEWES settles the amount of 20,000 tons over a period of three m[onth]s.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] ad interim OO Obl[ast] Division<sup>a</sup> GPU  
VALEYKO

<sup>a</sup>Oper[atational] representative<sup>a</sup>  
CHERTKOV

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 380-T, pp. 445–450.  
Copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*



## No. 49

6 August 1932, Kiev. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements made by one of the persons involved in the case codenamed "Boloto"

EKO – 2<sup>nd</sup> Dept.

6 August [19]32

To Com. VOLIK

Concerns the case [codenamed] "Boloto"

The meeting with citizen ZHADAN, my friend since 1928 presently working in the Nizhyn exchange office of the *Gosbank*, took place on 5 August in the apartment where he lived with his family (Nizhyn, 7 Karl Marx St.), at around 4 p.m. Our conversation lasted until approximately 10.30 in the evening. The subject of the conversation, not counting the small digressions about the living conditions, food prices, etc., came down to political matters and the situation of our country, with particular stress, naturally, placed on the internal situation. For [a more thorough] assessment of our conversation, it should be added that our friendship began first at solely professional level, but with time came to acquire more personal character, an almost intimate one, as a result of numerous sincere discussions, both about life as well as general issues. I will mention one fact about our mutual relations, [namely] that due to my particular habit of registering acquaintances in my memory solely through their last names, and because I have not seen him for about two years, at present, I do not recall his first name nor *otchestvo*.

In my eyes, ZHADAN seemed to be a man of quite strong will with a large charge of energy; in regard to his political attitude, he held on to varied tendencies with a certain nationalist leaning, under favorable circumstance, capable of moving from words to practical actions. I also had the impression, although not based on concrete or sufficiently verified grounds, that he had links to the counterrevolutionary internal groups, possibly also foreign ones. My last conversation with him, however, brings a number of corrections to this assessment, and if not completely, than at least with regard to the present situation, clearly changes the description as to his internal character.

Apart from this, in order not to reach too far with my conclusions I shall proceed to a concise and successive summary of our conversation, presenting it, with the aim of condensing individual matters, in the form of questions and answers.

Question: We have not seen each other for quite some time, how do you find yourself under the present situation and how do you view and manage the difficulties?

Answer: To keep it short, the most appropriate description of my internal state is that of a complete loss of faith in better times for the near future, a feeling of deep hopelessness. And I believe this state not to be typical for me alone, but characteristic of everyone around us: [people] from the countryside and cities, old

and young, party members and non-party people. On the outside, we all loudly praise the enormous achievements, the great accomplishments and the coming of the earthly paradise, but inside we feel the immeasurable physical and spiritual exhaustion and helplessness. It is characteristic for both the intelligentsia and the representatives of the physical labor that with the beginning of day of work, one is capable of working with enough physical and mental energy to last for a mere one third of the working day. Then one is worn out and capable only of sitting or standing out his working hours, thinking only of getting back to his home, to his rut, and also wondering whether one will be able to at least silence one's physical hunger or that of his children, or whether one will have to leave it for another day.

And this exhaustion, this helplessness, is only furthered by the situation with food supply, which borders on famine, but equally by the administrative, economic, organizational and planning chaos around us. If I receive a circular today and start thinking about its implementation, I immediately notice that it runs counter to yesterday's directives, and thus I foresee that tomorrow will bring the very same thing for today's regulations. Thus the conviction develops that up there at the highest level, the left hand does not know what the right hand does; we here on the ground, numb with hunger and constant fear [of] stumbling and not carrying out the will of the leaders properly, turn from living persons into cranky, creaking mechanisms which automatically transmit down, without any critique or analysis, all that we receive from above. In general, I think that all of us, living and walking on Soviet soil, will find ourselves in some dark corner with no escape or hope, in which there is no end.

Question: Alright. All these are generalities, and how do you view the very permanence of Sov[iet] rule, what directions for its further development do you see, do you think it desirable and possible to fight for some other government?

Answer: Completely independent from whether one likes Sov[iet] rule or not, only a hopeless fool can question its permanence. And this permanence of Sov[iet] rule is not a passing quality, but surely and unconditionally it has become a long-term phenomenon. This is the assumption that should be accepted by any man that thinks and is conscious. Which paths will it take in the future, I can not venture to foresee with any certainty, yet I am sure of this: the Bolsheviks are most skilled in analyzing the conditions and maneuvering. And if one adds the ability to maneuver to the permanence of rule, it should thus be taken for a fact that even with the present difficulties, which are particularly menacing in Ukraine, the Sov[iet] authority will find a way out, and that it will [equally] be a way out of that spiritual dead-end and stupor of which I spoke earlier.

You ask whether it is possible and whether one should want a different rule, whether it is worth fighting for a different government. In my opinion, the question should be posed differently, namely: one can and should want not a different government, but a different, better thought-out and more humane policy from that government; one should want a state where simple peasants are not made into Kulaks, where the severe repression against the peasants is not presented as the

official party line, where there are none of those horrifying occurrences of which we all know but have no guts to speak, where the *khlebozagotovka* plans do not lead the *kolkhozniki* and *yednolichniki* to ruin and starvation – this is what one should want. As regards a different government, where is it to come from and on whom should it rest? Our drunken and corrupt émigré circles will not bring such a government on Polish bayonets. At best, it will bring, if it comes, a sea of blood and our loss in this blood. Although there is much anger in our peasants against all present abuse, once the master comes back, even in a Petliura's coat our peasants will, *en mass*, forget the present ills and will blame it all on the returned masters. In short, Soviet rule is strong, lasting and although many of its representatives, intentionally or not, bring us much grief, with any other government it would only be worse; with this one, better days can at least be expected, though not immediately.

Question: This means that you do not believe in the coming of liberating intervention any time soon?

Answer: I accept the possibility of an intervention, although not in the near future. As to its liberating character, I strongly disagree.

Question: Alright, let it be. Yet, is a different way not possible? Can one not assume that our countryside will lose its patience and rise spontaneously?

Answer: Possibly that can be assumed, yet one should not wish for it due to two reasons – either this uprising will drown in its own blood, or, should it temporarily succeed, it will bring an intervention of Poland or some other benefactors, and this will in turn lead to a bloody massacre and slavery. And this slavery, following a new bloodbath, will be eliminated anyhow. Thus it is not worth the effort.

Question: I still do not understand where is the way out? On the one hand, you describe the present situation as a dead-end and look at all around us with utter hopelessness, while on the other hand, you consent to the rule [which] has built this road and you negate the need and the purpose of fighting with it?

Answer: But this is so simple. This dead-end, this exhaustion and hopelessness of which I spoke, are real as an experience of individual persons and groups and have a temporary character. Give us bread, do not jerk us around and do not throw us from ice cold water into boiling water on everyday basis with various nonsense regulations, orders and directives and this dead-end will open up. And the reason behind this nonsense and disorder is not the Sov[iet] government, as it is our flesh and blood, but our barbarism, savagery, coarseness, selfishness and incapability. It will take ten years. I do not believe it at all possible that any different government would be able to pacify our raked millions-strong anthill in a shorter period of time. That is why I do not see the need for fighting against Sov[iet] authority.

Question: Yet it is known after all that there were, and probably still are, people and whole groups among the intelligentsia, as well as quite capable people of exceptional knowledge and culture, who can not come to terms with the narrow

borders of Soviet dictatorship, who felt it to be stuffy and tight. Let us take YE-FREMOV<sup>1</sup>, RAMZIN, KONDRATYEV.

Answer: So what? All those examples only serve as proof of my claims. They have all publicly laid down their arms, they have considered themselves to be political corpses and became, as far as I know, supporters of Sov[iet] rule, serving it.

Question: Yet, it still seems to me that your claims are contradictory and not entirely clear.

Answer: My views are defined by the physical and spiritual exhaustion caused by the constant strain arising from the disorder around us and the difficult living conditions. For myself, I want nothing but peace and normal living conditions. When it gets hard and painful for me, I am ready to scream, but deep in my soul I am aware that we live in such times when all those difficulties are inescapable.

<sup>a</sup>-In conformity:<sup>a</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-6352, T. 1, pp. 444–446.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Serhiy Yefremov (1876–1939), renowned Ukrainian socio-political and public activist, literary critic, scholar, from 1919 vice-president of UAN/VUAN. In March 1917 he became a member of the Ukrainian Central Council, in April 1917 was elected Deputy Chairman of the UCC and a member of the Little Council. With the establishment of Soviet rule in Ukraine, he began working in the underground. In the autumn of 1919, at the request from UAN, he was given amnesty but forbidden to participate actively in politics. Arrested in July 1929, in April 1930 was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for having organized and led the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (ALU). The first 7 years of the sentence he spent in the Yaroslav political prison, later transferred to the Vladimir prison. According to official information, he died in prison in 1939; rehabilitated in 1989.

## No. 50

### 6 August 1932, Chernatske. Report by the chairman of the Chernatske *s[iel]soviet* for the Seredyno-Budsky Raion party committee on the reasons for not fulfilling plan for grain purchases

Office of the Seredyna-Buda RPK  
from the Chair[man] of the Chernatske *s[iel]sov[iet]*  
and Secretary of the p[arty] cell

#### Report

We hereby present for your information as follows – the situation in the Chernatske *s[iel]soviet*, as regards *khlebozagotovka*, is in catastrophic state which can be seen from the following data.

The overall rye crop from 433 ha – 520 cwt. As the plan for rye was set at 1,270 cwt, 520 cwt does not provide for the sowing of winter crop over an area of 650 ha. Apart from this, it is necessary to feed the people who in [the village of] Chernatske, as of 1 August, number 7,044 p[eople], 470 ha of oats have been sown, of which 215 ha of crops have been collected for seeds and 255 [ha] as grass because, due to late sowing, the heads did not develop. The situation in the kolkhozy is as follows: the kolkhozy are not accepting the plans. The farmers have already threshed all rye. The 2.5 tons that have been threshed are not enough for sowing and the loans need to be balanced on top of that. The plan set for the Chernatske *s[iel]soviet* can not be fulfilled. Therefore, we report for your information that we are not able to send any rye from the village of Chernatske; [the plan for] other crops will be fulfilled at the level of 50% because the kolkhozy are in debt, owing great amounts of oats and o[ther] crops which are to be returned.

6/VIII

Chair[man] of the *s[iel]soviet*  
(—) Okopsky

Secretary of the p[arty] cell

*HDA SBU Sumy, Spr. P-2264, p. 47.*  
*Original, handwritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

**No. 51**  
**23 August 1932, Simferopol. Circular by the Economic Department**  
**of PP OGPU Crimea regarding the fight against speculators**

<sup>a</sup>-Series<sup>a</sup> “K”

<sup>a-b</sup>-Circular<sup>b</sup>

Economic Division of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>

„<sup>c</sup>23<sup>c</sup>” August 1932

Cit[y] of Simferopol

No. <sup>c</sup>88/EKO<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>To all Ch[iefs] of Munic[ipal] [and] Rai[on] Divisions  
and Rai[on] Representatives of PP OGPU Crimea  
<sup>d</sup>concerning the fight against speculators-traders<sup>d-a</sup>

<sup>c</sup>To EKO files<sup>c</sup>

In the decree regarding the plan for *khlebozagotovka* and the development of the kolkhoz trade in grain, dated 6 May 1932, the CC AUCP(b) and the Council of the Peoples' Commissars of the USSR have decided the following:

“To deem it proper, following the execution of the current plan for grain purchases and the creation of seed reserve, that is after 15 January 1933, to give the kolkhozy and the kolkhozniki full opportunity for free sale of the entire remains of grain stocks at their own discretion, in bazaars and markets, as well as in the shops run by kolkhozy, and to oblige the local authority organs to give their full support in that matter to the kolkhozy and the kolkhozniki, and further to take steps aimed at eradicating private operators and traders-speculators seeking to profiteer from the kolkhoz trade.”

This is, among others, one of the principal characteristics of kolkhoz trade at the present time: the kolkhoz trade is for kolkhozniki and not for speculators.

As of today, we know numerous facts proving that kulaks, traders-speculators, continue their operations in the markets and bazaars in all the regions of Crimea, trying to use the kolkhoz trade to their own [benefit] and direct it onto a capitalist path.

The facts attest that the purchasing of products and the sale of industrial articles on village markets are conducted primarily by former traders, kulaks, the dekulakized, persons of no established profession and declassed elements. It has also been established that the speculators organize themselves into groups, each dealing with a particular type of goods.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

The majority of those pursuing speculation hold significant experience in the field and often have been charged in a court of law for it and detained by the UGRO.

The forms and methods of speculators' activities in the market are extremely versatile. Traders-speculators purchase products from *kolkhozniki* and *yedino-lichniki* in the markets and at the guard posts, but also on the roads leading to regional centers, in mills, grain elevators, etc. In the process of trading products, the trader-speculator aims to dictate his high prices to the market, purchasing the food products at lowered prices. In order to be able to buy products at low prices, the traders-speculators spread different provocative rumors among the *kolkhozniki*, making them fearful.

The increased activeness of speculators in the market depends, to a large extent, on the quality of steps undertaken by the local Soviet and economic institutions (RIKs, *komkhoz*, market committees) responsible for managing the *kolkhoz* trade. The shortcomings spring from the fact that the *kolkhoz* bazaars are not organized, there is no ordered resale of industrial articles and that proper attention is not given to *kolkhozniki* and *yedino-lichniki* who come to the bazaar.

Cases are being noted where speculators who have purchased goods from a *kolkhoznik* outside of the bazaar perimeters resell the same produce through the same *kolkhoznik* on the market at speculative prices.

Since the *kolkhoz* bazaars are poorly managed, the speculators and traders have the possibility of offering services to *kolkhozniki* and *yedino-lichniki*, such as weighting the products, thus using those services to reach deals with the peasants on the sale of their products to certain middle-men (their agents) at lowered prices.

Those cases attest to the treacherous [methods], the various forms of those [methods], to which the speculators and traders turn with the aim of disguising their actions.

On top of the above examples of speculators' activities, practices have been observed whereby traders-speculators form queues in front of commercial shops, queues composed of their own agents. Those waiting in queues purchase gen[eral] goods, which are then resold to *kolkhozniki* on the markets at higher prices. This type of speculator does not only specialize in organizing queues to the shops, but is also responsible for making direct arrangements with the shop employees, aiming to illegally obtain large quantities of products. Among this category of speculators one often finds craftsmen, seasonal laborers and individual office clerks.

Entering into cooperation with the employees of municipal shops, the speculators and traders do not limit their activities to those very contacts, but enter into similar arrangements with the *Selpo* employees and, which is particularly important, with the employees of state trade organizations and cooperatives responsible for the management of resale trade in the *kolkhoz* bazaars, thus disintegrating the organization of supplies of indust[rial] goods to the *kolkhozniki*.

All this is attested by the number of investigations conducted by our organs and those of the judicial branch.

Based on the operational information, denunciations and investigation materials, cases have been uncovered whereby the speculators and traders have entered into arrangements with the employees of the fin[ancial] organs who would not undertake any actions aimed at penalizing the traders, but would fine the kolkhozniki for personal sale of products while at the same time supporting the panic-creating rumors circulating on the bazaars, thus harming the kolkhoz trade. Cases have also been uncovered where the speculators and traders have made arrangements with employees of grain elevators, who, on agreement with the speculator, would sell him grain accumulated as part of *khlebozagotovka* program and issue false receipts to *yedinolichniki* for the deposited grain. The grain was not deposited in the elevators, but sold to the speculators.

With the right given to industrial cooperatives allowing them to conduct activities in the markets, former private operators have organized fictitious artels in order to disguise their speculative participation in the trade of goods.

In relation to the existing ties between the kulaks' and speculators' activities aimed against kolkhoz trade, a determined and unconditional fight against kulaks and speculators constitutes one of the most important tasks facing the OGPU, since for the OGPU organs it is particularly important to combat not only the counter-revolution but also speculation, in essence a counterrevolutionary activity.

In combating the speculators, our organs should not demonstrate a mechanical approach, but rather a concrete one, diverse and based on the inventory of the different groups of speculators, taking into account their particular characteristics.

With the aim of eradicating speculators-traders

<sup>a-b</sup>-I order: <sup>-b-a</sup>

1) To begin undercover activities and [to prepare] an inventory of speculators-traders operating in the markets, bazaars and queues, as well as those having connections with employees of state trade organizations, cooperatives, financial and supply organizations, to uncover their social role, significance and the scale of trade.

Following the preparation of the inventory of speculators-traders, they should be classified into groups:

1. groups of speculators operating through middlemen;
2. groups of speculators operating directly in the markets [with background as] a) former and present merchants, b) kulaks and dekulakized, c) people of no established profession, d) declassed and criminal elements, e) official clerks with the commercial-cooperative network who commit abuse in managing accounts and oth[er] documents issued for the produce purchased from kolkhozniki, etc.

2) Aiming to disclose speculators-traders, to extend a broad information network in the markets, bazaars, in the mills, grain elevators, peasant houses, hotels, inns and other places where kolkhozniki and *yedinolichniki* stay when they come to the markets. To instruct the network thoroughly, assigning concrete, clear tasks.



To direct particular attention of the informers' network to disclosing organized groups of traders.

3) To immediately begin an investigation of the state of markets and bazaars, the scope and forms of activities pursued by speculators and traders and to prepare a list of speculators, including, above all, kulaks, merchants and declassed elements conducting speculative activities. Detailed reports and lists of speculators are to be presented to the EKO PP no later than by <sup>f-7</sup> September 1932<sup>f</sup>.

4) To keep a separate inventory of kolkhozniki who purchase and resale products, but remembering that kolkhozniki pursuing such activities should, under no conditions, be subject to repression by our organs. Information about them should be immediately passed to regional organizations and kolkhoz councils with the aim of bringing the guilty before kolkhoz peer courts. In parallel to keeping reliable inventories, to expose in the market and detain speculators possessing false documents issued by kolkhozy.

5) Without any delay, to initiate the gathering of materials against speculators-traders so as to be able to conduct group arrests on [both] a mass, [as well as] a limited scale. Regional organs of the PP are permitted to conduct the arrests of small groups and of individual speculators-traders under the condition that the PP should immediately be informed of such an event. Conducting mass operations is permitted exclusively with the PP's consent, issued separately in each individual case.

6) Operational activity aimed at detaining speculators-traders should only be conducted beyond the perimeters of bazaars and markets and away from all such places where they could draw wide attention.

7) In combating speculators and traders, to bring in operational officers of the militia, the best and most reliable from among them, to place direct control over their activities and to instruct them personally, directing them clearly and managing their activities in accordance with consecutive tasks issued by the OGPU with regard to combating market speculation.

8) To identify actions aimed at combating abuse in state and cooperative trade, dealing with the sale of general products through resale trade mechanisms (resale of goods to speculators at above-margin prices, embezzlement and misuse of funds, self-supply, etc.).

9) To inform, without any delay, about undercover activities conducted by you in investigating persons committing embezzlement, persons from the state and cooperative apparatus, as well as from the management of supply organizations who have direct contacts with speculators and private operators so as to obtain consent for the execution of such undercover investigations.

9[!]) To conduct the fight against speculators and traders [keeping] high degree of political vigilance so that our operational activities should not bring elements of disorganization into the kolkhoz-sovkhoz trade. To avoid arresting workers and

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<sup>f-f</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>g</sup> *Changed in handwriting from 5 to 7.*

persons of social class that are close to us. However, information of speculative activities among those elements should be gathered carefully, investigated and the results submitted promptly to the EKO PP.

10) Investigation cases against speculators-traders should be conducted under summary procedures, without any delays, and all such cases should be submitted to the EKO PP so as to be passed on to [examination by] the court troika of the PP.

11) To inform about undercover work and operational activities regarding the fight against speculators-traders, at least once per decade, presenting a brief overview of developments in kolkhoz-sovkhoz trade in the region.

PP OGPU <sup>a</sup>Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
(—) SALYN

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKO PP  
(—) IVANOVSKY

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, pp. 237–242.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 52

### 24 August 1932, Kiev. Report by a secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement made by one of the persons involved in the case codenamed “Boloto”

EKO – 2<sup>nd</sup> Dep[artment]

24 August [19]32

<sup>a-</sup>To Com. VOLIK<sup>a</sup>

Concerning the case [codenamed] “Boloto”

The meeting and conversation with engineer STARODUBTSEV took place in my apartment on the evening of 22 August and lasted for approximately four to five hours. For the entire time, the conversation circled around political subjects; only at times would it touch upon the recollections of old common friends and the issues relating to the land melioration works carried out by STARODUBTSEV by the Tiasmyn [River] in the Chyhyrinsky Raion. I thus present the key topics of the conversation in form of questions and answers:

Question: It has been a long time, perhaps over a year, since we have met under circumstances other than professional ones. How is life, what do you do, what do you think about?

Answer: Presently, as is the case each time after a long leave away from Kiev, I spend all days walking the streets and looking at the crowds – how [the people] are dressed, to what degree are they fulfilled, content with life, does one feel much freshness in them, much happiness with life, do they smile, laugh. I see that compared to previous year[s], to a great extent even to the period of [19]20–[19]21, the general level is falling enormously: the people are dressed worse, all are marked with exhaustion and numbness, one almost never hears joyful laughter, there is much general discontent – in trams, in canteens, everywhere where one can listen to the conversations and attitudes of a mass composed of randomly gathered people, and moreover strangers to one another.

Question: Where do you see the primary reason for such a state of affairs and where, in your opinion, might it lead?

Answer: The direct reason for this is, naturally, the enormous decrease in the standard of living as regards food supplies as well as to general, material situation of the broad masses, bordering on hunger and general poverty. And the deeper and more fundamental reasons for this situation come down to the wide scope of implementation of that which has come to be referred to as the general party line.

Question: And where, in your opinion, fall the shortcomings of the general line?

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

Answer: I, as probably any thinking person, continually devote much time to thinking about just that, and it often seems to me that there are two such general lines – one is declared officially and openly in speeches and decrees, while the second is defined during closed meetings, in unpublished directives, and is implemented in accordance with those very directives. One is led towards this conviction by the sharp contradiction between that which is proclaimed and that which is done. Thus, one can infer only two possibilities: either there are in fact two lines – the official and the practical, or those carrying out the official line, that is primarily the millions-strong party masses, due to a lack of refinement, incompetence and other reasons, consciously or unconsciously are striving to distort that line, discredit [it] and in general, to saw off the branch they are sitting on. I can find no other explanation. The other possibility would be pure nonsense, thus there only remains the first one, that is the existence of two general lines. The true nature of the general line that is being implemented, of the enormous, unnecessary brutality, of lawlessness which at times turns into abuse of the working masses, that nature is proved by countless facts, the entire complexity of the phenomena which we all have before our very eyes, with every step we take.

Question: How does one explain all this and what do you think about the existing situation?

Answer: For a very long time now, I consider myself to be a convinced socialist-Marxist. Due to that fact and based on the logic of historical progress, I think that at the present stage of history, both the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as Soviet rule, are the only ones possible and necessary. As regards the present-day official, general party line, I consider it fundamentally right, yet in particular spheres (policies towards the countryside, the complete silencing of self-criticism<sup>b</sup>, etc.) I note that BUKHARIN<sup>1</sup>, and generally the so called “right-wingers”, are more in the right; the current data only confirms that the agriculture is in a state of utter decomposition, the legal and economic irregularities have taken terrible forms, mismanagement, the loss of common property has become a regularity, the food supply issues are in complete chaos and at a dead-end, the food producing cooperatives have in fact reached the very bottom, the transport is in utter chaos and collapse, the discontent of the masses is growing by the day, the currency is falling and the ruble has reached the value of a couple of kopeks, everywhere there is poverty, hunger...

Question: What is the way out of it all?

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<sup>b</sup> *As in the original. Should be: criticism.*

<sup>1</sup> Nikolay Bukharin (1888–1939), communist activist, Lenin’s closest collaborator, the principal theoretician of the party, in years 1918–1929 Editor in Chief of “Pravda”, from 1924 member of the Politburo of the CC; in 1928 he stood out in opposition to the increased collectivization, proposing a path of evolution. In November 1928, the Politburo of the CC and the Plenum of the CC have termed the views held by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy as “right-wing deviation”; removed from office; from 1932 member of the Collegium of the People’s Commissariat of Heavy Industry of the USSR. From 1934 Editor in Chief of “Izvestia”; in February 1937 expelled from the party and arrested as part of the trial of the so called right-Trotskyite bloc. Sentenced to death on 13 March 1938, shot; rehabilitated in 1988.

Answer: There is only one way. It is necessary to make a major turn and let in some freedom because living like this is proving to be impossible. The same goes for the cities as well as for the countryside. I think that if LENIN were alive, he would not be ashamed to admit to a mistake. But LENIN was a genius, and it seems to me that STALIN, in that respect, can not stand up to LENIN; yet I am certain that not a year will pass before that turn is made because otherwise – breakdown and catastrophe.

Question: Are you precluding the possibility of this turn occurring under the pressure from below or from without? And why should one fear what you call a catastrophe?

Answer: I do not preclude the pressure from below, it exists, yet it does not take a sharp form, and as regards an impulse from without, or an intervention, I do not believe in it at all. Even if it were to occur, it would give us nothing but pain, blood and utter economic catastrophe. I reject this path completely.

Question: And the pressure from below, that is from the masses of people, how is it streamlined and towards what is it directed? And is it not a duty of every conscious citizen to organize and develop that pressure?

Answer: That pressure is spontaneous. Every spontaneity is terrible. Its explosion is not to be provoked but prevented. This is the only right path. As regards the rationality of organizing that spontaneity, the possibility of establishing anti-Soviet associations, organizations, etc., I do not believe in all that: even if I were to believe in them, under the present circumstances, I would deem it foolish to seek membership in them. First of all, those times are gone, when small groups (and such organizations can only be small, as otherwise they would be eliminated immediately) could lead the masses, and second of all, the masses have by now matured politically and do not need such stimuli.

Question: Thus, according to you, the intelligentsia and in general the most enlightened part of the society, as organizing the driving force, is a relic. After all not so long ago you have been actively engaged with the Kiev engineers?

Answer: If you are referring to the engineers' association, then, first of all, it is long gone. Some of the leaders, such as YURCHENKO and DAMANSKY have perished without a sign, others, as TYRMOS, works as the chief engineer with the Kharkiv GPU, only I am left and two to three other people. Second of all, there are no grounds for such organizations of legal character to exist, and as far as the illegal ones are concerned, it seems to me that they are possible in one's imagination rather than in reality. I repeat, it is my deep conviction that we have arrived at such times when the masses themselves, very much like symphony orchestras without conductors, can and will make history. At least that is what I think. Perhaps it is because I am beginning to grow old, and perhaps because that is the way it should be.

°In conformity:°

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° ° Written in wide letter-spacing.

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-6352, T. 1, pp. 451-453.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 53

### 29 August 1932, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the head of the Polish Consulate in Kharkiv from his journey through Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-Polish Consulate General  
in Kharkiv<sup>a</sup>  
No. 270/tj/32

<sup>a</sup>-Confidential<sup>a</sup>  
Kharkiv, 29 August 1932

<sup>b-c</sup>-Distribution:<sup>c-b</sup>

1. Polish representation in Moscow
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
in Warsaw, Eastern Department
- <sup>d-3</sup>.<sup>-d</sup> Main Staff Section II
4. Polish Consulate in Kiev

[...]

<sup>c</sup>-Over the 150 km which I have traveled, I could observe that <sup>d</sup>-approximately 1/3 of the fields lie fallow<sup>d</sup>, while the number of fallows increases as one approaches Kharkiv, and they disappear almost entirely in the area neighboring on Poltava, which has been one of the most fertile and best managed parts of Ukraine since way back<sup>c</sup>. I have also noticed that over 90% of the fields have been mowed, while <sup>d</sup>-approximately a half of the mowed crops has not been piled, has rotted and is of no use whatsoever<sup>d</sup>. This is fully in line with the information and data supplied by the local press. I note that the part of the crops which has not been mowed looks to be infested with weeds to such a degree as to render it useless. In general, the harvests in the Poltava region are good and it is clear that <sup>f</sup> despite the fact that half of the crops have rotted away, the amount of grain collected is great and will suffice not only for the local population, which already at present is thinking primarily of itself and hiding necessary supplies in secret, but also to satisfy the governmental supplies (naturally without fulfilling the planned numbers).

The villages through which I passed, with great distances between them, are large and have been well managed since the pre-war times, the kolkhozy – supplied with <sup>d</sup>-tractors and the necessary agricultural machines<sup>d</sup>, as well as cattle, which looks quite good in those regions, particularly this year's young. There is very little domestic fowl, almost no pigs, and the situation <sup>d</sup>-is worse as far as horses are concerned<sup>d</sup>, of which either there are none, even if needed, or are so gaunt and weak, that they are of extremely poor value as far as work goes. In

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Word written in uppercase, underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>e-e</sup> *Next to the fragment, on the left margin, a handwritten note: +3, I confirm and illegible initials.*

<sup>f</sup> *Illegible word crossed-out in typewriting.*

Poltava, in the market I have seen two incidents when a horse laid down on the ground to rest, being unable to go further.

I have been struck by the observation that the people in the villages make a generally good impression, and there are no signs of starvation. Everyone, not excluding little children, are dressed quite well, however I have not seen a single pair of shoes, which can naturally be explained to a degree by the summer season. All major kolkhozy have an elementary school for small children, who hearing the sounds of an approaching car, have ran out alongside their teacher with a Komsomol greeting – a risen hand. At the same time it was apparent that the adult population, having taken me for a Soviet dignitary, approached me with visible distrust, and even dislike. The above description of the situation in a village should not be taken as reliable with regard to Ukrainian villages in general, as it should be remembered that the Poltava region has always been one of the richest parts of southern Russia.

It has also caught my attention that in the villages<sup>d</sup> there are no radios, which is so wide-spread in other regions of the USSR<sup>d</sup>. Over the 150 km between Kharkiv and Poltava, we have counted, together with the chauffer, no more than<sup>e</sup> seven to eight antennas. Over that distance, I have seen<sup>d</sup> no military detachments anywhere<sup>d-g1</sup>.

Head of the Consulate General  
J. Karszo-Siedlewski<sup>2</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.3043, pp. 118–120.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the top, in the middle, an underlined, handwritten note: Head of the “Russia” Bureau and the date: 3/IX with illegible initials; in the top right corner, an underlined note: 3–1 copies [...] 2nd Office; below a date: 7/IX and illegible initials; below another note: 1 copy [...] received [?] with a date: 7/IX and initials; to the left, on the document, two respective numbers: R-889, 10583/W and ad [?] with an underlined number: 3; on the last page of the document a receipt stamp: Section II of the Main Staff, Date... L. ... Encl. ... with a handwritten number: 10583, and a letter: W.*

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<sup>e-g</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin, and a number added: +2.*

<sup>1</sup> The journey was made on 15 August 1932.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Karszo-Siedlewski (born 1 December 1891 in Warsaw, died in 1955 in Washington), code-name “Mikado”, diplomat, brother of Tadeusz Karszo-Siedlewski, Polish senator; in years 1919–1920 with the MFA, later till 1922 with the Polish Consulate General in Opole; until December 1922 in the Political and Economic Dept. of MFA; from the end of 1922 till end of 1923 First Secretary of the Polish Representation in Belgrade, later in the Political and Economic Dept. of MFA; from the end of 1924 till 1930 councilor with the Polish representation in Prague, later again in the MFA; in years 1931–1932 councilor with the Polish representation in Moscow, from 1 May 1932 till 12 April 1934 head of the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv; from April till the end of July 1934 councilor with the Polish Embassy in Moscow; from 1 August 1934 head of the Polish Consulate General in Kiev; at the same time from July 1932 till November 1937 head of the “Karsz” intelligence unit of Sect. II of the Main Staff in Kiev; from the end of September 1937 again with the MFA; in years 1938–1942 Polish representative in Tehran also accredited in Afghanistan and Iraq; from 1942 till 1943 head of the Polish Consulate General in Beirut (Polish representative in Lebanon and Syria), later until 1945 Deputy General Secretary of the MFA, at the same time from January 1944 head of the Western Dept. of MFA; after 1945 emigrated to the USA.



## No. 54

### August 1932, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a conversation with the Japanese Consul on the exports of Ukrainian grain

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

1932

On 9 August, having read a telegram, the Consul<sup>1</sup>, pointing to the foreign steamships anchored in the port and asked: “Do you like what you are seeing?” I answered that I did not particularly like it, yet that one has to come to terms with it for some time. – “And for how many years, in your opinion, will the foreigners be taking away your grain?” – “I think that on such a large scale as now, it will not be more than five years.” – “And after that?” – “After that there will be the usual trade on an average scale.” – “Oh, you are an optimist, it is good that you believe – those who have faith have an easier life.” That is how we ended the conversation about the grain.

[...]

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 66, T. 5, p. 2381.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the Japanese Consul Bunitaro Tanaka.

## No. 55

### 13 September 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding grain purchases in some of the raions of the Odessa Oblast

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
13 September [19]32

[...] On 18 August, I visited the v[illage] of Cheykovo (in the Berez[ivsky] R[ai]on). Due to the fact that all the machines were operating (threshing) and only the elders were left at home, I settled for visiting the ill and elders. They told me of good work in the artel, about the relatively good supplies from the cooperative; about the food supply being allegedly well organized. They have truly praised the artel chairman, as a person who knows his trade and is capable of conducting the work. The people are depressed only by the fact that they will not be able to completely fulfill the plan for grain purchase. They claim to be 4,000 poods short. This has already started the talk: "We will be left without bread, etc." Until now, the advanced payments have been distributed in produce in satisfactory amounts they said.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> [day] of t[his] month, I have been to the v[illages] of Konoplevo and Sharovo (both in the in the Rozdil[nansky] R[ai]on), the attitudes in the v[illage] of Konoplevo are very somber. The artel kitchen is not working, as there are no food supplies; several horses die each day, many have no bread, they are also several thousand poods short of fulfilling the plan for grain purchase, etc. In the v[illage] of Sharovo, the situation is slightly better, yet also here the very same complaints can be heard against unrealistic plans for grain purchase and the lack of bread. In both villages, the people do not refuse to work, and no cases of saboteur activity have been noted.

All information which I have received from other villages and farmsteads, come down to the same thing: unrealistic plans for grain purchase and the lack of bread.

The unrealistic plans for grain purchase are explained to be a result of the fiddled registers being prepared by the committees responsible for estimating crops and sent to the raion organizations. The fiddling of the registers is in turn explained with the fact that the members of those committees are often people who either have very little knowledge about agriculture or want to make a favorable impression on the raion authorities.

In conformity:

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 450.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 56

### 14 September 1932, Warsaw. Comprehensive analysis by the head of the Studies Department of Section II of the Main Staff sent to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Office concerning the situation in Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-Description of the case:<sup>a</sup>

Famine in Ukraine and the attitudes among peasants – analysis

[...] L.dz. 1421/II/2/3<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>b</sup> dated 9 August 19<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>b</sup>

[...]

<sup>a-c</sup>-Case proceedings<sup>c-a</sup>

The head of the Studies Department of S[ection] II of the M[ain] S[taff], Major Demel<sup>1</sup> has sent an analysis on “Famine in Ukraine and the Attitudes Among the Peasants” to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Office in October 1932 describing: the approach of the authorities towards farmers on matters of lending grain for sowing and the collection of crops, actions taken by Soviet authorities with regard to grain requisitions, statistical data on bad crops in Ukraine in 1931, the insufficiencies in live and dead stock on farms.

This analysis, sent in Russian, was translated into Polish and typewritten in two copies which remain in the office archives.

<sup>d</sup>-Encl. to L.dz. 1421/33<sup>-d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Translation from Ukrainian<sup>-ae</sup>

14 September 1932

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Handwritten.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>e</sup> *As in the original. Earlier reference to the Russian language.*

<sup>1</sup> Franciszek Władysław Demel (19 XI 1896 – 1976), certified Major of Infantry; in years 1921–1922 with the 32<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment; in years 1923–1925 studied in the Higher School of War; later with the Office of the Inspector General of the Armed Forces; later head of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Studies Dept., Section II of the Main Staff; before 1932 he has carried out the inspection of the “Z” Intelligence Unit in Kharkiv; in 1935 with the 30<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (Certified Lieutenant Colonel – 1936); from March 1939 officer of the Army Inspector, Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski; during the September campaign of 1939 orderly officer of the Southern Front Commander; from January 1940, Chief of Staff, and from April Deputy Chief of Staff and head of the organizational section of the Main Command of the Union for Armed Struggle in Paris (code-name “Heczka”); from 29 May till 2 June 1940 participated in the Belgrade conference; in years 1941–1942 first with the 7<sup>th</sup> Cadre Rifle Brigade, 2<sup>nd</sup> Officers Rifle Battalion, later in the Rothesay detention camp on the Isle of Bute; in years 1943–1944 head of Section III of Staff with Commander in Chief; in 1945 acting Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Volhynia Infantry Brigade (with 5<sup>th</sup> Kresowa Infantry Division); (Colonel – 1943?), co-author of a book entitled *Pułkownik Leopold Lis-Kula*, Warsaw 1932.

a-Famine and the Attitudes of Peasants<sup>a</sup>  
Information from the Zhytomyrsky Raion

As is known, in autumn of last year, 1931, the crops in Ukraine, even according to the official Soviet sources, have been referred to as less than average. In fact it was bad, and for a variety of reasons.

During the spring sowing campaign last year, in Ukraine in and the entire USSR, the whole society was mobilized, and the Komsomol, as well as the party, were also engaged in the work. Due to last year's famine, and the resulting lack of seed stocks, the peasants have sown almost nothing for themselves. The government came with assistance – assigning and delivering a certain amount of seeds of various grains needed for the entire area to be sown. The poor state of transportation, as well as the approach shown by the responsible elements, have resulted in poor quality seeds being delivered with great delays, often to the wrong destination. For unknown reasons, the Zhytomyrsky Raion received and distributed the greatest amounts of flax seeds, which are less needed than other seeds. The delayed sowings, the poor quality of seeds, late spring, cold and rainy summer, have all led to a catastrophic situation for the peasants, and not only in the Zhytomyrsky Raion, but in all of Ukraine. The year 1931 has come to be called the “hunger” year by the peasants.

Below, I have quoted brief statistical data regarding the average crops in the Zhytomyrsky Raion:

from the 150 kg of potatoes planted – 10 kg have been collected,  
from the 10 poods of wheat sown – 4 poods have been harvested.

A farm received a grain loan in the amount of 35 poods which was to be returned in autumn along with 45 poods in tax, but with such crops only 2 poods of seeds were returned, the rest being lost in the fields or consumed.

Disregarding the widely-known situation of the peasants and the level of crops, the local authorities received an order to collect the tax at any price, even through requisition of furniture, clothes and other possessions which are to be found on a small peasant farm. Particularly restrictive means were to be applied with regard to the owners of individual farms, who in Ukraine are presently called “hard-headed”.

A peasant who received a loan was obliged to return 160 poods of various grain seeds. Having harvested the fields and threshed the grain, he collected a mere 40 poods – out of despair, he hitched up a horse, placed his entire family on the wagon and drove to the raion office where he stated that he did not fulfill his obligation due to the bad crops, of which the council was aware, yet he has brought all his possessions and asks that he be exempted from further dues or be locked in prison together with his family and fed, as he does not want to see his wife and children die of starvation. The chairman of the raion committee ordered the peasant to take the seeds to the collecting center and return to the committee in the evening. Having returned as told, the peasant was arrested, tried the

following day and sentenced during a visiting session of the revolutionary tribunal to six years of exile in Siberia for having “undermined Soviet authority”.

Similar events are abundant.

The countryside in Ukraine is starving – everything that has grown in the fields is being taken away, either in the form of grain tax or as loan payments. Illnesses are wide-spread; presently there are many cases of dysentery, and outbursts of cholera and typhus are expected. Poorly organized medical care and general lack of medicines result in high mortality rates. The countryside feeds on bread with crushed flax seeds and straw bran.

At present, there still exists the possibility of additionally feeding on vegetables – cucumbers and tomatoes, but these will all soon be consumed and a true famine will ensue.

Different methods of forced collectivization which have been used have resulted in disappearance of cattle in Ukraine. For example, presently, a certain village in the Zhytomyrsky Raion is in possession of the following number of cattle:

According to a 1928 register, the village herd numbered 1,000, and presently has decreased to 140. There are 14 calves this year. The overall number of pigs is 100, against 700–800 in 1928. According to the register made for the village this year, the number of horses has been set at 30 for the kolkhoz and 40 for individual farms, as against 460 registered by the commissariat of war. Such are the results of Bolshevik management. “Eat your own cattle or sell it at no price, as long as you don’t give it as public property to the kolkhoz” – that is the policy pursued by the peasants. During the spring season this year, the Ukrainian countryside could have risen against the Soviet rule because of the famine, yet it was prevented by the decrees on free trade and lower taxes. With its decrees the party has prevented an outburst, yet an active rising on the part of the peasants is to be expected in the near future once the food stocks, which can be sold on the market, end. At present, having other products that can be sold: dairy, vegetables, etc., the Ukrainian peasants are intensively getting rid of them so as to be able to collect the money and purchase seeds for themselves in the north or east of the USSR.

Almost the whole of Ukraine is traveling in search of bread, the trains are filled to the highest possible degree, and one has to wait for days in line to get on a train. This phenomenon will continue as long as there are still things that can be bought and sold. Unless prompt steps are taken in the near future, after the harvests the cattle will start dying off due to lack of fodder, sparking events that will not be welcome for the party. Yet those steps should not be counted on, as this year’s crops in the whole [Soviet] Union have been unsatisfactory and there are no stocks due to similarly bad crops the previous year; thus, it is unreasonable to assume that the government will be able to feed the hungry from its stocks. The prices of food products are rising by the day. The price levels in Zhytomyr on 5– 6 September were as follows:

1 pound of cream butter	– 12–15 rb.
1 –    – of meat	– 6–7 [rb.]
eggs (10 articles)	– 6–7 [rb.]
flour (pood)	– 120–130 [rb.]
milk (liter)	– 6 [rb.]
fatback (pound)	– 12 [rb.]
sugar (kilogram)	– 17 [rb.]
dark bread (pound)	– 3 rb. 50 kop.
chicken	– 20 [rb.]
goose	– 40 [rb.]
herring	– 3–5 [rb.]
shoes	– 300 [rb.]
unbleached linen (thin material of lesser sort) a meter of disgusting quality –	
12 rb.	

Those prices are rising by the day, even with the influence of the peddlers. They are rising because of peasants who dictate their expected values to the city, being in fact forced to do so in order not to die of starvation.

There is a variety of information offered regarding the oncoming change in the internal policy of the party, the approaching war and in general, the change for the better. All this information, to a degree, prevents the countryside from rising against the government. Such an uprising would most probably not be organized since the GPU is still too strong and has too many internal spies not to be informed on the establishment of any movement. However, it needs to be assumed that in the near future, there will be a spontaneous uprising. The people have ceased to trust the government, seeing it as the enemy which, in the name of its own interests, is willing to sacrifice the welfare of the entire nation.

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.5424, pp. 28–33.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

## No. 57

### 23 September 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the situation in Polish School No. 32 and the statements of the teachers

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>op</sup>] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
32<sup>nd</sup> School  
“23” September 1932

There are ever fewer pupils in school [no.] 32. After the holidays, many have not returned to school at all, having found a place in the vocational schools operating in factories.

At present, many pupils seek to leave school and transfer to some vocational school in a factory, as they issue 1–1½ bread<sup>c</sup> and a stipend.

The pupils and their parents come to school demanding documents, and when the school does not issue them, they make commotion, cry, threaten that they will jump under a train or will commit suicide (DRUZHYNKY, pup[il] from the 7<sup>th</sup> gr[oup]).

The following pupils [have come] with parents to school: STADNITSKAYA, TYCHYNSKY, BOGUSHKO, GOKELETSKY, KATSEMBA, LOBOZEBIEL. Now they have stopped coming to school and have found a place with the vocational school in the factory.

The pupils have come to understand the helplessness of the school's heads, who can not stop the pupils from leaving, and write notes to the bulletin b[oard] stating that the headmaster dreams that he will force to return all those who have left.

YAFIMOVICH, technical drawing teach[er], stated to GOLEMBIOVSKAYA: “How awkward it is to celebrate the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution when the people are starving. Look out the window – so many factory smokestacks for no reason, there are no supplies, the factories are not operating.”

MAKH makes very few statements, he is a secretive person, [and yet] one day he told the teacher GOLEMBIOVSKAYA: “You do not know what I know: winter will be terrible, as far as food goes, that is why I am leaving beforehand with my family, otherwise we will be left to starve.”

MAKH has received an invitation to <sup>b</sup>-Vitebsk-<sup>b</sup>, a nomination from c. DZERZHYNKAYA to head two seven-year schools.

In conformity: (—)

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup> As in the original. It is not known what quantity is the reference made to.



*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, p. 18.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

**No. 58**  
**5 October 1932, Simferopol. PP OGPU Crimea guidelines regarding  
persons purchasing supplies in the *Torgsin* shops**

<sup>a</sup>Series<sup>a</sup> “K”

<sup>a</sup>To Ch[iefs] of Municip[al] Departments of GPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>Simferopol, Yevpatoria, Feodosiya, Yalta,  
Kerch, Sevastopol<sup>b</sup>  
Exclusively .....

In recent times, we have noted cases of our organs withholding products being purchased by some persons in the *Torgsin* shops. Those activities have prompted individual groups of consumers to fear further purchases in *Torgsin*, and thus the revenues of the <sup>b</sup>branch offices<sup>b</sup> of the *Torgsin* for that period have decreased significantly. Therefore, I suggest the following:

1) Under no circumstances to proceed with the arrest and requisition of products purchased in the *Torgsin* shops.

2) To allow for the arrest and confiscation of those products only when unquestionable proofs exist confirming that those persons are responsible for speculation with the products purchased in the *Torgsin*.

3) The arrests of those persons to be conducted at home or during excursions to other raions, so as not to scare away the primary group of buyers – consumers of the *Torgsin* shops.

PP OGPU <sup>a</sup>Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
(—) SALYN

Ch[ief] EKO PP  
(—) IVANOVSKY

No. <sup>c</sup>5<sup>c</sup>,  
“<sup>c</sup>5<sup>c</sup>” October 1932  
<sup>b</sup>No. 45058/5  
c. Simferopol<sup>b</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 189.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

## No. 59

### 7 October 1932, Odessa. Fragments of a report by the heads of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the Polish minority in the Odessa Oblast

To no. 435/OO/163392

<sup>a</sup>-556722

7 Oct[ober] 1932<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Series<sup>b</sup> "K"

c. Kharkiv

<sup>b</sup>-To Chief of Special Division<sup>b</sup> U[krainian] MD and GPU of Ukrainian SSR

#### <sup>b</sup>-Report on the activities in the Polish colony<sup>b</sup>

In the distribution of the Polish population in the territories of the Odessa Oblast, as compared to the data presented in our yearly report for 1931 – we have not noted any significant changes, with the exception of a slight increase of Pol[ish] population in the oblast (by approximately 600 persons) due to the incorporation of the Hrushkivsky and Holovanivsky Raions which came under our operational activities once the oblast was established. Therefore, the overall size of the Pol[ish] population in the oblast at present numbers 17,000 persons, of which:

In the city of	Odessa live	approx. ....	8,000	per[sons]
–    –	Mykolaiv	–    – .....	2,000	–    –
–    –	Zinovievsk	–    – .....	700	–    –
In the	Kryvoozersky Raion	–    – .....	700	–    –
	Khorlovsky Raion	–    – .....	2,200	–    –
	Snihuryevsky Raion	–    – .....	1,500	–    –
	Khersonsky Raion	–    – .....	500	–    –
	Pervomaisky Raion	–    – .....	400	–    –
	Hrushkivsky Raion	–    – .....	300	–    –
	Holovanivsky Raion	–    – .....	300	–    –
	Voznesensky Raion	–    – .....	200	–    –
	Ochakivsky Raion	–    – .....	150	–    –
	Novoodessky Raion	–    – .....	120	–    –
	Novoarkhangelsky Raion	–    – .....	100	–    –
	Bobrynetsky Raion	–    – .....	100	–    –

A small population of Poles also lives in other raions of the oblast. It should be noted that only in the Snihuryevsky Raion do Poles live in concentrated mass, where in the village of Kiselivka there is Polish eth[nic] *sielsoviet*, with 1,400

<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Number and date stamped.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

per[sons] of Polish nationality, and in the v[illages] of Preobrazhenka and Hryhorivka of the Khorlovsky R[ai]on, each inhabited by 700–800 Poles. There are no concentrated masses of Poles in the remaining raions of the oblast, they live dispersed in various villages, not distinguishable from the remaining population.

The collectivization has encompassed, on average, 90% of the Polish population in the countryside of the oblast; in some places this value reaching 100% (Kiselivka Pol[ish] eth[nic] *sielsoviet* and o[ther]). The situation is less advanced, as far as collectivization is concerned, among the Pol[ish] population in some of the villages of the Khorlovsky Raion, where in the village of Hryhorivka, of the total number of Poles – 700 per[sons] – over 35% have not joined the kolkhozy until now and do not intend to join them, motivated by the conviction that the kolkhozy do not offer any benefits. In the village of Preobrazhenka in the same raion, there are 800 per[sons] of Pol[ish] [nationality]; the majority of the Pol[ish] population living there has been collectivized. At the beginning of the harvesting campaign, there were visible tendencies to leave the kolkhozy, with several such cases being officially registered.

As a negative fact, it should be noted that in the Khorlovsky Raion, with a significant Pol[ish] population in a number of villages (over 2,000 persons), there are no Pol[ish] eth[nic] kolkhozy; the Pol[ish] population belongs to the same kolkhozy as the Ukrainian countryside population.

Carrying out of economic and political campaigns among the Pol[ish] population of the oblast does not in fact proceed in any different manner than in the case of such campaigns directed towards the remaining population of the countryside, with the exception of the Khorlovsky Raion, where the econ[omic] and pol[itical] campaigns carried out in the Pol[ish] villages, particularly in Hryhorivka, have been accompanied by tensions and difficulties concerning to an equal degree the grain purchasing campaign and other campaigns.

At present, it should be noted that the Pol[ish] population in the Khorlovsky Raion has undertaken almost no preparatory work for the autumn sowing campaign, which has not started yet, with a complete lack of preparation of the fallow, etc. During the harvesting campaign, there were cases of grain heads and wheat theft from the fields, with a number of Poles called to account for those acts of stealing and sentenced to differing periods of imprisonment. In relation to that fact, as well as to the government's regulations on the fight against embezzlement of the kolkhoz property, we have observed a number of negative reactions condemning the severity of government's decisions.

The overall percentage of fulfillment of the annual *khlebozagotovka* plan by the Pol[ish] population of the oblast, as for the 1 October of this year, is at the average level of 25–30%, although in some places (the Kryvoozersky Raion) it does not exceed 15%.

The noted acts of discontent were primarily in relation to the bad material situation of the kolkhozniki and the lack of bread. In the recent period, we have observed negative reaction related to the *khlebozagotovka*. We have noted individual calls for terror on the part of youth. In the village of Kiselivka, among

those pursuing studies in the Pol[ish] school, a pupil of the 6<sup>th</sup> group, MARKOVSKY, has called for the killing of the secretary of the vill[age] [party] cell, stating that “because of him the kolkhozniki are swelled from hunger.” In the Mykolaiv Pol[ish] school, some of the pupils of the higher groups have sung the following song:

“Father in TSOZ, mother in TSOZ  
The children crying on the road  
We’ll crush the CRK  
And bashing the communists we will go.”

There are no activities undertaken with regard to the eth[nic] minor[ity] as such, and in general almost no polit[ical] work is carried out among the Pol[ish] population, which together with the noted irregularities in the area of collectivization (Khorlovsky Raion) is the principal reason for the reluctance the Pol[ish] population shows towards joining the kolkhozy.

As far as the Polish colonies in the cities of the oblast are concerned, it should also be noted that there is a complete lack of activities undertaken with regard to eth[nic] minor[ities]. Despite the fact that some factories (the January Plant, Hessian [factory], Glazery [Plant], A. Marti [Shipyard] and oth[ers]) employ many Poles (each 150–200 persons and more), no activities among the eth[nic] minor[ities] have been undertaken there. The Polish clubs which exist in Odessa and Mykolaiv are not frequented at all. We are taking steps through the part[y] organs aimed at reviving those activities.

As far as the attitudes among the Polish working class are concerned, we have noted, as compared to the situation in the past, a significant increase in negative reactions, primarily due to difficulties with supplies, particularly with supplies for the workers. In that area, we have observed a whole variety of anti-Soviet [and] anti-Semitic manifestations, [the existence] of Polish chauvinism, etc.

Until today, negative reactions among the workers are observed in relation to the party policy towards the countryside and policy of collectivization. It is believed that those policies will destroy the peasantry and exacerbate the workers’ situation. We have noted cases when, during the lectures on supplies for the workers, anonymous letters have been distributed informing that with such conditions the worker will not fight, etc. (registered in our files is a Pole, MALEVITSKY, and others).

At the same time, we have observed an increase in tendencies for emigration. A large quantity of letters is being sent to relatives in Poland, [whereby the senders] are expressing their desire to leave for Poland; the letters are mainly sent by the declassed elements. In the reporting period, large numbers of Poles have been detained on the Pol[ish] border – inhabitants of the Odessa Oblast attempting to cross the border with Poland illegally. At present, in our documents we have registered a large number of Poles who have applied to the Pol[ish] Consulate in Kiev to obtain permission to leave for Poland. We have also observed a great amount of visits to the consulate.

According to the information obtained from the ag[ent] [network], a Mykolaiv-based priest, ZYSKO<sup>1</sup>, is seeking to illegally escape abroad, planning to carry it out with the help of the sailors from one of the foreign steamships calling on the Mykolaiv port. Should an attempt be made at realizing the plan, ZYSKO will be arrested.

Apart from the abovementioned cases, an increase in activities carried out by c-r element, as well as priests, is visible; in the Kryvoozersky R[aio]n, during the reporting period, arrests were made for c-r propaganda activities of <sup>b</sup>three-<sup>b</sup> Poles. In the Khorlovsky Raion, a woman by the name of KOKH, a Pole (registered in our files), has been distributing a brochure containing a rewritten note from the “Krestyanska Gazeta” in which the near collapse of Sov[iet] rule was foreseen. In the city of Odessa at the present moment, we are pursuing an operational work out of <sup>b</sup>four-<sup>b</sup> Polish c-r groups which hold meetings in private apartments and conduct anti-Sov[iet] propaganda. A part of those cases has been designated for closing. In the cit[y] of Mykolaiv, as part of the ag[ent-based] case codenamed “Krovielshchyk” we have also observed a Polish c-r group with links to priest ZYSKO. Presently, we have taken the first steps in closing the case. A person involved in the case, TILVIENKO, has been arrested and transferred to Odessa. We shall inform of the results of the investigation.

It has been observed that the priests have intensified anti-Sov[iet] propaganda efforts and are conducting it in a veiled form as part of the sermons, as has been confirmed in the cit[y] of Odessa in the case of priests REYKHART, SHUBERT and particularly in the case of the Mykolaiv priest ZYSKO. The latter, in his sermons, addresses those who have come in a direct fashion:

“...They have taken away from you all that you had, what had been acquired by your forefathers, and you have come to live in great poverty, in the cities, and in the countryside, but mainly in the countryside where hunger and cold prevail. No sinful deed is ever forgiven by God, the Lord, and that which we are living through presently is <sup>b</sup>God’s punishment<sup>b</sup>.

...All should offer this sacrifice and pray to deserve mercy with the hope that God, our Lord, will hear your prayers and send you a different life...”

As concerns the difficult situation of the church, ZYSKO preaches from the pulpit in the following words:

“...The church has suffered from persecution far worse than that of today and has endured and came out victorious. Now it shall endure as well...”

Anti-Sov[iet] propaganda, although veiled in a more sophisticated way, has been carried out in the sermons also by REYKHART and SHUBERT.

[...]

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<sup>1</sup> Khristian Zysko (born 1897 in Speier, Odessa Guberniya), priest; after 1924 with the Roman Catholic parish in Odessa, from 1926 parish priest in Mykolaiv; arrested on 25 September 1933, transferred to the prison of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv; after 23 February 1934 sentenced by the court troika of the College of the OGPU of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years in ITL; he spent his sentence in the Suslavski division of the Siberian ITL; in the summer of 1934 shot during attempted escape.

The number of active churches in the oblast during the reporting period has decreased due to closing of the churches in April of this year, by the decision of the: VUTsVK in the cit[y] of Zinovievsk and in the v[illage] of Kryve Ozero. The churches in the Pol[ish] eth[nic] village of Hryhorivka operate poorly, due to the lack of priests that has been observed in the recent years. The church in the v[illage] of Haivoron, in the Hrushkivsky Raion, is not operating either, as it was closed down in 1930. Thus in the oblast, at the present moment, <sup>b</sup>only six<sup>b</sup> churches are de facto operating: two in Odessa; <sup>b</sup>one<sup>b</sup> in Holovanivsk; <sup>b</sup>one<sup>b</sup> in Mykolaiv; <sup>b</sup>one<sup>b</sup> in Kherson and <sup>b</sup>one<sup>b</sup> in the v[illage] of Preobrazhenka in the Khorlovsky Raion.

The attendance in the churches, increasing during religious holidays (Easter), has in recent times decreased significantly and is sustained mainly by the declasseed elements: older women and German colonists who continue, in large numbers, to visit the cities (Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson). The revenues of the churches, as compared to the previous year, have also decreased. A number of churches lack the means to carry out repairs. Among the religious groups active in the churches, we have disclosed the activities conducted by the tertiaries [association] with the new church in Odessa, composed of 25–30 fanatic women who pursue readings and distribution of religious literature, and even undertake steps aimed at attracting the youth to the church.

In the work conducted by the Polish schools, as compared to the previous year, almost no changes have been noted. As earlier, the schools employ mainly old teachers of conservative leaning. With such state of affairs, there can be no hope of pursuing the proper polit[ical] education of the studying children. During religious holidays, a large number of those studying visited the churches, and over Easter, the schools did not mark many pupils as present, in some as few as 50%. Taking into consideration the complete lack of any anti-religious effort and in general any political effort directed at the Pol[ish] adult population, there is only the most hopeless picture to be painted as regards the education of a significant number of children, rooted in the spirit of religion and under the influence of the church and the fanatic parents.

[...]

With the aim of changing the character of efforts which seek to cover [with operational work] the Polish colonies, in accordance with your directives no. 435/OO/163392 and no. 165693, as well as with the aim to further revive those efforts, we have presented the party organizations with a proposal for reviving the activities directed at the eth[nic] minor[ities] in the oblast, primarily in the companies which employ Poles.

We are also working on the matter aimed at closing down the church in the cit[y] of Mykolaiv and one of the churches in Odessa.

Materials have been selected encompassing a number of people from among the Polish c-r activists, with the aim of arresting and deporting them.

Aiming to pursue activities on the ground, apart from the already concluded travels of the oper[at]ional officers of OO (Mykolaiv, Kherson), plans have been

made for further travels to other raions, and a number of local employees from the countryside have been called in to the Obl[ast] Division.

<sup>b</sup>-Ch[ief] ad interim Obl[ast] Division<sup>b</sup> GPU Ukrainian SSR  
GALITSKY

<sup>b</sup>-Ch[ief] 6<sup>th</sup> OO and Obl[ast] Division<sup>b</sup> GPU  
SAPIR<sup>2</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-In pl[ace]<sup>c</sup> <sup>b</sup>-Chief 1<sup>st</sup> Dep[artment]<sup>b</sup> OO  
(—) BORIN<sup>3</sup>

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 12, pp. 246–257.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>2</sup> Abram Sapir (1900–1957), from 1919 with the VChK; from 1926 till May 1927 Chief of KRO of the Odessa Okrug Division of the GPU; from May 1927 till December 1929 Chief of the KRO of the Kiev Okrug Division of the GPU; from December 1929 till September 1930 Chief of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dept. of the KRO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from September 1930 till May 1931 Chief of Department with the Special Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from May 1931 till February 1932 Chief of the Special Unit of the Odessa Operational Sector of the GPU; from February 1932 till February 1933 Chief of the Special Unit of the Odessa Oblast Div. of the GPU; from February 1932 till February 1933 second Deputy Chief of the Odessa Oblast Div. of the GPU; from February 1933 till July 1934 Deputy Chief of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Div. of the GPU; from July 1934 till 11 June 1935 Deputy Chief of the UNKVD of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast; from 11 June 1935 till 21 December 1936 Chief of the INO UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 21 December 1936 till 13 February 1937 Chief of the UNKVD of the Moldavian ASSR; from February 1937 till 21 February 1938 assistant to Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR. Arrested on 21 February 1938. Released with the decision of the Military Tribunal of the NKVD armies for the Kiev MD, dated 23 September 1939. With the decree of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, dated 28 September 1940, the verdict of the Military Tribunal has been annulled and the case transferred for reexamination. With a decision by the Investigating Unit of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 12 April 1941, the case has been suspended. Arrested again on 25 June 1941, with investigation lasting until 1943 and the decision of the Special College of the NKVD of the USSR, dated 21 August 1943, sentenced to five years, released on 6 April 1945. Sentenced again on 28 February 1955 by the Crimean Oblast Court to 15 years imprisonment. Died in prison; rehabilitated.

<sup>3</sup> Borys Borin (1890–1940), with the VChK since 1921; from 1 November 1929 Chief of a Department of the Operational Div. of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 25 October 1932 Chief of the Zhytomyr Municipal Div. of the GPU; from 5 August 1933 Chief of Sumy Municipal Div. of the GPU; from 16 July 1934 assistant to Chief; from 17 January 1935 Chief of the DTO NKVD of Southern Rail; from 3 June 1935 with the reserves of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 20 September 1935 Chief-commissar of the Kharkiv NKVD school; released to reserve in September 1937.



**No. 60**  
**18 October 1932, Pidvolochysk. Protocol of interrogation**  
**of Maria Błażejewska by an officer of the Polish State Police in the case**  
**of illegal crossing of the border of the USSR into Poland**

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

Written on 18 October 1932 in the secretariat of the State Police Station in Pidvolochysk by the sen[ior] const[able] Balawend[e]r Ignacy with Maria Błażejewska, 45 years of age, widowed by deceased Mikołaj, daughter of Michał and Bogumiła Nieboga, born in Dorofyivka, Skalat district, of Rom[an] Cath[olic] creed, last residence in Volochkivtsy (Sov[iet] Russia), in the case of illegal crossing of the border from Sov[iet] Russia into Poland, who has testified as follows:

Some 27 years back, I married a Russian citizen, Błażejewski Mikołaj, from Volochkivtsy in the Proskurov Uyezd, where I resided at the time. My husband Mikołaj owned a six-morgen farm and a house in Volochkivtsy. In 1919 my husband died, leaving me the farm, on which I lived together with my children. Until 1931, life on the farm was satisfactory even though I had to manage it alone with only my minor children as help. From 1931, life in Sov[iet] Russia, as well <sup>b-as<sup>b</sup></sup> the relations ther[e], turned into unbearable torture because the Soviet authorities began taking almost all the grain and the living stock away from us, leaving me only a very small amount <sup>c</sup> which absolutely did not suffice even for the most modest standard of living.

In 1932, relations in Sov[iet] Russia have further deteriorated because in the spring they did not allow for sowing the grain or planting the potatoes, but instead ordered the planting of sugar beets for the sugar factory. Generally in the spring of that year, we lacked potatoes for planting, as well as spring crops for sowing the fields. When following the crops, I harvested what had grown, that is some rye and wheat, the Bolshevik authorities took all that grain away, leaving me nothing; thus I and my family were left threatened with death by starvation. Moreover, the Bolshevik authorities not only requisitioned the live and dead stock, but also burdened me with a tax of 240 rubles, which I was after all<sup>d</sup> in no way capable of paying, and beside this I was to pay yet another tax in the amount of 336 rubles.

Because the Bolsheviks took all grain and property from me, life became simply impossible, as we were threatened with death by starvation. Therefore I decided, together with my daughter Jadwiga, 18 years of age, and sons Bronisław, 20 years of age, and Jan, 16 years of age, to cross over to Poland at any price, and on 15 October 1932, at around 10 a.m., I set out towards the Polish border with

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<sup>a-a</sup> Title written in uppercase, wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>c</sup> Illegible fragment, crossed out in typewriting.

<sup>d</sup> Word corrected in handwriting.

the abovementioned children, where pretending to be washing the clothes in the Zbruch River at the border area of Dorofyivka, I entered Poland.

At present, I am filing a request to the Polish authorities for permission to settle with my children in Poland, and in the case of such permission being granted, I will settle down with my children in Dorofyivka, Skalat district, where I have relatives such as Charczuk Mateusz in Dorofyivka. This ends the protocol.

The protocol has been read.

(—) Balawender <sup>b</sup>senior const[able]<sup>-b</sup>

(—) Maria Błażejewska

*DATO, F. 176, Op. 1, Spr. 9, pp. 3–3 v.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>b-b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

## No. 61

### 19 October 1932, Pidvolochysk. Protocol of interrogation of Leon Woźniak by an officer of the Polish State Police in the case of illegal crossing of the border of the USSR into Poland

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

Written on 19 October 1932 in the secretariat of the State Police Station in Pidvolochysk by const[able] Niemkiewicz Stefan <sup>b</sup>with Woźniak Leon<sup>b</sup>, 15 years of age, born and residing in the Zayonchky commune, Proskurov Uyezd, Yurinetsky Ra[ion] [!], Russian citizen, of Rom[an] Cath[olic] creed, single, reads and writes, no personal possessions, hired hand, son of the deceased Bazyli and Małgorzata, who, on the occasion of having crossed the border from Sov[iet] Russia into Poland, testifies as follows:

My father died in 1927 and in 1932 the Bolsheviks have taken away my brother Stanisław to Siberia because he did not want to join the collective.

My mother Małgorzata owns about seven morgens of fields and a house along with one horse, one cow and five bee gums, all of those possessions in 1932 being taken away from us by force into the collective. We were driven away from our own house, where<sup>c</sup> we roamed through foreign communes and both my brother and I worked in the forests, yet with this we could not make a living.

Because presently all work has ceased and I was dying of hunger, on 15 October 1932, together with my mother Małgorzata and my brother Bronisław, I escaped from Sov[iet] Russia into Poland, as I was afraid that I would be taken away to Siberia as was done with my brother.

I will mention that in Skalat I have a brother. Aleksander, 26 years of age, with whom I would like to stay and thus request the right to reside in Poland. <sup>d</sup>I possess no legal documents for crossing of the border<sup>d</sup>.

The protocol has been read.

Written by Niemkiewicz, const[able]  
(—) Niemkiewicz <sup>d</sup>const[able]<sup>d</sup>

(—) Woźniak Leon

*DATO, F. 176, Op. 1, Spr. 11, p. 4.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*  
<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*  
<sup>c</sup> *As in the original.*  
<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

**No. 62**  
**19 October 1932, Pidvolochysk. Protocol of interrogation**  
**of Łukasz Woźniak by an officer of the Polish State Police in the case**  
**of illegal crossing of the border of the USSR into Poland**

a-Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

Written on 19 October 1932 in the secretariat of the State Police Station in Pidvolochysk by const[able] Niemkiewicz Stefan <sup>b</sup>with Woźniak Łukasz<sup>b</sup>, 62 years of age, born and residing in the Zayonchky commune, Proskurov Uyezd, Yurinet-sky Raion [!], (Sov[iet] Russia), of Rom[an] Cath[olic] creed, married, reads and writes, Russian citizen, owns seven morgens of fields and a house in the Zayonchky commune, farmer by occupation, son of Franciszek and Rozalia, in the case of an illegal crossing of the border from Sov[iet] Russia into Poland, who testifies for the protocol as follows:

In 1930, the Soviet authorities took my son Józef, 27 years of age, away from me. Carried away to Siberia<sup>c</sup> to work, he was taken because he did not want to join the collective.

In 1931, they took away my second son Jan, 31 years of age, who was also carried away somewhere to Siberia<sup>c</sup> to do forced labor.

In 1931, the collective took away my seven morgens of fields, a couple of horses, a cow, a pig, 18 bee gums and driven me from my own house. Since the requisition of this property, I have walked with my wife Elżbieta through the farming villages and worked with those farmers who have not yet had the collective requisition<sup>c</sup> of their fields, and thus made our living.

Because the collective has presently started to requisition all property from all farmers and forces the people to work it, giving very little food so that a man is dying of hunger, thus I, together with my wife Elżbieta, Małgorzata, the wife of my brother Bazyli and her sons Bronisław and Lech<sup>d</sup>, have escaped on 15 October 1932 together from Sov[iet] Russia to Poland, and request granting me [permission to] reside anywhere in Poland.

I will mention that in Skalat I have the son of my brother Aleksander, who also escaped from Sov[iet] Russia two years ago, to whom I would like to get and maybe could work. <sup>e</sup>I possess no proper documents for crossing of the border<sup>e</sup>.

The protocol has been read.

Written by Niemkiewicz, const[able]  
(—) Niemkiewicz <sup>e</sup>const[able]<sup>e</sup>

(—) Łukasz Woźniak

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>c</sup> Word corrected in handwriting.

<sup>d</sup> As in the original. In the document no. 61: Leon.

<sup>e</sup>-<sup>e</sup> Added in handwriting.

*DATO, F. 176, Op. 1, Spr. 11, p. 3.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Under the signature of the interrogated person, a following note: Decision! The Magistrate's Court in Pidvolochysk, in the criminal case against Łukasz Woźniak and accom[plices], on 13/14 [19]32 decides [...] criminal proceedings in accordance with art. 5 of the Criminal Code, until the accused are apprehended, ordering a search in their pursuit; below an illegible signature; in the bottom left corner illegible note and the date: 23/10.*

## No. 63

### 20 October 1932, Brest-on-the-Bug. Fragment of a report by the Polesia Voivode for September and October 1932 regarding illegal border crossings

<sup>a</sup>-Polesia Voivode<sup>a</sup>

No. BP 14

Brest-on-the-B[ug], 20 October 1932

<sup>b-a</sup>Situation report<sup>a</sup> no. 9  
for the period from 11 September to 10 October 1932<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b-c</sup>Border<sup>c</sup> issues<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Illegal crossing of the border:<sup>b</sup> In the reporting period, leaving their place of residence with the intention of going to the USSR were 13 persons from the Luninets district, two from the Brest dist[ri]ct and two from the Pinsk district. Six from among those who escaped are wanted for theft and three have escaped with the intention of avoiding military service; the remaining have been persuaded to leave for Russia by their friends.

11 persons have crossed the border into the USSR (nine from the Luninets district and two from the Stolin district, including a deserter from the KOP – Józef Dąbek).

Three persons returned from the USSR, having escaped from the Luninets district in 1931. The fugitives have testified that they were forced to return to Poland by the famine which has struck Russia.

Four persons have been detained attempting to cross the border into the USSR, including three from the Kobryn district and one from the Kovel district of the Volhynia Voivodeship.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 959, p. 34.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the bottom of the page, on the text, an illegible rectangular stamp.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

**No. 64**  
**20 October 1932, Svatovo. Letter by party activist I. Nechayev**  
**to the Svatovsky Raion party committee containing a critique**  
**of the communist party**

Copy of a copy

a-To the Svatovo Ra[ion] Part[y] Com[mittee]-a

From party member since <sup>b</sup>1925-<sup>b</sup> no. 0705272  
NECHAYEV I. P.

Declaration

I have been mobilized, no. 2340, to the countryside by the Stalinsky GPK and party *Obkom* to your raion to work as the head of the ONO. Not only to head the Department of Public Education, but also to assist part[y] organization, as a party member, in carrying out the plan during the autumn sowing campaign, gr[ain] pur[chase] action, etc. I am to fight to sustain the general party line on the reconstruction of the countryside, strengthen the kolkhozy as one of the socialist forms of economy, fight for success during the autumn sowing and live to see [the anniversary of] the October Revolution with achievements in agriculture.

It is good when you share the general party line on all issues, you feel you are right, it makes it easier to lead the work. I remember how from the first day in the Komsomol, in 1921, I yearned and went to every work with a feeling that the party line is right and that I am right. Remembering my father when he struggled to fight for the strengthening of Soviet rule, holding himself as the just one. Five little children could not stop him from the work which he carried out because he believed in what he was building.

Such was the man which the Makhno gang hacked to death on 29 April [19]21 at the militia station in the village of Karpivka in the Stalino Okrug, where he was sent by the party and the trade union during the distribution of the food rations.

Thus I struggled too, from [19]21 until [19]29. <sup>b</sup>From 1929 I started hesitating and having doubts about the rightness of the general party line, primarily as regards agriculture. Those doubts have not decreased <sup>c</sup>-and what assured me for 100% it was the 3<sup>rd</sup> decisive<sup>c-b</sup>. When all the newspapers shouted about the fulfillment of the *khlebozagotovka* plans, and when the people were already starving, literally swelling from hunger (regions of Kiev, Poltava and Mariupol), the newspapers continued their praise for the fulfillment of the *khlebozagotovka* plan.

At that point you will not only have doubts but you will state openly that the general party line is in fact wrong and its implementation led to poverty in the countryside, to forced proletarianization in agriculture, which is confirmed by our stations and the appearance in the cites of entire masses of *besprizorni*.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *As in the original.*

Apart from this, what else confirmed my doubts? The establishment of closed shops and canteens for those holding the most responsibility among the employees. During my work with the editorial board of “Partaktivist” magazine – cit[y] of Kharkiv, organ of the CC CP(b)U of Ukraine ([19]32) – I dined at the CC CP(b)U canteen and [even] when there was not enough bread, [and the people] were swelling from hunger; the CC AUCP(b) canteen was serving meat and a variety of dishes at lower prices. The people were living, unable to even imagine the hunger which the public was suffering from. They broke the ties with the masses because they themselves lived in prosperity. And our officials of the obl[ast] [aparatus] can really fall low. They also grew numb in the apparatus, not seeing that now the people are hungry.

The worker is living in poverty from one day to the next, the kolkhozniki themselves – that temporary, grain producing class – are chewing on dark bread, made with a whole variety of substitutes. And the lower-level officials – the poor, who have also fought for Soviet rule, we also give them 300 grams each (and this only recently), we gave them each 200 grams of bread per day, and this only when the grain problem was resolved (see the decision of the 17<sup>th</sup> part[y] conference).

And our ultra-revolutionaries, living in affluence, do not see how difficult it is for the workers, the kolkhozniki, to live with the high prices which we have. Withholding the payment of salaries, the new financial system, no products, and apart from that, we force those half-starved and exhausted to compete between themselves – this has further reassured me in my convictions and hence the conclusion – <sup>b</sup>that the general party line is wrong and requires surgical treatment, a sharp cut. This means to demand the removal of the heads of the CC AUCP(b), with STALIN as the first one. Why with STALIN? Because he is the leader, and was incapable of working together with such revolutionaries from the old guard as ZINOVIEV<sup>1</sup>, KAMENEV<sup>2</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Grigory Zinoviev (Ovsei-Gershon Radomyslsky) (1883–1936), communist activist; from December 1917 Chairman of the Petrograd Council; from 1921 member of the Politburo of the CC AUCP(b); in 1926 expelled from the Politburo of CC AUCP(b); in 1927 expelled from the CC, and during the 15<sup>th</sup> congress of AUCP(b); in December 1927 expelled from the party, detained; in 1928 offered self-criticism, was allowed back into the party and was appointed rector of the university in Kazan; in 1931 member of the College of the People’s Commissariat for Education of the RSFSR; in October 1932 again expelled from the party and exiled to Kostanay; in 1933 for the second time he was allowed back into the party; on 16 December 1934 arrested and in January 1935 sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment during an open trial of the so called Moscow center; in 1936, while in prison, charged in the trial of the so called anti-Soviet Trotskyite-Zinovievite center; on 24 August 1936 sentenced to death; shot.

<sup>2</sup> Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld) (1883–1936), communist activist, Trotsky’s son-in-law; participated in the peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk as part of the Soviet delegation; from September 1918 member of the VTsIK; from October 1918 till May 1926 Chairman of the Moscow Council; from March 1919 member of the CC AUCP(b), from September 1922 till February 1924 Deputy Chairman of the SNK RSFSR; from July 1923 Deputy Chairman of the SNK USSR; in years 1925–1927 one of the leaders of the so called new opposition; in January 1926 nominated to the post of People’s Commissar for External and Internal Trade of the USSR; from August 1926 representative of the USSR in Rome. Arrested on 16 December 1934 and in January 1935 sentenced to five years’ imprisonment. On 25 July, covered by the trial of the so called Kremlin Command Library; on 25 July 1935 sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment; on 24 August 1936, in the trial of the so called anti-Soviet Trotskyite-Zinovievite center, sentenced to death, shot; rehabilitated in 1988.



SMILGA, RAKOVSKY<sup>3</sup>, Karl RADEK<sup>4</sup>, LASHEVICH<sup>5</sup>, UGLANOV<sup>6</sup>, TOMSKY<sup>7</sup>, RYKOV<sup>8</sup>, BUKHARIN and oth[ers]<sup>1-b</sup>. He was the one left out of seven,

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<sup>3</sup> Khristian Rakovsky (1878–1941), party activist, one of the founders of the social-democratic parties of Bulgaria and Romania, a distinguished activist of the international socialist movement. In January 1918 nominated to the post of the Chairman of the Highest College for Russo-Romanian relations; in January 1919 head of the Ukrainian Soviet government; from March member of the CC of the Russian CP(b); in 1936 arrested in the trial of the so called anti-Soviet right-Trotskyite bloc. Held in the Orlovsk prison, shot.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Radek (Sobelson) (1885–1939), party activist, journalist; in 1902 joined the PPS, in 1904 the SDKPiL; after the February Revolution of 1917, member of the foreign representation of the RSDRP in Stockholm, one of the principal liaisons between the party leadership and the German General Staff, and the organizer of Lenin's journey through Germany into Russia in a sealed train car; in 1917 member of the Soviet delegation in Brest-Litovsk; in years 1919–1924 member of the CC of the Russian CP(b); from 1920 the secretary and in years 1922–1924 member of the Comintern Executive Committee; in 1927 expelled from the party as part of a Trotskyite opposition group; in January 1928 sentenced to three years in detention for anti-Soviet activity, released in May 1929; in January 1930 returned to AUCP(b). Arrested on 16 September 1936 in a trial of the so called anti-Soviet right-Trotskyite bloc. Sentenced on 30 January 1937 to 10 years' imprisonment, murdered while serving the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Mikhail Lashevich (1884–1928), party and military activist, in 1917 member of the Petrograd committee of the RSDRP and the Military-Revolutionary Committee; in 1918 member of the Petrograd Bureau of the CC of the Russian CP(b); from August till November 1918 member of the Revolutionary War Council; from December 1918 till November 1919 Commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Army; in years 1919–1920 with the Revolutionary War Councils of the Principal Fronts of the Red Army; from August till November 1920 Commander of the 15<sup>th</sup> Army; in years 1922–1925 Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, at the same time member of the Revolutionary War Council of the West-Siberian MD and Commander of Siberian MD; from 1925 Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs of the USSR, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the USSR; in years 1926–1928 Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Eastern Railway Council; in 1927 expelled from the CC and the party; following his self-criticism, reinstated in 1928.

<sup>6</sup> Nikolay Uglanov (1886–1937), communist activist, in 1917 chairman of the Petrograd Okrug Commission on the Fight with Desertion, later in years 1918–1920 military commissar; from February 1921 Secretary of the Committee of the Russian CP(b) for the Petrograd Guberniya; from February 1922 Secretary of the Nizhny Novgorod Guberniya Committee of AUCP(b); in years 1924–1928 First Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the AUCP(b); from August 1924 Secretary of the CC; in 1928 on of the leaders of the so called right-wing deviation; from November 1928 People's Commissar for Labor of the USSR; in April 1929 expelled from the Politburo of the CC of the AUCP(b); in 1932 expelled from the party. Arrested on 17 February 1933 in the trial of the so called anti-party, counter-revolutionary right-wing group, released in April 1933; in August 1936 arrested again. Sentenced on 31 May 1937 to death penalty, shot; rehabilitated in 1989.

<sup>7</sup> Mikhail Tomsy (Yefremov) (1880–1936), communist activist; from 1919 member of the CC of the Russian CP(b); in the end of 1920 came out in opposition to fast industrialization and collectivization, which was taken for "right-wing deviation". During the April Plenum of the CC (1929), was an object of fierce criticism; worked, among others, as the chairman of the All-Union Association of Chemical Industry. Committed suicide.

<sup>8</sup> Aleksey Rykov (1881–1938), communist activist, from October 1917 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the RSFSR; from 1921 Deputy Chairman of the SNK of the RSFSR; from April 1922 member of the Politburo of the CC AUCP(b); from February 1924 till May 1930 Chairman of the SNK of the USSR; in years 1928–1929 came out in opposition to fast industrialization and collectivization, which was taken in the AUCP(b) for "right-wing deviation". During the April Plenum of the CC (1929) was an object of criticism and in December 1930 expelled from the Politburo; from January 1931 till September 1936 People's Commissar for Post and Telegraph of the USSR; in February 1937 expelled from the party and on 27 February 1937 arrested in the trial of the so called anti-Soviet right-Trotskyite bloc; on 13 March 1938 sentenced to death penalty; rehabilitated in 1988.

he alone took onto himself the management of a vast country, and hence the mistakes.

And I refuse to work as the head of the ONO, not because I will not be able to cope, oh, no. I have finished the 4-grade elementary school, the 4-grade VN, thus my general level is not that low after all, nor is my political consciousness – I have finished the Sov[iet] part[y] school, courses at the Donetsk Gub[erniya] Party Com[ittee] in 1925, the 1<sup>st</sup> course at the com[munist] university. I have eight years of practical experience and the old Komsomol fire has not died out yet. All of this together would enhance a prompt command of the technique, and this means that I would cope with the work. <sup>b</sup>But I will not cope and I can not cope because I should fight for the *khlebozagotovka*, yet I do not agree with it, as there is no faith in the cause which [I am] to pursue. Not only do [I] have no faith, but also consider many of the undertakings and decisions of the CC of the AUCP(b) as wrong – and that is why I can not cope, that is generally work in the countryside, as I do not share the general party line with regard to agriculture, and in particular with regard to the plans of *khlebozagotovka* because [they] are unrealistic and inappropriate in so difficult a year for the entire Sov[iet] Union<sup>b</sup>. Because the year [19]31 was a hunger year (despite the fact that in the years [19]21–[19]27 we purchased 711 mil[lion] poods of grain and it was enough for all, and in [19]31 we purchased 1 bil[lion] 400 mil[lion] poods and it was not enough, hence the norms have been established). There was hunger, the spring plan in 1932 was not fulfilled and the kolkhozniki are eating bread that is not pure, but dark with a variety of substitutes.

The kolkhozniki do not want to work in the kolkhozy – how are they to take an interest in the material condition of their kolkhoz when they receive nothing but *trudoden*. If there is not enough grain now, what will the situation in the countryside be in the spring of 1933?

<sup>b</sup>If the plan is realistic, what explanation is there for the tensions arising from the *khlebozagotovka* in [19]32, the resistance of the kolkhozy to deliver grain?<sup>b</sup> If the kolkhoznik started to have a better life, as far as material conditions are concerned as compared to the life under the individual farms, what explanation is there for the fact that so many kolkhozniki have been collecting grain heads for themselves for the winter? Would a prosperous life force anyone to collect grain heads, to steal grain from the fields? I see the explanation in the fact that the kolkhozniki are the same people who want to eat pure bread and not corn and barley; they simply want to live decently and not in the way they lived in slavery under feudalism. They are interested in improving the material situation in their kolkhoz, but the *khlebozagotovka* does not give the kolkhozniki the necessary motivation to seek interest in the material strengthening of the kolkhoz. Moreover, the peasants are escaping from the countryside (a true flight of the Jews from Egypt) to mines and factories, but why? Leading an affluent and happy life, they would not flee. They would not roam with their children around the stations, in dirt, with no pants or shoes, resettling from one place to another. Thus, there is some “deterrent” that discourages them.

If they ask me: “Does that mean that in your opinion, [the construction of] factories should be stopped because there will be no workforce?”, [I will answer that] <sup>b</sup>according to me, it should all be organized so that the life of a worker is 300% better compared to the peasant, then he will go to the factory and thus the problem of the workforce will be resolved<sup>b</sup>.

Instead of improving [on what was in] [19]31, we again go [with]: “Let the thunder of victory resound.” During the 3<sup>rd</sup> All-Ukrainian Conference, KOSIOR<sup>9</sup> spoke of the mistakes of [19]31. His conclusion – the raions are again to blame and again they have found a scapegoat among the subordinates. When irregularities were taking place in the years [19]29–[19]30, along with peasant unrest, the blame was placed on the raion employees, and in [19]31 [they] are again to blame. <sup>b</sup>And where was the CC, why did it only draw conclusions and not pursue preventive actions in the long-term? I am convinced that the entire blame is with the CC of the Ukrainian CP(b).

If there are errors made with regard to the countryside, the raion organizations are dissolved and the raion activists are expelled. Why shouldn't the CC of the Ukrainian CP(b) be expelled and a new one chosen? Why shouldn't Secretary General KOSIOR be changed?<sup>b</sup>

What else do I disagree with? Frankly, it concerns the matter of the country's industrialization. Am I against the fast pace? Oh, no, I am for fast pace. Yet, not so fast as to make the kolkhozy, the working class and food products into the source for country's industrialization. Other sources, not those, should be found. If there are no sources – that means that the pace should be decreased, building only the defense of the country, and the rest according to available means. Now they have increased the pace and the coal production is decreasing. The reason for the decrease in coal production is not tech[nical] defects; the material situation of the workers is the most important, i.e. supplies for them. The laws of biology state that the primary source of human energy is the fats. And energy is the strength which assures effectiveness of labor. And what does the worker eat? Cucumbers, tomatoes, etc. – vitamins give no energy, yet we demand that the worker fulfills the planed quota.

I was the representative of the party *Obkom* for coal matters in Kadiyivka, Golubovka mine no. 22. What are the attitudes among the workers? I describe them as such: <sup>b</sup>If there is bread, meat, and a decent life, you will achieve full success<sup>b</sup>.

I have visited all the barracks and it is better not to call on them. They will write down all decreases, there is mass fear. The workers understand everything, but to tell them about ideals when they have empty stomachs is a hopeless cause.

It is not consciousness that defines the existence, after all, but the existence that defines human consciousness. Having arrived here in the countryside (Svatovsky Raion), I have also taken interest in the life of teachers and what did I find? They do not receive salaries for two to three months; instead of bread, we

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<sup>9</sup> Stanislaw Kosior (1888–1939), from 1928 Secretary General; from 1934 First Secretary of the CC of the Ukrainian CP(b). Under repression for membership in the Polish Military Organization (POW).

give them barley; the quality of education is falling and we demand more of them without creating [proper] conditions. They leave work and migrate. We scream: “Seize the deserter!” And [we should] ask, can a man live for two months without salary, receive no food, work and still compete with others? They are not people, they are heroes – true heroes – those very teachers, those miners running on tomatoes and producing coal. Are those individual cases or not? Such cases can be found everywhere. Thus, these are not errors of the raions but errors of the CC, errors in the general party line. Those are the fundamental reasons that have led me to disagree with the general party line on the following matters:

### 1. Agriculture

a) We have achievements, undeniably, in the grain exports for example; however, all the kolkhozy have been organized not on a voluntary basis, but through force, <sup>b</sup>although not directly, rather indirectly through economic pressure<sup>b</sup>.

b) <sup>b</sup>If they were organized voluntarily, we could tell the kolkhozniki: “Those who want [to stay] in the kolkhoz – let them stay, we will help them, and those who do not – let them leave”, guaranteeing them that economic<sup>b</sup> pressure will not ensue. I am convinced that there would be 25% out of 100% of our kolkhozy left. The attitudes among the kolkhozniki and conversations with them confirm my assumptions.

And us? Do we fulfill the directives set by LENIN on carefully pursuing the organizational work in issues concerning peasantry?

LENIN spoke of the middle-sized farmers: “We should primarily concentrate on the truth, which states that on this matter, forceful methods will in fact achieve nothing. We have a completely different economic task here. There is no top which could be cut, leaving the entire base. Pursuing forceful means here is to ruin the entire cause. We need to work through long-term education here... there is nothing more foolish than even the mere thought of force with regard to the economic relations of the middle-sized peasantry.”

When in [19]21 the peasants were dissatisfied with the state of relations, during the 10<sup>th</sup> congress of our party (see volume XVIII, part 1, p. 138) LENIN declared: “We should not attempt to hide anything. We should say openly that the peasantry is dissatisfied with the state of relations which have taken root with us, that it does not want this form of interdependence and it will not function that way any longer. That remains undisputable. Its will has been clearly expressed. This is the will of the great masses of the working people. We should respect that and we are sober enough as politicians to speak frankly: we should reconsider it.”

Is the peasantry satisfied with the present state? In [19]21 the discontent of the peasants found its expression in the Kronstadt rebellion, and now? A number of uprisings and unrest also confirm that the party line, as far as agriculture is concerned, is wrong. With regard to class elimination, LENIN also spoke of long-term efforts and not of setting deadlines (see decis[ions] of the 17<sup>th</sup> conferenc[e]).

LENIN, vol. 17, p. 118: “Eliminate the classes – that means not only to drive away the landowners and capitalists – that we have accomplished quite easily, but it also means to eliminate small producers, and they can not be driven away, they

can not be crushed, we have to make peace with them. They can be and have to be reconstructed and reeducated; this [can be achieved] only with very slow, long, careful organizational work.”

And in vol. XVIII, part 2, p. 55, LENIN underlined: “In the mass of people, we are only a drop in the sea and we can lead only when we express properly what the people already realize. Without that, the communist party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses and the entire machinery will fall apart.”

And there is the question, are we moving in that direction? It is the very peasants who do not want to go to kolkhozy willingly, and we have forgotten the directions set by ENGELS when we economically force the peasants to join the kolkhozy.

ENGELS (see brochure on the peasant question): “We definitely stand in support of the small peasants. We will do all that is possible to make their lives more bearable, to facilitate their joining the comrades, if they should so decide. Yet, if they should still be unable to make that decision, we will make the effort to give them as much time as possible for considering it on their own patch [of land].”

What I propose:

1) Continue organizing the kolkhozy, yet exclusively on the principle of voluntarism (taking into account LENIN’s directives) – <sup>b</sup>no force, direct or indirect, nor economic pressure<sup>b</sup>.

2) Propose to the kolkhozniki that they remain in the kolkhozy of their own will, and if they do not want to – dissolve the kolkhozy. All the faster will the matter be resolved in the direction of improving the agri[cultural] econ[omy] and supplies for the workers.

3) <sup>b</sup>In order to offer stimuli for the remaining kolkhozniki to take interest in the mater[ial] situation, reduce *khlebozagotovka* by 75%<sup>b</sup>.

4) Strengthen the sovkhozy with the aim of centraliz[ing] the supply and let the remaining burden of *khlebozagotovka* be taken over by the sovkhozy.

[2.] Supplies for workers

a) It is high time to lower the prices on industrial and food products by 75%, and thus to increase the real salary, not concentrating on a nominal increase.

b) It is high time to carry out <sup>b</sup>a change in setting food norms<sup>b</sup>. Set the bread rations at the same level for all working people and specialists, that is: 1 kg per day for a working person, 600 grams per day for dependents. Products and bread to be withdrawn from exports, lowering them to such a level, as to satisfy the working people in our Sov[iet] Union.

c) <sup>b</sup>It is high time to eliminate closed shops<sup>10</sup> and canteens, turning them into places open for all working people of the Soviet Union<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Russian: *zakrytyje razpredileliteli* – shops with a wide selection of products exclusively for the upper party and state functionaries, inaccessible for the general public.

d) <sup>b</sup>Give more opportunity for efforts to be undertaken in the cooperatives by improving the supply of all shareholders, without discrimination based on class divisions<sup>b</sup>.

e) Lower the contribution to 50%, thus increasing the [real] salary, leaving the differences in contribution to the tax.

[3.] On the issue of trad[e] unions

a) <sup>b</sup>Abolish the decree of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum of the AUCLU, and allow labour unions to concentrate solely on the defense of their members, that is members of the lab[or] union not getting involved in the management of the economy but dealing<sup>b</sup> with protective efforts.

b) AUCLU has not carried out its decree on the decrease of percentage deductions from salaries and has even further increased them by 3/4% [?]. They need to be decreased to 50% – this will also result in a salary increase.

c) Loans should be given only on voluntary basis, applying no pressure, neither moral nor any other.

[4.] On the matter of leadership

<sup>b</sup>Change all of the leadership. Call an extraordinary party congress with the aim of electing a new CC and new Politburo and changing the Stalinist *narkoms*<sup>b</sup>.

There are fundamental matters which should be dealt with; to carry out a purge and <sup>b</sup>the revision of the present general party line<sup>b</sup>. Those are my thoughts. And with such attitude, I can not work in the countryside; if I am to work, I will not carry out the general party line on the agri[cultural] matters [or] *khlebozag[otovka]*.

If you shall say that it is only I who has such an attitude, go among the masses, listen. <sup>b</sup>The masses do not stand in support of the CC of the AUCP(b) and STALIN, but in support of BUKHARIN, TOMSKY, RYKOV, ZINOVIEV, UGLANOV and KAMENEV. Try holding a “secret” vote in the party and you will find out with whom the party masses stand – not the part[y] officials<sup>b</sup>.

And the final issue which I oppose – the decision <sup>b</sup>of 9 October [19]32 (CC AUCP(b)) on the expulsion of ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV, UGLANOV from the party. I categorically protest against casting away those people who have built the party, the best students of LENIN; against driving away the people who are disobedient and think differently and leaving obedient fools<sup>b</sup>.

I do not trust the press on the claim that ZINOVIEV is a counter-revolutionary. These people have fought for the party all their life, for the revolution, and have been in exile – they cannot be counter-revolutionaries, it is only the fear of letting them into the CC, and thus [an attempt at] strengthening of its own influence, having no support from the masses.

It is necessary not to push away, but to attract the better part of the party and jointly repair the general party line under the call: “Less steps, stronger steps”.

I strongly believe that ZINOVIEV will be back in the party and that he will become its leader.

20 October [19]32

With a com[munist] greeting!

member of the party since 1925 no. 0705273  
NECHAYEV

<sup>d</sup>-In conformity:<sup>d</sup> SPO Representative  
Svatovo R[aion] Div[ision] GPU  
NIKOLAYEV

For conformity of the copy with the copy: Representative 1<sup>st</sup> Dep[artment] SPO  
Don[etsk] Obl[ast] Division GPU  
(—) STOLNIKOV

<sup>e</sup>-I have read. Conforms to the original<sup>e</sup>  
(—) Nechayev

*HDA SBU, Donetsk, Spr. 4924-2 f, pp. 4–13.  
Authenticated copy of a copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>d--d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>e--e</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

## No. 65

### 21 October 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the reactions of the people towards arrests and the signs of famine

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
21 October [19]32

17 October of this year, during a conversation, V. MERKLLINGER and his wife strongly complained that the life is getting harder by the day and allegedly the people in the countryside are now starving. And it is most outrageous, he says, that the party apparatchiks are doing well, receiving such allowances that, for example, the head of the Sov[iet] part[y] school has indecently gained weight while others have to starve. M[ERKLLINGER] stated that a number of party apparatchiks have informed him that this year many people will die of starvation. One has even given a “check number” of 16 million, yet this – he says – is not important, but that the plan is fulfilled. M[ERKLLINGER] is outraged by this devilish experiment and claims that this will lead to no good. He told me that in the Catholic colonies, a great many people have been arrested, particularly from the clergy. They allegedly look for gold, but where can “a village priest” have gold from? He is extremely outraged by the fact that his relative, GEYZER, a form[er] mill owner, has been arrested. He had worked, he says, with his daughter on the construction of the GPU sanatorium; they had been awarded a bonus at the end. A few days later, he was arrested with demands for gold and currency made towards him. He says that the celebrations organized for the end of the construction cost 25,000 rubles, while at the same time masses of people are starving.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 567.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.



## No. 66

### 31 October 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding an anonymous letter found in Polish School No. 32

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
Pol[ish] School 32  
“31” October 1932

I transmit for y[our] information that on 23 October, during my office hours at FZS no. 32, in the presence of teachers the students have picked up a letter [laying] on the stairs by the main entrance. The letter, addressed to me, the head of the school, read as follows:

Translation from Polish: “LENIN the Jew. When LENIN was alive, they did not harass the peasants. In the old days, even if they harassed, they gave bread. Now they harass and give no bread and all students will attend the church because now the power is with the Jews, yet later our Polish rule will come and we will show them.

In the old days, the white bread cost 50 kop[eks], now it costs 12 rub[les]. In the old days, fatback cost 20 kop[eks], now it costs 12 rubles.

As a comrade says, in the old days they paid the workers very little, but everything was available. Now they pay more, yet even that is not enough.”

Letter written in Polish, without signature.

It was not possible to establish the author of the letter. The letter was read by between three and five students before it was delivered to the secretary.

<sup>c</sup>I enclose the original letter and envelope<sup>c</sup>.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, p. 22.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

**No. 67**

**September – October 1932, n.p.p. Fragment of “Bulletin of the OUN  
Country Executive for the year 1932 on the West Ukrainian territories”,  
regarding the situation of Ukrainians in the USSR**

No. 9/10

September–October 1932

“Polesia”

[...]

“But apart from Poles, we have other occupiers: there are the Red tsars from the Moscow Kremlin. They prey on national suffering, poverty and hunger. They destroy our nation. They beguile the Ukrainian people and promise a better life under Red authority, yet Bolshevik rule is a rule by a second occupier who is also destroying the Ukrainian strengths; it is merely a continuation, a new form of rule from Moscow over the eastern Ukrainian territories. That is where the Ukrainian people are dying from starvation because the Muscovites are selling Ukrainian grain abroad for cheap. It is also where people are shot without trial, sent to prison, labor camps or the frozen Solovki! People are escaping from the Bolshevik hell and dying by the thousands, shot by guards on the border with Poland and Romania.”

[...]

*TsDIAL, F. 205, Op. 1, Spr. 1020, pp. 46–47.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

## No. 68

### 2 November 1932, Odessa. Fragments of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements made by foreigners concerning collectivization and the situation of German settlers

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
2 November [19]32

A hunting excursion with MEWES and BERNDT lasted from 4 a.m. on the 29<sup>th</sup> [October] until 9 a.m. of 30 October. The place of hunting between Kapitnivka and Raukhovo was chosen at MEWES' wish, as he has hunted there in the previous years. [...]

From among the subjects touched upon by M[EWES] and B[ERNDT], the following should be noted:

[...]

2) There was a discussion about the kolkhoz policy due to the fact that on the way, one could come across uncollected grain, dead horses lying around and many uncultivated fields. Both M[EWES] and B[ERNDT] claimed that collectivization has been depriving the peasants of the motivation to work, thus resulting in a loss of efficiency in agriculture which will not be easily reestablished. M[EWES] underlined in particular the difficulty in reestablishing the herds of large animals, stating that even if the losses in the herding of poultry or pigs can be made up for in one or two years, an increase in the number of horse and cow herds could only be achieved in three to four years and only with great effort.

[...]

5) Referring to the situation of German colonists, M[EWES] said that their present situation in the USSR is very difficult, and that at home in northern Germany, in Schleswig, an average peasant owns 3–4 horses and 10–12 cows; here such a peasant is persecuted as a Kulak. He believes the claims that the German colonists have become richer because earlier, under the Tsar's rule, they were in a better situation than the Russian peasants as far as taxes go, are untrue. They have become richer because they are more hard-working and sober.

[...]

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 380-T, pp. 299–230.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

## No. 69

### 16 November 1932, Moscow. Circular by the OGPU regarding the intensified fight against illegal trading of grain, flour and bread

In accordance with telegram no. <sup>a-</sup>428<sup>-a</sup> sent for information to PP OGPU of C[entral] Asia, BSSR, West[ern] Oblast, DVK, Crimea, Gorky [Krai], Northern Krai, TSFSR, Yakutia, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and LMD, I order

First: all representatives, with the exception of PP OGPU MO, DVK, TASSR, North[ern] Krai and TSFSR, to cease immediately all trading of grain and flour, and to cease the trading of baked bread in large quantities (over one pood). With this aim and without further ado, designate the most experienced officers of PP OGPU to carry out this task aimed at interrupting the illegal trade in seeds, flour, bread. Present the names of the designated officers to me as soon as possible, via telegraph.

Second: [...] flour, seeds and bread transported to the bazaars for sale are subject to confiscation.

Third: traders and speculators trading seeds, flour and bread are to be reported immediately through agent-based operational activities and, without further delays in agent-based observation of those persons, to be arrested immediately and the cases transferred to the PP troika.

Fourth: the confiscation of seeds, flour and bread in the markets is to be carried out <sup>a-</sup>under the supervision of the PP<sup>-a</sup> apparatus by <sup>a-</sup>militia<sup>a</sup> and <sup>a-</sup>Zagotzerno employees<sup>a</sup>.

Fifth: the [officers of the ] militia and [employees of] *Zagotzerno* designated for this task are to be thoroughly instructed and <sup>a-</sup>all acts of abuse and rudeness<sup>-a</sup> on the part of the militia and *Zagotzerno* agents are to be prevented under any circumstances during the requisition of seeds, flour and bread from the peasants. Explain that the requisition is carried out in accordance with a governmental decree, forbidding trading of seeds, flour and bread until the plan for grain purchases is completely fulfilled.

Sixth: ensure that <sup>a-</sup>the entire countryside population is informed, both in the villages<sup>-a</sup> and the bazaars, that the law forbids trading of seeds, flour and bread until the *khlebozagotovka* plan set for the oblast is fulfilled.

<sup>a-</sup>Seventh: every 10 days, present spec[ial] reports by couriers<sup>-a</sup> on the carrying out of the operation, including the description of the situation on the bread deliveries, the quantity <sup>a-</sup>of confiscated [products], the number of those covered by repression, speculators<sup>-a</sup> and traders, the number of opened investigations and sentences given in such cases.

Eighth: the operation is to be carried out until the *khlebozagotovka* plan <sup>a-</sup>is fulfilled by your oblast<sup>a</sup>.

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<sup>a-</sup><sup>-a</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

Ninth: to inform of the steps undertaken by you, via telegraph, <sup>a</sup>within two days<sup>a</sup> of receiving the circular.

<sup>b</sup>Dep[uty] Chair[man] of OGPU ad interim<sup>b</sup>  
YAGODA

<sup>b</sup>Sent by Representative<sup>b</sup>  
PAVLOV

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 58–62.*  
*Telegraph tape.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

**No. 70**  
**17 November 1932, Simferopol. Circular by the Economic Department  
of the PP OGPU Crimea regarding the ban on grain trading**

a-b-Series<sup>b-a</sup> “K”  
c-“To be opened immediately”<sup>c</sup>  
c-17 November [19]32<sup>c</sup>

b-d-Circular<sup>d</sup>  
Economic Department of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>b c</sup> 157/EKO<sup>c</sup>

b-To all Ch[iefs] of  
Munic[ipal] [and] Rai[on] Div[isions] of PP OGPU Crimea  
Copy – Ch[ief] GUMR Crimea<sup>b</sup>

b-Exclusively<sup>b c</sup> to EKO files<sup>c</sup>

In accordance with directives, <sup>b</sup>I order<sup>b</sup> that until the *khlebozagotovka* plan is fulfilled in the whole of Crimea, all trading of grain seeds and flour in the markets, bazaars and other places is <sup>b</sup>unconditionally and categorically forbidden<sup>b</sup>.

Immediately following the receipt of this circular, together with the militia organs, organize an on-alert group of functionaries for operational activities with the aim of ending the trade of seeds, flour and bread until the *khlebozagotovka* plan is fulfilled.

Include the employees of the *Zagotzerno* in the activities pursued by this group.

Moreover, categorically forbid the sale of bread in amounts exceeding one pood.

The group designated to fight with trading of bread, seeds and flour, is to be entrusted with the task of disclosing speculators and merchants trading seeds, flour and bread, and immediately upon finding such persons, to pursue arrests and confiscate the grain found with them and transfer it to *Zagotzerno* while the arrest cases transferred to the PP troika.

Expose the possession of flour, seeds and bread and confiscate them if their quantity exceeds one pood; this also refers to private bakers.

Ensure, with the assistance of the AUCP(b) and VLKSM *raykoms* and through your own apparatus, that every kolkhoznik and *yedinolichnik*, as well as all the people, receives information as to the fact that the law categorically forbids trad-

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a-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

b-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

c-<sup>c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

d-<sup>d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

ing of bread until all of Crimea fulfills the grain purchasing plans. Moreover, inform that in the case of the kolkhozniki, *yedinolichniki* or other people being caught again for trading of bread, seeds or flour, they will be made to answer [and be punished] more severely.

In parallel, <sup>b</sup>I order<sup>b</sup> that the entire network of agents under your supervision be instructed in regard to the fight against trading of grain products, and the agent network operating directly in the countryside and in the trading centers to be directed primarily to this fight and the uncovering of speculators, traders and merchants [trading] grain. At the same time, it is necessary to organize a new mass network of informers specially for this purpose.

The operational group designated to fight against the grain trade should operate directly under your supervision.

Every five days, report on the steps undertaken by you, the results of your activities, and the number of discovered and arrested speculators, as well as the quantity of grain confiscated and transferred to the *Zagotzerno*. The first report on this matter is to be delivered no later than by 25 November.

PP OGPU <sup>b</sup>Crimea<sup>b</sup>  
(—) SALYN

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>b</sup> EKO PP  
(—) IVANOVSKY

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, pp. 153–154.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 71

### 3 December 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the situation in Polish School no. 32 and the statements of the teachers

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>  
3 December 1932

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>

GRODSKY has left the 32<sup>nd</sup> school and GERINGES, who will be teaching physics in Ukrainian, has been appointed to take his place. GERINGES is the husband of MAYEVSKAYA, a teacher from school no. 42. When the bread coupon [rations] were lowered, he said to teach[er] GOLEMBIOVSKAYA: "From all this we could see we have achievements only on paper, and in reality there are [people] starving here. The newspapers write about the difficulties, about the need to [make] sacrifices. It is enough. We have been making sacrifices since 1917. Before the revolution, the clerks had savings from their salaries, but now there is not even enough bread."

GERINGES' grandfather came from France and worked at the sugar plant in the Kiev Gub[erniya], and later in Kherson, where he bought a farm and a mill.

In group 4 (teacher GLINSKAYA teaches there), the pupils raised a ruckus because of the lowered bread [rations].

Most active in the endeavor were four p[ersons] – VOLEK (very religious family),

RAYNISH (parents – for[mer] meat traders),

PISNIETSKY (father, a worker).

Following this incident, VRUBLEVSKY issued an order for the teachers to undertake explanatory talks on why the bread [ration] was lowered.

It can be observed that the girls are more religious than the boys. The boys are more active during the manifestations which accompany the difficulties.

Thus, the pupils from the group – DUKRE (gas gen[erator] worker), ZHUKOVSKY (for[mer] shoemaker), MIKHALSKY (responsible for weighing at the cargo station) were voicing their indignation with us getting so little bread while in Moscow there is STALIN, giving them white bread there.

The school held two meetings of the "Bezbozhnik"<sup>1</sup>. The first meeting was attended by 8 pupils, the second by 11.

On 2 December a general assembly of students was held during which VRUBLEVSKY explained the reasons behind the lowered bread [rations]. During the

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the anti-religious social organization „The Union of Belligerent Atheists”, which sought support for its activities also among high-school pupils.



meeting, VRUBLEVSKY castigated group 4 with such words that [the pupils] started crying and promised not to act that way next time.

BRAUN – supply inspector with *Narobraz*, is disseminating rumors (ODEN-BAKH spoke of them) that MAKH was arrested for helping someone get across the border, supplying forged documents to him. I heard this today from ODEN-BAKH.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, p. 29.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 72

### 7 December 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding statements about hunger and reactions to the lowering of bread rations

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>op</sup>] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
7 December 1932

On 5 December I visited citizen EMSER, where I have met citizen BAYDAMENAKER (both live in house no. 2 by the Lutheran al[ley]). Citizen BAYDEME-NAKER<sup>c</sup> said that the pastor of the German community in Odessa, SHYLLING, had finally received permission to go abroad, adding: "At least he will live his final days humanely." To my comment that it is just as bad there, he agreed, yet [stated that] the term "bad" is a flexible one and that supposedly not even the unemployed starve there; there are difficulties and here is hunger, and besides it would be naive to think that pastor SHYLLING does not hold money there.

Moreover, he was greatly infuriated by the decrease in bread rations to people who are supported and some groups of administrative clerks; this – he says – is too much. What the present policies have brought is not Leninism, but cruelty. LENIN would not allow this. He agreed with me that a revolution is underway in Germany, yet communism will not be as distorted there as it is here. Allegedly there is an old, reliable Menshevik party there which will take into account all the mistakes made by the Russian Mensheviks. To my comment on why at present, the poor and the average cit[izens] [there] are suffering, he answered that it is nonsense, that he has information on how life is there and that it is not all that bad compared to ours, that a month ago pastor SHIMKE has arrived in Germany and feels as if newly born, and this is not due to a bad life, etc.

<sup>d</sup>-In conformity:<sup>d</sup>

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 707.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: BAIDAMENAKER.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

## No. 73

### 10 December 1932, Odessa. Fragments of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding conversations with the Japanese Consul on the food supply situation in Odessa

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
Special <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
10 December [19]32

On 6 December, the Consul<sup>1</sup> enquired about the food [supply] situation as far as the people in Odessa are concerned. I answered that the bread rations have been decreased, but the decreases [in rations] did not concern heavy industry workers and students. “And the consular corps – he added – have been put at the same level as the heavy industry workers” and laughed. Then he asked: “Have you not heard about cases of death from starvation?” – “No, I have not heard such things and I believe it to be doubtful that such things have taken place: there are food shortages, but no famine”, I answered. “If at the beginning of December the bread rations are decreased with completely satisfactory crops, then most probably in February or March there will be cases of death from starvation”, the Consul said. “And I think – I opposed – precisely that the Sov[iet] authorities made prior calculations as to how much bread should be distributed so as not to be faced with the lack of grain later.” Thus the conversation was concluded. With the farewells, the Consul asked me to inform him on the changes in prices in the bazaar. I promised to pass on the information based on what my wife says, buying most of our food in the bazaar.

[...]

On 13 December, the Consul asked me about the prices in the bazaar. I gave him some of the prices which I knew from my wife: 5 pounds of bread – 12 or 13 rub[les], chicken – 25–30 rub[les], soup powder [?] – 3 rubles for a glass, butter – 16 or 18 rub[les] for a pound, sunflower oil – 12 r[ubles] for a pound (there was no point concealing those numbers, since his maid also goes to the bazaar). He kept nodding with his head, as if in amazement. “Tell me – he said – how can a worker who receives on average 200–250 rub[les] per month make a living, supporting a family?” I explained that in a majority of workers’ families, all who are capable do work. “And if there are small children?” the Consul asked. “If they go to school or to the kindergarten, they get some food there” I answered. “But still – the Consul noted – this is [a life] of semi-starvation.” – “Yes, there are food shortages, but there is no famine.” – “And abroad, they do not know what to do with grain, with the overproduction there.” I told the Consul: “We had pretty good crops and if they were all collected, we too would have a surplus. That is why the

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the Japanese Consul in Odessa, Bunitaro Tanaka.

party is mobilizing all its strengths in the countryside, to carry out the *khlebozagotovka* [plan] before it is too late,” – “But it is already too late, it is already December.” – “Luckily the weather is alright; we hope to harvest plenty before 15 January.” – “Oh, I see that you are an optimist.”

Thus the conversation was concluded.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 66, T. 5, pp. 2579–2579 v.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 74

### 10 December 1932, [Odessa]. Protocol of interrogation of an inhabitant of Odessa, K. Geys, by an officer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on the critical statements by German settlers regarding the agricultural situation

a-“Powstancy”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Supplementary protocol  
of interrogation of the accused<sup>b</sup> – GEYS K. F.

of 10 December 1932

I confirm my testimony, which I have given on 7 December of this year, and I deem it necessary to supplement it with the following:

Beginning in 1930, the moment of my arrival in Odessa, knowing that there were also colonists from the village of Speier living in Odessa, I established contacts with them and started visiting them, namely <sup>c</sup>DEYCH<sup>c</sup> Frants, <sup>c</sup>MAYER<sup>c</sup> Matvey, <sup>c</sup>BOPP<sup>c</sup> Ivan and oth[ers]. Most often I frequented <sup>c</sup>DEYCH Frants, those mentioned above meeting there as well<sup>c</sup>; later, kolkhozniki from the Speier colony would come too, among them <sup>c</sup>KUN Dominik Fridrikhovich, VIRTIS Adam Matveyevich, MIKELKE Nikolay Ivanovich, GERGART<sup>c</sup> Ivan Khristianovich, <sup>c</sup>DINIUS<sup>c</sup> Khristian Khristianovich, <sup>c</sup>SHATSO<sup>c</sup> Yakov Stepanovich, <sup>c</sup>DEYCH Yosif<sup>c</sup>, <sup>c</sup>SHARTS Matvey<sup>c</sup> Gienrikhovich (elder), as well as others whose names I cannot recall. <sup>c</sup>MAYER Matvey and DEYCH Frants, holding anti-Sov[iet] views, carried out c-r propaganda aimed at breaking the undertaken campaigns<sup>c</sup>.

Above all, MAYER Matvey pointed to the fact that should the *khlebozagotovka* plan be fulfilled, the people will die of starvation, as with the *khlebozagotovka* plan not yet fulfilled, the people are already swelling from hunger. <sup>c</sup>While he spoke of the methods with which one can and should turn to in order not to give the grain to the state and have it stay with the peasants for their use, namely by devastating the rail tracks, destroying or damaging the threshers and generally by not harvesting the grain<sup>c</sup>. By such methods it can be assured that the people will not perish from hunger. DEYCH gave his support to MAYER's speech.

Some of the kolkhozniki from the v[illage] of Speier who were present – that is GERGART Ivan Khristianovich, VIRTIS Adam Matveyevich and DINIUS Frants Khristianovich – also informed us about the situation in the countryside, that people are starving, the cattle are dying, that farms are falling into ruin. And we, discussing the matter, came to the conclusion that this can no longer be.

<sup>c</sup>I also gave my support to the counterrevolutionary address of MAYER Matvey and DEYCH Frants and told them that when I was in the North Caucasus,

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

I was told that it was visible among<sup>c</sup> the people that they were dissatisfied with the *khlebozagotovka* and other polit[ico]-econ[omic] campaigns. I also said <sup>c</sup>that I know of insurgencies taking place in the North Caucasus among<sup>c</sup> the people of the mountain regions.

Sharing my impressions from the journey through the Caucasus with the group [of persons close to] DEYCH, I said that I know the reason behind those insurgencies, it being primarily the fact that the people inhabiting the Caucasus are greatly discontented with the local authorities due to their insistence on [fulfilling the plan of] *khlebozagotovka* and oth[er] campaigns.

I should once again confirm that, based on the observations which I had the opportunity to make during my talks with DEYCH Fran[ts] Khristian[ovich], MAYER M., they seemed to me to be the people of clearly counterrevolutionary attitude, happy with the unrest in the Caucasus and particularly glad to hear my information about the insurgencies taking place there. <sup>c</sup>During a conversation with DEYCH, MAYER expressed the opinion that it would not be bad if people in Ukraine had done the same as the mountain people of the Caucasus; that is, started an insurgency<sup>c</sup>. MAYER also expressed the opinion that we would be successful if the workers in plants and factories would join with the peasants, acting together and rising against the authorities, they would be abolished.

GEYS

<sup>6</sup>-Interrogated by: Oper[atational] representative<sup>b</sup>  
NILOV

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 9, pp. 131–132.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

**No. 75**  
**12 December 1932, Warsaw. Letter from the head of the Office  
of Ethnic Issues in the Ministry of the Interior to the Ternopil Voivode  
regarding aid to refugees from the USSR**

<sup>a-</sup>Ministry  
of the Interior<sup>a</sup>  
PN 335/4/5  
Aid to refugees from the USSR

<sup>a-</sup>Warsaw,<sup>-a</sup> <sup>b-</sup>12<sup>-b</sup> December  
<sup>a-</sup>193<sup>-a</sup>2  
To  
Voivode  
In Ternopil

The winter season and the continually increasing hunger in Soviet Russia are undeniably causing an increased flow of refugees into Poland. The Ministry has in the past defined the general guidelines for dealing with the refugees. Those guidelines remain in force.

<sup>c-</sup>At present, aiming to relieve the local administration authorities as regards the aid to refugees, the Ministry has initiated the establishment of a special committee for assistance to refugees which is to comprise: a representative of the Red Cross, a representative of the Department of Social Welfare, a representative of the Episcopate and the representative of the League of Nations<sup>1</sup> for refugees, Mr. Gallati. With that, the Ministry kindly requests that in each individual case, the Voivode inform the Ministry about the crossing of the border by refugees, while making recommendations on the scope of assistance required<sup>c-</sup>.

M. K.

(—) H. Suchenek-Suchocki<sup>2</sup>  
Head of the Department

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. [324].*

*Original, typewritten on a printed letterhead.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the document, a letter: B; in the bottom left corner a rectangular receipt stamp with the text: Voivodeship Office in Ternopil, Received on ... 19... encl. ... [no.]: ... and a handwritten date: 15 XII ...32 as well as a number: N.B. 33; on the right, next to the signature, illegible initials and a note: ko.*

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<sup>a-</sup><sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b-</sup><sup>b</sup> *Added in typewriting.*

<sup>c-</sup><sup>c</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin.*

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations – established in 1919 (with the Versailles Treaty), an international organization of independent states with headquarters in Geneva. The organization's purpose was to eliminate international disputes, as well as to support cooperation in the world and promote peace; regular sessions were held in the years 1920–1941; formally dissolved in 1946.

<sup>2</sup> Henryk Jan Suchenek-Suchocki (born 9 May 1887), Administration Captain of the Reserve; until 1926 with Section II of General Staff; in years 1926–1937 Head of the Office of Ethnic Issues in the Political Department of the Ministry of the Interior; from 1928 Chairman of the Executive Council of the Sybirak Association; author of *Państwo a cerkiew prawosławna w Polsce i w państwach ościennych*, Warsaw 1930.

## No. 76

### 12 December 1932, Dolynska. Extract from a report from a meeting of the presidium of the Dolynska Raion Control Commission regarding the case of an inhabitant of the village of Bratolubivka, Andrey Tsyba

<sup>a</sup>Proletarians of all countries unite!<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>CP(b)U

Dolynska Raion Control Commission<sup>a</sup>

No. C-219 12 December 1932

Sending .....

<sup>a</sup>Extract<sup>a</sup>

From report Cz 41-34 from a meeting of the <sup>b</sup>Presidium<sup>b</sup> of the Dolynsk[y] Rai[on] KK of 23 September 1932

Chairman of the meeting:  
Com. MINAYEV

Secretary: com. HAYZLER

<sup>b-c</sup> Heard: <sup>-c-b</sup>	<sup>b-c</sup> Decided: <sup>-c-b</sup>
[The case] concerning the expulsion from the party of Com. TSYBA Andrey Kharytonovich <sup>1</sup> , born in 1904, Ukrainian, cand[idate] for the party from 1930, party ID..... Was not a member of other parties, middle-sized kolkhoznik, elementary education, part[y] education EPSH, did not serve in the Red Army, at the period of committing the offense worked as the manager of the economic department in the Bratolubivka hospital. Amount of fine – 35 rubles per month.	Decision of the Bratolubivka part[y] branch to be approved, for utter idleness and refusal to work in [fulfilling the plan] for grain purchase, a case of open evasion of work, Com. TSYBA <sup>b</sup> is to be expelled from the party <sup>b</sup> – dismissing him from work and forbidding him to hold responsible posts for the period of two years.
<sup>b</sup> is charged: <sup>-b</sup>	

<sup>a-a</sup> Printed on letterhead.

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c-c</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

<sup>1</sup> See: document no. 85.



With utter idleness and refusal to work for grain purchase, for which he was expelled from the party ranks by the part[y] branch, earlier twice faced with a part[y] sentence – receiving a reprimand and a reprimand with a warning for idleness in conducting politico-econ[omic] campaigns.

(referent com. Hayzler)

Tsyba was present.

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity<sup>b</sup>:

<sup>b</sup>-Secretary<sup>b</sup> RKK RSI

(—) HAYZLER

*HDA SBU, Dnipropetrovsk, Spr. P-400, p. 4.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten on a letterhead.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

*Under the text a round stamp with the words: Dolynsky Rai[on] KK RSI.*

## No. 77

### 13 December 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the critical assessment of the situation in the countryside

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
13 December 1932

MEWES sa[id] that the life of a cow is equal to the life of five people because recently five people have been shot for stealing a cow. GAN added that peasants are left with no grain whatsoever, all having been taken away; the peasants have now started pulling out stocks made by field mice and gophers. One can sometimes find as much as a pood of grain, but even that is sought after by the authorities, calling it “plundering”.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 380-T, p. 244.*  
*Copy, typewritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed form.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

## No. 78

### 14 December 1932, Prague. Letter by representatives of the Foreign Bureau of the URDP to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky with a request for intervention due to the tragic situation in Soviet Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>Copy<sup>a</sup>

Your Excellency,

The Foreign Bureau of the Ukr[ainian] Radical Democratic Party has the honor of addressing you, as the higher Arch-Shepherd of the Ukr[ainian] Greek Cathol[ic] Church, with the following request.

The people of Greater Ukraine, that is three quarters of the entire Ukr[ainian] nation, are in a fatal danger. Times are approaching which bring terror much greater than anything that Ukraine has experienced before, be it under the Tatar rule and the revenge taken by Jarema Wiśniowiecki, or after the Poltava pogrom, or during the last war for independence and the famine of 1921.

Famine is once again approaching, unbelievable and unprecedented in scale and intensity. Already at the beginning of the summer, Ukraine's population was starving, as it had no stocks from the previous periods and all the remaining food was taken out of the country. This year's crops, with decreased sowings and an utter disintegration of farms, are not able to satisfy even the most basic needs of the people, and more so during the time after the crops, the grain and other stocks were mercilessly taken away. The starvation and uprisings have already started in the cities (Kiev, Odessa, Donbas), cases of death from starvation have been noted in the countryside. Even strangers who have come to Ukraine are terrified with what will happen there in the coming months.

The Soviet authorities and their obedient press are intentionally silent on the state of affairs, and thus the foreign public, having no sources of information of its own, is equally silent in regard to this new tragedy of the Ukr[ainian] nation. At this moment, we turn to you, the most Reverend Vladyka, with a request for your highest Arch-Shepherd's voice in defense of the Ukr[ainian]<sup>b</sup> people.

Your voice, the most Reverend Vladyka, will be listened to by all, both the high representatives of the Church, the world press and the international charity institutions, which thus will be able, in time, to send to Ukraine the impartial enquiry commissions, to see for themselves what is happening there, and through the actions taken, to save the lives of some<sup>b</sup> thousands of people.

Thanks to your voice, Most Dear Arch-Shepherd, the indifference of the entire Christian world will perish in face of the great suffering that the Ukrainian people are undergoing presently, and which will grow worse in the coming months.

We are at your mercy and ask for your high pastoral blessing.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Word corrected in handwriting.*

Prof[essor] Kost' Matsiyevich<sup>1</sup>  
Chairman of the For[eign] Bureau

M. Slavinsky  
Dep[uty] Chairman

Secretary of the Fore[ign] Bureau  
W. Diakonenko, Associate Professor

Prague, 14 December 1932

Certifying that this is a true copy of the original:  
Secretariat of the Metropolitan Kyr Andrey  
<sup>c</sup>-Lviv<sup>c</sup>, 17 January 1933  
(—) <sup>d</sup>-secretary<sup>d2</sup>

*TSDIAL, F. 358, Op. 3, no. 159, 3 b, pp. 1–1 v.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Ukrainian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Kost' Matsiyevich (1873–1942), professor, economist, agronomist, social activist; after 1917 one of the initiators of the agricultural reform plan in Ukraine; in 1919 Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UNR; in years 1919–1923 Head of the diplomatic mission of the UNR in Romania, later in exile in Czechoslovakia; in the late 1920's in exile in Romania; participant of the All-Ukrainian Assembly in Prague in 1929; in years 1929–1932 member of the Auditing Committee with the Main Council in Exile; from 1930 Head of the economic seminar at the Ukrainian Academic Institute in Warsaw; published texts in “Tryzub”, among other periodicals.

## No. 79

### 15 December 1932, Moscow. Telegram from the Economic Directorate of the OGPU regarding intensified fight against grain theft

JJ-23

<sup>a</sup>-Secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Telegram

Ch[ief] of EKO PP OGPU and Ch[ief] of EKO GPU of Yakutia<sup>a</sup>  
cit[y] of Simferopol

<sup>b</sup>-Content:<sup>b</sup>

On intensification of the fight with theft in the chain of *Zagotzerno* [centers].

The OGPU organs in Ukraine, Gorky Krai, CChO and in a number of other oblasts have disclosed organized thefts of receipt books from the *Zagotzerno* grain purchasing centers and a whole system of misuse related to that, leading to the theft of large quantities of grain.

In the course of the investigation it was uncovered that the receipt book registers were missing, together with [signs of] control of their use (receipts being issued to the grain deliverers during deliveries). The above situation was widely exploited for stealing of grain. The growth of theft was enhanced by deep penetration of the lower apparatus by foreign and criminal elements [dealing] with grain purchases.

The stolen receipts were transferred to grain suppliers, primarily Kulaks and the richer [farmers]. For virtually every receipt issued, those participating in the criminal activities would receive [payment] in grain or money. The receipts were certified with stamps which were either stolen from the purch[asing] centers or forged. The contracts with grain suppliers were usually signed on farms or roads leading to the deposit centers, in many cases by specially selected agents.

Thus, the thieves were able to acquire large quantities of grain and [significant] amounts of money.

For example, in Ukraine, during the mass control of receipts which was conducted only in two villages of the Bershadsky Raion, 165 false receipts were discovered with 81 suppliers accounting for 1,200 poods of grain. It was verified that four receipt books were stolen from the *Zagotzerno* deposit center in Bershad and later used. Ten poods of grain or 200–300 rubles were charged for every receipt.

In Gorky Krai, in the course of the investigation it was discovered that in only six purchasing centers, the thefts based on forged receipts amounted to 4,500 poods of grain. For the forged receipts, no less than one third of the grain [quantity] covered by the receipt was charged or no less than 13 rub[les] per pood. In

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

a number of cases, secret storage facilities existed to stock the grain. As regards the purchasing center in Mozhga, six stolen yet unused books holding 600 receipts were recovered, together with 11 different stamps.

In a number of cases (CChO, Bashkiria), it was also discovered that the forged receipts for deposited grain were prepared in the purchasing centers themselves. In those cases, in order to cover up the shortages, the parts of the receipts along the book binding were destroyed, and in many cases the shortages were covered by cheating other suppliers on the weight of their deliveries.

The forged receipts were taken by the *sielsoviets* and put into registers, thus recording different data concerning the fulfillment of the *khlebozagotovka* plan in the regions.

Considering that the abovementioned type of theft requires urgency [and brings] significant damage – the EKO OGPU would particularly like to bring it to the attention of the EKO PP OGPU and requests that regular checks be carried out in the grain purchasing centers in light of the described criminal undertakings.

<sup>c</sup>-15 Dec[ember] 1932  
No. 320556-<sup>c</sup>

p.p.: <sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup>EKU OGPU  
MIRONOV<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief] VI Div[ision]-<sup>a</sup>EKU  
ILYITSKY<sup>2</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity:-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Secretary-<sup>a</sup>EKU OGPU  
(—) BOGUSLAVSKY

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 438–439.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*Two, handwritten notes on the document: c. Ivanov. Prepare a directive, send out concrete methods of disclosing similar thefts, come by. (—). 17/XII and 2297 19/XII 32; in the left bottom corner a triangular stamp with the text: Economic Directorate OGPU SNK USSR.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Date and number stamped.*

<sup>1</sup> Lev Mironov (Kahan) (1895–1938), from May 1924 with the GPU; from 1 April 1926 till 21 February 1930 assistant to Chief of the EKO OGPU USSR; from 21 February 1930 till 1 April 1931 OGPU representative in Central Asia; from 1 April 1931 till 10 July 1934 Deputy Chief of the EKO OGPU USSR; from 25 December 1936 till 14 June 1937 Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. GUGB NKVD USSR. Arrested on 14 June 1937, on 29 August 1938 sentenced to death by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, shot; never rehabilitated.

<sup>2</sup> Yosif Ilyitsky (1900–1938?), from 12 June 1928 Chief of the Special Unit of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cavalry Division; delegated to the OGPU of the USSR on 6 August 1929; from 30 September 1929 assistant to Deputy Chief of the Tajik Oblast Div. of the GPU; from 1932 till 28 November 1936 Chief of Dep. of the EKO GUGB NKVD USSR; from 28 November 1936 Assistant to Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. of the GUGB NKVD USSR. According to unverified information, he committed a suicide in October 1938 in Moscow.

## No. 80

### 25 December 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on the attitudes in German settlements regarding the grain purchasing plans

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>1</sup>-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

25/December/1932

On the morning of 12 December, I left Rozdilna going in the direction of Freidorf. On the way, I first met a shoemaker from the village of Konstantynivka. He told me what happened over the previous days, that three [persons] were dekulakized and arrested, that home searches were taking place daily but not much grain was found. He himself is not part of the collective and said that he never wants to become it's member because he believes that he has it better than those in the collective. As a shoemaker, he always manages to make some shoes during the week and on a market day, he sells them for a decent profit, allowing him to buy flour and whatever he needs, whereas the collectives have worked for the entire summer and now they are left without bread, while the corn distributed for *trudodens* is slowly being taken away.

Later I met a second [traveller], also on the road from the village of Shabayevo. He was, as could be inferred from the conversation, a poor farmer, a member of the collective, who said the same things, talking about what is happening in their village and that over 300 poods of grain had been already found buried in the ground, but that the people are generally calm because everyone fears arrest and thus are willing to hand over everything to the last grain, as long as one does not end up in the *Dopr*.

Just before reaching <sup>b</sup>-Freidorf<sup>b</sup>, I came across a third [traveller] – a young man from Freidorf by the name of ZEYEL Venelin Friedrikhovich. On one of the far-away farms we both saw a group of people. I asked him who they were (I thought that it was a farm belonging to the collective), and he told me that three days earlier, the family owning this farm, the family of Peter SHMIDT, was dekulakized. One of his sons was arrested while the rest managed to hide, and now the “shock” troops have arrived to carry out a careful search [and to determine] if the grain and other [produce] had not been buried somewhere on the farm. They have found one sack of barley covered with straw, but it was probably hidden there just recently because both the barley and the sack were completely dry. Thus, many presume that the sack was planted there and covered by someone who thought that since the owner is no longer on the farm, no one will look for anything there. The search continued, but nothing else was found as yet.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

The situation in Freidorf is as follows – the plan has not been fulfilled by with shortage of 12,000 poods of grain yet. Talking with the inhabitants, all said that it will be impossible for the village of Freidorf and if it will be ordered to fulfill [the plan], they do not know where to get [the grain] from, as they are absolutely sure that everyone holds only minute quantities, only that which has been given out for *trudodens*, and even if one really wants to, he will find nothing. They are very afraid of arrests and property confiscation, which is why everyone says that because of such punishment, it will be better to starve than to hide anything as they did last year – there will not be such a situation again. Yet despite it all, there might be exceptions. Before I arrived in Freidorf, that is on the evening of the 17<sup>th</sup> of this month, there was a meeting, at the end of which the chairman said that if those 12,000 are not delivered, he will do as was done two years back – 15 people would be selected and arrested. Then perhaps they will come forth more promptly, as he believes that in some places grain can be found, to which the inhabitants and others who were present asked him to point out who might have [the grain].

And so I went from one place to another. I was in *Paytorg*, where various discussions were being held as well, but one always hears the same things and conclusions – namely that there is not as much as there was, that so much was delivered and there is no more. I was also in a cooperative, and from there I went from one farm to another in search of a place to spend the night. I found a place almost on the outskirts; some would tell me that they have already taken [someone] in, others, that there is no place, etc. Finally a woman took me in and found a place where I could stay until the next day. It was with a 10 person family by the name DIEK. This family was even designated to be dekulakized a few days ago, but taking into account the size of the family and the dedication [of its members] as workers, it was left alone. It would have been interesting to spend the night with them, but since they just took in two people with horsewagons for the night, they have taken me to their neighbor, Semen Leonardovich STEFAN. I also talked to him, but it turned out that everywhere things stay the same, the same words of which I have written at the beginning. He came home from work at about 7, spoke of everything and then arrived at the same conclusions – that there is no grain and the plan stands unfulfilled, they know not what the authorities will do, what to do to fulfill the plan, [he] does not know because he has no grain, no other attitudes are to be sensed.

Thus I visited the cooperative again today but found out nothing new.

On the evening of 19 December at 5, I returned to Rozdilna, where I came upon two women who arrived from Yeremeyevka to bring food to their husbands, who are serving in the *Dopr* in Rozdilna. Their husbands had been arrested some days earlier, together with others from Yeremeyevka (15 people total), but I could not get a clear answer as to what they have been arrested for, only that it concerned something like a theft of grain. [...] The names of those two women – one DUTEN GLEFNER, the other RISLING.

On 19 December, in the village of Poniatovka in the Rozdilnansky<sup>c</sup> R[ai]o[n], an incident took place of which I was told by an inhabitant of Poniatovka, cit[izen]

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<sup>c</sup> Was: Razdilansky.



DOL Yosif Yosifovich. Searches were being carried out on the farms and in the steppe, and two sacks of seeds were found in the cemetery and in the steppe. In one of the ravines, a wagon of corn cobs was buried. Those guilty were not found.

20 December – this morning I spent some time at the Rozdilna st[ation] and crossing the market square, but I was not able to meet or talk to anyone from the neighboring villages. Having left for the Chobruchi farmstead, and later for Velizarovo, I [saw] that all is as it was there, and at the end I came to the village of Kosynky, where I spent more time. There I visited a member of the collective, Khristian LEYKHT, who offered me food (I was hungry, thus [I accepted with] satisfaction). I started asking about everything – how is the *khlebozagotovka* being carried out, was there much left [of the plan] to be fulfilled, will they be able to fulfill it, did anyone hide the grain. In short, whatever questions I could ask him I did, and he replied that they are set to fulfill the plan, that not much is left and for the moment, everyone is stocked with a small amount of grain, and as for the corn, there is none. He was almost convinced that no one hid anything because again today they sent three wagons of grain with a red badge, which I have seen myself. They have started threshing the straw again and thus managed to get 18 poods of pure wheat seeds yesterday.

While in a neighboring village, Slobodeya, yesterday they found 60 poods of corn, beans, peas and different kinds of seeds, so today they went in once more, full of hope of finding more. Generally, the attitudes are calm for the moment. Most people believe that, as far as grain, the situation will get really serious and in the spring there might be a famine, if the plan will have to be completely fulfilled.

On 21 December I was in [the village of] Bitsylivka. Yesterday in Rozdilna, from where I arrived only after a most difficult journey, as there was such mud that one could hardly walk. I had an opportunity to talk to some people there – how is the *khlebozagotovka* being carried out and such other questions. I stayed for the night with a member of the collective by the name of FIKSLER, and for almost the entire time we spoke of one thing – the 700 poods of the plan that were still left, and that there was nowhere to get this amount. They complain that they have only given some corn, and give no flour at all; all grain and seeds were taken away, yet more is being demanded, and that they, from what they said, under no circumstance would be able to fulfill the plan. Everyone has a few poods of corn as a substitute for grain and everyone believes that it would last three to four months; after that they have no idea where they might get more if the state does not help. As for other issues, everyone is calm and no one mentioned any organizations. It does not help, however, that almost every day they find some hidden seeds. Yesterday for example again a box with grain was found amidst the straw in the field, and later three sacks buried in the ground and one sack of barley on one of the farms.

On 22 December I went around there again, and later went to Freidorf, six versts away, where I stayed for some two hours at a certain woman's, LINDEMAN. Having eaten something, the same thing happened as when I was there three days earlier. They started threshing the straw and some took the remaining grain to the station.

In general, everyone did their designated job, perhaps not with great eagerness, but no one contested and everyone did what was ordered.

In the evening, I returned to Rozdilna, from where I took the train to Odessa.

<sup>d</sup>In conformity:<sup>d</sup>

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, pp. 717–718.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>d-d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

**No. 81**  
**31 December 1932, Simferopol. Telegram from the heads**  
**of PP OGPU Crimea regarding the activities related to the introduction**  
**of free grain trade**

<sup>a</sup>Series<sup>a</sup> “K”

<sup>a</sup>Telegram

To all Ch[iefs] of Munic[ipal] Div[isions]  
[and] Rai[on] Representatives of PP OGPU Crimea<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Copy: Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> ODTO OGPU Simferopol  
– || – <sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> GUMR Crim[ean] ASSR  
– || – <sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> SPO PP – for their information

Supplementing telegram no.<sup>b</sup> 23004/5<sup>b</sup>  
dated “<sup>b</sup>26<sup>b</sup>”<sup>b</sup>/December<sup>b</sup>

Apart from intensifying agent-based operational activities aimed at disclosing the <sup>c</sup>speculators-traders<sup>c</sup>; from the moment that free trading of grain is permitted in Crimea, <sup>a-c</sup>to ensure:<sup>c-a</sup>

1) Close supervision of the grain purchasing agents to keep the agreed price levels by unconditionally expelling all those who refuse to keep to those price levels from the self-supply, by taking them to account for their actions and <sup>a-c</sup>transferring those cases in which price levels were not kept to courts<sup>c-a</sup>.

2) Prevention of fencing and mass inflow of individual merchants and traders <sup>a-c</sup>from other oblast,<sup>c-a</sup> into the market by <sup>a-c</sup>rigorous implementation of the directive on the prohibition of grain transport by rail for amounts exceeding one pood<sup>c-a</sup>.

3) Prevention of transport and sale of grain from neighboring oblasts (Ukraine, SKK) where grain trade has not been allowed yet by <sup>a-c</sup>confiscating<sup>c-a</sup> grain brought from those oblasts.

4) Stopping extra-market grain trade in inns, traders' lodgings; prevention of grain dispatches by post or as personal luggage.

We reiterate that from the day [of issuing] of the permission for free grain trade, those undertakings should be directed <sup>a-c</sup>exclusively<sup>c-a</sup> against true <sup>a-c</sup>speculators-traders<sup>c-a</sup>.

We reiterate the need for receiving<sup>d</sup> information on the conduct of this work with respect for the deadlines set by us – <sup>a-c</sup>every 5 days<sup>c-a</sup>.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup> *As in the original. Probably should be: sending.*

PP OGPU <sup>a</sup>Crimea<sup>a</sup>  
(—) SALYN

<sup>a</sup>Dep[uty] Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKO  
SMIRNOV

“<sup>b</sup>31-<sup>b</sup>” December 1932  
No. <sup>b</sup>23460/5-<sup>b</sup>  
cit[y] of Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 88, p. 79.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*Document carried a note: To files with directives. (—).*

## No. 82

### 31 December 1932, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a conversation with Prof. A. SHTROM concerning the worsening of the situation of food provisions in Ukrainian cities

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

31 December [19]32

During a conversation which took place on 30 December of this year, Professor A. N. SHTROM informed me that on 4 January he will be leaving for Kharkiv to spend some ten days there. While there, he intends to visit, among others, the central archive directorate and find an article by LEYBORANT which at some point was sent there by RIABININ. SHTROM's attitude has visibly worsened. He told me that there is something utterly incomprehensible and impossible about what is going on at present. As of 1 January, the bread rations will be significantly decreased and the amount of grain altogether will last only until the month of March. After that, the people will simply have to economize, all the more with the prices rising not by the day, but by the hour. It is the government which is increasing the prices in order to collect as much money as possible for the moment, although all this makes the value of money go down. It is conducting the policy of today with no consideration for the future. Moreover, not only will the salaries not increase, but we shall face a 30% reduction in employment.

In general, work is being withheld everywhere. It is particularly visible in Moscow. He really fears that after the winter break in VUZs, most of the students will not come back to the Germ[an] department[s] and that there will be no primary course, which will significantly decrease his salary. He is particularly worried about the new directive on passports and the repercussions for persons above 60 years of age. He sees it as an act of tying all citizens down to designated places and calls it a sort of "corvée with higher principles" and "a return to the pre-1861 period".

He told me that the banditry in Odessa has grown to unbelievable proportions, and this too is a sign of the economic situation. Recently, Professor FILATOV had his coat stripped off of him, [as had] many other people. The bandits are always armed, not with revolvers but knives. With satisfaction, he told me that the wife of the GPU chief, as she was coming back from the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary [of the October Revolution] evening, was stripped naked near her apartment, slapped on the butt and told: "Now you can go". He told me that everything is so mean, has become so hideous, that one only wishes to leave and forget it all. He also told me that recently a woman had been arrested for distributing false bills of five chervontsy.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Printed on letterhead.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

During a search in her apartment (7 Comintern St.) a small printing machine was found. And what is more interesting, he said, was the fact that her husband is a communist and presently he deals with *khlebozagotovka*.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 709.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 83

### 2 January 1933, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding statements made among the teachers

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>

2 January 1933

I have talked with the teachers who have come for the session for external students – MAZER, GERBER, ESSE from Tsebrykovo and others. The conversations concerned mainly the *khlebozagotovka*. I got the impression that the plan will not be fulfilled. First of all, everything in the countryside (colony) is 100% collectivized, thus a joint threshing was held under supervision. Undeniably, thefts might have taken place, yet with so harsh a law and penalties for theft, already in the summer those who were undertaking anything were doing it with much hesitation and always on a limited scale. If there are any seeds at the moment, they are in small amounts as compared to what still remains for the plan to be fulfilled. In the v[illage] of Tsebrykovo, they found some 70 pood[s] with one RABE Willy, he, being a German citizen, was convinced that he was exempt, and thus stored the grain openly in the attic. The teachers from the village of Tsebrykovo, as well as from other villages, have voluntarily agreed to give their stocks and trade them for corn. Due to that fact, the sowing stocks (for example in the v[illage] of Tsebrykovo) ... have already been taken away, the teachers believe that by the spring, the countryside will once again face pressure in regard to seed purchases, but it will be fruitless since no one holds any more stocks. They told me of the village of Kassel, which has allegedly been surrounded by guards; no one is allowed to enter and no one is allowed to leave.

From the escapees, I have only seen LEYBBRANDT Gustav. He told me that LOZING, living at 33 Srednaya St., was arrested for having exchanged the horse fodder which he received as the representative of the driver's artel for flour, which he distributed among the artel members. Apparently a troika came, comprising comrades MOLOTOV, PETROVSKY and one other, and made sure that LOZING and his companions were shot. The escapees have evidently fled Odessa, as they are rarely seen. They meet mainly at LOZING's – 33 Srednaya [St.] and BEKKER's – 44 Srednaya (question).

LEYBBRANDT Gustav lives with his son, Gustav Gustavich on Sadikovska St.

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity<sup>b</sup>:

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, Cz. 2, T. 10, p. 163.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*



## No. 84

### 4 January 1933, Odessa. Letter from the German Consul in Odessa to the MFA and the German Embassy in Moscow regarding the worsening situation in the Odessa Oblast

<sup>a</sup>-German Consulate<sup>a</sup>  
Odessa, 4 January 1933

Translation from German

<sup>a</sup>-Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Berlin  
German Embassy – Moscow<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Content<sup>a</sup>: Insufficient grain supplies.  
State organs turning to forceful means.  
Worsening of economic problems.

The Odessa Oblast is the one most behind in the *khlebozagotovka*. The imposition of a special tax on individual farms merely increases the number of problems. “Chernomorskaya Kommuna” from 29 February reports that at the special request from the People’s Commissar for Justice and Attorney General of the Republic, special groups of prosecutors have been designated with the aim of [supervising the] fulfillment of the *khlebozagotovka* and monitoring the institutions responsible for the grain purchases. <sup>b</sup>On 14 December, the Odessa party committee expelled nine party members as deserters from the grain purchases front<sup>b</sup>.

Head of the Odessa and Mykolaiv grain trust, BALYUKEVICH, for not fulfilling the *khlebozagotovka* plan, was expelled from the party and the AUCEC, and sent for trial.

On 23 December, three alleged Kulaks, members of the artel, were sentenced to death by shooting for having broken the state grain purchasing campaign, two members of the artel were sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. On 28 December, the “Chernomorskaya Kommuna” published a directive under art. 127 of the criminal code on the unconditional ban on purchasing and selling of agri[cultural] products and items of basic necessity for speculative purposes. “Chernomorskaya Kommuna” published the names of 50 party members who, with the decision of the Od[essa] Obl[ast] Control Committee Presidium, had been expelled from the party and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for having acted against the interests of the party of the proletarian state on the “fight for grain front”. On the same day, the Odessa Oblast *ispolkom* made the decision to expel 500 farmers and their families, confiscating their property.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

On 3 January, the “Chernomorskaya Kommuna” reported that five members of the farming artel of the Odessa Oblast were sentenced to death by shooting for concealing and breaking the *khlebozagotovka*.

ROT

Translated from German: translator  
KEGLER<sup>°</sup>

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Oper[atational] Representative of Special Division<sup>a</sup> UGB  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 7, pp. 25–26.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>°</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: KIGLER.*

## No. 85

### 6 January 1933, Shevchenkovo. Decision to begin the investigation in the case of an inhabitant of the village of Bratolubivka, Andrey Tsyba

<sup>a-</sup>Case registered under no. <sup>a</sup> 103

<sup>a</sup>-F. No. <sup>a</sup> 21/USO

<sup>b</sup>-Decision<sup>b</sup>

(to begin the investigation, select the preventive measure and present charges)

Munic[ipal] dis[trict] of Shevchenkovo, on 5 January [19]33, I, p[?] Representative of the Dolynsky Rai[on] (Munic[ipal]) Department of the Dnipropetrovsk Sector of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, KULIKOV, having considered the materials on the criminal activities of cit[izen] TSYBA Andrey Kharytonovich, inhabitant of the v[illage] of Bratolubivka in the Dolynsky Rai[on], namely that being a cand[idate] for party membership, instead of fighting for the grain, he systematically carried out propaganda among the kolkhozniki and the employees of the Bratolubivka hospital, [spreading the claims] that the *khlebozagotovka* plan is unrealistic: "We will not fulfill the *khlebozagotovka* plan, which was forced on us." Moreover TSYBA pretended to work for the [*khlebo*]zagotovka and the [grain] supply to the elevator,

and finding the abovementioned acts to be of criminal character, as provided in art. 54-10 of the C[riminal] C[ode] of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>b</sup>-decided<sup>b</sup>:

1. Based on art. 93 p. 2 and 108 of PC, to take over the case and begin the preliminary investigation.

2. Based on art. 126 and art. 127 of PC, to charge cit[izen] TSYBA A. Kh. in the above matters, as provided in art. 54-10 PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

3. Based on art. 142 and 144, as well as art. 145 and 156 of PC, as a preventive measure, against resisting penal responsibility and investigation, to detain TSYBA A. Kh. in the facilities of the Dolynska Rai[on] Militia<sup>1</sup>.

Copies of the above decision are to be sent to the Dolynsky Rai[on] prosecutor and the chief of the detention facility.

P[?]/Representative RO GPU  
KULIKOV

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> Printed on letterhead.

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> With the decision of the Dolynska Raion Dept. of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Division of the GPU, dated 4 March 1933, the case of Andrey TSYBA was discontinued due to lack of evidence for his criminal activities and he was released.

Approve:  
Ch[ief] of the Dolynsky RO GPU  
GRABCHENKO

Authorize: Ch[ief] .....

The decision was presented to me on <sup>c-c</sup>6 January<sup>c-c</sup> 193<sup>c-c</sup>  
Signature of the accused  
(—) TSYBA

*HDA SBU, Dnipropetrovsk, Spr. P-400, pp. 1-1 v.  
Original, typewritten on a letterhead.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> Filled in handwriting.

## No. 86

7 January 1933, n.p.p. Indictment against German settler Ivan Ezau

### <sup>a</sup>-Indictment<sup>a</sup>

In the invest[igation] of case no. .... against cit. EZAU Ivan Ivanovich, born in 1890, inhabitant of the village of Rosenort in the Molochansky Raion, Ukrainian citizenship, German, Mennonite, primary education, based on art. 54-10 of PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Molochansky Rai[on] Department of the GPU has received information that an inhabitant of the village of Rosenort, cit. EZAU Iv[an] Iv[anovich], born in 1890, soc[ial] status – wealthy middle-sized farmer, during the period of Sov[iet] rule carried out anti-Sov[iet] propaganda among the kolkhoz masses.

Based on the above, an investigation was undertaken, in the course of which the following was determined: cit. EZAU I. I., born in 1890, soc[ial] status – wealthy middle-sized farmer, primary education, Ukrainian citizenship, German, Mennonite, whose father lived in Siberia before the revolution where he possessed 90 tithes of land, renting 14 [tithes], and a variety of stock.

From 1911, EZAU I. I. lived in the v[illage] of Rosenort in the Molochansky Raion together with his sister, who was married to a Kulak, INTSEN, possessing 64 [tithes?] and renting 30 [tithes? of land] and the entire farm stock.

In 1930, the sister was dekulakized, where after EZAU I. I. forced his way into the kolkhoz, where he conducted anti-Soviet propaganda, namely by gathering the kolkhozniki and telling them: “I do not want to be the servant of the kolkhoz and in no way am I interested in it.”

On the issues of *khlebozagotovka*, he also carried out wide-spread propaganda among the kolkhozniki: PENNER David, GEYDEBREKHT Abram, GIBERT Martin, [saying] that the *khlebozagotovka* plans are unrealistic and can not be fulfilled.

During the harvesting campaign, EZAU stole kolkhoz grain, cut down the grain heads, and encouraged other kolkhozniki to make such stocks, as this year they will face famine.

He disseminated anti-Sov[iet] propaganda in relation to taking away of seed stocks in 1932 as part of the *khlebozagotovka*, also [claiming] that the spring sow[ing] campaign will be broken and that in [19]33, the kolkhozniki will be starving.

Witnesses accounts confirm all of the above. Witness GARDER Iv[an] Yak[ovich], poor farmer, file no. ..., YANTSEN Abr[am] Abr[amovich], file no. ..., EPP G. G. file no. ..., ZIMON E. file no... .

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Written in uppercase.

As regards this case, the accused has pled partially guilty.

In regard to the above

<sup>a</sup>I propose<sup>a</sup>:

The invest[igation] case no. ... against cit. EZAU I. I., born in 1890, German, primary education, Ukrain[ian] citizenship, to be transferred for consideration by the Spec[ial] College, with the indication of taking soc[ial] safety measures against the accused by the resettlement outside of the Ukrainian SSR<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>a</sup>Information<sup>a</sup>: Lack of sub[stantial] evid[ence]. The accused has been arrested and remains with the Molochansky Rai[on] Militia.

Drafted 7 January [19]33

SPO Representative  
(—) LOGINOV

“Approve” and “Authorize”:  
Ch[ief] of Rai[on] Division of GPU:  
CHUPROV

*HDA SBU, Dnipropetrovsk, Spr. P-381, p. 20.  
Original, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> In 1933, Ivan Ezau was administratively resettled in the North.

## No. 87

### 8 January 1933, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding statements made by German settlers from the village of Strasburg

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>1</sup>-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
“8” January 1933

During my stay in the v[illage] of Strasburg in the Zeltzky Raion from January 4 until 6, I was able to learn that the peasants are really outraged with taking away of all their possessions, given the explanation that they allegedly stole those possessions from the collective. And the peasantry claims that Liman<sup>c</sup> took it all from them, everyone had an allotment on the steppe ground, where they could plant a bit of that corn, “and now it is taken from us. Now, when we did not even think or intend to steal, they, those representatives, force us to steal. After all, as long as we have [even] a bit, we will not steal in order to avoid getting locked up in the *Dopr*; but the hunger will force it on us, and then it will be of no difference to us. Whatever will happen, we will steal everything we can get our hands on, we will no longer consider what belongs to the state or to some comrade; now it will no longer be important whose it is.” This is what many say, among them MAYER Matvey, SHVEITSER Kondrat, SHVEITSER Mikhail, MOZER Philipp, BURGARDT Philipp and many [others]. Many of them hold such an attitude that I believe that they only await the right moment to start an uprising again and that one is to be expected. They already send their children to the kolkhoz for them to be fed there, since all has been taken away from them. Many of the more wealthy escape with their families to Odessa and to other cities; many are preparing to go north to their relatives, since from the letters received from there it seems that they fare better than here, thus – as far as they said – they have allegedly sent a delegation there to learn everything on the spot. Many have moved here to the city from the Taras-Shevchenkivsky Raion, and here they buy apartments from the Kulaks who lived here before and who are now leaving because of the passport system.

<sup>b-d</sup>-In conformity:-<sup>d-b</sup>

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, p. 723.*  
*Copy, typewritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup> As in the original.

<sup>d-d</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

## No. 88

### 10 January 1933, n.p.p. Report by a representative of Gen. Pyotr Wrangel acquired by Section II of the Main Staff regarding the situation in Ukraine

Some general comments

[...]

Often, when the Red Army soldiers are ordered to shoot to the rebelling peasants, the Red Army soldiers refuse to execute the order.

I visited the “Dnieprostroy”. [...] Some 30,000 workers fled due to hunger. Those who still remain at the “Dnieprostroy” have nothing to eat.

[...]

Many plants have already been closed down, 20–25% of the officials, clerks and workers have been dismissed from the operating plants. One third of those angry and hungry workers live off of theft and robbery. Workers, when caught, openly admit to having committed a crime in order not to starve to death.

[...]

The reductions in officials, clerks and workers by 20–25% have been undertaken in all [branches] of industry, factories, plants and generally all enterprises and works. Stagnation has begun, with hunger and unpaid salaries. Unemployment is counted in the hundreds of thousands.

In the c[ities] of Zenkov, Poltava, Kobeliaky, and many other cities and villages, there were hunger rebellions this past autumn. Masses of people were shouting: “Work, bread!” The result – terror, mass arrests and exile.

In many places, the people attack their “leaders”, “activists” and oth[ers]. They kidnap them and hang or kill them. Sometimes, some are set on fire.

Jails, militia, the GPU – all are filled to capacity with those arrested. All places of exile are filled with those sent to do forced labor.

All forced collectives, regardless of the conditions, are falling apart. “Soviet farms” (sovkhozy) bring nothing but losses: disintegrating while their property is stolen away.

In the winter of [19]31–[19]32, I was passing through the territories west of the Dnieper River. In Zhytomyr, I was shown 12 children’s skulls lying with the trash: <sup>a-a</sup>they eat human flesh: they eat Bolshevism<sup>a</sup>. Children’s heads (skulls) were also found with the trash in Kharkiv.

In Poltava, a man pretending to be a garbage collector found his way to barracks standing in the GPU courtyard and in one of them saw several bare, frozen human corpses. [This] man swears that it is true.

Hunger, terror, disorganization and loss in all spheres of life. Unemployment and hunger – [those are] the basic characteristics describing it all.

[...]

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<sup>a-a</sup> *As in the original.*



10 January 1933

Representative of General Wrangel  
Vas[ily] Af[anasyevich] Af[anasyev]

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-37, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*For a summary of the document in Polish, dated 18 I 1933, see. CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-37, n.pag.*

**No. 89**

**23 January 1933, Kharkiv. Request filed by Katerina Pivovarchyk, inhabitant of Fastivtsi Village, to the Polish Consulate in Kharkiv for intervention concerning the illegal confiscation of her grain**

city of Kharkiv

<sup>a</sup>Copy<sup>a</sup>

To the Polish Consulate to the Polish desk [?]

From cit. Pivovarchyk Katerina  
[...] Yegorovna, temporarily inhabiting  
village of Fastivtsi, Fastivtsi  
village council of the Bakhmatsky Raion  
in Chernihiv region

<sup>b</sup>Complaint<sup>b</sup>

On 23 January 1933, I request the Polish Consulate not to refuse my request and to consider my complaint. I, cit. Pivovarchyk Katerina Yegorovna, former citizen of Poland, Grodno Guberniya, during the Tsarist war moved to Russia and in the first years I lived in the Voronezh Guberniya in the village of Goretsy. Now I am considered an exile from 1915 and for the moment I live in the Fastivtsi village council of the Bakhmatsky Raion in the Chernihiv region. In the summer time, I, Pivovarchyk Katerina, supplied myself [through] my physical work with grain for consumption – 6 poods 20 pounds, which was stored with Trenba Motria Mytrovna, of the Fastivtsi village council of the Bakhmatsky Raion, as I, Pivovarchyk Katerina, temporarily lived with Trenba Motria Mytrovna, a contracted worker who did not completely fulfill her obligation under the *khlebozagotovka*. The *khlebozagotovka* brigade of the Fastivtsi v[illage] c[ouncil] of the Bakhmatsky Raion in the Chernihiv region, on 12 December [19]32, took [my] grain in place of Trenba Motria Mytrovna's. Thus I, Pivovarchyk Katerina Yegorovna, was left without a bit of bread, moreover in the middle of winter, with no respect for my poor social status, I was left hungry and with no clothing, and the Fastivtsi village council has still not given back the grain confiscated by the brigade. I, Pivovarchyk Katerina Yegorovna turned to the Bakhmatsky Rai[on] E[xecutive] C[ommittee], where I was refused, and the REC directed me to the village council. And I, Pivovarchyk Katerina, in the present winter season, am not able to provide daily food for myself because I am without clothes, I feel ill and have been undergoing treatment for 45 years.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase and underlined in typewriting.*

I ask the Polish Consulate not to reject my complaint and to issue a pronouncement to the Fastivtsi village council of the Bakhmatsky Rai[on] in the Chernihiv region to give me, Pivovarchyk Katerina, the grain which was taken away from me (6 poods 20 p[ounds]).

Requesting Pivovarchyk Katerina 23 February 1933

Signed for the illiterate at [her] request

Fostiy Hryhory

(—) Fostiy

Address Plyska railway station, Fastivtsi village

Bakhmatsky Raion

in the Chernihiv region

Pivovarchyk Katerina Yegorovna

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1867, pp. 2–3.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian with many Russian borrowings.*

*In the top left corner a handwritten note: aa of the consulate and illegible initials.*

## No. 90

### 23 January 1933, [Moscow]. Telegram from the Chief of the Economic Directorate of the OGPU to the Chief of Economic Division of PP OGPU Crimea regarding the discovered mass theft of bread in Ukraine

AS-25

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] Secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Telegram<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> of EKO PP OGPU <sup>b</sup>-Crimea<sup>b</sup>  
cit[y] of <sup>b</sup>-Simferopol<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Content<sup>a</sup>: On the discovery by the EKO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR of mass theft of bread from baking plants and bakeries and on intentional lowering of quality of bread.

In the course of working on the acquisition of supplementary stocks of grain, the EKO GPU of the Ukrainian SSR has carried out an appropriate inspection of baking plants and bakeries in Ukraine. The inspection has led us to determine that unprecedented irregularities are occurring in all baking plants and bakeries.

In all cases, organized groups of embezzlers have been uncovered which, at the expense of an illegal increase of the baking norms and <sup>c</sup>-using substitutes, have been making “savings” on bread and flour in amounts reaching tens of thousands of poods<sup>c</sup>. As a result, literally every baking plant has been baking and distributing for sale bread of poor quality, higher moisture and acidity, and in addition to that, bread <sup>c</sup>-with admixtures, allowed by proper institutions<sup>c</sup>.

“Savings” [thus made] were not registered and to a large extent were stolen, treated as self-supply and given out in the form of bread and flour, without quota, for bribes.

<sup>a</sup>-The basic<sup>a</sup> way of achieving “savings” was by increasing the baked product through a maximum artificial increase of moisture and acidity of bread. Thus, in the Zinovievsk baking plant, the moisture would usually be increased against the norm to a level of 0.6%, and acidity – to 1%. As a result of such manipulation, the actual produce of the plant was at the level of 49.5%, while it would be counted in the institutions such as, for example, the *Voened*, for a mere 37%. Thus the manipulation of the baked product would give the embezzlers 12% “savings” [as compared to] the amount of flour received. With great overall amounts of flour used in production of the baking plants, in only four baking plants – in Zinovievsk, Mykolaiv, Zhytomyr and Poltava – 16,190 poods of unregistered “saved” flour have been uncovered.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

In parallel to the direct theft of flour and bread on mass scale at the expense of unregistered funds, self-supply has been of a particularly frequent occurrence. With no exceptions, in all plants an over-the-quota ration was given out daily in amounts ranging from 400 to 2,000 grams of bread for a worker, 200–600 grams for a clerk and up to 300 grams per dependent [person].

Not limited to self-supply at the expense of production from their own baking plants and bakeries, criminal organizations have systematically been acquiring produce from other plants in return for baked products. Those criminal ties with the local workers of other plants, including local managing institutions, have led to the fact that additional groups of people illegally received supplies from those “savings”. Thus in Zinovievsk, according to the 1<sup>st</sup> register, 25,332 people have actually received supplies, while 20,349 per[sons] have been registered by the *Oblsnab*.

In a number of baking plants, a significant amount of theft has been uncovered as regards flour from the *Voened* stored in those plants as mob[ilization] stocks. In Vinnytsia, <sup>c</sup>5,865<sup>c</sup> poods of *Voened* flour were stolen, in Zinovievsk – <sup>c</sup>2,135<sup>c</sup> poods, in Mykolaiv – 2,100 pood[s], etc.

Informing of the uncovered cases of theft of bread from baking plants and bakeries, and on the intentional lowering of the quality of bread in Ukraine, the EKU OGPU requests all EKO PP structures to consider the above described methods of theft, to improve the quality of the operational work in baking plants and bakeries, aiming to eliminate similar irregularities.

<sup>a</sup>p. p. Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup>EKU OGPU  
MIRONOV

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> 6 Division EKU OGPU  
ILYITSKY

..... January 1933  
<sup>d</sup>23 Jan[uary] 1933<sup>d</sup>  
No. <sup>d</sup>281507<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Secretary<sup>a</sup>EKU OGPU:  
(—) MOZHAYEVA

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 423–425.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*A handwritten note on the document:* Com. Ivanov 1) Please come today with all the materials about the baking plant; 2) It is necessary to carry out within three days a thorough inspection of the baking plant and the main bakery; 3) Please come by for instructions 26/I. (–) and Rec[eived] by EKO 218 27.1.33.

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<sup>d-d</sup> *Stamped.*

## No. 91

### 29 January 1933, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the statements made by teachers from Polish School no. 32

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
“29” January 1933

In school no. 32, the teachers are talking about difficulties. Nearly everyone says that they have not eaten anything today, others say tomorrow will be worse. [The word] hunger is on everyone’s lips.

MAYEVSKAYA told me that she feeds bread to her babies, having no money for barley groats, and her husband will not let her take their golden wedding rings to the *Torgsin*, as the situation will get worse in the future.

BORODENKO claims that if someone openly speaks about our difficulties, about the hunger, and disorder, this is in no way a counterrevolutionary act.

MIKEYEVICH – a former workshop instructor of school no. 32 and presently a tech[nical] employee at the Polish club, responding to the claim made by BORODENKO, stated: “I personally made a brave statement at the part[y] committee: »Do something, or else we will all die of starvation.«” He was denied his rations on the grounds of being a polit[ical] emigrant of [19]30.

He later added: “They have created such a situation (of hunger) in order to get more gold and silver through the *Torgsin*.” The entire conversation took place with the presence of BORODENKO, MIKEYEVICH and TUSHYNSKAYA.

<sup>c</sup>-YAFIMOVICH (teaching technical drawing), having come by-<sup>c</sup> my house on 26 January, stated: “What is the point of speaking about hunger when even STALIN himself stated that it is bad here. He tried to make people’s life easier – he sends the GPU to the peasants in the countryside, and the peasants have no life even without the GPU. They turn to cruel methods when dealing with detainees in order to get gold, namely: they put hot steam into a small cell packed full with people, and thus force the people to hand over all their gold.”

ODENBAKH told me that the communist party exists only to support the Jews, who are doing well even in such times.

In the secretary’s office, one hears only [such] conversations: “lunch, I want to eat, they give no salaries”, etc. Everyone is bitter, even the children.

The teachers’ canteen serves only the most simple meals, borshch and groats, which costs 2 r[ubles] 50 k[opek].

Yesterday, during the headmasters’ meeting, they declared that as of 1 February, the canteen is to be reorganized and the lunches will cost between 120 and

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

150 kop[eks], etc.; the teachers are not receiving their salaries, thus the school headmaster will pay the teachers with coupons.

They promised that [the distribution] of teacher's quota will begin soon.

<sup>b</sup>In conformity<sup>b</sup>:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, p. 38.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 92

### 29 January 1933, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the situation in the Polish School no. 32

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
School [no.] 32  
“29” January 1933

In school no. 32, the headmaster, VRUBLEVSKY, together with the chairwoman of the pioneer team, TUSHYNSKAYA, and the instructor BORODENKO, have asked the children to write questions on political matters. At first, the children refused to write, stating that they are trying to “catch” the children, yet when allowed not to sign [papers] with their name, the children wrote the questions.

The following questions were most typical:

- 1) Why life was better under LENIN than now, under STALIN?
- 2) Why doesn't STALIN visit the working regions and did he not attend the opening of the “Dnieprostroy”?
- 3) Why doesn't the *Torgsin* accept Soviet silver, but only Nikolaivske<sup>1</sup>?
- 4) Why do the newspapers write a lot about hunger abroad, don't we have hunger here?
- 5) Why isn't the Soviet money worth a penny?
- 6) Why do they forbid travelling abroad?
- 7) Why are they serving poor food in the factories even though some workers work double shifts, and when they come back home, they call from the road: “Serve the food”?
- 8) What is the communist party for?
- 9) Why does the GPU offer better rations than in other sectors?
- 10) Why don't the workers believe in the five-year plan?
- 11) Why are the workers expected to fulfill 100% of the plan when they have no raw materials?
- 12) They said that under the Soviet rule everything would be fine, and now many workers are made redundant, kicked out on the street and immediately deprived of bread coupons.
- 13) Why are counterrevolutionary jokes spread without punishment?
- 14) Why are they lowering the salaries while the prices are rising?
- 15) Why are there plenty of robberies and murders in the city while the militia is doing nothing?

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> Relates to silver products from the tsars' times, particularly the reign of the last Russian emperor Nicholas II.



16) Why in the period [19]30–[19]31 would they give out rations every month, and now only very rarely?

17) Is it true that after the second 5-year plan, life will be good?

The school headmaster, VRUBLEVSKY is not diligent in his work. He often drinks together with BORODENKO and PAVLOVICH. Having drunk the previous night, he often does not show up to school for classes. In general, he often does not show up for his classes: either he forgets that he had a class, is preoccupied with other matters, or is ill (that is, drunk). The teachers are forced to combine two groups, bringing disorganization to [the work conducted with] children and the children are often tired of the same teacher, who during a single day has to join together group 5 with 7, or 6 with 7, or 5 with 6, etc.

The teachers are dissatisfied with VRUBLEVSKY due to his neglect with regard to the school. He did not ensure any money from the sponsoring factories in time, and now the school is left entirely without money. The school holds a quota of two tons of wood, but has no money to pay for the delivery, [and apart from that] the children are denied free breakfasts. It is terribly cold in the school. Work with young pioneers is not successful and the presence of the pioneer team is not felt in the school at all.

BORODENKO has been dismissed from instructing workshops for younger groups.

In his place, thanks to the support from ODENBAKH, NEBESNAYA has been designated, having resigned from the 6<sup>th</sup> group of school no. 42 last year. Her father is a sailor and her mother works as a homeroom teacher with the children from the Polish section at the International Club.

<sup>a</sup>-In conformity<sup>a</sup>: (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 13, pp. 39–39 v.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

**No. 93**  
**January 1933, Moscow. Memorandum on the illegal organizations**  
**in the USSR uncovered and eradicated by the OGPU organs**

OGPU  
Special Division  
“ ” January 1933  
No. ...

<sup>a</sup>-Top secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Review<sup>a</sup>

of the uncovered and eradicated Kulak-White Army-insurgent, c-r organizations  
in the territories of the Ukrainian SSR, SKK, CChO and <sup>a</sup>the Urals<sup>a</sup>

In recent times in the territories of the Ukrainian SSR, SKK, CChO and <sup>a</sup>the Urals<sup>a</sup>, a number of c-r, Kulak-White Army and nationalist insurgent organizations have been uncovered and eradicated, giving witness to the leading role played by c-r underground in organizing acts of sabotage and breaking *khlebozagotovka*, sowing and oth[er] politico-agricultural campaigns; demoralization of the [members of the] kolkhozy, diversion-oriented and harmful activities carried out in the kolkhozy and sovkhozy, combined with the organization of parallel insurgent activities.

In particular, it should be noted that those activities are lead and shaped by foreign, White émigré centers and intelligence cells of foreign countries linked to the c-r organization centers in our territories.

For example:

1. In September of this year, in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, BARYLNIKOV G. D., a Kulak who escaped from a conc[entration] camp in 1930, was detained. He was sent from Paris by the ROVS<sup>1</sup> center with the assistance of the ROVS representative in Romania – Colonel ZHOLONDKOVSKY<sup>2</sup>. BARYLN-  
IKOV, armed with a revolver [and] supplied with a large quantity of c-r literature and leaflets, was tasked with establishing a Kulak organization in the Central Volga Krai.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Russian All-Military Union (ROVS) – organization of former tsarist officers established on 1 September 1924 in exile by Pyotr Wrangel as a bipartisan. National organization aiming, among others, to prepare the officers corps for the fight with Bolshevism. It was composed of divisions and departments. ROVS centers were located primarily in France, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and in Germany. ROVS members were former tsarist army and White Army officers. ROVS was sending its representatives to the USSR to carry out anti-Soviet campaigns and initiate the potential uprising against the Bolshevik rule.

<sup>2</sup> V. Zholondkovsky, Col. of the tsarist army; ROVS representative in Romania; in the 1930's with the “internal line” of the ROVS special service rezidentura in Bucharest; headed the transfers to the USSR of ROVS activists, as well as activists from other Russian, anti-Soviet parties and organizations; had contacts with the Romanian and Polish intelligence.

One of the basic tasks of the organization was to fight against *khlebozgotovka* and collectivization.

The content of the leaflets is particularly telling, aimed against the *khlebozgotovka*:

“<sup>a</sup>Away with the rule of the international.

Long live the National Russia<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Farmers<sup>a</sup>

The Soviet authorities, once again, want to take all of your grain and force you into starvation.

The grain belongs to those who have worked to harvest it, that is, to you.

Only <sup>a</sup>you<sup>a</sup> yourselves should manage the <sup>a</sup>whole<sup>a</sup> crop.

Not a single pood [to] the ruling international cheats.

Do not hand over your grain to the employees of the state grain purchase, but sell it on the free market.

August 1932

RVO

<sup>a</sup>Russian Military Organization<sup>a</sup>”

There is reliable agent-source information confirming that in parallel to introducing centrally-driven terror, ROVS presently aims to organize small-scale diversions in agriculture, local terror, acts of breaking state grain purchasing campaigns, organization of an uprising, and so on.

2. Based solely on the materials acquired through the investigation, [it is known] that in the past several months 23 Polish-Petliurite representatives have been officially sent to the Ukrainian SSR with 19 of them arrested.

In the course of an investigation carried out by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, a widely established insurgent underground was discovered spanning over a number of raions on Right-Bank Ukraine and in the Donbas region with ties to the Warsaw-based UNR center, conducting clandestine intelligence activities in Ukraine through known Petliurite agents – organizers: General ZHMIYENKO<sup>3</sup>,

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<sup>3</sup> Vsevolod Zhmiyenko (born 16 (28) October 1884 in Odessa, died 30 October 1938 in Warsaw), officer of the Russian Army, General, Chief Warrant Officer of the UNR Army (1922); in the years 1907–1910 served respectively with the Ochakivsky, Izmailsky and Zhytomyrsky infantry regiments; in the years 1910–1913 attended the Imperial Nicholas Military Academy; later served with the Lublin Infantry Regiment (also as a member of the court-martial); before 1917 as an ADC with the Staff of the 39<sup>th</sup> AC; from 1917 Chief of Staff of the 83<sup>rd</sup> ID (Lieutenant Colonel – 1917); from December 1917 till January 1918 Chief of Staff of the Odessa Haidamakas Division; from March 1918 Military Commissar for Odessa and the Odessa Okrug/Chief of Staff ad interim of the Kherson Corps, later Chairman of the Demobilization Committee for the Kherson-Tavriysk-Yekaterinoslav region; from January 1919 assistant to Commander, later Commander of the South-East Army Group in the Odessa region; from July till October 1919 Chief of Staff of the 1<sup>st</sup> Sich Riflemen Division; later Chief of Staff of the 6<sup>th</sup> RD (Colonel – 1922); at the end of 1920 detained in Aleksandrów Kujawski, later in Szczypiorno; from 1924 member of the council of the Ukrainian Center in Kalisz; from 1925 Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Military-Historical Association, and Deputy General Chief of Staff of the UNR army in exile; from

com[rade] Min[ister] [of the] Inter[ior] CHYKALENKO<sup>4</sup>, Col[onel] LITVINENKO-MOROZENKO<sup>5</sup>, Lieutenant GALUK-BAYDA-MAYSKY and oth[ers].

MAMCHY, a former Eser arrested in the Kiev Oblast, testified to being an emissary of the UNR government, with whose members he has discussed in Warsaw his activities in Ukraine.

MAMCHY testified that he was sent as a contact for the Petliurite insurgent underground organizations in Ukraine, tasked with:

“Determining the individual organizations present in Ukraine, establishing [mutual] contacts between them with the aim of preventing different individual manifestations and of delivering to them the guidelines on how to carry out destructive activities in the kolkhozy and sovkhozy, as well as a campaign against handing over the grain – sow only for one’s own use, do not sow exported and industrial plants. Discredit kolkhozy by all means available.”

One of the c-r underground leaders, BABIYCHUK, has organized the setting of 500 kolkhoz grain stacks on fire, and personally carried out the setting ablaze of kolkhoz property in 18 cases.

The brother of the arrested Petliurite emissary who committed suicide, SURIKO, has established an organization in Donbas with ties to the Petliurite underground in Right-Bank Ukraine.

Polish-Petliurite reconnoiterers, arrested in the Slavutsky Border Guard zone, KIRSH N. J. and LEYNGARDT R. A. – the latter sentenced in the past to capital punishment for espionage and smuggling – testified that, having fled to Poland, both were recruited by the resident of the Polish-Petliurite intelligence, GALUK-

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1928 till 1936 head of 2<sup>nd</sup> section (intelligence/counterintelligence) of the UNR army in exile, and head of the 2<sup>nd</sup> department (counterintelligence) of the 2<sup>nd</sup> section of the UNR army; after 1928 member of the recruitment commission of the UNR army (contract service); in the years 1936–1938 president of the council of the UCC Warsaw office.

<sup>4</sup> Levko (Lev) Chykalenko (born 1888 in Pereshory, Kherson Oblast, died 1965 in USA), PhD., archeologist, member of the USDRP (USR), Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Council; from 1920 in exile in Warsaw; member of the executive board of the Association for Assistance to Ukrainian Higher School Auditors; member of the SSS; from 1929 member and secretary to the council of the UCC society, and member of the audit committee of the “Prometheus” Club; from 1931 Deputy Council Chairman of the UCC Warsaw office; representative from Poland to the Main Council in Exile; in the years 1933–1934 chairman of the Committee for the Relief to the Starving Ukraine with the UCC; from 1938 head of the 3<sup>rd</sup> section (contacts with the country/propaganda) of the General Staff of the UNR army in exile, with ties to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Div. of the Main Staff of the Polish Army; after 1939 in Germany, later from 1948 in the USA.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Litvinenko-Morozenko (1891–1947), Colonel in the UNR army; before 1918 Battalion Commander of the Kiev Guard Regiment; in 1920 representative of Semen Petliura to the talks with Pyotr Wrangel, later detained in Poland, from 1924 in contact with the UNR intelligence; from 1927 Head of an intelligence cell of the 2<sup>nd</sup> section of the General Staff of the UNR army in exile in Mohylany (Ostroh), later in Rivne, later living in Warsaw; also in 1934 member of the Council of UCC Society; from January 1936 till September 1939 Chairman of the council (from July 1936 President) of the Ukrainian Center in Kalisz; during German occupation established ties with the OUN and UPA, served as an advisor to the commander of the “Enei” (“Aeneas”) UPA region; at the beginning of 1944 sent by UPA command, under an assumed name (Danilo Solonchak), to Lviv for legalization; arrested on 6 June 1946 by the Soviet security organs, sentenced to death on 12 December 1946 by the Military Tribunal with the MVD Army of the Kiev Oblast, executed on 17 February 1947 in Kiev.

BAYDA-MAYSKY, and transferred to Ukraine with the task of disseminating Petliurite literature (leaflets of the “Ukr[ainian] Rev[olutionary] Committee”).

Both of them were given directives to search for people willing to set kolkhozy and kolkhoz property on fire, carry out acts of ter[ror], etc.

The Petliurite insurgent underground in Right-Bank Ukraine is in possession of tens of thousands of URC leaflets sent from abroad.

It is of particular interest that all of the arrested Polish-Petliurite emissaries were tasked with carrying out a survey of the kolkhozy, sovkhozy, part[y] and Komsomol organizations in the raions with the aim of preparing thorough materials for destructive and divisive activities.

3. The Section II of the Polish Gen[eral] Staff, through its representatives, information division officers and intelligence cells, is directly involved in the establishment of insurgent organizations, paying particular attention to the destruction of kolkhozy, divisive acts and destruction, etc. Those tasks are carried out by Section II both with the help of the Petliurite centers and other White Army organizations.

The information officer of the 13<sup>th</sup> Division, Captain VOYTAN<sup>6</sup> (also actively involved in the transfer of the Petliurite emissaries), organized the transfer of two agents of the Brotherhood of Russian Truth, himself having ties with the organizations office in the cit[y] of Dubno.

Of particular interest is the instruction which the Polish intelligence organs are giving to the Polish-Petliurite intelligence officers being sent in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

[...]

6. In the Vinnytsia Obl[ast] Department, the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR has eradicated a Kulak-White Army diversion group of the Romanian intelligence numbering 18 people.

The group was headed by three Kulaks who have run away from an ITL in 1932 and into Romanian territories.

The tasks with which the Romanian intelligence was charged included the following:

1) Setting fire to kolkhozy and sovkhozy in the region of the v[illages of] Dolzhen, Murafa and Travnoye.

2) Instigating maximum terror among local part[y] [and] Sov[iet] activists carrying out the state grain purchase campaign, killing the most active employees with the aim of breaking the *khlebozagotovka*.

3) Carrying out wide-spread propaganda campaigns among local peasants in the area of not handing the grain “for which they labored” over to the state.

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<sup>6</sup> Voytan (Wincenty Wojtan) (born 28 September 1891), infantry Lieutenant; in the years 1921–1923 with the 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; in the years 1924–1928 with the 44<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; in 1932 with KOP; in March 1939 Deputy Mobilization Officer with the 51<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment; during the September Campaign of 1939, Information Officer of the 12<sup>th</sup> ID (administration Captain – 1938).

4) Spreading provocative rumors about the nearing end of Sov[iet] power and the coming of the Romanians.

5) Throwing a bomb during the November 7 special meeting of the vill[age] activists onto the premises where the meeting was held.

7. According to the fully reliable, agent-source information that is available, the leaders of the BRP, apart from terrorist activities, are tasking the BRP organizations operating in the territory of the USSR with a shift towards organizational work, mainly in agriculture, aimed at wide-spread diversion and sabotage.

8. In the Kuban region, in the Slaviansky and Armavirsky Raions, the PP OGPU of SKK has eradicated c-r organizations of Yesaul GULOV and Colonel POPOV, who have come from abroad and have links with the Cossack centers of White émigrés.

The organization headed by GULOV has found recruits mainly among those dekulakized elements or those serving in the White Army, those under repression and relatives of those arrested, sentenced or shot. The tasks of the organization, as far as band[it] insurgency activity, came down to preparing the persons capable of carrying out armed violence and organizing band[it] units, raids on the kolkhozy and the Soviet apparatus, with the aim of destroying them, the collective and the communists; collecting arms, horse wagons, food by robbery during raids on militia stations, sovkhozy, kolkhozy and Sov[iet] organizations.

[...]

9. The National Alliance of New Generation, with ties to ROVS, is sending pamphlets to the USSR calling for the fight “for peasants’ soil”, “for a strong middle-sized farmer”, “better fundamentals for our country”...

“...Follow the example of the people of Magnitogorsk. The food supply warehouses hold our national, long labored goods. May crashing them be the beginning of the end of communism. Take what was taken”...

“...Sign up with the party, Komsomol, join the army, advance, to enhance the fight.”

“Do not miss an opportunity to sabotage; if everyone does [at least] a bit, we will knock the damn Bolsheviks off our backs.”

At the same time, in a number of raions of the USSR, a significant increase in c-r activity can be observed, and in the activities of the uncovered c-r organizations, a number of similarities can be seen, pointing explicitly to the existence of leadership centers coordinating the activities of those organizations.

Individual [investigation] cases concluded by the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, PP OGPU SKK, CChO and the Urals, clearly show the following, most characteristic forms and methods of counterrevolutionary activities:

a) concentration of White-Army and bandit elements in the kolkhozy, sovkhozy, CAMs, with the aim of taking control over them and carrying out activities that would deepen their organizational disorder and lead to their dissolu-

tion as well as difficulties in the kolkhozy and, thus, the discrediting of the entire system of kolkhoz construction;

b) penetration of the AUCP(b) by the active c-r elements, aiming to disguise their c-r activities and advance their destructive activities;

c) recruitment by the c-r Kulak insurgent organizations of the opportunistic members of the AUCP(b) with right-wing inclinations, and directing their engagement towards insurgent activities;

d) deliberate pursuit of irregularities through overburdening of the middle-sized and poor farmers, aimed at instigating dissatisfaction and anger towards Sov[iet] authorities among the *yedinolichniki*;

e) wide-spread sabotage with regard to property and livestock; organization of acts of sabotage with regard to *khlebozagotovka* and sowing [campaigns]; hiding and wasting the seed and grain stocks;

f) open, armed criminal activities aimed at bringing material loss to the kolkhozy and sovkhozy (plundering of kolkhozy, sovkhozy and [robbing] of individual kolkhozniki, the theft of grain from the fields, destroying farm machinery and stocks); destruction of the basic [cells] of the Soviet apparatus and terror directed at the kolkhoz part[y] activists;

g) establishment of c-r insurgent formations within and outside of the kolkhoz structure;

h) constant infiltration of the RKKa through indoctrination of the individual recruit groups with some form of ties to the members of the c-r organizations;

i) basic groups of members of the c-r organizations, eliminated by the special units, are composed – as before – of Kulak and White Army [elements] drawing [on the people] expelled from the AUCP(b), VLKSM, former Red guerillas and class enemies hiding behind part[y] membership.

It is a factor of great importance that the Kulak and White Army elements of those organizations have infiltrated the basic [party and state] apparatus and turn out to be: chairmen and memb[ers] of the kolkhoz councils, bookkeepers, accountants, foremen, technicians, agronomists, student-interns with the VUZs and mechanics with CAMs.

Of particular interest are the c-r organizations and groups uncovered by the Eku OGPU, the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR and PP SKK, being part of the *Traktorcentr* and seed sovkhoz network. The documents concerning them are highly interesting and will be sent separately.

Below we present some of the most telling cases:

The c-r insurgent organization in the Odessa Oblast, established by the platoon commander of the independent communication company of the 51<sup>st</sup> Perekop Rifle Division – VETLINSKY N. A., comprising mainly form[er] officers and White officers.

The c-r organization began its operation in mid-1931 and set out to “bring together and establish ties between trusted persons in Odessa, as well as in other cities of the USSR, with the aim of their future active engagement without deter-

mining, for the time being, the political system to be introduced after the fall of Soviet rule.”

The recruitment followed the line of enlisting military personnel, com[mand] staff of the reserve, workers of the André Marty plant and establishing ties abroad.

During one of the meetings, VETLINSKY defined the tactical tasks for the organization in the immediate future:

1. continue recruitment, drawing on the dissatisfaction with the economic and oth[er] difficulties;
2. organize the printing and publishing of proclamations and distribution of c-r literature;
3. establish contacts with foreign c-r organizations through sailors sailing to ports abroad;
4. widen the scope of the organization’s operation by establishing cells in other cities of the [Soviet] Union.

The c-r insurgent organization in the Putyvlsky Raion in the Chernihiv Oblast, comprising mainly form[er] Red guerillas and headed by the form[er] member of the AUCP(b) from 1917 – KANAYEV G. I.

The organization has been preparing an armed insurgency against the Sov[iet] authorities, adjusting its timing to the outbreak of war.

The tasks of the organization for the immediate future included robberies carried out on the kolkhoz grain transports, an attack on the powder magazine in the settlement of Bogychy and the establishment of insurgent cells in the Marnsky and Vladimirsky sovkhozy in order to guarantee grain supplies for the guerillas during the fighting.

A Petliurite, c-r insurgent organization existed in the Kharkiv Oblast, comprising the employees of the Poltava metallurgic plant, with ties to the insurgent organization in Myrhorod region.

The organization was headed by a Kulak, TRIPOLSKY, the plant’s accountants KRIVKO and KHRIAPKO, a lathe operator from the plant, form[er] officer LOBACH-ZHUCHENKO and a militia officer TSYMBAL. The work in the countryside was carried out by a form[er] Red guerilla KALATUR Aleksandr and Kulak TRIPOLSKY, who has strong ties to KRIVKO and initiated the establishment of an organizational cell in the city.

The organization’s structure was based on the fives system and aimed to recruit, primarily, those dekulakized and dissatisfied with the Soviet authorities.

The primary goal of the organization – the establishment of a bourgeois republic.

The saboteur group in the kolkhozy “Chervony Prapor” and “Molot”, in the Dinskaya settlement in the Krasnodarsky Raion, comprised agronomists and kolkhoz leadership, and was responsible for:

1. mass waste of the all sowing material;



2. submitting a false report on carrying out and quotas of the sowing [campaign];

3. hiding the sowing material left from the partial sowing [campaign];

4. grain threshing sabotage – 10–15% of grain left with chaff.

The internal c-r group in the “Molot” kolkhoz in the Prochnookopska settlement, in the Armavirsky Raion, comprised former members and candidates for membership of the AUCP(b), as well as officials from the kolkhoz and [carried out] c-r activities:

a) mismanagement of seeds by distributing them as general supplies in the amount of 1.7 kg daily per person;

b) not registering grain incomes;

c) establishment of conditions which allowed for stealing grain directly from the steppe;

d) destruction a poultry farm (11,000 birds died);

e) theft of money from the kolkhoz.

[...]

Thus, from the concluded cases and agent-based information, it has been established that:

1. Foreign intelligence services and foreign émigré centers have set as their primary goal to establish, in the territory of the USSR, c-r insurgent organizations aimed at, aside from insurgent activities, conducting primarily disorganization activities, acts of sabotage and diversion in agriculture;

2. A broad c-r underground has been established in the territories of the USSR, for the time being uncovered only partially in Ukraine and SKK, which has managed to designate its primary centers, organizing breaking of sowing [campaigns], *khlebozagotovka*, disruptions in kolkhozy and the insurgency movement;

3. In the territories of the USSR, individual spheres have been disclosed as being affected by the activities of such organizations, which suggests that there remain still other centers linked to foreign [influence] and parallel organizations active in other parts of the USSR.

The aggressive nature and wide [scope] of c-r activities, as presented in the above review, requires [on the part of] the apparatus of special units, to clearly and precisely understand the tasks related to the work in the countryside, as set by the Dep[uty] Chair[man] of the OGPU, Com. YAGODA in order no. 1138/s, dated 8 December 1932.

<sup>a</sup>-Dep[uty] Ch[ief] of the Special Unit<sup>a</sup> OGPU  
GAY<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Mark Gay (Shtokland) (1898–1937), from 1921 with the VChK, from 1921 till 1927 serving at different posts in the military units of the VChK-GPU; from 12 May 1927 till 1 December 1927 assistant to Chief of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dept. of the EKV OGPU USSR; from 1 December 1927 till 16 July 1930 Chief of Dept. of the EKV OGPU USSR; from 16 July 1930 till 5 December 1932 assistant to Chief, Deputy Chief of the EKV OGPU USSR; from 5 December 1932 till 28 November 1936 Deputy Chief of Special Div. of

<sup>a</sup>-Enclosure<sup>a</sup>

...2. Contact acquaintances working in Donbas, Kryvyi Rih; explain clearly to those people so as to convince them to work for Ukraine. Their work will be most useful once they become leaders and gain confidence within the party and do not raise suspicions as to divergence with the general line of the party.

Engage actively in the work of shock brigades. During the meetings, take an active stance in support for the main party line, while recognizing and disclosing persons belonging to both camps: enemies and friends of the Ukr[ainian] state.

...3. Learn the attitudes of the rank-and-file members of the party, workers and peasants; what motivates them and what are their hopes, have their views on the Sov[iet] authorities changed as compared with the previous years? What in fact is the nature of that change? What are the party members dissatisfied with and what do they want? Whom will they join in case of unrest in Ukraine? Will they support the Sov[iet] authorities, will they stand in support of the rebels or will they remain neutral?

Determine [what they think about] the possibility of war, where do they expect it to come from, after the expiration of the non-aggression pact [between] the USSR and Poland<sup>9</sup>, how is it perceived in Ukraine by the masses: the peasants, workers, intelligentsia and party members.

...8. Do the party members believe themselves to be adherents to the communist idea and in general, do they realize that communism as it is today has nothing in common with the theories of MARX and LENIN, that it is a particular, high-power concept developed by Moscow which from the outset rejects the fundamental premises of communism; that present politics are nothing else but a central economic system, entirely subordinated to the interests of the Soviet

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the OGPU, Chief of Special Div. of the OGPU-GUGB NKVD USSR; from 28 November 1936 Chief of the UNKVD of East Siberian Krai. Arrested on 1 April 1937, sentenced to death on 20 June 1937 by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, shot; never rehabilitated.

<sup>8</sup> Mikhail Aloxhin (Smolarov) (1902–1939), with the VChK since 1921; from September 1921 till September 1922 at various head posts with the Mykolaiv Guberniya Extraordinary Commission of the Mykolaiv Guberniya Div. of the GPU; from November 1922 till January 1923 Chief of the Secret Unit of the Secret Operational Div. of the Odessa and Donetsk Guberniya Div. of the GPU; from January 1923 till May 1924 representative of the KRO of the Kiev Guberniya Div. of the GPU, from June 1924 till October 1924 Chief of the Kuban and Armavir Okrug Division of the GPU; from October 1924 till 15 March 1931 at various head posts with the okrug representations of the OGPU in the North Caucasus Krai; from 15 March 1931 till 19 November 1932 assistant to Chief of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Dept., Special Div. of the OGPU; from 19 November 1932 till 10 July 1934 Chief of the 4<sup>th</sup>, later 3<sup>rd</sup> Dept., Special Div. of the OGPU, last post – Chief ad interim of 2<sup>nd</sup> Special Div. (Operational Techniques) of the NKVD USSR from 28 March 1938. Arrested on 13 September 1938, sentenced to death on 22 February 1939 by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR as a “German spy”, shot; never rehabilitated.

<sup>9</sup> The non-aggression pact of 1932, an international treaty signed on 25 July 1932 between Poland and the USSR. Initially it was to apply for a period of three years, yet in May of 1934 it was prolonged until the end of 1945. Broken as a result of the armed aggression by the USSR on Poland, on 17 September 1939.

state and directed at its growth, as well at the collapse and complete subjugation of the captive nations.

...9. Are there critical attitudes towards the guidelines issued by the party, its general line and the directives of the Sov[iet] authorities, or is all of that accepted without any resistance and blindly executed?

...10. Are they interested in statistical data [relating to] agricultural products in Ukraine and do they compare it with the production [levels] in the Moscow region?

11. About carrying out of the sowing campaign...
12. *Khlebozagotovka* and *miasozagotovka*<sup>10</sup>.
13. CAM.
14. Command, militia, numbers.
15. Attitudes.
16. Free trade, cooperatives and prices: declared and market.
17. Books and the press.

<sup>a</sup>-Assist[ant] to Ch[ief] of 3rd Department<sup>a</sup> OO OGPU  
MIELTSER

<sup>a</sup>-In conformity<sup>a</sup>:

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 36 "a", pp. 193–205.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>10</sup> That is the state-run purchase of meat.

## No. 94

### January 1933, Kiev. Letter from the Polish Consul in Kiev to the Polish Representation in Moscow with enclosed letters from the student Buczak

<sup>a</sup>-Polish Consulate  
in Kiev  
No.<sup>a</sup> 8 pf/33

[...] January  
[193]3

<sup>b</sup>-Confidential<sup>b</sup>

To  
Representation [of the Republic of Poland]  
<sup>b</sup>in Moscow<sup>b</sup>

The Polish Consulate in Kiev hereby sends the direct translation from Ukrainian of the letters left in the consulate's letter box, pointing out that the person who has signed the letters, "student Buczak" is not known to the loc[al] Office, and has previously sent information in the same way.

Polish Consul in Kiev

<sup>c</sup>-Copies for: <sup>-c</sup>

MFA P. III together with the original of the letter

– || – Chief of Department P. VI

<sup>d</sup>-Main Staff Sect[ion] II (2 copies)<sup>-d</sup>

Polish Consulate Gen[eral] in Kharkiv

[Letter I]

Dear Ukrainian Friends!

There is much in our newspapers about the difficult situation of the peasantry, and in particular the Ukrainian [peasantry] with you abroad. I wish to picture the situation of the peasants and workers as it is here, in the territories of "Soviet Ukraine", where the power is in the hands of "workers' and peasant's representations", naturally in quotation marks. In fact, the country is run by the "Politburo" of the Communist party in Moscow (in the Kremlin). All the laws on taxes, and there are many of such laws here, are issued and signed by Stalin and Molotov.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

Those laws need to be named so that you know about the “Soviet paradise” for peasants that we have here. The tax laws [are] as such: 1) bill on a single farming (tax in money); 2) bill on self-taxing (also in money), but three times higher than the former; 3) bill on building insurance (amount depends on the number of farm buildings); 4) bill on a one-time tax – ten times higher than the “single tax” (if a peasant pays 20 rb. of the former – the one-time tax comes out to 200 [rb.]).

Taxes in kind follow: 5) bill on delivering bread<sup>c</sup> by peasants. The quota exceeds bread<sup>e</sup> harvests by the peasants, regardless of whether he is a “single individual”, or in *kolgosp*; the peasants call it “sweeping under the broom”. When the peasant does not have enough to fulfill the quota, they do not believe him, he is tried, his property auctioned and he is forced away from his household; 6) bill on delivering meat (live weight) in the amount of 20 to 50 kilograms for each farm, regardless of whether the peasant owns any live stockholdings<sup>f</sup> or not; 7) bill on delivering milk to the state, setting a quota for “single individuals” – 170 lit[ers] per cow, for *kolgosp* members – 110 lit[ers]; 8) bill on delivering potatoes. The amount depends on the farm, disregarding whether one has potatoes or not. If one does not, they have to be purchased at market prices and delivered at government prices. The difference between government prices and market prices [is] enormous. For each pood of grain, the government pays 90 kop[eks], while the market price is at 90 and 110 rubles, which means 100 and 120 times higher than the government price. For his hard work, the peasant receives 1% of its fruits, while 99% has to be delivered to the state in form of taxes. Such oppression is destroying peasantry from the outset of the *piatiletka* and collectivization, as well as dekulakization of stronger farms. Over the past four years, the peasantry has been completely deprived of a chance to lead life. During the past two years, every winter and spring, in all the villages of “Soviet Ukraine”, a large percentage of peasants swell from starvation and die.

Presently, there are great number of cases, when for stealing *kolgosp* bread<sup>c</sup>, starving peasants are sentenced to be shot or to serve 6 to 10 years in labor camps in Siberia. The families of those poor peasants remain in the claws of hunger and death. No one pays any attention to them since nobody can provide even for himself. The crops in *kolgosp*s are down to a minimum level: 15–20 poods for every hectare. Such crops do not fulfill the “needs of the state” (since the needs of the state also include grain exports abroad). Thus in *kolgosp*s, they also take the grain “under the broom.” *Kolgosp* members are also starving, just like (“with the right”) “single individuals.” The only difference comes down to the fact that *kolgosp* members are not forced out of their households for unpaid taxes, but when a *kolgosp* member does not <sup>g</sup> pay his obligations to the state, he is first forced out of the *Kolgosp*, and only then forced out of his household.

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<sup>c</sup> As in the original. Should be grain (mistake in translation dated 1933).

<sup>f</sup> As in the original.

<sup>g</sup> Illegible word, crossed-out in typewriting.

In the summer, during the work in the fields, a peasant receives bread (one kilogram for a working person, while those unable to work do not receive any). In the winter, there is not enough work for everyone, but the slogan “whoever does not work does not eat” always holds true. That is why during the winter, a peasant eats dry pumpkins and other products which have stayed in the ground and have little use, such as small beets and potatoes which were left behind during harvests. At present, there are almost no potatoes with the peasants. Over the past years, very little was left until the spring sowing, thus peasants were sowing ever less. They buy sugar only for medical purposes in a private market since the state does not sell any sugar to them. The peasant tries to get bread in Russian villages, through barter, in return for clothes, but even that rarely gets brought back, as the representatives of the authorities confiscate such produce on the rails, treating it as speculation.

In order to forcefully keep the peasants in the villages, they have introduced passport system in the cities, while the inhabitants of the countryside receive no passports at all, thus absolutely preventing them from leaving the countryside<sup>h</sup> in search of work or to purchase bread. They must die of starvation at home. That is how they wish to force the peasants to work the fields and give all the fruits of that work to the state. That is how the peasants, who make up 80% of the population, enjoy the “freedom and equality” from the government. In no way are the peasants interested in working the fields but merely <sup>i</sup> forced to work, having no (not benefiting from) civil rights. It can be compared to the situation before<sup>j</sup> the revolution when the Jews were not allowed to live in the cities. This is how the peasants are treated presently in the USSR. A peasant – *kolgosp* member, receives the pay of 35–38 kop[eks] for a *trudoden*, while a spool of sewing thread costs 1 rb. and 1.50, or a pound of bread costs 3 rubles,<sup>k</sup> making it impossible for the peasants to buy it in the market or make a profit.

This all gives you, dear friends, the opportunity to imagine how badly paid the work of a peasant – member of the *kolgosp*, is for the entire summer day of work, plowing, mowing and threshing *kolgosp* bread. It gives you, dear friends, the opportunity to come to the conclusion that no one respects the Ukrainian peasant; he is not treated as a human being, but as a horse sent away in winter by a bad farmer, regardless of how well he worked in the summer for the unsatisfied farmer.

They write much here about Christmas in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, except, of course, the USSR. They write about terrible poverty of the peasants in Poland, in Carpathian Ruthenia, etc. Allegedly they can not afford to celebrate the holidays... However, very few believe those claims, and in the face of their own poverty, no one wants to take interest in others' affairs. It should be

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<sup>h</sup> *Was*: for countryside.

<sup>i</sup> *Crossed-out in typewriting*: and by force.

<sup>j</sup> *Crossed-out in typewriting*: war.

<sup>k</sup> *Crossed-out in handwriting*: whose.

added that it has been four years here since the peasants, the workers and the intelligentsia have celebrated Christmas, as they have no means to buy black bread or eat enough.

The people are dying. There is not always the possibility of burying the dead, since they die hungry searching through the fields or roaming from village to village. Many dead were found in the summer while mowing in the grain (in the regions of Uman, Bila Tserkva, Shevchenkovo). On a single day in the spring, they would bury 20–30 bodies in a single grave – all dead of starvation. Black crows fly above the formerly fertile and rich Ukraine, picking at the eyeballs of unburied dead.

A “single individual” peasant, when he does not fulfill the plan for deliveries of food produce, or when he owes money for unpaid taxes, is driven out of his own home and his possessions are taken (it is called *razbarakhluyut*). They are auctioned individually, and the house, when no one will buy it for firewood, is left with the windows and doors boarded over. And the peasant is left to roam among potatoes or in the open air. A neighbor has no right to show pity on the exile, or he will become an exile himself should he take him in. There is no unemployment in the cities. With the workers, the entire family has to work, wife and little children. School children, 12 years old on average, not having finished village schools’ go to seek a job to earn bread. A worker will receive a daily ration of 1 pound of bread (400 g), while his family half a pound. Only in military factories in Moscow and Leningrad do the workers receive 2 pounds (800 g) of bread and the family 300 g. On top of that, the workers receive 2 pounds of sugar each month, and from time to time, 1 to 2 kilograms of barley groats. In small towns and in the villages, workers do not benefit from supplies, and in order to get a pood of bread for their family they have to work an entire month. As a luxury, the city workers (Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa) receive a pound of herring or a kilogram of “tulka” (type of small fish). That is all what a worker gets. The remaining [products] must be purchased in the market, for extremely high prices. As for meat, the worker has by now forgotten what it looks like. In the market it costs 5–7 rb. per pound and is sold from under clothes in secret. A pood of potatoes costs 35–40 rb., a pound of fatback – 15, 17 and 20 rb., a liter of oil – 40 rb., pound of butter – 20 rb., pound of black bread – 3 rb., white – 3.5 [rb.], bottle of milk – 3 rb. The standard of living in the cities is extremely low. Never before did the city folk suffer such poverty as now, not even at the times of revolt and revolution. The prices of agricultural products grow not by the day, but by the hour. This can only be explained by their small quantity.

Academic life in Ukraine is terrible. A student receives 200–300 g of bread daily. The canteens, where the students receive meals, cook water with cabbage and beets; as a lucky draw, one may sometimes come across a potato. The main meal consists of cooked pumpkin or horrible soy (lentils). Thus, cases of food poisoning are not rare among students and workers. Students, receiving bread for two days, eat it up for breakfast, having no more bread for lunch, supper or the entire following day. The students leave the academic institutes despite the fact that the

principals detain their documents. That is the “Soviet Will” that everyone feels. The newborn babies, in the countryside and in the cities, receive no milk, as it is either expensive or not available. And the situation of the youth can be summed up with the words of a Russian writer, Nadson: “Our generation knows no youth; youth has become a fairytale from the past.” The discontent of the masses has reached a peak, but one cannot expect any form of organized movement without support from other countries, friends to the oppressed Ukrainian people. The GPU sees to that, having grown into the masses and arresting suspects disillusioned with the authorities, then sending them to jail. Thus, the Soviet jails are overfilled with workers, peasants and other suspicious elements. There is hope that they will soon ban singing of the “Internationale” and “la Marseillaise” as they speak of the uprising by the oppressed and hungry and “arise, arise, working people, arise against the enemies, hungry brother”, because in reality the Ukrainian people are now hungry and this takes the Ukrainian reality backward in time. If anyone was capable of setting the spark, a great fire would arise which would turn into an enormous insurgent movement over the whole of Soviet Ukraine.

7 January [19]33 Kiev

student Buczak

[Letter II]

In a country of freedom and personal inviolability there is shooting to death, forced labor and incredible exploitation. The exchange rate of the ruble has fallen to the level of 3 pre-war kopeks. The worker of a free country works at a monthly pay of 4 golden rb. as comes out of the average of 100 rb. which the worker receives in useless money. A peasant working in the *kolgosp* or the *radgosp* receives a share of 35–38 kopeks for the so called *trudoden* (a normal working day divided into a quotient which in turn depends on the worker’s qualifications; the average quotient in the countryside comes to 0.50–0.60). Thus he needs to work at least four days to earn enough for a bottle of milk for a child. All this attests to the condition and culture of Soviet society with which the Soviet politicians are heading for socialism.

Horrible thefts. Peasants steal from peasants workers rob workers. When a peasant owns a chicken or a pig, he has to sleep next to it throughout the night so that others who do not have “so much luck” do not steal it at night and even before the dawn eat it with their hungry family. The peasants (80% of the entire population) have no motivation to work in the fields, since everything will be taken away anyhow (according to the planned purchases). As a result, a large portion of the fields remains uncultivated or is sown carelessly (only to fulfill the set quota). Only weeds grow in the chernozem fields of Ukraine. The crops are at minimum levels: 15–20 poods per 1 hectare. The peasant has neither kerosene nor soap nor matches. He has no food products. He is left to face either death from starvation, suicide or exile. There are many cases of suicide. They take their lives, abandoning the Soviet paradise with a rope or the beautiful waters of the gor-



geous Dnieper. The workers are left either with a bullet to the head or thrown five floors with one's head turned down. Think, dear friends, what awaits the Soviet worker in the future. The state of affairs as I describe has been such for the past three years. It is a result of the five-year plan.

Allow me to say a few words about the five-year plan. Let me quote the facts. In Kiev during the first two years of the five-year plan, an electric power plant was built. During the last two years of the same five-year plan, the plant was completely destroyed and now it has already been two months since the city was left in complete darkness, as allegedly three steam boilers have been broken and require complete renovation. A number of new plants in Moscow, only just constructed, are presently undergoing complete renovation. And how many cases are there of a machine being purchased abroad for several or tens of thousands paid in gold, which now stands useless since the Soviet engineers, who went through a fast-track (according to the track set in the five-year plan) from *liknep* (elimination of illiteracy) to engineer in three to four years, cannot cope. "Dnieprostroy", which was constructed in four years, will continue being built-up for the next 10–15 years. All is done in line, more or less, with the following model: begin, not finish and further begin new constructions. Begin second one, leave it be in order to begin the third all the faster. All take in large investments with no benefit, and all because there is no time to finish one thing when the previously finished one is already falling apart. The discontent of the masses has grown boundlessly. All levels of dissatisfaction have been exceeded and only the point of reference is missing. It should be added that even the party members are not content with the present policies, but they have to keep quiet, as there is no freedom of establishing factions.

Do not be surprised that I am writing on such a hideous paper, there is no better paper here. On such pieces of paper, the Soviet judges, basing themselves on the "workers'-peasants' and Red Army constitution", write sentences of 6–10 years in Siberia's labor camps for stealing a pood of bread<sup>c</sup>, and in more serious criminal cases – the firing squad.

Sincerely, student Buczak

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1867, pp. 67–71.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner a handwritten note: aa T. Kons. and illegible initials; under the text a receipt stamp: Section II Main Staff ... [No.] ... Encl. ... with a date: 24 January 1933 and a number added in handwriting: 2492 and a note: 1 ident [?] + 2 and roman numeral: II; next to the stamp a hand written, illegible sign, probably a letter: H and a note: to [...] with a date: 4 VII [19]33 T.*

## No. 95

**1 February 1933, Moscow. Telegram from the Deputy Chairman of the SNK of the USSR Valerian Kuybyshev, People's Commissar for Supply of the USSR Anastas Mikoyan and Deputy Chairman of the OGPU Gienrikh Yagoda regarding the establishment of committees monitoring the meat purchases**

a-b-Copy<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Through OGPU Simferopol  
to *Sovnarkoms* in the Republics, Kra[is] [and] Obl[ast]  
Supply Departments, Kra[is] [and] Obl[ast]  
*Ispolkoms* of OGPU, Rep[resentatives] of STO Supply Com[mittees],  
state-run cattle purchasing<sup>a</sup>

220 <sup>a</sup>-ser[ies]-<sup>a</sup> "G" <sup>a</sup>-Moscow<sup>a</sup> 7630 460 1 2 <sup>a</sup>-ser[ies]-<sup>a</sup> "G"

Information from [each individual] place, as well as the inspection of a number of raions, have proven that during the implementation of the decree issued by the *Sovnarkom* of the USSR and the CC AUCP(b) on the state meat purchases, local Soviet organs have allowed for a number of irregularities with respect to that decree:

First of all: a significant number of individual and kolkhoz farms were not covered by obligatory meat supplies for the state. Second: a significant number of farms have been illegally exempted from delivering supplies by *sielsoviets* [and] *rayspolkoms*. Thirdly: in regions and villages, delivery quotas have been freely lowered compared to those set in the decree. Finally: no registering or control on the part of the *sielsoviets* [and] *raykoms* has been introduced with regard to the obligations placed on each individual farm, each individual kolkhoz farmstead, each individual *yedinolichnik*.

As regards those farms which evade their quarterly obligations, no prescribed repression was carried out, all the while a great majority of republics, kraiss and oblasts have over-fulfilled the plans for meat purchases in the fourth quarter. In those republics, kraiss and oblasts, a significant number of kolkhoz and *yedinolichnik* farms, particularly those which do not own cattle, have not delivered a single kilogram as part of the obligatory [deliveries]. If no decisive steps are carried out immediately aiming to improve the situation, there will be a serious threat of enormous difficulties related to the fulfillment of the plan for state meat purchases and the plan for meat supplies to the workers. Such a lenient, liberal approach to applying the law, irresponsibility and incompetence of the local authority organs [responsible for] the state-run purchases, can no longer be tolerated

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

and steps should be taken to bring about a concrete and prompt improvement of all of the abovementioned irregularities and errors in executing the law on state meat purchases. To that aim, we advise the establishment of republican, krai [and] oblast committees under the guidance of the Chairman of *Sovnarkom* of the kra[i] Exec[utive] Com[mittee], which is to include: °rep[resentatives] of the Sup[ply] Com[mittee], STO, *Narkomsnab*°c, GPU, °state-run cattle purchasing°c, and °analogous committees in the regions°c.

Those committees will be made responsible for: checking whether the obligations on meat deliveries are given to each individual farm, which falls under the obligations as provided for in the decree issued by the CC and SNK, as well as the instructions issued by the *Narkomsnab*; second of all: whether the quotas of the delivered obligations are equal to those [quotas] set by the law, thirdly: determining the exact number and amount of obligations actually delivered in the raion, separately for *yedinolichniki*, the kolkhoz farms, and for large production farms, and to check if those numbers match the state plan of meat purchases designated for the given raion, fourthly: organizing the [process] of constant verification of fulfillment of obligations for each individual farm, kolkhoz farm, kolkhoz, and large production farm, fifthly: immediately bringing legal responsibility to those farms [which] did not fulfill the obligations for the fourth quarter.

Based on the results of the verification process, raion, as well as krai, oblast and republican committees, are to determine whether the total of delivered obligations in all the raions is equivalent to the nationally approved fifteen-month plan for state-run cattle purchases, immediately undertake all necessary steps to improve all the violations of the decree issued by the SNK and CC, and disclosures by the committees of all errors and irregularities in the state-run meat purchases.

The deadline for the conclusion of the work – 25 February. Until that date, the Sup[ply] Com[mittee] of STO with *Narkomsnab* is to receive the results of the verification process in the republic, krai, oblast, and namely – the sum of obligations delivered in the republic, krai, oblast, separately for *yedinolichniki*, [separately] for the kolkhoz farms and kolkhoz large production farms.

°Dep[uty] Chief°a SNK USSR  
KUYBYSHEV<sup>1</sup>

°P[eople's] Com[missar] for Sup[ply]°a USSR  
MIKOYAN<sup>2</sup>

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°-° *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Valerian Kuybyshev (1888–1935), Chairman of the State Committee for Planning with the SNK of the USSR; from 10 November 1930 Deputy Chairman of the SNK and STO of the USSR; from February 1932 till April 1933 Chairman of the Committee for Agricultural Products Accumulation with the SNK of the USSR.

<sup>2</sup> Anastas Mikoyan (1895–1978), Soviet party and state activist; from 1926 till 1930 People's Commissar for Internal and External trade of the USSR; in the years 1930–1934 People's Commissar for Supplies of the USSR; from 1934 till 1938 People's Commissar for Food; in the years 1938–1949

<sup>a</sup>Dep[uty] Chair[man]<sup>a</sup> OGPU  
YAGODA

<sup>a</sup>Forwarded by<sup>a</sup> KULABUKHOVA

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 329–335.*

*Telegraph tape.*

*Document in Russian.*

*A note on the document:* c. Ivanov. Prepare guidelines today [for each individual] place and come by to receive instructions. 1/II-33. (–) Ivanovsky.

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People's Commissar/Minister for External Trade of the USSR, and from 1937 till 1964, with a short break, Deputy Chairman of SNK/Council of Ministers of the USSR; from 1942 till 1945 member of GKO USSR.

## No. 96

### 2 February 1933, Kiev. Memorandum from the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding mass departures of German settlers to Siberia

GPU – Ukrainian SSR <sup>a-</sup>Dep[artment]-<sup>a</sup> OO Got-tsev [?]  
<sup>a-</sup>Kiev Oblast Division<sup>a</sup>

Series “K”  
2 February [19]33  
c. Kiev

No. 106235

PP OGPU <sup>a-</sup>Western Siberia<sup>a</sup>  
PP OGPU <sup>a-</sup>Eastern Siberia<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b-</sup>Copy: <sup>a-</sup>Ch[iefs]-<sup>a</sup> OO U[krainian] MD and GPU of the Ukrainian SSR<sup>b</sup>  
c[ities] of Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, <sup>b-</sup>Kharkiv<sup>b</sup>

4 copies made

3 – addressed

1 – ad acta

#### On the mass departures of German colonists to Siberia

Beginning in the fall of 1932, that is during the campaign for state grain purchasing, as a result of operational pressures in the countryside aimed at securing the *khlebozagotovka*, in a number of border r[ai]ons of the Kiev Oblast, particularly in Volhynia's r[ai]ons: Pulinsky, Novohrad-Volynskiy, Potiyevsky, Cherniakhivsky and Volodarsky, mass-scale migration of the German colonists to Siberia has been observed, taking place especially in the m[on]ths of November – December 1932.

Evading the fulfillment of grain delivery obligations and oth[er] taxes, German colonists, mainly the rich, Kulak element, having secretly closed down their farms here were leaving for Siberia with their entire families, while in some cases group departures of four to five families were noted.

According to information at our disposal, most of those migrating chose as their destinations in Siberia the following cities: Omsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, and st[at]ions: Moskalenko, Lublinskaya, Tara, Kolomzeno and ot[her]. Many of them did not plan to live there permanently, but intended to settle depending on the conditions.

Among those migrating, apart from the rich Kulak and other repressed elements, individual middle-sized farmers are to be found, and in some cases even the provocatively indoctrinated kolkhozniki, [convinced] that in Siberia there allegedly is no collectivization and individual farms can be established freely, without any burdens.

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> Added in handwriting.

We deem it necessary to provide this fact separately, that the abovementioned r[ai]ons of the Kiev Oblast – Pulinsky, Novohrad-Volynskyi, Cherniakhivsky and oth[er], where the migration of colonists to Siberia has mainly been observed – are poisoned with insurgent and émigré tendencies and attitudes. The German Kulaks in those r[ai]ons were and are the most reactionary element among other r[ai]ons, showing the most stubborn opposition to all types of polit[ical] [and] economic undertakings pursued by the Sov[iet] party and authorities in the countryside.

Beginning with the year 1929, mass delays were taking place in those border r[ai]ons, and in some individual cases there was open, armed unrest, organized by the Kulaks and c-r element with the aim of breaking the polit[ical] [and] economic campaigns pursued in the countryside, as well as – in a longer perspective – instigating an uprising against the Sov[iet] authorities.

The abovementioned category of persons is not significantly prone to the influence of German clergy and the German Consulate, which is widely using its contacts among the German colonists with the aim of gathering all sorts of information of sensitive nature in the r[ai]ons of Volhynia.

At the present day, the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU has uncovered a number of cases concerning Germ[an] colonies in which the existence of c-r insurgent organization among the Germans in Volhynia was disclosed, spanning over a number of colonies in the r[ai]ons mentioned above, and aiming for a mass, armed movement over the border into Poland.

There is information available that among the German colonists who fled to Siberia, there are individual persons who are members of the aforementioned c-r organization, who, together with other migrating c-r elements, will certainly pursue insurgency and other c-r activities in Siberia and will also attempt crossing the border and fleeing into China.

Additional information concerning every such individual person, when identified, [will be] sent <sup>c</sup>with reference to the destination of migration<sup>c</sup>.

The main points of the case described above are sent <sup>c</sup>for your information<sup>c</sup> and reference.

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] of the Kiev Oblast Division<sup>a</sup> GPU of the Ukrainian SSR  
(—) ROZANOV

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> OO KOO GPU  
(—) BORYSOV<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Borys Borysov-Kohan (born 1904), from 1926 secret informer of the Kiev Oblast Div. of the GPU; from 1928 employed with the Kiev Oblast Div. of the GPU; from 16 July 1934 operational representative of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dept. of the Secret Political Div. of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1937 Chief ad interim of the 4<sup>th</sup> Div. of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; 19 February 1938 transferred to the NKVD USSR; from June 1938 Deputy Chief of the Central-Asian ITL; from May 1939 Deputy

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 20, pp. 101–103.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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Chief of the Vyatskoye ITL; from October 1941 Deputy Chief of the Ivdelsk ITL Directorate; from November 1945 till October 1947 officer with the Far-Eastern ITL.

**No. 97**

**3 February 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the head of the Polish Consulate in Kharkiv addressed to Section II of the Main Staff regarding the deteriorating food supplies in Ukraine**

Kharkiv, 3 February [19]33

Dear Sir

[...]

The situation in Ukraine is getting worse by the day, the famine is affecting the people in ever more disgusting and violent forms, with the number of robberies and murders rising drastically – the number of those coming to our consulate has at least tripled over the past two months; we are receiving desperate letters, even the men are crying in our office when telling about their misery. The craftsmen who work for us no longer want higher pay in rubles, but beg for flour, groats, etc., otherwise they do not want to work.

[...]

Jan Karszo-Siedlewski

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1985, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the top, receipt stamp: "W" Received ... 193... L. ... with a date added in handwriting: 9 [...] ...3 and a number: 2410/330; next to it a handwritten note: a/a "Kpt".*



## No. 98

### 6 February 1933, Odessa. Letter from the German Consul in Odessa to the MFA in Berlin and the German Embassy in Moscow regarding the taking away of grain from the peasants by the “shock” brigades

<sup>a-</sup>German Consulate<sup>-a</sup>  
Odessa, 6 February 1933

Translation from German

<sup>a-</sup>To Min[istry] of For[eign] Affairs – Berlin  
To German Embassy – Moscow<sup>a</sup>

With reference to the information  
Dated 4 January – this year – N 6

Despite applying all measures of coercion aiming to fulfill the *khlebosdacha*, in Odessa the plan was not fulfilled.

On 31 December of last year, [information] has been published stating that the plan was 72.2% fulfilled. As of then, no more data was published. Party members are constantly held responsible for insufficient cooperation in implementing the *khlebosdacha*. The Secretary of the Part[y] Committee for the Odessa Oblast was expelled from his post. *Sielsoviets* are to prepare new guidelines, brigades are searching through the households, sowing material is being confiscated. For allegedly withholding the sow[ing] material, innocent people are forced to face trial. Kolkhozniki are to return the seeds earned by them under the pretext of “miscalculated, mistaken portioning during distribution.” At best, they are allowed to keep the corn.

<sup>b-</sup>Endless searches day and night, have led the men to escape from the villages, staying in hiding and leaving their families without a provider<sup>b</sup>. But also as regards the remaining members of families, all possible measures are carried out, such as <sup>b-</sup>“keeping in the freezing weather”, in order to force them to hand over the grain<sup>b</sup>.

In this situation, it is hard to imagine that the planned preparations for the spring sowing can be carried out. Those from among the kolkhozniki and *yedino-lichniki* who have not delivered the sow[ing] material are being fined so that with the money from the fines, sow[ing] material can be purchased in other raions. Whenever a poor farmer complains about the overburdening tax, he is fined [just] as a Kulak is.

Displacement and deportations continue.

<sup>b-</sup>Increased inflow of information to the German State Committee for Debt Obligations about the sale of bonds<sup>b</sup> gives proof to the claim that the peasants

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<sup>a-</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

are handing over everything in their possession so as to prolong their existence through food bought in the *Torgsin*.

<sup>b</sup>The peasants visiting the consulate – German colonists and citizens of other countries – describe the difficult state of affairs in the countryside<sup>b</sup>.

ROT

Translated from German: translator KIGLER

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Oper[atational] Representative of Special Division<sup>a</sup> UGB  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 7, pp. 23–24.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 99

### 10 February 1933, Odessa. Report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the situation in German settlements

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>1</sup>-<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[<sup>o</sup>p] secret<sup>a</sup>

10 February 1933

In a majority of German villages (concerns the villages in the Raions: Berezivsky, Kominternovsky, Rozdilnansky and K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky) there is a depressed atmosphere and anger. In Raions: Kominternovsky, Rozdilnansky and K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky, *khlebozagotovka* has not yet been fulfilled; in the Berezivsky Raion, the campaign of collecting seed material is underway. All the while, a campaign is carried out aimed at uncovering the cases of illegal seed and flour purchases by individual citizens (both the artel members and *yedynolichniki*). In general, this campaign has yielded positive results, as described in my previous reports; that is, in fact the peasants have a sufficiently [large] percentage of illegally acquired grain. In practice it has been proven that such grain was found not only with the richest elements, but also with middle-sized and even poor farmers.

In those raions where the *khlebozagotovka* has not yet been fulfilled, mass arrests and dekulakization are taking place. I have such information from the K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion. In the Rozdilnansky Raion (v[illages] of Konoplevo and Sharovo), significant migrations are observed as many of the farmers, expecting dekulakization and arrests, disappear from the countryside. As I have indicated previously, here in the Rozdilnansky Raion, it is believed that the *khlebozagotovka* plan was allegedly unrealistic and calculated above the level for Russian *sielsoviets*. In the K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky Raion, the unfulfilled *khlebozagotovki* are explained only through sabotage and counterrevolutionary attitudes among the majority of the peasants: poor cultivation, sabotage at grain threshing, poor state of the horses, etc. In this raion, according to the information I acquired, many peasants also flee the countryside, particularly from in the village of Worms.

In the Berezivsky Raion, the *khlebozagotovka* has already been completely fulfilled in early January. There were *sielsoviets*, for example the one in Marinovo, where the targets were met already in November of last year. The intermediate plan was also undertaken. Then, in order for the entire raion to fulfill the plan, all seed stocks were taken, along with the teachers' and tractor operators' quota. Additionally, 200 poods of voluntary contributions were collected (over the period of three days). However at the present moment, the grain sowing stocks

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

are collected slowly, the proof [of which] is [the fact] that restitution of sowing stocks was promised, etc. The general complaints against the lack of grain can be heard in all the villages. According to some, there are villages (such as Lustenfeld in the Berezivsky Raion, Sharovo in the Rozdilnansky Raion) where a large percentage of the population feed only on beets and pumpkins. The very frequent searches conducted on individual citizens, the arrests of individual persons, etc., have created an atmosphere of fear and the threat of starvation. They mainly fear being displaced from their homes and deported from the village in the winter time. The laws on state meat purchases and milk deliveries were met with wide satisfaction among the dominant majority of the German colonists. The law on grain deliveries is for the moment known only to individual citizens, as it has not been discussed during general meetings.

The struggle of the classes has taken on more varied forms lately. A turn towards the left is clearly visible with the middle-sized farmers, representing a more modern approach. The outbursts by the Kulak element, whatever form they might take, are condemned by nearly everyone. Generally, that element is silently boycotted, both morally and physically. Many say: "Because of them (Kulaks and their supporters) we have to suffer." Those villages in which the element deprived of their civic rights is to be found and where it finds its hiding, there is a visible trend to get rid of it.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 633, T. 8, pp. 739–739 v.*

*Copy, typewritten on a form.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 100

### 10 February 1933, Lutsk. Fragment of a monthly report by the Volhynia Voivode for January 1933 regarding the establishment in the Zdolbuniv district of the Committee for Relief to the Starving in Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-Volhynia Voivodeship Office<sup>a</sup>  
Department of Security  
BBO-45/tjn/  
Monthly situation report

Lutsk, <sup>b</sup>10 February<sup>b</sup> 193<sup>b</sup>3<sup>b</sup>  
<sup>c</sup>-Top secret<sup>c</sup>

Monthly situation report no. <sup>b</sup>1<sup>b</sup>

In line with directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs no. 17900/29, dated 26 October 1929, I hereby send, in accordance with the distribution list enclosed below, the monthly situation report no. <sup>b</sup>1<sup>b</sup> for the period from <sup>b</sup>1 January<sup>b</sup> until <sup>b</sup>1 February<sup>b</sup> 1933.

For the Voivode  
(—) W. Wojnicz<sup>1</sup>  
Chief of Dep[artment]  
of Publ[ic] Sec[urity]

[...]

#### VI. National minorities A. Ukrainians

[...]

##### b) cultural, educational and social movement

The Committee for the Relief to the Starving in Ukraine, Zdolbuniv district: on 25 November of this year<sup>d</sup> in Ostroh, an organizational meeting was attended by 18 persons. Those gathered made the decision to establish a Committee for the Relief to the Starving in Ukraine in Ostroh, with the Ukr[ainian] Char[ity] Soc[iety] in Ostroh, as a branch of the Lutsk Committee for the Relief to the Starving in Ukraine. The board of the Committee was informed that it should

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Filled in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup> *As in the original. The information was included in the report for January 1933 through delay or by mistake.*

<sup>1</sup> Wiktor Wojnicz (born 24 December 1894), Commodore Second Lieutenant, retired; from 1917 officer of the Russian Navy; in the years 1933–1934 Chief of Dept. of Public Security with the Voivodeship Office in Lutsk; in the autumn of 1939 arrested by the Soviet security organs, imprisoned in Lutsk; murdered in the spring of 1940 in the territories of the Ukrainian SSR (the so called Ukrainian list).

withhold its activities until it is confirmed by the Central Committee for the Famine Victims in Ukraine, [with headquarters] in Lutsk.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 1, Op. 2, Spr. 3080, pp. 37, 43.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the bottom left corner of the first page, a stamp with the inscription: Volhynia Voivodeship State Police Voivodeship Headquarters Received Lutsk, on ... 19... with a handwritten date: 15 II ...33; illegible initials next to it.*

## No. 101

### 14 February 1933, Moscow. OGPU guidelines regarding the so called saboteur organization active in agriculture and the preparations for the sowing campaign

<sup>a-</sup>To all <sup>a</sup>PP OGPU

The c-r organization active in agriculture<sup>1</sup>, eradicated by the EKV OGPU and the local organs of the OGPU, aimed to prevent the spring sowing in 1933, which would create favorable conditions to fulfill the fundamental goal of the c-r organization – the armed overthrow of the Soviet authorities.

Having prevented the fall plowing, the c-r organization pursued systematic, destructive activities directed towards a complete destruction of the tractor park, which took the form of:

- a) <sup>b-</sup>setting fire to AMW;<sup>b-</sup>
- b) <sup>b-</sup>activities<sup>b-</sup>, the implementation of which would lead to <sup>b-</sup>loss of up to 10% of the tractor park<sup>b-</sup> in the [Soviet] Union;
- c) destruction of the facilities producing spare parts whose proper use would secure 50% of the total needs of the AMW;
- d) concentrating in some kraises large quantities of unneeded sp[are] parts with catastrophic lacks thereof in other kraises;
- e) ordering imported machine tools for AMW with the assumption that even with most favorable conditions they will be delivered to the AMW after the conclusion of the renovation campaign. It should be noted here that if workshop tools for AMW were ordered in time, their production [would be] completely supplied by the country's own industry.

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Relates to the case fabricated by the OGPU which aimed to disclose those “responsible” for instigating the famine in the years 1932–1933, and to intimidate local leadership. The OGPU of the USSR, through the “Pravda” newspaper, declared on 5 March 1933 that it had uncovered a “counter-revolutionary saboteur organization in some of the organs of the People’s Commissariat for Agriculture and the People’s Commissariat for Grain and Trade Sovkhozy, mainly in Ukraine, North Caucasus and Belarus.” Those arrested were charged with “destroying the agriculture and instigating famine in the country.” The case encompassed 75 people. On 11 March 1933, the College of the OGPU of the USSR sentenced 35 people to death, 22 people to serve up to 10 years, and 18 people up to 8 years in jail, “for organizing counterrevolutionary acts of sabotage in CAMs and sovkhozy.” In April 1933, the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR declared that it has discovered a Ukrainian branch of the “counterrevolutionary organization active in agriculture” led by the Deputy Head of the Agricultural Studies Dept. at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Science, V. Batiyenko. The participants in the “conspiracy” were charged, among others, with sabotage, discrediting the party and establishing insurgent centers in 67 raions, 102 CAMs, 114 kolkhozy and villages in 133 raions of Ukraine. To proceed with the case, a special committee with the People’s Commissar for the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection, which confirmed the conclusions from the investigation. With a decree of the court troika of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 27 April 1933, four members of the “conspiracy” were sentenced to death (incl. Batiyenko), others to serve in jail for a term of 3 to 10 years. In 1956 all those accused were officially rehabilitated.

The data being sent from the regions gives proof that the destructive activities continue, conducted by the remaining part of the c-r organization active in agriculture.

Those activities mainly come down to interfering in the winter renovation [campaign], the further reduction of the number of horses and hiding the seed stocks, thus preventing the spring sowing.

With regard to the above, as well as fulfilling the recent decrees of the decision-making organs concerning the preparations for the spring sowing in 1933, the OGPU recommends:

1. Taking steps aimed at intensifying operational work directed towards determining and capturing of the remaining members of the c-r <sup>b</sup>organization active in agriculture<sup>b</sup>.

2. <sup>b</sup>Immediately taking steps aimed at eradicating the consequences of the destructive work done by the c-r organization active in agriculture (with the register of operational cases)<sup>b</sup>.

3. Directing particular effort towards monitoring the implementation by the production plants of the decisions issued by the SNK of the USSR and CC of the AUCP(b) with regard to production of spare parts.

4. Intensifying work on systematically clarifying to the land[ed] organs the fundamental issues related to the preparation of the spring sowing [campaign] <sup>b</sup>planning, distribution of crops, schedule of the collection of sow[ing] stocks, schedule of the renovations, etc.)<sup>b</sup>.

5. Paying particular attention to the condition of the hauling animals, monitoring the work of the land[ed] organs with regard to securing and rational use of fodder stocks.

Inform the EKU OGPU regularly on the execution of this directive through <sup>b</sup>special reports<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c</sup>-283028  
14 Feb[ruary] 1933<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Dep[uty] Chair[man] ad interim<sup>a</sup> OGPU  
PROKOFIEV<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKU OGPU  
MIRONOV

In conformity: Secretary EKU OGPU

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>2</sup> Georgy Prokofiev (1895–1937), from 1920 with the VChK; from 17 February 1926 till 6 August 1931 Chief of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 1 April 1931 Chief of Directorate of the Belomorbud; from 6 August 1931 till 25 October 1931 Chief of the Special Div. of the OGPU USSR; from 16 October 1931 till 17 November 1932 Deputy People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; from 17 November 1932 till 10 July 1934 Deputy Chairman of the OGPU USSR; from 27 December 1932 till 4 January 1934 Chief of the Main Directorate of RKM of the OGPU USSR; from 10 July 1934 till 29 September 1936 Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR; from 29 September 1936 till 5 April 1937 Deputy People's Commissar, then First Deputy of the People's Commissar for Communication of the USSR. Arrested in 11 April 1937, with trial on a special track, sentenced to death, shot; never rehabilitated.



(—) MOZHAYEVA

14 February 1933

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 391–392.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*In the top left corner of the first page of the document a pentagonal stamp with the inscription: Received 21/II 1933. Incoming no. 2052 GPU Crimea, and also two handwritten notes: c. Ivanov. Come by on 10/II; com. Kochin. Come by on 25/II. (—) and an illegible third note.*

## No. 102

### 16 February 1933, [Kharkiv]. Memorandum by an employee of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the difficulties with supplies in Kharkiv

The issue of supplies is getting ever more difficult. Nearly nothing is available on the market. People are selling things in secret. The confiscation of goods, and particularly meat, is almost a daily phenomenon. There are rumors that part of the confiscated goods ends up with the *Torgsin*. This, to some degree, is substantiated by the fact that the meat ordered for us is sent by the *Torgsin* in different pieces – never as one piece.

There are constant searches in trains; carrying even 2 kg of candies ends with confiscation and a jail sentence.

Some of the products for use are presently delivered by a clerk from the train post car who receives 69 rb. in monthly salary and has to provide for himself and his family. Thus, he earns extra by delivering most essential goods which are then sold by his wife to private households.

Recently it has been observed that in the city's stores, enormous quantities of sugar, at 15 rb. per kilogram, are sold to everyone. Allegedly, a secret directive has been issued ordering that all sugar be refined and supplied for the internal market. At the same time, word has it that the production of candies has been stopped, which, due to their low price, were more commonly used by the people. This is, however, contrary to the fact that together with sugar, large quantities of various candies and candy products are available in the stores.

The lack of most basic goods in the market and in the stores forces people [to] give their remaining silver and gold to the *Torgsin*, which is full of people. They buy mainly flour and bread. One now often sees people in front of the *Torgsin* selling bread which they have just purchased there. A 1 rb. *Torgsin* coupon is valued [at] 80 Sov[iet] rb. Those coupons are beginning to be widely used by the citizens, what now readily buy [them] or accept in return for the sold goods. Allegedly those who are distinguished already receive part of their salary in coupons. This is proven by [the fact] that many military officials frequent the *Torgsin*.

[...]

The doctors presently receive two pounds of bread. The salary for the first half of January has only now been paid. Layoffs and salary reductions continue. Those whose salaries have been lowered pay off their loans according to their previous salary levels.

Many of the Germans are planning to leave their work in the spring, as many of them are unable to fulfill the designated plan quota, having to work with people who are half-conscious and exhausted from hunger; they thus suffer all the more morally, not having the heart to force the latter into labor.

[...]

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the first page, added in handwriting: 17/II/V.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Signature in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Actually Józefina Pisarczykówna (born 9 November 1902), officially employed as a junior clerk with the MFA, officer of Section II of the Main Staff; prior to 1921 with the POW; in the years 1921–1923 secretary to Bronisław Pieracki; in the late 1920's and early 1930's probably with the Ministry of Internal Affairs; later contract employee with the MFA; from November 1931 till the end of 1933 head of the intelligence post of Sect. II of the Main Staff "X-22" in Kharkiv (code-name "Leon Popiel", later "Ola Osmólska"), earlier probably linked to post "Z" in Kharkiv; in parallel, from 1 September 1932 till 30 November 1933 typist/clerk with the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv (employee of the MFA on unpaid leave contracted for work abroad); from January 1934 in the cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, later in the Administrative Dept. and Consular Dept. of the MFA; from 1936 till 1938 with the Polish Consulate in Brussels; from April 1938 with the Polish Consulate in Daugavpils.

## No. 103

### 1 March 1933, Kiev. Report by the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the Polish representative in Moscow regarding the food shortages in the Kiev, Vinnytsia and Zhytomyr Oblasts

Polish Consulate  
in Kiev  
No. pf. 23/33

1 March [1933]  
Confidential

To  
The Representative [of Republic of Poland]  
in Moscow

In Kiev and the Kiev Oblast, the layoffs still continue among workers and office staff, both in industrial plants and offices. The layoffs have also been occurring in higher academic institutions where students, having often spent a few years studying, are forced to leave. With no exceptions, all those being laid off are deprived of bread coupons. The loss of work brings the need to leave the city due to the passport system being introduced. In parallel to the growing number of unemployed, the number of thefts and robberies is growing enormously. In many cases, the laid off workers and clerks are asked to move to the countryside. However, with the growing famine in the countryside and the discontent of the people in the cities, the unemployed want to stay in the cities at any price. Even the party members are very reluctant to move out of the cities. Oblast and municipal party organizations were to mobilize 800 members for work in the countryside in February. Up to today, they have only been able to recruit 423 [members]. The official statements of the municipal council provide for a special category of bread coupons for the unemployed.

In the majority of institutions and factories, the salaries for the second half of December have not yet been paid. The Offices of the National Bank do not hold any cash. The director of the loc[al] bank branch, Tarski, in private conversation stated that he does not only refuse credit to institutions and industrial plants, but equally to raions which need the wherewithal to repair the tractors and prepare the spring sowing. As a consequence, the industrial plants which are required to pay their regular obligations have started to sell the goods ordered by various institutions on the private market, thus acquiring cash. This in turn results in unfulfilled or delayed orders.

According to the official statements, the Kiev and Vinnytsia Oblasts have fulfilled the seed harvest plan. In reality, those stocks are at a minimum level. The Chairman of the Kiev Oblast, Wasilenko, has also confirmed in a private conversation that the stocks are not even at the level of 60% of the necessary quantity, and what they have is of the poorest quality. Thus, even with the official decree on the free trade of grain, searches and bread confiscation continues. It is still

forbidden to transport grain on the trains, with restrictions [being introduced] on the traveling of peasants. A re-threshing of the straw has been decreed in nearly all raions. According to the official information, this brings unexpected results. Some of the kolkhozy have threshed 60 cwt. per day. This grain is destined entirely for seed, even though the situation in regard to food supplies in the countryside is literally tragic. I had the opportunity of speaking to a young doctor who, upon completion of her medical studies, has been sent to practice in the Berdychivsky Raion in the countryside. According to her testimony, in this raion, she confirms, as well as in others, apart from deaths caused by the famine, typhoid and typhus fever and a particularly severe type of dysentery are also widespread. The peasants refuse anti-typhus injections and very often beg for poison. The informer has come back from Kiev, as for 2½ months she could not get a salary or even a means of support in any of the raions which she visited.

Bread shortages and enormous difficulties with supplies have resulted in mass destruction of livestock, furthered by the lack of food for it. Additionally, the situation was greatly exacerbated by the *miasozagotovka* campaign which was identically carried out. From what was said by those visiting [the consulate] it is clear that nearly the entire stock of horses is of no value for field work. This fact was confirmed by the official decrees of the Oblast Executive Committee, which has declared a ban on the use of horses for any sort of activity in 35 raions. The ban has been published in "Proletarska Pravda" on 17 February and is to be observed until the beginning of the sowing campaign. Moreover, nearly all of the press is carrying out a campaign advocating the use of cows for field work. The raion leadership has received an order to supply individual villages with an appropriate amount of vegetables and to assure that the entire stock of cows is used in the field work.

The hauling animals are of great importance here, regardless of the number of tractors owned. According to the official data, 83% of the field work in the Kiev Oblast has to be carried out by hauling animals, and this number comes close to 100% in a number of raions. Despite the intense efforts directed at protecting the horses, in some parts of the Kiev region 75% have died this winter. A particularly difficult situation in that respect is to be observed in the following Raions: Orativsky, Babansky, Tarashchansky, Korsunsky, Talnivsky<sup>a</sup>, Zolotonoshsky and Kievsky. Much loss in the stock of horses has been brought about with wide-spread illness, which here is called "stomatit" and is caused by feeding dry chaff to the horses. To a large extent, the situation was aggravated by the sabotage campaign, the existence of which is discussed quite openly; in the Babansky Raion, 57 grooms have received jail sentences and forced labor. Aiming to resolve the situation, the oblast authorities ordered inter-raion conferences to be held in the following cities: Kiev, Korosten, Uman, Zhytomyr and Cherkasy. Those conferences were devoted to the issue of saving horses. The conference called for

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<sup>a</sup> Was: Talinsky.

12 February in Korosten could not be held, since instead of 250 delegates from the kolkhozy, only 23 arrived due to the fear of been held accountable.

P. Kurnicki<sup>1</sup>  
Vice-Consul

Copies for:

1 MFA DDK

2 – – P III

3 – – K III

4 – – Chief of the Press Dept.

5 Main Staff Sect[ion] II (2 cop[ies])

6 Polish Consulate Gen[eral] in Kharkiv

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1867, pp. 130–133.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>1</sup> Piotr Kurnicki (born 16 June 1899, died 3 August 1975 in Quebec), Second Lieutenant, Cavalry Reserves, employed with the MFA; during WWI in the command headquarters of the Polish II Corps in Russia; in the years 1931–1932 with the Political and Economic Dept. of the MFA; from 1932 till 1936 in the Polish Consulate/Polish Consulate General in Kiev (nominal/official Vice-Consul), at the same time from July 1932 till the end of February 1936 head of the intelligence post of Sect. II of the Main Staff “Ku” in Kiev (code-name “Napoleon Nalewajko”); from 29 February 1936 clerk with the Administrative Dept. and Political and Economic Dept. of MFA; from February 1939 Polish Consul in Khust, from April 1939 First Secretary of the Polish Representation in Bratislava; from 4 October till 1 November 1939 with the Polish Consulate General in Zagreb; later in Romania; from March 1940 with the Polish Army (Lieut.) with, among other, SBSK, later aide-de-camp to Polish Army Commander in the Middle East, later with the 1<sup>st</sup> Polish Regiment; from June 1944 Liaison Officer with the Polish II Corps; in the years 1944–1945 in the Polish Representation in Beirut; from 1949 in exile in Canada, lectured at the Center for Slavic Studies of the University of Montreal.

**No. 104**

**2 March 1933, Bobrynsk. Report by the heads of the Khrystynivka  
Operational Branch for the Chief of the Bobrynsk Department  
of the Transport and Roads Division of the OGPU of the South-Western  
Railroad regarding the unrest in Khrystynivka caused by bread shortages**

Obl[ast] St[ate] Pol[itical]  
Dir[ectorate] Khrystyn[ivka] OB  
Bobrynsk  
Department of Road and Trans[port] Division  
S[outh]-W[estern] R[ail] OGPU  
2 March [19]33  
No. 508

Copy  
T[op] secret

<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> of D[epartment] of Road and Trans[port] D[ivision]  
OGPU – Bobrynsk

On bread shortages in the Khryst[ynivka] junction

Due to the unsent orders from the Directorate of the Bobrynsk TPO<sup>b</sup> of the Khrystynivka junction, since the first of March of this year there has been no bread, very little flour (which will be distributed to the train teams), and [people] relying on [them] for support, employees of the engine workshops, as well as the employees of other services, will not be supplied with bread.

Head of the TPO storehouse no. 20, RADZIVIL says that the Directorate of the Bobrynsk TPO has informed him that he should not expect the ordered flour to arrive earlier than 5 March [19]33. This information has been already passed to the employees of the Khrystynivka junction, thus spurring rumors that the communists have undertaken to bring the working people to despair, etc.

On 1 March [19]33, a gathering of women, having learned that a rail car with flour for the Bobrynsk TPO would pass through Khrystynivka (later it turned out that the transport was destined for the Directorate of the Bobrynsk Constr[uction?] TPO), demanded from the he[ad] of TPO Storehouse no. 20 to detach the car in Khrystynivka and distribute the flour among the shareholders. The problem was resolved with much difficulty through the intervention of the M[unicipal] Rail and Transport C[ommittee], which managed to calm the women, who were shouting phrases such as: “they torture us with hunger, better to kill us all instantly – spray your gases on us” [...] <sup>c</sup> wife of the engine operator, PAVLUK Yakov (arrested in the case “<sup>a</sup>-Mashynisty<sup>a</sup>”).

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *Was: TVO.*

<sup>c</sup> *Illegible fragment.*

Nevertheless, immediate action at the Khrystynivka junction is necessary [aimed at] obtaining flour rations.

OB Ch[ief] ad interim  
ZHYLINSKY

In conformity: Op[erational] Representative ad interim  
SEMENENKO

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-5164, p. 96.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*



## No. 105

### 3 March 1933, n.p.p. Extract from a report by a secret informer of the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the community of Khrystynivka railwaymen

<sup>a</sup>Extract<sup>a</sup>

from the report of s/s [...] dated 3 March [19]33

LYCHAK Pavel Filipovich, motorman of the maneuvering engine at the Tsvetkovo s[ation], a man of hostile beliefs and attitude towards the Sov[iet] authorities, throughout the period of Sov[iet] rule has been carrying out and continues to carry out actively counterrevolutionary propaganda. The descendant of rich peasantry from Orlovets, cit[izen] LYCHAK keeps close ties with the dekulakized elements in the countryside, for example SYPKO Yakov, owner of the roller mill, presently in exile, and many others. He keeps ties with the Kulak elements in the v[illage of] Kalynivka. At the time when counterrevolutionary leaflets appeared, cit[izen] LYCHAK argued that Sov[iet] rule has tormented the people with hunger, that the leaflets have appeared [and been distributed] with the aim of eradicating the Sov[iet] rule in Ukraine: “The communists thought that in Ukraine there are not people, but animals, and thus they can work naked and hungry.”

Moreover, cit[izen] LYCHAK, having ties to the Khrystynivka motormen, has often spoken of them, claiming that on the way to Vapniarka, the corn has gone completely bad in hundreds of cars, with no cover in rain and bad weather. While the worker starves [and] is forced to “storm” work at an empty stomach. The villagers, according to cit[izen] LYCHAK, are intentionally robbed, having their corn taken away only to have it rot in the railcars – thus leading people to death from starvation. Similar propaganda was disseminated among the station’s workers [and among] exiles from the neighboring villages. And thus it is only now, after the “Uman school”, that the aim and sense of the counterrevolutionary propaganda pursued by cit[izen] LYCHAK are completely clear to me, with him knowing well the intentions of the Khrystynivka organization and also being its member (a logical conclusion from his conversations with the motormen at the Khrystynivka engine workshop, mentioning, among others, the name of PAV-LUK). Moreover, he was not uncommitted to the distribution of leaflets and to the Tsvetkovo organization. LYCHAK learned about leaflets in Tsvetkovo from OSICHNUK, who turned out to be LYCHAK’s neighbor and a dangerous man in this town.

In conformity: Op[erational] Rep[resentative] Temp[orarily ad interim]  
(—) SEMENENKO

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase and in wide letter-spacing.*

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-5164, p. 95.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*A note on the document:* c. Pronin. Interrogate Pavluk on this account. 3.III (-) Semenenko.

## No. 106

### 14 March 1933, Odessa. Letter from the German Consul in Odessa to the German Embassy in Moscow regarding the bad forecasts for the food supplies in the Odessa Oblast

<sup>a</sup>-German Consulate<sup>a</sup>  
Odessa, 14 March 1933

Translation from German

<sup>a</sup>-German Embassy  
Moscow<sup>a</sup>

(<sup>a</sup>-Copy to the Min[istry] of For[eign] Aff[airs]<sup>a</sup>) G. 6.

<sup>a</sup>-Concerns<sup>a</sup>: Crop yields and the state of food supply

The reports on the crop yields in the Odessa Oblast give witness to the relatively large local disparities. There are villages which have fulfilled the *khlebodacha* and have enough grain to last the winter, but there are also cases where, in spite of the conclusion of the harvests, the obligation of grain deliveries to the state remains unfulfilled. It can be safely estimated that the crops have not even reached the level of 50% of those from the previous year and since the obligatory deliveries are severely enforced, the majority of the population in the countryside will either have not enough or no grain at all for the winter.

Since the majority of reports on the state of late crops such as corn and potatoes seem unfavorable, it should be considered that the oncoming winter will not only bring hunger but also another increase in the mortality rate caused by the famine.

In some of the northern raions of the Odessa Oblast, which already suffered greatly during the winter famine of 1932/[19]33, the people are already starving. In spite of this, preparations are being carried out to export the grain from this year's harvests. As for now, the grain is brought in relatively slowly, undoubtedly because of the wide-spread technical difficulties in transportation; however the first small shipments have already been loaded on the ships.

Grain shortages are already visible since there is lack of flour and groats on the market.

ROT

Translated from German: translator KIGLER

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

In conformity: Oper[ational] Representative OO UGB  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 7, p. 27.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

**No. 107**  
**16 March 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the Polish Consul**  
**General regarding the behavior of the starving city workers**  
**on the consulate's premises**

4662/9/tjn  
[On] the political situation  
in Ukraine

6 March [193]3  
<sup>a</sup>Secret<sup>a</sup>

Distribution:

1. Polish representation in Moscow
2. MFA – Minister's Cabinet
3. – || – – Eastern Department
4. – || – – Press Department
5. – || – – Consular Department
6. Main Staff S[ection] II (2 copies)
7. Polish Consulate in Kiev

[...]

Various city workers, delivering wood, coal, ice, etc. to the Consulate Gen[eral] in Kharkiv, in our presence, dive pitched into the potato peels and other remains found in the consulate's trash; the workers who take away the trash have in the consulate's yard in recent days eaten the food prepared for the dogs [...].

Head of the Consulate General  
J. Karszo-Siedlewski  
Counselor of the Representation

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2995, pp. 161–162.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

**No. 108**  
**17 March 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the Polish Consul**  
**General regarding the food shortages in the “Dnieprostroy” area**  
**and the Berdychivsky Okrug**

<sup>a</sup>-L. dz. 5657/II<sup>a</sup>

17 March [193]3  
<sup>b</sup>-Secret<sup>b</sup>

4662/11/tjn

[On] the internal situation in Ukraine

<sup>c</sup>-Distribution:<sup>-c</sup>

1. Polish <sup>d</sup>representation<sup>-d</sup> in <sup>e</sup>-Moscow<sup>-e</sup>
2. MFA – Minister’s Cabinet
3. – || – – Eastern Department
4. – || – – Press Department
5. – || – – Consular Department
- <sup>f-d</sup>-6. Main Staff S[ection] II<sup>-d-f</sup>
7. Polish <sup>d</sup>-Consulate<sup>-d</sup> in <sup>e</sup>-Kiev<sup>-e</sup>

[...]

Moreover, as regards the situation in Ukraine, it can be stated that generally everything remains unchanged, i.e. that despite ever new laws, directives, endless congresses and rallies, calls in the press, condemnations and even severe punishments in the form of arrests and expulsions from offices, there is no visible improvement in any sector of Ukraine’s economy, be it in the campaign of spring sowing (most important for the time being), or in the metallurgical or coal industry.

All the while, the famine in Ukraine is growing by the day. I have completely reliable information regarding the disastrous situation in food supplies at the “Dnieprostroy” and the neighboring industrial centers, where a bucket of potato peels is sold at a price of 10 rb. I have also received information, which I hold to be true, that a railroad guard at the Pechanivka station, in the Lubarsky Raion of the Berdychiv Okrug was caught in the act of cannibalism on 21 February of this year. He was turned in by his own wife, whom he terrorized, forcing her to cook meals from the meat of the murdered people whom he brought home offering to put them up for a night. Allegedly, he has quite a number of people on his conscience, so many that he has even sold their meat on various occasions.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>e-e</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>f-f</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

Head of the Consulate General  
(—) J. Karszo-Siedlewski  
Counselor of the Representation

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2995, pp. 149–150.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the document, added in handwriting: 534/33; below on a circled number: 139; below a handwritten, underlined note: [...] Head of Off. N 2 and another one: Sending on 4 IV 33 together with illegible initials; at the end of the document, a receipt stamp: Office 2 Section II M[ain] S[taff], [O]n ... encl. ... with a handwritten date: 5 IV 1933, a number: 534 and numeral: III.*

## No. 109

### 27 March 1933, Moscow. Letter from the Polish Representative in Moscow to the Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the arrests of people visiting the consulates

<sup>a</sup>-Representation  
of the Republic of Poland  
in Moscow<sup>a</sup>  
4662/4

27 March [193]3  
<sup>b</sup>-Secret<sup>b</sup>

[Concerns] the arrests of people  
visiting the consulates

To  
The Minister of Foreign Affairs  
<sup>b</sup>in Warsaw<sup>b</sup>

Our consulates in Minsk and Kiev have recently reported an increased harassment of Poles visiting our consular posts. On the night of 14 and 15 March of this year, in Vinnytsia in Fastiv and in Kiev, several hundreds of Poles were arrested. Recently, in large numbers they have been visiting our consulates, requesting a return to Poland or general assistance with the utter poverty and hunger. In Minsk there have been systematic checks or arrests of all those visiting the consulate, so that as of late, rarely anyone finds the courage to come to our office except for those who have nothing to lose or those who do not have a permanent residency.

In view of this information and the repeated harassment also observed in Moscow with regard to those visiting the consulate, I have raised the issue during one of my recent visits with Stomoniakow<sup>1</sup>, underlining that it prevents our offices from carrying out normal duties. I pointed out that in fact, I see signs of overly extensive irritation and undue suspicion on the part of the Soviet administrative authorities which should be kept in check, as they lead to unnecessary tension in our relations. Stomoniakov replied that such f[acts] were completely unknown to him, promising to look into the mat[ter] and discuss it with the relevant circles (in their language this implies the GPU, in accordance with my propositions).

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Borys Stomoniakow (born 1882 in Odessa), Bulgarian; from 1902 member of the RSDRP, from 1921 AUCP(b); from 1904 away from Russia; responsible for arms purchases abroad; in the years 1915–1917 with the Bulgarian army; in 1917 employed with the Bulgarian Representation to the Kingdom of the Netherlands; in Russia after the October Revolution; in the years 1920–1926 representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the USSR in Berlin; in the years 1926–1938 member of the College of the People's for Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR; in the years 1932–1938 Deputy to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR; on 17 December 1938 arrested by the Soviet security organs, imprisoned at Lubyanka; on 6 September 1940 sentenced to death and shot after 8 October (or after 16 October) 1941.



In light of the fact that the issue of harassment towards those visiting the consulates has never been officially raised with the *Narkomindel*, I believe that it should be in order to eliminate this undesired phenomenon through intervention. Only if, despite the promises, the *Narkomindel* proved unable to bring an improvement in this respect, potential retorsions could be pursued.

°Polish Representative°  
Juliusz Łukasiewicz<sup>2</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1867, pp. 103–104.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the document, filled in handwriting: [...] op 953 I P [?] III and the date: 30/III; next to it a partially legible rectangular stamp with the inscription: Number of copies, copy, no and a handwritten number: 2, P III and DDK.*

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<sup>°-°</sup> *Written in uppercase, in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>2</sup> Juliusz Łukasiewicz (born 6 May 1892, died 6 April 1951), active in the struggle for independence, diplomat; prior to 1918 with the POW, in the years 1919–1921 and 1922–1926 Chief of the MFA's Eastern Division; from 1921 till 1922 First Secretary of the Polish Representation in Paris; later director of the Political and Economic Dept. of the MFA; in the years 1926–1929 Polish representative in Riga, later director of the Consular Dept. of the MFA; from 1931 until the end of 1932 Polish representative in Vienna; from 1 February 1932 till June 1936 Polish representative/ambassador in Moscow; from June 1936 till November 1939 Polish ambassador in Paris; from 1940 in Great Britain; in 1945 established the League for the Independence of Poland; from 1950 in exile in the USA – representative to the USA of the Polish government in exile; committed a suicide in Washington, D.C.

## No. 110

**29 March 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a letter by an employee of the Polish Consulate to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the situation in the village of Stepanivka and the forcing of the inhabitants of the cities to work in the fields**

Kharkiv 29 March [19]33

Dear Sir!

[...]

At the present moment, I have to take over K., i.e. the consular affairs, which, frankly speaking, is no blessing, as this, most often, means administering hopeless cases (I mean the departures to Poland). The more interesting moments will only come with the opportunity to gather clear facts from the visitors as to the “increasing prosperity here”.

Yesterday, for example, someone told me that in the village of Stepanivka (Chutivsky Raion, Starokhodovo station) people only live off of half-rotten beets which they dig up in the fields. Naturally, everyone is swelling and not a day goes by without several people dying. One can easily imagine how the work at the harvests proceeds under those conditions. People have no strength whatsoever.

We also have cases of typhus fever springing up everywhere. As Bal. (Władek) says that in the Mykolaiv Hospital (here), somebody who was visiting a member of his family every day claims that during those visits, lasting about an h[our], he always saw several corpses being carried out. I repeat this with all the implications.

This very B. says that on 25 March, around 4 a.m. (it was a reception with the Italians, which M. has written on) he saw some 1,000–1,500 people surrounded by the militia and driven into the militia building which is situated opposite the Ital[ian] Consul[ate]. Allegedly, those were people picked up from the queues which had already formed during the night in front of the stores selling bread. They are being sent to work in the fields, he heard. Apparently, being better fed, they are more fit for the *udarna* work than the exhausted village people.

[...]

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-37, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the first page of the letter, in the top left corner, added in handwriting: Kpt; next to it a rectangular receipt stamp with the inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and the handwritten date: 6 IV ...3 as well as the number: 2923/33 O; next to it a handwritten note: aa “Kpt”.*

## No. 111

### 7 April 1933, Koshlaky. Protocol of interrogation of Józef Dacków by an officer of the Polish State Police in the case of his stay in the USSR

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

Written on 7 April 1933 in the secretariat of the SP Stat[ion] in Koshlaky by Serg[eant] Józef Zieliński with Józefat Dacków<sup>b</sup>, son of Jan and Katarzyna, born on 10 November 1890 in Zadnishiivka in the Skalat distr[ict], last inhabiting Bilozirka ad. Palchyntsi, Zbarazh distr[ict] and belonging there, Gr[reek] Cath[olic], married, two children, owns 1½ morgens of field and ½ of a house in Bilozirka, regarding his stay in Sov[iet] Russia:

[...]

Having a Russian (Kazakh) wife, I had no intention of coming back to Poland, as during the Bolshevik rule in Russia, I was at first doing quite well, working as a field worker on granges. Only in 1925, when the communist began harassing the working people in the granges and, despite the hard work in the fields, gave insufficient food rations, I moved to the city of Petropavlovsk (Karaganda Oblast<sup>c</sup>), where having bought myself a house<sup>d</sup>, a horse with a cab and two cows, I pursued the work of a cabdriver, carrying guests from the rail[way] station to the city. For carrying one person I would be paid (the passenger would pay) 10 to 12 rubles, a salary on which, together with the milk from the cows, I could support myself and my family, consisting of my wife and two children paying an annual tax of 600 rubles for the work of a cabdriver. I did not pay any levies apart from that, since being a Polish citizen, I was protected by the law which exists in the territory of Sov[iet] Russia for foreigners, who are treated better in Russia than the Soviet citizens.

Presently, due to the fact that the Soviet government is forcing all the foreigners to take Soviet citizenship or, alternatively, depart to their country of origin, I have requested a foreign passport for me and my wife at the Polish Consulate in Moscow. Having received the passport, I left Petropavlovsk on 28 March 1933 and on 4 April 1933, I arrived at the <sup>e</sup> Volochysk border station, where having gone through a duty search conducted by the Soviet authorities, and having some 17 rubles which I had on me taken away, I was left with 26 American dollars, which were signed in the passport as an amount for food for me and my family. Apart from that, none of my belongings were taken and I arrived by train to Pidvolochysk.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b</sup> Was: Dack.

<sup>c</sup> Was: Karadardy.

<sup>d</sup> Word corrected in handwriting.

<sup>e</sup> Crossed out in typewriting: Pidvolochysk.

Upon arrival in Pidvolochysk on 4 April 1933, I was interrogated by an information officer with the 12<sup>th</sup> KOP Battalion, and following my interrogation and that of my wife, having photographed us (that is me, my wife and our two children), I was released on 5 April 1933. Having spent the night in Pidvolochysk, at 7 p.m. on 6 April 1933, I arrived in Bilozirka.

I [would like to] mention that in Sov[iet] Russia there are at present bad conditions caused by food shortages, and thus: 1 kg of black bread costs up to 12 rubles, beef meat, 1 kg – 18 rubles, potatoes, 1 bucket – 12 rubles; thus the people don't have enough money, in spite of earning 40 to 60 rubles for their work, to buy such expensive food, while those who have no work die of starvation in the streets of the city.

During a conversation with the communists, they told me that Poland and America have signed an alliance with Russia, thus the communists speak well of <sup>f</sup> Poland and America.

In Russia, there is still a large number of prisoners of war who want to return to their country, that is, those who until now have not taken Soviet citizenship, and those who did are presently crying, for they must remain in Russia.

I have thus testified and having the protocol read to me, I hereby sign it.

<sup>g</sup>Written by:<sup>g</sup>

(—) Józef Zieliński Serg[eant]

<sup>g</sup>Testifying:<sup>g</sup>

(—) Dacków Józef<sup>h</sup>

*DATO, F. 276, Op. 1, Spr. 127, pp. 2–3.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Below the text illegible initials and a number: 14/157.*

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<sup>f</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>h</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: Józefat.*

## No. 112

### 12 April 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the Polish Consul General regarding the situation in Kharkiv and in the Sumy area

<sup>a</sup>-L. dz. 6619/II<sup>a</sup>

X/1/tjn

Political situation  
in Ukraine

12 April [193]3  
<sup>b</sup>-Secret<sup>b</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-Distribution:<sup>c</sup>

1. Polish representation in <sup>d</sup>Moscow<sup>d</sup>
2. MFA – Minister's Cabinet
3. – || – – Eastern Department
4. – || – – Director of the Cons[ular] Dep[artment]
- <sup>e</sup>5. Main Staff, S[ection] II<sup>e</sup>

The situation in Ukraine is becoming ever more tense with literally terrifying hunger and poverty among the people in the countryside as well as in the cities, growing by the day. All illnesses, mainly typhus, spread throughout the entire country, claiming thousands of victims, for whom there is no treatment since even in the capital, Kharkiv, there is shortage of the most basic disinfectants and medicines (such as quinine, aspirin, etc.). I was told by one of the doctors that almost all of the surgeries end with a failure, not only because of the lack of means and tools, but mainly because the patients are utterly exhausted and their wounds, due to insufficient strength and lack of blood, do not heal, or once healed open up again. The doctors conclude that the patients' stomachs have shrunk to the size of a small baby's stomach. Some villages, for example in the area of Sumy, which had 1,000 inhabitants, have become totally deserted and now have some 150–200 people. The people feed mainly on *makukha* and potato peels; they eat dogs, cats, dead horses, and acts of cannibalism occur more and more often.

[...]

Head of the Consulate General  
J. Karszo-Siedlewski

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2995, p. 145.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>e</sup>-<sup>e</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

*At the top of the document, added in handwriting: 666[...].33; below a circled number: 175; below a handwritten, underlined note: Head of Off. N 2 and another one: Sending Ref. "R" 29 IV 33 together with illegible initials; a stamp on the document: Office 2 Sect[ion] II M[ain] S[taff], On ... [...] Encl. ... with a handwritten date: 2 V 1933, a number: 666 and numeral: III.*

No. 113

February–April 1933, n.p.p. Intelligence information acquired by Section II of the Main Staff regarding cases of death from starvation, typhus epidemic or cannibalism

from Volhynia  
Kornel son of Benedykt Musiewicz  
Lives in N[ovo]-Mykhaylivka  
Raion Gonichirsky  
Two children already swollen from hunger  
28 February [19]33 (–)

Kołodziejski Bolesław 11 March [19]33  
Spent a m[onth] in the Krasnotulsky and Konakovsky Raions to collect fur.  
In the sov[khozy] and kolkhozy, <sup>a</sup>pigs are dying, particularly piglets (300) 1,500  
growth [?], 400 horse, 500 pig<sup>a</sup>.

In <sup>b</sup> village of Konak of this raion, the *selrada* chair[man] declared that up to  
14 people die of hunger every day there.

<sup>c</sup>Flour<sup>c</sup> from wild pears.

Kolkhozy distribute 200 gr[ams] each.

(–)

Mr. Teodor Matkowski Poltava  
Allegedly <sup>c</sup>200 people<sup>c</sup> die of starvation every day.  
15 March 19[33] (–)

Gajrakiewicz Wasyl  
Hrebenikivka st[at]ion] (near Sumy)  
<sup>a</sup>they eat dogs, cats, dead horses<sup>a</sup>, they are coming to <sup>c</sup>the people<sup>c</sup>  
100 people every day  
Authorities are instigating national antagonisms  
21 March [19]33<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>a-a</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>b</sup> *Crossed out: a.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>d</sup> *In the same file (CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-37, b.p.) there is a second version of the same information, reading: Gajrakiewicz Wasyl, Hrebenikivka st[at]ion] (near Sumy), they eat dogs, cats, dead (dying) horses, even people. Authorities are instigating national antagonisms, 21/3/33 (–), written down by the same person.*

In the <sup>e</sup> fact[ory] “<sup>f</sup>[...] завод Bolshevik<sup>f</sup>” they have given <sup>g</sup>the workers<sup>g</sup> land in Mykyfyivka, Lipavsky Raion, nearly 10 h[ectares].

The hospital in Liptse is overfilled, plenty of sick <sup>c</sup>around the hospital<sup>c</sup> (typhus fev[er]).

Millet chaff and peels. Ground dried wild pears and from such flour – bread.

There are no more Kulaks. They eat the meat of dead horses. There are some wheat groats in the <sup>h</sup> kolkhozy.

It is allowed to stand in the queues from 6 in the morning.

[...] <sup>i</sup> let for 10 days (those who served) KM [?] and those keep for a month and more.

1/4. Stefan son of Jan Strarzyński, Lozovenko st[ation], village of Danilivka.

His sister works in the hospital in Sumy. A few days ago he visited her because he is being displaced from here; he says that in Sumy, in the hospital, 70–80 people die each day. In the city, people are dying of starvation in the streets.

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-37, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Documents in Polish.*

*Individual information written on separate, small pieces of paper.*

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<sup>e</sup> *Crossed out: sovkhos.*

<sup>f-f</sup> *Written in Cyrillic. The first word illegible, probably: pozhzavod.*

<sup>g-g</sup> *Added upon the text line.*

<sup>h</sup> *Crossed out: sovkhosy.*

<sup>i</sup> *Illegible fragment.*



## No. 114

### 13 May 1933, Borschiv. Letter from the Borschiv District Governor to the Department of Public Security, Voivodeship Office in Ternopil, regarding refugees from the USSR staying in the district

<sup>a-</sup>Borschiv District Governor<sup>a</sup>  
No. B. 48

Borschiv, 13 May 1933

Regarding the movement of refugees  
from Soviet Russia

To  
Voivodeship Office of P[ublic]  
S[ecurity] <sup>b-</sup>in Ternopil<sup>b</sup>

In the recent days, an increased refugee movement from Sov[iet] Russia and into the territory of the loc[al] district could be observed. The refugees escape across the Zbruch River, driven by the hunger in present day Russia. Over the past 10 days, 27 people have crossed the Zbruch River. Those people are swollen from hunger – some of them look like skeletons. They have no means of living, and moreover they are louse-infested. Those questioned testify that they are driven out by hunger and that in the near future, the entire village will be escaping into Poland regardless of the Soviet guards and the danger.

As a result, the problem arises of what is to be done with those refugees. I cannot keep them in the border district since there are no means to support them and because of the issue of state security, as the element is pursuing all possible ways to keep in touch with their home villages, located near the border in Russia, and thus is prone to Soviet spying, as the recent trials in court [concerning] spying in the loc[al] district have shown, where the very refugees were accused. Moreover, they pose the danger of carrying disease and an epidemic into the territory of Poland, since all of them are louse-infested and there are no means to disinfect them.

In light of the above, it is immediately necessary to:

1) Establish a refugee camp in the territory of Poland where the refugees having no means of living could be directed, with the aim of preventing the dispersal of those elements throughout the entire country, as well as with the aim of removing them from the border territories.

2) Send the necessary means to establish a quarantine and to observe the disinfection of the refugees.

3) Send the means to support the refugees and purchase, apart from food, clothes for them also.

I am unable to collect the necessary means at the district level, since the district itself is rather poor.

With the matter pressing, I request prompt directives.

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>a</sup>District Governor<sup>a</sup>  
(—) Wasiewicz<sup>1</sup>

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, pp. [17–17 v].*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the document, partially in the text, a handwritten note: N[W?] For [...] with the date: 15/V and illegible initials; next to it, probably a letter: B; at the bottom of the first page, under the text, an illegible note with a number: 208; in the bottom left corner, a rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office, Received on ... encl. ... [No.]... and a stamped date: 16 May and a handwritten note: N.B. 25.*

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Wasiewicz, in the years 1932–1936 District Governor in Borschiv.

## No. 115

### 20 May 1933, [Kharkiv]. Fragment of a memorandum by an employee of the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the situation in Kharkiv

[...]

Different from the center of the city [of Kharkiv], the suburbs and the provincial towns are filled with the poor, who are dying en mass from starvation and illnesses. (In the center, there are also corpses on the streets from time to time, and one sees [them] every day in the market).

[...]

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the first page of the letter, in the top left corner, a rectangular receipt stamp with the inscription: “W”*

*Received on ... 193... L. and the handwritten date: 24 V ...3 as well as the number: 3192/33 O.*

## No. 116

### 22 May 1933, Chernihiv. Indictment against Pyotr Ovsianko and others in connection with the abuse during grain purchases in the village of Chernatske

#### <sup>a</sup>-Indictment<sup>a</sup>

In invest[igation] case no. 14 regarding the indictment of OVSIANKO Pyotr Semonovich, SHKARIN Yevdokim Mikhaylovich, DVORETSKY Aleksandr Mikhailovich, KIVAILO Yemelian Semonovich and CHEPIK Yemelian Pyotrovich, based on art. 54-10, 20-54-7 and 54-14 PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

During the state grain purchase campaign in 1932, the leadership of the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno]-Budsky Raion, with the f[ormer] chairman of the <sup>b</sup>-*sielsoviet* OKOPSKY<sup>b</sup> (legal proceedings against OKOPSKY have been discontinued due to his death) and in cooperation with his <sup>b</sup>-deputy SHKARIN Y. M.,<sup>b</sup> being under the influence of anti-Soviet, foreign-class elements, was sabotaging the state grain purchase plan sent by the raion institutions.

With the lowered plan, the accused SHKARIN, aiming to not fulfill the lowered state grain purchase plan, contributed to the breaking of that [plan] by, together with OKOPSKY, <sup>b</sup>-intentionally not delivering the plan at lowered values to the individual, weak farms<sup>b</sup> and concealing the farms of his relatives, acquaintances and Kulaks from having strict deliveries designated for them. To the contrary, the strict deliveries were designated for the weaker, medium-sized farms.

As a result of the opportunist approach and counterrevolutionary sabotage on the part of OKOPSKY and SHKARIN, the *khlebozagotovka* plan for the v[illage of] Chernatske, as of 15 November 1932, <sup>b</sup>-had been fulfilled to a mere 15% (c.p. 59 reverse, 60, 78 reverse)<sup>b</sup>.

Moreover, it has been determined that the accused SHKARIN contributed to the crippling of *khlebozagotovka* <sup>b</sup>-by iss[uing] permits for seed threshing to rich middle-sized farms and [peasants who] did not deliver grain in accordance with the *khlebozagotovka* plan<sup>b</sup> (c.p. 31, 32, 40, 112 and 113).

The accused OVSIANKO P. S., working as the manag[er] of the med[ical] center in the v[illage of] Chernatske, being in close contact with the acc[used] SHKARIN, aiming to disrupt the *khlebozagotovka* in the v[illage of] Chernatske, has systematically spread propaganda among peasants against the *khlebozagotovka*. OVSIANKO, visiting the *sielsoviet*, spread propaganda saying: "The authorities started lowering the plan, yet they have come to their senses too late, the peasants already did what they should have done with the grain and if they insist and do not fulfill the lowered plan, the grain will not be taken away" (c.p. 81).

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase and wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

With the aim of disrupting the execution of the econ[omic] and polit[ical] campaign in the countryside, particularly the campaign of state grain purchases, the accused OVSIANKO spread propaganda in the presence of OKOPSKY, and OVSIANKO has been persuading OKOPSKY to stop the work for *khlebozagotovka* and in general made references to the *sielsoviet*: “For whom and for what do you work, there is no way for you to fulfill the *khlebozagotovka* plan. I was also a party activist, but I already threw away my party membership back in 1919” (c.p. 80, 81).

Even after the expulsion of OKOPSKY from chair[manship] of the *sielsoviet*, OVSIANKO persistently continued the propaganda efforts against the *khlebozagotovka*. And so, on 24 November [19]32, during a drinking spree in OKOPSKY’s apartment, OVSIANKO stated: “Let them come from the raion as often as they wish. They will not get grain from the village of Chernatske” (c.p. <sup>c</sup>80, <sup>c</sup>81).

Moreover, OVSIANKO spread propaganda among individual persons, stating: “The authorities are taking the grain away from the peasants and what do they do with it? No one knows” (c.p. 86, 87 and 90).

OVSIANKO had direct ties with the Kulaks. Buying Kulak property in the *sielsoviet*, he would give it back to the Kulaks (c.p. 80).

Based on the materials gathered through the preliminary investigation, it has been determined that the accused: <sup>c</sup>1) <sup>c</sup> SHKARIN Y. M., serving as the chair[man] of the Chernatske “Techkultur” association, 2) DVORETSKY A. M., serving as the chair[man] of the audit[ing] committee of the association, 3) CHEPIK Y. P., serving as the head of the association’s warehouse and 4) KIVAILO Y. S., working as the miller in the mill managed by the “Techkultur” association, – acting for their benefit, in close cooperation systematically mismanaged and took for themselves the grain seeds from the warehouse and the *merchuk*<sup>1</sup> from the “Techkultur” association’s mill, have milled the grain for their relatives, acquaintances and [peasants], who did not deliver the grain [as part of the *khlebozagotovka*] without charging the *merchuk*.

Criminal activities pursued by the accused were directed at weakening the economic significance and the normal operation of the Chernatske “Techkultur” association.

In the <sup>b</sup>m[onth]<sup>b</sup> of March, <sup>b</sup>1932, the head of the warehouse CHEPIK gave two sacks of rye to the chair[man] of the audit[ing] committee DVORETSKY. Having received the rye, DVORETSKY intentionally delayed the inspection of accounts and the books of the assoc[iation]<sup>b</sup> “Techkultur”, thus allowing for further theft of grain.

In the m[onth] of June, 1932, at <sup>b</sup>the initiative of OKOPSKY and SHKARIN<sup>b</sup>, individual persons were given <sup>b</sup>hemp seeds with the aim of [extracting] oil<sup>b</sup>. In the month of July, 1932, the accus[ed] SHKARIN and CHEPIK, <sup>b</sup>with the

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<sup>c-c</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>1</sup> Fee (usually paid in kind) charged for the milling of the grain in state-run and cooperative mills; usually took the form of a portion of the grain brought for milling.

knowledge of OKOPSKY, took up to 18 poods of buckwheat from the “Techkultur” warehouse and, turning it into groats, took it as their possession<sup>b</sup>.

In the m[on]th of October, 1932, <sup>b</sup>head of the warehouse CHEPIK sold flour on the market which he took from the “Techkultur” assoc[iation] warehouse<sup>b</sup> (c.p. 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 93).

The accused <sup>b</sup>KIVAILO and SHKARIN squandered the *merchuk*<sup>b</sup> collected for the milling of the grain in the “Techkultur” assoc[iation]’s mill; moreover KIVAILO, with the knowledge and consent of SHKARIN, milled grain for his relatives and acquaintances without charging the *merchuk* for the milling of the seeds (c.p. 10, 11, 90, 95, 96).

The undertaken inspection of the accounts and books of the “Techkultur” assoc[iation] has shown shortages in grain seeds of various crops <sup>b</sup>amounting to 75 hund[redweights] and<sup>b</sup> a shortage of other products. Additionally, an excess of some crops has been shown <sup>b</sup>amounting to 21 hund[redweights]<sup>b</sup>, achieved by cheating the peasants on weight and doubling the quantities of seeds borrowed for sowing. In the mill, a shortage of *merchuk* has been discovered <sup>b</sup>amounting to 162 kg, and it was also discovered that the accus[ed] KIVAILO has carried out the milling of grain without charging the *merchuk*<sup>b</sup> (c.p. 45, 46, 48–54).

The accused SHKARIN and CHEPIK have squandered property and grain, as well as products confiscated by the *sielsoviet* [from the peasants] who do not pay their obligations to the state and stored in the warehouse of the “Techkultur” assoc[iation].

The accused SHKARIN, CHEPIK and KIVAILO have themselves taken, as well as given out, according to the notes received from OKOPSKY and SHKARIN, flour and seeds to various persons, such as: cit. DOBROTVORTSEVA, the accus[ed] OVSIANKO and oth[ers] (c.p. 38–40, 47, 58–64, 67–69, 113, 114).

Standing charged, OVSIANKO P. S., SHKARIN Y. M., DVORETSKY A. M., KIVAILO Y. S. and CHEPIK Y. P. have pleaded not guilty.

Based on the above, they are indicted:

1) OVSIANKO Pyotr Semonovich, born in 1885, official employee, n[on]-part[y], without criminal record, born in the c[ity of] Chernihiv, res[iding] in the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion, for having spread during the state grain purchase campaign in the v[illage] of Chernatske in 1932 anti-Soviet propaganda among the peasants against the *khlebozagotovki*, both those visiting the ambulatory and the *sielsoviet* quarters, which is covered by art. 54-10 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

2) SHKARIN Yevdokim Mikhaylovich, born in 1903, middle-sized farmer, kolkhoz member, nonpart[y], no criminal record, born and res[iding] in the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion, for having contributed, with close ties to OKOPSKY and being his deputy, to the disruption of the *khlebozagotovka* plan in 1932 in the v[illage of] Chernatske, and, being <sup>b</sup>the chair[man] of the “Techkultur” assoc[iation], for having squandered and stolen grain and

property of the Chernatske “Techkultur” assoc[iation], which is covered by art. 54-7<sup>b</sup> and 20, 54-14 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

3) DVORETSKY Al[eksandr] Makarovich, born in 1906, middle-sized farmer, son of a gendarme, bookkeeper by profession, n[on]part[y], no criminal record, born and res[iding] in the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion.

4) KIVAILO Yemelian Semonovich, born in 1895, peasant charged with permanent deliveries, n[on]part[y], no criminal record, born and res[iding] in the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion, and

5) CHEPIK Yemelian Pyotrovich, born in 1897, middle-sized farmer, n[on]part[y], sentenced to one year of force[d] labor, born and res[iding] in the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion, for squandering grain seed from the warehouse and the *merchuk* from the mill of the “Techkultur” association, which is covered by art. 54-7 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR.

Based on art. 27 of the PC of the Ukrainian SSR, all of the accused fall under the jurisdiction of the Chernihiv Oblast Court and thus –

<sup>a</sup>-I propose:<sup>a</sup>

Invest[igation] case no. 14 against OKOPSKY[!] P. S., SHKARIN Y. M., DVORETSKY A. M., KIVAILO Y. S. and CHEPIK Y. P. be sent for consideration by the Chernihiv Oblast Court<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>d</sup>-Information<sup>d</sup>:

1. There is no mat[erial] evid[ence] in the case.

2. The accus[ed] OVSIANKO P. S. has remained in detention since 16 December 1932 in the Chernihiv *Dopr* and, as of today, is transferred to the prison of the Chernihiv Ob[last] Prosecution Office.

The accus[ed] SHKARIN Y. M., DVORETSKY A. M., KIVAILO Y. S. and CHEPIK Y. P. have been detained since 19 November-[19]32, and as of 21 May [19] 33 have been released, having signed a commitment to not leave the v[illage of] Chernatske in the S[eredyno-]Budsky Raion.

Drafted 22 May 1933

c. Chernihiv

<sup>d</sup>-Dep[uty] Representative<sup>d</sup>  
(—) VOLOSHKO

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<sup>d-d</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>2</sup> With the verdict of the Seredyno-Budsky People’s Raion Court on 30 December 1933, Yevdokim Shkarin, Yemelian Chepik and Yemelian Kivailo were sentenced to two years and six months of imprisonment; Aleksandr Dvoretzky to one year and six months of imprisonment, but considering the fact that Dvoretzky pleaded partially guilty and was under arrest for six months, his sentence was deemed served. Pyotr Ovsianko was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

<sup>d</sup>Authorize: Chief<sup>d</sup> SPO  
(—) SHELUDCHENKO

<sup>d</sup>Approve: Dep[uty] Chief of Ob[last]  
Division<sup>d</sup> GPU (—) BZHEZOVSKY

*HDA SBU, Sumy, Spr. P-2264, pp. 143–147.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*



**No. 117**

**29 May 1933, Moscow. Fragment of a report by an NKL representative  
to the Chief of Main Directorate of the Workers' Supply of the NKL  
regarding the living conditions of "Ukrainles" employees**

F. F. KOGOY

<sup>a</sup>-Copy<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-To the Chief of the Main Directorate  
of the Workers' Supply of NKL  
member of the College<sup>b</sup>  
com. KOZLOV I. N.

**Report**

on the social and living conditions of workers, official employees and ITR members, on the contamination of the [party and state] apparatus with foreign element and on mass theft and self-supply in the "Ukrainles" forest trust

[During] my official visit as the *Narkomles* rep[resentative] for sowing campaign in Ukraine, as a communist and as a citizen of the Soviet Union, I can not disregard the mismanagement which is visible in the "Ukrainles" network, against which I have taken no preventive steps while on the spot. The entire matter requires thorough investigation by a special committee which shall disclose not only the facts as to the cases of theft and sabotage, but also counterrevolutionary activities pursued by elements foreign to us, both in the "Ukrainles" trust itself and in its *lespromkhozy*.

I call to attention the following facts:

1. Regarding the Korostyshiv *lespromkhoz*:

At the order from the head of "Ukrainles" KOLTUNOV, last year a delivery truck was loaded with wheat flour, poods of celery and other products, and sent to Kiev. The above is confirmed by: KOVALSKY Nikolay – accountant. The driver who took the truck to Kiev – SOROCHYNSKY, claims that with the truck being overloaded, the tires burst, confirmed by assist[ant] to the director [for] *leskhoz*, cit. KRAMARENKO (also chairman of the ITR), and others.

At the time when the aforementioned produce was sent to Kiev, the forest guards received absolutely no supplies for six months, while ITR and other officials – for 3 months.

Last year, under the leadership of the assist[ant] to the director KRAMARENKO and agronomic expert ERZHYMALSKY, a significant area of the forest property was sowed with crops by forestry employees BACHYNSKY, GRUSHKO and GORODINSKY, proving that in the Korostyshiv *lespromkhoz*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

there are, following the present sowing, still up to 3,000 poods of millet alone from last year's crops, as well as other products.

At the time, the *lespromkhoz* was managed by director SHLAKHOVOY, who strictly forbade the forest guards from working forest fields; he even forbade hay-making and cow grazing on forest fields, issuing no rations for the qualified personnel. In spite of that, last year all those people worked during the sowing for *lespromkhoz* and [presently] are suffering from hunger together with their families.

The above mentioned transporting of the food products by truck to Kiev has been uncovered – the Korostyshiv RKI took on the case, and it concluded with the director of the Korostyshiv *lespromkhoz* SHLAKHOVOY being transferred to the position of the “Ukrainles” representative with the Chernihiv Ob[last] Exec[utive] [Committee]. The forest guards started being issued 125 grams per day and the ITR members 9 kg of surrogate flour and nothing more. Family members did not receive any supplies (I enclose a sample of bread).

Naturally, they do not live in the same way everywhere – in some places it is worse, in some better, depending on the economic situation of the dwellings and villages (barracks) surrounding the forest fields.

Examples: large-scale sowing has been recently carried out at the Kodrkov fell of the Korostyshiv *lespromkhoz*; I was there. A forester, Leonid Leopoldovich GORODINSKY, works there, serving in this area for four years; he fulfills his duties skillfully, managing well and honestly. His wife [works as] a teacher in the village, they have three children, one cow on their farm and live in poverty – living from hand to mouth.

GORODINSKY supervises nine other foresters, of whom many, together with their families, are literally sentenced to death from starvation if they have not already died, which is quite probable. In this area, I have personally met [two] foresters, DIASHCHO and SMULSKY, working in groups. It is a terrible picture – their entire families swelling from hunger, nine people at one's home, five children at the other's. Once more I underline that apart from the 125 grams of flour daily, the forester receives nothing else, his family and children absolutely nothing – in the foresters' homes there are no other food supplies. Forester GORODINSKY, in order to help the forest guards distributed useless seeds of forest trees in the spring. The foresters make bread from rotten acorns. I enclose a sample of the acorn bread.

This is not all. [During] my visit to that *lespromkhoz* in the spring, large-scale work was carried out at planning a forest, during which, over a period of few days, three persons have died of starvation in my presence – workers from the Korostyshiv area, where the forester BACHYNSKY Yustin Yulianovich is employed. Workers [employed] to cultivate the forest crops do not receive a warm meal, but according to a “Ukrainles” decree, they are issued 100 grams of flour and 200 grams of millet seeds.

I have brought to the attention of the trust employees: Chief ORS VY-DRUGA, [head of the] for[est] div[ision] STRADOMSKY and economist of the agri[cultural] group TSYRIS, all the irregularities in feeding the workers [em-

ployed] in the forest, and all of them thoughtlessly answered with a single voice: “The *narkomles* gives no funds.” There is plenty of food in the *lespromkhoz*, yet the people working there are poorly fed, or rather not fed at all, while the speculators of the *lespromkhoz* are well off.

The position of tech[nical] manag[er] of this LPKh is filled by a RAVIKOVICH, son of a f[ormer] businessmen with the largest commodity exchange of the forest industry in Ukraine. He has employed a MORGULIS as an assist[ant] to the head of works, formerly a wealthy man, a cantor of the synagogue in Zhytomyr and a clever forest trader under the NEP. In the same *lespromkhoz*, a man by the name ZHELEZNIAK and [his] brother have worked there recently, °all well situated as heads of technical positions of the *lespromkhoz*, and all those speculators live in the cities<sup>c</sup>, which constitutes a system which I will be mentioning later, living well off, both them and their families in the city. All those businessmen, formerly of enormous influence, are presently members of the labor union and ITR. This can be confirmed by dep[uty] director KRAMARENKO, who has been working as a forester for 22 years, knowing everyone.

2. Regarding the Zhytomyr *lespromkhoz*:

Bookkeeper-inspector GOLIK met with me in Korostyshiv and told me, with indignation, the following: in order [to commemorate] the May holidays in the *lespromkhoz*, two wild boars have been killed, with beautifully cut hams sent to Kiev to the trust. The officials employed and the ITR in *lespromkhoz* have received one pound each of this game for 1 May.

3. In the Makariv *lespromkhoz*:

The *lespromkhoz* director DENSCHUK and assist[ant] to the director for for[est] manag[ement] KONDRATCHUK informed me, also with indignation, that the head of the “Ukrainles” KOLTUNOV ordered to kill three boars and send them to Kiev. Following an intensive exchange of arguments, finally [only] one boar was killed and sent to Kiev. The *lespromkhoz* demanded the slaughter of its own breeding material while buying cattle to feed the agri[cultural] workers. After all, the *lespromkhoz* herds are only being developed and suddenly such an unreasonable order from the head of the “Ukrainles” was issued to the *lespromkhoz*. Assist[ant] to the director KONDRATCHUK confirms that on numerous occasions, sacks of wheat flour were sent to Kiev from the *lespromkhoz* warehouses.

[Various] businessmen are also employed for forest work with this *lespromkhoz*, such as a LISITSA and one of the ZHELEZNIAK brothers, which I have mentioned.

[...]

6. It is not known what happened to the products received by the trust from the LPKhs, yet it is a fact, the people informed me, that the trust collective has not received such products. It should be presumed that equally in other *lespromkhoz*, of which 48 are associated in the “Ukrainles”, similar scandals take place.

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<sup>c-c</sup> As in the original.

## Conclusions

All these facts are clear to me, yet they require legal verification and critical assessment, thus I was in no position to take any steps on the spot. Collective responsibility prevails. The apparatus is contaminated with merchants and foreign elements which instigate open scandals in the field of workers' supplies in the city area. No one from among the local employees has had the courage to raise the issue – all knew, [yet] were afraid for their own position and work, cheating the party and government, covering for the thieves and enemies of the working class in its struggle for socialism in the regions where clear signs are visible in the battlefield of two classes that the kolkhoznik and working *yedinoichnik* have come out victorious, often seeking for himself, due to food shortages, work in the forests to survive until the new crops come in [and thus] falling in the hands of the hidden counterrevolution.

As far as irregularities in the management and forest exploitation, I shall inform the Chief of the *Soyuzleszag* on that matter.

Moscow  
29 May [19]33

F. F. KOGOY

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: secretary of the indust[rial] group<sup>a</sup>  
(—) Krikun

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-5165, pp. 146–147 v.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 118

### 31 May 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by the head of the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv for the Polish Representative in Moscow from an official journey from Kharkiv to Moscow

Polish <sup>a-</sup>Consulate General<sup>-a</sup>  
in Kharkiv  
No. 16/5/pf

Kharkiv, 31 May 1933  
<sup>b-</sup>Confidential<sup>-b</sup>

Regarding a car journey  
From Kharkiv to Moscow

To  
Polish Representative  
<sup>c-</sup>in Moscow<sup>-c</sup>

On 5 May, at 11:30 I left the consulate gen[eral] in Kharkiv in a Buick for a consular meeting in Moscow, where I arrived at the Polish Representation the following day at 2:30 pm.

[...]

I made the return journey along the same way in a single drive of 22½ hours, having left Moscow on 11 May at 4:30 in the morning and arriving at the consulate gen[eral] in Kharkiv on 12 May at 3 in the morning.

[...]

What struck me most during the entire voyage was the difference in how the countryside and fields of Ukraine look compared to the neighboring CChO (Central Chernozem Oblast) or even the unfertile regions of Moscow. Ukrainian villages are in a state of visible demise, hollowness, abandonment and utter poverty, the cottages are in ruin, often with torn-down roofs, new dwellings are nowhere to be found, children and elders are mere skeletons, and there is no livestock. On a mere 1/5 of the worked fields has something grown, more or less only 2/5 have been ploughed, the remaining 2/5 lie fallow. Despite the high season for spring field work, one sees few people working in the fields and even fewer tractors; sowing is conducted with most primitive means, usually by hand.

Having found myself thereafter in the CChO (mainly in the areas of Kursk and Oryol), I had the impression of having arrived from a Soviet state to Western Europe. There are many more fields that were plowed and sowed; villages are clean, more neat, cottages renewed and people in relative well-being. One sees the cattle grazing, and particularly in the Oryol area quite a lot of sheep. All the while, over the entire area from Kharkiv to Moscow, I was struck by the poor

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<sup>a-</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>c-</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

condition of horses, of which, one might say, 70–80% look to be utterly unable to work.

The traffic on the roads was at a minimum level through the entire journey. In one direction, I came across some 50 trucks, yet in the reverse direction no passenger cars (apparently they are afraid to leave the city), [the traffic] getting more intense only in the proximity of Moscow. Bridges are usually in poor condition. Although there are a few new concrete and steel bridges, some of the bridges are being repaired at the moment, such as the steel bridge across the Oka River near Serpukhov (2 km from the city), passing in parallel to the magnificent rail bridge. The landscape is usually monotonous; on the road from Kharkiv to Oryol there is not a spot of forest, only from Oryol to Moscow does the landscape get to be more picturesque.

Head of the Consulate General  
J. Karszo-Siedlewski

Sent:

1 MFA – P III

2 M[ain] St[aff] Section II

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1867, pp. 32–34, 134.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the top, in the middle, an underlined, handwritten note: a/a “Consulate”; below illegible initials; next to it a handwritten number: 8926/II; on the left side of the document a handwritten note: W II a „W” for use 9 VI 33 T, and illegible initials.*

## No. 119

### After 1 June 1933, [Lutsk]. Fragment of a report by the Volhynia Voivode for May 1933, including a summary of some articles from the Ukrainian press

[Volhynia Voivodeship Office]

Situation report for the month of May, 1933

[...]

[Press review]

[...]

“Novyi Chas”<sup>1</sup>:

No. 108 from 18 May of this year, in the article entitled “Danger”, describing in detail the condition of the Ukrainian population in the Soviets, states that “the Red Muscovite imperialism, which desires to melt Ukraine in the fire of the revolution into an eternal colony, and to force the Ukrainian nation into the role of a tribe which can only use its language in praising Stalin or Moscow, has overcome the tsarist imperialism. We are disregarding this danger, as we wish not to know <sup>a-</sup>what influence holds the common – although forcefully – lives through the revolution<sup>-a</sup>. Let us not forget that it is new Moscow, with new faith, which has found and still finds its proselytes among us. Here, we constantly hear: »we are all nationalists«, yet we do not see that a complete chaos of terms prevails in that name. Since it can only be called chaos, to evaluate Ukrainian nationalism according to percentages. Can an idea be brought down to madness? There can not be three or more nationalism among Ukrainians – but only one. But through quarrels we will not reach consent as to »who has the support of the masses«. Those quarrels only confirm the lack of consciousness as to that danger, which threatens the nation. This can no longer be.”

“Dilo”<sup>2</sup>:

No. 128 from 21 May of this year, in the art[icle] entitled “From our tragedy beyond Zbruch” it reads that “the greatest tragedy which ever fell upon the Ukrainian nation is the one it lives through today in Ukraine. There is a lack of information which could give reliable accounts, since those not supporting the Bolsheviks are not allowed to see for themselves that, which the supporters of the

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<sup>a- -a</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>1</sup> “Novyi Chas” – a periodical published in the period 1923–1939 in Lviv, initially by the UPRN faction, later with ties to UNDO; a group of activists centered around the periodical constituted the core of the FNE; at first Mychajło Matczak was the chief editor, and later Dmytro Palijiw.

<sup>2</sup> “Dilo” – a periodical published in the period 1880–1939 in Lviv (briefly in Vienna), which was central for the leadership of the UNTP, later the UNDO; the newspaper was owned by a publishing company, headed by: Wołodymyr Ochrymowicz, Wasyl Panejko, Fed’ Fedorciw (1925–1927) and Wasyl Mudry, as well as Dmytro Lewicki; the political editor of “Dilo” was Iwan Kedryn-Rudnicki.

Bolshevik regime present in most favorable light. It is tormenting of the people in the Soviets which has contributed to the hindering of Sovietophilia in our territories and even in the western territories of Poland.”

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 982, pp. 13, 40.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*



**No. 120**  
**6 June 1933, Warsaw. Report prepared by the “East” Bureau of Section II**  
**of the Main Staff regarding the tragic situation of the food supply**  
**in the Ukrainian SSR**

<sup>a</sup>-L.dz. 1109/33/IV<sup>a</sup>  
6 June 1933

<sup>b</sup>Food supply situation in Soviet Ukraine<sup>b</sup>

The last weeks of May and the beginning of June have been marked by the uniquely tragic signs of an all-present famine. Of all the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine, only in Kiev the sale of the so called *kommercheski*<sup>1</sup> bread has been organized, with the price of 1 rb. for a pound. A single person could purchase no more than four pounds of bread, which has been now reduced to three. The selling points are scattered quite densely around the city, and yet the queues of those buying at every such point often reach a kilometer in length. People stand in queues for 10 hours or more. In some parts of the city, usually in the suburbs, the queues never end, as people stand 24 hours a day. In order to get the bread in the morning, one must get in line at 10 in the evening of the previous day. In the morning, nearly every such queue numbers some 2,000 people. The bread deliveries are extremely irregular and there are often cases where a given point receives no bread for two to three days.

As a result, there is often unrest taking the form of open revolts, suppressed with all severity by the militia, where it often happens that the mounted militia units charge [into] the crowd with whips, dispersing the crowd. Moreover, from time to time, the authorities send militia units with trucks, which are then loaded with thousands of people forcefully taken to work at the surrounding beet plantations or to dig earth. All that repression has no effect, since on the free market the price of bread reaches 6 rubles for a pound in Kiev (in Odessa up to 15), and the rationed bread is issued in minute quantities. The difference between the market prices and the *kommercheski* prices results in enormous speculation activities. The authorities are entirely powerless in the face of the mass migration of peasants from the neighboring villages who come to get bread.

The mortality rate has increased enormously over this period of time. The cases of death from starvation, on the streets and in the courtyards, are presently counted not in tens, but in hundreds every day. During each night, trucks and horse wagons pass to collect the dead from the streets and markets, gardens, courtyards. In the morning one day, four trucks were seen to have carried away the

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Word written in uppercase, underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Commercial.

dead and those dying of hunger from the main train station in Kiev. Information was given that such is the case each day. What testifies as to the number of such deaths is the fact that the management of individual houses often has to wait three or four days after alarming the municipal authorities to take the corpses of the *besprizorni*, or peasants, who have come in search of food remains or shelter and died of starvation in the courtyard or the staircase. During two nights, 3–4 and 4–5 of June, some 2,000 bodies were buried in 40 holes at the Catholic cemetery of Baykova Gora. Only the final stage of the burial was seen, as the those graves are located near the Polish military cemetery. Thus two enormous vats filled with lime were placed there and each layer of corpses was covered with lime and a shallow layer of soil. It requires explanation that only some of the corpses are buried at the cemeteries and in a way whereby there is a certain system: for two nights they are transported to one cemetery, the next two [nights] to another one, etc. (Kiev has five open cemeteries). However, the majority are buried in the fields near the city, in the gardens, etc. It is unfortunately impossible to determine the exact number of corpses collected each night. It is known from an entirely reliable source that the number averages some 700 corpses each night.

The situation in other cities of Right-Bank Ukraine is far worse than in Kiev, even in such large ones as Odessa, Vinnytsia, Kamianets, etc., and in the countryside. There is not even such a “luxury” as the sale of *kommercheski* bread. The informers from Odessa and other cities pass on literally terrifying stories. An entirely reliable informer from Berdychiv told the story that a hunt for children takes place at the peripheries of the city. With the fall of night, no mother will let her children out in the streets. Nevertheless, there are cases of stealing the children from homes. Remains of dead horses are dug up, and there are also cases of families eating the dead, having waited for days for a coffin and a permission to bury the dead.

The hunger is most severe in the countryside. In a number of raions, such as: Tsvetkovsky, Zvenyhorodsky, Umansky, Butsky, Tarashchansky, and partially Berdychivsky, cannibalism became a sort of an addiction. The mortality rate there has reached such levels that one finds villages completely deserted, or villages – where out of the population of 2[,000]–3,000, merely 300–400 people remain.

The supply situation of the “kolkhozy” population is by no means better than that of the “single individuals”. The latter have one advantage over the former, namely that not being *prikleplenni*<sup>2</sup> to the kolkhoz, they have the relative possibility of leaving, moving with the aim of finding somewhat better conditions. The kolkhozniki are deprived of that possibility; they are forced to show up for daily work, receiving only some cabbage soup without any fat, barley groats, potatoes and no bread. Only for those working with the beet crops, 22 pounds of bread have been assigned for the entire work force on a single h[ectar]e. However, [this] is only a theoretical quota, a myth such as the sugar at the beet crops. A bonus for those working with the beets, in the form of bread and sugar, has been the cause

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<sup>2</sup> Assigned.

of excessively frequent mismanagement and speculation by the various distributing organizations.

Due to an extremely low number of livestock, both in the kolkhozy and on the individual farms, there was a decree on hand plowing in the fields. The quota was set – 250 m[eters] squar[ed] for every person. However, that proved to be entirely unachievable with the physical exhaustion of the peasants. Extremely frequent are the cases in which in the morning, 80 persons go out into the fields and only 70 come back in the evening. The rest die of hunger and exhaustion, and are buried in the fields. On the roads, in the grain and in the woods there are tens of uncollected corpses. The villages, even those close to the city, are full of boarded-up, abandoned houses. Dogs and cats are nowhere to be seen – all of them eaten. The woods are full of half-wild people, living on mushrooms, moss and roots. On the roads, one often comes across peasant families leaving the countryside on horse wagons, in no particular direction. The Red Cross units organized at the present have undertaken to feed the children. This is, however, an enterprise with meager results, as there is a shortage of food products.

The above information, however improbable it seems, comes from all regions and is identical in detail.

The heavy rains which have come over nearly the entire past month, as well as the lack of an appropriate car, made it impossible to check the facts on the spot. Yet the information regarding the situation in Kiev is entirely true.

During my journeys, I have seen a quite satisfactory state of winter crop and the late spring crop. Nearly all of the late grain and beet crops are much worse. The beets planted early have in many cases been replanted. The first weeding of the beets has been completed. Presently, there is the so called “pausing”. The oblast<sup>c</sup> and raion authorities have concentrated all efforts and energy on the beet crops. It should be concluded that the starving population is, en mass, going to work with the beets, since it receives at least minimum rations and some bread and sugar from time to time.

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.5424, pp. 63–67.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the top of the document a handwritten, partially legible note: [...] 20; below a partially legible receipt stamp: Source ... “W” ... Mat. ... Date ... Incl. ... and added in handwriting: Brandt 24... 1/33/[...], ...6 V, ...3 VII; next to it stamped with a rectangular stamp: File AA; under the text added in handwriting: G[?] 16 III 35, and a handwritten note: Draft with which the report was sent has been returned to “W” Bur. On 13 III 35, and illegible initials; on the left side stamped: Sub-bureau B[N?] with added letters: WZ and dates: 20 XI 36 and 1933; below added in handwriting: C[?]K 21 T 36 [?]; to the right of the note a stamp with inscription: Office 2 Sect[ion] II M[ain] S[taff], On ... L. ... Encl. ..., with a handwritten date: 5 VII 33, a number: 1109 and a number of enclosures: 1 as well as a number: 2; below illegible initials and a date: 13 III 35.*

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<sup>c</sup> Was: regions.

## No. 121

### 6 June 1933, Kiev. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement made by writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych

6 June [19]33

#### B. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH<sup>1</sup> on the ROSENBERG<sup>2</sup> plan

Since HITLER's ascent to power, ANTONENKO and DENISENKO have been following events carefully and with anxiousness. In order to keep up to date with the current situation in Germany, they have turned to foreign newspapers (probably received by PIDMOKHYLNY<sup>3</sup> in Kharkiv and DENISENKO in VUAN), as well as to various speeches, presentations and "ROSENBERG plans". Ukraine under the protectorate of PIDMOKHYLNY, PLUZHNYK<sup>4</sup> has given wings to their hopes and revived their spirits. A number of statements on the subject come down to the following:

ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH: One obviously can not dream of a sovereign Ukraine. Only naive patriots may still make references to that. Ukraine is too weak to exist independently and in sovereignty. Nonsense. It can only remain unconditionally under someone's protectorate. Anyone who is of sound mind and

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<sup>1</sup> Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (1899–1984), Ukrainian writer, author of over 20 books, short stories, novels, romance stories and literary critiques. Following a heavy campaign of criticism directed against his books and the charge of nationalism brought against the author, he left for Almaty, where he worked as an editor in a state-run publishing house. Arrested on 2 January 1935 and charged with membership in the UVO, sentenced to 10 years in ITL, having served the sentence he was sent to exile for life in the Krasnoyarsk Krai; rehabilitated in 1956, returned to Kiev the following year.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Rosenberg (born 12 January 1893 in Reval), German from Estonia, politician, author of racial theories, from 1918 in Germany; in 1919 one of the founders of the German Workers' Party (DAP), later in the NSDAP; from 1921 editor of the "Volkischer Beobachter"; following the Munich Putsch, temporary head of the NSDAP; from 1930 member of the Reichstag, in parallel from 1933 head of the foreign department of the NSDAP; from July 1941 Reich's minister for the occupied eastern territories; captured in 1945 by the Allies; sentenced to death on 1 September 1946 by the IMT in Nuremberg, executed on 16 September 1946.

<sup>3</sup> Valerian Pidmokyhlyny (1901–1937), Ukrainian writer, arrested on 8 December 1934 in the building of the Writers' Work Committee near Kharkiv. Charged with "membership in a terrorist organization". The investigation was carried out in Kharkiv and then in Kiev. With the verdict of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR on 27–28 March 1935, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. He served the sentence in the Solovki prison camp. Based on the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast, dated 9 September 1937, he was shot on 3 November 1937; rehabilitated in 1956.

<sup>4</sup> Yevhen Pluzhnyk (1898–1936), Ukrainian writer, arrested on 4 December 1934, charged with membership in a counterrevolutionary organization, ties to nationalist writers group, carrying out of counterrevolutionary activities. With the verdict of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR on 27–28 March 1935, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. He served the sentence in the Solovki prison camp, where he died on 2 November 1936; rehabilitated in 1956.

not blind will understand that the role of a protector, in this case, can be played by any civilized state, as long as it is not Moscow. Greedy, primitive Moscow has suppressed Ukraine for centuries and presently, under the Bolsheviks, meanness towards the Ukrainians has not decreased, but on the contrary, deepened ten-fold. We are the formal slaves of the Russky and Jewish Moscow. The peasants are dying of starvation by the thousands, praying to God for the corvée laws, for the attack of the Turks, Batu Khan... They know that never before, since the beginning of history, was Ukraine ever as oppressed and poor as it is now under Sov[iet] rule. There is no point waiting any longer. The entire world screams of the unprecedented cruelty to the Ukrainian people. Hundreds of photographs and articles presenting our situation are to be found in the foreign newspapers. Special lists are published there with those dead, starving, killed by the bandits, etc. And only the despotic Moscow, entangling Ukraine with its net of spy organizations, disseminating there ... the GPU army, stationing its mighty military units in every point of any significance – is silent. It is silent, and with the pleasure of a sadist it reaches its hands into the blood-running guts of the Ukrainian peasant. Moscow, the Georgian uncrowned ruler, and with him hundreds of thousands of flatterers-clerks and all of Russia – waiting like rats, like locust [for] our Ukrainian grain, taken away to the [last] seed by criminal methods. And we are left with the corpses of the hunger and convulsion-twisted peasantry. Where is justice? Who else can have his eyes blinded with trivial stories of a Soviet socialist future? Is socialism to be founded on the extermination of a hard-working, able, once renowned nation?

I am shocked [at the fact that] the Germans, Japanese, English and Americans can all wait like that. Each day of delay costs us thousands of hard-working lives. What are they expecting?

On our own, with our hands and legs tied, we are unable to rise and revolt. We are defenseless, powerless with poverty; we can only grab with our teeth at the legs of our oppressors and bite till we lose our strength, like dying dogs. We are running, and Moscow is trampling us, growling and dancing with *prysudy*.

Any civilized country will be outraged at our fate [and will come as a] protector – [will be] good. Let anyone come, stop this enormous horror. The best solution for us is to turn towards the fascism of Germany, towards HITLER, towards ROSENBERG, towards OSTRANINA. Joining Ukrainian natural resources and Ukrainian skills with the German culture and also with German capital – this is the best we can hope and strive for. The Sich riflemen are organizing themselves anew, colonels KONOVALETS<sup>5</sup> and KAPUSTIETS (whom I even knew personally at one point) are forming the renowned polks and kurins... perhaps I will not live to see the moment, maybe they will shoot me before that in the dungeons of

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<sup>5</sup> Yevhen Konovalets (1891–1938), Ukrainian military and political activist, Colonel of the UNR army; from 1922 in exile; initiated the creation of the UVO (1921) and OUN (1929), the first chairman of the Provid. Murdered in Rotterdam by the employees of the NKVD of the USSR.

the GPU, but I am deeply convinced that soon, very soon, Ukraine will breathe freely, having freed itself of the Muscovite yoke.

[...]

As [a result] of numerous conversations I was able to establish that ANT[ONENKO] is deeply involved in the matters related to German plans in Soviet Ukraine. He treats the ROSENBERG plan as, in fact, the most favorable and only way of “freeing Ukraine from Muscovite oppression”.

During the conversations, ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH declared as follows: “It makes no difference to Moscow, it is not [capable of] holding Ukraine in any case. Sooner or later, she [Ukraine] will be occupied. Last year, and in the previous [years], our commanders, bloody cretins, were convinced that the moment of occupation had come, and that is why they started squeezing everything out of here. As a result of such sickness – leaving grain and cattle to the enemy (or at least not to the Kulak [social] groups), there is this terrible condition of the peasantry which we have today. It is perfectly clear <sup>a</sup>that the government has, if not looking at the thousands of deaths from hunger, cannibalism, mass banditry, etc.<sup>a</sup> Millions of people living in Ukraine have been cheated, spat at, robbed and stripped of their dignity. It would be laughable to speak and think that any of them can come to believe in any socialism. People want anything – German ....., tsarist whips, attack by Batu Khan and finally are convinced that no rule, even the most barbaric..... no rule would allow for the people who work for it to die of starvation. It is unthinkable, terrible. In Kiev alone, they bring people dying of starvation and exhaustion daily to the Anatom[ical] Theatre... This is socialism. This is the Leninist program. This is what is being done for the victory of the dying proletariat; or possibly, all those dying were Kulaks, and there is no need to pity them. No, everyone knows that it is mainly the poor, not the wealthy. Workers, cooperative members, they are those who, at some point, have willingly followed the Bolshevik stack [?]. And now, to cheat like that ..... starve like that ..... insolently, with no shame in face of the entire world – to cheat tens of mi[llions] of peasants. This is clearly some thoughtless, sadistic carnival on corpses... In the name of the bright future of socialism – to cut the branch on which one is sitting, chopping the roots.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>In conformity:<sup>b</sup>

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-4468, T. 1, pp. 2-5.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a- a</sup> *As in the original. Probably a fragment missing.*

<sup>b- b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

**No. 122**  
**11 June 1933, Moscow. Guidelines of the Economic Directorate**  
**of the OGPU regarding the meat purchase**

<sup>a-</sup>To all Ch[iefs]<sup>a-</sup> of EKO PP OGPU  
cit[y] of .....

<sup>b-</sup>Crimea<sup>b-</sup>

The information at the disposal of the EKO OGPU confirm the slow pace of the state meat purchase in a number of oblasts and kraiss. The significant reduction of the pace of the *zagotovki* is reflected in the fulfillment of the plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter.

The overall fulfillment of the plan for the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter for the [Soviet] Union, as of 20 May, reached 19.5%.

One of the fundamental reasons for the weak implementation of the state meat purchase, and in some cases for the utter failure of the *zagotovki*, is the criminal activity carried out by the krai and oblast offices of *Zagotskot*.

As a result of such activities, an unusually difficult financial situation has arisen in a number of offices.

The debts of the *Zagotskot* network owed to the cattle suppliers, according to incomplete data for 10 May of this year, <sup>c-</sup>have reached 5,597,000 rubles<sup>c-</sup>.

The most serious situation is, as far as debts, in the following offices:

Ukrainian SSR	1,944,000	rubles
Gorky Krai	900,000	—    —
Northern [Krai]	350,000	—    —
C[entral] Volga [Krai]	356,000	—    —
L[ower] Volga [Krai]	266,000	—    —
CChO	448,000	—    —
BSSR	216,000	—    —
Leningr[ad] Oblast	147,000	—    —

Similar situations are observed in many other offices <sup>c-</sup>and constitute one of the decisive factors determining the failure of the state meat purchase<sup>c-</sup>.

At the same time, the *Zagotskot* offices are not undertaking any steps to resolve [the matter] of debt towards its clients, which has reached significant levels.

With regard to the above, the EKO OGPU requests prompt steps aimed at initiating detailed, agent-based working out of the activities pursued by the *Zagotskot* offices at the oblast, krai and republic level, as well as their financial condition.

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<sup>a-</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c-</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

[...]

In all cases where mismanagement, criminal and unlawful operations have been uncovered, immediately proceed with investigation and call those responsible to answer for their deeds, as well as transmit the cases to the prosecutor's office.

Information on the results of the preliminary work and the operational planning with regard to the state meat purchase are to be transmitted no later [than by] <sup>c</sup>1 July<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>d</sup>-11 June 1933  
291295<sup>-d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Assist[ant] to Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup> EKU OGPU  
DMITRIYEV<sup>1</sup>

Ch[ief] VI Div[ision] EKU OGPU  
ILYITSKY

“ ” June 1933

<sup>a</sup>-In conformity<sup>a</sup>: Secretary EKU OGPU (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 32–33.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*A handwritten note on the document: Com. Fishkin. Bring me all avail[able] mater[ials] on this case. Immediately send the guidelines to reg[ional] organs and report to the EKU by 1/VII. (–). 17/VI and Rec[eived] in EKO 204 17/VI. Under the text, on the left, a triangular stamp with inscription: OGPU with SNK USSR.*

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<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>1</sup> Dmytro Dmitriyev (Plotkin) (1901–1939), from 1920 with the VChK; from 1922 till 1 April 1927 representative of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 1 April 1927 till 10 December 1929 assistant to Chief of 2<sup>nd</sup> Dept. of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 10 December 1929 till 1 September 1932 Chief of, consecutively, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> Dept. of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 25 November 1931 till 10 July 1934 assistant to Chief of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 1 September 1932 till 1 April 1933 Chief of 7<sup>th</sup> Dept. of the EKU OGPU of the USSR; from 10 July 1934 till 27 May 1935 assistant to Chief of the EKU GUGB NKVD of the USSR; from 27 May 1935 till 15 July 1936 Deputy Chief of the EKU GUGB NKVD of the USSR; from 15 July 1936 till 22 May 1938 Chief of the UNKVD of the Sverdlovsk Oblast; from 22 May 1938 till 28 June 1938 Chief of the Main Directorate for Roads with the NKVD of the USSR. Arrested on 28 June 1938, sentenced to death by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR on 7 March 1939, shot; never rehabilitated.



## No. 123

13 June 1933, [Kharkiv]. Fragment of a memorandum by an employee of the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the ever more common cases of death from starvation and cannibalism in Kharkiv

13 June [19]33

Dear Mr. Olgierd<sup>1</sup>

With a separate package I am sending periodicals where you will find a piece of clay. It is the so called *pryanik*, distributed in one of the local schools to the most distinguished *udarnitse*. The hunger has fallen on ever wider masses of people; one hears more often about cases of cannibalism. One sees people dying or the corpses in the streets. In the city, police cars pass through the streets picking up poor and suspicious people. They are then taken to the barracks, where, they say, <sup>a</sup> all those who are utterly exhausted of hunger are given deadly injections.

[...]

Ola Osmólska

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the first page of the letter, in the top left corner, a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a handwritten date: 16 VI ...3 and a number: 3353/33 O; under the stamp a added in handwriting and underline: aa/X 22.*

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<sup>a</sup> *Illegible word crossed out in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Olgierd Orłowski, code name for the „East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff when contacting Pisarczykówna (probably also when contacting the head of the Bureau, Captain Jerzy Niezbrzycki).

## No. 124

### 16 June 1933, Kharkiv. Report by the German Consul General in Kharkiv for the German MFA regarding the situation of the German population in the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>-German Consulate General<sup>a</sup>

Translation from German

No. 138

c. Kharkiv, 16 June 1933

<sup>a</sup>-Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Berlin<sup>a</sup>

Supplement to report no. 96  
dated 26 April and 19 May of this year  
In 3 copies

<sup>a-b-c</sup>Famine in Ukraine<sup>c-b-a</sup>

Since the above mentioned reports were sent, [informing] about the worsening of the situation of the countryside population of Ukraine, the accounts and information I receive almost daily have been deteriorating; [the information about] the famine which has struck Ukraine has now been fully confirmed.

As far as it could be put in doubt back then in April, that the situation will be that bad, and that the reports on the famine do not reflect the actual state of affairs – <sup>c</sup>now it has been determined that the famine has struck the whole of Ukraine and that regions where there is still grain are an exception.

Judging by the reliable information at [my] disposal, 80% of the population of Ukrainian villages have died of starvation<sup>c</sup>.

For example, <sup>d</sup>a German settler from Soltsnevo (Starokaransky Raion near Mariupol)<sup>d</sup> has informed me that:

“In our village, people have not been dying of starvation yet because we are all still *yedinolichniki*. In the Yekaterino-khoprovsky kolkhoz, located one kilometer from Soltsnevo, 130 out of 160 families have died. In the village of Stepanivka, three kilometers from Soltsnevo, where 80 families lived, 220 people have died since Christmas.”

A reliable <sup>d</sup>source from one of the colonies to the north of Berdyansk<sup>d</sup> also reports that around 80% of the village’s Russian population has died of starvation.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

In a small town in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, 1,500 of 4,000 people have died since Christmas.

In other oblasts<sup>°</sup>, the mortality rate has been at the level of 40%.

°Finally, it can be stated with certainty that there were numerous cases of cannibalism in Ukraine<sup>°</sup>.

Places where no cases of death from starvation have been noted are an exception. Even the peasants who are in a relatively good situation have no grain as of the beginning of this year.

In principle, the kolkhozy and sovkhozy can no longer supply the kolkhozniki and the sovkhoz employees with bread, and even paying for the *trudodens* at 200 grams of flour for each *trudoden* has been suspended.

Obviously, it is impossible to give precise numbers, or at least estimates, of the scope of mortality in the countryside resulting from the famine. The estimates vary, yet if one was to assume, with all reservations, that the number of victims of the famine, as of the beginning of the year, in the villages and cities, amounts to 20% of the overall population – that number would not be an overestimate.

One would have to add to it the significant loss of national potential resulting from the decreased birth rate and the physical, as well as psychological, exhaustion.

°In any case, the Bolsheviks' agricultural policy under the first five-year plan has brought, up to now, horrifying accounts in Ukraine<sup>°</sup>.

It is somewhat comforting that the situation in German colonies is still much more favorable than with the Ukrainians, although deep poverty is felt also here. °However, German citizens, if they are [also] Soviet citizens, have in large part joined the kolkhozy, yet they have, until now, shown great skill in resisting<sup>°</sup>, which can be contributed to their energy and capabilities.

Overall, the mortality rate in German colonies has not gone beyond 10%; however it still constitutes a most horrifying number, testifying to the hardship that has befallen our compatriots.

The situation of the Germans – German citizens, as compared to the Soviet citizens, is much better, at least through the fact that, in the worse case, they are able to emigrate to Germany, even if it means losing all their belongings.

With regard to that, emigration of German citizens from Ukraine, in the recent months, has greatly increased.

In the month of May alone, through my services, 230 people have been sent home. Since their departure, due to difficulties described in the previous reports, has in many cases been delayed, the consulate general needs significant means to offer support to those people. The reasons given in my report, dated 26<sup>th</sup> of the previous month, among others, entirely concern this oblast.

I have recently learned of various cases in which the Soviet authorities °attempt to stop German citizens from leaving for Germany, pointing to the alleged famine in Germany<sup>°</sup>.

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° Was: regions.

For example, in the Solntsnevo colony in the Starokaransky Raion, a member of the *sielsoviet* and the chairman of the local party cell attempted to divert a German citizen, TESHKE, from leaving through long dealings; <sup>c</sup>seeing that [his] efforts were futile, he declared: “Tonight we will settle our accounts.” Half an hour later, TESHKE’s house started to burn, and the aforementioned member of the *sielsoviet* forbade the inhabitants to help TESHKE extinguish the fire, laughing at TESHKE at the fire site<sup>c</sup>.

In the Lukono colony, a prosecutor from Volnovakha (Donbas) gave guidelines to the *sielsoviet* not to issue German citizens any documents certifying that they have [paid] their due taxes, documents necessary to obtain the visa for departure.

<sup>c</sup>All this is done with the aim of preventing the Germans from being able to say anything bad about life here once they are in their fatherland<sup>c</sup>.

In this context, it is of interest to recall a statement delivered in Moscow to one of the foreign correspondents that “departures to Ukraine are presently undesirable.”

<sup>c</sup>In light of all this information, it must unfortunately be stated how little is known in Germany about the real situation of German colonists here – not only among the German society, but clearly also the official circles interested in undertaking efforts to organize help for their starving compatriots.

<sup>a</sup>The German press devotes very little space to the poverty of our fellow countrymen in the Soviet Union<sup>a-c</sup>.

In press reports, generally known here, on the Passau meeting of FDA (“Verein Ausland-Deutsche” – Association of Foreign Germans – transl.)<sup>1</sup> there is no mention of the particularly difficult situation of our fellow countrymen in the Soviet Union.

<sup>c</sup>Regrettably, the German assistance effort is far from what is needed to save the German settlements here<sup>c</sup>.

Recently, it was once again confirmed that the German Mennonites receive aid from their co-religionists in the USA and Canada on a much broader scale than German Lutherans, who are to be considered first in [the distribution] of aid.

Regardless of the difficulties conditioned by the general situation and the particular “sensitivity” of the Soviet government, preventing the intensification of the propaganda effort in Germany and the aid campaign in the USSR – <sup>c</sup>more should be done on the part of the Germans to aid our fellow men here<sup>c</sup>.

It should be undertaken to collect much larger sums than was the case thus far, with the help of the German Red Cross, church organizations and other, and as far as possible – <sup>c</sup>together also with the official means<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a-c</sup>It would mean saving our fellow countrymen from hunger<sup>c-a</sup>, as they are turning to most desperate ways to save themselves from poverty. In the course of such struggles for survival in the colonies, it is equally the <sup>c-b</sup>moral<sup>b</sup> level<sup>c</sup> of

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<sup>1</sup> Actually: VDA, Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland – Association of Germanism Abroad (1880–1939).

the Germans that deteriorates. In some settlements, nearly one tenth of the native Germans take part in oppressing and persecuting their own fellow countrymen in order to acquire good reputation with the authority [representatives] and reap the benefits; it takes the form of mutual slanders, such as “class enemy”, “Kulaks”, etc.

<sup>c</sup>Many do it because they have lost hope of any change and <sup>a</sup>of help from abroad<sup>a-c</sup>.

<sup>a-c</sup>Apart from material help, German masses in Russia urgently need moral support<sup>c-a</sup>.

In general it needs to be underlined that <sup>c</sup>faced with the local system of moral pressure and oppression, it is difficult to prevent the bolshevisation of Soviet Germans, <sup>a</sup>but a great majority of Soviet Germans continue to expect that the entire civilized world, and first of all the German nation, will spare no effort to save their lives and show all support in this difficult struggle<sup>a-c</sup>.

We continually receive requests to pay particular attention to their desperate situation, and it is impossible to understand why the entire world, <sup>c</sup>and even the fatherland, does so little to save them.

<sup>a</sup>Through all possible means, we should sustain the Germans living in the Soviet Union, in their faith in the German [state] and its vital role; this will be of most crucial importance for the saving of their political strength<sup>a-c</sup>.

As far as the form of those support efforts is concerned, firstly material help needs to be organized.

With the German countryside population in Ukraine amounting to 300,000, that is more or less 40,000 families on the average – since not everyone can at this point be covered with the assistance – we should deliver financial aid to 20,000 families, in the amount of 20 marks per month for each family, which will come to 400,000 German marks each month.

Considering the great poverty of the people and the benefits from attracting them towards Germanism – this sum is not very high.

Since establishing offices and [finding] reliable people to organize the assistance seems rather impossible under local conditions, collecting addresses, distribution and control of the received money and food through the *Torgsin* will be burdensome.

<sup>c</sup>First of all, we should organize it in such a way as to have the settlers come and ask for help themselves. The peasants, German citizens, can undertake to inform those in need of the aid opportunities available<sup>c</sup>.

Perhaps, in the following year of good crops, it will be possible to request grain and meat surplus from the “<sup>a</sup>Druzag<sup>a?</sup>”.

Sign[ed] WALTHER<sup>2</sup>

Translated from German: translator SHTIVELBAND

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<sup>2</sup> Karl Hermann Walther, from 1928 German Consul General in Kharkiv.

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Oper[ational] Representative of Spec[ial] Division<sup>a</sup>  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 1, pp. 35–40.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 125

### 18 June 1933, Moscow. Letter from the German Ambassador in Moscow to the MFA in Berlin regarding the situation of Soviet agriculture

<sup>a-</sup>German Embassy<sup>a</sup>  
Moscow, 18 June 1933  
3 copies

Translation from German  
<sup>a-b-</sup>Secret!<sup>-b-a</sup>

<sup>a-</sup>To Min[istry] of For[eign] Affairs in Berlin<sup>a</sup>

I hereby send for your information three copies of a report on the situation of agriculture drafted by the embassy's expert.

Recalling letter [no.] 1211, dated 16 March of last year, on the sending of the original [documents] to the State Agriculture Ministry, with the attached replies from Dr. MILLER, please allow me to make the following comments:

There is consistent information coming from the regions that due to favorable weather conditions over a large part of the Soviet Union, the chances of good crops are at the present moment much better than could have been expected.

This information is confirmed by the observations of Dr. SCHILLER, which he sent from his car journey across Ukraine, over a distance of 4000 km.

Thus, due to the present state of crops and efforts undertaken by the government, we can expect that °the famine in the USSR has [by now] reached its culmination° and that over the next months the situation regarding food supplies, will improve significantly.

With the endless territories of the Russian country and the unimaginable potential lying therein, the words of Tsar Alexander II, when he spoke that in Russia "a single rain in May can cover all the costs of the Turkish war", seem to be justified.

If all the indicators are true, it can be presumed that the Soviet Union has once again found itself in favorable situation, when one summer with good weather conditions will cover the larger part of the losses which gave grounds for extremely bad forecasts back in the spring.

I thus request the Min[istry] of For[eign] Aff[airs], to consider the report by Dr. MILLER from that point of view and act accordingly.

°I see it as my duty to point out that the publication of those reports at the present time is undesirable, since clearly the mass deaths [of the population] described in them will in the nearest time become a matter of the past°.

Considering that among Germans we can also observe a decreased severity of the wave of hunger, °I advise, according to the capabilities, stopping of the

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<sup>a--a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b--b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c--c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

planned action “<sup>a</sup>Brothers in Need<sup>a</sup>”, since at present it not only brings no benefits to the Germans in the USSR, but quite to the contrary, is harmful to them<sup>c</sup>. (see my report, k. 298, dated 18<sup>th</sup> of this month).

It remains clear that the development of the situation in the countryside, particularly considering its influence on the economic situation in the USSR, will be the object of thorough analysis by the embassy.

<sup>a</sup>German Embassy<sup>a</sup>  
Moscow, 19 June 1933

Signature DIRKSEN

<sup>a</sup>Copies through a courier!<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>German Consulates General<sup>a</sup>:  
in Leningrad, Kharkiv, Tiflis

<sup>a</sup>German Consulates<sup>a</sup>:  
in Kiev, Odessa, Novosibirsk, Vladivostok

<sup>a</sup>For information purposes<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Subject<sup>a</sup>: Point of view with which to consider the report by the expert on agriculture Dr. SCHILLER, on the situation in the countryside.

Authorized by KHILGER

<sup>a</sup>Translated from German: translator<sup>a</sup> KIGLER

<sup>a</sup>In conformity:  
Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Department of Special Division  
Lieutenant of State Security<sup>a</sup>  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 10, pp. 81–83.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*



## No. 126

### 19 June 1933, Odessa. Report from a conversation between patient Kholodnaya and the mother of Doctor Stavsky

Report on a Pole – Medical Doctor STAVSKY

(Podbelsky [St.], corner of Komintern [St.])

Having not found my aunt – <sup>a</sup>Doctor KAIRIS<sup>a</sup>, I have discussed health matters with the mother of Doctor STAVSKY, asking her to recommend a gynecologist, but unfortunately she does not know the Odessa doctors.

She asked why I did not want to have children. I answered with a question: “And can anyone know what tomorrow will bring? Today there are bread lines across the entire district, and tomorrow, perhaps, there will be no bread at all. Alone I can suffer it through or die, and what would I do with a child? With all my love for children and the desire to be a mother, I am deprived of that opportunity because tomorrow might be worse than today.” To that, she responded by calming me down, saying that “everything will soon be over, the savior is near”... I told her that I did not believe in salvation, one has heard of salvation since 1920. She started assuring me that back then it could be “heard”, and now it will “happen”. I still did not believe. Then she asked: “Do you not read the newspapers, do you not know what is happening abroad, that they are collecting debts from everyone, and they will get to »them« too?” – “No – I said – there is little hope of that because if it comes down to paying the debts, »they« will rip it all off of us, will take it all from our homes, will give no rations, we will all starve to death, and »they« will remain and pay themselves off. Did you not see the examples from last year, when all was transported abroad, did you not understand how the *Torgsin* pumps it all out? If some force from within... but also here all are ruined, scared; peasants dying from hunger. I went to the countryside to my husband’s relatives, all was taken away from them, not a groat seed left in the house, the same with the neighbors. Peasants who have cows feed only on milk, and those who do not have cows die of hunger... What good are those mere shadows, are they able to protest, to fight? They are dying in silence... I have no hope and I am afraid to have a child.” But despite that, she spoke lively that “there is hope and the savior is near.”

19 June 1933

KHOLODNAYA

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 7, p. 623.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

**No. 127**  
**25 June 1933, Moscow. Guidelines of the Economic Directorate**  
**of the OGPU regarding the free sale of bread**

AB

<sup>a</sup>To[p] Secret<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Telegram  
to Ch[iefs]<sup>a</sup> of EKO PP OGPU

With the decree by the SNK of the USSR dated 27/V-[19]33, a decision was made on the free sale of bread, firstly – from August to 15 September – in the following cities of the USSR:

- |                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Odessa             | 11. Armavir    |
| 2. Dnipropetrovsk     | 12. Mykolaiv   |
| 3. Luhansk            | 13. Vinnytsia  |
| 4. Stalino            | 14. Tiraspol   |
| 5. Mariupol           | 15. Tiflis     |
| 6. Shakhty            | 16. Baku       |
| 7. Taganrog           | 17. Batumi     |
| 8. Novorossiysk       | 18. Simferopol |
| 9. Dnipropetrovsk [!] | 19. Sevastopol |
| 10. Krasnodar         |                |

and secondly – from 12 September to 15 November – in the following cities:

- |                 |                                   |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Stalingrad   | 15. Kalinin                       |
| 2. Samara       | 16. V[er]khne]udinsk <sup>1</sup> |
| 3. Gorky        | 17. Saratov                       |
| 4. Ivanovo      | 18. Ufa                           |
| 5. Voronezh     | 19. Smolensk                      |
| 6. Kazan        | 20. Arkhangelsk                   |
| 7. Yaroslavl    | 21. Almaty                        |
| 8. Tula         | 22. Tashkent                      |
| 9. Magnitogorsk | 23. Sverdlovsk                    |
| 10. Kuznetsk    | 24. Chelyabinsk                   |
| 11. Novosibirsk | 25. Perm                          |
| 12. Irkutsk     | 26. Astrakhan                     |
| 13. Khabarovsk  | 27. Murmansk                      |
| 14. Vladivostok |                                   |

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Presently Ulan-Ude, capital of the Buryat Republic.

The experiences from Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkiv, Kiev, Rostov-o[n]-Don, have proven that the trading institutions have in large part been unprepared to carry out [the sale] of commercial bread. This lack of preparedness has been evident through such matters as designating unsuited premises to serve as commercial sale centers, lack of qualified sales personnel – bread cutters, lack of mechanic cashiers, etc. and thus introduced disorganization in the carrying out of this undertaking, thereby partially decreasing its effectiveness in individual cases.

With regard to the above, and due to the increased opportunities for various forms of anti-Soviet demonstrations, theft, speculation, etc., in this you are obliged to:

1. Immediately cover the preparations to introduce the sale of commercial bread carried out by the responsible institutions, primarily commercial ones, with agent-based operational work, paying particular attention to the preparation of the proper production base – mills, bakeries, commercial premises and qualified personnel.

2. Thoroughly check, through agent-based work, the entire personnel of the bread trading institutions, uncovering and eliminating all foreign, speculative and criminal elements, primarily during the designation of personnel for the commercial network.

3. Inform the EKU OGPU about the preparation of your operational efforts and their results, <sup>b</sup>before “<sup>c</sup>20<sup>c</sup>” <sup>c</sup>July<sup>c</sup>, and [with] the commencement of sales – report on the proceedings<sup>b</sup> every decade.

<sup>a</sup>p. p. Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKU OGPU  
MIRONOV

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief] VI Div[ision]<sup>a</sup> EKU OGPU  
ILYITSKY

<sup>a-d</sup>In conformity:<sup>d</sup> Secretary<sup>a</sup> EKU OGPU  
(—) CHULKOV

<sup>e</sup>291909<sup>e</sup>

“<sup>c</sup>20<sup>c</sup>” June 1933

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 29–31.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*Three handwritten notes on the document: C. Fishkin, what do we have with us (–); c. Ilyitsky; 984 29/VI and a fourth illegible one; under the text a triangular stamp: OGPU with SNK USSR.*

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<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

## No. 128

### 9 July 1933, [Kharkiv]. Fragment of a memorandum by an employee of the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding sending city inhabitants to work in the fields

9 July 1933

[...]

At present, all official clerks and workers are being sent to work in the fields. To that aim, many of the divisions in the factory have been temporarily closed and all leaves have been suspended. However, the results of those efforts are allegedly meager, as the daily rains and hunger do not increase work productivity. Many of them have to take food provisions from the city, since on the spot they receive soup of beets and other leaves, without meat and bread. Those people are utterly hungry.

The epidemic did not decrease in the summer months, to the contrary, it has reached ever wider masses of people, and mortality rises with each day. There are plenty of beggars in the streets, one particularly sees little children in the recent times.

Osm[ólska]<sup>a</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the first page of the letter, in the top left corner, a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a handwritten date: 14 VII ...3 and a number: 3587/33/O; in the top right corner, added in handwriting: “X 22”.*

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<sup>a</sup> *Handwritten signature.*

## No. 129

### 11 July 1933, Starokostiantyniv. Report by the head of the Starokostiantyniv *Iespromkhoz* to the Council of the Ukrainian State Forests, “Ukrainles”, regarding the beginning of the harvests

<sup>a</sup>-Kiev  
Ukrain[ian] [State] Forests  
5 Vorovskiy St.<sup>a</sup>  
To L. G. KOLTUNOV

11 July 1933, Starokostiantyniv

<sup>b</sup>-Dear Lazar Grigorievich<sup>b</sup>,

Beginning with 10<sup>th</sup> [of this month], sunny weather has set; before the 10<sup>th</sup> there were rains. Should the weather continue as it is, we will begin the harvests around 26–27 of July. I shall inform you on the commencement of the harvests. All the fields here are divided into 463 separate plots, requiring skillful organization to have the harvests succeed. The bottlenecks in the preparations of the harvests in the LPKh<sup>c</sup> are as follows:

- 1) Lack of machines – there are two mowers – additional three are needed.
- 2) Two threshers – additional five are needed.
- 3) There are no horse-led rakes whatsoever and apparently it will be impossible to get any.
- 4) There are three [grain] elevators with a capacity of 18–20 thousand pood[s]. 45,000 [poods] are needed. Permission was acquired to build two additional [grain elevators] with a capacity of 18,000 pood[s].
- 5) There is no food whatsoever.
- 6) There are no sacks – 800 pieces are needed, and 100–120 pieces are available.

Due to a large amount of plots to be sown, their dispersion and distance from grain warehouses, it is urgently required to assign to the LPKh an additional truck. 62 horses will be working at the harvests.

To a large extent, the harvesting machines will be provided by the CAM in accordance with the agreements. Based on the last SNK decree, some CAMs require fees paid in kind for services – [paid] in seeds. We will not agree to that.

Workforce is not a weak spot here. Agreements were signed.

The last order of the Trust, concerning retaking the inventory, raises some doubts with us. For us, the foremost task at the moment is the prompt harvesting of crops, towards which all forces of the LPKh will be mobilized, and at the same

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Letterhead in Ukrainian.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup> Was: LPG. The same for the entire document.

time, according to the order, retaking of inventories should be carried out, which will divert people from the primary task of the day.

Raion institutions completely ignore the interests of the LPKh with regard to the harvesting campaign; for example the RPK has mobilized for four months the ORS chief, cit. SHKLAR and the economic head – TKACHUK. Now, in turn, deputy chief of ORS, and deputy director [thereof] cit. SHTOFER has been mobilized by the RPK for the harvesting campaign. Thus, no party activists will be present for the harvesting campaign. Request [on our behalf] the changing of those [decisions on] mobilization.

We have decided on the plan of action during a broader meeting. Tomorrow, all the responsible collaborators of the LPKh are leaving to organize and monitor the harvests on the spot – all furnished with appropriate programs of actions. Following the return (16 July) of those delegated, we will work through all problems and act accordingly. The ORS representative attends the meeting in the trust – urgently direct him to the LPKh.

From the preliminary reconnaissance on the spot, it is evident that the nation is energetic and full of faith in the success of the crops.

One request to you – send here two tons of grain, since, I repeat, the LPKh has no flour whatsoever.

We pay much attention to the protection of crops – there was already a case of picking grain heads.

PAYUK

<sup>d</sup>-In conformity<sup>d</sup>:

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-5165, T. 7, pp. 51–51 v.  
Copy, typewritten on a letterhead.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>d-d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

## No. 130

### After 26 July 1933, [Darakhiv]. Memorandum by an officer of the Polish State Police on the investigation carried out in relation to the illegal crossing of the border

a-b-Copy<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Notes from investigation<sup>a</sup>

On 26 July 1933, at 10:30 pm, the State Police station in Darakhiv, Terbovlia dist[rict], based on art. 8 point 3 of the penal and administrative [code], detained Zachary Hudyma, son of Iwan and Katarzyna, b. 1904 [in] Darakhiv, Gr[reek] Cat[holic], single, no property or profession, last living in Soviet Russia, for the illegal crossing of the border from Russia into Poland.

In 1920, the aforementioned Hudyma, aiming to evade Polish military service, escaped from Darakhiv together with the retreating Bolshevik army into Sov[iet] Russia, where he remained until now, in various places, employed as a day-shift worker at different jobs.

Hudyma crossed the bord[er] in Husiatyn, dist[rict] Kopychyntsi on 17 July 1933, and unstopped by anyone, came to Darakhiv.

During a personal check, nothing was found on Hudyma.

Interrogated on the account of his illegal crossing of the border, Hudyma stated that he was forced to leave Russia for Poland by the hunger and poverty which exist in Sov[iet] Russia at the present time.

(—) Ryszkiewicz, senior serg[eant]

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 6.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

## No. 131

### 27 July 1933, Kiev. Report by a secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement made by writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych

SPO 2<sup>nd</sup> Div[ision]

27 July [19]33

#### On the visits to ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH by M. ALYMOV in the Mizhhiria holiday resort

27 July. Mikh[ail] ALYMOV (mentioned earlier: he is a lecturer at the cooper[ative] institute, friend of ANTONENKO) – arrived in Mizhhiria around noon, where he remained until 10 in the morning of the next day. He arrived as a “guest”. It is a quite characteristic circumstance that at the port in Kiev, ALYMOV, according to his own account, was stopped by the GPU agents dressed in plain clothes who checked his documents and following a long interrogation, let him board the ship. Clearly it is not [just his] story because for the entire time in Mizhhiria ALYMOV was “subdued” and was not himself after the meeting. In Mizhhiria, ALYMOV and ANTONENKO would go to the woods to talk, thus the subject of their conversations is not known. However, among ANTONENKO’s friends – Tatiana PASHCHENKO, maiden name SIMONTSOVA, and Y. PLUZH-NYK – ALYMOV discussed in detail the last exposé of POSTYSHEV<sup>1</sup>, POPOV and KILEROG. His statements come down to the following:

“Due to the fact that all foreign press is filled with accounts of terrible famine in Ukraine, as well as [information on] the suicides of SKRYPNYK<sup>2</sup> and KHVY-LOVY<sup>3</sup> – Moscow decided to blind the people, throwing the peasants and workers a few million poods of grain [previously] taken away from them, and giving

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<sup>a</sup> Was: KHVYLEVOY.

<sup>1</sup> Pavel Postyshev (1887–1939), from 1930 secretary of the CC of the AUCP(b), in January 1933 sent by Stalin to the Ukrainian SSR, carrying unrestricted rights to act, nominated to the post of Secretary of the CC of the CP(b)U and in parallel, First Secretary of the Kharkiv, later Kiev Oblast Committee of the CP(b)U. Shot as an “enemy of the nation”.

<sup>2</sup> Mykola Skrypnyk (1872–1933), one of the organizers and leaders of the CP(b)U, from 1918 member of the CC and from 1925 Politburo of the CC CP(b)U; one of the principal supporters of the policy of Ukrainization and opposing Russian national chauvinism; in the years 1922–1927 People’s Commissar of Justice and from 1925 Prosecutor General of the Ukrainian SSR, in the years 1927–1933 People’s Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian SSR; from February 1933 Deputy Chairman of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Ukrainian SSR; in June 1933 charged with “nationalist deviation”, committed suicide on 7 July.

<sup>3</sup> Mykola Khvylovy, actually Nikolay Fitolov, (born 14 December 1893 in Trostyanets), Ukrainian writer and literary critic, member of the CP(b)U, co-founder and leader of the literary group VAPLITE (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature); in 1928 founded a periodical “Literatura i Mystictvo”; one of the main representatives of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Ukrainian romanticism, author of the widely criticized novel *Valdshnepy* (1927). Khvylovy advocated the freeing of Ukrainian literature from Russian cultural supremacy and struggling against local provincialism; committed suicide on 13 May 1933 in Kharkiv in protest against Stalinist terror in Ukraine.



allowances and organizing this holiday house for Ukrainian writers. STALIN's boundless voraciousness and greed have led to such a state of affairs that this spring some 800,000 people died of starvation in Ukraine. Now the party is trying to put the blame for the "Stalinist" error on some scholars and writers. The stupidity and futility of those steps is evident for everyone. And naturally, they do not believe abroad that such people as SKRYPNYK, KHVYLOVY<sup>b</sup>, BADAN<sup>4</sup>, ERSTENIUK<sup>5</sup>, YALOVY<sup>6</sup> and others are responsible for so many deaths."

<sup>d</sup>-In conformity<sup>d</sup>:

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-4468, T. 1, p. 6.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b</sup> Was: KHVILEVOY.

<sup>c</sup> Was: YALOVOY.

<sup>d-d</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>4</sup> Oleksandr Badan-Yavorenko (1894–1937), history professor; sentenced on 23 September 1933 by the court troika of the GPU College of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years of imprisonment; served the sentence in the Solovki camp, where he was sentenced to death by the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast on 9 October 1937, shot sometime between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1959.

<sup>5</sup> Mykola Ersteniuk (1892–1937), during WWI with the Austro-Hungarian Army, later in UHA; assistant to the Secretary of the People's Commissar for Education. Sentenced on 23 September 1933 by the court troika of the GPU College of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years of imprisonment; served the sentence in the Solovki camp, where he was sentenced to death by the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast on 14 October 1937, shot sometime between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1989.

<sup>6</sup> Mykhailo Yalovy (1895–1937), Ukrainian writer, from 1920 editor of the "Selyanska Bidnota" newspaper, later with the newspaper "Visti Kyjivskovo Gubrevkomu"; as a representative of the Ukrainian government in Moscow, secretary responsible for the periodical "Chervonyi Shliakh", director of the publishing house "Literatura i Mystiectvo", first chairman of VAPLITE. Arrested on 13 May 1933, charged with membership in the UVO, spying for Poland and preparing the assassination of Postyshev. With the verdict of the court troika of the GPU College of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 23 September 1933, to 10 years in ITL. Served the sentence in the Svirsk. With the verdict of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast, dated 9 October 1937, sentenced to death, shot with a group of Soviet prisoners sometime between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated.

## No. 132

### 31 July 1933, [Kharkiv]. Fragment of a memorandum by an employee of the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the sending of city inhabitants to work in the fields and a trip to Belgorod

31 July [19]33

Dear Mr. Olgierd, I am sending those recent publications which I found. Now, unfortunately, with everyone being sent to work in the field, here one also sees some carelessness. All attention is being directed at the harvests; there is desolation in all stores, institutions, only a few employees left. The same is happening in the factories and hospitals. Those who have remained, filling in for those who are not present, must work for free. They say that 30% of the crops must be harvested by the army, and with that aim, the troops are to be sent to the fields in the upcoming days. For work in the fields, they catch people in the streets and in the market; there have even been cases when a car with militia came to those standing in bread lines, [militia] would surround them with a cordon and take everyone to work without any preparations. They particularly search out the countryside element. They lay off those who evade work and take bread coupons.

Deputy Mikado<sup>1</sup>, Mroź. and I travelled <sup>a</sup> to Belgorod. Of all those territories, very few fields lie fallow. The grain is excellent and <sup>a</sup> work everywhere. However, there are very few tractors, more often one see <sup>a</sup> that they use scythes and collect the grain by hand. The sale of potatoes in the market is prohibited.

[...]

Os[mólska]<sup>b</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner, a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a handwritten date: 7 VIII ...3 and a number: 3736/33/O; in the left corner, added in handwriting: a/a “X 22” and illegible initials.*

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<sup>a</sup> *Illegible word crossed out in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Handwritten signature.*

<sup>1</sup> That is Jan Karszo-Siedlewski, see document no. 53, footnote 2.

## No. 133

### 1 August 1933, Simferopol. Fragment of a report by the Special Division of PP OGPU Crimea to the Special Division of the Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on the collection of data on agriculture by the German Consulate

<sup>a</sup>-Series "K"<sup>a</sup>

OO <sup>b</sup>-Obl[ast] Div[ision]<sup>b</sup> GPU Ukrainian SSR  
<sup>a</sup>-cit[y] of Odessa<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Copy<sup>b</sup>: OO U[krainian] MD and GPU of Ukrainian SSR  
<sup>a</sup>-cit[y] of Kharkiv<sup>a</sup>

There is <sup>c</sup>-organized communication<sup>c</sup> with the German Consulate in Odessa.

In the m[on]th of May of this year, the consul in Odessa ROT<sup>d</sup>, through German colonist SHYLIKOVSKY Semen, worked out by us as an unofficial correspondent of a German newspaper "Der Stadt-Anzeiger" (published in America), passed a request to our informer for <sup>c</sup>-the informer to come<sup>c</sup> to the consulate.

On 31/V of this year, our informer visited the consulate, but did not meet ROT, as he was called to Berlin, thus he had a conversation with consul's chancellor, BUKHHOLTZ.

During the conversation BUKHHOLTZ took interest in the following issues:

- 1) the situation of Ger[man] colonists in Crimea,
- 2) the prospects for crops and the harvesting campaign,
- 3) the number of those starving in Crimea.

In the course of conversations on those issues, BUKHHOLTZ pointed out that the consulate received information from Germany as early as at the end of 1932 that there will be a famine in Crimea and in Ukraine. In Ukraine, the hunger has struck nearly all villages, and not only people, but also the cattle, which die from the lack of fodder. The same situation is to be found in the Caucasus and in the Volga Region. In the opinions of specialists and agronomic experts [from] Germany, the situation in the USSR will be even worse next year.

To confirm it, BUKHHOLTZ pointed out that the consulate receives daily requests for help from several Ger[man] colonists, yet Germany is unable to offer help in for[eign] currency. The help would be less difficult if the Sov[iet] government allowed for the transfer of grain from Germany, however at this point, the Sov[iet] government has issued no such permission.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>d</sup> Was: ROTT. The same for the entire document.

Moreover, BUKHHOLTZ expressed the assumption that ROT will surely not return from Germany to carry out his duties, as he is a social democrat by beliefs.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Ch[ief] ad interim<sup>b</sup> OO PP OGPU  
(—) KAZAKOV

<sup>b</sup>for Ch[ief] 1<sup>st</sup> Dep[artment]<sup>b</sup> OO PP  
(—) SMOLAR

“<sup>c</sup>1<sup>c</sup>” <sup>c</sup>August<sup>c</sup> [19]33

No. “<sup>c</sup>3708/6<sup>c</sup>”

c. Simferopol

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 22, pp. 387–387 v.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

**No. 134**

**2 August 1933, Moscow. Report by the Military Attaché with the Polish Representation in Moscow to the head of Section II of the Main Staff on the situation of Ukrainian agriculture**

452/tjn  
Situation in Ukraine

2 August [19]33  
a-b-Secret<sup>b-a</sup>

Head of Section II  
Main Staff  
<sup>b</sup>-Warsaw<sup>b</sup>

From the official reports of our consulates, as well as from oral accounts of the visiting persons, it is clear that the supply situation in Ukraine is improving.

Good crops are surprisingly good. Both winter and spring crops (except for millet), due to good soil and favorable weather conditions, produce crops exceeding the forecasts.

The situation is worse with root crops, especially beets, caused by the enormous amount of weeds due to heavy rains.

Those enormous good crops, unseen for several years, do not yet solve the supply issues, as it is still not known how the harvesting campaign will proceed.

This is a matter of great importance due to a wide-scale decimation of the countryside population (in some areas entire villages have died and there are no people to clean up the sowed grain), catastrophic state of horses and numerous *neuviazki*<sup>1</sup> in the area of automotive equipment and deliveries of the necessary fuels.

Recently, Soviet authorities began mobilizing ad hoc the population of larger cities (Kharkiv, Kiev, etc.) and grouping them in units of several hundreds of people who are then forcefully sent to the areas where workforce is required to proceed with the harvests. However, the transportation of such groups proves seriously difficult with the poorly functioning railways.

On the other hand, the productivity of such workers is extremely low and it can safely be estimated that a single peasant is worth more than 10 or 20 inhabitants of the city who are not used to such work.

Allegedly in Kiev they have mobilized some 50 th[ousand] such workers, and in Kharkiv even more still. They are dragged in large groups to the train stations where, with the poor functioning of the railways, they sit waiting for a train for days in some cases. The people are followed by wagons loaded with things and

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting and written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Lack of coordination, disorders.

pulled by horse skeletons. This makes such an impression that one comes to think those people are never to return to their permanent homes.

There are reports of numerous cases of mass deaths (tens of people) due to consumption of half-ripe grain heads. Numerous groups of people (usually factory workers) are also sent to monitor the fields and supplied with all sorts of weapons (old rifles, shot guns, etc.).

In the fields, one sees almost no technical means of harvesting the grain (notes by Consul Sośnicki near Kiev), scythe and sickle are the working tools.

The second matter worth noting is the purge which is being carried out at present. It can hardly be said that the moment has been well chosen for a purge. The peasants approach the matter with great indifference or even intentionally and maliciously make it more difficult. Most often, in order to get back at some communists, they denounce them as being former Petliura or Polish agents, introducing chaos to the procedures by which the purge is carried out.

In any case, the purge is carried out quite radically. The number of those removed from the party exceeds 50%, which, compared to the results of the purge in other regions (8–12%), constitutes a significant difference.

Military Attaché ad interim  
(—) Harland<sup>2</sup>  
Cert. Capt.

*AAN, AW, 94, pp. 116–117.*  
*Original, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>2</sup> Władysław Wojciech Harland (born 23 April 1897), Certified Infantry Captain, in 1921 with the 32<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, at the same time, from 1921 till 1923 studied at the War College, later served with the 74<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; in 1928 at the disposal of Section I of the Main Staff; in the years 1932–1936 Deputy Military Attaché in Moscow; in 1933 (?) sent with a special task by Section II of the Main Staff to Kiev; later in “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff; during the September campaign of 1939 officer of 2<sup>nd</sup> Div. of Command of the “Modlin” Army (Certified Major – 1935).

**No. 135**  
**2 August 1933, Moscow. Report by the counselor with the Polish**  
**Representation in Moscow to the Minister of Foreign Affairs**  
**on the situation in the countryside during the harvests**

<sup>a-</sup>Representation  
of the Republic of Poland  
in Moscow<sup>a</sup>  
[...]

<sup>a-</sup>Moscow, <sup>a</sup> 2 August <sup>a-</sup>193<sup>-a</sup>3

Dear Mr. Minister,

[...]

6. With today's courier, P. III will receive reports from Kharkiv and Kiev regarding crops and harvesting campaign in Ukraine.

The opinion-creating circles here are perhaps overly optimistic as to the crop yields, as well as to the capabilities of carrying out the harvests without loss. There is talk of lifting the bread coupons and already they would like to export large quantities abroad; yet despite the truly favorable weather conditions and enormous energy put into the organization of harvests, it seems impossible to fulfill such favorable forecasts. First of all, there are entire areas which were not sufficiently sown or not at all (North Caucasus, areas near Chernihiv, etc.). Then there is the issue of poor sowing and poor quality of seeds, thus grain is sparse and weeded, whereas some was sown too late.

However, the key difficulty concerns the shortage of workforce caused by the famine and exhaustion in the countryside, the lack of horses, which have still not recovered from constant work in the fields, and finally, there is the insufficient number of harvesters and tractors, which often fail, the lack of spare parts and fuel. Large scale recruitment has been carried out in the entire country for the purpose of field work. In Moscow, even the office clerks spend the holidays, "free days", working and carrying out propaganda campaigns in the countryside. There are even rumors that those waiting in lin[es] to get kerosene (of which there is absolutely none in Moscow since two weeks), bread, etc. were recruited by force to the sovkhozy. In Kharkiv, they have allegedly mobilized men of 42 to 50 years of age to guard the grain from theft in the countryside. In Kiev, they have sent great numbers of people to work in the fields by force, of whom, as Consul Sośnicki presumes, a large part will not come back and <sup>b-</sup>will have to stay in the countryside, in the deserted households<sup>b-</sup>. One can image how the work in the countryside, carried out by all those inhabitants of the cities, proceeds, how they use the machines, horses, etc. Often forced to sleep in the field, in the rain and

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Letterhead.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

starving due to the poor organization of food supplies, if they come back to the cities, they will constitute an element prone to despair and less eager to carry out Soviet work. I heard that the army received orders to take an active part in the harvests and that its work – especially that it recruits primarily among the sons of peasants – yields very good results. It is hard to confirm this information. In the Kiev Oblast the army is used rather to guard. Perhaps the canceling of maneuvers on the Polish border, as announced in the foreign press and having political implications, is related to the harvesting campaign.

[...]

<sup>c</sup>-I remain, Mr. Minister, yours faithfully<sup>c</sup>

Henryk Sokolnicki<sup>2</sup>

*AAN, MSZ, 6748 a, p. 83, 85–86, 88.*

*Original, typewritten on letterhead.*

*Document in Polish.*

*On the first page, in the top left corner, a signature: J. Gawroński a number: 22 and initials; on the left margin, letter added in handwriting and underlined: S or number: 5 and a note: please advise KOP.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>2</sup> Henryk Sokolnicki (born 19 January 1891), engineer, diplomat; in the years 1919–1921 secretary to the Polish Representation in Brussels, later chargé d'affaires of the Polish Representation in Christiania; in the years 1924–1932 in the Economic and Political Dept. of MFA; in the years 1931–1936 councilor of the Polish Representation (Embassy) in Moscow; from 1936 till 25 June 1941 Polish Representative in Helsinki; from September 1941 till the end of 1942 councilor of the Polish Embassy in Moscow/Kuybyshev; in the years 1943–1945 chargé d'affaires of the Polish Embassy in Stockholm; from 1945 till 1951 representative of the Polish government in exile in Sweden.



## No. 136

### 9 August 1933, Lviv. Fragment of a report by the Voivodeship Office in Lviv for July 1933 including, among others, the pastoral letter from the Greek Catholic Episcopate regarding the famine in Ukraine

Lviv Voivodeship Office  
Department of Security  
L. BB 62/6/33

Lviv, 9 August 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Secret<sup>a</sup>

Monthly situation report for the month of July 1933

[...]

“Dilo”: No. 188 of 21 July, in the art[icle] entitled “Blunders of press campaign”, quoting an article from “Nash Prapor”<sup>1</sup> on an exchange between the UNDO and Palijiw<sup>2</sup>, in which “Nash Prapor” explicitly accuses the UNDO of having contributed to the arrest of Dep[uty] Palijiw, states: “Such hideousness has not been perpetrated by the most Ukraine-hostile foreign press.”

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Letter of the Gr[reek] Cath[olic] Bishop[s] on the situation in Soviet Ukraine<sup>b</sup>

The Ukr[ainian] Gr[reek] Cath[olic] Episcopate issues here this proclamation as follows: the Ukrainian Gr[reek] Cath[olic] Episcopate of the Halych ecclesiastical province, on the matter of the events which came on the Greater Ukraine, to all people of goodwill. Ukraine is in premortal convulsions. People are dying of starvation. A cannibalistic system of state capitalism built on injustice, fraud, godlessness and depravation has led this rich country into utter ruin. Three years hence, the Head of the Catholic Church, the Holy Father, Pius XI<sup>3</sup>, energetically protested against everything in Bolshevism which is contrary to Christianity, to God and to human nature, warning the entire Catholic world against the terrible consequences of such crimes, and we joined him in this protest. Today we see

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> “Nash Prapor” – a daily published in Lviv since 1923, organ of UNTP, later of UNDO.

<sup>2</sup> Dmytro Palijiw (1896 – July 1944), journalist, politician; during WWI cadet with the USS; in 1918 clerk with the Ukrainian Military Committee and one of the organizers of the coup in Lviv on 1 October 1918; later with the UHA, among others, serving as ADC to General Myron Tarnawski; in 1921 co-founder of the UVO, later the UPNR, at the same time editor of “Zahrava”; in 1925 co-founder of the UNDO, later member of the CC UNDO; in the years 1923–1926 editor of “Novy Chas”; in the years 1928–1930 deputy/member of the Polish Lower House; later in prison; freed, left the UNDO and co-founded the FNE; in 1943 one of the founders of the Grenadier Division SS “Galizien”, later ADC (*sotnyk*) to the commander of the SS “Galizien” Division/14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen SS “Galizien”, died in the battle of Brody.

<sup>3</sup> Pius XI, actually Achille Ratti (1857–1939), from April 1918 apostolic visitor in Poland, at the same time, from 1919 titular Archbishop of Naupactus and apostolic Nuncio in Poland; from 1921 Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal; Pope from February 1922; in March 1937, in two encyclicals, condemned the ideology of national socialism and the anti-religiousness of communism.

the results of Bolsheviks' actions: the situation getting more terrible by the day. Those crimes stun human nature, clutter the blood in the veins. Powerless to bring material aid to our dying brothers, we call on our faithful to beg help from above, through prayer, fasting, general mourning, sacrifice and all possible good deeds, since on earth there is no hope for man's help. Facing the entire world, once again we protest against oppressing the lesser ones, the poor, the weak and the innocent, accusing the oppressors before the judgment of the Highest.

The blood of the workers, who have ploughed Ukraine's black earth starving, calls for vengeance in the Highest and the voice of the harvesters reached Lord Sabaoth.

All Christians of the world, all God's faithful, especially all workers and peasants, but first of all, all our countrymen, we beg them to join us in the voice of protest and hurting, spreading it over the most distant lands of the world.

We ask all radio stations to spread our voice over the entire world; perhaps it will reach the poor households of peasants starving to death. Before their terrible death, in the midst of cruel pains, let it be a small comfort to them to know that their brothers knew of their terrible fate, wept over them, suffered and prayed for them.

And you, suffering, starving and dying brothers, call to the Merciful Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ: you suffer horrible pains – hold them for your sins, for the sins of the entire nation and repeat after Jesus Christ: “Let it be done, Father, who art in heaven.” Death of the will<sup>c</sup> of God is received as a holy sacrifice which shall join with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, bringing us the Heavenly Kingdom, and savior to the entire nation.

Our hope in God. Given in Lviv, on the day of the Holy Olga, on 24 July 1933, Andrey Sheptytsky the Metropolitan<sup>4</sup>, Hryhory Khomyshyn Bish[op] of Stanyslaviv<sup>5</sup>, Josaphat Kotsylovsky Bishop of Przemyśl<sup>6</sup>, Mykyta Budka Bishop of

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<sup>c-c</sup> *The fragment written twice in the original.*

<sup>4</sup> Andrey Sheptytsky (1865 – 1 September 1944), actually Roman Maria Aleksander Count Sheptytsky; brother of general of the Polish Army Stanislav Sheptytsky, grandson of Aleksander Fredro; Greek Catholic priest, monk; from 1888 with the Basilian monks; from February 1899 Bishop of Stanyslaviv, from 1900 Metropolitan Archbishop of Galicia and Lviv; at the same time deputy speaker of the Galician National Diet and in the years 1903–1914 member of the Austrian Chamber of Lords; following the Russian occupation of Lviv, in the years 1915–1917 imprisoned in Kiev; advocate of an independent Ukrainian statehood; after 1919 supporter of a wide autonomy for the Ukrainians within the Polish statehood; in 1939 advocated the establishment of a Ukrainian state in Carpathian Ruthenia.

<sup>5</sup> Hryhory Khomyshyn (25 March 1867 – 17 January 1947), Greek Catholic priest, in the years 1902–1904 rector of the seminary in Lviv; from 1904 Bishop of Stanyslaviv; conservatist, after 1918 supporter of loyalty towards Poland; in 1930 founder of the Catholic Ukrainian People's Party; arrested in autumn of 1939 by the Soviet security organs, released; arrested again on 11 June 1945 by the officers of the NKGB; tried in Kiev, sentenced in 1946 to 10 years in ITL; died in prison in Kiev, beatified in 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Josaphat Kotsylovsky (born 3 March 1876 in Pakoszówka near Sanok, died 17 November 1947), Greek Catholic priest, doctor of theology; prior to WWI deputy headmaster of the seminary in Stanyslaviv; from 1911 with the Basilian monks; in the years 1917–1945 Bishop of Przemyśl, founder of the seminary in Przemyśl; arrested on 21 October 1945 by the officers of the UBP and imprisoned in Rzeszów; deported on 18 January 1946 to Mostyska, held by the Drohobych Oblast UNKGB, after 24 January 1946 transported to Kiev, held by Investigation Unit of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR,

Patar<sup>7</sup>, Grzegorz Łakota Vicar of Przemyśl<sup>8</sup>, Iwan Budka Bishop of Patar<sup>9</sup>, Iwan Łatyszewski Bishop Vicar of Stanyslaviv<sup>10</sup>.

“Dilo”: No. 189 of 22 July, in the art[icle] entitled “Important decree”, reviewing a resolution made by the CC UNDO on the situation in Soviet Ukraine, M[r.] Danko states that this resolution is of historic significance due to the present state of the struggle between Ukraine and Moscow. The two nations stand facing each other as enemy camps, between which there can be no agreement. The last bridges through which Moscow attempted to pass over the recognition by the Ukrainian nation of Moscow’s occupation have all fallen into the abyss of hatred. Khvylovy’s and Skrypnyk’s suicides are not simply death of two people who had nothing else to do. They are symbolic acts of great courage, they are the impressive manifestation of utter helplessness as to any sort of cooperation between Moscow and Ukraine. Khvylovy and Skrypnyk have fulfilled the act of repentance, not by the mean self-denial before a Muscovite tribunal, but through a courageous act before their own nation. Their deaths will balance out the mistakes of their lives. Their acts were in the spirit of Kruty and Bazar.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>The Ukrainian movement  
General state of affairs<sup>b</sup>

[...]

The wide masses of Ukrainian society, taking a lively interest in this split, have not taken any definite stance in face of it. Radical nationalists, fighting off the “conciliatory” UNDO, also continue to attack Palijiw and his supporters, treating them as politicians who will never create anything of positive value. With such state of affairs, in the last weeks of the reporting period increased activity of the UNDO fraction has been observed in the regions, calling rallies and even

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released; arrested again on 27 June 1946 by the officers of the Soviet militia, transported to Lviv and Kiev; died in a labor camp; beatified in 2001.

<sup>d</sup> *As in the original. Should be: Iwan Buczko, auxiliary Bishop of Lviv. Titular Bishop of Patar, Mykyta Budka, was mentioned earlier.*

<sup>7</sup> Mykyta Budka (7 June 1877 – 1 September 1949), Greek Catholic priest, doctor of theology; from 1912 titular bishop of Patar; in the years 1912–1927 Bishop of Canada (Winnipeg) – organizing the Greek Catholic Church, from 1928 vicar general of the Metropolitan Chapter and auxiliary Bishop in Lviv; arrested on 11 April 1945 by the Soviet security organs; on 29 May – 3 June 1946 tried by the VT of the MVD army of the Ukrainian MD, sentenced to 5 years in ITL; died in Karaganda; beatified in 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Grzegorz Łakota (31 January 1883 – 12 November 1950), doctor of theology, from 1913 professor in the seminary in Przemyśl, in the years 1918–1926 rector of the seminary; from 1926 auxiliary Bishop of Przemyśl, titular Bishop of Daonium; in the years 1939–1941 in Jarosław; arrested on 22 September 1945 or 9 (27?) June 1946 by the UBP and transported to the USSR; died in North-Pechersk ITL (Abez), beatified in 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Iwan Buczko (1 October 1891 – 21 September 1974 in Rome), from 1929 titular Bishop of Cadi and auxiliary Bishop of Lviv; in the years 1940–1945 Bishop of Philadelphia; from 1945 apostolic visitor for Ukrainians in Europe; from 1953 titular Bishop of Leucas, as the same time with Curia Romana.

<sup>10</sup> Iwan Łatyszewski (17 October 1879 – 27 November 1957), Greek Catholic priest, doctor of theology; from 1929 titular Bishop of Adada and auxiliary Bishop of Stanyslaviv; arrested on 11 April 1945 by the Soviet security organs, deported to Kazakhstan, released in 1955.

turning to overused attractions which bring in the masses, such as organizing the festival of the “Ukrainian Youth for Christ”, which is also scheduled for August and September of this year. The festivities of the UYC, which in the month of May of this year were a typical success of the UNDA<sup>c</sup>, are still used to build the influence of this group. Taking advantage of both the deputies’ meetings and the UYC festivities, the UNDO and its members from the “Ukr[ainian] Cath[olic] Soyuz”<sup>11</sup>, aiming to strengthen the solidity of the group, direct all their attention events towards the event which unfolded in Soviet Ukraine, and exploit every opportunity to pursue anti-Soviet activities.

With the strong anti-Soviet and anti-communist attitude represented by the UNDO, the radical parties (USRP<sup>12</sup> and USDP<sup>13</sup>) have also shown their anti-Soviet attitudes, yet for tactical reasons, they have not expressed them through a common Ukrainian platform, declaring support for protests against the Soviet policies in Ukraine at the forum of the Second International.

The negative effects of floods and natural disasters which took place in the months of June and July of this year, and the ensuing help from the government, have urged the Ukrainian political circles to take an active part so as to show the wide masses their care and consideration for the victims. Thus, an aid committee is being formed, with Bish[op] Buczko as the president, which set out to collect aid for those struck by the floods.

This aid, in general principle, will only have a demonstrative character, since one can only expect rather meager results of any efforts of collecting help in the Ukrainian countryside.

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 984, pp. 3, 9 v.–10, 14–15, 20.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner illegible initials underlined in handwriting and crossed out; below a date: 28 VII [19]33; in the top right corner, added in handwriting: aa and underlined, below, hardly legible initials: L. Ch.*

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<sup>c</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>11</sup> Ukrainian Catholic Union – social and political organization established in 1931 by the members of the UNDO’s conservative faction at the initiative of Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky; active until 1939 in the territory of the archdiocese of Lviv.

<sup>12</sup> Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party (USRP) – socialist party established on 14 February 1926 in Lviv through unification of the Ukrainian and Russian Radical Party (URRP) and part of the Volhynia Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party; the Main Directorate of the USRP was headed by Dr. Lew Baczyński, his deputies, among others, Dr. Iwan Makuch and Semen Żuk, with Osyp Nawrocki designated as Secretary General; leading members included: Dmytro Ładyka, Mychajło Matczak, Osyp Kohut, Mychajło Wachniuk, Matwij Stachiw, Stepan Ripecki; in 1933, together with the USDP, the USRP established a committee which was tasked with staging protests against hunger in Soviet Ukraine.

<sup>13</sup> Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) – Ukrainian political party established in 1897 in Eastern Galicia advocating the creation of an independent, socialist Ukrainian statehood; delegalized in 1924 as communist (its members joined the CPWU), later, in 1928, reactivated in Lviv as the socialist party; in July 1933 the USDP, together with the USRP, established a committee which set out to protest against the famine in Ukraine.

**No. 137**

**19 August 1933, Dolyna. Memorandum by the Dolyna District Governor to the Voivode in Stanyslaviv regarding the pastoral letter of the Greek Catholic Episcopate on repression and famine in Ukraine, as well as on the call for national mourning in Chovhany**

Dolyna District Governor  
No. Taj. 357/U

Dolyna, 19 August 1933

Pastoral letter  
of the Gr[EEK] Cath[OLIC] Episcopate  
concerning repression  
against Ukrainians and famine in the USSR  
<sup>a</sup>-Secret<sup>a</sup>

To  
<sup>b</sup>-Voivode<sup>b</sup>  
in Stanyslaviv

On 6 August of this year, in some of the Greek Catholic churches of the district, the Gr[EEK] Cath[OLIC] priests have read the pastoral letter of the Gr[EEK] Cath[OLIC] Episcopate issued with regard to the criminal repression against the Ukrainian nation and the famine in the USSR in which the Episcopate calls on the Ukrainian nation to pray for the persecuted and for the turning of the famine's calamity.

With regard to the abovementioned pastoral letter, Father Zubrzycki from Chovhany has called for mourning in that commune, forbidding all dances and other festivities which took place in the Chovhany commune, and tries to force this mourning on the individual persons of Polish nationality.

Father Zubrzycki has issued a letter to the owner of the Zakrzewski estate in Chovhany in which he requests not to organize any festivities for the field workers at the time of harvests.

I enclose a copy of the letter written by Father Zubrzycki to the heir Zakrzewski.

I would also like to report that the pastoral letter read out by the Gr[EEK] Cath[OLIC] priests has so far not made the proper impression on the Ukr[ainian] population.

1 encl.

District Governor  
(—) Brzostyński<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>1</sup> Czesław Brzostyński, in 1932 Bohorodchany District Governor, in the years 1933–1934 Governor in Dolyna.

[Enclosure]

Copy of a copy

Y[our] Excellency Mr. Collator! Due to the criminal repression and famine in the USSR, the entire Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] Episcopate of the province has called, on 24 July of this year, a public mourning and thus I have issued in the Greek Catholic church, on 6 of this month, an appropriate decree on the matter<sup>c</sup> of dances.

I trust that Y[our] E[xcellency] the Heir is perhaps not aware of that. I also trust that he is concerned with the morality in the village and respect for the authority of the priesthood, to which he is obliged as a Collator, and thus I kindly ask not to allow dance festivities to be held for the village youth in the court.

I regret to inform Y[our] E[xcellency] the Heir that the serious, thoughtful part of the elderly is in secret shaken by that, meaning it is speaking in most negative terms about the Monday festival which was organized by the youth at the court, perhaps without the knowledge of the Heir. Yours faithfully S. Zubrzycki.

*DAIFO, F.2, Op. 1, Spr. 1001, pp. 172–173.*

*Original (enclosure: copy), typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Above the text of the cover letter, in the middle, a number added in handwriting: 52/31 and an illegible letter, probably: y, perhaps: tj; in the top left corner, a note: Having taken note of, to archives, Stanyslaviv, 23/9 [1]933 an illegible initials; below two other illegible initials with dates: 22/8 and 18/9; in the top left corner a stamp with inscription: Voivodeship Office in [Sta]nyslaviv received 23 Aug[ust] 1933 ... No. BB ... encl. ... with handwritten number: Tj. 52/31/33 and a number of enclosures: 1; next to it, added in handwriting: 52; in the bottom right corner two illegible initials.*

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<sup>c</sup> *Was:* with the purpose.

## No. 138

### 28 August 1933, Odessa. Fragment of a special communication from the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU to the Special Unit of the Ukrainian MD of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the visit by former French Prime Minister Édouard Herriot to Odessa

<sup>a-b</sup>Oper[atational] Div[ision]<sup>-b-a</sup>

<sup>a-b</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>-b-a</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-g[ive] to Ch[ief] of Spec[ial] Un[it]  
Com. Lunev<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-No. 746906

24 August<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Spec[ial] communiqué  
on the visit of<sup>a</sup> for[mer] <sup>a</sup>-French Prime Minister  
Édouard HERRIOT<sup>1</sup> to Odessa<sup>a</sup>

At 9 a.m. on 26 August, on the steamer “<sup>a</sup>-Chicherin<sup>a</sup>”, Édouard HERRIOT arrived, accompanied by CERLAINE and JOULIEN, as well as Deputy Marcel REY.

They were met in the port by the dipl[omatic] representative GAYLUNSKY, Dep[uty] Head of the Western Department of the NKID GELFAND, Chair[man] of the *Obispolkom* PAKHOMOV, chair[man] of the municip[al] council CHEBUKIN, chief and captain of the port, correspondents of the press from Moscow, Kharkiv and Odessa, cinematic operators and photographers.

In response to the welcome address by the representative of the NKID GELFAND and the Chair[man] of the *Obispolkom* PAKHOMOV, HERRIOT stated: “I am very happy to be back in the USSR and I hope that my visit to the USSR will be of benefit for our countries and the world.”

As HERRIOT was disembarking from the steamer, the greeting crowds (admitted based on permits issued by the Oper[atational] Div[ision]), gave HERRIOT an ovation. To those greeting, him HERRIOT spoke through the microphone: “I believe in the great future of your nation and I hope that my visit will benefit the peace. I want to see how the country has flourished since 1922 when I was

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Édouard Herriot (1872–1957), French politician, writer, active in the radical socialist party; from 1905 till 1942 and in the years 1945–1947 mayor of Lyon; in the years 1916–1917 Minister for Public Works and Transportation, at the same time Minister for Supply; from 1926 till 1928 Minister of Education; in the years 1924–1925, in July 1926 and from June till December 1932 Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; in the years 1925–1926 and 1936–1940 under house arrest, later, in June 1944 transferred by Vichy authorities to the Germans, held in Mareville; in the years 1947–1954 Chairman of the National Assembly (lower house) of the French Parliament.

here for the first time.” In the port, HERRIOT shook hands with some of the [people] from the greeting crowd.

HERRIOT, together with the persons accompanying him, left by car for the London Hotel and were placed in the rooms prepared for them.

The French Ambassador to the USSR, ALPHAND, did not take part in the welcome [ceremony] at the port because the train car in which ALPHAND was traveling to Odessa had been detached from the train at the Vapniarka station after the axis socket caught fire, and only after several hours was the car brought to Odessa with a special steam engine.

At 9 a.m. on a Moscow train, the representative of the French Embassy, Deputy MARGEN, arrived, meeting HERRIOT at the port.

MARGEN did not meet with the NKID<sup>d</sup> representative at the station and was taken to the London Hotel by the “Intourist” representative who was at the train station.

It is worth noting that following his arrival at the hotel at 9 a.m., HERRIOT was left for two hours without the NKID representative and interpreter. He left often and sat on the balcony; the NKID representatives went to meet Ambassador ALPHAND at the train station.

At 11:30, Ambassador ALPHAND arrived at the hotel accompanied by French journalist LUCIEN and an NKID representative.

The breakfast, at which “only” the NKID representative GELFAND was present, lasted for some time.

When on the balcony, and later in the restaurant at breakfast, HERRIOT readily posed for our cinematic operators and photographers.

After breakfast, everyone, accompanied by cit[izens] PAKHOMOV, GAY-LUNSKY, GELFAND and CHEBUKIN, left by car for the “Krasny Luch” kolkhoz of the Odessa Municipal Raion, where they spent about four hours.

On the way, having stopped in the fields where the kolkhozniki from the “Krasny Luch” artel were working, HERRIOT and the persons accompanying him observed a thresher at work. HERRIOT, with the help of the interpreter, talked with the thresher foreman, taking interest in the organization of the work crew, the number of kolkhozniki in a work crew, the amount of hectares of fields in the kolkhoz, etc. HERRIOT spoke also with the chief of the polit[ical] department of the CAM and took an interest in the work of the polit[ical] department.

After some time, all left for the village of Biliaivka, where the “Krasny Luch” kolkhoz was located and where the meeting was held. HERRIOT talked for a long time with the kolkhozniki, looked into the kolkhoz granaries filled with grain, took interest in how much grain is given for a *trudoden* (in this kolkhoz 15 kilo[grams], in addition to the vegetables and fruits), of which HERRIOT was informed.

At the kolkhoz courtyard, a wonderful breakfast was served. HERRIOT had a kolkhoz woman sit next to him; all the time, being in the fields and in the kolkhoz

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<sup>d</sup> Was: GKID.



courtyard, HERRIOT had photographs taken of him with the kolkhozniki and the kolkhozniki's children. HERRIOT and ALPHAND had direct contact with the kolkhozniki and the children.

Before sitting down to breakfast, HERRIOT washed his hands and dried them with a kolkhoz towel of which he was very fond, therefore eight new towels were given to him as a present.

Everything that HERRIOT saw in the kolkhoz made a positive impression on him.

At 5 p.m., everyone left the kolkhoz for the city and went to the baking plant, where HERRIOT talked with the [representatives of the] administration, taking interest in how much bread a worker receives and how much grain is harvested in the [Soviet] Union, writing this all down in a notebook. [Thereafter] HERRIOT wrote down his positive opinion about the baking plant in the factory [visitors'] book.

After the visit to the baking plant, [the guest] was driven around the city on a pre-designated route and shown some of the streets.

At 7:30 in the evening, at the NKID headquarters a dinner was served by the *Oblispolkom*. During the dinner, Chair[man] of *Oblispolkom* PAKHOMOV gave a brief welcome address in honor of HERRIOT. In response to it, HERRIOT underlined that for the [past] 11 years, as well as at present, he has been fighting for peace and friendly relations between France and the USSR. Having raised his glass of wine, HERRIOT wished success in building the USSR and making it flourish.

After dinner, HERRIOT, together with persons accompanying him and our representatives, left for the train station and at 9:40 in the evening departed for Kiev.

Prior to the departure, the NKID delivered 18 Ukrainian rubashki to his car as a gift because HERRIOT was very fond of them.

[...]

HERRIOT's visit to Odessa was met with lively reactions among the population.

With the visit by HERRIOT, the anti-Soviet element carried out a wide-scale dissemination of provocative rumors that HERRIOT came with the aim "of sucking grain and gold out of the USSR."

A worker at the rail[way] technical school, SOKOLOVSKY, commenting on the visit by HERRIOT, stated: "He came to look at how many people are left after the hunger and to prepare the agreement for the export of grain, so that those who were left alive would die."

A worker at the January [Uprising] Plant, DIATLOV Dmitry, 50 years of age, stated in the presence of other workers: "My son in law works on the »Gruziya«. The ship was renovated in accordance with the most advanced technologies, the entire crew changed, special new uniforms sewn and they are preparing for the meeting with the French minister. Surely they are preparing new plans for how to subjugate the nation and take away the new crops."

A barge worker with the Sov[iet] Commer[cial] Fleet, LEDOK F., in a conversation with his acquaintances, stated: “The previous time, the foreigners who came here laughed at the people and threw foreign money in the streets, which the people jumped on greedily. Yesterday, distinguished representatives from abroad came again to see how much grain is here and how much can be sucked out [of us], and how much the nation is suffering and if it is near its end. [But] they will not torment the nation for much longer.”

A home worker, GOYKHMEN, on the matter of HERRIOT’s visit, stated in a conversation with his acquaintances: “HERRIOT came to take our gold. This means that the GPU will once again fill the *Dopr* to get the gold.”

With regard to HERRIOT’s visit, we took note of conversations, whereby it was claimed that HERRIOT “is blinded and shown only the achievements, while the hunger and the poverty are hidden [from him].”

A lithographer from the Kalinin plant, ANDREYEV G., on the matter of HERRIOT’s visit, stated: “Today, HERRIOT arrived in Odessa. Our authorities are scared and want to pull the wool over foreigners’ eyes that – he says – we have socialism. I saw a militia officer run into the greengrocer’s and give a stupid command to immediately get rid of the line of people standing in front of the shop. It is clear that HERRIOT does not know what is happening here.”

KLIMENKO, living at 44 Lazarev St., declared: “Again they have come from abroad to learn what is happening here. But what can they see except the baking plant? It was specially built to show off our technology and no one sees our poverty anyhow.”

We have noted individual cases of provocative rumors disseminated by the anti-Soviet element with regard to HERRIOT’s visit, about the alleged coming fall of Sov[iet] rule and the pogroms which were to take place on the Jews.

BEZUGLY Yefim, working with the tram network, a Stundist<sup>2</sup> liv[ing] in h[ouse] no. 67 at Lazarev St., stated: “It is not without a purpose that the foreigners started visiting us. It is high time to throw the heavy yoke off our backs. The hunger is less severe now and everyone can start thinking about politics. The time will come when even we will show what we can do.”

A worker VEDENEV, commenting on the reasons for HERRIOT’s visit, stated: “In the near future, a whip will fall on the Jewish backs. We have suffered under their oppression long enough. We will bring them into line and remind them of everything.”

GAVRIUK M., living at 7 Zaytsev St., stated: “[It is] not long before they will feed us with clay, such as this bread. Today foreigners came and they take interest in how we are fed. Soon the foreigners will feed us themselves because the fall of our rulers is near.”

Ch[ief] °ad interim° of the Od[essa] Ob[last] Division of GPU  
°Kaminsky°

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<sup>2</sup> Stundism – a Baptist sect established in Russia in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Chief of the Oper[atational] Div[ision]  
BORETSKY

°In conformity: Repres[entative] of the Oper[atational] Div[ision]° (—)

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 71, T. 8, pp. 111–116.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 139

### 29 August 1933, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU to the heads of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the visit by former French Prime Minister Édouard Herriot to Odessa

AH OO-2/4

<sup>a</sup>-Top secret  
Series<sup>a</sup> “K”

<sup>b</sup>-No. 747140

29 August [19]33<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-To Dep[uty] Chair[man]-<sup>a</sup>GPU of Ukrainian SSR – cit. LEPLEVSKY  
<sup>a</sup>-Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup>OO UMD and GPU of Ukrainian SSR

On the visit to Odessa by HERRIOT É.

[...]

1. Considering the information at our disposal regarding the assassination of HERRIOT during his visit in the Soviet territory being prepared by the ROVS representative in Romania, ZHOLONDKOVSKY<sup>c</sup>, we have undertaken steps, which we have described in our plan.

Carrying out of the steps became all the more necessary due to the following suspicious occurrences which have taken place at the same time as HERRIOT's visit to Odessa, namely:

- 1) the presence in o[ur] port of the Romanian steamer “<sup>a</sup>-Miru Papu [?]-<sup>a</sup>” under the British flag whose crew is partly composed of White Army officers;
- 2) the presence of such a steam[er], “<sup>a</sup>-Bertor Milya [?]-<sup>a</sup>”<sup>1</sup>, in the port in Kher-son;
- 3) the illegal arrival of two Germans from Germany who came to our port by a Sov[iet] ship;
- 4) the illegal arrival from Moscow to Odessa of three Japanese [citizens];
- 5) the arrival on the steamer “<sup>a</sup>-Chicherin<sup>a</sup>”, together with HERRIOT, of German Professor SCHEIER, of which we were informed in a cable;
- 6) the arrival on the same ship of a Bulgarian, BELINOV.

With the aim of eliminating the potential provocative events related to the abovementioned matters, we have taken the following steps:

- 1) The crews of the abovementioned ships were forbidden to disembark. We have also taken away from the crews of ships in our port sailing under

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup> *Was: ZHELONDKOVSKY.*

<sup>1</sup> From the (distorted) names of the steamers it seems that they were leased Greek ships.

other flags all permits for the day of 26 August – the day of HERRIOT's visit to Odessa.

2) The two Germans who have arrived illegally were arrested, about which we have informed in o[ur] spec[ial] report.

3) The three Japanese [citizen] who have arrived in Odessa turned out to be: a military attaché, embassy employee and a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture [by the name of] FUJIGA. We have covered them with extern[al] surveillance. We will inform separately on the results of the undertaken operational activities.

4) Professor SCHEIER has been covered with extern[al] surveillance and agent-based analysis.

5) Professor of medicine, Bulgarian BELINOV, who has arrived on the steamer "Chicherin" together with HERRIOT, made an acquaintance with him during the latter's visit to Bulgaria. During the voyage he tried to stay close to HERRIOT, listening to conversations and intending to leave Odessa together with HERRIOT. Through our agents, we have managed to delay BELINOV's departure from Odessa by a day. Throughout his stay in Odessa, we have covered him with thorough external surveillance, preventing him from staying close to HERRIOT. We have informed the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR about his departure.

With the aim of preventing any contacts between HERRIOT and the representatives of the French colony, mainly OTTON and GORRIS, we have covered the latter with permanent surveillance. It was noted that for the entire time OTTON was near the London Hotel in which HERRIOT was staying, but made no attempts to enter.

Neither HERRIOT nor ALPHAND made attempts at contacting anyone from the local French.

Having learned from the press about the arrival of HERRIOT in the USSR, some people from the local French colony expressed a desire to see HERRIOT and to talk with him about various everyday problems of the local French, mainly concerned with the lack of material support for the French shelter in the city of Leningrad. This problem is of significant importance for the local French colony due to the old age of the majority of its inhabitants.

A complete indifference shown during their visit to Odessa by HERRIOT and Ambassador ALPHAND towards the local French and unwillingness to meet any of them have left the local French colony in confusion. For the entire time, GORRIS, known to the S[pecial] U[nit] of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, remained in his apartment and waited to be called to the hotel by the ambassador or HERRIOT. Lack of invitation from them made him so angry that he did not wish to speak to anyone about the HERRIOT's or ambassador's visit.

Equally, OTTON received the fact that he was not able to see HERRIOT badly. In a conversation with [our] informer, he expressed his discontent with that fact and noted with irony that clearly HERRIOT had already become a Bolshevik, pointing at the same time that his visit is aimed at strengthening the Soviet-French friendship.

HERRIOT's visit to Odessa resulted in the discontent of the entire French colony.

It is worth noting the reaction of the local Japanese Consul TANAKA to HERRIOT's visit to the USSR. Speaking on the matter with [our] source, TANAKA noted that although HERRIOT is not in government, his influence in the world of politics is great. The fact that he is not in government is to be considered temporary, and the reasons behind it are accidental, caused by the French parliament's refusal to pay another installment on the debt owed to the USA at the time when HERRIOT, being in America, promised to repay the debt. According to TANAKA's statement, HERRIOT's stepping down from power was against the wishes of the parliament. Thus, the consul concludes that HERRIOT will come back to power.

TANAKA stated that HERRIOT set out to create a close alliance with the USSR and it is to that end that he is traveling to Moscow. Although the press does not mention it, HERRIOT is not aiming to sign a commercial agreement, as the newspapers claim (in TANAKA's opinion such an agreement is not necessary with the existence of *Vnieshtorg*) but a pact on the coordination of policy against the Germans in the case of an increased threat of military conflict with them. Although France, in TANAKA's words, is considered to be the best armed country in the world, <sup>d-d</sup>since together with Poland we have<sup>d</sup> some 6,000 long-range guns, yet France is not sure of the USSR's neutrality should Poland be drawn into war.

TANAKA [in a conversation with our] informer took interest in the details of the planned visit and in the plan of meetings to be held with HERRIOT, asking to be informed, even if by telephone, if [our] informer managed to learn anything on the subject.

The local Italian Vice-Consul DE JULIS (the Consul is presently in Moscow), having mentioned in a conversation with o[ur] other informer the very same matter, stated that HERRIOT arrived in the USSR as an envoy to carry out negotiations with c. STALIN in Moscow on establishing closer relations between France and the USSR.

DE JULIS added [in conversation with the] informer that in the event of a war against the USSR, France will help it. The USA – according to his words – will also find itself on the same side. Moreover, he noted that at the present time, Poland also has friendly relations with the USSR and that even Romania has improved its relations with the Soviet Union.

DE JULIS underlined that France needs the assistance from the USSR against the Germans more than the USSR needs help from France. The latter fears the Germans and that is why it tries to assure the support of the USSR. He said that in the event of a war, the USSR will be in the most favorable situation, thanks to a strong army, a significantly large population and territory. With the latter factor, the USSR is not in such great danger from [attack by] the enemy's air force. Although all countries possess a strong air force, in the USSR it is equally strong.

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<sup>d-d</sup> *As in the original.*

In response to a question posed by [our] informer, regarding the bilateral relations between Italy and France, DE JULIS stated that a peace treaty, valid for 10 years, had been signed by the two countries.

In its majority, the local population has reacted positively towards HERRIOT's visit to the USSR, seeing this to be the effort by the foreigners to get to know us more closely.

Yet, in the opinion of one of the workers of the baking plant, one needs to be careful because the foreigners keep their true intentions they come here with in secrecy.

An officer of the *voenved* remarked that coming here, the foreigners mind only their own profits and that they are our enemies, not friends, and that we can not treat them as such, that is, as friends.

An electrician stated that if anyone threw a stone, or far worse, a bomb at a car in the presence of HERRIOT, a conflict would result.

A number of anti-Soviet statements have also been noted. A certain worker with the rail[way] technical school declared that HERRIOT came here to see how many people have remained after the famine.

A fire guard from the canned food factory has also spoken in this spirit, stating that "HERRIOT came here to organize help for the starving people, just as it was in 1922. If 50% of the people have died by today, then all will die before the spring except for the communists."

And finally, an accountant from the sugar factory remarked that "HERRIOT should have come a month ago when commercial bread was still not being sold."

From a selection of anti-Soviet statements, a statement by an employee of the municipal tram network, a Stundist, should be taken note of: "It is not without a purpose that the foreigners started visiting us. It is high time to throw the heavy yoke off our backs. The hunger is less severe now and everyone can start thinking about politics. The time will come when even we will show what we can do."

An employee of the tram network stated:

"In the near future, a whip will fall on the Jewish backs. We have suffered under their oppression long enough. We will bring them into line and remind them of everything."

It is also worth quoting the opinion of the local doctor, TSYKLIS, who is under our surveillance in relation to French espionage in the "Grobokopatele"<sup>a</sup>, as a messenger for the intelligence officer CURIE. TSYKLIS spoke to this effect:

"HERRIOT's arrival was kept in secret until the very last moment because of some particularly suspicious pursuits by the Soviet government. And perhaps the naive agents of the secret police want to prevent the YUGERN's shot from happening again.

HERRIOT's visit – alright, but there is also the issue of some decisive turn in the French policy. HERRIOT is just as much a diplomat and politician as he is a journalist and a good French bourgeois who knows well what will be profitable for his fellow countrymen – interests on capital. Even if something should come

out if it, it will be at a price of higher profits for them than for us. And overall, let's hope that the commercial bread will not disappear after his visit."

We have checked a letter sent to France by the former head of HERRIOT's cabinet – Martsel REY, in which he writes, describing the journey on the steamer "a-Chicherin-a", that it was surprisingly clean on the ship. REY continues: "What is missing from the Soviet revolution is a revolution in eastern habits, that is, eradication of the Russian carelessness."

Ending [his letter], REY states that they were met at the docks by a crowd numbering 500–600 people, but the carelessness was visible even with them, a desire to be closer with the folk simplicity.

Other perustrated letters sent by the persons accompanying HERRIOT did not carry anything of interest.

In conclusion, once again we need to address the issue of the outrageous and irresponsible behavior of the director of the local branch of "a-Intourist-a", NEZHUYVOY, of which we have already informed in o[ur letter] no. 744426, dated 11 August of this year. A few days before HERRIOT's arrival, we arranged for him to provide an agreed number of passenger cars for our disposal. On the night of 25/26 August, few hours before HERRIOT's arrival, NEZHUYVOY declared that on 26<sup>th</sup> [of August], a large number of first category foreign tourists will be arriving with the "a-Intourist-a", and thus he cannot supply the cars. Following a long dispute, we reached a compromise and let him keep three passenger cars.

Thereafter, having checked, it turned out that on 26 August not a single first category tourist had arrived.

a-Ch[ief] ad interim of the O[dessa] Ob[last] Div[ision]-a GPU  
KAMINSKY

a-Ch[ief] ad interim of the Special Unit-a  
LUNEV

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 71, T. 8, pp. 117–129.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*



**No. 140**

**30 August 1933, Stanyslaviv. Letter from the Chief of the Polish  
Voivodeship State Police in Ternopil to the district headquarters regarding  
acts of sabotage planned by the OUN**

Voivodeship Headquarters of SP  
Stanyslaviv Investigation Office  
<sup>a</sup>No. P 9/19/33<sup>a</sup>

Stanyslaviv, 30 August 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Secret<sup>a</sup>

OUN – planned acts of  
sabotage

To  
District Headquarters of State  
Pol[ice] <sup>a</sup>in the Voivodeship<sup>a</sup>

Following my letter no. P 9/19/33, dated 12 August of this year, as well as no. P 9/18/33, dated 5 and 10 August of this year, regarding the acts of sabotage planned by the OUN, I hereby inform that according to the confidential information received, the Organization of UN was to present to the National Executive of the OUN five sabotage plans for approval, concerning, among others, the former districts of Skole, Stryi and Stanyslaviv.

Those acts of sabotage were probably to begin on 15 September of this year, since that date is often mentioned during confidential meetings and discussions among the more prominent members of the OUN.

I have also received confidential information [claiming] that the Organization of UN plans to blow up the building of the Soviet Consulate in Lviv in protest against Soviet activities in the eastern Ukraine, as well as against the denationalization and oppression of Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine.

I transmit the above for your information and use with an order to work out this information and notify me about the positive results and own information on this matter.

<sup>a</sup>Sent to:<sup>a</sup>  
Ch[ief] of Voi[vodeship]  
WBP Stanyslaviv

Chief of the Voivodeship SP  
in place (—) Ditz Franciszek<sup>1</sup>, Commis[sar]  
for Chief of the Investigation Office

IO Lviv, Ternopil and Lutsk  
VI Military District in Lviv  
Ind[ependent] I[nformation] Bur[eau]  
in Lviv

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Franciszek Ditz (born 16 January 1895), Lt. Inf. Res., police officer; after 1931 head of the economic department of the District Headquarters of SP in Lutsk.

Off[ice] of the Ind[ependent]  
I[nformation] Bur[eau]  
Stanyslaviv

In conformity:

(—) Wierzbicki, Sen[ior] Const[able]

SS

*DAIFO, F. 78, Op. 1, Spr. 49, pp. 86.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the bottom left corner a rectangular stamp: State Police Headquarters for the d[istrict] in Sniatyn ... on ... 19... no. ... and a date added in handwriting: 1/9/ ...33, a number: 6/82/33 and a note: In replying, make reference to the above no.; in the bottom right corner, a handwritten note: 25/IX, found in unclosed files n. [?] przod. Sikorski and illegible initials.*

## No. 141

### 1 September 1933, Nadvirna. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the Polish District State Police for August 1933 regarding the anti-Soviet manifestations planned by the Ukrainians in Poland

District Headquarters of State  
Police in Nadvirna

Nadvirna, 1 September 1933

<sup>a-</sup>Monthly report (minority)  
for the period from 1 to 31 August 1933<sup>a</sup>

#### I. General situation of all national minorities

During the reporting period, Rusyn parties (UNDO and USRP) did not show any particular activeness. Only through the efforts of the UNDA<sup>b</sup> leaders from Solotvino, a non-public meeting was held on 27 August 1933 in Solotvino, attended by Deputy Czukur (UNDO).

Also, Rusyn associations did not show any increased activeness.

As has been noted, Rusyn society takes a strong interest in the Defense Committee for Ukraine, which was to be joined by the members of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club and all Ukr[ainian] central organizations. The Committee was to issue a communiqué on the establishment of district and commune committees in Poland, as well as on other territories in the world inhabited by Ukrainians or at least Ukrainian émigrés.

With that aim, in the oncoming days conferences are to be held in the Polish district towns, bringing together the representatives of local Ukr[ainian] associations and organizations, during which district committees will be elected for bringing aid to the Ukrainians living in Sov[iet] Russia.

It is thus clear that the efforts are aimed at [organizing] great, simultaneous, anti-Soviet manifestations in whole Poland.

The Jews have not undertaken any political activity.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 68, Op. 2, Spr. 187, p. 17.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *As in the original.*

**No. 142**

**2 September 1933, Horodenka. Fragment of a report by the Horodenka District Governor for August 1933 regarding the protest rallies by the Ukrainian minority in the district related to the tragic situation in Ukraine**

Horodenka District Governor  
No. 7/taj/33

Horodenka, 2 September 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Secret!<sup>a</sup>

Situation report  
for the month of August 1933

To  
<sup>b</sup>Voivode<sup>b</sup>  
in Stanyslaviv

To No. BB Taj. 1/2/32, dated 22 March 1932, I hereby present the following situation report for the month of <sup>c</sup>August<sup>c</sup> 1933.

<sup>d</sup>15<sup>d</sup> encl.

District governor:  
in place (—) Dr. Matraś<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure]

[...]

<sup>a</sup>General situation regarding national minorities<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Ukrainians:<sup>a</sup>

No local political activity has been noted. However, members of all nationalist <sup>c</sup>political groups, such as the UNDO and USRP<sup>c</sup>, have begun <sup>c</sup>a wide-<sup>c</sup>scale agitation against the policies carried out by Soviet authorities with regard to the nationalist pursuits<sup>c</sup> of Ukrainians in the so called “Greater Ukraine”<sup>c</sup>.

Already in the coming days, mass protest rallies against the incidents in Soviet Russia are to take place in several places in the district.

<sup>f</sup>Those rallies are jointly organized by the supporters of the UNDA<sup>g</sup> and USRP, with the condition that the matters of domestic politics will not be brought up in their course<sup>f</sup>.

[...]

It should be noted that, with regard to the events taking place in the USSR, a different psychosis is taking shape among a part of the Ukrainian society.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase and wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Fragment marked with two vertical lines on the left margin.*

<sup>f</sup>-<sup>f</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin.*

<sup>g</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>1</sup> Zdzisław Matraś, PhD., in the years 1933–1935 Deputy District Governor in Horodenka.

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 960, pp. 111, 114.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter, an illegible sign and a date: 4/9; next to the signature, a handwritten illegible word or initials.*

## No. 143

### 2 September 1933, Tlumach. Fragment of a report by the Tlumach District Governor for August 1933 regarding the issuing of a protest decree during a rally in Stari Kryvotuly against the tragic events in Ukraine

Tlumach District Governor  
No.: Secret 5/Sa

Tlumach, 2 September 1933

Situation report  
On the socio-political movement  
for the month of August 1933

<sup>a</sup>To <sup>b</sup>Voivode<sup>b</sup>  
in <sup>c</sup>Stanyslaviv<sup>c-a</sup>

I [hereby] present.

16 encl.

District governor:  
(—) R. Świątkowski<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure]

[...]

#### 2. <sup>c</sup>Political life of Rusyn political parties<sup>c</sup>

On 19 August of this year, a member of the “Prosvita”<sup>2</sup> executive in Stari Kryvotuly, Jurko Cipuch, called a meeting, at invitations only, to which he invited Deputy Jura Czukur<sup>d</sup> from Yabloniv.

Deputy Czukur gave an address on the political group of deputies in the parliament, saying that the Ukr[ainian] deputies have filed a protest against the colonization of plotting of the fields, as well as against the new educational system, discussing the issue of economic crisis, the Ukrainian economic organization in cooperatives and cultural and educational matters.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup> *Was: Czukur. The same for the entire document.*

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Seweryn Świątkowski (born 8 January 1889), Capt. Inf. Res.; in the years 1932–1934 District Governor in Tlumach, in 1935 District Governor in Sniatyn.

<sup>2</sup> “Prosvita” – social and educational organization established by student activists in Lviv in 1868; carried out education-related activities – fighting illiteracy, raising national awareness; moreover, it was involved in publishing, running libraries and reading rooms; in 1917 it had some 5,000 centers, in Galicia in 1935 around 275,000 people were members of the reading room facilities; legal in inter-war Poland; following the entry of the Red Army into Polish territories, eradicated by Soviet authorities (already eradicated in the USSR in 1922); it functioned continuously under the General Government until 1945; it was reactivated in central Ukraine in the second half of 1941, thereafter eradicated by Soviet authorities. Reactivated in 1992 in Kiev as Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian “Prosvita” Society.

[...]

Ending his speech, he spoke of the cases of murder of distinguished Ukr[ainian] activists in Soviet Ukraine who worked for the free Ukr[ainian] nation, as well as of poverty and hunger from which the farmers in Ukraine are suffering after the introduction of collective farms. With respect to that, he called for condemning communism and related parties.

Following the address, a resolution was passed, carrying the following provisions:

<sup>e-1</sup>1. Those assembled in Stari Kryvotuly protest before the entire world against the fact that the Muscovite-Bolshevik authorities have issued a death sentence to the Ukr[ainian] nation and the Ukr[ainian] Church and are destroying life with all inhuman and bloody means<sup>e</sup>.

2. We separately protest against the Bolshevik economic policy which has led Ukr[ainian] farmers and peasants to death from starvation.

3. We express out compassion to our brothers and sisters in Greater Ukraine for their suffering, and we believe that the Ukr[ainian] nation will oppose all pursuits of the enemies, acquiring its highest rights through the path of struggle.

Some <sup>f-120-f</sup> people were present at the meeting. It lasted from 3:30 until 5:30 in the afternoon.

The political activists are at present occupied with initiating and stimulating the cultural, educational, economic and sport associations. No efforts of purely politico-party nature have been noted.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 960, pp. 206, 214–215.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter an illegible sign and a date: 6[?]/9; next to it, illegible initials; next to the signature, a handwritten illegible word or initials.*

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<sup>e-e</sup> *Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin.*

<sup>f-f</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

**No. 144**  
**4 September 1933, Berlin. Call by the Ukrainian Ministry in Germany**  
**to participate in the mourning ceremony devoted to the victims**  
**of the famine in Ukraine**

Berlin, 4 September 1933

a-Invitation<sup>a</sup>

The Ukrainian and Georgian nations, Germans from the Black Sea region and other non-Russian communities inhabiting the southern parts of the Soviet Union have been condemned by the communist decision-makers in Moscow to death by starvation.

As claimed by “[Le] Matin”, the Soviet government has systematically been organizing (provoking) the famine so as to destroy the freedom movements of the nations oppressed by this government. In Ukraine alone, in this “granary of Europe”, millions of people have died, and the same fate awaits further millions. Entire villages have vanished, black flags flying on the roofs, a symbol that the inhabitants have died of starvation.

The border between Russia and Ukraine has been closed down so that the starving cannot pass into the Russian territories yet untouched by the famine. In the face of this terrible situation, the entire Ukrainian Catholic Episcopate in Galicia has been protesting against the destruction of the Ukrainian nation, calling, in a moving address, on the entire civilized world to come to help and march in protest.

Following that call, His Eminence Cardinal Innitzer<sup>1</sup> ThD. has spoken out in Vienna, calling to establish a world-wide organization for social aid that would be supranational and multi-faith in its character, aiming to rescue the millions of people threatened with death by starvation.

The utterly impoverished Ukrainian émigré circles in Germany are able to provide only limited financial help to the victims of the famine. Thus, they can only pray to the Almighty Creator. He could take pity on his nation and save those who are still alive from complete destruction.

The Ukrainian Ministry in Germany, with headquarters in Berlin, calls on its faithful to [observe] the day of mourning which will conclude with a mourning mass for the victims of famine and terror, taking place on 11 September (Monday)

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<sup>a-<sup>a</sup></sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing and underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Innitzer (born 25 December 1875 in Neugeschrei in the Weipert region, died 9 October 1955 in Vienna), doctor of theology; from 1921 in the Prefecture of the Pontifical Household; in 1923 apostolic visitor to the Barnabite Order in Austria; in the years 1928–1929 Rector of the University in Vienna; in the years 1929–1930 Minister for Social Affairs of Austria; from 1932 Archbishop of Vienna, from 1923 Cardinal, initiated the action of informing the European countries about the famine in Ukraine and North Caucasus (including the cases of cannibalism); from 1938 apostolic administrator of Burgenland.



at 6 (18) in the afternoon in [Saint] Mary's chapel, Falzburgerstr[asse] 18 February. The Ministry hereby takes the liberty of kindly inviting those well-born to attend the mourning mass.

Peter Werhun<sup>2</sup>, ThD., priest

*TSDIAL, F. 358, Op. 3, Spr. 135, 3b, pp. 1–1 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in German.*

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<sup>2</sup> Petro Werhun (born 18 November 1890 in Horodok, died 7 February 1957), Greek Catholic priest, ThD.; from 1909 with the Austro-Hungarian Army (89<sup>th</sup> inf. reg.); from 1918 in UHA; after release from Polish prison in RCS – entered the UVO there; studied in Prague, Vienna and Berlin; in 1926 ordained as priest, responsible for the Ukrainian Catholics in Berlin and Germany; from 1937 in the Prefecture of the Pontifical Household, from 23 November 1940 till June 1945 apostolic visitor to the Greek Catholics in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reich; in May 1945 stayed in Berlin; arrested in 11 June 1945 by the Soviet security organs, transported to Kiev; on 29 May – 3 June 1946 tired by the VT of MVD of the Ukrainian MD, sentenced to 7 years in ITL, serving the sentence in camps in Tayshet, Vorkuta, Inta, Irkutsk, died in a camp hospital in Krasnoyarsk; beatified in 2001.

**No. 145**

**4 September 1933, Kosiv. Fragment of a report by the Kosiv District Governor for August 1933 on the protest meetings organized by the Ukrainian population with regard to the situation in the Ukrainian SSR**

Kosiv District Governor  
No. Taj. 1/33

Kosiv, 4 September 1933

Monthly report for August 1933  
on social and polit[ical] sphere

To <sup>a</sup>-Voivode<sup>a</sup>  
in <sup>b</sup>-Stanyslaviv<sup>b</sup>

submitting in accordance with the rescript dated 22 March 1933 No. BB Taj. 1/2/33.

District Governor  
in place  
(—) Dolnicki

[Enclosure]

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-Monthly report<sup>b</sup>

on social and political matters for the period from 1 till 31 August 1933

IV.

National minorities:

<sup>c</sup>-Rusyns<sup>c</sup>: In the reporting period, the Rusyns have not shown any activness in the political sphere. Only <sup>d</sup>-in Kobaky, during a meeting in the Shashkevich Reading Room of the “Prosvita”<sup>d</sup>, at the initiative of Demian Harasymiuk, a student from Kobaky, <sup>e</sup>-a protest against the suppression of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks<sup>c</sup> was adopted.

In particular, on <sup>d</sup>-13 August of this year, Father Mikołaj Terlecki, Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] parish priest in Kobaky called an ordinary meeting of the members of the Shashkevich Reading Room in Kobaky with the aim of initiating a protest against the suppression of the Ukrainians by the Bolsheviks. During the meeting, Demian Harasymiuk from Kobaky, known for his radically nationalistic views, made a statement before those gathered that the Bolsheviks terribly oppress the Ukrainian people, who suffer from hunger and poverty. At the consent of those

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase and wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Fragment placed in a handwritten angle brackets.*

<sup>e</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

gathered, Harasymiuk wrote a protest which was signed by those attending the meeting and which is to be sent to Lviv<sup>d</sup>.

A similar meeting was to take place on 20 August of this year in the National House in Kobaky, organized by a "Prosvita" branch in Kutu.

Following the arrival of a man by the name Mykietiuik, a brother of a Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] religion teacher from Kutu, and his commencing address on the oppression of Ukrainians by the Soviet Russia, "a well known communist", Michał Fenczuk from Kutu reacted to the speech, stating that Stalin was chosen by the entire nation in Russia. Other communists joined Fenczuk, shouting and whistling, to which the meeting's chairman, Wasyl Kłym, called on those gathered to end the meeting. For the above reasons, the lecture did not take place.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 960, pp. 145, 150.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner of the cover letter, probably a sign: rz and a date: 5/9; handwritten, illegible word or initials next to the signature.*

## No. 146

### 9 September 1933, Lviv. Fragments of a report by the Voivodeship Office in Lviv for August 1933 regarding the reactions of the Ukrainian minority to the events in the Ukrainian SSR

Lviv Voivodeship Office –  
Department of Security  
L: BB-62/8/33

Lviv, 9 September 1933

Situation report on the socio-political movements  
for the month of August 1933

[...]

<sup>a-b</sup>Ukrainian movement<sup>b</sup>  
General situation<sup>a</sup>

August of 1933 is the period of summer heat, holidays and a partial stagnation in political life. However, this year the month has been filled with events of greatest importance.

Above all, the suicide of an employee of the Soviet Consulate in Lviv, Mikołaj Stroński, on 3 August 1933, has shocked the Ukrainian society, as this was the third one of distinguished Bolshevik statesmen (Mykola Khvylovy – May 1933, Mykola Skrypnyk – 7 July 1933). Although the deaths of Khvylovy and Skrypnyk have spurred numerous comments on the policies pursued by the central government of the USSR with regard to Soviet Ukraine, which naturally did not spare somber colors when painting the bad situation of the Ukrainian population in the USSR, it was only the death of Stroński which gave the true picture of how the situation moves the people and causes<sup>c</sup>

[a)] The issuing, on behalf of all Greek Cath[olic] bishops, of a special letter to the people, entitled “Ukraine in premortal convulsions”,

b)<sup>d</sup> the issuing by 35 Ukrainian organizations and institutions (with UNDO and émigré-Petliurite inclinations) of a special protest decree,

c)<sup>e</sup> the establishment of the Ukrainian Civic Committee, aimed at offering support to the starving Ukrainian population in Soviet Ukraine.

Despite the importance that was to be given to the matter, despite the parallel visits by Polish officials to the USSR and Soviet ones to Poland indicating friendly neighborly relations between the two governments (Soviet and Polish), consolidation of Ukrainian society did not follow. Thus, the nationalists from the OUN ar-

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b- b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. Missing word or fragment.*

<sup>d</sup> *Was: a).*

<sup>e</sup> *Was: b).*

gued that the protests were only a smoke screen and a fraud directed at Ukr[ainian] society and initiated counter-agitation in their press publications, whereas the socialists from the USRP and USDP did not join the committee since they carried out protests jointly with the First International on a “world-wide scale”.

As a result, for the moment, the activities of the committee were limited to establishing a number of district committees and carrying out rallies organized by the UNDO activists, during which declarations were adopted, condemning the Soviet government in general, and particularly for intentionally and systematically starving the Ukrainian population and deporting it beyond the borders of Greater Ukraine.

[...]

#### <sup>a</sup>Review of Ukrainian press

##### I. a) Information on persecution of the Ukrainians in the Soviets<sup>a</sup>

“Dilo”: No. 205 of 7 August of this year, in the art[icle] entitled “Is the Ukrainian nation really perishing?”, makes reference to articles from the Polish press regarding the persecution of the Ukrainians in Soviet Russia, writing that a part of the Polish society sees events in Dnieper Ukraine as foreshadowing the end of Russophile attitudes among Ukrainians and expresses the desire for this “sobering up” to also bring about a change in the attitude held by Ukrainians towards Poland.

“The other part of the press, that is national-democratic – “Dilo” argues – in its blind Russophile inclination, whose source lies in the anti-Ukrainian front shared with the Muscovites, sees no difference between the present national policy line pursued by the Kremlin and the previous one; it holds the previous achievements of the USSR to be fiction and in general, it sees the only solution to the Ukrainian problem in dividing the spheres of influence in the east of Europe between Poland and Russia.”

Finally, it argues that “there is yet a third group in the society, which is represented by St. Łoś<sup>1</sup>, in whose view the Ukrainian nation, in the aftermath of the repression, will cease to exist in the political sense and will only remain in the Dnieper region as an ethnographic mass.”

“It is true – “Dilo” argues – that Łoś considers the moment to be fitting to »finish off« the Ukrainians by pursuing a strong anti-Ukrainian policy of assimilation on the part of Poles. He only gives advice on behalf of constructive national

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Stanisław Łoś (Stanisław Łoś) (1890–1974), professor, landowner, a conservative, supporter of the federal ideal, expert on Eastern issues; participated in the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920; from 1919 till 1931 with the MFA; from 1926 till 1929 in the Polish Embassy in London, at the same time, conducted research on the ancient world in the British Museum; at the beginning of the 1930's, mediated between the Polish government and the Ukrainian parliamentary representation, author of numerous publications on the Ukrainian problem and history of antiquity; in the years 1947–1961 chaired the Department of Ancient History at the Catholic University of Lublin (professor); in the years 1957–1959 Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the Catholic University of Lublin.

policy and pursuing small concessions, such as, for example, the establishment of a Ukrainian university, high schools, business schools etc.”

As a result, it states, that group is mistaken as to the assessment of the present events and their consequences, since, in the view presented by “Dilo”, the Ukrainian nation will endure all strikes.

“Undeniably, the situation is grave – “Dilo” concludes. – Once again we will live through the turning points in Ukrainian history. However, it is too early to sing the »requiem«, so soon”<sup>f</sup>.

“Dilo”: No. 212 of 14 August of this year, published a call “To the Ukrainian Nation” on the persecution of the Ukrainian population in Soviet Russia. Extensively describing the poverty of the local population, it argues that the Ukrainian nation in the western territories can no longer be silent, that protests need to be raised in all places inhabited by Ukrainians against the communist violence to draw the attention of the world, which will hurry to the rescue.

Informing on the establishment of the Ukrainian Civic Committee for Aid to Ukraine, initiated by the Ukr[ainian] Parliamentary Repres[entation] and all Ukrainian central institutions, calls on Ukrainian society to establish similar committees in each town, everywhere in the world, and to come to the rescue of the persecuted and starving Soviet Ukraine.

The call was signed by 35 societies and Ukrainian institutions from Lviv.

“Dilo”: No. 214 of 16 August of this year, in the art[icle] entitled: “Entire nation against the oppressors”, recalling the resolutions issued by the Central C[ommittee] of the UNDO on the occasion of anti-Ukrainian demonstrations in Soviet Ukraine, the establishment of the Committee for the Aid to the Suffering Ukraine, as well as the issuing of the letter by the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] Episcopate and the call signed by all institutions and s[ociet]ies in Ukraine, states that all this clearly certifies the unified front of the entire, organized Ukrainian society against the Moscow oppressors.

“However – “Dilo” states – the essence of those protests does not lie with the purely human indignation nor with the psychological mobilization of the entire nation. The essence lies in the fact that the blood and bones of every Ukrainian need to be saturated with the und[er]standing that Moscow’s control and communism are mortal enemies which need to be destroyed. Communism must perish from the face of the Earth, leaving behind only the memory of a mad idea and an unfortunate, mad experiment, and the Muscovy needs to be brought back to its ethnographic territories. And that psychological mobilization of the nation, as a reaction to the methods used by the Moscow-communist regime in Ukraine, is a prerequisite for the fight with Moscow.”

Complaining next that Europe, with its culture and civilization, does not see who is that mortal enemy, that nobody wants to get involved in the foreign, “internal” affairs, states that “<sup>g</sup>-this, however, still does not prove that we should be

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<sup>f</sup> *Illegible word crossed out in typewriting.*

<sup>g</sup>-<sup>g</sup> *As in the original.*

silent, unfaltering<sup>g</sup> in informing about those matters which for the cultural world are distant and politically »expired«, so as not to scream louder as the decision-makers grow ever more silent.”

The call, which informs about the establishment of the Ukrainian Social Committee for the Rescue of Ukraine, psychologically mobilizes all Ukrainians against Moscow; it reminds us of the need for broad, information, propaganda action abroad and carries words of truth and comfort to those who swell of hunger amidst modern hell.

“Nova Zorya”: No. 62 of 20 August of this year, in the art[icle] entitled “Neighborly press about us”, presents the position of the Polish press on the recent developments of Ukrainian policy in the country with regard to the recent suicides and the situation in Soviet Ukraine, stating:

“Reviewing the opinions of the Polish press, one comes to reflect on the history and future of these two neighborly nations, us and Poland, as well as of all of Europe. Those reflections are quite amusing. Divine intervention has simply repeated the situation in which the two nations have found themselves before, giving them a second chance to resolve their mutual relations and thus determine the arrangements in the relations of the entire, great eastern territories of Europe. However, it is unfortunate how very few signs there are of understanding that situation and mission on both sides. Some strange feeling of security has taken over the Polish public thinking, whereas on the Ukrainian side there is thoughtlessness of such magnitude that someone should think and act for them.”

“Meta”<sup>2</sup>: No. 34 of 27 August of this year, in the art[icle] entitled “Tormenting question”, describing the situation of the Ukrainian nation in the Soviets, states:

“With a logic which is no less dangerous – logic, which in politics knows only the laws of force and powerlessness, also follows the turn of events on this side of the Zbruch River. We have gotten used to underestimating and even ridiculing the attempts under the present regime at establishing a strong Polish statehood where there will be no Ukrainians, naturally not in the physical, but ethic<sup>h</sup> sense. Those attempts are pursued with a silent, unfaltering determination. There will be no price which the present Polish state regime would not pay to carry out its concept. In turn, observing our loud-mouthed carelessness and buffoonery of the various saviors of Ukraine leads to most gloomy conclusions. When the perishing of a nation motivates the instinct of unification, we disintegrate and weaken the remains of our organizational strengths; when misery and despair temporarily eradicate misunderstandings, we have it to the contrary – groups are born with the aim of monopolizing that misery for itself, while others scream and shout, sparing no efforts for sophistry, that we need no unified front. Could one come up with a more tragic paradox than that the strengthened, unified and unfaltering attack makes our leadership’s<sup>g</sup> unconditional political strengthening... disintegration?<sup>g</sup>.”

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<sup>h</sup> *As in the original. Probably should be: national.*

<sup>2</sup> “Meta” – weekly publication of the Ukrainian Catholic Union, published in Lviv in the period 1931–1939. Wołodymyr Kuźmowicz was its chief editor.

We live in the illusion of political fiction, allowing for the social rise of people and groups that do not realize what they are doing. We are still lucky that on the so called »protest front« which shows much interest in the issues of Greater Ukraine among the peasant masses in Galicia, one does not see or hear disputes among our conflicted<sup>i</sup> political groups. So far, Ukrainian peasants pay no attention to those conflicts. Faced with a catastrophe, they remain serious and unanimous. With the political exams carried out on our territories by modern history, they pass that exam. Will we, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the leading circles, pass it as well?

Does our way of reacting to the national catastrophe not constitute a third way, a most horrible one, since on its own it speeds up that very catastrophe?”

<sup>a</sup>b) The issue of the All-Ukrainian Congress<sup>a</sup>

[...]

“Dilo”: No. 218 of 20 August 1933, in the art[icle] entitled “To join the national and émigré leadership”, the correspondent M. Danko presents a number of comments on the tasks of the All-Ukrainian National Congress.

Beginning his article, the author notes that “the physical existence of a significant part of the population of Greater Ukraine is threatened today to an unprecedented degree; equally, the question of Ukrainian statehood is threatened.”

“One of the most important prerequisites for pursuing Ukrainian national self-defense is – in author’s view – the intentional carrying out of activities in the Ukrainian territories in parallel with pursuits at the international level. Establishing a direct connection between those two elements of Ukrainian undertakings should be the task for the All-Ukrainian National Congress. The present time requires an immediate, most far-reaching mobilization of Ukrainian forces, physical and intellectual, as well as financial means and political communication. All parties and émigré offices should constitute the centers of organized Ukrainian power, an intermediary between the leadership center and the Ukrainian masses.”

“Thus the question arises – the correspondent continues – at which stage in the development of the society-wide committee will the AUNC have to be called? Approaching the issue systematically, the activities of the committee will be threefold: protests, collection [of aid], and politics in the international arena. The protests should spiritually mobilize millions in the western Ukrainian territories to defend their brothers living on the other bank of the Zbruch River who are threatened with death by starvation. However, the national masses can be moved by the leaders only in pursuit of a national act, which mainly comes down to <sup>j</sup> the collection of financial means for direct assistance to the starving in Ukraine, as well as for further conducting the fight with the Muscovy. The third stage in the development of the anti-Moscow action concerns its promotion in the international arena. What is needed here is the cooperation of European émigré circles, and particularly the American circles, which could be of great importance.”

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<sup>i</sup> Was: confronted.

<sup>j</sup> Fragment or a word crossed out in typewriting.



[...]

<sup>a</sup>Ukrainian protest rallies against Soviet Russia<sup>a</sup>

[Yav]oriv [district]: On 20 August of this year, Father Prystasz Julian, a Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] parish priest in Moloshkovitsi, has taken up to influence his parishioners, speaking from the pulpit, calling for them to offer contributions for their starving brothers in Soviet Ukraine. Moreover, he ordered them to wear mourning for the oppressed and starving Ukrainians who remain in Soviet Russia.

[Mos]tyska [district]: On 27 August of this year parish priest Biłyk in Arlamivska Volya informed during the sermon that next Sunday and the following one, he will be organizing a collection for the Ukrainian people under Russian rule, suffering great poverty from famine.

[Rava-]Ruska [district]: On 3 August of this year, a meeting took place in the “Prosvita” reading room in Uhniv in protest against the government of Soviet Russia, attended by [parliamentary] Deputy Kochan<sup>3</sup>, and some 30 other people.

Having presented, in most grave words, the present situation in Soviet Ukraine, Deputy Kochan called on those gathered to sign a joint protest memorandum to the League of Nations against the wrongdoing of the Russian government against the population of Soviet Ukraine.

With the protest [memorandum] signed by those attending, the head parish priest, Aleksander Trześniowski from Uhniv, called on those gathered to sign up, en mass, as members of the “Prosvita”, to attend the meetings of the members, to profit from the library holdings, and most of all, to teach the youth the spirit of nationalism, since the future of the Ukrainian nation depends on that; thereafter, having sung “Shche ne vmerla [Ukraine]”, the people went home.

[Soka] [district]: On 19 August of this year, a meeting was held in the National House in Belz, organized by Konstanty Myhal from Sebechiv, regarding the situation of Ukr[ainians] in Soviet Russia and education in Poland.

The meeting was attended by some 500 people from Belz and neighboring villages, as well as by Deputy Kochan.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 985, pp. 3, 11 v., 12 v.–14, 19.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>3</sup> Wołodymyr Kochan (4 December 1898 – 13 June 1966), during WWI with the Austro-Hungarian Army, in the years 1918–1919 with the UHA; in the inter-war period, active in “Lukh” and “Prosvita”, head of the Ukrianian Bank in Sokal, member of the UNDO. Arrested on 15 October 1930 by the SP, initially tried in Hrubieszów, later in Volodymyr-Volynskyi and finally, on 17–22 February 1931 in Lviv; released after September 1931; in the years 1931–1933 member of the Polish Lower House; in the years 1932–1939 with the FNE; in the years 1940–1944 worked with the Centrobank in Lviv; after 1945 Secretary General of the Ukrainian Coordinating Committee in Bavaria, later emigrated to Canada; from 1948 head of the executive of the Canadian Ukrainian Committee.

**No. 147**

**9 September 1933, Stanyslaviv. Fragment of a report by the Stanyslaviv  
Voivode for August 1933 regarding rallies organized by the UNDO  
in protest against events in the Ukrainian SSR**

[...]

To  
(According to distribution list)  
Ad 1) Submit.  
Ad 2–10) Send.

<sup>a-</sup>To<sup>-a</sup>:

1) Ministry of Internal Affairs	4 cop[ies]
Political Department (Soc[ial] and Nation[al])	
2) Voivodes in:	
Białystok	1
Brest-o[n]-B[ug]	1
Lviv	1
Lutsk	1
Novgorodok	1
Vilnius	1
Ternopil	1
3) Inspector of the 5 <sup>th</sup> Army in Lviv	1
4) Commander of 6 <sup>th</sup> Military District Ind[ependent] Inf[ormation] Off[ice] in Lviv	1
5) Commander of 10 <sup>th</sup> Military District [Independent Information Office] in Przemyśl	1
6) Commander of the 11 <sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, Dept. II of Staff in Stanyslaviv	1
7) Chief of the Investigation Office in Stanyslaviv	1
8) Prosecutor with the DC in:	
Kolomyia	1
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Stanyslaviv	1
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11) District Governors – all a copy each	12
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Total:	35 cop[ie]s

[...]

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<sup>a--a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>a</sup>Political life  
UNDO<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Stanyslaviv dist[rikt]:<sup>a</sup> On 19 August <sup>b</sup> a public meeting was held in Stanyslaviv, organized by the local UNDO committee with the aim of manifesting opposition towards the Red terror in Soviet Ukraine. The meeting was attended by some 1,000 persons, with speakers including: [parliamentary] Deputy Bilak<sup>1</sup> (UNDO), Deputy Ładyka<sup>2</sup> (USRP) and f[ormer] Deputy of the UNDO Dmytro Palijiw.

Following an introduction by a lawyer Dr. Julian Oleśnicki, the main address was given by Dr. Aleksander Czornenko. He briefly presented the history of Ukraine, <sup>d</sup>while<sup>d</sup> devoting more time to the present period, that is the time of the Soviet regime.

Based on a variety of data, he stated that Ukraine is living a historic tragedy, addled by the Soviets with façade of independence, not only is it not sovereign, but in the recent years the Soviets have aimed at denationalizing and colonizing it with Russian element, starving en mass the Ukrainian population. The red terror proved to be a hundred times worse than the white, tsarist one. 2,000,000 Ukr[ainian] farms have already been collectivized, 200,000 of those with a stronger national consciousness, have been displaced to far-away regions, bringing in colonists, native Russians – communists, in their place. At the same time, millions are intentionally starved to death, confiscating the remains of their grain under the charge of anti-state activities. The speaker quotes a letter, sent from Ukraine, which in most drastic words presents the situation there. When reading out the words about the food in kolkhoz kitchens being so bad, that even pigs would not eat it, one of the communists present at the meeting, shouted: “Not true, give us such food?”. The scream gave rise to a lively reaction in the room. During the commotion which ensued, the guards escorted the communist and several of his supporters out of the premises.

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<sup>b</sup> *Crossed out in handwriting:* of this year.

<sup>c</sup> *Was:* Ładyga. *The same for the entire document.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Stepan Bilak (11 June 1890 – 1950), PhD. in legal studies; during WWI served with the Sich Riflemen; in the years 1918–1919 secretary ad interim of the Ukrainian National Council; in the years 1919–1920 secretary to the director of ZUNR; in the 1920’s member of the municipal council in Horodok; at the turn of fall 1930 arrested by the SP, released in November 1930; later member of the council of “Ridna Shkola” association, chairman of the “Prosvita” branch in Horodok (?), member of the CC of the UNDO; in the years 1928–1939 member of the Polish Lower House; attorney, defending the accused members of the OUN; after WWII in the USA.

<sup>2</sup> Dmytro Ładyka (born 14 August 1888, died February or March 1945), lawyer; in the years 1914–1918 with the Austro-Hungarian Army – Lt., camp commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> AC; in the years 1918–1920 with the UHA (?); member of the Main Directorate of USRP. Arrested by the SP in October 1930, released in November 1930; in the years 1928–1935 member of the Polish Lower House; left for Germany at the end of WWII, died during the Allied bombing of Dresden.

When the gathering settled down Dr. Czornenko continued his address on the repression carried out by the Soviet regime towards the Ukr[ainian] nation, in the area of the language, religion, culture, etc.

Second address on behalf of UNDO, was that of Deputy Bilak, who similarly criticized Bolshevik policies, calling them [that is the Bolsheviks] invaders and occupiers. He recalled that since the Truce of <sup>°-°</sup>Andrusovo in 1667<sup>°</sup>, the same policy is presently pursued by Russia and Poland. He strongly condemned the present situation in the Greater Ukraine and pointed out the poverty, which the Ukr[ainian] nation is suffering in Soviet Russia.

Third in line, on behalf of USRP, was Deputy Ładyka, who, in brief statements, described the hardships in Soviet Russia, noting that one should not expect help from others, but work on one's own, in all directions of economic and social life.

When the speaker – referring to the abovementioned incident in the room – stated his view that such harsh steps should not have been taken with regard to the communist, who perhaps recklessly has voiced his deep conviction, and that those who are lost should rather be talked to and enlightened, a comment was shouted out from among the students present in the room: “We won't caress them”.

Finally the f[ormer] Deputy Dmytro Palijiw, editor of the “Novy Chas” periodical from Lviv, spoke out in strong and convincing words. He started with the argument that there are many among those gathered who have fought together with him in Lviv and walked on to Kiev to fight for an independent Ukraine, and during that time have seen the tragedy of the Ukr[ainian] nation, which let itself be fooled with false Bolshevik slogans. At present, the entire nation has come to its senses, but only too late, since it has been utterly suppressed by the Bolshevik government and Red terror. The Russian government pursues a policy that is unknown to the entire cultured world, aiming to destroy all of Ukraine through starvation and colonization by Muscovites, but it will not succeed, since for as long as a single conscious Ukrainian is alive, he will protest against the barbaric terror. The struggle for existence should make every Ukrainian's conscience revolt, spanning over entire masses and preparing them to an uprising in Ukraine, and this will be decisive for the independent Ukr[ainian] statehood. The time will come when the whole of Ukraine will acquire freedom and independence, freeing itself from the occupiers and the Red terror. Palijiw's address was widely applauded.

At the request of Dr. Oleśnicki, a decree read by Dr. Czornenko was unanimously adopted, carrying the following text:

“1) Muscovite Bolsheviks have deceived the Ukr[ainian] peasants and workers, and under the call for freedom have occupied Dniester Ukraine, turning it into Moscow's colony;

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<sup>°-°</sup> Was: Truce of Andrukhovo in 1669.

2) the Bolshevik policy in Ukraine aims to wipe the Ukr[ainian] nation off the face of Earth, and thus, once and for all, to eradicate the danger of war between Ukraine and Moscow for an independent Ukrainian statehood;

3) Russian Bolsh[eviks] and their Ukrainian lackeys have led to the situation, whereby the Ukr[ainian] population is presently dying by the millions through starvation.

We, Ukrainians from the Stanyslaviv region, gathered at the meeting in Stanyslaviv on 19 August, send to our brothers and sisters of Dniester Ukraine and in the Solovki Islands, Siberia and in the dungeons of the GPU our warmest greetings and appeal to them to endure in the struggle against the Muscov[ite] occupiers. We protest in front of the entire cultured world against the terror pursued by the Soviet government towards the Ukr[ainian] population. We declare the fight against all who have sold themselves and who serve as lackeys to Moscow, and take on to mercilessly destroy the press that serves the Bolsheviks.”

At the end, those gathered sung “Shche ne vmerla Ukraina”.

On 20 August <sup>b</sup> a meeting of the UNDO was held in Bratkiivtsi, attended by Deputy Czukur<sup>e</sup>. During the meeting, Deputy Czukur presented a brief parliamentary report, discussing <sup>d</sup>in turn<sup>d</sup> in detail the law on school education, the economic policy pursued by the government, and finally, presenting the situation in Ukraine under the control of Red Moscow, illustrating the extreme terror in Greater Ukraine. At the conclusion of the meeting, a resolution was adopted in which those gathered gave their support to the Ukr[ainian] parliamentary representation, expressed their compassion towards the suffering and hardship of the Ukr[ainian] nation under the control of Red Moscow, and finally, protesting against the suppression and terror in Greater Ukraine.

On 19 August, a public gathering of parliamentarians was held in Zhydachiv, attended by [parliamentary] Deputies Kuzyk<sup>3</sup> and Welykanowicz<sup>4</sup>, as well as by some 1,000 other people.

During the meeting, Dep[uty] Welykanowicz spoke about Ukr[ainian] education in Poland, showing that the development of the educational system is hindered by the authorities and schools are being closed down. The Deputy concluded his address with a call for intensive support for “Ridna Shkola”<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>e</sup> Was: Czukur. *The same for the entire document.*

<sup>3</sup> Stepan Kuzyk (7 January 1888 – 1947), lawyer, member of the central leadership of UNDO, member of the board of the “Dilo” publishing house, member of the “Prosvita” executive, member of the board of the Ukrainian Oil Industry; in the years 1928–1935 member of the Polish Lower House; arrested in September 1930 by the SP, released in December 1930; after 1941 director of the Centrobank in Lviv; in Germany after WWII.

<sup>4</sup> Dmytro Welykanowicz (born 21 September 1884), “Prosvita” activist, teacher, member of the Ukrainian Democratic Party, later member of the CC of the UNDO; in the years 1928–1939 member of the Polish Lower House; in 1940 deported to the interior of the USSR.

<sup>5</sup> “Ridna Shkola” – cultural and educational society numbering over 100,000 members and supported from the donations of the Ukrainian community; established with the aim of organizing Ukrainian private schooling, the society financed kindergartens, elementary and vocational schools, high schools, organized special courses, among others, for illiterate people, and published widely.

This was followed by a speech by [parliamentary] Deputy Kuzyk, who described the economic situation in Poland, going into the law on local government, showing <sup>d</sup>its<sup>d</sup> dangers for the Ukr[ainian] nation.

Finally, touching on the subject of the situation in Soviet Ukraine, Deputy Kuzyk expressed a protest against persecution of the Ukr[ainian] movement in Greater Ukraine, stating that as a symbol of protest, the Ukr[ainian] nation would carry out a one-day “mourning” manifestation, the date of which would be announced in the press. Following the speeches, a resolution was adopted, to the following effect:

“1) We protest against the law on language in schools, adopted in July 1924, and against the school law of 1932, by which nearly the entire Ukr[ainian] schooling system has been eradicated;

2) we demand that a new school law be adopted which will protect the rights of the Ukr[ainian] nation in the area of Ukr[ainian] educational system;

3) those gathered at the rally, appeal to the Ukr[ainian] peasants for their support for Ukr[ainian] private schools and for increasing the number of children in all Ukr[ainian] schools, thus aiming for an increase in the number of Ukr[ainian] intelligentsia;

4) those gathered at the rally, understanding the significance of nationalistic education, declare that they will pursue an unfaltering struggle in support of Ukr[ainian] schooling until the aspirations are completely met, so that Ukr[ainian] children can be taught by Ukr[ainian] teachers in a Ukr[ainian] school;

5) those gathered protest against the Red, Muscovite yoke placed on Greater Ukraine which serves to entirely de-populate Ukraine;

6) those gathered forward their greetings and words of compassion to their brothers on the other bank of the Zbruch River, under the slogan of »Fight – and you’ll defeat«.”

Tlumach dist[rikt]: On 19 August a meeting was held in Stari Kryvotuly in protest against terror in Greater Ukraine attended by some 120 people.

The meeting was also attended by the [parliamentary] Deputy Czukur, who delivered an appropriate address. In an adopted resolution, those gathered protested against the terror in Greater Ukraine, [against] Bolshev[ik] policy in those territories, and expressed their compassion for their brothers and sisters.

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 950, pp. 52, 59–61; see also DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9 a, Spr. 987, pp. 135 v. – 136 v. Draft, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish with numerous, handwritten corrections, unaccounted in this publication. In the top right corner of the first page, a handwritten note: a.w [?]; below, on the left side, two illegible notes (one with a date: 9/9), next to it, added in handwriting: rz and a date: 9/9.*

**No. 148**  
**4 March 1932 – 11 September 1933, [Kharkiv]. Informations**  
**from an employee of the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff**  
**regarding the situation in Ukraine**

[...]

4 March [1932] [...] I have met an acquaintance from the journey (Dr. Grewkova). She was pleased, I quite honestly believe. She began talking to me immediately in Polish when I wanted [to speak] in Russian. I went in the direction of her home, she invited me in. [...] She receives only bread, the rest bought on the [free] market. Other doctors, those who are members of the party or have protectors, also receive, apart from bread, other food rations. [...] She spoke of the poverty in the countryside. A couple of days earlier, they sent an ideological patient<sup>1</sup> to the countryside to confiscate the remains – however, having seen the poverty and hunger on the spot (the peasants eat *makukha* instead of bread), he returned [and] throwing his [party] ID in his patient’s face, stated: “I no longer want to be a member if this is to be the idea – after all we come from there, and now we take away, forcing others to starve.”

After that fact, they came to his home, took him and since then, no news. He left him wife and 2, 3 (?) children.

[...]

11 March. In some homes there is such terrible poverty that people end up insane or swollen. It is forbidden to send food rations from one place to another so as not to lower the amounts designated for a given settlement. So far, in general the post has been accepting packages [of] 5 to 8 kg at the most. At present, there is nearly nothing [available] in the market.

13 March. [State] Exporting Institute in Warsaw is negotiating with London<sup>2</sup>, with the power planters<sup>3</sup> through the ambulatory<sup>4</sup>, about the export of horses – I have the impression that the entire undertaking is pointless, since there are no more horses here, dead from the lack of fodder – they are to be seen everywhere: on the road to the airport the skeletons and carcasses are fresh, in the park, in the market, etc.

[...]

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<sup>1</sup> A codename for a GPU agent or party or Komsomol activist, used in the communication between the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv and the headquarters, see CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-34, n.pag.

<sup>2</sup> A codename for Kharkiv used in the communication between the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv and the headquarters; *ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Not clear. “Power plant” was a codename for the GPU used in the communication between the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv and the headquarters; *ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> A codename for the Consulate used in the communication between the Polish Consulate general in Kharkiv and the headquarters; *ibidem*.

29 March [...] The human poverty is so terrible that one does not want to believe his own eyes. Yesterday, I observed a woman with an intelligent face in terrible rags – she spotted a piece of bread, the size of a nut, dirty and dry – she picked it up and bit on it in secret.

I have also heard of an incident with an Orthodox priest who would come to the garbage container holding the remains from a public kitchen and pick food for himself there.

[...]

<sup>a</sup> 2[...]<sup>b</sup> They still do not pay the salaries. Allegedly, they lower [the salaries] of some or pay the overdue in v[ery] small installments. The supply of *zakriyye razpredeliteli* is v[ery] bad. There has been no sugar in the past several months.

Overall, the people are tired and exhausted. The doctors are forbidden to issue documents releasing one from work, thus v[ery] few individuals oppose and refuse to work.

A doctor, working temporarily with the “Traktorstroy” has informed me that there is *voinizirovannyi otdel* there where the specialists are lacking; the people are exhausted there, they have no holidays because there is no one who could replace them.

The shortages in the workforce have led to mass sending of workers to work in the fields. Rumor has it that in the upcoming days, even office clerks are to be mobilized.

13 August [19]32 Allegedly 17,000 people from London alone have been sent to work in the fields.

[...]

14 October. Today in the morning, I went to the market with the cook to shop for tonight’s reception. I regret so terribly not having taken a camera – so many interesting pictures! The first impression that I had looking at the peddlers was a v[ery] unpleasant one; I thought that they were selling their goods illegally because everyone seemed scared and selling as if in secrecy. It turns out that theft occurs extensively. If a thief steals and the victim wants revenge or to punish [him], in an instance so many defenders will come forth that the victim might pay the price of his own life.

The women, for example, sit on their baskets; others, in turn, keep their goods under their clothes and walk around offering them in whispers.

The prices are very high, yet there are many buyers. It was characteristic that among those buying, there were many Jews, buying chickens, geese, etc. and naturally fish, since it is for doomsday.

The potatoes are sold by the piece – a pile of potatoes (10 larger ones or about 20 smaller) – 2 rb.; pork fat – a thin slice, of some 20 cm in length and 15 [cm]

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<sup>a</sup> Next to the fragment, a rectangular receipt stamp with the date: 3 September 1932 and a number: L. 1373/32/O.

<sup>b</sup> The remaining part of the date not legible.



in width – 1 rb.; fat – suet the size of a sugar cube – 1 rb.; bread – 2 or 3<sup>c</sup> rb. per pound; butter – 35 to 40<sup>d</sup> [rb.] per kg; chickens – 12 [to] 30 [rb.]; ducks – 15 to 30 rb.; eggs – 6 to 7.50 [rb.] for 10 pcs; milk – 4 rb.; apples – 4 to 6 rb. per kg; 10 per tomatoes – 3 rb.; sugar – 18 rb. per kg.

I have not taken everything down, thus I do not remember the rest. In any case, the prices are more or less identical, depending on the quality. I intend to make such a trip again, but with a camera.

[...]

28 February [1933]. Today, I saw the following picture, which perfectly describes the poverty here – the man who takes away the trash was picking remains from the garbage, and when food was put out for the dogs, he took it to eat while it was still warm, as if it was the best lunch ever.

[...]

3 March [...] Today I saw how they led a whole group of *besprizorni* caught around town. They looked like a herd of hooligans, dirty, haggard and in rags. All aged 6 [to] 15. Some of them were clearly sick or exhausted, and they were carried on three wagons.

[...]

7 September [...] The sale of potatoes has been prohibited under penalty of punishment. The product has completely vanished from the market.

When Herriot was here, they carried out preparations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> polyclinic (unfortunately, he did not visit it!). In three days, they have renovated nearly the entire clinic, gave new sheets, new velvet screens and new clothes and aprons for the aids and the medical personnel. All this cost 750 rb. After Herriot's departure, everything, except for the screens, was taken back.

[...]

[11 September]. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> polyclinic, a bath has been set up, the so called *vol-navaya*, that is sea bath with artificial sea waves (for the neurotics). No one has so far used it. It functions only as a spectacle when [the hospital] is visited by a guest of special importance. Then they call on the mechanic who turns it on for a brief time and has to stay with the motor for the entire time (because it is operated artificially). A similar incident took place when they were awaiting Herriot's visit.

CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.

Original, handwritten.

Document in Polish.

Information written as a diary kept continuously by Józefina Pisarczykówna and sent in parts (several pages at a time) to the headquarters, p. 30–32, 34, 35, 38, 39, 64–66, 76–78, 99–100, 6, 7, 15. See: Communication instructions for X-22. CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.2094, T. W-36, n.pag.

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<sup>c</sup> Changed from: 4–5.

<sup>d</sup> Changed from: 50–60.

## No. 149

### 16 September 1933, Odessa. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement on the free sale of bread

<sup>a</sup>-Odessa Oblast Division GPU-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Special<sup>b</sup> <sup>a</sup>-Unit<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret-<sup>a</sup>  
“16” September 1933

On 13 September, I went to the home of BERNDT, where I was greeted by a servant who led me into the living room from the dinning room, where BERNDT's family was eating breakfast [...].

During the conversation, BERNDT stated that he should soon receive many products for sale from an authorized [enterprise], thus he would be able to give me flour for money, naturally at wholesale price. He convinced me that his flour is 100% good, not like in the market, where there are all types of additives, and generally in the authorized [enterprise] they have already collected all the grain and stocked it in the granary, not like in the state-run sovkhozy, where the harvested grain lies under the skies with the rain water dripping through the ripped tarpaulin, which does not even cover the entire stock.

He also said that – in his opinion – the free sale of bread will not [last] long, no longer than two months beginning today, then there will be long lines and no bread, but the Russian people are very patient and do not react to anything, for example: he knows that our state has sent millions of people to distant places who die there, while such a number of people in other countries constitute the state and are treated with due respect. Those people, having armed themselves, could come back from the places to which they have been deported and defend their rights while [here the people] suffer and remain silent, and overall he was infuriated by the calmness of our people. In conclusion, I told him that I need the money and that I would come back, with that I left.

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity<sup>b</sup>:

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 380-T, n.pag.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten on a form.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in uppercase.

## No. 150

### 3 October 1933, Kosiv. Fragment of a report by the Kosiv District Governor for September 1933 regarding the activities carried out by the Ukrainian minority in the district

Kosiv District Governor  
No. Taj. 1/33

Kosiv, 3 October 1933  
<sup>a</sup>-Secret<sup>a</sup>

Monthly report  
for September 1933  
on social and political matters

To <sup>b</sup>-Voivode<sup>b</sup>  
in <sup>c</sup>-Stanyslaviv<sup>c</sup>

Submitting in accordance with the rescript dated 22 March 1933 No. BB Taj. 1/2.

District Governor  
(—) Galotzy<sup>1</sup>

9 encl.

[Enclosure]

[...]

<sup>c</sup>-Monthly report<sup>c</sup>

on social and political matters for the period from 1 till 30 September 1933

#### IV.

National minorities. <sup>d</sup>-Rusyns<sup>d</sup>. <sup>e</sup>-On 21 September 1933<sup>e</sup>, the Krivorivna commune was visited by a Deputy of the Polish Lower House from the UNDO, <sup>c</sup>-Jura Czukur<sup>c</sup>, living in Yabloniv, Kolomyia district.

The aforementioned participated in a <sup>e</sup>-public gathering<sup>e</sup>, organized by Father Ambroziak, Gr[reek] Cath[olic] parish priest from Krivorivna, discussing the issues of <sup>e</sup>-arming of states,<sup>e</sup> external relations in the Polish state, the matter of plotting of fields in Volhynia, which is allegedly to be carried out at the expense of Ukrainian peasants, <sup>e</sup>-the matter of regulating the schooling system<sup>e</sup> in the

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase and wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>e</sup>-<sup>e</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Zdzisław Galotzy, in the years 1933–1934 District Governor in Kosiv.

Polish state, and it [should be] noted that the matter is of particular interest for the Ukrainian parliamentary faction.

Next, he appealed to those gathered to economize and refrain from consuming alcohol and recommended joining the work effort towards organizing a cooperative and educational societies, such as a “Prosvita” reading room and “Ridna Shkola.”

Concluding his address, [parliamentary] “Deputy Czukur” touched on the situation in Soviet Ukraine, where the Ukrainian peasants are forced by the Bolsheviks to work as slaves, having their fields and all goods<sup>f</sup> taken away, thus condemning the people to “hunger” and poverty. At his call to adopt a protest [resolution] against the suppression of the Ukrainian nation, only a few people expressed their support by signing the relevant resolution; the rest responded to the call with silence.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 961, pp. 164, 168.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter, an illegible sign and date: 4[?]/X; next to it, illegible initials; in the top right corner, illegible initials.*

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<sup>f</sup> *Word circumscribed in a drawn frame.*

**No. 151**

**4 October 1933, Rohatyn. Fragment of a report by the Rohatyn District Governor for September 1933 on the protests by the Ukrainian minority in the district with regard to the situation in the Ukrainian SSR**

Rohatyn District Governor  
No. taj. 17/33 mon[thly]  
rep[ort]

Rohatyn, 4 October 1933  
<sup>a-b</sup>Secret<sup>-b-a</sup>

Situation report  
for September 1933

To  
<sup>b</sup>-Voivode<sup>-b</sup>  
in <sup>a</sup>-Stanyslaviv<sup>-a</sup>

submit.

District Governor  
(—) Dr. Janecki<sup>1</sup>

[Enclosure]

[...]

<sup>a</sup>-Situation report for the month of September 1933<sup>-a</sup>

[...]

<sup>a</sup>-II. Political life<sup>-a</sup>

UNDO

<sup>c</sup>In the reporting period, the UNDO has shown no external activeness, with only some members trying to exert influence and control over associations partially controlled by the USRP<sup>-c</sup>.

<sup>d</sup>-USRP<sup>-d</sup>

Also the USRP, in the reporting period, has externally shown no particular activeness, except for the protest rally organized on <sup>d</sup>10 September<sup>-d</sup> in Rohatyn in relation to the oppression of the Ukr[ainian] nation in Sov[iet] Russia. The rally was attended by some <sup>d</sup>400<sup>-d</sup> peasants from Rohatyn, Pukiv, Zhovchiv, Dobryniv, Ruda, Potok, Pidgorodya, Klishchivna, Pidvynya, Kutsy, Verbylivtsi and other neighboring villages.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Fragment marked with a diagonal line on the text.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Gustaw Janecki, PhD., in the years 1932–1938 District Governor in Rohatyn.

Those gathered were addressed by Andrzej Hrywnak<sup>2</sup> from Danylche, who described in his speech the means by which the Bolsheviks have pursued the oppression of the Ukr[ainian] nation from 1917 in Sov[iet] Ukraine until the present time, and explaining that the radicals (USRP) stand in defense of the entire Ukr[ainian] nation, and thus are initiating a high protest against violence and terror.

In the course of discussion, OUN members opposed sending any protests to the League of Nations and to the parliamentary representation since at the present moment, such petitions will bring no help, yet a protest resolution against the oppression and terror in Sov[iet] Ukraine was adopted.

Peace and order were not disrupted throughout the duration of the rally.

[...]

a-VII. Religious life<sup>a</sup>

Church fete

On 21 September, a Church fete was held in Pidvynya, during which a Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] parish priest from Dobryniv gave a sermon on the persecution of the Ukr[ainian] population in Sov[iet] Russia.

On 28 August, Church fetes were held in Luchyntsi [and] in Konushki, attended by Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests from Putyatyntsi, Verbylivtsi, Rohatyn, Pidgorodya, Zalaniv, Yavche and Nastashchin.

On 10 September, during the liturgy in the Greek Catholic Church in Pidmykhaylivtsi, a Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priest, Mirosław Lipiński from Zhuriv, gave a sermon in which he called on the faithful to file in a protest against the oppression of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia which was to be sent to the League of Nations.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 961, pp. 185–186, 189, 193.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the bottom right corner of the cover letter, illegible initials.*

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<sup>2</sup> Andrzej Hrywnak (Andrij Hrywniak) (born 30 October 1898, died 13 February 1969 in Szczecinek); in the years 1916–1917 with the Austro-Hungarian Army; in the inter-war period, in the USRP leadership, in the years 1933–1935 member of the Polish Lower House. Arrested in the fall of 1939 by the Soviet security organs; sentenced to 5 years in ITL; released in 1944, joined the Red Army; following demobilization, settled in the Szczecinek district; member of the PRN in Szczecinek.

**No. 152**

**6 October 1933, Bialystok. A letter from Poland confiscated by the GPU  
sent to Yulia Kaminska, inhabitant of Odessa**

No. 15321  
6 October [19]33

Odessa, <sup>a-24</sup> Niezhynskaya [St.]<sup>a</sup>  
To <sup>a-</sup>Kaminska Yulia<sup>a</sup>

Dear Yulcia!

Now you write about the hunger from which you are suffering, we know well here what is going on there. Here the newspapers report about it all; when you read a newspaper, your hair stands on end. How the poor nation is suffering there, how the government only observes, as if it were not people who governed there, but beasts, since the heart of even the most cruel man would be touched seeing such poverty, but surely the Jews are not suffering that much.

It is also difficult here due to unemployment; the unemployed suffer as well, yet no one has yet died here and no one will die of hunger, [since] even if someone is in need, they will always be offered bread and [something] will be added to that bread. In your case, there is not even a place to turn to.

Here everyone dies a peaceful death, and will die peacefully and in the whole world, [people] die in peace. Only there, in that Bolshevik paradise, people suffer that much – because the newspapers report everything here, how the people are suffering, such things have not taken place anywhere else in the world and will not take place, we will not allow [it]; we have come to understand the meaning of Bolshevism.

Białystok

Stefania

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 63, T. 15, pp. 403–403 v.  
Copy, handwritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a-<sup>a</sup></sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

**No. 153**  
**9 October 1933, Stanyslaviv. Fragments of a report by the Stanyslaviv**  
**Voivode for September 1933 regarding UNDO and USRP activities**  
**in response to the events in the Ukrainian SSR**

Stanyslaviv Voivodeship Office  
No. BB Taj. 17/1/33  
Stanyslaviv  
9 October 1933

General situation for all national minorities

<sup>a</sup>-Ukrainians<sup>-a</sup>

The protest activities pursued in the previous period by the Ukr[ainian] political factions against the oppression in Soviet Ukraine were also carried out in this reporting period, however their intensity has significantly decreased.

With regard to that matter, only two public meetings have been organized, one in Rohatyn at the initiative of USRP, the other in Horodenka, called by a joint committee organized by UNDO and USRP activists.

During this period, except for this activity, UNDO has organized only two meetings, one in Krivorivna, Kosiv dist[ri]ct], the second in Solotvino, Nadvirna dist[ri]ct].

More active during the [reporting] period were the cultural and educational associations, especially "Ridna Shkola", which has carried out, throughout the period, particularly lively organizational and propaganda-oriented activities.

[...]

<sup>a-b</sup>-Press<sup>-b-a</sup>

"Zhinocha Dolya"

In iss. 18, from 15 September, the periodical published a communiqué issued by the Ukr[ainian] Civic Committee for Aid to Ukraine on the establishment of district and local committees for bringing material support to those starving in Greater Ukraine.

<sup>b</sup>-Political life<sup>-b</sup>

[...]

On 10 September, USRP in Rohatyn called a pub[lic] meeting with the aim of protesting against the oppression carried out in Soviet Ukraine.

The meeting was attended by some 400 peasants from Rohatyn, Pukiv, Zhovchiv, Ruda, Potok, Pidgorodya, Klishchivna, Pidvynya, Kutsy, Verbylivtsi and other neighboring villages.

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>b- b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*



Those gathered were addressed by Andrzej Hrywna[k] from Danylche, who has described the situation in Greater Ukraine, and in most graphic words talked about the martyrdom of the Ukrainian nation in Soviet Ukraine.

In the course of the discussion which ensued following Hrywnak's speech, UNDO members present in the room spoke out, opposing the adoption and sending of any protests to the League of Nations, claiming that such complaints and petitions are of no help at the present time. However, despite their opposition, the gathering adopted a protest resolution against the oppression and terror in Soviet Ukraine, whereupon the meeting was ended.

A similar protest meeting was held on 3 September in Horodenka at the initiative of a committee established by UNDO and USRP activists.

This meeting was attended by some 200 people, including the [parliamentary] Deputies Chrucki<sup>1</sup> and Czukur from UNDO, as well as Deputy Biliński<sup>2</sup> from USRP.

Relevant protest resolutions were adopted during the meeting.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 987, pp. 151–152 v.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>1</sup> Sergiusz Chrucki (born 2 August 1887), teacher; in the years 1915–1922 lived in Russia; in the years 1922–1935 member of the Polish Lower House; from 1925 member of the UNDO leadership. Arrested by the SP in October 1930, released at the end of that year; in the fall of 1939 arrested by the Soviet security organs; in 1940 deported, together with his family, to Kazakhstan.

<sup>2</sup> Bohdan Biliński (born 1899, died after 1935), agronomic engineer, USRP activist, in the years 1931–1935 member of the Polish Lower House.

## No. 154

### 13 October 1933, Kiev. Fragment of a report by the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the Polish Representative in Moscow on the situation of the Polish minority in Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-Polish Consulate  
in Kiev<sup>a</sup>

13 October [193]3

124/Pf/33

<sup>a</sup>-<sup>b</sup>-<sup>c</sup>Confidential<sup>c</sup>-<sup>b</sup>-<sup>a</sup>

Regarding: Ethnic policy  
In Ukraine with regard to the  
Polish minor[ity]

To Polish Representative  
<sup>b</sup>in Moscow<sup>b</sup>

[...]

As regards the economic policy, the tactics pursued by the Soviet authorities follow their own line, leading to disintegration and destruction of the Polish minority in Ukraine. The lately popular slogans: “A collectivist must become wealthy” and “Every collectivist must have his own cow”, in practice result in the exact opposite as regards the Polish population. In the Polish kolkhozy, of which nearly all have fulfilled the *khlebosdacha* quotas in due time, only grain waste has remained for distribution [among the people]. It is particularly worth underlining that the level of the designated quota and the amount of vegetables to be obligatorily planted, as compared to the Ukrainian kolkhozy, are always disfavorable for the Polish ones. This results in numerous instances in which the peasants leave the Polish collectives for the Ukrainian ones.

Particularly severe conditions have been placed on the “individual” [farmer]. The *khlebosdacha* quota usually exceeds the entire annual crop. When the quota is not fulfilled or the designated area not sown, the authorities enforce financial penalties equal to the value of the grain shortage, counted at market prices. It is obvious that most of the “individual” [farmers] are not able to pay those fines, so then the so-called “fininspectors” confiscate their entire stock, including the livestock, or throw them out of their households, confiscating the property for the state or the neighboring kolkhoz. Such incidents are by no means rare. In recent days, three delegations from Marchlewszczyzna have come to our office, begging for salvation and protection.

Those who are not able to fulfill the *khlebosdacha* are charged with political sabotage and “Kulak” tendencies. In general, the entire press [is] full of reports

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

about the uncovering of “Kulak” and “Petliurite” agents who allegedly have come on purpose into the kolkhozy to destroy them from within. In fact, the majority of mismanagement is caused mainly by the enormous disorder that is the norm in nearly all of the collectives, CAM stations and managing institutions, the result of utmost indifference and lack of interest of the wide peasant masses towards the outcomes of their work from which they draw no profits. The people are entirely focused on a single thought – how to survive the day and acquire at least the minimum of stocks for the winter.

The Soviet authorities, in fact, do not intend to recognize those reasons in breaking the passive opposition. They severely punish all those linked directly to the carrying out of the agricultural plans, accusing them of political sabotage. Those charges are brought especially often against the Polish regions, giving legitimacy in pursuing the eradication of the general economy of the Polish villages and enormous devastation among the people. Tens of families of alleged “Kulaks” have been thrown out of their households and villages, and in face of the oncoming winter, have found themselves in a most tragic situation, deprived of all food stocks and clothes. Their situation, as compared to the previous years, has become worse with the fact that they are not able to seek rescue in the cities (introduction of passports), thus they are condemned to death by starvation.

On numerous occasions, I tried to find out whether the situation of a kolkhoz member is better or more stable as compared to that of the “individual” [farmer]. I always arrived at the same answer, namely that even this year, the situation as of food supplies in most of the Polish collectives in the Marchlewszczyzna is no better than that of the “individual”, since the obligatory fall sows requires much more seeds than have been left after the fulfillment of the *khlebosdacha*. Moreover, the members of the collectives, after an entire year’s work in their collective or often in the neighboring sovkhov, do not receive even the minimum pay or some form of guarantee. In spite of it all, in a way, they help to carry out their own destruction and slavery, since they are forced to take an active part in political life, as well as to pretend that they are enthusiastically inclined towards the entire system.

[...]

Piotr Kurnicki  
Polish Vice-Consul

Distribution:

- 1) Polish Rep[resentation] in Moscow (3 copies)
- 2) MFA – Ch[ief] P. III
- 3) Cons[ulate] Gen[eral] – Kharkiv

*AAN, AW, 94, pp. 25, 32–36.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish*

*At the top of the document a handwritten note: Copy military attaché, number: 10 and illegible initials; below, on the left side of the document, a number added in handwriting: No. 16/sow/c/21.*

## No. 155

### 14 October 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Kharkiv Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a meeting between the Japanese Consul and representatives of the Polish Consulate

14 October [19]33

On 10 October of this year, the Japanese Consul arrived in Odessa, staying in the Polish Consulate. He spent the entire day in the company of KARSZO-SIEDLEWSKI and MILOSHEVSKY<sup>a</sup>. At around two in the afternoon of the same day, MILOSHEVSKY, KARSZO-SIEDLEWSKI and the Japanese Consul were sitting in the living room and conversing about the state of affairs in Ukraine.

MILOSHEVSKY spoke in Russian about how in the spring, in Kharkiv and in entire Ukraine, the outlook was horrible. The people were lying in the streets starved, they were picked up onto trucks and taken to the dumpster, etc. It was clear that the Japanese Consul had been informed about everything. He said nothing, only shrugging his shoulders in a strange manner. In the evening of 10 October, the Japanese Consul left for Moscow.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity: Representative of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department<sup>b</sup> OO  
(—) VOROSHEV

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-1047, pp. 139–140.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup> Was: MILASHEVSKY. *The same for the entire document.*

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> Miloshevsky (Zdzisław Miłoszewski) (born 10 March 1899), diplomat; from April 1932 till August 1935 with the Polish Consulate in Kharkiv; later in the Polish Consulate in Moscow; from November 1935 till September 1939, counselor in the MFA.

## No. 156

### 15 October 1933, Buchach. Letter from the Committee for Aid to Ukraine to “Prosvita”, “Ridna Shkola” and Ukrainian cooperatives, regarding the day of Ukrainian national mourning

To  
“Prosvita” Reading Rooms, circles of “Ridna Shkola”  
and cooperatives of the <sup>a-</sup>Buchach district<sup>a</sup>

I hereby inform that, at the call of the Ukrainian Civic Committee for Aid to Ukraine in Lviv, a district Committee for Aid to Ukraine has been established in Buchach, comprising the representatives of the Ukrainian district organizations and clergy.

The aforementioned National Committee has announced that the Sunday, 29 October of this year, will be a day of national mourning and protests resulting from hunger and terrible events taking place in the Ukrainian territories of the Soviet Union.

On that day, in all the Greek Catholic Churches in the Ukrainian north-western territories, with the permission and consent of the Greek Catholic church authorities, holy masses will be celebrated on behalf of the Ukrainian nation living under the communist dictatorship, together with *Panakhyda* services for those who died from the Bolshevik political oppression and hunger. During the holy masses, appropriate sermons will be delivered on those difficult times for the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

On that same day, after the holy masses, meetings are to be held in all of our communes, during which presentations and speeches will be delivered concerning the situation in Soviet Ukraine.

On the day of national mourning, 29 October of this year, the Ukrainian community should fast, and in the Greek Catholic Church during the meetings, gatherings and rallies, offer voluntary donations to support organizing relief actions.

With regard to the above, the District Committee addresses the local association and organization councils with a request to cooperate with parish priests in establishing committees for aid to Ukraine in every village comprising six to nine persons. The committees will be tasked with making certain that on 29 October of this year, the abovementioned meetings or gatherings are organized in every village, and resolutions are adopted with a protest against Bolshevik violence and destruction of our nation, as well as to assure that the [money] collection for the relief actions is as successful as possible.

We enclose the samples of the resolutions which are to be adopted during the meetings.

The committees will also make sure that in every village on 29 October, black flags are hung on the houses, reading rooms or cooperatives as a sign of national mourning.

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<sup>a-</sup><sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

The meetings, referred to above, are to be called based on art. 18, meaning that there is no need to report them to the district authorities as long as the [representative of] the committee which is calling the meeting personally knows all those attending it and the meeting is held inside. If a committee expects that the meeting might be attended by persons which are not personally known to the committee members, it is necessary to report the meeting to the Buchach district governor three days prior to the date when the meeting is held, informing as to who is calling the meeting, where and at what time, its program and in which language will the discussions be carried out.

The adopted resolutions, together with the information regarding the carrying out of the national mourning and protests, are to be sent immediately by the local committees to the chairman of the district committee, Dr. Roman Slyuzar, law[yer] in Buchach.

We request that the donations collected for the organization of relief be deposited in the "Ukrainbank" in Buchach, to the account of the National Committee for Aid to Ukraine in Lviv.

We also request that the local committees transmit the information on the members of the local committees in villages to the district committee in Buchach.

Should additional information be required, we shall send it without any delay to the relevant committees.

<sup>b</sup>-Buchach<sup>b</sup>, 15 October 1933

District Committee for Aid to Ukraine in Buchach!

Roman Sluzar<sup>c</sup>, PhD. law[er], Chairman,  
Father Vasyl Melnyk v.r. 1<sup>st</sup> Deputy Chairman,  
Yulia Kharetska v.r. 2<sup>nd</sup> Dep[uty] Chairman,  
Stepan Shypelavy v.r.,  
Major Mykhailo Biloskursky v.r. secretary,  
Kornylo Krushelnytsky v.r. treasurer,  
Director Mykola Kharkhalis v.r.,  
Father Ivan Tereshkun v.r.,  
M. Hryniv, PhD. v.r.,  
Director Sylvester Vynnitsky v.r.,  
Major Teodor Danyliv v.r. members.

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 35.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: Slyuzar.*

## No. 157

### 17 October 1933, Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Przemyśl. Copy of a letter by the Greek Catholic bishops to the clergy and the faithful regarding the tragic events in the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a-b</sup>Copy<sup>b</sup> of a copy<sup>a</sup>

Andrey Sheptytsky of Divine Mercy and the Blessing of the Holy See, Metropolitan of Halych, Archbishop of Lviv, Bishop of Kamianets<sup>c</sup>-Podilskyi, Hryhory Khomyshyn of Divine Mercy and the Bless[ing] of the Holy See, [bishop of] Stanyslaviv, Josaphat Kotsylovsky of Divine Mercy and the Blessing of the Holy See bishop of Przemyśl, Sambir and Sanok, Grzegorz Łakota (next) etc. Iwan Łatyszewski etc. Iwan Buczko etc.

God's Peace and Archbishop's Blessing to the Almighty Clergy and the Faithful.

Protesting recently against the crimes committed by the Bolshevik authorities in the Dnieper Ukraine, above all against the crimes committed on the countryside population, we, in our joint letter, have been urging you to observe the fasting, mourning, prayer, and to beg the heavens for divine mercy for those of our brothers who are suffering and dying of starvation. The entire Ukrainian community of our country has followed our [call] ... and the Committee for Aid to Ukraine has decided, in consultation with us, to call 29 October the day of national mourning and protest, requesting the clergy to celebrate special holy masses and deliver appropriate sermons for that day.

Responding to the request of the Committee, once again we address the faithful of our Greek Catholic Church Province in a joint letter. With our joint letter we address all, urging them to come together in love for our suffering brothers. In saving our nation, we must be united with love to this nation and Christ's love. This love reaches well beyond the borders of our Greek Catholic Church Province and reaches all Ukrainians and all those suffering, wronged and poor. It also reaches all our brothers who are not united, who have not been blessed with belonging to the Common Greek Catholic Church, to this world-wide brotherhood of love established by Christ.

Our love turns with particular compassion and deep pain to those beyond the borders who are suffering terrible pains and dying from starvation. ... [that] which is taking place there leaves everyone in awe, and the compassion fills the heart of all humanity.

But this general compassion does not save the starving. Human help, with best of intentions, will not bring much relief in face of terrible ruin. We are the nearly powerless witnesses of incomprehensible and unbelievable events. With deep gratitude, we must assess here this compassion for our hardship which has

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup> *Was: Kamen.*

been presented by many people and nations as a result of our first letter. With particular gratitude, we greet the initiation by Vienna's Cardinal Archbishop Theodor<sup>1</sup>, of the undertaking to save Ukraine by establishing a multi-faith international committee in Vienna. And above all, the faith strengthens us with a promise that we can pray for and receive divine mercy from Heaven. Faith strengthens us with a promise of the triumph of truth and justice. We believe and hope that God will be resurrected and His enemies will disperse and those who hate Him will run away from His presence, vanishing as smoke vanishes. As the wax melts from the flame, so too will all the sinners vanish from His presence and the just will rejoice. In our first letter, we generally called on you to pray, mourn and repent; today we come back to the same and make an appeal that on the Sunday of 29 October, on the day of Heavenly Kingdom, all Greek Catholic Churches celebrate special holy masses during which this letter be read with a proper explanation. However, we also send advice as to repentance – fasting, confession and mercy. Since May, the Greek Catholic parish churches have been organizing celebrations, during which the Ukrainian youth has pledged to Christ to take on the youth, we address them with a direct appeal.

The prayer of a just one has great power, says St. James. With those words, we turn to you, Ukrainian Catholic Youth: the prayer of the innocent and pure hearts has great power. Pledging to Christ, on His day, life-long devotion and obedience, let us remember those who are dying in pain without any comfort, prayer, holy sacraments or Christian funerals. You, the innocent souls of the youth, take upon yourselves at least a small part of their suffering. With your penance and prayer, repay God's justice for them. Such is the law of the Greek Catholic Church of the Body of Christ: As Christ, with his suffering and death, paid for our sins, thus we, one for the other, can suffer, sacrifice, offer our life, and thereby prompt the final high victory of Christ. Blessed be Our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father in Lviv, Stanyslaviv and Przemysl, on 17 October 1933.

Andrey the Metropolitan

Hryhory the Bishop

Josaphat the Bishop

Ivan assist[ant] Bishop. Lviv

Ivan assist[ant] Bishop. Stanyslaviv

Hryhory assist[ant] Bishop. Przemysl

(Publishing House "Biblos", Lviv  
Yaponska [St.], telephone 14.78)

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 23.*

*Copy of a copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian written in Latin alphabet, counter to the rules of transcription, with numerous errors and calques from Polish.*

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<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Theodor Innitzer.



## No. 158

### 20 October 1933, Radekhiv. Letter from the UNDO committee in Radekhiv to local party representatives regarding the organization of Ukrainian national mourning

Radekhiv, 20 October 1933

To  
Trusted representatives  
of the UNDO in the <sup>a</sup>Radekhiv region<sup>a</sup>

Ukrainian Civic Committee for Aid to Ukraine in Lviv has called for the entire country to observe on Sunday, 29 October 1933, a day of national mourning and protest in relation to the events and the starving of our brothers in Greater Ukraine.

The presidium of our party has requested the district organizations and trusted representatives in villages and towns to carry out the organization of the national mourning in the entire country.

Carrying out this request, we ask to make sure that the day of 29 October is properly observed in your village.

First of all, the local parish priest should be contacted and it should be ensured that appropriate mourning prayers in the Greek Catholic Church, with a relevant sermon, take place before noon. The clergy can find detailed guidelines regarding the Greek Catholic church celebration of the day in the recent issue of “Meta”.

In the afternoon, the reading rooms should be prepared to host <sup>b</sup>meetings of the members of all local Ukrainian civic institutions. During the meetings, speeches should be delivered, discussing the Bolshevik policies in Sov[iet]<sup>b</sup> Ukraine and their [Bolsheviks’] recent attempts at eradicating the Ukrainian nation by death from starvation. Should you not have an appropriate speaker available, make sure that during those meetings, relevant information is read out on the events in Greater Ukraine, as well as articles from our periodicals: “Svoboda”<sup>1</sup>, “Dilo”, “Za Ukrainu”, etc.

Following the presentation, relevant protest resolutions are to be adopted, samples of which you will find in all of our periodicals.

In the Greek Catholic Church during the holy mass, contributions should be collected for the relief to starving Ukraine. The money collected should be sent to the address of the Land Mortgage Bank of Ukraine in Lviv, 14 Słowacki St., care of the Committee for Aid to Ukraine.

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> “Svoboda” – a weekly published since 1899; from 1925 the organ of UNDO, headed by, among others, Oleksa Kuzma and Volodymyr Tselevich.

We request that you immediately inform the District People's Committee in Radekhiv about the events of the day of mourning.

For  
the District People's Committee  
UNDO in Radekhiv

Yaroslav Selezinka, PhD.  
Chairman

Mykhailo Panasiuk  
Secretary

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 25.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

## No. 159

22 October 1933, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the efforts pursued by the Soviet authorities aimed at covering up the famine

22 October [19]33

My Dear!

[...]

I truly wish for you to believe that the information regarding the possible famine is by no means exaggerated. In my opinion, Berson<sup>1</sup> is wrong when claiming that there is a state of war between the peasantry and the state. Except for some rare incidents of individual terror directed towards an activist, usually a person of small influence, there are no grounds whatsoever <sup>a</sup> to claim <sup>a</sup> the “revival of sabotage”.

What is interesting, in my opinion, it is the entirely concrete attempts by the authorities to create and strengthen patriotism and state ambitions. A number of events, as well as the views and reports in the press related to this issue, seem to give proof to the existence of [coherent] action. Presently, when one talks with a number of doctors who, no more than a year earlier would readily accept having breakfast or lunch at the consulate, readily complaining about all cases of mismanagement and shortages, one sees a complete change in their attitudes: they try to bluff, stating that everything is perfect, even better than everywhere else... I do not know whether I have stated anything that is new to you. Perhaps you know it all and have known it for a long time now. In such case, I have only one justification: being too close to the life here, one loses perspective <sup>b</sup> and clarity<sup>b</sup> of judgment <sup>a</sup>. The above observations have been made based on: conversations which I have already mentioned in the letter, and not only with the visitors, press of which we subscribe to 115 periodicals at the moment, as well as personal analyses made, based on a synthetic approach to a number of phenomena.

[...]

N. Nalewajko<sup>2</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. W-47, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. with handwritten date: 26 X ...3 and a number: 3736/33 N.*

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<sup>a</sup> *Illegible word crossed out in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Jan Stanisław Berson (Otmar-Berson) (27 January 1903 – 1946), Second Lt. Inf. Res.; journalist, commentator, literary alias “Otmar”; from 1932 Moscow correspondent of PAT and “Gazeta Polska”; in August or September 1935 expelled from the USSR; after 1935 correspondent in Tallinn; author of books on the USSR published before 1939; in the years 1941–1942 PAT representative in Stockholm.

<sup>2</sup> Napoleon Nalewajko – the codename of Piotr Kurnicki. See document no. 103, footnote 2.

## No. 160

### 26 October 1933, Stanyslaviv. Letter from the Stanyslaviv District Governor to the district SP stations regarding the decree by the Minister of Internal Affairs on the ban on organizing manifestations on the day of Ukrainian national mourning

Stanyslaviv District Governorship  
No. Taj. 627/U/33

<sup>a-b</sup>-V[ery] urgent!<sup>-b-a</sup>  
Stanyslaviv,  
26 October 1933  
<sup>a-c</sup>-Secret<sup>-c-a</sup>

Celebration of Ukr[ainian] national mourning

To  
(according to distribution list)

I hereby inform that with regard to the murder in the Soviet Consulate in Lviv, the Minister of Internal Affairs has ordered that due to that incident and the agitated minds, <sup>a</sup>-on 29<sup>th</sup> of this month, <sup>-a</sup> that is on the day of the Ukrainian national mourning, all demonstrations, rallies, etc., are prohibited.

The Voivode has informed the bishops curia of the Gr[reek] Cath[olic] creed in Stanyslaviv on the above, requesting that it issues the relevant decrees to its clergy to the effect that on that day, only silent services are to be allowed.

Transmitting the above for your information, I personally advise the persons in command of the SP units to make sure that the above decree by the Minister is strictly executed.

SP units will send a detailed report on the proceedings of the day of mourning to the district governorship, which should be received by the district governorship <sup>a</sup>-no later than on the morning of 3 November of this year<sup>-a</sup>.

The district governorship points out that it has not issued permission for any manifestation events on 29 October of this year. I underline that should it be planned anywhere, the relevant gathering should be dissolved as illegal, <sup>d</sup>-those responsible reported<sup>-d</sup> with the aim of punishment.

Sent to:  
SP Head[quarters] here  
SP S[tations] all in the dist[rict]  
for execution  
Comm[anding officer] of SP Head[quarters]  
For information

For District Governor  
(—) Dr. Dembowski

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *As in the original.*

DAIFO, F. 69, Op. 1, Spr. 241, pp. 81–81 v.

Original, typewritten.

Document in Polish.

*In the top right corner, an illegible note or stamp; under the text, an illegible note, crossed out in handwriting; on the reverse side of the document, a stamp with inscription: SP District Headquarters Investigation Department in Stanyslaviv, Kamińskiego St. L. 4 teleph. Received on ... no. ... encl. ..., with a stamped date: 28 Oct[ober] 1933 and a letter added in handwriting: R; partly on the stamp, numbers crossed out in handwriting: P 13/17/33, P 8/11/33 and illegible initials; in the top right corner, a number circled in handwriting: P. 8/24/33; under the stamp a handwritten note: B II for execution and illegible initials; below, partially legible note: Message communicated by telephone to Sta[tions] Belveder and Kolonja on the mat[ter] of deleg[ating] service near the Greek Catholic Church at Gorka and k[...].*

**No. 161**  
**27 October 1933, Stanyslaviv. Letter from the head of the State Police  
Station in Stanyslaviv to the Stanyslaviv District Governor regarding  
the planned day of Ukrainian national mourning**

<sup>a</sup>No. 216/tj/33<sup>a</sup>

Stanyslaviv, 27 October 1933  
Secret!

Celebration of Ukrainian national mourning,  
Information

To District Governor  
in <sup>a</sup>Stanyslaviv<sup>a</sup>

Referring to the order no. taj/627/U/33, dated 26 October of this year, I hereby report that I have acquired by confidential means the information that NN, teacher with the Shashkevich school, at 3 Maj St., has informed the children at this school that on 28 October of this year, they should observe the fast for the entire day and that each child is to bring 10 groszy, which will be sent to the starving people in Soviet Ukraine.

Head of the SP Station  
(—) Sobenko, Under-Commissioner

*DAIFO, F. 69, Op. 1, Spr. 241, p. 80.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner, a stamp: State Police Station [...] in Stanyslaviv; in the bottom left corner, a stamp: SP District Headquarters Investigation Department in Stanyslaviv, Kamińskiego St. L. 4 teleph., Received on ... no. ... enlc. ..., with a stamped date: 28 Oct[ober] 1933 and a number added in handwriting: P 8/24/33; partly on the stamp, illegible sign and a number: 5.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

**No. 162**  
**Before 29 October 1933, n.p.p. Announcement by the Committee for Aid to Ukraine, calling the 29 October as the day of Ukrainian national mourning**

To  
Ukrainian Citizens  
of the district

The day of 29 October of this year is the day of national mourning. On that day, Ukrainian citizens will manifest their spiritual pain caused by the death from starvation of six million of [their] brothers in the Dnieper region and will protest against the affairs which were the cause of this situation.

On 29 October of this year, Ukrainian citizens will attend the commemorative service and will attend *Panakhida* for the Souls of the Victims of the Famine in Greater Ukraine. To express the compassion to our unfortunate <sup>a</sup>brothers, Ukrainian citizens declare the day of 29 October of this year <sup>b</sup>as the day of general fasting and the money<sup>b</sup> which would be spent on food on that day will voluntarily be given for those starving in the Dnieper region.

On that day, Ukrainian citizens in villages and towns<sup>a</sup> will meet in their communities and listen to addresses on the affairs in Greater Ukraine, and with relevant resolutions will protest against inhuman regime in Greater Ukraine.

<sup>c</sup>We particularly request [...] the priests and intelligentsia to urgently proceed with the matter<sup>c</sup>.

District Ukrainian Civic  
Committee for Aid to Ukraine:

Stetsiuk Hryhory, PhD. v.r.  
Father Kostiuk Vasyl v.r.  
Father Haydukevych Ostap v.r.  
Father Yaremak Vasyl v.r.

Deputy Yavorsky Oleksa v.r.  
Farion Hryhory, PhD. v.r.  
Kalba Yaroslav v.r.  
Mostovy Oleksa v.r.  
Hol Vasyl v.r.

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 9.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Text marked with a vertical line on the left margin.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Added in handwriting under a crossed-out text:* With the aim of carrying out those decrees, a committee should be immediately established in every part of our district which will make sure that the day of national mourning is properly observed.

## No. 163

### Before 29 October 1933, n.p.p. A form on which the local committees informed the Committee for Aid to Ukraine in Buchach on the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

To  
District Committee for Aid to Ukraine  
in Buchach

We hereby inform that the day of national mourning, prompted by the terrible events in Soviet Ukraine, in the commune ..... took place on the Sunday, 29 October 1933, according to the following program:

I. At ..... a service with sermon and *Panakhya*. After the *Panakhya*, the Greek Catholic Church bells rang for ..... minutes.

II. At ..... in the afternoon, a meeting of citizens took place in ..... The meeting was chaired by Mr. .... the secretary being Mr. .... attended by ..... citizens.

a) A presentation on the situation of Soviet Ukraine was delivered by Mr.

.....

b) After the presentation, those gathered adopted the following resolutions:

The gathered citizens of commune ..... of the Buchach district, beginning on 29 October 1933, protest in front of the entire cultured world against the barbaric destruction of the Ukrainian nation by the Moscow executioners, Bolsheviks, through imprisonments, deportations, executions and mass planned <sup>a-</sup>starvation<sup>a-</sup>.

We show our compassion and admiration for brothers in Ukraine in their difficult struggle with the dire enemy, show our solidarity in the struggle for freedom of Ukraine and thus we offer our moral support to them in the further struggle.

We call on the whole cultured world to help those starving and to break all relations with the Bolshevik government.

We call on the entire Ukrainian population of the country to hurry with material support for those starving in Ukraine.

We call on all conscious citizens of Ukraine to fight with determination and destroy all communist press, such as "Hart", "Borot'ba" and others distributed with the money stolen from the starving society, and to persecute all communist lackeys in our villages.

....., on 29 October 1933

Local Committee for Aid to Ukraine:

.....  
Chairman  
.....  
Secretary

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<sup>a- a</sup> Added in handwriting over a crossed-out, illegible word.



*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 31.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

## No. 164

### 29 October 1933, Zolochiv. Letter from the Zolochiv District Governor to the Department of Public Security with the Voivodeship Office in Ternopil regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning

Zolochiv District Governor  
No. 304/tjn.

<sup>a</sup>-Zolochiv  
29 October 1933-<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-Confidential-<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Subject: observation of Ukrainian mourning  
– proceedings

To message received by telephone  
on 27 October of this year  
No. BN. 22-<sup>a</sup>

To  
Voivodeship Office  
Department of Pub[lic]  
Sec[urity]  
In Ternopil

I hereby report that on 29 October of this year, Gr[reek] Cath[olic] priests have observed mourning services in all the Greek Catholic churches in the district, during which a pastoral letter from Archbishop Sheptytsky was read.

<sup>c</sup>Moreover, in the Ostriv commune, Father Wasylkowski Dmytro in his sermon called on the people to pray for the Ukrainians in Greater Ukraine since the loc[al] Ukrainians are unable to come up with material help for them <sup>d</sup>because the Polish government would not allow-<sup>d-c</sup>.

In the same commune, on the night from 28 to 29 October of this year, unknown persons have pasted a *tryzub* on the national emblem on the sign posted on the commune office [building], and next to it, a poster with the following text:

“Hay zhyve samostyina soborna ukrainska derzhava, hay zhyve borotba z Lakhamy, Moskalamy, Rumunamy i Chekhamy.

UVO<sup>1</sup> (OUN)”

The above poster and *tryzub* were taken down immediately and given to the State Pol[ice], which will undertake an investigation on the matter.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Fragment marked with a vertical line on the left margin.

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) – an underground organization established on 31 August 1920 in Prague by the officers of the former Corps of Sich Riflemen and UHA; the organization was headed by Yevhen Konovalets; the aim of the UVO was to unite the Ukrainian territories and establish an independent Ukrainian statehood; apart from terrorist and sabotage activities, it carried out propaganda efforts; in the aftermath of the UVO conference held in Berlin in 1927, it was decided to unite all Ukrainian national groups, which was carried out at the beginning of 1929, and thus the OUN was created.

At my order, permanent night and day watch was immediately set in front of the commune office.

Apart from that incident, private meetings took place in the following places:

1. in Bily Kamin, in the “Prosvita” building, attended by 50[–]60 people – members of this “Prosvita”, whereby a resolution was adopted, protesting against the persecution of Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine.

2. in Olesko, in the National House, attended by 82 people, during which Father Lewicki from Olesko delivered an address;

3. in Belzets, in the “Prosvita” premises, attended by 50 people, during which Father Czajkowski delivered an address.

With regard to the fact that the boards of “Prosvita” and the National House have made their premises available, as well as with the discussion of matters purely political in nature by the members of “Prosvita” in Bily Kamin, I have issued an order to the Dist[ri]ct Chief of the State Police to undertake thorough investigations with the aim of potentially suspending the operation of those “Prosvitas” and the Board of the National House, as well as filing a request for their dissolution.

Apart from that, so far no additional cases have been reported “regarding” anti-state manifestations of disruptions of public order.

District Governor  
(—) J. Płachta<sup>2</sup>

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, pp. 10–11.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top part of the first page of the document, illegible initials and two hardly legible letters, probably: WB; on the bottom of the page, illegible initials; on the reverse side of the document, on the left side, under the text, rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office, Received on ... 193..., encl. ... and a date added in handwriting: 31 X ...3 and a letter: N.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added over in handwriting.*

<sup>2</sup> Jan Płachta, in the years 1932–1939 District Governor in Zolochiv.

## No. 165

### 30 October 1933, Stanyslaviv. Memorandum for the Stanyslaviv District Governor regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

<sup>a</sup>No. T. 8/24  
Protest action against oppression  
Of Ukrainians in Soviet Russia<sup>a</sup>

Stanyslaviv, 30 October 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Report<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>v[ery] urgent<sup>b</sup>

To  
District Governor  
in <sup>a-c</sup>Stanyslaviv<sup>c-a</sup>

Referring to letter No. P <sup>d</sup>13/6/<sup>d</sup>33 <sup>d</sup>[...] <sup>e</sup> 28 October [19]33<sup>d</sup> I hereby report that on 29 October 1933, at 10, a mourning service took place in the local Greek Catholic Cathedral led by Bishop Khomyshyn, together with the Rusyn clergy, in memory of the oppression of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia, and was attended by great numbers of Ukr[ainian] intelligentsia from the region.

The protest sermon was delivered by Father Kuszni<sup>r</sup><sup>f</sup>. Keeping in line with anti-Soviet attitudes, next he read out the pastoral letter from all Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] bishops, <sup>d</sup>and<sup>d</sup> referreing to present times, pointed out the dangerous moments in life and the suffering of the Ukr[ainian] nation under Bolshevik rule.

On the same day at 1:30 in the afternoon, through the efforts of the local committee of the “Prosvita” branch, in the persons of Dr. Oleśnicki, engineer Popowicz, Secretary of the “Prosvita” branch Kuszni<sup>r</sup><sup>g</sup> Michał<sup>2</sup> and Łytwenowicz Bohdan, Chair[man] of the Ukr[ainian] <sup>d</sup>Main(?)<sup>d</sup> Section, based on art. 18 of the “Prosvita” statute, the so called “Dovirochna Narada” took place in the small room of the Ukr[ainian] “Sokil”<sup>h3</sup> concerned with the aid to the Ukrainians in So-

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<sup>a-a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Added and underlined in handwriting.

<sup>c-c</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

<sup>d-d</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>e</sup> Illegible word.

<sup>f</sup> Was: Kuszni<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Was: Sokol.

<sup>h</sup> A hardly legible word.

<sup>1</sup> Wasyl Kuszni<sup>r</sup> (1897–1979), priest, social activist; from 1934 in Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Mychajło Kuszni<sup>r</sup> (born 1897 in Stanyslaviv, died 1988 in USA), social activist, commentator; after 1918 with the UHA; in the 1920’s organized “Prosvita” in the Stanyslaviv region and worked for the association in Stanyslaviv; before 1939 with FNE; in the years 1941–1945 head of the Department of Culture with the UCC in Kraków, later in Lviv; in 1943 Propaganda Officer (culture and education) with the Military Directorate of SS “Galizien”; from 1948 in the USA, among others, in the leadership of the Ukrainian Youth Association.

<sup>3</sup> “Sokil” – a sport association established in 1894 in Lviv promoting the advancement of national pride and community through discipline, cooperation and physical education; the association was mod-

viet Russia, attended by the [parliamentary] Deputy Milena Rudnicka<sup>4</sup> from Lviv, who delivered a report to those gathered on the Ukr[ainian] propaganda activities abroad in the forum of the League of Nations. The meeting was attended by some 150 people, mainly the intelligentsia from among the prominent political activists. Those gathered <sup>d</sup>-also<sup>d</sup> included the high school professors, namely: Łepkyj, Nykyforjak, Hrycak, Siweckyj, Brygider<sup>5</sup>, Father Kuszniir, Father Sawrasz, lawyer Onuferko, the delegates of the individual “Prosvita” [branches] from Stanyslaviv and the region, as well as members of the “Soyuz Ukr[ainok]”, headed by Zofia Oleśnicka. The meeting started with Dr. Oleśnicki presenting Deputy Rudnicka and giving her the floor.

Beginning her address, Rudnicka presented the general situation as far as the Ukr[ainian] propaganda [efforts] abroad is concerned, claiming that the propaganda has at the present moment reached an appropriate level so that when an issue is raised presently in an international forum, the representatives of foreign countries have knowledge of Ukrainian relations and their [that is Ukrainians’] aims. Such was not the case 15 years back. Back then, very few people knew about the Ukrainian nation. Then she touched on the issue of giving support to the starving Ukr[ainians] in Russia and the anti-Bolshevik propaganda mentioned [...] first at the Minority Congress in Bern<sup>6</sup> (Switzerland) recently and in the forum of the League of Nations.

At its meeting, the League of Nations declared itself incompetent on the matter because Soviet Russia is not a member of the League of Nations. Furthermore, the matter was transferred by the League of Nations to be resolved by the International Red Cross in Geneva, which will hold a meeting this week at which it shall be established whether the relief action for the starving is to be carried out with the consent of the Soviet government by the International Red Cross in Geneva or whether <sup>d</sup>-the R[ed] Cross<sup>d</sup> is to pass the technical [responsibility for] delivering of food supplies

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eled on those established in Prague (Czech “Sokol”) and Lviv (Polish „Sokół”); apart from Galicia, it also covered the region of Bukovina; in the inter-war period the association was linked to, among others, the UNDO.

<sup>4</sup> Milena Natalia Rudnicka-Łysiak (born 1893, died 29 March 1976 in Munich), teacher, lecturer at the educational seminary in Lviv, member of the UNDO until 1935; in the years 1928–1935 member of the Polish Lower House; member and chairwoman of the Association of Ukrainian Women with the Ukrainian Women Congress in Stanyslaviv, World Ukrainian Women Association, the *Kniakhini Olkhy* Team organization, in years 1935–1939 editor of the “Zhinka” periodical; during WWII, at first in Kraków, later in Berlin and Prague; in the years 1945–1950 head of the Ukrainian Aid Committee in Geneva, later in exile in Canada, the USA, and later in Germany.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Wołodymyr Brygider (1899–1952), professor of the Lviv University, zoologist, member of the SSS, after WWII in Canada.

<sup>6</sup> Congress of Ethnic Minorities in Bern – held on 16–19 September 1933; during the meeting the members of the Polish Lower House with ties to the UNDO, Milena Rudnicka and Zinowij Pełeńskyj, issued a memorandum prepared by Dr. Ammende with regard to the famine in Ukraine; the memorandum, through the Council of the League of Nations, was then transferred to the International Committee of the Red Cross; the address aimed to influence the international opinion with regard to the famine and organize relief action through the League of Nations; during the Congress attacks were made on, among others, French Prime Minister Édouard Herriot for his gullible description of the situation of Ukrainians in the USSR.

to the Russian Red Cross under the monitoring by the International Red Cross. She also mentioned that the propaganda has presently reached great scope, so that nearly all the countries are organizing aid committees, adding that so far, when there was a case of protest against Poland, it could not find appropriate support in the League of Nations, as Poland was backed up by allied countries such as France or England, which have a decisive influence in the League of Nations.

However at present, all nations are favorably inclined towards the protest action, particularly Sweden, France, England and Canada. Apart from those countries, Germans and Czechs on their own take part in the relief efforts. The latter send donations to the Czechs and Germans living in Soviet Russia.

In other countries, financial donations have already been collected. In Canada, Ukrainian farmers have committed to sending one vessel with grain for Ukrainians in Russia. She also mentioned that the Ukrainians in Russia place their hopes mainly on the aid from Ukrainians in Małopolska Wschodnia, despite the fact that the latter are themselves suffering from material hardships. Rudnicka concluded her speech with an appeal to Ukrainian society to offer support to those actions and to contribute even the smallest donations to this aim for their brothers from the Dnieper regions. The speech delivered by the abovementioned made a great impression on those attending the meeting and was strongly applauded. The meeting was concluded by Dr. Oleśnicki, who thanked [parliamentary] Deputy Rudnicka for both coming to Stanyslaviv and describing the present state of affairs.

The abovementioned meeting ended at 3:45 pm when all those who attended left the premises. With the meeting ended, Rudnicka, leaving the room, went to another room in the “Sokil”, where <sup>d</sup>a play was being staged<sup>h-d</sup> and banned the further staging thereof in respect for the mourning on that day.

On the same day, in the afternoon, presentations were delivered on the same occasion in the following places: ..... in Tysmenichany by Eugeniusz Chmielowski, in Patsykyv by Oksana Łemecha, in Rybne by Pyndus Jarosław <sup>d</sup>and Moroz<sup>d</sup>, in Uhryniv Dolishnyi by Rener, and in Chukalivka by Taras Łiškiewicz.

*DAIFO, F. 69, Op. 1, Spr. 241, pp. 84–85.*

*Draft, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish with numerous, handwritten corrections, unaccounted in this publication. In the top right corner of the document, a stamp with inscription: prze[...] checked ... sent ... crossed-out, with a handwritten date: 31 X and illegible initials, stamped date: 31 Oct[ober] 1933; below, illegible initials; in the top left corner, a handwritten, illegible sign and date: 31 X and illegible initials; on the left margin, next to the first paragraph, illegible note; under the text, illegible handwritten note; next to it, a handwritten note: I enclose a copy of one of the presentations delivered in one [...] mentioned places and illegible, handwritten signature; on the left side of the document, added in handwriting: encl.; below, on the right side, a partly illegible note: Wys. II [...] copy (?) I. To Voi[vodship] Headquarters [...] in Stanyslaviv (?). I submit the above for information, with reference [?] here. letter N.P. 19/16/33, dated 28.10.[19]33 and illegible initials; in the bottom left corner, a stamp with inscription: carried ... checked ... sent ... crossed-out, with a handwritten date: 31 X and illegible initials and stamped date: 31 Oct[ober] 1933; partially on the stamp, illegible initials; below the stamp, on the left side, a date added in handwriting: 31/X and illegible handwritten signature.*

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<sup>i</sup> A hardly legible word.

**No. 166**  
**October 1933, Stanyslaviv. Fragment of a report by the Voivode  
in Stanyslaviv for September 1933 regarding the attitude of the League  
of Communist Youth of Western Ukraine to the reports of famine  
in Ukraine**

Voivode in Stanyslaviv  
No. BB Taj. 17/1/33

Stanyslaviv, ... October  
1933

<sup>a</sup>Situation report<sup>a</sup>  
on the subversive, professional, etc. activities  
for the period from 1<sup>b</sup> to 30 September 1933

[...]

II. Subversive activities

[...]

Kolomyia dist[riect]

[...]

On 4 September, persons so far unknown have carried out the distribution of communist proclamations in Stanyslaviv on the premises of the “Vis” factory. These proclamations, printed in Rusyn and published by the Regional Committee of ZMKZU<sup>1</sup> in Stanyslaviv, with the date August 1933, appeal to young workers, peasants and students, calling on them to prevent the attack against the workers’ and peasants’ government, to get rid of provocateurs who will be talking of famine in Soviet Ukraine and oppression of loc[al] Ukrainians, to drive away the rallies and meetings of nationalists from the OUN and UNDO, to call on rallies in defense of Soviet Ukraine and to establish self-defense committees in Soviet Ukraine [...].

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 961, pp. 24–27.*  
*Draft, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Crossed-out in handwriting:* September.

<sup>1</sup> League of Communist Youth of Western Ukraine (ZMKZU) – communist youth organization established after 1922 as an autonomous cell with the Young Communist League in Poland; subordinated to the CPWU; after 1930 under the name Young Communist League of Western Ukraine; dissolved in 1938.

## No. 167

### [October] 1933, Moscow. Circular by the Economic Directorate of the OGPU regarding the food and industrial supplies to Donbas

<sup>a</sup>Simferopol<sup>a</sup> PP OGPU

<sup>a</sup>Ch[ief]<sup>a</sup> EKO

515 <sup>a</sup>Moscow's<sup>a</sup> 662 98 2 17 <sup>a</sup>Message communicated by telephone<sup>a</sup> With the decree of the decision-making institutions, the responsibility for the continuity of supplies to the Donbas coal [fields] has been placed with the OGPU. With regard to the above, I advise:

Firstly: Prepare a special list of all enterprises and economic institutions discharging food products and ins[ustrial] goods for Donbas.

Secondly: Ensure timely and complete discharge of goods destined for Donbas.

Thirdly: Eliminate on the spot all obstacles in the completion of discharging of goods through active assistance for econ[omic] institutions and enterprises.

Fourthly: In every instance of undelivered order for discharging, conduct an investigation and determine those responsible with the aim of punishing them.

Fifthly: Inform as to the discharging by 25 October.

No. 314712 MIRONOV

<sup>a</sup>Sent [by] Representative<sup>a</sup> of OGPU PAVLOV

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 90, pp. 68–69.*

*Telegraph tape.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*



**No. 168**  
**1 November 1933, Nadvirna. Fragment of a report by the Chief  
of the District State Police in Nadvirna for October 1933 regarding  
the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning  
in the district**

District Headquarters of State Police  
in Nadvirna

Nadvirna, 1 November 1933

<sup>a</sup>Monthly report (minority)  
for the period from 1 to 31 October 1933<sup>a</sup>

I. General situation of all national minorities

The action of political protest carried out during the previous period by the Ukr[ainian] political parties UNDO and USRP against the oppression in Soviet Ukr[aine], was very strongly continued during the reporting period.

With regard to the above, on the 29 October 1933, a day of national mourning and protest against the events in Soviet Ukr[aine] was called which, due to the fact that the authorities did not allow for any rallies and meetings, took place primarily in the Greek Catholic churches by<sup>b</sup> conducting services and reading out the pastoral letter of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.

The Jews carried out no political activities.

II. Political life

<sup>a</sup>UNDO<sup>a</sup>

In the reporting month in the territories of the district, it has only organized the observation of the Ukrainian national mourning, thus in all of the Greek Catholic churches services were celebrated, and instead<sup>b</sup> of a sermon, the Gr[reek] Cath[olic] priests read out the pastoral letter of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, signed by Gr[reek] Cath[olic] bishops, protesting against the oppression of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Ukraine carried out by the Bolsheviks, calling for fasting and mourning on that day so as to ask God for a more bearable situation for the Ukr[ainian] nation under Soviet occupation.

Next, they appealed for voluntary donations on behalf of those starving in Soviet Ukr[aine], which were collected in a plate placed in the entrance to the Greek Catholic church.

Moreover, black flags were hung on a number of "Prosvita" reading rooms. No rallies or marches were organized. Peace and order were not disturbed.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup> *Word corrected in handwriting.*

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 68, Op. 2, Spr. 187, p. 32.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

## No. 169

### 1 November 1933, Rohatyn. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the District State Police in Rohatyn for the Rohatyn District Governor regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

District Headquarters of Stat[e] Police  
in Rohatyn  
<sup>a</sup>-No. S.6/322/33<sup>a</sup>

Rohatyn  
1 November 1933

Observation of Ukrainian national mourning  
Report

<sup>b</sup>-To  
District Governor  
in <sup>a</sup>-Rohatyn<sup>a-b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-To No: Taj. 452/33, dated 25 October 1933<sup>a</sup>

I hereby report that the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district has proceeded in such a way that on 29 October of this year, silent mourning masses were conducted in all Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] churches on behalf of Ukrainians who died from starvation or other causes in Soviet Ukraine, during which the priests read out the pastoral letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and delivered short, special sermons on oppression in Soviet Ukraine. Also, the priests called on those attending to pray to L[ord] God to take this oppression away from the Ukrainian nation, as well as to observe this mourning through strict fasting on that day [and] refraining from all festivities. During the mass, voluntary financial donations were collected which will be sent by the Committee to Soviet Ukraine for the starving Ukrainians.

In the Zalaniv commune, Father Leon Załużny stated in his sermon to those attending: “We must endure this mourning quietly in our souls, as such observation as we would wish to hold has been forbidden. I would have something more to add on the matter, yet with the ban, I can tell you no more.”

Among the Ukr[ainian] associations which have taken part in those events by organizing a mourning meeting on that day were: 1) “Ridna Shkola” in Rohatyn, where the headmaster of the Ukr[ainian] gymnasium, Baczyński, during the meeting in a room of the Ukr[ainian] gymnasium, commemorated the achievements of the f[ormer] headmaster, N. Czajkowski, who left Rohatyn for Soviet Russia with his family on invitation from the Soviets and then was murdered by them; 2) “Prosvita” read[ing room] in Zaluzhia, where some 25 people attended and during the meeting, the “Prosvita” chairman, Stefan Worobec, read aloud

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

a brochure entitled “Lykholite Ukrainy v Bolshevy”, published by the “Dilo” editor; 3) “Ridna Shkola” in Pukiv – during the meeting, a protest resolution was adopted opposing the violence in Soviet Ukraine directed at the Ukrainians living there.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that general observations of the Ukrainian national mourning were calm and no manifestations on the part of the nationalistic circles, apart from those mentioned above, were noted.

Chief of District SP  
(—) G. Ułaszewski, Chief Superintendent

[...]

To

- 1) State Police Investigation Office
- 2) Investigation Department of State Police in <sup>a-b</sup>Stanyslaviv<sup>b-a</sup>

Submit for information (—)

*DAIFO, F. 69, Op. 1, Spr. 241, p. 128.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner a note: P 13 [?] /17/33; on the reverse side of the document, a stamp: SP District Headquarters Investigation Department in Stanyslaviv, Kamińskiego St. L. 4 teleph. ... Received on ... No. ... encl. ..., with a stamped, partially legible date: [...] Nov[ember] 1933 and a number added in handwriting: P. 13/17; partly on the stamp, illegible note; below, a partly legible note: put together with [...] and a number, crossed-out in handwriting: P 8/24/33; next to it, another one: P. 8/13/33; below, a partly legible note: I read the Plan 2 XII [19]33 submit to [...] and illegible initials; below a date: 4/XII and illegible initials.*

**No. 170**

**2 November 1933, Peremyshliany. Letter from the Peremyshliany District Governor to the Department of Security with the Voivodeship Office in Ternopil regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning**

Peremyshliany  
District Governor  
No. B.10

Peremyshliany, 2 November 1933

Observation of Ukr[ainian] mourning  
report

To  
Voivodeship Office  
(Depart[ment] of Sec[urity])  
in <sup>a</sup>-Ternopil<sup>a</sup>

To No. B 22, dated 27 October 1933

I hereby report that the observation of Ukr[ainian] mourning on 29 October 1933 proceeded in the following manner:

On [2]9 October of this year, in all Greek Catholic churches, with the exception of Pechenya, mourning services (*Panakhdy*) were conducted during which the priests delivered special sermons on the hunger in Soviet Ukraine and on the situation of the Ukr[ainian] population, appealing to the faithful to pray for their brothers on the other bank of the Zbruch River. During the sermon, no other matters were raised which would violate the criminal code. Moreover, after the sermons, a pastoral letter sent by the Curia in Lviv was read. No public collections [of donations] were organized, except for plate collections in the Greek Catholic church. The money from the collections, according to the information, is to be sent to the Curia, and then to Rome, where the money will be distributed for those starving in Ukraine.

Rallies, marches and meetings were not held, with the exception of Kosenko, where Father Kowcz, after the service among the gathered members of “Prosvita” and “Sokil” on the premises of the local “Prosvita”, read out fragments of the book entitled “Lykholitia”, giving a description of the poverty suffered by the Ukr[ainian] people in Soviet Ukraine. In conclusion, I would like to note that on 29 October of this year, during the service in the Greek Catholic church in Khlivovychi Svirzhski, OUN leaflets were distributed with anti-school contents.

Apart from the above, the day proceeded calmly in the district.

I enclose a copy of the letter.

1 encl.

District Governor  
(—) M. Grodowski<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Mieczysław Szymon Grodowski (born 18 February 1893), Captain of Artillery Reserves, in the years 1932–1937 District Governor in Peremyshliany, in the years 1938–1939 District Governor in Brody.

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 21.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Above the text, in the middle of the page, illegible initials; in the top right corner, a letter added in handwriting: B; under the text of the document, illegible initials; in the bottom left corner, a rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office. Received on ..., encl. ... no. ... and a letter added in handwriting: B and a stamped date: 6 Nov[ember] 1933. No enclosure.*

## No. 171

### 3 November 1933, Dolyna. Fragment of a report by the Chief of the District State Police in Dolyna for the Dolyna District Governor regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

District Headquarters of State Police in Dolyna

<sup>a</sup>No Pf. 394/33<sup>a</sup>

Monthly report on the activities of the Polish legal political parties and the activities of national minorities for October 1933

<sup>b</sup>To<sup>b</sup>

District Governor  
in <sup>a-b</sup>Dolyna<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Dolyna, 3 November 1933<sup>a</sup>

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Monthly report on the activities of national minorities  
for the period from 1/9 to 31 October 1933<sup>a</sup>

#### <sup>a-b</sup>I. General situation<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Ukrainians:<sup>a</sup> those living in this region are primarily supporters of the UNDO political party and have not carried out, apart from organizing the day of Ukrainian national mourning on 29 October 1933, any intensive activities.

The Ukr[ainian] nationalists have continued their school-related activities aimed at changing the present Polish educational system.

[...]

#### <sup>a-b</sup>II. Political life<sup>b-a</sup>

##### <sup>a</sup>UNDO<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>a) General assessment:<sup>a</sup> in the reporting period, no unusual activities were noted, with the exception of the organization of the Ukrainian national mourning on 29 October 1933, in which the entire Ukrainian community living in the region participated. On that day, in the Greek Catholic churches in the district, *Panakhyyda* services were conducted on behalf of those Ukrainians starving in Soviet Ukraine and donations were collected with the aim of supporting the relief fund for the starving. During the services, a pastoral letter was read, [a letter] issued by the Ukr[ainian] Episcopate, and published in a Ukr[ainian] daily "Pravda", iss. 43, dated 29 October 1933, calling for assistance to the Ukrainians starving in Soviet

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<sup>a-a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

Russia. Due to the ban, no meetings or other events were organized on that day; however some Ukr[ainian] nationalists hung black flags as a sign of mourning and attempted to carry out a meeting, the latter being prevented by the police.

<sup>a</sup>b) Organizational activities:<sup>a</sup> none.

[...]

District Headquarters of State Police in Dolyna

<sup>a</sup>No Pf. 394/33<sup>a</sup>

Chief of District SP

(—) Bendyk, Under-Commissioner

*DAIFO, F. 68, Op. 2, Spr. 188, pp. 71–72.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the bottom left corner of the document, a stamp with inscription: SP Voivodeship Headquarters Invest[igation Department] in [Stanyslaviv] [1 Kamińskiego] St., teleph. 69, 123, received on ... no. ... encl. ..., with a stamped date: 4 Nov[ember] 1933; next to it a stamped letter: P and illegible initials.*



## No. 172

### 3 November 1933, Pidhaitsi. Letter from the Pidhaitsi District Governor to the Department of Public Security with the Voivodeship Office in Ternopil regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

Pidhaitsi District Governor  
No. B-13 a

Pidhaitsi, 3 November 1933

On observation of Ukr[ainian] mourning  
on 29 October 1933

Voivodeship Office B. [?]  
in <sup>a</sup>-Ternopil<sup>a</sup>

Carrying out the instruction communicated by telephone on 27 October 1933 no. BN. 22, I hereby report that the day of Ukrainian mourning in the district was limited to:

- 1) silent mourning *Panakhdy* conducted by the Greek Catholic clergy in the entire district,
- 2) reading from the Greek Catholic church pulpit of the pastoral letter from the Greek Catholic Episcopate protesting against the Soviet policy in Ukraine,
- 3) addresses delivered by the Greek Catholic clergy to the forums of Ukrainian associations and addressed to their members,
- 4) plate collections of donations in the Greek Catholic churches on behalf of relief to those starving in Ukraine,
- 5) fasting observed by the Rusyn population on 28 October of this year.

No public or secret meetings of political organizations, nor manifestations in the village communes were noted.

In Pidhaitsi, a secret meeting of UNDO was held on the “Diakivka” premises, attended by some 150 people from the neighboring communes. It was organized by Dr. Grzegorz Steciuk, a lawyer in Pidhaitsi, a member of the Committee for Aid to Ukraine, which, after the organs of the State Police have confirmed that not all of those gathered are personally known to the chairman, was dissolved, as violating the rules set in article 18 of the act on [public] gatherings.

The meeting was carried out peacefully, and no anti-Soviet demonstrations or disruptions of public order were noted in its course. Adoption of the resolution was not carried out.

District Governor  
(—) Woroszyński<sup>1</sup>

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 22.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Roman Woroszyński, in the years 1932–1933 District Governor in Pidhaitsi.

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner, a letter added in handwriting: B; in the top left corner, illegible initials; under the text of the document, two illegible initials; in the bottom left corner, a rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office Received on ... encl. ... no. ... and a stamped date: 6 Nov[ember] 1933 and a letter added in handwriting: B.*

## No. 173

### 4 November 1933, Lviv. Report by the Lviv Voivode for the Political Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the Lviv Voivodeship

<sup>a</sup>-Lviv Voivodeship Office<sup>a</sup>  
Dep[artment] of Sec[urity]  
<sup>a</sup>-L. <sup>a</sup>BN.742/taj/33

Copy  
<sup>a</sup>-In Lviv, on <sup>a</sup>4 November <sup>a</sup>193<sup>a</sup>3  
<sup>b</sup>-Secret<sup>b</sup>

To  
Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Political Department  
in <sup>c</sup>-Warsaw<sup>c</sup>

With reference to the message communicated by telephone, no. BN 742/taj/33, dated 29 October of this year, I hereby submit more details regarding the day of mourning as carried out in individual districts of the voivodeship.

#### <sup>c</sup>-Greek Catholic Church celebrations<sup>c</sup>

Dobromyl: In all Greek Catholic churches, usual Sunday services were conducted, during which a pastoral letter from Bishop Kotsylovsky was read.

Drohobych: In the Greek Catholic churches in Drohobych and Boryslav, all-night services were conducted. In many towns and villages, the Ukr[ainian] people observed the fast. In the remaining communes, usual Sunday services were conducted. The sermons touched on the issue of oppression and famine in Ukraine.

Jarosław: In the communes of Święte, Radymno, Ostrów, Zamiechów, Mianowice, mourning services were conducted on behalf of the Ukrainians who died in Soviet Ukraine. In the remaining communes, usual Sunday services were conducted.

Yavoriv: In all Greek Catholic churches, special services were conducted to worship Christ the King. In 20 Greek Catholic churches, during the service priests read aloud the pastoral letter from the Greek Catholic bishops, presenting the situation in Soviet Ukraine.

Lesko: In all Greek Catholic churches, usual Sunday services were conducted during which the priests appealed to the faithful to pray and fast on behalf of those starving in Soviet Ukraine and to offer donations for them.

City of Lviv: In all Greek Catholic churches in Lviv, mourning services were conducted. In particular, in the Greek Catholic church of Saint Yura a service

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Letterhead.

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> Stamped and underlined in handwriting.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> Underlined in typewriting and written in wide letter-spacing.

was held, attended by some 1,200 people, mainly youth and intelligentsia, around 70 people in the Greek Catholic church of Saint Nicholas, around 120 people in the Greek Catholic church of Saint [Paraskeva] Pyatnytsia, some 400 people in the Greek Catholic church of the Basilian monks, around 300 people in the Greek Catholic Church of Transfiguration, around 800 people in the Greek Catholic Church of Dormition, some 120 people in the Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost, around 200 people in the Greek Catholic church of Saints Peter and Paul, around 120 people in the Bohdanivka Greek Catholic church, some 150 people in the Levandivka Greek Catholic church, around 50 people in the Zamarstyniv Greek Catholic church, around 300 people in the Kleparov, around 200 people in the Znesene Greek Catholic church. In all the Greek Catholic churches, the services had a strictly religious sermon and the pastoral letter was read, except for the Zamarstyniv Greek Catholic church, where Father Jan Ozimkiewicz<sup>d</sup>, Colonel, Chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces, remarked in his sermon that Poland is making a mistake joining with the Soviets, and in the Greek Catholic church of Saint [Paraskeva] Piatnytsia, where Father Kasztaniuk remarked that he can not say much and thus he is not finishing his sermon.

Lviv district: Services with *Panakhdy* were celebrated in the following places: [Velyka] Solonka, Zashkiv, Zarudtsi, Vynnyky, Porshna, Novi and Stari Yarychiv, Tseperiv, Rudantsi, Zapytiv, Remeniv, Mali Pidlisky, Zhydatychi, Sknyliv<sup>e</sup>, Soroky-Lvivsky, Rudno, Lysenytsi, Horbachi. During the services, the priests delivered special sermons, underlining the oppression suffered by Ukrainians in Greater Ukraine, or limited themselves to reading aloud the pastoral letter. In Lysenytsi and Vynnyky, Fathers Hirniak and Ulanowicz appealed to the people to pray for Danyłyszyn<sup>2</sup> and Biłas<sup>3</sup>, and other OUN fighters.

Mostyska: Usual services were conducted in all Greek Catholic churches.

Przemyśl: On 28 October of this year, a mourning *Panakhya* was conducted in the cathedral by the mitred prelate Lewicki, attended by some 400 people.

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<sup>d</sup> Was: Ozionkiewicz.

<sup>e</sup> Was: Skviliv.

<sup>1</sup> Jan Ozimkiewicz (born 14 November 1867) priest, Colonel, retired, at the beginning of the 1920's Chaplain of the Polish Armed Forces. Perhaps also known as Father Iwan Ozymkewycz (born 1863), in the years 1893–1914 Chaplain of the Austro-Hungarian Army in Bosnia.

<sup>2</sup> Dmytro Danyłyszyn (born 1907 in Truskavets), member of the UVO and OUN in Drohobych; on 29 August 1931, together with Wasyl Biłas and Roman Shukhevych, assassinated a member of the Polish Lower House, Tadeusz Hołówko; participated in robberies ("expropriation action") in July 1931 of the People's Bank in Boryslav and in August 1931 of a post office in Truskavets; on 30 November 1932, carried out a robbery of the post office in Horodok; arrested by the SP during a pursuit; tried on 17–22 December 1932 in Lviv, sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on 23 December 1932 in the Brygidki prison.

<sup>3</sup> Wasyl Biłas (born 17 September 1911 in Truskavets), nephew of Dmytro Danyłyszyn; member of the UVO and OUN in Drohobych; on 29 August 1931, together with Danyłyszyn and Roman Shukhevych, assassinated a member of the Polish Lower House, Tadeusz Hołówko; participated in robberies ("expropriation action") in July 1931 of the People's Bank in Boryslav and in August 1931 of a post office in Truskavets; on 30 November 1932, carried out a robbery of the post office in Horodok, arrested by the SP during a pursuit; tried on 17–22 December 1932 in Lviv, sentenced to death; the sentence was carried out on 23 December 1932 in the Brygidki prison.

On Sunday, 29 October, at 8:30 [in the morning] a silent, mourning mass was conducted with some 1,000 people attending, during which, instead of a sermon, a pastoral letter of the Gr[reek] Cath[olic] bishops was read. The conduct of both services was completely peaceful without any political moments.

Rava-Ruska: In all Greek Catholic churches, services were conducted during which special sermons were delivered. Only Father Skomorowicz from Dyniska conducted a service without a sermon.

Sambir: Usual Sunday services were conducted.

Sanok: Mourning services were conducted in Sanok with the usual participation of the people. In the remaining Greek Catholic churches, regular services were held.

Sokal: Regular Sunday services were held.

Turka: In all Greek Catholic churches, silent mourning services were conducted with the reading of a pastoral letter. In Isayi, Father Krysa Iwan ordered the Greek Catholic church to be decorated in green, with the cross and candles covered in mourning. Special sermons were delivered in Turka, Rozluch, Isayi and Yasenitsa-Masyova.

Zhovkva: In a number of Greek Catholic churches regular Sunday services were conducted with the reading of the pastoral letter. In some of the Greek Catholic churches, the priests called for prayers on behalf of the tormented brothers in Soviet Ukraine.

In four Greek Catholic churches, after the service mourning *Panakhdy* were conducted. In two Greek Catholic churches, such *Panakhdy* were conducted in the afternoon.

#### °Meetings°

Dobromyl: In Trushevychi and Huysk, following the after[noon] vespers two meetings were held, during which addresses were delivered by Father Józef Marynowicz, parish priest from Huysk. The meetings were reserved for the members of the local "Prosvita".

Drohobych: No information so far.

In Truskavets, after the Greek Catholic church service a meeting was held on the premises of the "Silsky Hospodar", attended by the members of Ukrainian associations active there, some 100 people, during which Józef Biłas delivered an address on the situation in Soviet Ukraine while the local parish priest read aloud the protest against persecution.

Horodok: In 10 communes of the district, 11 closed meetings were held, attended by the members of [various] associations.

Yavoriv: In Zaluzhia, an illegal meeting attended by 70 people was organized.

Lesko: In Manasterzec, one meeting attended by the members of local "Prosvita" was held during which a protest [resolution] was adopted against the persecution of Ukrainians in the Soviets.

Rava-Ruska: In the district, 11 meetings were held during which, apart from discussions on the present situation in Ukraine, the organization of donations in kind was debated.

Sanok: In Sanok, on the premises of the National House, a closed meeting was held, attended by 28 people from the Ukr[ainian] intelligentsia and organized by a lawyer, Dr. Bławacki<sup>4</sup>. During the meeting, his assistant, Michał Hobiak, delivered an address on the hardships suffered by the Ukr[ainian] pop[ulation] in Soviet Ukraine.

Sokal: On the premises of the Narodna Torhovla, a meeting was held during which Dr. Lew Chomiński delivered an address on the situation of the Ukr[ainian] pop[ulation] in Soviet Ukraine, attended by some 200 people. A similar meeting was also held in Krystynopil in the “Prosvita” reading room, during which an address was delivered by a monk from the Basilian monastery in Krystynopil, Father Bosak. 20 people were present.

Zhovkva: In Krekhiv and Kunin in the “Prosvita” reading rooms, meetings of its members were held during which the issue of collections on behalf of those starving in Soviet Russia was discussed.

#### °Flyers°

Drohobych: On the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> of this month, several communist flyers of the CC CPWU<sup>5</sup>, dated “Lviv, September 1933”, were distributed by unknown persons in the mountain areas between the villages of Zatoka and Smilna, as well as on the road and in the woods of the Slavsko commune.

City of Lviv: In Kleparov near the Greek Catholic church, two brothers, Teodor and Mikołaj Dugan, were detained, as they were trying to distribute anti-state flyers of the OUN National Executive. Moreover, at the entrance to the building located at 23 Virmenska St., a constable of the SP found a pile of OUN flyers.

Zhovkva: On 28 October of this year, at around 23 [hundred] hours, unknown persons distributed anti-school flyers and issues of “Surma”. In Sulymiv, a plaque with the inscription “Chief of the Commune” was torn down.

#### °Flags°

Yavoriv: Flags of mourning were hung in the „Prosvita“ reading rooms in Morantsi and Lubiny.

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<sup>4</sup> Wasyl Bławacki (1889–1944), PhD, Lemko political and social activist, advocate in Sanok; chairman of the sports association “Leshchetarsky Klub” in Sanok; according to the authors of *Енциклопедії Українознавства*, killed by a Polish militant group; see *Енциклопедія Українознавства*, v. I, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU) – an illegal political party established in 1923, an autonomous part of the KPP, with influence in the south-eastern voivodeships of inter-war Poland; in 1924 it took in the members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; the main aim of the CPWU was the accession of the south-eastern voivodeships of inter-war Poland to the USSR; dissolved in 1938; members of the CPWU claimed that there was no famine in 1932–1933 in Soviet Ukraine.

Rudky: Father Stefan Onyszkiewicz<sup>6</sup> (UNDO) from Kupnovytsi-Stari, hung a black flag on the Greek Catholic Church steeple.

Turka: In the Isayi commune, a black flag was hung on the Cooperative building.

Zhovkva: In Sulymiv, on the commune building and in “Prosvita”, and in the Zamechek commune, near the commune building, flags of mourning were hung.

Four persons were detained in relation to the distribution of flyers in Sulymiv and the hanging of a mourning flag.

In the cemetery in Volya-Vysotska, a symbolic tomb was erected with no inscriptions or signs.

<sup>c</sup>Collections [of donations]<sup>c</sup>

In nearly all communes of the Lviv Voivodeship, collections were organized on behalf of the Ukrainians starving in Soviet Russia. These collections were organized in the Greek Catholic churches during the church services.

In a single case in Wierzbica, in the Rava district, the collection was held near the Greek Catholic church, the collected amount of four zlotys was confiscated by the local SP station, and criminal reports were drawn up with respect to those who carried out the collection.

<sup>f</sup>Distribution list:<sup>f</sup>  
Voivode in <sup>g</sup>Ternopil<sup>g</sup>  
Stanyslaviv and Lutsk

For the Voivode:  
(—) <sup>h</sup>Andrzej Tylko<sup>7</sup>  
Voivodeship Counselor<sup>h</sup>

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, pp. 1–3.*

*Copy, typewritten on a letterhead.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the first page of the document, a handwritten note with handwritten and underlined letters: P.Bu and a text reading: analog. work out of the territory of the Ternop[il] Voi. and two illegible initials; in the top right corner, a letter added in handwriting: B; under the text, in the bottom left corner, a rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office Received on ..., 193..., encl. ... no. ... and a handwritten date: 14/XI ...3 and letters: B.P; at the top and bottom of the last page, illegible initials.*

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<sup>f-f</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>g-g</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>h-h</sup> Stamped.

<sup>6</sup> Stepan Onyszkiewicz (1861–1945) Greek Catholic Priest, social activist; in the years 1907–1918 member of the Austrian Parliament; one of the founders of the UNDP; in the years 1918–1919 member of the national council of the ZUNR; later member of the UNDO; reorganized the association of “Silsky Hospodar” in Lviv.

<sup>7</sup> Andrzej Tylko, counselor of the Voivodeship Office in Lviv; in 1935 head ad interim of the Ethnic Office in the Social and Political Department of the Voivodeship Office in Lviv.

## No. 174

### 9 November 1933, Zolochiv. Letter from the Zolochiv District Governor to the Department of Public Security with the Voivodeship Office in Ternopil regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the district

Zolochiv District Governor  
No. 304/tjn.

Zolochiv, 9 November 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Confidential<sup>a</sup>

Observation of Ukrainian mourning  
on 29 October and 5 November 1933  
proceedings

To <sup>b</sup>Voivodeship Office<sup>b</sup>  
in Ternopil  
Department of Pub[lic] Sec[urity]

Following the report of 30 October 1933 L: 304/Tjn., I hereby report that the day of Ukrainian mourning in the loc[al] dist[ri]ct], on 5 November of this year, proceeded as follows:

On 5 November 1933, Father Łysko delivered a sermon in Sassiv during a service in the Greek Catholic Church. In his sermon, Father Łysko stated that at the present moment, the Ukrainian nation is in captivity and that enemies rule over the Ukrainian territories. Furthermore, Father Łysko called on those gathered in the Greek Catholic church to carry out further work aimed at winning a free Ukraine. He then compared suffering of the Ukrainian nation to suffering of Christ, who was tormented, and his enemies died in the end; thus, according to the words of Father Łysko, the enemies of the Ukrainian nation will also die when the time is right, since “an hour will come, when we will conquer our enemies”.

On the same day, at 15 [hundred] hours, Father Łysko visited the local “Pros-vita” reading room, where some 35 people were already assembled. During that meeting, the daughter of Father Łysko – Włodzimiera – delivered an address on the creation and fall of the Ukr[ainian] state. In the course of the address, police showed up and dissolved the meeting, being organized illegally.

As regards Father Łysko and his daughter, reports were drawn up with the aim of holding them accountable.

Apart from that, in Zolochiv, Chizhiv, Remezivtsi, Strutyn, Krasnosiltsi, Shpiklosy, Gologory, Stinka and Trudovach, prayers were made in the Greek Catholic churches on behalf of the starving Ukrainians in Soviet Russia and pastoral letters were read; however, no anti-state or anti-government manifestations took place.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped and underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase and wide letter-spacing.*



I point out that on this day, in many of the places of the dist[ri]ct, Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests did not organize any prayers or *Panakhody* services. Equally, no money collections were organized on behalf of the starving Ukrainians in Russia, with the exception of the communes of Gologory, Trudovach and Stinka where, during the sermons, the priests appealed to the people to donate money to their starving compatriots in Russia.

In parallel, I am issuing an order to the Dist[ri]ct SP Head[quarters] to carry out investigations aimed at suspending the activities of "Prosvita" in Sassiv for carrying out tasks which are counter to its statute.

District Governor:  
(—) Płachta

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, p. 15.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner, illegible initials; under the date on the document, handwritten letters: W or N and B; on the bottom of the page under the text, illegible initials and a rectangular stamp with inscription: Ternopil Voivodeship Office, Received on ..., 193..., encl. ... no. ... and a date added in handwriting: 14/XI ...3 and letters: B. N.*

## No. 175

### 9 November 1933, Stanyslaviv. Fragments of a report by the Stanyslaviv Voivode regarding the situation of the Ukrainian minority and the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning

<sup>a</sup>-Voivode in Stanyslaviv<sup>a</sup>  
No. BB Taj. 17/1/33

Stanyslaviv, 9 November 1933

<sup>a-b</sup>General situation<sup>b</sup>  
for all national minorities<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Ukrainians<sup>b</sup>

The reporting period was marked by intensive activities on the part of Ukrainian political parties carried out in relation to the oppression of the Ukrainian population in Sov[iet] Ukraine. The culminating point of this protest action was planned for the day of 29 October, on which a large number of gatherings and protest meetings were announced, while in a number of places demonstration parades were planned.

The Gr[reek] Cath[olic] clergy also took part in the preparations of this protest action, having been ordered by their superiors to conduct on 29 October mourning services on behalf of the Ukrainian population starving in Sov[iet] Ukraine in all Greek Catholic churches.

However, as a result of the authorities issuing a ban on all public gatherings, the entire protest action was limited to the Greek Catholic church-oriented activities, and in individual cases, protest meetings were held on closed premises. No demonstrations were organized on that day.

[...]

<sup>a-b</sup>Political life<sup>b-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>UNDO<sup>a</sup>

Rohatyn dist[ri]ct: On 15 October, a meeting of parliamentary deputies was held in Burshtyn in the Rohatyn dist[ri]ct and attended by Deputy Stepan Kuzyk. Some 250 people from Burshtyn and the neighboring villages participated in the meeting.

[...]

During his address, [Kuzyk] expressed his disappointment with the loss of the rights of the Ukr[ainian] nation acquired during the Austr[ian] rule in f[ormer] Galicia, claiming that the Ukrainians have lost 50% of their rights in education and that they [Ukrainians] fare better in Czechoslovakia, worse in Romania, and

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

the worst in Sov[iet] Russia, where the Red despot is destroying the Ukrainian nation. With that, he mentioned that the Ukrainian public is divided into two camps, that is “for and against”, yet in the coming days, a World-Wide Ukrainian Congress is to be held which will call on the entire Ukrainian world to act in a united manner.

In his conclusion, he appealed to those gathered to prove to the world that here, in the Ukrainian territories under Polish government, the Ukrainians will not stand for the Bolshevik plague which should be eradicated, whereupon he raised the call: “Long live the Ukr[ainian] nation, away with the Bolshevik terror!”

During the report[ing] period, the whole attention of the Ukrainian political parties was directed towards the preparations of the so called day of mourning, called on for 29 October, in relation to the oppression of the Ukrainian people in Sov[iet] Ukraine. The preparations concentrated around the organization of as many public meetings, services in the Greek Catholic church, etc., as possible on that day. However, with the ban issued by the administrative authorities prohibiting all public gatherings on that day, the whole protest action was limited to mourning services conducted in the Greek Catholic churches and to a small number of meetings held on closed premises.

<sup>a</sup>Dolyna dist[ri]ct:<sup>a</sup> On 29 October, in all Greek Catholic churches of the district, mourning services were conducted on behalf of those Ukrainians starving in Sov[iet] Ukraine. During the services, donations were collected in support of the relief funds for the starving.

In Dolyna and Bolekhiv, Ukrainian nationalists attempted to organize a public meeting after the Greek Catholic church services, but were prevented from doing so.

During the Greek Catholic church services, pastoral letters were read everywhere and special sermons were delivered. During a sermon in the Greek Catholic church in Bolekhiv, when the priest was describing, in the darkest of words, the situation of the Ukrainian people in Sov[iet] Ukraine, a communist present in the Greek Catholic church, Miron Kościw, spoke the following words aloud: “Nepravda, breshysh, doloj z kl[e]rom”.

Horodenka dist[ri]ct: In this district, the activities were limited to conducting services in the Greek Catholic churches, during which the priests delivered a brief address on the oppression in Sov[iet] Ukraine, appealing to the parishioners to offer donations on behalf of their starving brothers in Ukraine. A Civic Committee for the Rescue of Ukraine established in Horodenka, whose members are drawn from both the UNDO as well as USRP, intended to organize 18 public meetings on 29 October in the district. However, with the ban, those meetings did not take place. Proclamations were distributed in the district, one co[py] of which is enclosed.

Kalush dist[ri]ct: In the Kalush district, the mourning observation was organized by the Committee for Relief to the Starving in Ukraine, established in

Kalush, which sent out appeals to every commune calling for donations on behalf of those starving in Ukraine.

Apart from the services in the Greek Catholic churches, no other manifestations were organized in the district.

Kolomyia dist[ri]ct: In nearly all Greek Catholic churches of the Kolomyia district services were conducted on 29 October, during which proper sermons were delivered.

In Pechenizhyn, a meeting of the “Prosvita” reading room members was called on that day which was attended by some 120 people. A number of addresses were delivered by the following speakers:

Jakubiak Wasyl, student, who, describing the situation in Sov[iet] Ukraine, underlined that 10,000 Ukr[ainians] have already died of starvation there, that protests filed with the League of Nations will not be of any <sup>°</sup> help since it has no influence over the Soviets and can not stand up to defend the Ukrainian nation;

Andrijowicz Osyp, head of the cooperative, presented the economic situation in the Soviets and appealed for condemning Soviet rule before the entire world;

Father Krzyżanowski delivered a speech of truly nationalistic nature. He declared that during the war, the countries neighboring Ukraine surprised the Ukrainian nation, unprepared for defense, and tore the Ukrainian territories onto four parts. At present, they are persuing the eradication of the Ukrainian nation through various means unworthy of the civilized world. The Soviets have torn the faith in God from the Ukr[ainian] people, have murdered Ukr[ainian] priests and presently want to eradicate the entire Ukr[ainian] nation with hunger.

[...]

Kosiv dist[ri]ct: In the Kosiv district, activity was limited to only Greek Catholic church services, with the highest services being conducted in Kutu, lasting from 28 [October] at 18:00 hours until 29 [October] at 16:00, conducted by six Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests.

Nadvirna dist[ri]ct: Similarly in the Nadvirna dist[ri]ct, only the mourning services were conducted, while no meetings or gatherings were organized. The only act of manifestation came with the black flag being hung by the chairman of the “Prosvita” reading room in Kosmach on the reading room building.

Rohatyn dist[ri]ct: In the Rohatyn district, apart from the Greek Catholic church services, some associations held mourning meetings in their premises. Such meetings were organized by:

“Ridna Shkola” in Rohatyn, during which, in his speech the head master of the Ukr[ainian] gymn[asium], Baczyński, recalled the achievements of the f[ormer] head[master] of the gymn[asium] in Rohatyn, Czajkowski, who left for Sov[iet] Ukraine with his family, invited and then murdered by the Soviets;

The “Prosvita” reading room in Zaluzhia, where 25 people participated in the meeting during which the chairman read the pamphlet entitled “Lykholite Ukrainy w Bolshevy”, published by “Dilo”;

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<sup>°</sup> *Illegible word crossed-out in typewriting.*

“Ridna Shkola” in Pukiv, where during the meeting a resolution was adopted in protest against the violence in Sov[iet] Ukraine directed against the Ukrainians living there.

Stanyslaviv dist[ri]ct: In the Stanyslaviv district, independent of the Greek Catholic church services, meetings were held by the various associations touching on the situation in Sov[iet] Ukraine.

On 29 October in Stanyslaviv, a secret meeting was organized by the “Prosvita” branch, attended by some 150 prominent political activists. Professors from local high schools were present: Łepki<sup>d</sup>, Nykyforjak, Hrycak, Siwecki, Brygider, Father Kuszniir, Father Sawrasz, lawyer Onuferko and representatives of the “Soyuz Ukrainok”<sup>1</sup> headed by Zofia Oleśnicka.

[Parliamentary] Deputy Rudnicka was present at the meeting and presented a report. She gave an overview of the general situation as far as the Ukr[ainian] propaganda [efforts] abroad is concerned, claiming that the propaganda has at the present moment reached an appropriate level so that when an issue is raised in an international forum, the representatives of foreign countries have the knowledge of Ukrainian relations and the aims of the Ukr[ainian] nation, and not as was the case 15 years ago when very few people knew anything about the Ukrainian nation. Then she declared that the matters of support to the starving in Sov[iet] Ukraine and the anti-Bolshevik propaganda were mentioned both at the Minority Congress in Bern and in the forum of the League of Nations. However, the latter declared itself incompetent on the matter due to the fact that Sov[iet] Russia is not its member. The League of Nations transferred the matter to the International Red Cross in Geneva, which will decide whether it will carry out the relief action for the starving itself with the consent of the Soviet government or whether it will pass the task to the Russian Red Cross. She also mentioned that the relief actions on behalf of those starving in Ukraine have presently reached wide circles, both in the country and abroad; however they place most hope in aid from the Ukr[ainian] population of Małopolska Wschodnia.

Apart from that meeting, others were organized in the Stanyslaviv district in Tysmenichany, Patsykiv, Rybne, Uhryniv Dolishnyi and Chukalivka during which the members of the Student Section in Stanyslaviv presented relevant addresses.

In the remaining districts of: Stryi, Sniatyn, Tlumach and Zhydachiv, except for services in the Greek Catholic churches, no other manifestations were organized.

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<sup>d</sup> *As in the original. In document no. 165: Łepkyj.*

<sup>1</sup> “Soyuz Ukrainok” – Ukrainian women’s association with ties to the UNDP and UNDO, with about 15,000 members; the headquarters of the association were located in Lviv; the association aimed to increase the participation of women in the social life, raise the level of education and advance the skills needed in running a household; the activities of the association were suspended by the Polish authorities in 1929, with the organization itself being dissolved in 1938.

## USRP

Sniatyn dist[rikt]: On 1 October, a public meeting was organized with the efforts of the USRP Dist[rikt] Committee in Sniatyn and attended by Parliamentary Deputies Wachniuk (USRP) and Czukur (UNDO). The meeting was addressed by the editor of “Hromadsky Holos”<sup>2</sup> from Lviv, Pawlow Ostap, who spoke on the situation of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Ukraine. This was followed by speeches delivered by Deputy Czukur and, on behalf of Ukrainian students, Semen Czyczuł. Some 800 people participated in the meeting.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 987, pp. 161–163 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*No enclosure.*

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<sup>2</sup> “Hromadsky Holos” – official newspaper of the USRP, an anti-communist, political weekly published in Lviv, its chief editors were, among others: O. Pawliw and M. Stachiw.

**No. 176**  
**13 November 1933, Kosiv. Fragment of a report by the Kosiv District Governor regarding the observation of Ukrainian national mourning in the district**

Kosiv District Governor  
No. Taj. 1/2

<sup>a</sup>-Secret<sup>a</sup>  
Kosiv, 13 November 1933

Monthly report on  
public security

To Voivode  
<sup>b</sup>in Stanyslaviv<sup>b</sup>

submitting in accordance with the rescript dated 22 March 1932 no. BB Taj. 1/2/33.

District Governor  
in place (—) Dolnicki  
Deputy Governor

[Enclosure]

[...]  
<sup>b</sup>Monthly report<sup>b</sup>  
on public security for the period from 1 till 31 October 1933

VIII. Varia

[...]

With regard to the observation of the Ukr[ainian] national mourning on 29 October of this year, in Kosiv [and] Kutu mourning services were conducted, during which the priests appealed to the people in their sermons to make donations on behalf of the Ukrainian population starving in Sov[iet] Ukraine, presenting the state of poverty there and [stating] that the Ukr[ainian] population is persecuted by the Bolsheviks.

In other communes of the district, silent, holy masses were conducted, and only in some communes, after the services the priests mentioned the oppression carried out by the Bolsheviks on the Ukr[ainian] population in Soviet Ukraine<sup>c</sup>.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 962, pp. 20, 29.*  
*Original, typewritten.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup> *Word corrected in handwriting.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter, a sign, probably a letter: w or rz and a hardly legible date: 15[?]/11;  
below, illegible initials; in the bottom right corner, under the signature, illegible word or initials.*



**No. 177**

**14 November 1933, Kolomyia. Fragment of a report by the Kolomyia District Governor for the Stanyslaviv Voivode regarding the observation of Ukrainian national mourning in the district**

Kolomyia District Governor  
No. Taj. 14/Sa

<sup>a</sup>Secret<sup>a</sup>  
Kolomyia, 14 November 1933

Monthly report on the  
subversive activities and professional activity for  
the month of October 1933

To Voivode  
<sup>b</sup>in Stanyslaviv<sup>b</sup>

submitting.

District Governor:  
(—) Wł. Skłodowski<sup>1</sup>

8 encl.

[Enclosure]

[...]

VII. Diversion and spying

[...]

<sup>c</sup>On 29 October of this year, mourning services were conducted in the Greek Catholic churches in Kolomyia, Pechenizhyn, Mlodiatoryn, Maly Kluchiv, Velyky Kluchiv, Knazhdvor, Tovmachik, Sloboda Runhurska, Pidhaichyky, Zahaypole, Turka and Fatovtsi in reaction to the persecution of Ukrainians in Soviet Russia. During those services, pastoral letters were read with regard to that matter; moreover the local priests delivered brief speeches during which <sup>d</sup>they explained the society on persecutions of Ukrainians in Soviet Russia<sup>d</sup> and appealed to offer support to the starving brothers by making donations on their behalf in the form of small financial contributions<sup>c</sup>.

[...]

With the day of mourning on 29 October of this year and the anniversary of proclamation of independence in Western Ukraine on 1 November, information was received that saboteur elements intended to manifest those celebrations publicly by demonstrating through rallies, speeches and distribution of special proc-

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Fragment crossed-out in handwriting with a diagonal line.*

<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>1</sup> Władysław Józef Skłodowski (born 11 November 1895), certified Captain, retired; in the years 1921–1922 with the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Podhale Rifles; in 1928 with the Section I of the Main Staff; in the years 1933–1935 Kolomyia District Governor; in the years 1936–1937 District Governor in Tlumach; during the September Campaign of 1939 with Section IV of the Command of the “Karpaty” Army.

lamations. As a result of this information, °home searches were carried out° with a number of °persons suspected of participation in the planned° actions, °bringing negative results, except for [the search] at [the home of] Bohdan Mychalewski,° medical graduate from Kolomyia, where a prepared address was found to be delivered on 29 October of this year, that is on the day of mourning. This speech, although carrying a title “Ukraina i Moskowsky Bolsheviki”, is general in its content. Moreover, a calendar was found at this person’s [home], carrying a title °-“Sichova Zorya”° and including forbidden songs and one brochure [entitled] “Za Batka”, which does not have a permission for publication. Those materials were called into question and sent °together with Michalewski° to the disposal of the authorities°. Beyond that, several persons noted in the OUN records were preventively detained on suspicion of organizing demonstrations on the abovementioned days.

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 962, pp. 7, 17–18.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter, a sign, probably a letter: w or rz and hardly legible date: 15[?]/11; below, illegible initials; under the signature, illegible word or initials.*

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<sup>e-e</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>f</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: Mychalewski.*

## No. 178

### 14 November 1933, Dolyna. Fragment of a report by the Dolyna District Governor for the Stanyslaviv Voivode for October 1933 regarding the observation of Ukrainian national mourning in Bolekhiv and the reaction of the CPWU

Dolyna District Governor  
No. Taj. 5/Sy.

Dolyna, 14 November 1933  
<sup>a</sup>Secret<sup>a</sup>

Monthly report on  
public security for the period  
from 1 to 31 October 1933  
to decree, dated 22 March 1933  
No. BB Taj. 1/2

To  
Voivode  
in Stanyslaviv

In accordance with the order dated 22 March 1933, No. BB Taj. 1/2, I hereby enclose for the Voivode a monthly situation report <sup>b-on</sup> public <sup>b-security</sup> for the month of October 1933.

District Governor:  
(—) Brzostyński

[Enclosure]

[..]

#### II. Sabotage activities: CPWU

“On 29 October 1933, in the course of reading the pastoral letter issued by the Ukr[ainian] Episcopate read by Father Lewiński in the Greek Catholic church in Bolekhiv concerning the protest against the oppression of Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine, a known communist attending the service in the Greek Catholic church, Miron Kościw from Bolekhiv, spoke the following words in a raised voice: “To ne pravda – breshesh”. When Father Lewiński asked for the abovementioned [man] to be escorted out from the Greek Catholic church, the abovementioned began shouting: “Away with the clergy” and wanted to begin his speech with the words: “Robytnyky i selany!” He was not allowed to begin his speech. With regard to the above, on the night of 28 to 29 October of this year, words were written on the walls of the Greek Catholic church in Bolekhiv, reading: “Long Live the CPWU. Away with the whips from Ukraine. Away with the bourgeois!”

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<sup>a-a</sup> Stamped.

<sup>b-b</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>c</sup> Paragraph marked with a semi-circular line on the left margin, next to it, an illegible note.

[...]

*DAIFO, F. 2, Op. 1, Spr. 962, pp. 106, 108.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner of the cover letter, a sign, probably a letter: w or rz and a date: 15[?]/11; below, illegible initials; next to the signature, illegible word or initials.*

No. 179

18 November 1933, Kiev. Fragment of a report from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the press information and forecasts as to the events in Ukraine

18 November [19]33

My Dear!

[...]

You know from the press and the reports that in our region, despite the enormous difficulties, exhaustion and opposition (the latter being twofold: some organized and [a] major[ity] stimulated by the necessity of upholding the bare minimum needed for survival), despite all – the authorities have sown, harvested and taken all that they planned, and at the present moment, have sown again and prepared all that is needed for the spring. In light of this “bare” if I may use the word, fact, it needs only be determined at what cost and by what means was this achieved? At this point, I will allow myself to make a digression: a particular song of praise for the party. There is no situation from which the Bolsheviki would not be able to draw a benefit for themselves. The secret of their success, in my view, lies primarily in their total disregard for the means and victims through which a goal is achieved. Thus they were also able to profit from this year’s famine in Ukraine.

I firmly believe that only by using the hunger suffered by the peasants were they able, throwing the little scraps, as if to a hungry dog, to force them to carry the entire burden of field work, and thereafter to force those same peasants to express gratitude for their humanitarian action of feeding [the needy]. By applying systematic terror, [the Bolsheviki] were able to break the peasant mass to such a degree that, in spite of tragic experiences of the previous year, they managed to fulfill the entire *khlebosdacha* plan, again taking away almost all the crops. Carrying out all this was possible by directing an enormous mass of freshly educated communists who, first of all, have no ties to the local people. They are under the influence of theoretical arguments to such a degree that they have become near fanatics, executing<sup>a</sup> every order with eyes shut to all consequences which fall on the people.

[...]

Every technological achievement, every pact or party thrown by Litwinow<sup>1</sup>, as well as any news published by the bourgeois newspapers regarding the

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<sup>a</sup> *Word corrected in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Maksim Litwinow (1876–1951), actually Max Walach or Meir Wallach-Finkelstein, Soviet diplomat; in the years 1898–1918 in exile, among others, in Great Britain; from 4 January 1918 representative of Bolshevik Russia in Great Britain (unrecognized); in September 1918 arrested by the British police, in October 1918 exchanged for the British Consul, Robert Bruce Lockhart, arrested by the VChK; from November 1918 till 1921, member of the Collegium of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, at the same time, head of the mission of the RSFSR in Copenhagen; from 1920 till 1921

unemployment, crisis, etc., is promptly and skillfully used to inspire admiration and recognition on the part of both the unconscious and uncritical, as well as those infected with doubt. The popularity of the Soviets, the race to establish “cultural” and general ties, the declarations of all types of newly-bred experts on Soviet life, all that, even without the participation of those who lead this life, benefits the regime greatly.

[...]

As I have managed to determine, the “Soviet Tribune” quotes a number of cases where in the kolkhozy of Marchlewszczyzna, hundreds of kilograms of grain have been paid for *trudodens*. Despite a very thorough search on the map and enquiries with the people, no one was able to say where even a single such kolkhoz was to be found.

[...]

In my opinion, the present winter and spring will once again be tragic for the people. Both they and the authorities realize this. The former are not able to prevent [it] in any way, and the latter do not intend to give up the fulfillment of plans for [a merely] “humanitarian” reason. The mortality rate which shall result, in understanding of the political elements, might cause difficulties with carrying out the field work; however, it has this positive side to it – the majority of the older people, those who remember different times and long for them, resisting the new methods of cultivating the crops and farming, will die, thus weakening the opposition, and finally, it will be possible to claim that they died because they were not willing to follow the party teaching.

[...]

N. Nalewajko

<sup>b</sup>-Enclosures – 5

and press clippings.

Additionally, I send a collection of drawings, perhaps they will be of some use to you N. N.<sup>-b</sup>

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*At the top of the document, a receipt stamp with inscription: “W” received on ... 193... L. with handwritten date: 23 XI ...3 and a number: 4700/33 N; next to it, a handwritten, underlined note: a/a Ku and illegible initials.*

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RSFSR representative in Estonia; from May 1921 Deputy People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR (from 1923 USSR); from July 1930 till 3 May 1939, People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs; at the same time, in the years 1934–1938, representative of the USSR to the League of Nations; from 1934 till 1941 member of the CC AUCP(b), in the years 1937–1950 Deputy to the Supreme Council of the USSR; in the years 1941–1946 Deputy People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, in the years 1941–1943 ambassador of the USSR in Washington (at the same time, in the years 1942–1943 to Havana).

<sup>b-b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

No. 180

2 December 1933, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the problems in Ukrainian agriculture

2 December [19]33

Dear Jurek!

[...]

Further information has been flowing in confirming the organized emigration movement of people from south-eastern Belarus to the western and southern regions of Ukraine.

[...]

Proceeding to the account of the situation in the entire Ukraine, it should be noted that following the beet harvests (you know about the crops from reports, as well as newspapers) the following efforts are presently most pressing: transporting the beets away to sugar plants through frozen muddy roads, which is hampered by extremely<sup>a</sup> low temperatures, reaching 15–20 degrees; collecting seed stocks for the fall sowing and the so called *strakhove fondy*, which, however, proceeds relatively slowly to the irritation of the official elements, and which also is hardly in line with the reports of great grain stock left this year in the countryside; repairing tractors and trucks, of which there are around 35,000 tractors [and] 15,000 machines needing repair in the whole of Ukraine. In the political and propaganda realm, preparations are currently underway for various meetings during which this year’s *dostuzhenya* in all the spheres are to be discussed, all “distortions” are to be disclosed and preparations for the spring work discussed.

And in the meantime, all <sup>b</sup> signs of famine are visible in the countryside, as was the case last year, including the beginnings<sup>c</sup> of cannibalism. Due to unfinished<sup>c</sup> gathering<sup>c</sup> of seed and additional “fondy”, almost nowhere has the actual<sup>c</sup> balancing out of payments for *trudodens* been carried out. At best, advances were made averaging 3 kilo[grams] for each in the best kolkhozy and some sugar in return for the beets. In any case, the mills serving the countryside population have all been complaining of idleness, and the market price of bread is growing by the day, reaching the level of 2 rubles per pound in some towns...

[...]

N. Nalewajko

CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. W-47, n.pag.  
Original, typewritten.

<sup>a</sup> Added in handwriting over a crossed-out word: enormously.

<sup>b</sup> Crossed-out in typewriting: symptoms.

<sup>c</sup> Word corrected in handwriting.

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top left corner a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: "W" Received on ... 193... L. with handwritten date: 7 XII ...3 and a number: 4829/33 N; below the text, added in handwriting: W-47, sub-file for 1933.*



## No. 181

### 6 December 1933, Odessa. Fragment of a report by the German Consul in Odessa for the year 1933 regarding the situation in Ukraine

<sup>a</sup>-German Consulate<sup>-a</sup>  
Odessa, 6 December 1933

Translation from German  
<sup>a</sup>-Copy<sup>-a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Content: annual report<sup>-a</sup>

1. <sup>a</sup>-Politics<sup>-a</sup>. During the reporting period in a large part of the local consular region belonging to Ukraine, <sup>b</sup>-a turn of centralized communism against the Ukrainian national movement<sup>-b</sup> has taken place. Not long ago, it was [still] possible to see national drives, specially termed as “deviations” within the party, such as the SHUMSKY<sup>1</sup> line. Apparently, no harm was seen in it earlier, and some appearances were kept by continuing demonstrative, superficial Ukrainization. For example in Odessa, established as a colonial Russian city where the Ukrainian population never played any significant role, they are quite strict in ensuring that the state officials learn the Ukrainian language. All signs are in Ukrainian, professors lecture in Ukrainian, the press and the theatre have been Ukrainized, etc.

The weakening of this forced and formal Ukrainization has started, more or less, at the beginning of this year, in parallel with the struggle against Ukrainian “chauvinism”, and has become very visible following the suicide of SKRYP-NYK.

It was also the minorities that entered the scene [of events], undeniably at the inspiration from above, claiming that due to the wrong policies pursued by the Ukrainian state apparatus, they – primarily the Jews – were pushed out into the sidelines.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Aleksandr Shumsky (born 2 December 1890 in Borova Rudnya in the Korostensky Raion), SR activist, later communist, in 1917 member of the Ukrainian Central Council; from the end of 1917, following a split with the SR group, active with the Bolsheviks in Kharkiv; co-founder of the Ukrainian Communist Party, from 1920 member of the AUCP(b) and CP(b)U; in 1920 member of the Military Council with the 12<sup>th</sup> Army; from 1919 till 1927 People’s Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian SSR; accused of disseminating anti-Russian attitude. In 1926, with a wide-spread campaign directed against him, admitted to “errors” during the June plenum of the CP(b)U, dismissed from the post of the People’s Commissar for Education and sent to Moscow, where he held a low post in the labor unions; arrested on 13 May 1933 by the officers of the Soviet security organs; with the decision of the College of the OGPU of 5 September 1933, sentenced to 10 years in ITL, sent to Solovki; in 10 December 1935, with the decision of the Special College with the NKVD of the USSR, the sentence was changed to exile in Krasnoyarsk; released in 13 May 1943, remained in treatment in Krasnoyarsk and Yeniseysk, in July 1946 attempted to commit suicide; on 18 September 1946 murdered by the officers of the MGB of the USSR on a road from Saratov to Kiev.

At the same time, the GPU began intensive searches for all elements suspected of Ukrainian nationalist tendencies, and most of all, began carrying out mass arrests, without any screening, among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The party members have been accused of falling out of line with communist teaching, thus [appropriate] steps were taken with regard to them. <sup>b</sup>The already persecuted Ukrainian nationalists have [also] been accused of preparing an intervention, partly in consultation with Poland, partly in an alliance with the Germans, aimed at tearing Ukraine away from the Soviet Union<sup>b</sup>. It is generally believed that the communication with the Germans was provided through the leader of the nationalist Ukrainian Military Organization of Eastern Galicia – KONOVALETS. The importance given to those matters by the Soviets can be seen through the words of the Party Secretary in Soviet Ukraine, KOSIOR, delivered at the November plenum of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Commission of Soviet Ukraine. In his opinion, it can not be denied that the Ukrainian national movement has in fact often been successful. The primary cause behind it was probably the impoverishment of the Ukrainian peasant population, advancing in parallel to the five-year plan and culminating in the winter famine of 1932/[19]33. The increased persecution of the Ukrainian national intelligentsia has greatly sobered up those circles in Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) [!] [constituting] the center of Ukrainian national aspirations, which have earlier perceived Soviet Ukraine as the germ of the Ukrainian national statehood, as the counterbalance to the anti-Ukrainian internal policies of Poland. And finally, it was clearly the events in Germany that inspired new hopes. With all that, one can not forget that the Ukrainian national consciousness is still hardly developed in the Russian [part of] Ukraine and that the number of its supporters is still not significant.

In the smaller part of the local consular region belonging to the Russian Crimean Soviet Republic, the Tatars have officially been given the status of national minority, although they constitute a mere 26% of the population. There are still efforts undertaken to bring the Tatars more closely into the state and party apparatus. However, I believe that a step backward is possible here, should the Tatar national aspirations prove strong once again, as was the case a few years ago. The transfer of Jews to Crimea has also been revived, after – as it seemed – it was decisively stopped in the previous year. The Jews, having at their disposal a Jewish national Raion of Freidorf in Crimea, must already account for over 10% of the population.

From among the propaganda methods used in the reporting period, the one that particularly stood out was the slogan delivered by STALIN on making the kolkhozniki wealthy. In speeches, press articles and illustrations, this goal is always presented, but moreover, in contrast with reality, the argument is pursued that to a large extent the goal has already been reached. As a result of good crops in the Odessa Oblast and average crops in Crimea, a relatively high pay in kind has been introduced in some kolkhozy. In accordance with the principle set, it is a generalization and great successes that are constantly used for propaganda purposes.

In the German villages of the Odessa Oblast alone, inhabited by some 125,000 German colonists, the propaganda as to the alleged successes was often pursued in parallel to efforts directed against the “Brothers in Need” aid campaign. Moreover, in many villages, the kolkhozniki were induced to sign declarations or write letters in which they refused, often in strong language, aid [from] Hitler’s Germany which they allegedly did not need. For that purpose, as is evident, several villages with good crop yields were selected.

Overall, the German villages have greatly suffered during the terrible winter famine of 1932/[19]33, even if the situation in Russian and Ukrainian villages was even worse. Even in those villages where there were no cases of direct death from starvation, the number of deaths in 1933 was far higher than in 1932. The dekulakized and deported found themselves in the worst situation. Efforts of this kind are undertaken by local authorities, often completely without legal grounds. Also at present, the Kulak, “class enemy element” and individual farmers, continually referred to in the propaganda campaign, do not exist any longer. The individuals, who were most valuable for the cultural and economic relations in German villages, if not dead, deported or imprisoned, remain in a vegetative state as hired hands or workers, often with no permanent place of living as “passportless”, seeking temporary incomes here and there. Even the “Brothers in Need” campaign will not prevent the doomed fate of a large part of those people. The colonists who, as members of the kolkhozy, still possess some legal and economic grounds for their existence, are also hit by the general fall in agriculture. With regard to that, it is characteristic that providing for the clergy and the churches begins to be, as is clear, beyond their abilities. Finally, the overview of the situation of the German colonists should be completed by noting the fact that to an even greater extent than before, the German villages and raions are headed by Jews who, being party representatives, serve as whips and supervisors.

[...]

The Ukrainian part of the consular region was among those oblasts which have suffered most from the famine during the past winter. The famine was mainly caused by the authorities themselves, beginning at the end of 1932 through the systematic confiscation of all grain stocks, since the Odessa Oblast did not fulfill its *khlebosdacha* obligation. Thus, from the beginning of the year, the villages have in fact been left with no grain. People were forced to eat either products of no nutritious value, such as turnips, or food substitutes, grass seeds, pulp from corn stalk, or [simply] die. <sup>b</sup>In February, the first cases of death from starvation and cannibalism were reported<sup>b</sup>. The northern part of the oblast found itself in the worst situation. But also in Odessa [itself], one could see in the streets people collapsing from hunger, and in several hospitals, special wards were established for those picked up from the streets who were in the last stage of dying from starvation; those efforts are no more than a drop of water [falling] on a hot rock. It is impossible to assess the losses in people and cattle. Some improvement will come only with the first vegetables in later spring.

Despite all that, through a joint effort carried out by the government and the party, with cruel pressure and scrupulous control it was possible to force the hunger-exhausted and humiliated people to carry out the field work as planned [until] the harvests. Those who did not go out to work in the fields were left without even those meager food rations distributed with that aim, so the people dragged along out into the fields often die there from exhaustion. Yet the field work was carried out and with favorable weather in the summer, such unprecedented good crops were possible. However, a significant part of those crops was lost, primarily in the northern raions of the oblast in places suffering most from the famine, which was even confirmed by the Soviet representative in Ukraine, POSTYSHEV, in his speech delivered on 19 November at the plenum of the Ukrainian Central Party Committee. In some cases, not all the grain was reaped and much of the mowed grain was left in the fields. The grain which was mowed too early or badly reaped was lost, while much was also stolen. Even though thousands of people were sent from the cities into the countryside to work in the harvests, it was not possible to save the crops entirely and in time due to the exhaustion of the people, lack of draft animals and a poor condition of the machines used in the fields. Although the Odessa Oblast managed to fulfill its *khlebosdacha* plan this year, the stocks of sowing and additional seed have not yet been delivered as foreseen in the plan, thus free trade is still not permitted. Certainly the oncoming winter will also be a hard one, especially in the north of the oblast. In recent days in Odessa, grain rations have again been lowered. In Crimea, where the *khlebosdacha* was fulfilled and the sowing stocks delivered, etc., free trade is allowed.

The crops of industrial plants, such as cotton and grapevine, are also unfavorable, partly due to the rainfall, unusual for the southern climate.

Overall, the harvesting campaign should be assessed as unsuccessful, and it is worth noting that the collectivization in this oblast is far above the average for the [Soviet] Union, reaching the level of 90% and more.

[...]

Sign[ed] ROT

Translated from German: translator  
SHTIVELBAND

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Oper[ational] Representative  
of Spec[ial] Div[ision]<sup>a</sup> of UGB  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 7, pp. 11–22.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 182

### 7 December 1933, Stanyslaviv. Letter from the Chief of the Voivodeship State Police in Stanyslaviv regarding “Ridna Shkola” activities during the day of Ukrainian national mourning

Voivodeship Headquarters of SP  
Stanyslaviv Investigation Office  
<sup>a</sup>No. P. 7/286/33<sup>a</sup>

Stanyslaviv, 7 December 1933

OUN – day of mourning  
29 October 1933

To  
All District Headquarters of SP  
<sup>a</sup>in the Voivodeship<sup>a</sup>

The Investigation Department of SP in Lviv, through intern[al] intelligence, has received information that on 29 October of this year, which was the day of mourning for the Ukrainian [comm]unity in Małopolska Wsch[odnia], was also a day of observation for all Ukrainian associations. It was particularly observed by the Ukr[ainian] association of “Ridna Shkola”.

That is, several days before the day itself, the “Holovna Uprava of Ridna Shkola” sent out guidelines to all branches and *kruzhkiv* to organize special meetings, addresses and speeches, etc. It was requested that the incomes from those events be sent to “Komitet dopomohy holodujuchym Welykoj Ukrainy”, located in Lviv. Moreover, the “Holovna Uprava” sent a special decree to a number of schools under its supervision calling for an action to be carried out in November in all the schools of “Ridna Shkola” with the aim of informing the youth attending those schools about the situation in Soviet Ukraine.

The teachers working for “Ridna Shkola” are presently carrying out the directives sent by the “Holovna Uprava”, devoting hours to discussions with the youth. These discussions, being of purely political nature and having nothing to do with education, are carried out not only in the high schools of “Ridna Shkola”, but also in elementary schools. For example, in the priv[ate] elementary school of “Ridna Shkola”, located at 21 Supinskiego St. (in the courtyard), the teacher, [Ms.] Panczyszynowa, asked the 4<sup>th</sup> gr[ade] students to write down, as part of their assignment, the following text: “We, the youth attending the »Ridna Shkola«, protest against the barbaric, occupation-directed policies of savage Moscow, which have led the Ukrainian lands, »flowing with milk and honey«, into utter poverty, and thousands of people living there into starvation. The Ukr[ainian] youth extends its brotherly hand to its brothers and sisters on the other bank of the Zbruch River, and sends them its wholehearted compassion.”

Mikołaj Matijiw Melnyk, a professor at the gymn[asium] of “Ridna Shkola” in Lviv, gave his students an assignment entitled “Why is there presently hunger in Greater Ukraine and how can we contribute to eradicating it.”

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

Moreover, in all the schools of “Ridna Shkola”, financial donations are collected for aid to those starving in Greater Ukraine.

With regard to those money collections carried out all over Małopolska Wsch[odnia], it should be underlined that no one, neither those collecting nor those making the donations for this fictional goal of “aid to the starving in Greater Ukraine”, believes that the money will be delivered to Soviet Russia. In turn, everyone is convinced that the money acquired through this collection will go to the <sup>b</sup>OUN’s *boyevyi fond*<sup>b</sup> and other similar aims of the organization.

<sup>a</sup>-Sent to:<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>c</sup>-Voi. Dep[artment] of Publ[ic]  
Sec[urity]<sup>c</sup> in Stanyslaviv

Chief of the Voivodeship SP  
in place (—) Suchenek-Sucecki<sup>1</sup>,  
commis.  
Chief of the Investigation Office

In conformity: (—) Hołubasz, lead.

*DAIFO, F. 78, Op. 1, Spr. 49, p. 188.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Next to the line, on the left margin, a handwritten, partly legible word: [...] ob.*

<sup>1</sup> Józef Suchenek-Sucecki, police commissioner, until 1927 with the Regional Office of Political Police (PP) in Warsaw, with expertise in protecting the Polish President; in the years 1927–1929 Chief of the Investigation Office for Region VI of PP (capital city of Warsaw); in the years 1933–1934 Chief of the Investigation Office with the Voivodeship Headquarters of SP in Stanyslaviv (region X of PP).

## No. 183

### 9 December 1933, Stanyslaviv. Fragments of a report by the Stanyslaviv Voivode regarding protests by Ukrainians in response to the events in the Ukrainian SSR

Stanyslaviv Voivodeship Office  
No. BB Taj. 17/1/33

Stanyslaviv, 9 December 1933

<sup>a</sup>Political life<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Ukrainians<sup>a</sup>

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Front of National Unity<sup>a1</sup>

Stanyslaviv dist[ri]ct: On 26 November, at the initiative of Iwan Korczyński from Halych, a meeting took place on the premises of the Ukr[ainian] National House in Zalukva, with invitees from the trusted representatives of the UNDO from the Halych region and prominent Ukrainian activists, altogether some 120 people. The meeting was attended by Dmytro Palijiw, who delivered an address on the situation of the Ukr[ainian] nation in the Soviets. At his request, a resolution was adopted protesting against the persecution of Ukr[ainians] in the Soviets.

[...]

USRP

Kolomyia dist[ri]ct: On 12 November in Pechenizhyn, a party meeting of members of the local committee of the USRP was held. During the meeting, Chairman Iwan Samokieszyn accused the members of passiveness and tardiness in party work, and showed that the UNDO benefited from this, pushing away the influence so laboriously acquired by the radicals within associations.

On 5 November in the Kolomyia district, the USRP carried out a protest action against the persecution of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia. In connection with that action, meetings were held on the same day bringing together the members of associations with strong USRP influences, taking place in the following communes: Oskshesyntsi, Kolomyia, Pechenizhyn, Kosmach, Liski, Dobrovidka, Fatovtsi, Verkhny Verbizh, Mateyivtsi and Myshyn.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Front of National Unity (FNE) – Ukrainian legal nationalist party, established in Poland in 1933 by Dmytro Palijiw; in opposition to the UNDO and OUN; supported an agreement with the government of Poland; the leadership organ was the Political College (among others S. Herasymowicz, D. Palijiw) and the National Council; the FNE was at first centered around the newspaper “Novy Chas”, later, from 1933 around a bi-weekly “Peremokha”, later “Batkivshchyna” (from 1934) and “Ukrainsky Visty” (from 1935); from the fall of 1935 the periodical “Khlivorobsky Shlakh” became the party organ; FNE (in the years 1939–1941 functioning under the General Government) was dissolved in the second half of 1941.

Representatives of the USRP Dist[ri]ct Committee in Kolomyia have been sent to all of the aforementioned communes with addresses which they have delivered in those communes.

Rohatyn dist[ri]ct: On 5 November, Andrzej Hrywnak, USRP Parliamentary Deputy in the Polish Lower House, called a meeting of the members of the "Prosvita" reading room in Danylche, during which he delivered an address on the persecution of Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia. Afterwards, as a sign of protest and mourning, he called on those gathered to observe a three minute silence. A relevant resolution was adopted during the meeting protesting against the Bolshevik violence.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 46, Op. 9a, Spr. 987, pp. 190 v.–191 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*



## No. 184

### 11 December 1933, Kharkiv. Fragment of an annual report by the German Consul General in Kharkiv for the German Embassy in Moscow regarding the general situation in the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>-German Consulate General<sup>a</sup>  
L.dz. 312  
Kharkiv, 11 December [19]33  
3 copies

Translation from German

<sup>a</sup>-To the German Embassy in Moscow<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a-b</sup>-Annual report<sup>b</sup>  
(general situation in Ukraine)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Agriculture<sup>a</sup>

This year, Ukraine found itself amidst great famine, or – from the Soviet point of view – under the victory of the communization of agriculture. This famine has reached a particularly critical [point] with regard to the peasant population and due to the significance of Ukrainian agriculture – equally for [the entire] Republic and the Soviet Union. It was about settling the issue of whether collectivization, pursued since 1929, would finally bring about an improvement in the situation, ensuring, in the end, food supplies for the [entire] population, or would the socialization of agriculture, regardless of its fundamental importance and certain practical consequences, break down due to the negative attitudes among the peasants. If the Soviet authorities, as they always do, answer the question affirmatively, it should be underlined that it came with an extremely great sacrifice.

For people abroad it is often incomprehensible how a famine on such a scale was possible in Ukraine, with its fertile fields and no visible crop failures. It is the system that is responsible for that, carrying out the collectivization too soon, too promptly and with insufficient means, which has led to enormous chaos in agriculture.

At the same time, in parallel with other factors, they lost sight of what STALIN was talking about: “The people decide on the matter”; the matter of decisive importance – will the 22 millions of Ukrainian peasants join in and show, instead of the rooted, individualist views, necessary understanding and will to work for the new communist form of economy?

Years of collectivization brought unsatisfactory results and gave grounds for the assumption that socialization should have been carried out gradually, so as not to pose a threat to food supplies for the entire population and the loss of that

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

great value. For example, when the new [generation of] people educated in line with the Marxist teaching came about or when the visible material benefits and a sufficient amount of agricultural machines proved the advantages of the new, grand undertakings.

Each year, the same line was followed. The crops were not sufficient to fulfill both the needs of the state and the peasants. The state was to ensure [food] supplies for industrial workers, whose numbers were growing fast with the five-year plans, to the remaining inhabitants of cities, and in face of the tensions in the Far East, to the military, and moreover, to secure the grain for exports to provide hard currencies.

Against meager opposition, each year the state took, in a most cruel way, more grain from the peasant than he was able to provide. Thus, the farmers did not have enough grain to provide for bread, fodder and sowing material; the sowing area was insufficiently used and sown. The countryside population attempted to save the meager remains of the crops from requisition by the government organs and was not interested in sowing more than was necessary and harvesting according to the plan. As a result, once again there were insufficient crops. The planned area of sowing was decreased, as was the amount of industrial plants, leading to growing poverty in both the individual farms as well as the kolkhozy; the latter did not develop as was expected, although they did profit from certain benefits of priority. The organization and contacts were insufficient and the kolkhoz members could not adapt so promptly to the work model of “one for all”.

When the catastrophic situation became clear at the beginning of t[his] y[ear], and when a “downturn in Ukrainian agriculture” was visible, the most pressing, fundamental task for the government seemed to be making all efforts to feed the people left with no means in the countryside, first by releasing grain stocks. Should they prove insufficient, supplement [them] with purchases from abroad, regardless of the inescapable loss of hard currency, the possible depletion of military stock, and all other consequences; halting the collectivization was itself rather impossible, and in reality would be difficult to implement. Thus, the government gave up on the idea and under the leadership of the party, taking full responsibility, preferred to continue down the same path.

The urgency of the situation was fully understood. The party and the government, whose main goal concerned the fulfillment of the five-year plan in heavy industry, took great efforts to lead agriculture out of the catastrophe; managerial level party [members] toured the country to see for themselves, in person, the overall state of affairs with the aim of taking appropriate steps.

According to the reasoning presented at the moment by the party, the most important issue in this struggle was the eradication of the Kulak, White Army and nationalist elements which have penetrated the kolkhozy, sovkhozy, machine and tractor stations, the Academy of Agriculture, All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and which – allegedly – attempted, in collusion with foreign imperialists and capitalists, to bring down the socialist changes in agriculture in Ukraine. Such anxieties, even if in fact present, prove in any case how serious the anxieties

were with regard to the current agricultural policy, collectivization and its consequences in the entire country among the wide masses of the society. Not only among the peasants, but also among the educated citizens, officials and in the party itself. Recent years have already shown that the people in the countryside, having no organizations of their own, are too weak to actively oppose and are, in fact, oppressed and exhausted due to the repression and the deportations of the Kulaks.

Through intensive work in the kolkhozy, attempts were made to first assure sowing and harvests, as well as to induce individual farms to work – if need be – with forced famine. In order to carry out all the tasks and worker's inspection, over the past 10 months the party sent out 1,340 of its members to take on managerial positions in the countryside. 640 current secretaries and raion chairmen were recalled from their positions and a further 12,500 party members ordered to take posts in villages. The machine and tractor stations have worked with particular efficiency; with farming machines at their disposal, not only do they facilitate, from the technical point of view, the cultivation of the fields and harvesting, but – through their polit[ical] offices – they carry out convincing propaganda in the spirit of party decrees. Applying force, they educate the peasants in the new form of economy and, as the supervising organ for the kolkhozy, they monitor the work and personal relations. 643 such polit[ical] offices and 203 polit[ical] offices with the sovkhozy have been filled with 3,000 party functionaries.

Industrial workers are being sent to the countryside to repair farming machines. As for the work in the fields and harvesting, over many weeks inhabitants of the cities of all professions have been mobilized to help the peasantry, which has been weakened and has suffered from the famine.

In accordance with the party decree, Ukraine received 555,000 tons of sowing seeds from the existing stocks of the [Soviet] Union, delivered to the kolkhozy and not the individual farms, and which are to be returned with the additional 10% in kind; on top of that, 15,000 new tractors, 2,400 combine harvesters and 3,000 trucks were also delivered.

The famine struck on top of the pressures which were exerted by the part[y] apparatus on the countryside population and the obligatory deliveries taking place in parallel to the harvests. The peasants came to understand that there was no hope of the government giving them support; thus it was achieved that, with their last strength, they went out into the fields, worked and weeded them as much as was possible. If the peasants took some of the grain from the fields for themselves, they risked and suffered most severe punishment for stealing state property. No significant aid action was carried out in the countryside; without distinction and without mercy it was stated – those who work ° (18.5) in 1931, for the kolkhozy 11.86 (11.48), for the sovkhozy 2.13 (1.87) and for individual farms 3.14 (5.35). In total, 19.5 million hectares have been sown this year in the kolkhozy (spring and winter crops), as compared to 17 million in 1931.

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° *As in the original. A missing fragment.*

For the first time, the *khlebosdacha* plan was entirely fulfilled by Ukraine before the deadline at the beginning of November. So far, there has been no data yet on the overall results and crops. Even if it shows average crops, Ukraine will join those oblasts, which have yielded best results. There are three reasons given for this: the abovementioned dynamic efforts undertaken by the party, which has given consideration to STALIN's words: "The reasons behind difficulties with the *khlebozagotovka* are not to be found with the peasants, but among us because we have the power." The next reason was that the peasants, due to most cruel repression and hunger, have ceased to resist and applied all their strength, summed up by POSTYSHEV in the following way: the Bolshevik leadership and the honest work of the *kolkhozniki* have won. Finally, the crops have been outstanding due to favorable weather everywhere this year; winter crops, compared to the previous years, did not suffer with mild snowfall and quite low temperatures, the spring brought abundant rainfall, and the summer – sufficient heat. The crops would have been even better if the severe *khlebozagotovki* left the peasants with more sow[ing] seeds and if a larger area of fields was sown and carefully worked. There was not workforce large enough or draft power to harvest all the crops in time. The machine and tractor stations made their threshers available only for the grain delivered for the state. Thus, wanting to thresh the grain for their own needs, the peasants were left with traditional methods. The party deems it possible that "much of the crops were wasted". It is difficult to state what percentage of the crops were left in the fields and got wasted; in some parts – it is claimed – it reached 25%.

The average productivity this year, according to the governmental data, has reached 12 hundred[weights] from a hectare (1902: 9.1; 1910: 9.3; 1930: 10.5 – 1932: 7 hundred[weights]), thus with the area sown amounting to 17.5 million hectares, the crop yield would reach 21 million tons (last year 11.2), which, compared to the crops forecasted for the entire [Soviet] Union at the level of 65 million tons, was surely overestimated, as was the data quoted by POSTYSHEV that the overall crops are nearly twice as high as last year. The best yields in Ukraine, and in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, reached the level of 11 hundred[weights] per hectare; the *sovkhozy*, with the nearly 3 million hectares of grain, have delivered 6 hundred[weights] [from a hectare], as compared to 2.7 hundred[weights] [from a hectare] last year.

Before more precise data is made available, it should be estimated that the average productivity reached a mere 7–8 hundred[weights] per hectare; the *khlebozagotovka* reached some 6 million tons, compared to 4 million tons last year, and the total crop yield reached 12–13 million tons.

[Peasants] have been particularly encouraged to work the fields by the fact that this year the *khlebosdacha* was not raised with a coefficient method and with the lawlessness of the organs [responsible for] *khlebozagotovka*, but that it was required to deliver a given amount (depending on the oblast, 3–4 hundred[weights] per hectare, and *yedynolichniki* 10–15% more) from the area sown in accordance with the plan obligations. The government has often underlined in [its] decla-

rations that once those obligations are fulfilled in kind, and others as well, the surplus will be distributed for personal use and free trade. How this will turn out with the end of *khlebozagotovka* is still impossible to state clearly because free trade has been banned as speculation, until [state] seed stocks and oth[er] reserves are filled.

Free trade has only been allowed in a few oblasts (Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Vinnytsia, Chernihiv and in the Republic of Moldavia). However, in some places, kolkhoz members have already received large quantities of seed to be traded freely. For each *trudoden*, treated as a unit [of measurement], in the entire Ukraine they will pay on the average 4–6 kilo[grams], from 3 to 4 times more than in the previous year; in the Kharkiv Oblast 4.7 kilo[grams] – 3 times more than last year, in the kolkhozy [located] in other oblasts, initially the amount of 12–14 kilo[grams] was calculated, thus 8–10 times more than in the previous year.

In all regions it is being underlined that as a result of this year's efforts, there is growing "prosperity" among the kolkhoz members, and the press published photographs of individual families and sums earned by them in the kolkhoz.

Since the main efforts this year have been concentrated on the grain harvests, other crops have not yielded such good results. By 1 October, 75% of the planned hay has been collected, less than in the previous year, but this year's plan [will be] fulfilled only by 100%. Of the field area designated for potato planting, 300,000 hectares still remained unplanted in mid-November; the plan of deliveries was fulfilled only up to 50%. The entire area planned for sunflowers was not planted and the plan remains surely unfulfilled. Soybeans have been planted on a mere half of the planned area, [that is on] 400,000 hectares. The area of sugar beets has decreased to 855,000 hectares. By the beginning of December – as is claimed – 98.1% of sugar beets have been harvested; however only 80% have been taken from the fields.

To sustain what has been achieved with such great effort and to ensure next year's crops, the party has already been issuing detailed guidelines. Great kolkhozy, comprising up to 900 farms and 3,000 hectares, are divided into smaller kolkhozy and the costs of management, making up to 30% of the kolkhozniki's income, are decreasing. The machine and tractor stations, serving up to 80,000 hectares, are to limit their scope to 25[,000]–30,000 hectares and 20–25 kolkhozy.

Presently, there are 4,650 such stations in Ukraine, with 48,500 tractors, 4,200 combine harvesters, 30,000 threshers and 8,000 trucks. A mere 60%, of the tractors are used, as they need to be regularly and thoroughly repaired, the technical service personnel should be increased, and beyond that, [more] attention should be paid to the quality of the workers. Particular attention should be focused on fodder and caring for the horses, and the fight with weeded fields should be pursued more vigorously. The law defines work discipline as the decisive [factor] and therefore all means should be used to increase it; they say that in a kolkhoz with 750 members, each day 100 people would miss work.

The costs at which greater grain yields have been achieved are terrible. However high one values "the victory over shortages in agriculture", aiming to pro-

vide food for the entire nation this year and to implement the system, they (that is the costs – trans[lator’s] comm[ent]), if one looks from the perspective of humanity, can in no way justify what was achieved. The famine in Ukraine has cost the peasantry millions of lives. If one assumes that seven million (according to a friendly official source) is a number that is not overestimated, this means that one fourth of the peasant population has been annihilated, a terrible number even compared to the losses in world war.

Those who remain alive, partly starved, [were] too weak to [carry out] the necessary hard work. There is a conviction among the countryside population that although the Soviet authorities have not initiated the hunger on purpose, it nevertheless used it as means to carry out its own plans to break the resistance towards the system and the aversion towards collective work. Officially, the famine has been eliminated everywhere. Even the most threatened regions did not receive any aid, and such aid from abroad was deemed unnecessary. [If] anyone opposed, they suffered. The party bears responsibility. The internal political struggle, present during the grain campaign, shows how serious the situation was – when the better circles of the desperate masses looked for a way out of the poverty, out of the ever worse standard of living and out of the errors of the system, this [very fact] was considered to be the principal reason [behind the difficulties].

The outcome of this struggle between the party and the people has once again shown the superiority of the party organization, having at its disposal the entire power of the state. The millions of dead were not too high a price to finally introduce the communist system. Even if the crops were 20% higher than last year, from now on that can hardly guarantee the well-being, or even less a prosperous life for the people, particularly since the requirements of the state [as far] as the incomes from the crops [are concerned] are by no means lower.

Thus, even if one is not to expect any resistance on the part of the defeated peasants, if they have humbly adapted to the system and the kolkhozy are growing stronger due to the improved working methods and sufficient supply of machinery, there are still other threats such as bad crops, for example, which can change the entire situation. Already the forecasts regarding the yield of winter crops are unfavorable, due to small snowfall and low temperatures. At present, it can only be stated that the Ukrainian harvests are better than last year and the crops are average.

The supplies to the peasants have improved, at least inasmuch that the kolkhozniki and *yednolichniki*, with whatever area of fields at their disposal, participate directly in the income from the crops; there is some visible dynamism in the supply of agricultural products to the cities, even at high prices. Whether the crops suffice to continue providing food to the people and for how long will they last, this depends on the amount of surplus, on how it will be used and also on whether it will be shared, by providing workforce among those masses of people who have a very small purchasing power, left on the verge of existence, as a result of fields and grain taken away, reducing the industrial output or oth[er] undertakings.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Internal political situation<sup>a</sup>

The situation in Ukraine at the beginning of this year, the unsatisfactory results of last year's grain-harvesting campaign and negative attitudes among the impoverished population have caused apprehension in the central organs in Moscow, placing responsibility for this crisis with "the insufficient Bolshevik vigilance" of the Ukrainian party organization; therefore, with the aim of strengthening the party apparatus and sustaining the general Moscow line in Ukraine – POSTYSHEV was sent from Moscow to Kharkiv as a secretary of the Ukrainian par[ty] committee.

At the same level as the secretary general of the Ukrainian party, KOSIOR, who has fallen onto the sidelines, and in cooperation with the always reliable commander of the GPU – BALYTSKY<sup>1</sup>, whose achievements in disclosing anti-state manipulations were recently noted in the press, POSTYSHEV is beginning to act vigorously in the direction of bringing order with a heavy hand in the cities and in the countryside, in the spirit of the party. Over this past year, he has become a central figure in the political, economic and cultural field, and has acquired such influence that, undeniably, he is the most powerful man, a trusted person for STALIN – a STALIN of Ukraine.

With his educating speeches, he comes to the fore everywhere. His opinion is considered on every issue [as] having the decisive influence: the initiative and decision-making are in his hands as regards the party matters, guidelines for agriculture and industry, as well as the issues of changing the cities and making them more beautiful. With that, as well as with the fact that, in various cases, he contributes to the improvement of the standard of living in a dictatorial way, he soon became well known. It is quite telling that the rumors which appeared on the anniversary of the October Revolution claimed that the capital city of Kharkiv was renamed to "Postyshev".

Objectively speaking, one has to admit that the presently celebrated "victory of socialization in agriculture" to a large extent is seen as the achievement of POSTYSHEV and of his unfailing energy, so he can be satisfied with the

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<sup>1</sup> Vsevolod Balytsky (1892–1937), from 1919 with the VChK; from November till December 1919 Chairman of the ChK for the Volhynia Guberniya, from December 1919 till 1920 Chairman of the ChK in the Kiev Guberniya; later VChK representative for Right-Bank Ukraine; from 1920 till 6 April 1921 Deputy Chairman of the Central Directorate of Extraordinary Commissions; from 6 April 1921 till March 1922 Deputy Chairman of the VChK; from July 1922 till 31 August 1923 Deputy Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1 September 1923 till July 1931 Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR and OGPU representative in the Ukrainian SSR; from 18 September 1923 till 10 August 1934 member of the OGPU Collegium; from March 1924 till November 1930 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR; from 31 July 1931 till 10 July 1934 Deputy Chairman of the OGPU; from November 1932 till 20 February 1933 OGPU representative in Ukraine; from 21 February 1933 till 10 July 1934 OGPU representative in the Ukrainian SSR and Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 15 July 1934 till 11 May 1937 People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR; from 11 May till 19 June 1937 Chief of the UNKVD in the Far Eastern Krai. Arrested on 7 July 1937, sentenced to death in an extraordinary procedure on 27 November 1937 and shot on the same day in Moscow; never rehabilitated.

achievements in agriculture this year. To that, he did not fail to point out to the significant help received from the Moscow party leadership in combating difficulties.

The next task of particular importance this year was that of combating the Ukrainian nationalistic aspirations towards independence. During the times of the former People's Commissar for Education, SKRYPNYK, the Ukrainian language was ever more wide-spread, especially as the official language in schools, in the press and arts; all the while it was held that Ukraine, as a republic in the union, has the constitutional right to sustain the growth of its native language and culture. The party leadership in Moscow and Kharkiv believed that there are justified fears that Ukrainization will not stop at culture but will foster the drive towards an even greater self-government or, further, to the separation [of Ukraine] from the Soviet Union.

Having hunted down the well-honored communist party [activist] SKRYPNYK, [who] voluntarily parted with his own life in a most unceremonious way, the process of Ukrainization was overturned on the grounds that with the popularization of the Ukrainian language, Russian, as the language of a national minority in Ukraine, supposedly was indecently marginalized. Thus, the Russian language is once again being propagated and during the revolutionary ceremonies this year, the representatives of the Municip[al] Council and the All-Ukrainian Central Committee delivered their speeches in Russian.

All the more, clear are the suggestions offered by the party and the government, especially the deliberations presented by KOSIOR and POSTYSHEV during the November congress of the Ukrainian party, that Ukrainization with regard to the language issues is supposedly an outpost of a wider drive towards separatism.

If SKRYPNYK, in the immediate aftermath of his death, was presented as a victim of the intrigues pursued by his counterrevolutionary, nationalistic circles, he is now described as the leader of the national movement, pointing to the fact that allegedly back in 1923 he spoke out against the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. SKRYPNYK and his supporters are accused particularly of pursuing a Galician – West-Ukrainian line, with the call for “as far from Moscow as possible”; the same aim motivated a Ukrainian writer KHVYLOVY<sup>d</sup>. The majority of the nationalists came to Ukraine from Prague and Galicia, among them were also party members such as, for example, the first local deputy representative of *Narkomindel*. The next aim of the nationalists, as they say, was the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union with help from Germany and Poland. There was allegedly an entire list of members of government of independent Ukraine. This program was organized under the aegis of the so called Ukrainian National Center, headed by the form[er] chairman of the [Ukrainian] Central Council, Professor HRUSHEVSKY<sup>2</sup>, as well as the counterrevolutionary,

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<sup>d</sup> Was: KHVYLEVOY.

<sup>2</sup> Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934), renowned Ukrainian historian, archeologist, literature expert, sociologist, writer, supporter of Ukrainian science, social and political activist. On 1917, elected to chair the Ukrainian Central Council, senior member of the VUAN (1923) and Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1929). Beginning from December 1930, his theories came under strong attacks from the



nationalistic organization uncovered at the beginning of this year, managed from abroad by KONOVALOV and headed by MAKSIMOVICH, the former official with the *Narkomindel*, former ambassador in Warsaw and Ukrainian People's Com[missar] for Edu[ca]tion SHUMSKY, together with BELENKY, the Chief [of the editorial board] of the Ukrainian Soviet encyclopedia.

Professor LOZINSKY<sup>3</sup> was sent for 10 years [in ITL] after he admitted to having been a member of an organization which, together with Russian socialist revolutionaries, Georgian Mensheviks and Belarusian nationalist, aimed to overthrow the Soviet government. A member of this organization, KOZORIZ<sup>4</sup>, has allegedly testified that Germany, together with France and Poland, are participating in a campaign against the Soviet Union and, in return will receive from Poland the territories taken from the Germans and the corridor; Poland, on its part, once Soviet Ukraine is taken over, will receive a part of Lithuania and Right-Bank Ukraine as its sphere of influence with access to the Black Sea; Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper River will come under the influence of Germany, which will then be able to exploit the riches of the Donbas. The arrested Galicians are charged with membership in a secret branch of the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), which has already recruited military staff and terrorist groups. The arrested Professor VASYLYVSKY, under pressure from the GPU, confessed to having received 20,000 rub[les] from this organization for acquiring dynamite, for which he was sentenced to 5 years [in ITL].

The head of the Ukrainian State Publishing House, OZERSKY<sup>5</sup>, who presiding over the Ukrainian General Directorate of Science had contacts with the

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party center at the VUAN. From March 1931 in Moscow; arrested on 23 March 1931 by the GPU organs, charged with leading the Ukrainian National Center. Following his release, he was not allowed to return to Ukraine. In October 1934 left for health treatment to Kislovodsk, where he died on 15 November 1934.

<sup>3</sup> Mykhailo Lozinsky (1880–1937), Ukrainian political and state activist, writer, lawyer by profession; member of the UNDO, in the years 1918–1919 member of the Ukrainian National Council of the ZUNR/UNR; from February 1919, headed the state secretariat for foreign affairs; in March 1919 headed the UNR delegation to Polish-Ukrainian talks, also a member of the Ukrainian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Later in exile – professor of international law at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Having returned to the Ukrainian SSR, headed the Faculty of Law at the Kharkiv Institute. Arrested on 22 March 1933, with the decision of the court troika of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR sentenced, on 23 September 1933, to 10 years in ITL; served the sentence in the Solovki camp. With the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast, on 9 October 1937, sentenced to death, shot between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1959.

<sup>4</sup> Mykhailo Kozoriz (1882–1937), scholar with the VUAN; arrested on 14 February 1933 for membership in an illegal organization, sentenced, on 1 October 1933, by the court troika of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR to five years of imprisonment. Served the sentence in the Solovki camp. With the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast on 9 October 1937, sentenced to death, shot between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1959.

<sup>5</sup> Yuriy Ozersky (1896–1937), chairman of the Ukrainian State Publishing House, lecturer at the Institute of National Education; with the decision of the court troika of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR sentenced, on 26 February 1934, to 10 years of imprisonment. Served the sentence in the Solovki camp. With the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast on 9 October 1937, sentenced to death, shot between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1962.

German Scientific Society, was dismissed from being a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education and arrested recently for the alleged ties to the UVO.

Moreover, supposedly an organization of Ukrainian left-wing, social revolutionaries has also been uncovered with influence over the [editorial board of the] "Chervonyi Shlakh" weekly, the [People's] Commissariat for Agriculture and other state institutions, as well as state-run Ukrainization courses. A recently arrested party activist from Chernihiv has testified that he joined the party at the order from the Polish Military Organization with the aim of [pursuing] a propaganda campaign among the Polish population in Ukraine.

Professor YAVORSKY<sup>6</sup>, former Austrian soldier, professor of the Kharkiv Institute of Marxism-Leninism, alleged agent of Polish intelligence, was preparing the separation of Ukraine with the help of German and Polish fascist regimes and was shot on the border with Finland during an attempted escape.

It is also claimed that the former Soviet Ambassador to Prague, KALUZHNY, serving with the *Narkomindel* since 1921, was also shot and that the two former secretaries to SKRYPNYK – ERSTENIUK and BADAN, considered to be the principal conspirators – to the contrary, are still alive.

The long-time director of the local Ukrainian theatre, KURBAS<sup>7</sup>, had to resign due to nationalist tendencies, and the theater, nevertheless, had to carry out its plan for staging plays. A few weeks back, a newly opened Russian drama theatre in Kharkiv, having no artistic achievements thus far, was praised in a special decree by the People's Commissariat of Education and was given the task to become the model theatre for the whole of Ukraine.

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<sup>6</sup> Matvey Yavorsky (1884–1937), Ukrainian historian with PhD. in history. In August 1920, returned to Ukraine, lectured at the Institute of National Education and the Central Party School in Kharkiv, from December 1922 worked at the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism; in 1924 promoted to deputy head, and in the years 1926–1929 head ad interim of the Directorate of Scientific Institutions in Ukraine with the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1928 under attack for "nationalist deviations"; the fight against Yavorsky's legacy became one of the paths to eradicating the Ukrainian national historiography in the Ukrainian SSR; in June 1929 elected as a senior member of the VUAN. Arrested in Leningrad in 1931, sentenced by the Court College of the OGPU on 7 February 1932 to six years in ITL. Served the sentence in the Solovki camp, where, with the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast, on 9 October 1937 was sentenced to death, shot between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1964.

<sup>7</sup> Les (Oleksandr) Kurbas (1887–1937), Ukrainian, active in the theatre establishment, also as play director. In 1911 studied at the Vienna School of Drama, later directed the Hutsul theatre "Verkhovyna", in the years 1912–1914 actor with the theatre called the "Ruska Besida" Society. From 1916 in Kiev, worked in the "Young Theatre" and the Kiev Drama Theatre; later left for Kharkiv, where he worked at the "Berezil" Theatre. From 1931 on, attacked and accused of nationalist activities; in September 1933 refused to deliver self-criticism and condemn the line pursued by Khvylovy and Skrypnyk; On 5 October 1933 dismissed from the position of artistic director of the "Berezil" theatre; arrested on 26 December 1933 in Moscow and sentenced by the court troika of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR to five years in prison. Served the sentence in the Solovki camp, where, with the decision of the special troika of the UNKVD of the Leningrad Oblast on 9 October 1937, he was sentenced to death, shot between 27 October and 4 November 1937 near Medvezhyegorsk; rehabilitated in 1957.

All posts in the People's Commissariat for Education were filled with Moscow's trusted supporters, pursuing a severe policy of deukrainization and Russification. According to the data from POSTYSHEV, in the course of this year, over 2,000 [people], under the scope of *Narkompros* alone over 300 scientists and writers, 1,000 employees of cooperatives and organs of the state grain purchase, and over 200 state officials have been dismissed from their posts in eight central state institutions as nationalist White Army elements. Repression clearly continues. There are rumors that in the recent days, the [former] *Narkom* for Justice PORAYKO<sup>8</sup> and the former Deputy [People's] Commissar for Education, later [People's] Commissar for Justice, PRIKHODKO, were arrested, the latter having served as the chairman of the court which was responsible for the case against the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

The government probably preferred to avoid a widely expected show trial of the Ukrainian nationalists, rendering the movement harmless with the GPU administrative methods; it expected that a trial would disseminate knowledge of the existence of a widely active anti-Soviet national organization three years after the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was eradicated making an unfavorable impression with the public in the country and abroad. In relation to the alleged interventionist plans of Germany, it thereby will not contribute more to [instigating] further doubts as to the permanence of Soviet rule in Ukraine. Even without that, there are voices of surprise at supposedly wide-spread discussion in the press of the independence movement, causing the rebirth of long-dead hopes of great freedom, especially in the countryside.

It is completely understandable that the purge within the party, which will probably be ended by mid-December, will be used to guarantee the present line. All the more, since it is believed that the Ukrainian party, which has grown from 231,360 members in 1929 to 550,433 at the beginning of this year, comprises many unneeded elements, particularly due to the mass recruitment carried out for political reasons. Up to now, out of 120,000 members, 27,500 have been expelled.

The Kharkiv party leadership, in a lengthy resolution on 22 of last month, has presented its stance on the issue of Ukrainian national policy and declared, among others: the direction of the communist policy towards nationalities is laid down in the words of STALIN, that the revolution was not carried out under the banner of [mutual] national hostility, but under the call for workers and peasants coming together under the nationality of the Soviet Union, not in the name of nationalism but internationalism. The Bolshevik Ukrainization should be directed against the Great-Russian chauvinism, as well as Ukrainian nationalism. The Great-Russian chauvinism remains the main threat since way back; this in no way stands counter

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<sup>8</sup> Vasyl Porayko (1888–1937), party and state activist, in 1920 member of the Galician organization committee of the CP(b)U, the Kiev Guberniya Committee of the CP(b)U; in the years 1927–1930 Chief Prosecutor, People's Commissar for Justice of the Ukrainian SSR; Deputy Chairman of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR. Arrested on 13 August 1937, sentenced during an away session on 24 October 1937 by the College of the Supreme Court of the USSR to death, shot on 25 October 1937 in Kiev; rehabilitated in 1957.

to the fact that at the present time, in some of the republics of the Soviet Union, the main threat is posed by local Ukrainian nationalism joining in with imperialist intervention. The former and the latter are supported by every counterrevolution, as well as Trotskyites, united in their pursuit of separating Ukraine from the Soviet Union.

Everyone who tries to weaken the bonds between Ukraine and the Soviet Union, even to the smallest degree, “throws the Ukrainian nation to the Polish and German landlords and capitalists.” This most recent discovery, as can be seen, once again shifts the course significantly, by underlining the negative attitudes towards “Great-Russian chauvinism” and by ordering for the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as far as possible, to be published in Ukrainian.

Thus the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Ukraine does not show unconditional consistency and trust, and the way in which the Soviet central organs treat the Ukrainian nation is not much different from that of the tsarist regime. The Union’s constitution and the Soviet principles promise a certain independence which this second largest republic of the Union, with a territory no much smaller than that of Germany and a population nearly equal to that of Prussia [?], used on a small scale, and only in the area of culture. The decree on natural riches of the country was quickly rejected; in the thus-far most important industrial region of the Soviet Union, Donbas, the management of industry, as a matter of state importance, from the very beginning fell in the hands of Moscow, by which even more permanent ties are established through the construction of the new railways, direct telegraph connection, etc.; [through] drawing the Ukrainian peasants into [the system of] collectivization, disregarding the particularities of the ownership relations in the country. A large part of the most important *narkomats* have gradually been changed into directorates of representatives of the union commissariats. The most important administrative posts are filled by Moscow or with her consent so that Moscow holds all decision-making positions.

It is understandable that there are aspirations for independence directed against this subordination which grows with every year; thus their existence can not be neglected. However, apart from numerous, general statements made by the party leadership, there are no points of reference (until detailed materials are not released to the public) which would substantiate the claim of counterrevolutionary, separatist trends having far-reaching influence that could be treated seriously.

Ukrainian political leaders, as SKRYPNYK and ot[her persons] from the top of the Ukrainian government, did not always approve of Moscow’s directives, having particular objections to the agricultural policy and in their opinions, unique conditions in the country demand a wider freedom of action. Nevertheless, they were all convinced and trustworthy communists and there is no way to [even] consider that they might have consciously pursued the idea of [Ukraine’s] separation from the Soviet Union.

Many of the people being persecuted at present in the area of spiritual life, among them Ukrainians – exiles from Polish Galicia, having for many years already been playing a role in the cultural life of the country as ardent supporters

of the party, have sacrificed themselves, as far as can be seen so far, in good faith and dedication to the cause of supporting the native Ukrainian language and reinstating into public consciousness long forgotten cultural values.

Those circles have rejected the accusation of state treason through separatist aspirations, believing that their work in the area of culture is being persecuted by the party as “non-Bolshevik Ukrainization” and that the attack on them is [in fact] directed against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. If, according to the party definition, the Ukrainian culture should be national in form and socialist in content, now, after it was allowed to develop the national form for many years with no objections, clearly more importance is given to the content.

All observations made on the spot, allow one to see clearly the limited extent of expressions of national consciousness among the people, not to mention any serious movement towards [Ukraine’s] separation founded on nationalist reasoning; in turn, a strongly rooted, anti-Soviet and anti-communist attitude is visible, especially among the peasants and the well-educated citizens, particularly over the past year, in relation to the famine in the country and revolt in Germany.

The enormous poverty in the aftermath of the first five-year plan, pursued [at the price of] such great sacrifice and [loss of] hope, certainly did foster deep dissatisfaction and disappointment among the entire population, while the new Germany, in fact strongly distancing itself from the Marxist system, not only attracted envious looks, but also incited strong desires and wishes for the collapse of the system, as well as provoked hopes for a coup also here.

Although separatist drives can exist anywhere – they result from the all-present dissatisfaction and disgust with the Soviet regime, and in consequence, they should be seen as a means to an end, and in the least, as resulting from a desire to unite with the remaining parts of the Ukrainian nation. The central party organs surely were well informed as to the dissatisfaction in Ukraine springing from the poverty this year, and in order to sustain the entire construction of the Soviet state, sought those responsible beyond the system [itself]. The Jewry particularly should have turned against the national and separatist movement, aiming to sustain itself, since it has a stronger representation in Ukraine, constituting 5.4% of the population (as compared to 80% of Ukrainians, 9.2% of Russians, 1.6% of Poles and 1.4% of Germans) than in other republics of the Union. They are hated and one finds them everywhere, holding influential posts. Just as the unyielding fight against the separatist aspirations was a mere diversion, one not so much directed against the nationalists and the states allegedly giving them their backing, but against a perhaps anticipated strike at the system. Similarly, the Kulaks, who in the past years have disappeared, were to be held accountable in order to hide the errors committed by the Soviet regime during collectivization. The matter was presented in such a way, that the Soviet Union was under threat from without, and according to the needs, the Ukrainian national spirit was incited by recalling the earlier Polish rule and the period of German occupation, as well as by arguing that the country could be turned into a “colony” of other countries,

only to later reject it [the feeling of national community], so that it would not become a threat to the strengthening of Soviet rule.

Under such circumstances, when the national question has come to the fore in the course of this year, clearly under the pressure [of the situation] with regard to higher politics rather than with internal and real conviction, no clear line is to be expected, as is evident with the abovementioned decision of the Kharkiv party congress, nor a clear definition of national rights and further, practical implementation of Ukrainization.

Moreover, if the decree assumes that steps are necessary to protect Bolshevik work among the German and Polish population in Ukraine against fascist elements, equally here the concern for the national minorities comes down to creating an internationalist, proletarian worldview in place of individual, national cultural life.

The national issue is of secondary importance for the party. The party now has only one goal – strengthening its rule – and to that aim, it [attempts to] give legal form to its role as the link between various republics and nationalities. In that pursuit, the party has taken a great step forward this year in Ukraine thanks to the efforts of POSTYSHEV and to a heavily priced, even if only temporary, success in overcoming the crisis in agriculture and thanks to the shift and use [for its purposes] of the national question. However, Ukraine should note that it is turning ever more into an administrative unit of a uniform Soviet statehood, and after centuries of partitions between Russia and Poland, the Soviet regime is sparing no efforts to destroy the potential hopes for a sovereign national existence. Next year, it will fully share in the old and new worries of the [Soviet] Union, such as strengthening Soviet rule, fulfilling the plan, assuring food supplies for the people and raising the standard of living.

[...]

Sign[ed] WALTHER

Translated from German: translator  
SHTIVELBAND

<sup>a</sup>In conformity: Representative of Spec[ial] Division<sup>a</sup>  
(—) RYBAKOV

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 2, pp. 39–60.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 185

### 12 December 1933, Kiev. A letter from the German Consul in Kiev to the German Embassy in Moscow on the necessity of continuing the aid offered by the organization “Brothers in Need”

German <sup>a</sup>-Consulate<sup>-a</sup>  
XIII 4 a.

<sup>a-b</sup>-Top secret<sup>-b-a</sup>  
Translation from German  
Kiev, 12 December 1933

<sup>a</sup>-German Embassy in Moscow<sup>-a</sup>  
<sup>b</sup>-By courier<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-Aid offered by the organization  
<sup>b</sup>-“Brothers in Need”<sup>-b-a</sup>

<sup>c</sup>-From 29 June 1933 until today, the consulate has registered 17,500 families of German<sup>-c</sup> descent (that is, with the average number of family members slightly higher than 4 persons – around 72,000 people) in the region under consulate’s responsibility as needing aid, and sent through a trusted person – a c[iti]zen, governmental counselor KUNDT, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – their name lists for the aid organization “Brothers in Need”.

It is probable that around 10–15% of that number has been duplicated. A precise account will only be possible once the consulate carries out the planned filing of all families for the records.

I am fully aware that the situation of a significant number of the listed families is evidently not that desperate so as to force them into near death from starvation without the (adequate) assistance from Germany.

I am also aware that in a significant number of cases, the aid was requested with the aim of speculating.

Acquiring reliable information as to the scale of needs of individual persons is, however, nearly impossible for the consulate. Where it was possible, and where there was no drastic state of poverty, the requests [for aid] were not processed; however, the organization “Brothers in Need” was duly informed.

Finally, many of the persons filing requests were motivated also by hope incited by rumors (which I am unable to confirm) that by registering on the list of “needing aid”, there might be a possibility of emigrating to Germany.

It needs no explanation that, in those cases, when the consulate was faced with such opinions, it made decisive statements against them.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

Despite those reservations, I am convinced that a great majority of the persons requesting (aid) suffer from serious difficulties with [acquiring] food and that the aid offered has, at the present time, saved many Germans from death by starvation, which is already taking a deadly toll on the Russian villages of the region under my official responsibility.

A large number of those needing assistance in a relatively small region may, at first glance, be a cause for surprise, however, it will be understood when one also considers that this year in the Volhynia raions, where the majority of local colonists have settled down, really poor harvests were noted, the consequences of which are felt by the people all the more severely due to the strict policy on taxing and [obligatory] deliveries. The latter applies, as logically follows from the party guidelines, particularly to the group of *yedinolichniki* peasants who, unlike in other regions of the Soviet Union, still constitute a significant majority among the population of German descent in the areas under consulate's responsibility.

However, the situation of the kolkhoz members (in fact) is not much better since, at least in the Volhynia region, with very few exceptions, it was possible to pay them such meager salaries in kind that probably, in many cases, the pay may already prove insufficient in the first months of the coming year.

The Germans living here, whose number according to the census totals 90–95,000, may be divided in such a way that roughly 10,000 live in the cities and the rest in the countryside. From the 80–85,000 living in the countryside, around 20,000 are members of the kolkhozy, while at least 60,000 account for the individual farming sector. Furthermore, those numerous Germans are also treated as *yedinolichniki* who, due to unfulfilled obligations in the area of taxes and deliveries, had their land and often also household taken away, and who have not been admitted into the kolkhozy.

At the present moment, it is impossible to establish how large the proportion of the kolkhoz peasants among the abovementioned persons [who] filed the 17,500 requests (that is 72,000 people, or counting off the 15% of those registered twice – some 61,000 people) is, since the majority of requests make no mention of that.

The consulate has intentionally refrained from gathering information on that matter because – for completely understandable reasons – such information would not be to the benefit of the *yedinolichniki* peasants. However, I presume that roughly one fifth of the requests for aid have been filed by kolkhozniki, thus spanning over some 12,000 people. This would mean that about 60% of kolkhozniki and about 80% of *yedinolichniki* have requested aid.

Although by 1 September only 200 and some families (9,000 persons) have filed requests for aid, in the following months a great in-flow of requests for aid was observed following the dissemination of information that aid is being offered: in September – over 7,200 families, that is 31,000 people and in October – 6,900 families, that is 30,000 people. From 1 November until 15 December of this year, roughly 2,400 families (10,000 people) have been registered, whereas from 1 December the number of requests is once again growing and great insistence in requests has been noted.



During the fall months, the consulate was visited by (in addition to the large number of requests sent by mail) on some days up to 100 people to “sign up”. Moreover, they often brought with them long lists of relatives and acquaintances.

Thus, the consulate was faced with a problem of how to deal with this mass in-flow of Soviet citizens of German descent.

On the one hand, rescuing those needing help, when without our services many of the requests will not arrive at their destination, was undoubtedly of primary importance; on the other, for the good of the cause, it was necessary [to ensure] that Soviet institutions do not get the impression that the consulate was turned into a center for filing complaints by Soviet citizens of German descent.

In numerous statements, the formulation of which took account of the possibility of transferring them to the GPU I appealed to those filing requests – in their personal and public interest – to refrain from making personal visits [to the consulate] and to send the requests in writing.

The experience has shown that the letters being sent to the consulate from the German colonies were delivered regularly and, it seems, opened only on rare occasions.

Further, taking into account internal, official concerns, I initiated limiting the number of daily visits.

Thus, the situation was gradually achieved where at present, the consulate is visited personally by a relatively small number of Germans requesting aid.

Naturally, the number of letters received has accordingly increased.

When I have acquired information from a reliable source that the GPU took interest in the visits paid to the consulate, I took advantage of two arrests, allegedly made due to the deliveries of lists [of those in need], as an excuse to somehow speak openly on this issue with a representative of *Narkomindel*, who turned out to possess the information independently of my effort.

In the course of this conversation, Mr. SHENSHEV declared that the local institutions do not question our loyalty and that the consulate can receive “whom-ever it wishes”.

Undertaking an assessment of the aid campaign thus far, it would have to be admitted, that despite strong criticism on the part of the Soviet press at the beginning of the aid campaign and negative attitude towards the campaign presented by the official circles and the trusted party members, as of today no serious obstructions have been made.

As far as the consulate knows, overall some 25–30 arrests have been made which – as is rumored – could have been linked to the aid campaign.

Perhaps, however, in some cases, the preparation of a list of families in need [of aid] and the contact with the consulate have only served as an external pretext for arrests, which could in fact have served the purpose of eradicating undesired elements.

Among those arrested, there are several organists, as well as various “Kulaks” who – rightly or not – have long been charged with alleged support for the German national socialism.

It is equally possible that with the arrest of pastor ULE from Heimtal, who has been persecuted by the GPU for many months and whose arrest was carried out several weeks ago (see report 11.6, dated 13 December 1933), one of the pretexts (for the arrest) was his (pastor’s) involvement in the aid campaign.

Apart from that, in majority of cases, Soviet institutions did not go beyond warning the peasants not to include in their letters sent to Germany and to the consulate any expressions that would be in the spirit of hostility towards the state and not to present the situation here in overly exaggerated terms.

Considering large number of requests for aid in spite of the abovementioned steps [taken by the authorities], there are no grounds to speak of some vigorous counteraction [to this campaign] on the Soviets’ part.

With regard to the delays in issuing aid to particular persons, the consulate has received individual complaints. However, overall the process of receiving the transferred sums and delivery of products in return for them proceeds without disruptions.

The reasons behind such a relatively benign approach on the part of the official institutions, which to a lesser extent than before is connected to the party guidelines, are to be found – in my opinion – among the political as well as economic factors.

In light of this indisputably catastrophic situation which has led much of the countryside population to despair, silencing the cry for help – despite the most vigorous counteractions – was impossible. It would not be in the interest of the Soviet government for those complaints and requests [for aid] to continually resonate all over the world, not having been examined, thus disclosing the state of affairs in the countryside which the Kremlin is trying to hide by all means.

Under such circumstances, it was better and more bearable for the prestige of the Soviet Union to streamline the requests for help.

The local government realized that the processing of requests is carried out by such a German institution which acts from purely humanitarian considerations and remains under official control, and this partial involvement (in the campaign) of the local German representatives constitutes a known guarantee of preventing wide-scale propaganda directed against the Soviet Union, propaganda which otherwise could not be avoided.

However, all this should not create an illusion as to the fact that – as was already mentioned – the party and Soviet institutions are essentially unfavorably inclined towards the aid campaign. Thus, one should be prepared for the moment when the known reasons lose their significance. This tolerance, shown against their will, shall come to an end.

This will occur, regardless of the real state of poverty of the German peasants – all the sooner the less the Soviet government will feel the need to take into account the opinion of third countries. When this moment will come is impossible to

assess at the present time. However, it seems that the internal counter-propaganda over the past several weeks has been energetically pursuing that goal, although so far it has not been felt in relations with the outside world.

The consulate has been informed that a certain German communist by the name of KLEINHOLTS, who has allegedly escaped from Germany, is touring the German colonies in the Volhynia region, attempting to persuade the peasants to voluntarily turn down the ("German") aid.

At the same time, he supposedly claims that the Soviet citizens-Germans "are selling their proletarian fatherland to national socialism for eight German marks, and at the same time, sucking the last drop of blood out of the starving workers and peasants in Germany."

No visible success has been achieved by KLEINHOLTS, whose personal information the consulate is presently trying to establish.

Whatever shifts might come in the future with regard to the aid given to the German *yedynolichniki* living in the Soviet Union by the German [state], one thing can already be stated today: namely that the aid campaign carried out by the organization "Brothers in Need" has achieved a great practical and moral success.

No other nation in the world gave proof of its ties with its compatriots living in Russia in such a planned manner and on such a wide scale, moreover, without directly involving itself (as Germans).

<sup>b</sup>-In fact<sup>b</sup>, thousands of Germans were saved from the worst of the famines, and with thousands more a boundless trust for their old fatherland was born. A more effective demonstration against the anti-German campaign of lies and slander unleashed by the Bolsheviks was not possible. In fact, a most wide-spread cultural propaganda campaign has been carried out which has also bore fruits with the Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and other nat[ional] minorities. The Soviet citizens of Slav origin living in our consular region look with envy at their brothers in misery, the Germans, whose poverty is not only the subject of resolutions and not only the subject of discussions in all possible forums, but who receive active aid from the donations flowing in from the fatherland.

It is known to me that in numerous requests [for aid] received by the local Polish Consulate, the population of Polish descent continually points to the German example, with no results, however.

In creating attitudes favorable for the Germans, it is obviously a very beneficial circumstance that regardless of the related accusations in the area of foreign policy, the available aid is offered exclusively under the German flag.

Not only for humanitarian reasons and national ties, but also from the propaganda perspective, it would be highly desirable for the organization "Brothers in Need" to be able to continue its work also in the future for as long as it proves possible.

Three copies for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are enclosed with the above letter. A copy of this report will be sent directly to the German Consulate General in Kharkiv.

Translated by: E. DIDRIKIL

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 23, pp. 237–247.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*In the top left corner a handwritten note: to c. Piskarev. Returned to the a[ssistant] to secr[etary] of Dep[uty] Peop[le's] Com[missar] today. (–) Savchenko. 26/7-[19]37.*

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<sup>1</sup> Andor Hencke (born 1897?), German diplomat, counselor of the legation; in the years 1922–1929 clerk with the German Representation in Moscow; in the years 1929–1933 in the Russian Department, later Cultural Department of MFA; from April 1933 till February 1936 German Consul in Kiev; in the years 1936–1939 First Counselor of the German Embassy, later German Deputy Ambassador (chargé d'affaires) in Prague, later representative of MFA to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; in August 1939 member of the German delegation to Moscow; after 1939, among others, Undersecretary of State with the MFA; after the war, in Bavaria.

## No. 186

### December 1933, Ternopil. Report by the Ternopil Voivode for the Political Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regarding the proceedings of the day of Ukrainian national mourning in the Ternopil Voivodeship

Ternopil Voivodeship Office  
Department of Security  
No. BN-22

Ternopil, on <sup>a-2-a</sup> December<sup>b</sup> 1933  
<sup>c</sup>Confidential!<sup>c</sup>

<sup>d</sup>Wys.<sup>-d</sup> [?]

Observation of Ukr[ainian] mourning  
report

To  
Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Political Department  
<sup>f</sup>in Warsaw<sup>-f</sup>

<sup>e</sup>Write 4 times!<sup>e</sup>

<sup>g</sup>Mass observations were organized for the day 29 October of this year which were to take the form of a nation-wide demonstration directed partially against the Soviets and partially against Poland. A certain state of agitation was visible throughout the region. However, as a result of the issued directives, the initial program was changed, and the observations were limited to Greek Catholic church services and secret meetings which proceeded altogether peacefully<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>h</sup>The proceedings of the day of mourning in individual districts were as follows:<sup>-h</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Church services<sup>-f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Borschiv:<sup>-f</sup> In all Greek Catholic churches of the district, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] pr[ie]sts conducted services, after which they delivered occasional sermons, whereas on 31 October and 1 November they conducted a ser[vice] on behalf of the Ukr[ainian] Sich Riflemen.

<sup>f</sup>Berezhany:<sup>-f</sup> Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priest, Stefan Horodyski from Urman, during a sermon in the Greek Catholic church expressed himself in the following words: "We are in "tiumra", just like in Soviet Ukraine." Moreover, in the entire Berezhany district, mourning services were conducted in the Greek Catholic churches, after which the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests read out the pastoral letter sent by the

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<sup>a-a</sup> Filed in handwriting.

<sup>b</sup> Corrected in handwriting from: November.

<sup>c-c</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>d-d</sup> Written in uppercase and underlined in typewriting.

<sup>e-e</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>f-f</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>g-g</sup> Fragment added in handwriting on the left margin.

<sup>h-h</sup> Added in handwriting, over the crossed out fragment: I hereby present a detailed report on the "Day of Ukrainian national mourning", which, in the individual districts of the Ternopil Voivodeship, proceeded as follows:

Metropolitan Curia in Lviv and delivered sermons on the persecution and famine among the Ukrainians in Sov[iet] Russia.

<sup>f</sup>Buchach:<sup>f</sup> In the Greek Catholic churches of the district, regular serv[ices] were conducted with occasional sermons.

<sup>f</sup>Kamianka Strum[ilova]:<sup>f</sup> In the Kamianka district, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests conducted regular services, as on every Sunday, after which they delivered sermons on the persecution in Sov[iet] Ukraine.

<sup>f</sup>Pidhaitsi:<sup>f</sup> Silent, mourning Panakhydy were conducted in the Greek Catholic churches, and a pastoral letter from the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] Episcopate was read from the pulpits.

<sup>f</sup>Peremyshliany:<sup>f</sup> In all of the Greek Catholic churches of the district, with the exception of Pechenya, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] clergy conducted mourning services, during which special sermons were delivered about the famine which has struck Sov[iet] Ukraine, and about the situation of the Ukr[ainian] population. The priests appealed to the faithful to pray for their brothers on the other bank of the Zbruch River. After the sermons, a pastoral letter sent by the Curia in Lviv was read.

In Khlibovychi Svirzhski, during the service in the Greek Catholic church, OUN fliers with anti-school contents were distributed.

<sup>f</sup>Radekhiv:<sup>f</sup> Regular mourning services were conducted in the Greek Catholic churches of the district.

<sup>f</sup>Skalat:<sup>f</sup> Mourning services were conducted in the Greek Catholic churches.

<sup>f</sup>Ternopil:<sup>f</sup> Chanted mourning services were held in the district, in some place with the Rusyn priests reading the pastoral letter, limiting themselves to only making brief comments.

<sup>f</sup>Terebovlia:<sup>f</sup> Mourning services with *Panakhydy* were held in all Greek Catholic churches of the district, after which sermons were delivered during which the pastoral letter<sup>i</sup> was read. It was issued by the <sup>j</sup>Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] bishops<sup>j</sup> on the famine and the situation in Sov[iet] Ukraine.

<sup>f</sup>Zalischyky:<sup>f</sup> Mourning services were organized in the Greek Catholic churches on behalf of the victims who died in Ukraine, and the pastoral letter from Bishop Khomyshyn was read.

<sup>f</sup>Zbarazh:<sup>f</sup> Regular Sunday services were conducted.

<sup>f</sup>Zboriv:<sup>f</sup> Throughout the district, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] clergy conducted regular Sunday services, during which a pastoral letter from the Greek Catholic Episcopate was read and sermons delivered on the starving Ukr[ainian] population in the Soviets. Moreover, *Panakhyda* services (silent mourning masses) were conducted. The priests called on the people to fast on the day of mourning.

<sup>f</sup>Zolochiv:<sup>f</sup> In Zolochiv, Chizhiv, Remezivtsi, Strutyn, Krasnosiltsi, Ostriv, Sassiv, Shpiklosy, Gologory, Stinka and Trudovach, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priests

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<sup>i</sup> Was: pastoral letters.

<sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> Added in handwriting above the crossed-out fragment: Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Bishop of Przemyśl and Khomyshyn.

conducted mourning services, during which they read the pastoral letter and delivered special sermons.

In the Ostriv commune, Father Wasylkowski Dmytro called on the people to pray for Ukrainians in Greater Ukraine, since the local Ukrainians are not able to offer material aid and the Polish government did not allow it, while in Gologory, Trudovach and Stinka, during the sermons, the priests called on the people to make financial contributions on behalf of their starving compatriots in Russia.

In Sassiv, Father Łysko stated in his sermon that at the present moment, the Ukr[ainian] nation is in captivity and that enemies rule over the Ukrainian territories. He called on those gathered in the Greek Catholic church to undertake further work aimed at wining free Ukraine. He then compared the suffering of the Ukr[ainian] nation to the suffering of Christ, and stated: “An hour will come when we will conquer our enemies.”

A report on Father Łysko was drawn up.

<sup>f</sup>Meetings<sup>-f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Buchach:<sup>-f</sup> Non-public meetings were organized, based on the principle of art. 18 of the law on [public] gatherings. In the Medvedivtsi commune, a public meeting was called, but was dissolved by the police.

<sup>f</sup>Pidhaitsi:<sup>-f</sup> In the Ukrainian associations of the district, the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] clergy delivered addresses for the members.

Moreover, in Pidhaitsi, a secret meeting was held, organized by the UNDO in the premises of “Diakivka”, attended by some 150 people from the neighboring communes and called by Dr. Grzegorz Steciuk, lawyer in Pidhaitsi, as well as a member of the Committee for Aid to Ukraine. The State Police, having confirmed that not all of those gathered were personally known to the chairman, dissolved the meeting. No resolution was adopted.

<sup>f</sup>Peremyshliany:<sup>-f</sup> In Korosenko, a local Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] parish priest, Father Kowcz, read to those gathered members of “Prosvita” and “Sokil” fragments of the book entitled “Lykholitia”<sup>k</sup>, giving a description of the poverty suffered by the Ukr[ainian] people in the Soviets.

<sup>f</sup>Skalat:<sup>-f</sup> In some of the “Prosvit[a]” reading rooms, special addresses were delivered to the members.

<sup>f</sup>Zolochiv:<sup>-f</sup> A meeting at invitation was held in the “Prosvit[a]” reading rooms, in the following towns:

1) in Bily Kamin, attended by 50–60 members, during which a protest resolution against the persecution of Ukrainians in Russia was adopted,

2) in Olesko, in the National House, attended by 82 people,

3) in Belzets, attended by 50 people,

4) in Pidlyptsi, Pluhiv and Maly Trostyanets, attended by 20–30 [people].

Moreover, when mass ended, a prof[essor] of the Ukrainian gymnasium, Burko Dmytro, called in the students from one of the gymn[asium] classes and de-

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<sup>k</sup> *Corrected in handwriting from: Lykholytie.*

livered an address on the recent developments in Sov[iet] Ukraine, while in Sassiv, the daughter of a local Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] priest, Łysko Włodzimiera, delivered an address in the “Prosvita” reading room on the creation and fall of the Ukr[ainian] state. The meeting, being organized illegally, was dissolved by the SP.

#### <sup>f</sup>Flyers<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Zolochiv:<sup>f</sup> In the Ostriv commune, on the night of 29 October of this year, unknown persons have pasted a *tryzub* on the gymnasium’s plaque, and next to it, a poster with the following text:

“Hay zhyve samostyina soborna ukrainska derzhava, hay zhyve borotba z Lakhamy, Moskalamy i Chekhamy. UVO (OUN).”

The poster and the *tryzub* were immediately taken down and given to the organs of the SP.

In relation to the above, the organs of the SP carried out a search at the premises of Father Wasylkowski Elias, where they have come upon a brochure [entitled] “History of Ukraine”; at the premises of Michał Michaluk, treasu[rer] of the “Unity” coop[erative], upon the “History of Ukraine” and paints; at the premises of Andrzej Majba, 3 gr[ade] stud[ent] of the Trad[e] Sch[ool] in Lviv and Ataman Makar, 6 gr[ade] stud[ent] of the State Gymn[asium] in Lviv, upon notebooks with suspic[ious] notes; and in the premises of the “Unity” Coop[erative], they found a brochure entitled “Twelve Ukrainians before the Lviv Court.”

#### <sup>f</sup>Flags<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Kamianka Strum[ilova]:<sup>f</sup> A mourning flag was hung on the National House, which did not, however, incite any comments or statements.

<sup>f</sup>Zalischyky:<sup>f</sup> The flags hung on the buildings of the Ukr[ainian] bank and National House were taken down at the police order.

<sup>f</sup>Zbarazh:<sup>f</sup> In Krasnosiltsi, unknown persons hung black flags on the Greek Catholic church and the “Prosvita”, which were taken down.

#### <sup>f</sup>Collections [of contributions]<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Borschiv:<sup>f</sup> In their sermons, the priests have informed that with the aim of offering relief to the Ukr[ainian] pop[ulation] in Sov[iet] Russia, a collection will be organized, with its exact date to be given.

<sup>f</sup>Pidhaitsi:<sup>f</sup> Collections were organized during the services in the Greek Catholic churches.

<sup>f</sup>Peremysliany:<sup>f</sup> The money from the collections allegedly is to be sent to the Curia, and then to Rome, where [it] will be distributed for those starving in Ukr[aine].

<sup>f</sup>Radekhiv:<sup>f</sup> Collections were carried out during the services in the Greek Catholic churches, with the aim of aiding those starv[ing] in Ukr[aine].

<sup>f</sup>Terebovlia:<sup>f</sup> as above.

<sup>f</sup>Zolochiv:<sup>f</sup> In the communes of Gologory, Trudovach and Stinka, the priests called on the people to make financial contributions on behalf of the starv[ing]



Ukr[ainians] in Russia, whereas in Zolochiv, Father Juryk appealed to the people to make donations to the committee.

<sup>f</sup>Other<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Borschiv:<sup>f</sup> In the Lanivtsi commune, at the order of Father Huniowski Aleksander, on the night of 29 [October] a tomb was erected in the Greek Catholic church courtyard with a cross carrying a crown of thorns, around which a *Panakhya* was to be conducted. The police prevented the *Panakhya* from being carried out, a criminal report was drawn with regard to Father Huniowski .

<sup>f</sup>Buchach:<sup>f</sup> In Zoloty Potok, on the night of 1 November, Mikołaj Kuziewicz, a well-known Ukr[ainian] activist, attempted, together with several servants, to erect a cross with a crown of thorns in the Greek Catholic church courtyard, which, however, was prevented by the State Pol[ice].

<sup>f</sup>Terebovlia:<sup>f</sup> On the night before the day of mourning, mourning posters were posted in town, carrying the following contents in Ukr[ainian]:

“Under the name and with the efforts of all Ukrainian people, regardless of their status, on the Sunday of 29.10 of this year at 10 [hundred] hours, in the Gr[ee]k Cath[olic] church in Terebovlia, a mourning service will be held for the peace of the souls of our brothers, of whom more than three million on the other side of the Zbruch River were tormented to death from starvation, to which all faithful are invited.”

<sup>f</sup>Zolochiv:<sup>f</sup> In the priv[ate] Ukr[ainian] gymn[asium] of UPT in Zolochiv, students from all classes were called to participate in the church service, observe the fast on that day and make donations from the sav[ed] money on behalf of the starving compatriots in Ukraine.

For the Voivode:

(—)

<sup>f</sup>Sent to<sup>f</sup>

Voivode in Lviv

[in] Stanyslaviv

[in] Lutsk

For information

*DATO, F. 231, Op. 1, Spr. 2067, pp. 38–41, in the original, pages stapled out of order.*

*Draft, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish with numerous corrections, unaccounted in this publication. In the top left corner a handwritten note: a small introduction presenting the overview of the situation [on] 29 X [19]33 with illegible initials; in the top right corner a rectangular stamp with illegible inscription and a date added in handwriting: 4/12 and illegible initials; on it another rectangular stamp with inscription: File category B. Destroy in 19...; under the text of the document, in the bottom left corner, a handwritten note: 20/XI [1]933 with corrections] and illegible initials, below: 1/XII and illegible initials.*

## No. 187

### 1933, [Odessa]. Report by the German Consul in Odessa on the economic situation of the German settlements in the Odessa Oblast

Translation from German

<sup>a-b</sup>Report<sup>b-a</sup>

on the German colonies in the Odessa and Mykolaiv Okrug<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Economic situation<sup>a</sup>

The economic situation of German colonies around the c[ities] of Odessa and Mykolaiv has deteriorated significantly as compared to the previous year. This year, on number of matters, it is difficult to even imagine the true hardship. Official statistical data presents a “happy” picture, yet the bare reality shows entirely opposite facts than those which are stated at the green tables.

I must make an observation that such a tragic situation of the economy has become particularly visible, more with regard to the German colonies than in other neighboring villages of the oblast.

Two basic factors have determined this hardship: <sup>d</sup>an extremely long and strong winter, and, no less, the severe economic policy of the Soviets<sup>d</sup>. The former (that is the winter) has robbed the colonists of 70–75% of grain stock from the previous year; the latter (that is the Soviet policy) has claimed the rest and, in brief, condemned them to winter famine.

Instead of – as is done in all economic systems – dealing with consequences of the year’s bad crops and allowing the peasants to regain their grounds, the choice was made of dealing with everything at the same time, just as is done in a poorly managed household, where everything is to be found except that what is really needed. The forced aid in the form of seeds and food products before the spring sowing campaign did not fulfill all the needs, and the increased tractor park does not provide for the shortage in draft force after the mass deaths among the livestock.

In the meantime, the institutions [responsible for the] *khlebozagotovka* and their agents are seeking and searching, straining their voice, because in the house of a thrifty Kulak (the man who has mastered the art of having everything) for a long time already there has not even been a single seed, thousands of them sitting on the crossroads, and many thousands of good, strong farmers are asking themselves the question: does the art of managing an economy come down to this, that the peasants, with the first rays of spring sun at this most valuable time, are to lie on their side with their eyes closed, reading their fingers: will it

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>c</sup> *As in the original. The administrative division into okrugs ceased to exist as of February 1932; both okrugs were incorporated into the Odessa Oblast.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

come (the seed stock) or not?... But it does not come, just as the promised tractors do not arrive, just as the seeds of late crops do not arrive. And thus a large part of the fields remain unsown to the despair of the socialist state and to the despair of the owners of the fields.

Thus the colonist says to himself: “Alright! This means less work, and that (that is the work) is the last thing that was left to me, as all else was taken by the state, with its long hands, reaching everywhere.”

If one thinks that all this is an exaggeration, one does not know the real situation of the colonists – and not only colonists, but equally the entire population of Russian peasants. <sup>d</sup>What anxiety and tragedy, cries and despair are their fate in the Soviet country, where they have no hopes, standing in face of deadly fate!<sup>d</sup>...

Cases of deaths have also been noted by me in the colonies. <sup>e</sup>In Landau, Mikhail GRESS<sup>e</sup> was dying of starvation. Only two goats were left from his household, which was pillaged in February. Having no other property, having no help from the state or the starving neighbors and acquaintances, he placed all his hopes with those goats and their milk as his food. And he, together with his dying wife and their children, lived only thanks to those goats.

Another father to a family in the same Landau colony lost his senses from hunger and was sent away to a mental institution.

Those are the two cases seen by me personally in one village. There is, however, no doubt that similar cases of severe hunger are to be found in other colonies, since the situation is the same everywhere.

[The people] managed to live through the atrocities of the previous spring and have forgotten them to a large extent. The communist rulers do not let the peasants remember their hardships for too long, achieving this by having one hardship follow the other immediately, and thus, whether one wants to or not, the old fears are forgotten. In the past, if someone in a village was struck by misfortune, entire generations remembered.

In any case, the misfortunes come continually: as soon as the crops are ripe, the state officials arrive in the villages to take the grain like hungry lions. There is nothing to take from the poor, thus they take from the middle-sized farmers and squeeze the last drops of blood from the Kulaks. They take it under the pretext of [collecting] stocks, taxes, credits, self-taxation, etc.

When we read in the governmental press how this or that area of economy has been collectivized, we unconsciously ask ourselves the very question: “What will they eat next year?”

Our colonists say: “We are collectivizing, getting stronger...”. <sup>d</sup>And with what intonation are those words spoken, what anger comes out of those words and what hatred towards collectivization burns in their eyes against the idea of collectivization and its apostles!<sup>d</sup> Only those who themselves have lived through collectivization can truly understand. <sup>d</sup>Yet, in the jubilee and triumphant calls of the powerful masters of our fates in Kremlin, this word resonates with due celebration!<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>e-e</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

In the Worms colony, the members of the collective have dared to criticize their leadership. The result was such that the entire group of persons, among them the FRANK brothers, respected by all, were sent off to terrible places. Because the owners of the kolkhoz, keeping with the central line, eradicate all independent thought.

And if the kolkhoznik does not fulfill his quota in the fields, a black plaque is mounted on his house, reading: “Sabotages socialist construction”.

But not everyone approaches those matters so dramatically. The more calm persons argue: <sup>d</sup>“I was deprived of the right to voice my opinion, which no one uses anyway. I do not intend to suck up to the authorities in such a way as to work myself to death.” Those people take their limited possessions and run wherever their feet take them<sup>d</sup>. This is what many people from the Hoffnungstal colony have done.

A certain peasant, in response to my question on how was life in the colony, stated: “First they pluck us, and when all the feathers are gone, they stamp us into the ground, press us, and when nothing else can be extracted – then they use us to wipe their a... and then let us run...”.

Many, upon reading those words may be shocked at their brutality and have doubts, claiming that this, after all, is not China. To that I respond: “If at least half of what this peasant told me is true, <sup>d</sup>no China can compare to our life”<sup>d</sup>.

No one among the colonists believes in the future; all are convinced of the coming collapse of the Soviets. <sup>d</sup>They know that in the Soviet territories, all is lost for them, thus they escape to countries in which not a single path leads to the Soviets<sup>d</sup>. The colonist will never reach the Paradise which was promised him, because on the steps to that paradise there is fear and suffering. <sup>d</sup>The cries are ever stronger: “As far from here as possible!”, and ever stronger is the feeling of community with the kin who are free now<sup>d</sup>. It is true that not all of the poorest farmers think in this way because the water has yet not reached their throats.

Knowing about the organized departure abroad of the Swedish colonists from the Kherson region, <sup>d</sup>many already are unfaltering in searching out the possibilities of leaving for the fatherland (*Vaterland*)<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup>It seems to me that all conditions have now been fulfilled to help the impoverished colonists in their efforts at leaving this place<sup>d</sup>.

However, the German government will be in an uncomfortable position to take the initiative and to get involved in those matters overall.

<sup>d</sup>It should be organized through the German colonies in America and by private means, through some social institutions<sup>d</sup> to acquire the permission from the Soviet authorities for the emigration of those colonists who so desire.

<sup>a</sup>-Translated from German:

Oper[atational] Representative<sup>a</sup> OO UGB

(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 1, pp. 41–44.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 188

### 6 January 1934, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the situation in the Kiev and Chernihiv Oblasts

6 January 1934

Dear Jurek

[...]

One of the most severe difficulties of the Soviet countryside in Ukraine is the lack of cash since, for the moment, the state is not conducting any public works. And those few which are carried out, such as cleaning the railroad tracks of snow, are conducted in the form of “voluntarily” performed care on the part of the nearest collectives neighboring the sections of the railways.

The only opportunity at earning some cash comes with the work in the woods, which, in most cases, is not well paid (3 rb. per day with the price of 1–1.50 rb. for 400 grams of bread). At best, if the workers receive the earned money immediately, they can feed themselves with this work. However, most often [the worker] needs to feed on the stocks brought from the village, waiting for months before he receives any money. The above presented circumstances further exacerbate the already desperate situation of the people living in the northern raions of the Kiev and Chernihiv Oblasts (Polesia). Here, the springy<sup>a</sup> crops have nearly all soaked with rain, while the winter crops gave 4–5 cwt. per hectare at the most.

All plants, primarily potatoes, have bore no fruits to such an extent that<sup>b</sup> not even a return on seeds was possible. Almost the entire population in those raions did not manage to fulfill the whole plan for *khlebodacha*, and after the poor winter crop sowings, is left entirely without bread for the winter. This concerns not only the “individual farmers”, but the kolkhozy as well. A claim has been made that the authorities are ready to give back, as a relief, the grain to the kolkhozy in those raions as a relief the grain which was delivered as part of the *khlebodacha* by the kolkhozy in those raions. Moreover, it has been confirmed that a recruitment [campaign] is being carried out in those collectives for volunteers to be transferred to the south-western raions. They are promised to a house there, as well as a horse and a cow for each family.

[...]

N. Nalewajko

CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. „Ku“, n.pag.

Original, typewritten.

Document in Polish.

Above the text, a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a date added in handwriting: 11 I ...4 and a number: 5175/34 N; in the top right corner, a handwritten note: aa Ku and illegible initials.

<sup>a</sup> As in the original.

<sup>b</sup> Word added in handwriting.

## No. 189

### 6 January 1934, n.p.p. Fragment of a report by a secret informer of the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the drafting of the annual report in the German Consulate

6 January 1934

The consulate is busy drafting the annual report. HENCKE is ascribing great importance to it. The work on the report has already been proceeding for ten days and will take another week, after which HENCKE will go on holiday for six weeks (Berlin).

The basic technical work with the report is carried out by BAUN<sup>1</sup>. GAGEI-MEIER is in no way linked to it. It seems that the work is secret. A significant part [of it] does not pass through the chancellery – BAUN himself is typing.

The main report (divided into several, subject-oriented parts) carries enclosures compiling numerical data: heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, [sugar] beet crops, sugar industry, etc. Each enclosure itself is a compilation, a very thorough and detailed one, of all statistical and other data published in the Soviet press, plus personal information from HENCKE and BAUN. Apparently the results proved really valuable. HENCKE told me, for example, that already some two to three weeks before the final data on the [sugar] beet crops per h[ectar]e were published in the Soviet press, based on his own materials, he estimated those crops, as it turned out later, with the accuracy of 1 cwt. Next, HENCKE declared that the report is awaited by the Ministry with great interest and that his periodic econ[omic] reports have acquired great approval and once (without naming the source) were published in Germany in a specialist periodical (report on the sugar sector).

I had no chance of personally reading those specialist enclosures to the report; I only saw that each one of them was accompanied by a thick file with newspaper clippings and tables and graphs compiled by BAUN. I can only say that from among all spheres of the economy, two have been the subject of a most detailed and serious analysis: sugar (sugar production and [sugar] beet crops) and grain harvests (crops, kolkhozy, *yedinolichniki*, sovkhozy, etc.). I got the impression that as far as crops are concerned, HENCKE has no specialist information of regular character – the sources for his information are the Soviet press, statements made by the peasants and personal impressions from journeys [out into the region]. As regards the sugar, it seems to me (perhaps I am mistaken) that HENCKE is in possession of sources for more serious information (among others, relatively detailed, written information was delivered to him on the Shemrayevsk sovkhoz and plant by RELL).

The main report is partially known to me. In January, HENCKE read several pages on the “crisis of the party” and the “policy towards the countryside”. On

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<sup>1</sup> Baun, clerk with the Chancellery of the German Consulate in Kiev.

an early Sunday morning on 14 January, STRESE<sup>a</sup> came to me and stated that HENCKE requests that I come immediately in an urgent matter. It turned out that HENCKE wanted to discuss with me the general political part of the report (having warned me that it was confidential, etc.). Yet, he read again the same part as on the previous day (with some changes, made after consultation with BAUN and me) and a few new pages. Below, I report from memory what HENCKE read aloud:

“...In the winters of 1929–1933<sup>b</sup> the party underwent an internal crisis. The policy of collectivization required enormous sacrifice, having destroyed many human lives, and has infringed the deepest roots of agriculture, eliminating a part of the most fundamental capital – the working cattle, etc. A famine has struck Ukraine. By chance, I have acquired detailed statistical data which shows that in the Kiev and Vinnytsia Oblasts, out of the population of 12 million, up to 2 million have died. The poverty was less severe in the cities than in the countryside, but nevertheless it was great. Moreover, it seemed that the kolkhozy, established at a great price, risk falling apart like a house of cards. All this had to be the cause of internal dissatisfaction within the party, threatening an open split. The discipline was deteriorating. The Soviet apparatus, built on the [the principles of] partisanship, was trembling. Such situation required that the central party leadership take extraordinary steps. Looking ahead, I can only state that those steps were a success. One can only be surprised that such a thin layer (in German) of dynamic party activists at the top, having at its disposal a very weak and imperfect apparatus, with the weakened and disappointed party rank and file, act[ing] amongst the masses of irritated peasants with anti-Soviet attitude, managed within a single year to get a hold of the situation almost entirely. It can be said that good generals managed to gain a victory, having a weak army at their disposal, »all the greater their merit« (HENCKE’s exact words). The fight began with the issuing of the decree on permanent *khlebosdacha*. The regulation, which we believed to be of no great importance, was treated with due seriousness, even to the point of holding the local leadership responsible for making grain requisitions beyond the designated quota. It seems that the trust of the peasantry was partially regained, which was hard to imagine only half a year earlier. Next in line was the uncompromising verification and purge carried out within the party ranks and the Sov[iet] apparatus in the countryside.”

[...]

It is also appropriate to mention here a different issue which got a great deal of interest from our press – the addresses delivered by POSTYSHEV, KOSIOR, the case of SKRYPNYK, all that concerned the so-called Ukrainian nationalism within the party. We have grounds to believe that the threat of Ukrainian nationalism within the party was greatly exaggerated. The party leadership took advantage of really insignificant facts (the case of SKRYPNYK) to carry out a wide-spread campaign (a bid) aimed at intimidating the uncertain [elements] and creating a particular, war-like situation which helped bring back strict discipline. The real causes of the party crisis lay, in fact, not in Ukrainian national-

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<sup>a</sup> Was: SHTREYSS.

<sup>b</sup> As in the original.

ism, but in those economic and existence-related problems which in the spring of 1933 became particularly severe, especially in Ukraine. I believe that the fight against Ukrainian nationalism, in quotes, and the mentioned addresses delivered by POSTYSHEV and oth[ers], should only be seen properly within the framework of the fight against the general crisis in the party.

Moving on to the policies pursued with regard to the countryside, one has to mention the establishment of the polit[ical] offices where tens of thousands of the most trusted and verified party members were sent. The function of the polit[ical] offices was twofold – propaganda-related and supervisory (helping the GPU). (After consultation with BAUN and me, HENCKE changed this fragment and pointed out that the polit[ical] offices also perform organizational and educational functions. This was accidentally substantiated with the fact that yesterday T. RELL came to the consulate and informed that regarding all the problematic matters related to his work – his shares, salary and oth[ers] – he consults the polit[ical] office, which has promised to resolve all ambiguities).

Thus, the party leadership has, first of all, carried out a severe and direct purge within the entire local Soviet party apparatus, established a new network of management and control (polit[ical] offices) and has undertaken efforts aimed at regaining the trust of the peasants. All this, with relatively good crops, has changed the overall situation to such an extent that, at the present moment, it can be considered stable, or – at least – much more permanent than was the case at the beginning of the year. (Discussing this part of the report, it became clear that HENCKE does not fully agree with BAUN, who sees it from a much more pessimistic perspective).

[...]

“...The position of the consulate, with its detachment from the local life and people, has become even more difficult (after consulting me, HENCKE changed this fragment and wrote “remains just as difficult as over the past two years”). However, it should be kept in mind that this detachment can not be attributed to the deterioration in Soviet-German relations, since it was already there when the relations were excellent.

The nationalist coup and HITLER’s ascent to power have made an enormous impression on the local party circles. There is no doubt that HITLER’s rise has raised sympathy among the wide circles of peasants and people living in the cities (after consultation, he changed it to: among a part of the peasants and people living in the cities), and particularly among the German colonists. Passing over the discussion of internal policies, I would like to note that due to that fact, the distrust towards Germans has increased, towards the colonists as well as German citizens. As far as the latter are concerned, it has led the local authorities to pursue attempts, at all costs, to expel them from the country. Hence the shorter periods for issuing the visas, the required immediate departure of the wives of the German citizens who [the wives] have lost their citizenship, rejected requests for return visas. One can only be glad with some [of the efforts] (for example the visa [issue]). As regards the colonists, the matter is further complicated by the organized aid [campaign]. Recently, we have observed an increased campaign against the relief aid. There is



an increased number of meetings being held, during which it is being stated: »You are selling your proletarian honor to HITLER for six marks«. Those who decline the relief aid are promised sowing loans and concessions in the spring. We are observing systematic arrests of those who receive the aid or visit the consulate, although they have not been carried out on a mass scale until now. The reasons behind this aid still being allowed, as well as the letters describing the famine still being allowed to be sent to the consulate, are not entirely clear, but apparently come down to the fact that they are all streamlined through a single channel which is easy to control. Moreover, for as long as that system works, »the hunger letters« are not used by us as propaganda. As regards the overall deterioration of Soviet-German relations, however strange it might appear, it has had no influence on the situation of the consulate, nor on the Germans living in this region.”

[...]

What followed is a lengthy discussion of the matter: “They write that they are starving – HENCKE told me – while this fall, it seems there is no famine, in the strict sense of the word, in the countryside. Unless they are all lying.” At this point, HENCKE opened seven or eight letters, the reading of which has surprisingly proven that all letters, even from different villages, have been written according to a single model. In further conversation during which we discuss[ed] the case of Ida PREYSS (writing that her child died of starvation and the family is breathing its last breath, while it turned out that she still has three horses and two cows) and KOCHMARGIN, HENCKE stated that “in the recent days”, a major change is taking place in his assessments – “not in the sense of interpreting the situation – he rushed to add – but in the sense of interpreting those letters and conversations with which one has to deal. Do not say a word to BAUN about it, because he will understand it wrong – he continued – but I come to think that Russia is a country where one always comes across two opposing interpretations of every event. On the one hand, an uncontrolled optimism: »you are getting ahead of America, claiming constant victories«, and on the other hand, the famine, everything deteriorating constantly, and so on. I have come to believe that one needs to approach the second interpretation with just as much caution as with the first. It is particularly difficult to come to terms with all that, since – however strange [that sounds] – both the pessimists and the optimists are often completely partial and sincere [at the same time].”

[...]

<sup>c</sup>In conformity: C[hief of 2<sup>nd</sup> Dep[artment]]<sup>c</sup> OO  
(—) BUTOROV

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 18, pp. 12–15.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

**No. 190**  
**10 January 1934, Lutsk. Fragment of a report by the Volhynia Voivode  
for December 1933 regarding Ukrainian issues**

Volhynia Voivodeship Office  
Department of Security  
BBO-45/tjn/  
Monthly situation report

Lutsk, <sup>a</sup>-10 January<sup>a</sup> 193<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Top secret<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>-Monthly situation report no. <sup>a</sup>-12<sup>a-b</sup>

In line with the directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs no. PP 17900/29, dated 26 October 1929, I hereby send, in accordance with the distribution list enclosed below, the monthly situation report no. <sup>a</sup>-12<sup>a</sup> for the period from <sup>a</sup>-1 December [1933]<sup>a</sup> until <sup>a</sup>-1 January<sup>a</sup> 193<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>.

For the Voivode  
(—) W. Wojnicz  
Chief of Dep[artment] of Publ[ic] Sec[urity]

[Enclosure]

[...]  
Situat[ion] repo[rt] no. 12

VI. National minorities  
A. Ukrainians

[...]

b) Cultural, educational and social movement

<sup>b</sup>Rur[al] You[th] Association in Mykhaylivka, Rivne dist[ri]ct<sup>b</sup>. In the village of Mykhaylivka in the Buhryn commune, a Rural Youth Association was organized which has recruited 35 members.

<sup>b</sup>Com[mittee] for the Rel[ief] to the Starv[ing] in Ukr[aine], Sarny dist[ri]ct<sup>b</sup>. On 18 December of this year in Sarny, through the efforts of the local Ukrainian committee, a street [money] collection was organized on behalf of the “starving in Ukraine”.

<sup>b</sup>Dist[ri]ct Com[mittee] for the Rel[ief] to the Starv[ing] in Ukr[aine], Liuboml dist[ri]ct<sup>b</sup>. On 18 December [19]33, the District Committee for Relief to the Starving in Ukraine has carried out a money collection in the streets of the city of Liuboml.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b</sup>Ukr[ainian] Gymn[asium] in Rivne<sup>b</sup>. On 4 December [19]33 on the premises of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Rivne, an official ceremony was held in honor of the Ukrainian novel writer, Kobylańska, which was attended by some 200 people.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 1, Op. 2, Spr. 3080, pp. 30–31.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the bottom right corner of the first page, an illegible stamp with a date added in handwriting: 15/I ...34.*

## No. 191

### 21 January 1934, Kiev. Report by a secret informer of the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the gathering of data for the report by the German Consulate

21 January [19]34

One of the principal subjects of discussion was still the situation in the countryside. Some four days ago, HENCKE decided to carry out a “verification of the peasant’s information.” The verification came down to him personally, BAUN and me questioning the peasants who came [to the consulate] that day and comparing the results. It primarily concerned the following cases, which HENCKE presented to us in most concrete terms: 1) how much do the kolkhozniki receive for *trudoden*; 2) is the situation in the countryside better or worse than last year; 3) is famine to be expected in the countryside in the spring; 4) what are the moods among the peasants, has the trust been “rebuilt” or not.

Yevgeny GARTMANN was questioned first. This happened prior to my arrival. I was only present when BAUN [was giving] HENCKE an account of the conversation with GARTMANN. BAUN had the results of the conversation with GARTMANN written down on a large piece of paper; judging by the great amount of numbers, GARTMANN gave BAUN a variety of detailed information on a number of topics. BAUN’s oral account concerned only those general matters of interest to HENCKE, which I have listed above. BAUN began by saying that GARTMANN was not an ordinary peasant, but an “exception” in this sense that he is quite intelligent, reliable, etc., and that information from him can be taken “without adjustment [for] subjectivism and desire to move [the listener]”, that GARTMANN was highly valued by SOMMER. Following this introduction, BAUN related GARTMANN’s opinion, which come down to the following: “This year in Solodyri (where GARTMANN lives) and in the entire Pulinsky Raion, the situation is definitely better than at the same time of stocks the previous year. So far, the peasants had grain. They also have stock now.” However – this was reiterated by GARTMANN – in the coming weeks, they will take the grain from the peasants on account of [collecting] the security fund and the sowing fund. If [the deliveries for] the sec[urity] fund and the sow[ing] fund will be carried out, the peasants will be left with no grain and will starve, just as last year (HENCKE noted down, based on the information from GARTMANN – for the report – that in the Pulinsky Raion [grain] deliveries for the sec[urity stocks] and sow[ing] fund were not made – against the declaration by the government that in the Kiev Oblast, all [was] fulfilled) permission for trading<sup>a</sup> – and it thus follows that similar declarations by the government are not fully reliable.

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<sup>a</sup> *As in the original. A missing fragment.*

As for the payment of *trudoden* in the kolkhozy, GARTMANN quoted the numbers – around 1–1½ kg [of grain].

Next proceeded, as was mentioned above, “verifying” questioning of two women (Sov[iet] citizens) – KUROK and TSYLKE – from the colonies of Vydumka and Karominov-Dreman<sup>b</sup> – both from the Pulinsky Raion. Cit[iz]en KUROK is a kolkhoznik (Vydumka c[olony]) from a German kolkhoz. Asked about the pay for *trudoden*, she answered – 1 kg 400 g, yet here she added that personally she was given only a half [of that] because she received aid from Germany. She spoke in detail about how she was condemned for receiving “aid from HITLER”, [and] for writing letters to the consulate for the illiterate kolkhozniki (among others, she brought with her several letters which she gave to BAUN). KUROK, being a quite sensible woman, clearly described the working conditions in the kolkhoz. Her description made an impression on HENCKE. He said that this was the first case of looking “into” the kolkhoz. KUROK gave, in detail, the numbers of *trudodens* (she has 124, someone else 203, etc.), the amount of grain already received (so many kg of wheat, so many of rye, etc.) by her and several others mentioned by name. It was those details that made the impression on HENCKE. From questioning her, he noted such data for his report, for example: German kolkhoz in the Pulinsky Raion. Middle sized. Net pay for *trudoden* around 1½ kg, which, however, does not apply to everyone. They promise to pay a further 1 kg, but this is not sure. They persecute those who receive aid from Germany by not paying them [salary] in full. A mood of despair among German kolkhozniki. “Questioned” on the same day, citizen TSYLKE (Karominov-Dreman<sup>c</sup>) seemed less “trustworthy”, giving mixed accounts and different numbers to me and BAUN. Her information is as follows: “This year, a month ago, a family of four [people] died of starvation – a mother and three children (Karominov-Dreman<sup>d</sup>), whereupon a meeting was called, during which the *sielsoviet* was reprimanded for allowing such death and the raion representative held the *s[iel]s[oviet]* responsible for ensuring that it would not happen again. The kolkhozniki receive ¾ kg for *trudoden*. TSYLKE is a Sov[iet] citizen, not a kolkhoznik. She works for a peasant family with which she is acquainted.

On the same day, ci[t]izen VOYCHEK (liv[es] in Malyn) came on behalf of Helmut Heinz VOYCHEK – son, age 15, whose request for citizenship [is being processed] by RIK in Pulina. Apart from discussing the econ[omic] situation, she had an interesting conversation with BAUN, the meaning of which is so far not clear to me. It concerned the fact that a complaint against her was filed by some ci[t]izen LENU. VOYCHEK, in turn, complained about LENU. As far as I understand, BAUN suspects LENU of being a GPU agent (LENU lives near Malyn, visited Lidovka, knows PATS from Malynivka, etc.). VOYCHEK execrated LENU, saying that the latter is a schemer and hinted that LENU has ties to the

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<sup>b</sup> Was: Karolinov-Derman.

<sup>c</sup> Was: Karolino-Derman.

<sup>d</sup> Was: Karolino-Dermanovka.

GPU. (BAUN promised me to make an account [for me] of this case with more details).

The “verifying” questioning of KUROK and TSYLKE obviously marks only an incidental episode in the overall “verification” efforts pursued by HENCKE in the course of gathering information on the situation in the countryside. He asks everyone, each individually. The same goes for BAUN. The results of this verification (already undertaken after the report was more or less drafted) have again changed HENCKE’s opinions for worse. His final opinion (as he told me yesterday) comes down to this: “It is slightly better in the countryside than in the previous year, yet still a difficult situation, as far as food supplies, is to be expected in the spring, with famine in some places. [Official] accounts on the good state of affairs among the kolkhozniki are false, at least in Ukraine. The pay for *trudoden*, on the average, comes to less than 2 kg [of grain], and even this amount is not paid. Partially, the welfare of the kolkhozniki comes at the expense of the *yedinochniki* (for exampl[e] cows are taken away from them and given to the kolkhozniki so as to fulfill the party decrees)”; TSYLKE spoke, among other things, about the requisition of cows.

My partial knowledge of the [content of the] report allows me to state, among others, that it comprises numbers on crops from a h[ectar]e for each raion and each crop. The basic numbers are official and carefully verified through enquiries conducted among the peasants. Among others, Yevgen[y] GARTMANN provided a whole table of numbers, [a part] of which, concerning certain crops, was then analyzed in my presence by BAUN and HENCKE. In particular, the data on [sugar] beets and sugar was examined thoroughly.

The data relating to the industry was rather weak (apart from the sugar industry). HENCKE told me that “they mainly expect information on agriculture from him”; he has detailed information concerning the “Bolshevik”, where several Germans are employed.

The major omission in the report – financial matters. HENCKE, disregarding information from KUMERFELD, believes to know nothing on the subject. He asked me to try and find among my acquaintances a financial expert, and to enquire with him. HENCKE did not come back to the discussion on the contacts with the “Proletarskaya Pravda”. Evidently, his interest in the matter has somewhat waned.

°-In conformity°: (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 20, pp. 262–263.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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°-° *Written in uppercase.*

## No. 192

### 26 January 1934, Kiev. Fragment of a report by secret informer of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement made by a writer Hryhory Kosynka

SPO – 2<sup>nd</sup> Division

26 January [19]34

[...]

Carrying out y[our] directive, I have renewed my acquaintance with KOSYNKA<sup>1</sup>, talking with him twice – on 16 and 21 January. Subjects of his statements: the famine which allegedly took place in the spring in the Trypillia Raion, cannibalism (according to his words, 180 cannibals are detained in the *Dopr*), the mass deportations of peasants (allegedly, each month marching echelons number 800 persons), etc. According to his statements, 60% of the population has died in the raions, mostly the poor farmers. To my question [of whether the deported were the] Kulaks, he answered: “What Kulaks, where are those? Only the poor, who have nothing to eat.” He assured me that he will get into the “house of god”, that is, the GPU, and quotes the case of criticism against his texts by the responsible political officials. He met with ANT[ONENKO]-DAVYDOVYCH, but so far he does not treat me<sup>a</sup> as before.

The whole of Kiev is excited by the historic resolution of the 12<sup>th</sup> congress of the CP(b)U to move the capital from Kharkiv to Kiev. Everyone sees in that the proof of the growing political and particularly military power of the USSR. However, at the time when the Soviet part of the intelligentsia accepts this decision sincerely and without reservations, the nationalistic part dismisses it entirely, although not so long ago, it battled strongly for Kiev and against Kharkiv. There are various motives. It fears the intensified fight against the c-r, nat[ionalist] elements (KOSYNKA, MAKOVSKY, DENISENKO, and oth[ers]), it fears the competition, permanent inhabitants fear overcrowding [in apartments], deportations, etc.

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-4468, T. 1, pp. 62–62 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>1</sup> Hryhory Kosynka (actually Strilets) (1899–1934), Ukrainian writer, worked on the editorial board of the newspaper “Visti Kyiovskoho Gubrevkomu” and the periodicals “Nova Hromada”, “Vsesvit”. Arrested on 4 November 1934, accused of membership in a terrorist organization. With a verdict taken during an away session on 15 December 1934 by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR to death, shot on the same day in Kiev; rehabilitated on 19 October 1957.

## No. 193

### 10 February 1934, Kiev. Extract from a ten-day report by the Kiev Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a statement made by a writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych

<sup>a</sup>-Extract from a ten-day report for<sup>a</sup> b-10<sup>b</sup> February 1934

...Lately ANTONENKO-DAV[YDOVYCH] is often visited by the writer KOSYNKA, <sup>c</sup>DENISENKO<sup>c</sup> and ALYMOV. The conversation primarily circles around the national question and the policies pursued by the Sov[iet] authorities. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH stated that there is no Ukr[ainian] culture today, and if there is, it is the dead body of Ukr[ainian] culture, since the entire Ukr[ainian] intelligentsia and its culture are in exile. The Sov[iet] authorities, aiming to rehabilitate themselves in face of the West for the countless scandals in Ukraine, especially for the death from starvation of 4½ million Ukrainians, blames everything on the nat[ionalistic] policies of comrade SKRYPNYK. Not long ago in Ukraine, SKRYPNYK was called the second DZERZHINSKY due to his Bolshevik relentlessness. Seeing the great injustice with regard to the eth[nic] policy pursued by STALIN, on various occasions SKRYPNYK would say and write to STALIN [appealing] to correct the errors [committed] in Ukraine, but STALIN, the Georgian moron with a stubborn character, disliking opposition from anyone, began hunting SKRYPNYK down, and SKRYPNYK was forced to end his life, knowing that if STALIN came to hate him, political death came upon him. STALIN does not understand and has a poor sense for the matters of Ukrainian national policy. The opinion of ANTONENKO-DAV[YDOVYCH] is shared by KOSYNKA. He stated that the press is becoming untrustworthy when it only allows for hymns [of praise] and gave an example that LENIN never allowed hymns to be written for him and fought against it, and STALIN must make his name. ANTONENKO-DAV[YDOVYCH] informed that some two months back in West[ern] Ukraine, due to unwillingness to work at the Sov[iet] Academy [of Sciences], VUAN scholars, VOZNIAK, KOLESA, and SHCHURAK have resigned, declaring that fact to the whole of Europe. Their motives [were] the following: 1) Oppression against the Ukr[ainian] intelligentsia in the Ukrainian SSR; 2) poverty and exploitation suffered by the academic employees; 3) terror waged by the Sov[iet] authorities directed against the Ukr[ainian] nationality; 4) killing of 4½ million Ukrainians by the Sov[iet] authorities. ANTONENKO also informed that the “Kommunist” from 14 January, published a note on their dismissal from the Academy, and that he is outraged at the meanness and insin-

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*



cerity of o[ur] scholars, who, defending their personal interests, are afraid to make the truth known.

[...]

In conformity:

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-4468, T. 1, pp. 66–66 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 194

### 13 February 1934, Moscow. Fragment of a report by the Office of the Military Attaché with the Polish Representation in Moscow to Section II of the Main Staff on the bread lines in Ukrainian cities

74. tj.  
Sale of grain to the cooperatives

13 February [19]34

a-b-Secret<sup>b-a</sup>

Head of Section II Main Staff  
a-c-Warsaw<sup>c-a</sup>

[...]

According to the information received, in many regions of Ukraine there is already famine, hence the authorities made the decision to give back the grain (naturally in the form of a loan) which was taken as a state tax to the kolkhozy.

In individual cities and towns (especially in Right-Bank Ukraine, ex. Marchlewszczyzna) one sees lines of people from the countryside standing in front of the stores which sell bread. There is nothing surprising about it, since according to the people living in the countryside, the quota for the so called *trudoden* rarely exceeds 1 kg.

[...]

Enclosures 2

Military Attaché ad interim  
(—) Harland  
Cert. Capt.

*AAN, AW, sygn. 95, p. 107.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Enclosures are not published.*

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a-<sup>a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

b-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

c-<sup>c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

## No. 195

24 February 1934, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the problems present in the countryside

24 February [19]34

Dear Jurek

[...]

And now to official matters. In the local regions, two issues are of primary importance: moving of the capital of Ukraine to Kiev, the reasons and consequences of this and the results of the recent congresses, or speaking precisely, the efforts directed at inciting enthusiasm among the wide masses with conclusions arrived at by the most popular elements as to the excellent growth of the industry and agriculture in the USSR.

In our humble area, we have no reasons to believe in the “achievements” of the great industry, we neither can say much on assessing the overall agricultural yields for the previous year. From the official data, we know that the “khlebosdacha” plan was fulfilled entirely and before the deadline, that the seeds needed for the spring sowing are entirely ready, so is the *natursplata*, etc. I take the liberty of expressing my view on how the people are dealing with the results of the above.

First of all, some comments on the payments received in grain for the so called *trudoden*. The information from the press, as well as declarations made at various congresses, about 8, 10 and more kg for *trudoden*, in reality come down to the following: in fact, according to the theoretical calculations, a relatively large amount of grain would have to be paid out for every *trudoden*. Such calculations have been approved by most kolkhozy, however, in carrying it out, all advances that were made since the spring of the previous year, when the people were literally “swelling from starvation”, were subtracted.

Secondly, a large portion of the grain was subtracted for the so called investment fund from wh[ich] individual kolkhozy are to carry out either a number of expansions or purchase of stocks. The kolkhoz members receive from 1 to 2 kg of the worst grain in the form of advances for the worked *trudodens*, while the remaining part is left for the so-called kolkhoz sale to the cooperatives, and thus to be exchanged for a range of products at prices incommensurably high compared to the price of grain. The results of such treatment with regard to the peasants come down to the fact that, already for some weeks, in a number of places people are suffering from famine.

The situation is further worsened by the fact that in a number of raions, a significant migration of peasants from the Russian and Belarussian regions has been carried out. Those “emigrants” were promised golden mountains, they were given those places where the people have died and assured that they will receive

assistance from the local kolkhozy, both in grain and livestock. Yet the reality in no way whatsoever corresponds to the perspectives that have been drawn before them. The kolkhozy agreed to give the grain, but from this year's yields (1934). The livestock has been decimated to such an extent that the mere thought of giving cows or horses is unreasonable. The rare cases when the "emigrants" have been given cows followed such a scheme: cows, horses and pigs are taken away from *yedinolichniki* for not having fulfilled the *miasosdacha*, and sold on the public market. Naturally, the nearest kolkhoz is the only buyer, purchasing the auctioned livestock at asking price. The money obtained from the sale goes to the state as compensation for the unfulfilled *miasozagotovka*.

The second plague from which the Soviet countryside suffers is the so called obligatory work, designated not only to individual persons, but also to entire collectives through administrative orders for even the smallest misconduct. Without exaggeration, it can be stated that the majority of public works is at present carried out as obligatory work. In any case, this concerns not only the countryside, but equally the cities. For example, the cleaning of streets in Kiev, roads and highways, protecting the railways from the snowstorms, chopping and transporting wood, etc. All of the above cause utter exasperation among the masses. The hope of improving the material status of the countryside which came in the fall has been lost entirely. The most characteristic description of the mood present among the peasants is that of utter hopelessness and the consciousness of the most severe exploitation. In my opinion, no less pessimistic attitudes are to be found among the city workers [...]. Yet, [even] with the present moods, it would not be appropriate to suppose that any kind of organized resistance is possible.

Regardless of the moods which characterize the situation in the countryside at the present moment, in my opinion, one should seriously take into account the fact that the winter sowing, as well as the future spring sowing, will be carried out more thoroughly and carefully than in the previous year. Nevertheless, this is not to say that good crops and the final yield of the harvests will be better than in the previous year. This will be determined by three factors:

1) Following the relatively good crops the [past] year, the productivity of the fields this year will be lower than in prev[ious] y[ear].

2) Last year's engagement of the political offices of the CAM[s], as they were newly created, this year – to my understanding – will be less intensive. One should take into account the particular enthusiasm of the newly established organizations, of the weight of hopes associated with them and the activeness of the newly assigned people, whose energy, founded on demagoguery and political blindness, has greatly decreased after a year of battling with hard reality, unless new structures will be introduced this year to substitute the activities performed by the political offices. As for the decreased dynamism of the latter, the proof comes with terrible state of repair of the tractors, nearly total decay of the sowing grain and loss of stocks, entirely analogous to previous years. In this area, there is no improvement which could have been expected with the engagement and enormous powers enjoyed by the political offices. In any case, the proof for that

is ever more often found in the press, which reports on the limited activeness and interest taken by the CAM[s].

3) The mood of the wide masses of peasants, once again disappointed in their hopes, on which I have written above.

[...]

N. Nalewajko

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. „Ku“, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish with numerous corrections, unaccounted in this publication, made in handwriting and typewriting. Above the text, a rectangular receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a date added in handwriting: 1 III ...4 and a number: 5569/34 N; in the top right corner, a handwritten note: I enclose a few books; below: aa Ku; in the top right corner, added in handwriting: [...] p. 5, [...] Dept.*

**No. 196**  
**5 March 1934, Kharkiv. Report by Dr. Czykałenko on the famine  
in Soviet Ukraine and the international aid to those starving**

L.dz. 321/II/2/34

5 March 1934

Famine in Ukraine and the aid campaign for the starving  
beyond the borders of the USSR

Case proceedings:

At the order from Lt. Gutry<sup>a</sup>, Dr. Czykałenko has drafted a report in Ukrainian on the famine in Soviet Ukraine and the aid campaign for the starving [carried out] outside of the USSR. The report was translated into Polish, typewritten in 3 copies and filed for the record.

<sup>b</sup>-Translation from Ukrainian<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b-c</sup>Famine in Ukraine and the aid campaign for the starving beyond the borders  
of the<sup>c</sup> USSR<sup>b</sup>

The famine which struck in 1921 brought millions of losses among the Ukrainian population. It was, however, a natural disaster, one independent of man's will, resulting from the civil war and Ukrainian revolution. The present hunger is a completely different occurrence.

Years back, neither the war-ruined transportation, nor the larger farms, deprived of workforce which supplied the grain for the internal market, nor even the small farms could supply the cities with products. As a consequence, the population of the cities in southern Ukraine suffered from a shortage of supplies needed for everyday life.

Hence, there was a high mortality rate among the people living in the cities who were escaping to rural areas in search of any type of work.

Today, after thirteen years of Soviet building, when it seemed that under normal conditions, the effects of the world war and revolution should be eliminated – terrible famine which is present can only be explained as all analysts of the economic policies of the USSR, and even common observers explain it.

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<sup>a</sup> Was: Gutty.

<sup>b-b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Jan Gutry (Guttry) (born 29 May 1908), Art. Lt.; from 1932 with the 16th Light Artillery Regiment; during the September Campaign of 1939, Commanding Officer of the 5 batteries of II/16<sup>th</sup> Light Artillery Regiment (Capt. – 1939); parachuted by the British over the Balkans; killed on 30 September 1943 in Yugoslavia.

In the present period, the famine results from: the intentional, social and ethnic policy of the Moscow's Communist Party in Ukraine and the response of the wide masses of Ukrainian population. The pursuits of the Soviet policy have caused a number of intentional acts on the part of the population of the countryside, even those who had not only been attracted into the realm of the Communist Party, but who have stood at its top.

Moscow aimed at eradicating and deforming the centuries-old customs of the Ukrainian farmer, at making a serf out of free farmer working his own land. The same aims directed towards eradicating national and cultural face of the Ukrainian nation, directed against leading circles of intelligentsia, have caused a nationwide and general consolidation (unification). The above phenomenon took a form that threatened Moscow, namely that of a planned action of uprooting Soviet authority in Ukraine and freeing the country from Moscow's yoke.

To Bolshevik repression, the countryside responded with a refusal to supply the government with the products of its work, and the intelligentsia facilitated the individual resistance of the peasants with an ideological base and organizational form.

Moscow came out of the present phase of the struggle victorious.

With brute force, the countryside had everything taken from it as planned, regardless of the consequences such a step would have for the people of Ukraine. In parallel, with a number of terrorist trials and repression, a number of organizations that were hostile towards the government were destroyed. Not even shying away from breaking up the very Communist Party in Ukraine, the people who have been ideologically devoted to communism, yet discouraged by the ethnic policy pursued by Moscow (such as Khvylovy<sup>d</sup> and politician Skrypnyk<sup>e</sup>) have been forced into a situation from which a suicide was the only escape.

The entire course of the struggle was perfectly known to the Ukrainian political émigrés. It was carried out with their partial participation, and for that reason its end at the present stage was not a surprise. It was simply an end which we see as a defeat, yet not such a severe one as to have serious consequences for our cause. The events of the previous year have acquired an entirely different meaning in the eyes of the Ukrainian population living within the borders of Poland.

Not knowing, not understanding, and even not taking interest in the deep essence of all that was taking place in the Ukrainian territories under Moscow – Galician Ukrainians were discouraged by pursuits of the political line to which Skrypnyk<sup>e</sup> and his supporters adhered. The death of Skrypnyk and Khvylovy opened their eyes to the essence of Moscow's policy and made what could not be achieved by Shumsky's deportation, nor the trial of the social-revolutionary Bolsheviks, nor even all that, which to an objective <sup>f-f</sup>observer<sup>f</sup> gave, on

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<sup>d</sup> Was: Khvilovy. *The same for the entire document.*

<sup>e</sup> Was: Skrypnyk.

<sup>f-f</sup> As in the original.

a daily basis, the grounds for most pessimistic attitude towards the issue of resolving the Ukrainian question within the USSR.

And thus today, the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Émigré Society declares on the pages of “Dilo” its protest against Moscow’s policy in Ukraine and a proclamation on relief to the victims of that policy. Under different circumstances, this protest would pass without being noticed by the Ukrainian community; today it has acquired a decisive meaning.

Even before the Ukrainian<sup>2</sup> Central Committee<sup>2</sup> had time to react to the initiative of the Lviv branch, the UNDO executive meets and takes on itself the initiative of carrying out the protest action in all Ukrainian territories in Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, and among all circles of émigrés from the Dnieper region and Galicia.

Some time later, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky addresses the faithful with a pastoral letter, calling on the Ukrainian community outside of the USSR to offer aid to their suffering compatriots in Soviet Ukraine.

This initiative was met everywhere with far-reaching response, and even the left-wing groups in Galicia, although they did not join other groups of the society in forming organizations and committees, they have taken on the idea and began to carry out an independent protest action of aid to those starving.

The scope of this movement was so unexpected for the UNR-inclined society that some centers of our organization, having no time to contact the headquarters, began joining in the local, newly established committees. Only later, at a clear order of the leadership organs, have those organizations separated themselves from the joint action and began establishing their committees in Dnieper Ukraine.

At the beginning of September in Warsaw, the representatives of all organizations operating in Poland have called their own Émigré Ukrainian Committee for Relief to the Starving of Ukraine with the UCC in Poland<sup>3</sup>. It was joined by: Dr.

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<sup>2</sup> *Was*: Warsaw.

<sup>2</sup> Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) – Ukrainian social and political organization, established on 27 April 1921, at the initiative of Andrij Łukaszewycz, Pyłyp Pyłypczuk, Andrij Nikowśkyj. The aim of the organization was, among others, to materially aid the émigrés from Ukraine, assisting them in their religious, cultural and educational needs, as well as offering legal and social help. The UCC operated through sections: organizational, financial, cultural and educational, as one well as for those detained. In 1933, UCC had 45 branch offices and 19 delegated correspondents, and in 1934–1954 branch offices, of which the largest were located in Warsaw, Kalisz, Poznań and Lutsk. Its activities were suspended in September 1939, and in December UCC under occupation was created, chaired by Wołodymyr Kubijowicz.

<sup>3</sup> According to Robert Potocki, it was the Ukrainian Émigré Committee for Relief to the Starving in Ukraine, see: R. Potocki, *Idea restytucji Ukrainńskiej Republiki Ludowej (1920–1939)*, Lublin 1999, whereas according to Emilian Wiszka, it was the Ukrainian Émigré Committee for Relief to the Starving Ukraine with the UCC in Poland, see: E. Wiszka, *Emigracja ukraińska w Polsce 1920–1939*, Toruń 2005. The committee established on 16 September 1922, at the initiative of the Main Board of the UCC, with the aim of bringing relief to the famine victims in the Ukrainian SSR; at the efforts of the Committee, in the fall of 1933, a “day of mourning and protest against Soviet persecution” was organized, held on 29 October 1933; the Committee was headed by Lew Czykałenko; the Committee would collect money and food products and send them to the Ukrainian SSR, but most of all, it concentrated



Czykałenko as chairman, engineer Głowiński<sup>4</sup> as deputy chairman and treasurer, Zawadzka<sup>5</sup> as secretary, and ordinary members: Łukaszewycz<sup>6</sup>, Łazarewski<sup>7</sup> and engineer Szewczenko<sup>8</sup>.

The Committee has addressed all branches of the UCC in Poland with a proclamation and request to support its undertaking.

Moreover, the Main Board of the UCC [in Poland] has sent guidelines to all its branch offices in which it requests the support for the action organized by the Émigré Committee for Relief, and communication directly with the headquarters on the matter. Thus, a new organization was established in Poland within the UCC circles, whose headquarters are located in Warsaw, with the Main Board of the UCC, and all UCC offices are operating as branches of those headquarters.

Organizations of this type have been established in Romania, Bulgaria and France. Their joint efforts are coordinated by the Main Émigré Council in France, headed by Professor Szulgin<sup>9</sup>, who in his addresses at international forums and in

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on informing the international community about the catastrophe, sending out data on the situation to Czechoslovakia, Germany and Belgium; the Committee was active at least until June 1935.

<sup>4</sup> Eugeniusz Głowiński (Jewhen Hłowinśkyj), engineer, from the end of 1930 secretary of the Economic Seminary at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, at the same time, head of the library at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute; in 1933 deputy chairman and treasurer of the Committee for Relief to the Starving Ukraine with the UCC; from 1937 Secretary of the Council of the UCC Society.

<sup>5</sup> Walentyna Zawadzka (born 1886?), from 1920 in Kiev, later in exile in Lviv, then in Warsaw; in the 1920's and 1930's, activist with the Ukrainian community in inter-war Poland, member of the Association of Ukrainian Émigré Women; in the years 1930–1931 Secretary of the Ukrainian Club in Warsaw; from 1930 chairwoman of the women's section of the "Prometheus" Club; from September 1933 Treasurer and member of the board of the Committee for Relief to the Starving Ukraine; after WWII in Canada.

<sup>6</sup> Andrij Łukaszewycz (born 1883), PhD., railroad engineer; Minister of Railroads in the government of Pavel Skoropadskyi; from 1921 head of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission to Poland, later President of the Board of Directors of the UCC; later member of the Board of the UCC Society; from 1933 member of the Committee for Relief to the Starving Ukraine with UCC.

<sup>7</sup> Gleb Łazarewski (born 1877), son of Oleksandr Łazarewski, renowned historian; lawyer, prosecutor in Kiev, writer; co-founder of the Ukrainian Law Society in Kiev (1917); in 1933 Secretary of the Committee for Relief to Starving Ukraine with the UCC; from 1933 member of the Board of the UCC Society; from June 1934 secretary of the board of a UCC Branch in Warsaw, from 1935 president of the board of that office; cooperated with the Ukrainian Scientific Institute; published in "Dilo" and "Tryzub"; from 1940 in the USSR.

<sup>8</sup> Wołodymyr Szewczenko (born 15 July 1897 in Pischyn, in Kharkiv Oblast), engineer, Sotnyk in the UNR Army; from 1918 served with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Iron Artillery Brigade; in the years 1921–1923 in detention camp in Kalisz; from 1924 in Warsaw; from the end of 1929 head of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sector of Section II of the General Staff of the UNR Army in exile; from 1931 member of the board of the Association of Engineers and Technicians with Ukrainian Émigrés in Poland and the board of the Society for Aid to the Ukrainian Students of Higher Schools in the city of Warsaw, as well as the Ukrainian Club; from 1933 member of the board of the Committee for Relief to Starving Ukraine; from July 1934 Chief of Intelligence of the special service of the UNR "Nastup"; from 1937 in the UCC Branch in Gdynia, at the same time ADC to Gen. Wołodymyr Salski, in September 1939 in Warsaw.

<sup>9</sup> Oleksandr Szulgin (1889–1960), professor, historian, politician; from July 1917 till January 1918 and in the years 1926–1936?, 1939–1940 and 1945–1946 head of the secretariat/Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UNR; from July till December 1928 Ukrainian Ambassador in Sofia; in the years 1920–1921 UNR representative to the League of Nations; later in the years 1923–1927 in exile in RCS, chairman of the URDP in Prague, later emigrated to France; with ties to Section II of the Main Staff of the Polish

relations with the Lviv-based all-Ukrainian committee, relies on the mentioned headquarters and its branch offices. Considering that the government of the USSR does not want to admit to the famine devastating the countries it conquered, reaching them with direct relief is highly difficult. Taking that fact into account, the émigré committees have drafted a certain plan of action. All of them have set out to collect all sorts of materials, mainly letters from Ukraine, which hold information regarding the famine and various misfortunes plaguing the Ukrainian nation. Enquiries are being made with those who managed to escape or foreigners traveling back from Ukraine who have seen the hunger with their own eyes. These committees are collecting the addresses of the more renowned people in Ukraine, for whom help with supplies is essential and necessary. The main pressure is put on establishing a fund, stressing that no matter how significant the donations to that fund, relief in products or money will be sent to the starving families only in individual and exceptional cases, with most of the funds being spent on propaganda and informing the international circles about the unfolding famine in Ukraine and the role of Soviet policies in its perpetration.

All committees declare that without international aid as was organized in 1921, any savior for the starving can not be hoped for, since our meager financial resources do not suffice. Also, the Soviet government will not allow for relief aid on a wider scale without initiative from the international circles. With the aim of involving the international circles and organizations in the relief effort, the representatives of the Ukrainian parliamentary clubs in Poland and Romania have undertaken a number of journeys throughout Europe. In Geneva, they appealed to the president of the f[ormer] session of the League of Nations Mowinckel<sup>h10</sup>. Through joint efforts, in which Professor Szulgin participated on behalf of the Ukrainian émigré establishment and the UNR government, it was possible to catch the interest of the session, which, in a special, closed meeting, appealed to the International Red Cross to look into our matter and contact the responsible elements in the USSR with the aim of organizing a proper campaign of bringing relief to those starving.

On the other hand, with a campaign in the press, it was possible to reach broader circles in many countries with information about our national suffering in Ukraine. Many of the periodical organs of the Swiss, French, Belgian, English, Scandinavian, Czech and North American press undertook an energetic propaganda effort on our behalf.

Various manifestations by the Ukrainian community have made their contribution, such as the ones in Chernivtsi, Bukovina and particularly in New York, during the visit of Litvinov.

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Army; co-editor of "Tryzub" and, from 1940, its editor; in the years 1939–1940 Prime Minister of the UNR; in the years 1940–1941 jailed by the Germans; died in Paris.

<sup>h</sup> *Was*: Mowinkel.

<sup>10</sup> Johan Ludwig Mowinckel (1870–1943), Norwegian businessman, owner of a shipping company in Bergen, member of the liberal party; in 1922 Minister for Trade and Minister of Foreign Affairs; in the years 1924–1926, 1928–1931, 1933–1935 Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; in the years 1940–1942 representative of the Kingdom of Norway in Sweden; died in New York.

In parallel to the national and political action, relevant work was also carried out among the religiously-inclined circles of the society. The initiative of the Galitian Metropolitan, A. Sheptytsky, has echoed throughout the R[oman]Cath[olic] Church, and Cardinal of Vienna Innitzer<sup>i</sup> organized a committee for aid to the starving, [comprising] the representatives of different religions and national organizations, with Ammende<sup>11</sup> as one of its members. Cardinal Innitzer asked Ammende to support him in the efforts aimed at holding an international conference at the end of December in Vienna which would bring all the interested parties together in the campaign for helping those starving and foster joint work, both in direct relief and in assuring the support of the more distinguished charity and political organizations. The conference was held in the cardinal's palace, headed by the cardinal himself. All national Ukrainian committees were represented, as well as some Russian, all German and Austro-Jewish ones. Moreover, representatives of charity organizations of different proveniences were present, such as Quaker from England, Protestant from the world headquarters in Geneva, Mennonite and others.

The conference lasted for two days.

Following a long address delivered by Secretary Ammende, supplemented with the demonstration of numerous photographic prints from Ukraine, and after a discussion, a resolution was adopted in which an appeal was made to the conscience of the entire world, calling for aid to those starving in Ukraine, North Caucasus and the Volga Krai, pointing out that as millions of people are dying of starvation, some countries are forced to destroy their excessive food supplies. The conference recognized that individual assistance, under present conditions and in face of the enormous scale of the famine, could not be considered sufficient and thus, mass relief was needed, such as the one organized by America in 1921.

Apart from the adopted resolution, the conference authorized Cardinal Innitzer to remind both the League of Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross about their decisions made with regard to the famine.

Moreover, it was decided that Secretary General Ammende would be delegated to [travel to] the North American countries for a series of lectures with the aim of stimulating an initiative of organizing a general campaign for relief to those starving.

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<sup>i</sup> Was: Innicer. *The same for the entire document.*

<sup>11</sup> Ewald Ammende (1892–1936), PhD., an Estonian German, co-founder of the Association of German Minority Abroad; co-founder and in the years 1925–1936 Secretary General of the European Congress of National Minorities; author of *Human Life in Russia, Muss Russland hungern? Menschen- und Völkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion*; defender of rights of national minorities on the forum of the League of Nations – believed that states should treat minorities with due respect, in accordance with international law, while the minorities should be loyal and respect the state and not be the source of irredentism; publicized the issue of the famine in the USSR in the 1920's and 1930's; believed that Moscow used the national minorities in the neighboring countries to destabilized the situation in those countries; died in China.

Individual speakers pointed to great importance that the voice of America could have with the Soviets on the matter of letting in the relief to those territories struck by the famine and on the use of the great stocks of grain in Canada.

A deeply depressing impression was made by the circulating news on the fact that in Poland and in Germany, due to official policy benefiting the Soviets, the propaganda campaign on aid to those starving was, to a great extent, hindered. It was pointed out that in Germany, for example, it is forbidden even to hold meetings and organize public addresses. The last resolution taken by the conference was that on the recognition of the need to hold a similar conference in the future should the earlier resolutions come into force and bring any positive results.

Following a farewell [address], the members exchanged [contact] addresses and promised to exchange information materials on the state and scale of the famine, with the aim of using those materials in the press in their respective countries. The Ukrainian committees, both national and émigré, resolved in their correspondence prior to the conference that with joint effort, a book will be published in several European languages devoted to the famine and its sources. The émigré committee in Paris declared that it would publish similar texts in the language of those countries where our émigré circles found safe haven.

The Warsaw committee, in the very first days of its operation, decided to publish such book. However, the above project was not carried out due to unfavorable political circumstances<sup>12</sup>.

The committee also proved unable to convince a wider group of Polish citizen to cooperate. However, this was managed by our committees in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France and England. Such a state of affairs was caused by those very political circumstances which so far did not allow, for example, the publishing of an article on the famine in any significant Polish daily.

One of the publishers told us, for example, that the famine is a fairytale constructed in Berlin, and that the Polish society is of a completely different view on the whole matter than we are.

Awaiting a more favorable moment for our propaganda, the Warsaw Committee directs all its efforts to collecting addresses and information on the famine. We pursue a propaganda [campaign] among the émigré circles in Poland to decide on a day of a month that would be devoted to thinking and reminiscing about Ukraine, when a voluntary fast would be observed, and donations of saved money would be given to the international organizations which bring relief to our motherland.

Warsaw, 6 February 1934

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.5559, pp. 150, 159–168.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>12</sup> At a later date, the committee did in fact publish a brochure on the famine in Polish, entitled *Głód na Ukrainie i jego przyczyny* (Warsaw 1934), written by Gleb Łazarewski.

## No. 197

### 11 April 1934, Moscow. Fragment of a report from an official trip to Soviet Ukraine by the Counselor for Commerce with the Polish Embassy in Moscow

<sup>a</sup>-Embassy  
of the Republic of Poland  
in Moscow<sup>a</sup>

Moscow, 11 April 1934

Report by Mr. Jan Łagoda<sup>1</sup> from his official trip to Ukraine, which took place in the period from 1<sup>st</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> of this month

#### Destination and purpose of the trip

As the destination of the trip, the regions that run along the railway from Kiev to Korosten have been chosen, and then further on to Zhytomyr, Berdychiv, Koziatyn, Uman. That is, those administrative regions which, according to numerous data and reports, have suffered from the famine in the winter of 1933/[19]34, and in which the terrible famine of the previous year has brought significant losses of population and livestock. In essence, the aim is to verify on the spot the situation as regards supplies to the people, the state of supply stocks before the harvests, the condition as far as livestock is concerned, the scale of the work in the fields, the state of the sowing and the perspectives for the crops in 1934.

#### General impression

Aiming for direct contact with the people traveling on trains, I made the journey from Kiev to Uman, via Korosten, Berdychiv, Koziatyn, on a 3<sup>rd</sup> class car, overcrowded to the outmost degree. I consider this mode of transport, although extremely burdensome, to be necessary, since there is no other way of getting in direct contact with the common people of the countryside. Traveling on comfort cars and sleeping cars does not yield desired results, as far as making observations, since it is almost exclusively state and party dignitaries, as well as OGPU members, who travel on those cars. As an additional comment, it should be noted that on Ukrainian trains, among the passengers traveling on comfort and sleeping cars, a large percentage of them are the representatives of national minorities. Typically, one may also point out that in those cars one does not hear the Ukrainian language; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> class cars, the so called hard ones, the Ukrainian language is heard only from time to time.

[...]

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>1</sup> Jan Łagoda (born 30 January 1886), contract employee with the MFA; from 16 January 1933 till 1937 Deputy Counselor for Commerce with the Polish Representation in Moscow.

## Supplies

The supplies for the population of the cities in Korosten, Zhytomyr, Koziatyn and Uman are deeply insufficient, the free market is poorly supplied, the sale of potatoes is carried out in small amounts by the piece, as is the sale of beetroots and carrots. I have seen potatoes no larger than a walnut in the market. There is no bread available in free trade, as the state-run commercial stores are the only source of bread supplies. The supplies in the market in Uman are particularly poor. When I was there, in a large market square there were at least 2,000 people walking around for no real reason, as I did not see them buy or sell anything. There are almost no products in the market. Some tree bunches were being sold, some coal wood, a few sacks of barley, a small sack of wheat flour, a few bottles of oil. The prices are very high: for example, potatoes are sold for 25 rb. for a pood, barley for 45 rb., there is almost no fodder. The cost of feeding a cow in Zhytomyr comes to 20–25 rb. per day, the milk is sold at 3 rb. per liter, hence only a really good cow would justify the cost of feeding it. The supplies of fodder to the market have decreased abruptly with the beginning of the field work. The state-run stores have all presently been changed into *univermagi*, with shelves all empty. Formally, the authorities' decree on raising the state commerce to a higher level has been fulfilled. Instead of impoverished stores, there are equally impoverished "univermagy". In essence nothing has changed.

The supplies to the countryside are much worse. The people say that there is almost no bread in the rural areas at all, the salaries in the farming collectives were low, not more than 3kg of grain per day. With a normal state of health, one can work 200 days in the collective and receive 600 kg of grain. This is much more than is needed to feed a working person, yet if one considers the need to support a family, supplying it with even the worst of clothes, shoes, the purchase of wood, kerosene and all the other most basic products, it becomes clear that the countryside population is forced to starve. Those regions with a sugar plant are in the most difficult situation, since the people are forced to plant beets in order to supply the sugar factory while the prices for delivered beets are very low, and they take a long time to settle accounts. As a result, the people view the sugar plant as a true plague which deprives them of the best plots and forces them to work for a loss.

I observed that in the regions I have visited, the villagers are starving. Clearly hungry people are to be found in large numbers; at train stations there are many abandoned children who feed on whatever they can. Not only the eyes of starving children, but also adults are set on those who are having their meal. I counted 23 abandoned children, aged between 5 and 12, at the Uman [train] station.

To buy bread over the past year, the people have gotten rid of all their assets. Presently, the commercial, state-run stores in Kiev, Zhytomyr, and from 1 April in Uman, are the only source of bread. In the cities mentioned above, against Moscow's practice, a single person can purchase more than 1 kg of bread and, in Uman, for example, even an entire loaf. The lines waiting in front of the stores are enormous. There is even an entire group of traders who deal solely with buying

and reselling bread. On the trains, [there are] many people carrying sacks with bread. In those cities which have commercial stores, it is difficult to get on a 3<sup>rd</sup> class car due to the huge mass of people with sacks.

At the present time, with the sale of bread that began in Uman, the crowds have decreased. Before now, the bread had to be bought in Kiev, and a year ago, people would even travel to Leningrad, where in the workers' districts, they would buy bread rations. The people would also travel to N[orth] Caucasus, and even to Baku, to get corn flour. In most cases, trading of bread is carried out by specialized traders who spend the time on trains, at the stations and in the markets. Those new Soviet merchants have a portly physique and are acquainted with the conditions in far-away markets, prices, transporting conditions, ways of paying bribes to the authorities, mainly the railway authorities for a proper treatment on the car, assistance with loading the grain, a place on the bench to sleep, and other privileges which are v[ery] important on a long journey. There are instances in which a single peasant brings up to 10 poods of corn flour. Such a journey usually lasts two weeks. The trade is extremely profitable. Usually, the traders make the following calculation: half of the flour is left to feed their own family and the other half is sold at a profit of 100% with regard to the traveling costs and the value of the entire load of flour. So far, the above mentioned commercial operations bring such a profit.

[...]

#### Conclusions

As a result of those observations, I can state that the hunger in the regions in Right-Bank Ukraine exists on a wide scale. Its intensity increases before the harvests, but it is much less severe than last year, when the authorities could not keep up with burying the dead bodies; <sup>b</sup>the physical state of the people is very weak<sup>b</sup>. Due to that, there has been an epidemic of pernicious influenza which, as was the case in 1918 in the West, is extremely dangerous. A great many people die from influenza. The events of last year's famine have not disappeared from people's memories – in the train cars they only talk of famine. The women are more resistant than men, hence the shortage of men is seen everywhere. One of the traders present on the car bragged about how during the famine, he could burry up to 50 corpses a day. They also talk about cases of <sup>c</sup>cannibalism<sup>c</sup> which took place last year. They are also happening this year. A month ago in some village, a mother killed her two sons and ate them. With a court verdict, she was sentenced to death through poison injection. In the opinion of the Ukrainian population, during last year's famine at least half of the people died. At present, the population has recovered to some extent due to the emigrants from central Russia. Presently, Belarusians from the Mazyr region are resettling in Ukraine, populating the free lands. The state authorities support this migration, offering moral and material assistance to the emigrants and allowing them to sign up with the

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<sup>b-b</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting above an illegible, crossed-out word.*

collectives. In the regions I visited, this year the fields will be sown, although with delay. It is too early to talk about the results of this year's sowing campaign, but the forecasts so far are positive.

clerk Jan Łagoda

*AAN, MSZ, 9513, pp. 200–201, 207–211.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*



## No. 198

Before 25 April 1934, n.p.p. Fragment of the work authored  
by Yevhen Lakhovych entitled “Ukrainian question”

[Translation from English]

[...]

...Russia has presently decided to strike its final blow: to destroy the Ukrainian nation with hunger.

During the famine of 1922, foreign aid committees would often be surprised that the Bolshevik authorities would rarely, if at all, mention the Ukrainian regions struck by the famine... The same is happening this year, only on a much wider scale. It is estimated that in 1933, 6,000,000 Ukrainians died of starvation, and if no one comes to the rescue, 6,000,000 more may die during the winter. It might be so because, despite the unusually good crops this year, a small area has been sown due to shortages of seeds.

The hunger is so terrible that cannibalism has been widespread. Parents eat their children and bury only the bones of the dead. For example, in the village of Zalyvan, out of 3,500 inhabitants, 200 per[sons] have already died. In Zachansk, out of 1,500 per[sons], 700 have died. In Samhorodek, out of 3,000, 800 per[sons] have died. Those villages are located in the Kalynivsky and Koziatynsky Raions<sup>a</sup>.

Ukrainian [parliamentary] deputies from Gali[c]ia, attempted to raise this issue during the last session of the League of Nations. The League undertook to consider the case, [but] in the process, during a separate meeting, transferred it to the International Red Cross, with which the matter ended.

The Soviet government is utterly passive on the issue of undertaking any steps to bring aid. To the contrary, it cynically denies the facts, thus preventing possible aid from the international humanitarian circles.

[...]

[Yevhen Lakhovych<sup>1</sup>]

*HDA SBU, Collection of documents „Famine in the years 1932–1933 in Ukraine.”*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*The date of the document estimated based on the date of sending from the OGPU to the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR. On the margin of the paper, a note: Check the location of those places on the map. Do they neighbor [each other]? Have UVO cells been disclosed there? (–) S. K[arelin].*

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<sup>a</sup> Was: oblasts.

<sup>1</sup> Yevhen Lakhovych (Dmytro Dolovchuk?), (1900–1976); engineer, OUN member; in the 1930's PUN representative in Great Britain, from 1936 temporary representative of the PUN in the USA, Konoalets' emissary to the ODVU.

**No. 199**

**10 June 1934, n.p.p. Extract from a report by Father Hryhory Litvinovich  
from the village of Yaroslavka to the Proskurov Episcopal Curia**

To Proskurov Episcopal Curia  
[from] priest of the Yaroslavka v[illage]  
Hryhory Litvinovich<sup>1</sup>

Report

I most kindly report to the Episcopal Curia and in particular to its head – the Most Revered Vladyka, the Bishop – about my extremely difficult and most hopeless situation in the Yaroslavka parish. I would begin with the spring of the previous year, when the terrible whip – the famine, took almost all of the most respected parishioners to the grave, among them, the entire parish council. After the Holy Trinity holiday, there have been no faithful whatsoever: on Sunday and on holidays, between two and three people, five at most, would show up. As a result, all income of the church, as well as of those at its service, has fallen to a bare minimum.

[...]

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75276-FP, p. 75 (envelope, p. 1).  
Original, handwritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Hryhory Litvinovich (born 1882), priest in the village of Yaroslavka in the Letychivsky Raion of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast. Arrested on 11 February 1935, on 15 May 1935 sentenced by the Special College of the Vinnytsia Oblast Court to eight years in prison; rehabilitated in 1990.

## No. 200

### 23 June 1934, Odessa. Fragment of a special communiqué of the Odessa Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR for the heads of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR regarding a visit to Odessa by the Agricultural Attaché and Military Attaché of the German Embassy

OO 2<sup>nd</sup> Div[ision] 2/6  
189749

<sup>a</sup>-T[op] secret<sup>a</sup>  
Series “K”

<sup>a</sup>-To Dep[uty] Chair[man]-<sup>a</sup> of GPU Ukrainian SSR  
Com. KATSNELSON<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-To Ch[ief]-<sup>a</sup> OO UMD and GPU Ukrainian SSR  
Com. ALEKSANDROVSKY<sup>2</sup>

23 June [19]34

c. Kiev

On the arrival to Odessa of the attaché from the German Embassy in the USSR

On 11 June, from Moscow [...] received the information on the departure from Moscow, in a car, to Odessa of the military attaché NORTE and agricultural attaché of the embassy, SCHILLER Otton.

[...]

Taking advantage of NORTE's trip, SCHILLER joined him on a journey through Ukraine with the very purpose of acquainting himself with [problems in] farming and the state of crops. SCHILLER told BUKHHOLTZ that, judging from those places through which they passed, the crops will be below average and that “those crops can only suffice to feed the producers, but if they will be required to give [a part] to the state, they will be starving.”

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Zinovy Katsnelson (1892–1938), from June 1918 with the VChK; from December 1930 deputy representative of the OGPU for the Moscow Oblast; from March 1933 Chief of the Kharkiv Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from January 1934 Deputy Chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1 April 1937 Deputy Chief of the GULAG of the NKVD of the USSR. Arrested on 17 July 1937, with the verdict of the NKVD Commission, prosecutor of the USSR and Chairman of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, dated 10 March 1938, sentenced to death, shot on the same day; rehabilitated.

<sup>2</sup> Mykhail Aleksandrovsky (born 1898), in the years 1925–1930 Chief of the Zaporizhia Oblast Division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; in the years 1931–1933 assistant to Chief of Special Division of the OGPU; from 21 March till 15 December 1933 Chief of Secret Political Department of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, from 15 December 1933 till 10 July 1934 Chief of Special Division of the UMD and the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 21 December 1936 Chief of the OKR of the NKVD, and from 23 January 1937 Deputy Chief of the Intelligence Directorate of the RKKA. Arrested on 8 July 1937, sentenced in an extraordinary procedure on 15 November 1937 and shot on the same day in Moscow; rehabilitated.

[...]

The driver who drove attaché's car is the embassy chauffer, KURKOV Vasily [...]. KURKOV behaved with restraint. Regarding the car route, he gave evasive responses, yet he told our agent [...] that on the way, they came to villages where they gave material aid to the peasants in need.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Chief of Odessa Oblast Division<sup>a</sup> GPU of the Ukrainian SSR  
(—) LEONIUK

<sup>a</sup>Chief of Special Division<sup>a</sup>  
GRISHYN

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 997-T, pp. 86–91.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 201

**22 July 1934, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding the bad situation in agriculture and the anxieties of the people regarding the next wave of hunger in Ukraine**

Dear Jurek!

Due to personnel changes which are taking place in our area, unfortunately I have not had enough time to prepare the next piece of correspondence for you. Moreover, in the heated time of the harvests, matters of political nature, or ethnic nature to be more precise, have become of secondary importance. Their reflection can, to a certain extent, be seen in the harvesting campaign, which I have more or less touched upon in the consular reports. I can communicate that the suppositions made in the abovementioned reports not only are far from exaggeration, but in fact are made with great caution.

There can not be the slightest doubt that this year, the defeatist mood among the people is much more wide spread than in previous years. Putting aside all private information and referring only to the official press accounts, one truly finds thousands of cases of various misrepresentations, aimed at one thing alone – to hide as much as possible because extremely difficult times are approaching as far as the supplies are concerned. Among others, what serves to prove the state of this year’s sowings is the fact that a number of <sup>a</sup>-spring sows have not survived until the harvests<sup>a</sup> and are presently ploughed again and sown with late millet. This mainly concerns the early oat, barley and vetch.

The cases of theft from the fields have reached a so far unprecedented number. All kinds of “bending” and misinterpreting of the official directives border on artistry.

[...]

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. “Ku”, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*In the top right corner, a receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a date added in handwriting: 26 VII ...4 and a number: 6911/34 N; next to it, on the left side, a handwritten, partially legible note: a/a Ku [...] and illegible initials.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *As in the original.*

## No. 202

### 20 August 1934, Moscow. Communiqué from Agriculture Attaché of the German Embassy in Moscow regarding the situation of food provisions in the Soviet Union

Translation from German

#### <sup>a</sup>Food supply situation in the Soviet Union<sup>a</sup>

As was already transmitted in the previous report, the mortality rate that was observed in 1932 due to hunger has decreased this year, although the food supplies are extremely poor.

<sup>b</sup>In many oblasts, a large part of the population was again starving this year<sup>b</sup>. In many villages there has been no grain since spring. Again one could find surrogate bread. The situation with food supplies in the central Russian oblasts, Moscow and the Central Chernozem Oblasts is particularly bad, worse than in the previous year.

<sup>b</sup>The hunger also struck in the great oblasts of Ukraine<sup>b</sup> and in the Volga [River] regions. In the German villages of the Volga [River] regions, the food supply situation is also extremely severe. However, cases of death from starvation were very rare.

The Germans of the Volga regions do not expect a significant improvement after the next harvests; there are, however, no anxieties about mass deaths from starvation occurring again.

In the autonomous oblasts of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, the situation as far as food supplies was in recent years far better than in the oblasts of southern Russia. Nevertheless, the wave of hunger in 1933 reached North Caucasus and took its toll on the population. In Vladikavkaz, many people who were resettled there have died. Yet overall, in those oblasts, the number of deaths from starvation was far smaller than in other places in the Nor[th] Caucasus because the entire struggle concerned grain, while here it is corn that is primarily planted.

In the Cherkess Republic, entire grain crops have been taken away, and only corn was left for the people.

This year, the situation of food supplies in the autonomous republics is more or less normal. In the southern parts of the Stalingrad Oblast, there are still grain stocks from the previous year in many of the kolkhozy, allowing them to survive until the next year.

Generally, there are still places in the Soviet Union where the people have entered into the spring season with the same <sup>b</sup>limited food stocks<sup>b</sup> as in the hungry year of 1933. The difference comes down to the fact that, first of all, the stocks

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

collected by the remaining part of the population were far greater, and second, the state itself had greater stocks at its disposal.

The starving population found significant relief with <sup>b</sup>the introduction of commercial bread sales<sup>b</sup>. Long queues lined up in front of the stores selling bread. The prices of commercial bread were the same everywhere: dark bread – 1.50 [ruble], regular – 2 r[ubles] and white – 3 rub[les]. In the southern and south-eastern oblasts, commercial bread was sold only in large cities. The sale of commercial bread in small towns was either not introduced or quickly stopped due to shortages in stocks. In those oblasts where, due to bad crops, the market trade was weak, for example in the Transvolga Region, the people living in the countryside would undertake long journeys to buy bread. The Germans from Markstadt in the regions of Volga River, were forced to travel all the way to Saratov to get bread. In those oblasts which had good crops last year, for example in the southern part of the Stalingrad Oblast, <sup>b</sup>the market sale<sup>b</sup> complemented the commercial trade. Many of the *kolkhozy* and *yedinolichniki* were selling their grain surpluses in small bazaars. Compared to the previous year, the prices were <sup>b</sup>relatively low<sup>b</sup>, for exam[ple] in Kotelnikovo (south of Stalingrad), rye flour was sold at 15–20 rub[les] for a pood, and recently it started to be sold at 35–40 rub[les]. In the autonomous oblasts of Nor[th] Caucasus, which always had lower prices, particularly for corn, flour was relatively inexpensive – corn flour 10–15 rub[les], wheat – 50 r[ubles] for a pood. The average prices of flour this year have been as follows: rye flour – 35–40 rub[les] and wheat – 60–70 rub[les] for a pood, while last year a pood of wheat flour would cost more than 100 rubles and, in some places, even up to 250 rub[les].

In one of the government's decisions taken with the desire to justify the increase in bread prices, it was stated that on the free market all prices will be higher. In reality, in many local markets in the oblasts [which] we have already visited, there has been no increase in prices. In the beginning of July, due to the commencement of the harvests, free trade of grain and flour in the markets was forbidden.

If the famine in the Soviet Union has not taken such a catastrophic form this year as in 1933, it is not only due to the development of the commercial and market trade in bread and grain, but also for a different reason, one presented in [my] answer dated 28 April 1934. At this time last year, the victims of hunger were counted by the millions; this year they are counted by the thousands. This year, during my three trips through the oblasts of the European [part of] Russia, I was not able to see a single case of swelling from starvation, not a single dead body of a person who died from hunger, while last year, in some places one could find more people swollen [from starvation] than healthy.

The present year has proven that particular conditions are necessary in this country to take it from a [state of] usual hunger [before the harvests] to mass deaths. Even in the case of bad crops, to reach that state, a particularly severe directive would be required from the Soviet institutions which have the capabilities to prevent such atrocities with relatively small means. If it should not be assumed that the government incited the famine intentionally, in any case, it can be claimed that consciously or by disregarding the consequences, it did not undertake all the steps that it could to prevent the mass deaths.

The belligerent attitude that the government showed in 1933 has disappeared this year. A victory has been gained by the government, the peasant brought to his knees. And already this year, an example can be given that in all the oblasts in need, the government is offering assistance, giving corn, millet, peas, etc. to the kolkhozy. Thus, on top of the support that the people have received with commercial sales, they have also direct, although not individual, assistance from the government. The deaths from starvation occurring in 1933, which are questioned only by the official organs, have been impressed in the consciousness of the people as a one-time incident.

The crops in 1934 are not so bad as to expect the catastrophe of 1933 to be repeated, yet the geographic distribution of the crops is not favorable. Over almost the whole of Ukraine and in some regions of Russia, the crops are so bad that after the *khlebosdacha*, the people will not have enough grain to sustain them at the bare minimum. Permanent system of a strict quota per hectare does not allow for balancing [the shortages] at the moment of *khlebosdacha*. Thus, the oblasts that have had bad crops are entirely at the mercy of the government.

In the previous year, the Soviet government <sup>b</sup>increased the state grain stocks<sup>b</sup>. It should be expected that in the coming year, it will have great stocks at its disposal. This means that the sale of commercial bread will reach even greater quantities throughout the next year, and that, as was the case this year, the individual kolkhozy in need [of assistance] will receive grain credits. Those starving cannot [however] count on individual assistance. This year, there are so many oblasts with bad crops that <sup>b</sup>next year, one should also expect – especially in Ukraine – hunger, but on a normal scale<sup>b</sup>. Not only the *yedinolichniki*, but also the kolkhozniki in those oblasts who do not have a cow or have to support a family will suffer many hardships. Those German settlers in Ukraine and the Volga Region who have suffered from bad crops and have no stocks from the previous year will also share the fate of those starving. But even if in individual oblasts of the Soviet Union there will be hunger next year, and maybe even deaths from starvation which, in Ukraine, might be on a larger scale than in 1934, after the experiences of this year, one can expect that a catastrophe of such magnitude as in [19]33 should not happen again in [19]35.

Moscow, 20 August [19]34

Signed SCHILLER

<sup>a</sup>Translated from German: Translator<sup>a</sup>  
KIGLER

<sup>a</sup>In conformity:  
Chief of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Department of Special Division UNKVD  
Lieutenant of State Security<sup>a</sup> (—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 11, pp. 21–24.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*



## No. 203

### 13 October 1934, Kiev. Fragment of an operational comparison by the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR regarding the opinions of the Polish Consul General on the economic situation in the Ukrainian SSR

Dr[aft] comp[arison] [no.] 263  
For 13 October [19]34  
(Pol[ish] Consulate Gen[eral])

[...]

§ 14. Vice-Consul KURNITSKY departed [for the period] at an urgent call to Moscow until 14 October. Before departing, he ordered a competent commission to be established to take over the cemetery of Polish soldiers. The commission was summoned for 12 October at 1 p.m. Consul General KARSZO-SIEDLEWSKI<sup>a</sup> went with the commission, departing at 12 and 24 m[inutes].

After an hour, a following conversation took place: “Look, how many »Gastronom« shops have been opened in town. It must be for the better. However, where is the *Torgsin*? In my opinion, the people now do not have gold, which has already [been] taken in various [ways], by whatever means, and they are now looking for Sov[iet] money. I am surprised at one more thing, that your government needs hard currency so badly. Where will they get it from now?”

The newspapers write that Riga has been spreading rumors about your currency, and perhaps it is the truth. People come to me for help, arguing that they have not received their salaries for months. Somehow, your communism is not doing so well and you are making huge steps backward in everything. For example in collegiality, introducing single [person] leadership. Here it comes out in such a way that all communists are chiefs and everyone seeks a comfortable job, but later one cannot give a hoot about the idea.”

“A week ago, I was sitting in a gallery in the opera, next to me a GPU general with three diamonds [on his shoulder board]. Listen, in my country, a bourgeois would envy his figure, his physique and the seriousness of sitting in a gallery with the entire family. Where are your slogans? Hunger everywhere, 10–15% live [well]. Why the demagoguery? I myself am no less a democrat, I do not like the magnates and sympathize with the poor.”

[...]

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 65, Spr. S-1047, p. 230.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup> Was: KARSZY-SIEDLEWSKI.

## No. 204

18 November 1934, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the “East” Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff comprising, among others, a description of the unrest caused by the famine in the Kiev Oblast and the Chernihiv region

18 November<sup>a</sup> [19]34

Dear Jurek!

[...]

And now some information on the internal situation.

It is characteristic that in the Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv Oblasts, a second threshing of straw has begun, already threshed hastily in August. The meager amounts of grain received from that operation are to serve as food supplies for the members of the collectives. All potato fields are also dug up again by the people for their own needs. I have seen it personally on a number of occasions. It is by no means an exaggeration that in many of the kolkhozy, instead of the owed grams or kilo[grams] for the carried out *trudodens*, 50 kop[eks] are paid for a day’s work, since the grain reserved for it was used by the cooperatives to purchase grain. Due to a forced cleaning out of grain in the countryside, as well as due to the vigorous repression and “cleansing” decrees caused by the oncoming elections, in several places of the Kiev Oblast (near Boryspil) and in the Chernihiv region (near the Bobryk tr[ain] st[ation]) quite large peasant unrest took place; thus an armored train was brought in, comprising the engine and five cars, which spent around four days near Boryspil and an entire week near Bobryk. The unrest took the form, among others, of blowing up train bridges. Hence, two trains with rail tracks were brought in, loaded up in the military warehouses in “sapper’s field” in Pechersk. As far as the participation of<sup>b</sup> other military units in the pacification, apart from the armored train, I have received no information<sup>c</sup>.

N. Nalewajko

18 November 1934

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. “Ku”, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

*Above the text, a receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a date added in handwriting: 22 XI ...4 and a number: 7924/34 N; in the top left corner, a handwritten note: a/a Ku and illegible initials; under the text, added in handwriting: 4 [?] letters have been sent as registered mail on 29 XI and 30 XI [19]34. J. Lussand (Lassand?).*

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<sup>a</sup> *Was:* September

<sup>b</sup> *Crossed-out in typewriting:* those.

<sup>c</sup> *Crossed-out in typewriting:* whatsoever.

## No. 205

### 3 December 1934, Odessa. Fragment of a protocol of interrogation of a parish priest from the village of Landau, Anton Gofman, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

On 3 December 1934, representative of the Special Division of the UGB of the Odessa Oblast Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR SHTERENBERG carried out an interrogation of the accused cit[iz]en GOFMAN Anton Ivanovych<sup>1</sup>, who provided the following personal information:

GOFMAN Anton Ivanovych, born in 1897 in the v[illage of] Leitersgauer in the Halbstadtsky<sup>b</sup> Raion, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, in a family of middle-sized farmers, citizen of the Ukrainian SSR, secondary clerical education, German, unmarried, unaccounted in military records, clergyman by profession. Place of service – superior of the Roman Catholic parish in the v[illage of] Landau. By oral account, he does not have a criminal record nor was covered by an investigation, n/p, is not a member of a lab[or] union. Address: v[illage of] Landau in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky R[aio]n, soc[ial] and polit[ical] past – middle-sized farmer, from 1921 has served as priest.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Did you receive material assistance from abroad and from whom?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I did. The first money was transferred from Germany in my name at the end of August or at the beginning of September 1933.

At the same time, money was also sent to my colleagues: Fathers KELLER<sup>2</sup>, TAUBERGER<sup>3</sup> and the rest. Later, at various times, I received four transfers from persons unknown to me, some SUNKE, MÜLLER and oth[er]s, as well as two transfers from the Swiss Red Cross, known as international.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Did the parishioners from your parish receive aid from Germany?

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *Was: Halbsadt.*

<sup>1</sup> Anton Gofman (born 1897), parish priest of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Landau, in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky Raion, Odessa Oblast. Arrested on 3 December 1934, sentenced by the Odessa Oblast Court on 28 April 1935 to 10 years in prison; rehabilitated in 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Mykhail Keller (born 1897), parish priest of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Speier, in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky Raion, Odessa Oblast. Arrested in 1934, sentenced by the Odessa Oblast Court on 19 May 1935 to 10 years in prison; rehabilitated in 1972.

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Tauberger (born 1890), parish priest of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Karlsruhe, in the Karl-Liebknichtovsky Raion, Odessa Oblast. Arrested on 28 November 1934, sentenced by the Odessa Oblast Court on 28 April 1935 to 10 years in prison; rehabilitated in 1992.

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, parishioners from my parish also received aid from Germany.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Did you happen to discuss this matter with the parishioners?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: Individual persons came to me for advice on how to write and about the address of the fascist aid committees in order to appeal to Germany or some oth[er] country. I remember that I was approached by BART Rafail, organist and WALTER Yosif, member of the kolkhoz, guard.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Why are you hiding the fact that on 11 November in the v[illage of] Speier, while participating in a church holiday, you discussed the letters of LAMBOY and GOFAUF I. to KELLER M., in which they pointed out the possible aid for Catholics in the USSR and advised the Catholic clergy to support the people in getting the aid?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: I do not remember the fact of having discussed that matter and in my presence it was not discussed. I avoided discussing those matters.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How do you explain the fact that, together with your colleagues, you were afraid to discuss the issue of aid? Perhaps you did not trust your colleagues?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: No, I did not think it to be necessary and avoided it because I had my own line of action.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How do you then explain the warning given to you by Prelate KRUSHYNSKY<sup>4</sup>?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: KRUSHYNSKY had no idea about the priests' attitudes towards aid and thus, apart from others, he warned me.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Did you and others inform Prelate KRUSHYNSKY about cases of people leaving the parish?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, some three weeks ago I was in Speier and I informed KRUSHYNSKY about the fact that a number of parishioners were leaving Landau. KRUSHYNSKY informed me that the same was also true for Speier. I did not tell KRUSHYNSKY about the reasons for departure.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How do you explain the cases of people leaving?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: The people were leaving in search of work because of the difficult material situation.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How many families left Landau?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: About 60 families.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How do you know that?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: Most of them came to church before their departure asking for absolution and left after confession.

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<sup>4</sup> Yosif Krushynsky (born 1865), Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church and Vicar General of the Roman Catholic Diocese in southern Ukraine. Arrested in 1934, sentenced by the Odessa Oblast Court on 28 April 1935 to special resettlement in Caucasus for the period of 10 years. With the decision of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, of 29 May 1935, the place of settlement was changed for Kazakhstan; rehabilitated in 1992.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Tell us, how did you help the holders of the German War Loan in cashing it?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: The German War Loan was distributed by the command of the German occupying forces in 1917. It aimed to collect material means to sustain the occupation. It was primarily the rich who held the German War Loan. At the end of 1932, I was approached by BERNGARDT's wife, who asked me to issue a certificate of her husband's death so as to transfer the loan onto her name. I issued such a certificate. Some time after that, I was approached by GOFF Anton, [his] soc[ial] status is not known to me, I know that he does not live in his house, with a request to certify his identity so as to cash the loan. I did so.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Why did those persons come to you, since the local authorities can issue such certificates and certify their identity?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: In the communication from the consul [sent] to the name of the loan holder, it was stated that certificates issued by the local authorities and the signature of the [parish] priest are equally valuable, hence the persons turned to me.

I learned from KELLER that he personally, as well as TAUBERGER, offered support to the holders of the loan in selling the loan, certifying their signatures. KELLER believed that it was allowed to help the owners in cashing in the loan owned by them.

The protocol has been taken down in truth, read to me, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

GOFMAN Anton

<sup>a</sup>Interrogated by: Representative<sup>a</sup> OO UGB  
(—) SHTERENBERG

<sup>a</sup>Present Prosecutor<sup>a</sup> of the K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky R[aio]n  
SHRON

<sup>a</sup>In conformity<sup>a</sup>:

*HDA SBU, Mykolaiv, Spr. 12926-S, T. 3, pp. 261–267.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 206

### 7 December 1934, Odessa. Protocol of interrogation of a parish priest from the village of Landau, Anton Gofman, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

On 7 December 1934, representative of the Special Division of the UGB of the Odessa Oblast Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR SHTERENBERG carried out an interrogation of the accused cit[iz]en GOFMAN Anton Ivanovych, who testified as follows:

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How do you know about the activities of Fathers KELLER, TAUBERGER and LORAN regarding the organization of “Nazi aid”?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: It is from personal conversations with them that I know about the activities of Fathers KELLER, TAUBERGER and LORAN. For example, in June of this year, I do not remember precisely where it was, KELLER told me that he wrote to Germany for aid for the parishioners from his parish and generally assisted with acquiring aid. A little later, I was told about the same thing by LORAN and TAUBERGER. Again I do not remember the places of the conversations, they could have been during my visit to LORAN’s and TAUBERGER’s or perhaps at my home. In any case, the fact that the abovementioned persons were engaged in organizing “Nazi aid” in their parishes – that is certain.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Tell us, in 1933 were there cases of deaths in Landau, several people dying in a single day?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, there were cases when two people would die in a single day, and at times even three.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: What cause of death did you register in your records?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: In my records I noted down several cases of death from starvation; I judge that out of 130 cases of death in 1933, around 50 people died due to shortages of food.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How did the funerals proceed on those days, when two to three people died in a single day?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: On those days when two to three people died in a single day, I sent cantors [with the funeral procession] with the deceased. I also walked the deceased. All bodies were brought to the cemetery, where I buried them one after the other.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: How did you determine the cause of death from starvation?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: I determined the cause of death from starvation through my own observations.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: To whom did you report the number of deaths?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: I reported the number of deaths at the end of the year to Prelate KRUSHYNSKY.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: What cause for the increased mortality rate in 1933 did you put down in your report?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I gave no cause behind the mortality rate in the report. In 1932, 40–42 people died in my parish; in 1933, 130 people. In conversations with my colleagues, we informed each other about the significant increase in the mortality rate and there was a conviction among us that over-the-average mortality rate in 1933, as compared to the previous [year], was related to the shortages of food.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Did all of the priests report the mortality rates [in their parishes] to KRUSHYNSKY?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, in the yearly report, all priests gave the number of deaths, among other information.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Based on that, was KRUSHYNSKY able to determine the increase in mortality rate in 1933, as compared to 1932, for the entire raion?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, for the Catholic parishes.

The protocol has been read to me, taken down in truth from my words, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

GOFMAN Anton

<sup>a</sup>Interrogated by: Representative<sup>a</sup> OO  
(—) SHTERENBERG

<sup>a</sup>In conformity<sup>a</sup>: (—)

*HDA SBU, Mykolaiv, Spr. 12926-S, T. 3, pp. 274–275.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 207

### 25 December 1934, Odessa. Fragment of a protocol of interrogation of a parish priest from the village of Speier, Mykhail Keller, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

On 25 December 1934, representative of the Special Unit of the UGB of the Odessa Oblast Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR SHTERENBERG carried out an interrogation of the accused cit[iz]en KELLER Mykhail Yakovlevych, who testified as follows:

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Did you appeal to the consulate for means of “aid” for the parishioners?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, I did appeal in April 1934 through my sister SHAFR Vera, liv[ing] in Odessa at 21 Shchepkin St., to the German Consulate in Odessa with a request for aid for some of the parishioners in need and in ill health, whose names I have given earlier.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Why did you turn to the consulate for help?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I knew from the parishioners that the consulate was offering aid directly to those Germans in need.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: How many people died in your parish in 1933?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I registered 256 dead in 1933.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Were there cases of several people dying in a single day and how did you bury the dead then?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: There were cases that three or four per[sons] died in a single day, I remember one time when eight people died. On that day, I buried all eight deceased in a single grave. When three to four people would die in a single day, I buried them during a single funeral.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Describe generally, through what channels did you bring in aid to your parish?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: One letter with that aim, that is, to organize aid, I sent with requests for 13 people to LAMBOY in Germany. For the same 13 people, I sent an identical letter to GOPFAUF Monika in Germany. I requested aid to the parishioners with NADOLSKY – some secretary in America at the address which was given to me at my request by Prelate KRUSHYNSKY.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*



At the beginning of 1934, I received 40 marks form the German Consulate in Odessa for the purpose which I have transmitted in writing through my sister SHAFF<sup>b</sup> Vera.

The protocol has been taken down in truth, read to me, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

M. KELLER

The interrogation began at 11 in the morning, and ended at 3:30 in the afternoon.

<sup>a</sup>Interrogated by: Representative<sup>a</sup> OO  
(—) SHTERENBERG

<sup>a</sup>In conformity<sup>a</sup>: (—)

*HDA SBU, Mykolaiv, Spr. 12926-S, T. 3, pp. 237–239.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b</sup> *As in the original. Earlier: SHAFR.*

## No. 208

### 30 December 1934, Odessa. Fragment of a protocol of interrogation of a parish priest from the village of Sultz, Rafail Loran, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

F. No. 24-USO

<sup>a</sup>-Protocol of interrogation of the accused<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>-On<sup>a</sup> 30 December <sup>a</sup>-193<sup>a</sup>-4, <sup>a</sup>-representative<sup>a</sup> of the K[arl]-Liebknechtovsky <sup>a</sup>-Rai[on] (Municip[al]) Division<sup>a</sup> of the Odessa <sup>a</sup>-Obl[ast]<sup>a</sup> Directorate of the NKVD, Volfovich, <sup>a</sup>-interrogated the accused<sup>a</sup>

- <sup>a</sup>-1. Surname, first name and *otchestvo*<sup>a</sup>: Loran Rafail Mikhaylovich
- <sup>a</sup>-2. Age<sup>a</sup>: [born in] 1872
- <sup>a</sup>-3. Place of birth<sup>a</sup>: farm[stead] Rozhkovate in the Mykolaivsky Raion
- <sup>a</sup>-4. Social status<sup>a</sup>: Kulak
- <sup>a</sup>-5. Material status<sup>a</sup>: –
- <sup>a</sup>-6. Citizenship<sup>a</sup>: Ukrainian SSR
- <sup>a</sup>-7. Education<sup>a</sup>: finished a R[oman] C[atholic] clerical seminary in the city of Saratov
- <sup>a</sup>-8. Nationality<sup>a</sup>: German
- <sup>a</sup>-9. Family status<sup>a</sup>: –
- <sup>a</sup>-10. Military rank<sup>a</sup>: –
- <sup>a</sup>-11. Occupation<sup>a</sup>: priest
- <sup>a</sup>-12. Place of work and position or type of work<sup>a</sup>: parish priest of the Rom[an] C[atholic] church in the village of Sultz
- <sup>a</sup>-13. Information on criminal record and investigations against<sup>a</sup>: was tried for beating children in church in 1928, the case was dismissed by the court.
- <sup>a</sup>-14. Party membership<sup>a</sup>: n/p
- <sup>a</sup>-15. Membership in lab[or] union<sup>a</sup>: no
- <sup>a</sup>-16. Exact address<sup>a</sup>: v[illage of] Sultz
- <sup>a</sup>-17. Social and political past<sup>a</sup>: Kulak

In the course of interrogation, the accused testified as follows:

Question: Describe your work unrelated to the church.

Answer: I was engaged in organizing aid from Germany for the German people living in the village of Sultz in the Karl-Liebknechtovsky Raion.

Question: For whom did you write the letters of request for aid from Germany?

Answer: I wrote the letters regarding the aid from Germany for the following persons: Berngardt Yekaterina and Ivan, Fiks Frants and Francisco [Francisca?]

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> Printed form.

(orphans), Kupper Ludmila, Yakov and Monika, Eli (widow), Scherer Yelizaveta, Veber Yosif, Lepert Ignat, presently working in the village of Speier operating churn, Veber Ivan, Shaal (widow), Tomas Emilia and for her mother, Keller Yekaterina, Fiks Rafail and Ivan (brothers), Eli Martin, widow Nakhbauer. For Eli Mark, I wrote only the address, and for many other people whose names I can not recall at the moment, and about whom I will give supplementary testimony.

Question: Where do those people mentioned above work?

Answer: Those people mainly work in the kolkhoz.

Question: Describe the content of those letters written and sent by you to Germany on behalf of the cit[iz]ens listed by you?

Answer: The contents of the letters came down to the statement that they are in need, starving and requesting aid; the letters were mailed at the post, both in the village of Sultz and in the city of Mykolaiv.

Question: Did you personally receive aid from Germany and if so, from whom?

Answer: Yes, I received aid from Germany more or less eight or nine times, each time from 8–10–12–15 marks; who sent me this aid from Germany, I cannot remember.

Question: From what organizations, apart from Germany, did you personally receive transfers, of what amounts and for what purpose?

Answer: I personally received transfers for the amount of 25 dollars from the editor of an American newspaper “Stadt-Anzeiger”, some Nadolsky, with the purpose of distributing it among those in need as I see fit.

[...]

Question: Were mass graves prepared during the food shortages in the spring of 1933?

Answer: Yes. In the spring of 1933 mass graves holding five to six people in a single grave were prepared (women together with men), also with children.

Question: How many people died in your parish in 1933?

Answer: Some 200 people died in 1933.

Question: To whom did you pass the information on the number of deceased in your parish in 1933?

Answer: I passed the information on the number of deceased in 1933 to Prelate Krushynsky at the end of the year, that is, I informed him in writing, in line with the procedures applicable on this matter.

The protocol has been taken down in truth, read to me, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

(—) Loran Rafail

Present: Rai[on] Prosecutor

(—) Shtrok

Interrogated by: (—) Volfovich

*HDA SBU, Mykolaiv, Spr. 12926-S, T. 3, pp. 313–315 v.*  
*Original, handwritten on a form.*  
*Document in Russian.*

## No. 209

### After 1934, n.p.p. Fragment of a police communication on the activities pursued by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1933 with respect to the day of Ukrainian national mourning

<sup>a-b-c</sup>Communication<sup>-c-b</sup> No. 7<sup>a</sup>  
on the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists  
in the years 1932–1933 and 1934

<sup>a-c</sup>Part II<sup>-c-a</sup>  
OUN activities in 1933  
[...]

<sup>a</sup>Day of Mourning<sup>a</sup>

In response to the information of the famine in the USSR, a Civic Committee for Relief to Ukraine, which planned to organize a day of mourning on 29 October 1933 was organized in Lviv in 1933.

In the Lviv Voivodeship, the day of mourning passed peacefully. Rare services were conducted. In some of the Greek Catholic churches, collections were organized on behalf of the starving in Ukraine. Meetings were equally rare. In Lviv, despite the nine meetings announced by the UNDA<sup>d</sup>, none took place. In several places in the Zhovkva and Yavoriv dist[ri]cts, attempts were made at hanging mourning flags. On the occasion of the day of mourning, an attempt was made at distributing OUN flyers near one of the Greek Catholic churches in Lviv. Two people distributing [the flyers] were detained with a stack of flyers.

[...]

*DAVO, F. 1, Op. 2, Spr. 125, pp. 64, 115–116.*  
*Copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

<sup>b-b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in wide letter-spacing.*

<sup>d</sup> *As in the original.*

## No. 210

### Beginning of 1935, Kiev. Fragment of a communiqué of People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR Vsevolod Balytsky for Secretary General of the CC AUCP(b) Joseph Stalin regarding repression towards the inhabitants of German settlements

<sup>a</sup>In the course of implementing directives of the CC AUCP(b), the organs of the NKVD of Ukraine have arrested <sup>b</sup>six hundred twenty<sup>b</sup> disclosed leaders, organizers and active members of the German fascist underground in the German ethnic raions and colonies<sup>a</sup>.

Those arrested, in great majority Kulaks (65%), <sup>b</sup>sectarians, German clergy and other counterrevolutionary church activists<sup>b</sup> (20%); in the testimony given during the investigation revealed <sup>b-c</sup>active, counterrevolutionary, nationalistic, spying and destructive activities<sup>c-b</sup>, carried out with great determination on a wide scale directly <sup>c</sup>by foreign <sup>b</sup>fascist organizations<sup>b-c</sup> and their network of agents on our territories in <sup>b</sup>the form of German Consulates<sup>b</sup>.

The materials [collected in the course] of the investigation prove that the activities of fascists in German ethnic raions and colonies were principally directed at:

1. Forming a <sup>b-c</sup>counterrevolutionary, nationalist base<sup>c-b</sup> by recruiting <sup>c</sup>fascist staff<sup>c</sup>, not only of German nationality, but also Polish, Czech and other, <sup>b</sup>with the aim of [providing] a safeguard for HITLER's plans in the case of war and intervention<sup>b</sup>.
2. Anti-Soviet propaganda, as well as distribution of provocative information and rumors on the USSR <sup>c</sup>abroad<sup>c</sup>.
3. Counterrevolutionary, destructive and sabotage work in the <sup>b</sup>kolkhozy<sup>b</sup>.
4. Terror.

#### I

#### <sup>b</sup>Activities of foreign fascist organizations and German Consulates in Ukraine<sup>b</sup>

With the aim of ensuring <sup>b</sup>wide-scale financing of fascist agent networks<sup>b</sup> in Ukraine, foreign fascist organizations <sup>b</sup>recruit special<sup>b</sup> <sup>c-d</sup>professional<sup>d-c</sup> personnel, to whom they transfer <sup>b</sup>significant sums of money<sup>b</sup> directly from abroad under the pretext of the so called "Nazi aid", paying the most belligerent and loyal groups and c-r individuals generously.

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<sup>a-a</sup> Underlined in handwriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>c-c</sup> Underlined in typewriting.

<sup>d-d</sup> Written in wide letter-spacing.

With this money, the German fascists are acquiring sympathy from the Kulaks for Nazi Germany, attracting the particularly impertinent, <sup>b</sup>most <sup>c</sup>angry elements from among the remains of the routed Russian White Army circles, as well as [the individuals representing the] Ukrainian and Polish counterrevolutionary nationalism<sup>c-b</sup>, putting together fascist corps and their own nationalist base.

One of the arrested leaders of the fascist movement in the German colonies of the Dnipropetrovsk region, VARKENTIN David, testifies on the matter as follows:

“...In 1933, after the Nazi coup in Germany, a wide-scale, anti-Soviet campaign was triggered, aimed at creating in Ukraine <sup>b-c</sup>a nationalist base in case of its detachment by fascist Germany<sup>c-b</sup>. With that aim in Germany, in a relatively short period of time a whole number of »charity associations« were organized, systematically providing material support for the German population in the USSR. They include: »<sup>b</sup>Central Committee for Aid to Germans in Russia«, the association »Brothers in Need«, the organization »Fast and Brilliant<sup>b-c</sup>« and others.”

In the Polish ethnic raion of Marchlewszczyzna in the Kiev Oblast, we have uncovered an agent of the German Consulate in Kiev, a German citizen, ADAM David, ordered by the consulate to carry out active work [in] fascist [spirit] among the counterrevolutionary elements of the Polish and Ukrainian population. A German BORTS, arrested by us, earlier recruited by ADAM, gave the following testimony during an interrogation:

“...David ADAM made me understand the importance of carrying out [the activities] among <sup>b</sup>as many people as possible, and at the same time explained that, according to the guidelines received by him from the consulate, the [above] mentioned work should be carried out not only among Germans, but also among the Polish and Ukrainian population<sup>b</sup>.”

The Russian Orthodox clergy was also engaged in the activities of German fascists:

“...A Russian Orthodox priest from the v[illage of] Novo-Bogdanovka in the Melitopolsky Raion, GULY Dmytry was also among the persons writing to the various nationalist organizations in Germany.”

The Orthodox priest GULY praised HITLER and the German government, which – according to his statement – helps those in need, not only Germans, but also the Russian population.” (Testimony of the arrest[ed] KORNELZON Karolina).

In the first half of 1934, the most active German fascist <sup>a</sup>elements in Ukraine were dealt a great blow. A number of German<sup>a</sup> spying and sabotage groups [active] in industry were destroyed, counterrevolutionary, nationalist German formations and groups were uncovered and eradicated, repression was undertaken with regard to the fascist activists in German ethnic raions and colonies, Lutheran clergy was crushed, several important people [working for the] German intelligence were expelled from the Soviet Union, and overall, <sup>a</sup>1,193 per[sons]<sup>a</sup> were arrested in Ukraine.

As a result of our repression and operational undertakings, foreign fascist centers and their agent networks in Ukraine are beginning to <sup>b-c</sup>keep their work secret with particular thoroughness, hiding themselves and all their activities are being taken deep underground<sup>c-b</sup>.

The fundamental work carried out by the fascists <sup>b</sup>is moving from Germany<sup>b</sup> <sup>c-d</sup>to other countries<sup>d-c</sup>: <sup>b</sup>Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Sweden, Canada, Switzerland, Holland, Romania, Denmark, India, Brazil<sup>b</sup>, and even to a number of countries with friendly <sup>a</sup>attitude towards the USSR – <sup>b</sup>France, America<sup>b</sup> and oth[ers]. The agent network of German fascists<sup>a</sup> in those countries shows extraordinary activeness, sending to Ukraine and the German colonies thousands of letters with a call to write [with requests] <sup>a</sup>“for aid”, to write “about the hunger and poverty among the German population”<sup>a</sup>; the provocative letters they receive are used both as “documents about the situation in the Soviet Union” to set the public opinion in European countries against the USSR and to send significant sums of money for financing their agent networks in Ukraine.

Characteristic is the testimony of an arrested leader of German sectarian communities in the Kiev region who was carrying out important fascist activities, SHMIDT Reinhold:

“...The leader of our community received a letter from a Baptist preacher in Germany, ROLLENDER, in which the latter wrote: »<sup>b</sup>The more you write to us about the hunger and poverty, the sooner and more money you will receive<sup>b</sup>«.”

In the m[onth]s of November and December 1934, 11,123 letters were discovered with anti-Soviet contents, sent to various foreign countries from German ethnic raions in Ukraine by Germans alone.

During a search conducted on those Germans arrested for c-r activities, [we] confiscated more than <sup>a-b</sup>four hundred<sup>b</sup> foreign addresses<sup>a</sup> of fascist organizations and individual persons working against the USSR to which anti-Soviet information was systematically sent.

<sup>a-b</sup>Numbers<sup>b</sup> regarding the amounts<sup>a</sup> of money sent by foreign fascist organizations show the following [information]:

During 11 months in 1934 <sup>a</sup>417,794 rub[les]<sup>a</sup> at gold value were sent to Ukraine from Germany through the *Torgsin*. In the same period in 1933, transfers for 390,000 rub[les] in gold were made from Germany through all channels to the whole of USSR. Moreover, it should be stated in more precise terms that the abovementioned sum of money incoming from Germany in 1934 does not include the money transfers from German fascist organizations in America, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Switzerland and many other countries.

<sup>c</sup>Also particularly characteristic is the following data: in the Pulinsky (German eth[nic]) Raion of the Kiev region, where from the total number of <sup>c-2</sup>2,892<sup>c</sup> German and Polish farms – <sup>c-2,996</sup>2,996<sup>c</sup> German – 3,892 farms received the so called

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Fragment written in an unclear manner, with imprecise calculations. Probably should be 5888 Polish and German farms in total.*



“Nazi aid”, or 129% of the overall number of German population. Thus, 29%<sup>b</sup>-Polish population of the raion is paid by the German fascist agent net-work<sup>b-c</sup>.

Foreign fascist organizations have also initiated a wide-scale paying of significant sums of money to the so called <sup>b-c</sup>holders of the German War Loan<sup>c-b</sup> – the powerful German Kulak circles from which the basic staff of the German fascism in our territories recruits.

[...]

German Consulates in Ukraine begin to conduct their entire counterrevolutionary, nationalist, destructive activities exclusively through their agent networks – mainly the clergy and trusted persons from among the Kulaks, organizing mass-scale sending of provocative letters abroad and recruiting people for counterrevolutionary and destructive work.

“...Secretary of the Kiev [based German] Consulate, BAUN, gave me the following guidelines:

a) Instill [in the people] the conviction of impermanence of the existing system in the Soviets and its nearing overthrow in Ukraine.

b) Mold the colonists in the anti-Soviet spirit and strengthen them in their loyalty to Germany.

c) Popularize, in connection with that activity, the assistance shown by the German state to those Germans living in Ukraine. Pursue propaganda campaigns of requesting aid from the consulate, as well as enlisting, through one’s own resources, persons for that aid.”

“...The Kiev Consul HENCKE stated that the persons who conduct the enlisting for aid are considered to be our people [that is, with ties to Germany] and <sup>b</sup>should the German occupation of Ukraine still be delayed for some time, the latter will be recognized as German citizens and will be allowed to depart for Germany<sup>b</sup>.” (Testimony of the arrest[ed] agent of the Kiev [based German] Consulate, KLITZE Herbert).

German Consulates use the mass visits and contacts with the German Kulaks to pursue a <sup>b-c</sup>counterrevolutionary campaign and the spreading of provocative rumors<sup>c-b</sup>. At the same time, guidelines are issued with regard to withholding emigration, aimed at <sup>c-b-c</sup>settling in Ukraine, which will be German<sup>c-b</sup>.”

The arrested fascist agent, BIRKLEYN, testifies:

“...The former landowner LINKE, who returned from exile and visited the German Embassy in Moscow, stated that in the embassy, he was told the following: »<sup>b</sup>why are you to leave Ukraine for Germany, <sup>c</sup>when in two or three months Ukraine will be German and you will live in Ukraine just as you would in Germany<sup>c</sup>. You also do not have to receive the money from Germany for the war loan because very soon you will receive it in Ukraine<sup>b-c</sup>«.”

## II

### <sup>b</sup>Anti-Soviet campaign<sup>b</sup>

F[ormer] Kulaks who have remained in German colonies, heading the fascist agent networks [and] paid by the foreign fascist organizations, carried out a wide-scale anti-Soviet campaign and spread provocative rumors. In their testimony, the arrested Kulaks admit that their activities were the direct result of the decision [to] actively fight by all means against the Soviet authorities.

“...After being dekulakized, my hostility toward the Soviet authorities increased and I looked for ways to freedom, believing that the only path was the accession of Ukraine to Germany. I believed that we, the German colonists, will be freed from the Bolsheviks by means of overthrowing the Soviet government, which is only possible through war between Germany and the Soviet Union, the separation of Ukraine from Russia and its accession to Germany.” (Testimony of the arrested KORNELZON).

[Based on the] testimony and documents, it was determined that the Kulaks were sending enormous amounts of letters abroad, with exaggerations about “the atrocities of hunger and poverty” among the German population.

“...We lead a life of slaves here. <sup>b</sup>We fared well only when there were German armies in Ukraine<sup>b</sup>. From the time they left, we have had no peace here. Let the workers there, in Germany, not incite the revolution because they will regret it. Let Germany be the way it is now.”

“... <sup>b</sup>There is a great hunger, the collectives – they are the doom of the Soviet government. Woe betides this country where the red dragon has appeared. We suffer greatly under this oppression. Why don’t other nations free us from these bandits?<sup>b</sup>”

[...]

<sup>c-d</sup>The children<sup>d-c</sup> were also used by the fascist agent networks to pursue counterrevolutionary activities by spreading slandering rumors.

In many cases, letters reading the following have been put down in the protocol.

“I am still very young and go to school. My parents are ill from hunger; they are swollen already. Have pity on us, we are hungry, naked and have bare feet.”

The fascist agents have used Kulak <sup>d</sup>women<sup>d</sup> on a wide scale as part of the anti-Soviet campaign.

“...I pursued my anti-Soviet activities closely in line with my nationalist work, preparing the German population for the coming of the Germans to Ukraine.”

“...I was convincing the kolkhoz women that the policies pursued by the Soviet authorities have intentionally ruined the countryside. I made strong statements among the kolkhoz women against all undertakings of the government, primarily by stressing [the need] to break the *khlebosdacha* campaign. It is difficult for me to list the names of the women among whom I carried out the anti-Soviet, nation-

alist work, <sup>b</sup>since I would probably have to list the names of all the women in our colony<sup>b</sup>.” (Testimony of the arrest[ed] BARTEL Luiza).

There have been cases noted in which the fascist campaign has penetrated even the <sup>a</sup>army<sup>a</sup>. A Red Army soldier from the machine gun squadron of the 51<sup>st</sup> Cav[alry] Regiment, a German, KUPFER, had the address of a fascist organization in Berlin and attempted to write a letter to the German Ambassador with a request for material assistance.

Out of the 63 Germans serving in the 28<sup>th</sup> Cav[alry] Regiment of the 5<sup>th</sup> Cav[alry] Division – 21 per[sons] have regularly received “Nazi aid” through their relatives.

The counterrevolutionary campaign carried out by the <sup>b</sup>German clergy<sup>b</sup>, merits particular attention.

Out of <sup>b</sup>29<sup>b</sup> German parish priests and clergy in Ukraine, in 1934, <sup>a-c-d</sup>20<sup>d-c-a</sup> were arrested by us for c-r work.

Despite the repression, the German clergy remains the most active agent network of German fascism, particularly in the area of pan-German and c-r nationalist propaganda.

[...]

“...Preacher ROLLENDER campaigned against the collectivization, attracting the youth away from Soviet education and influence, made sure that the sectarians, especially the youth, did not become rur[al] activists and did not join the sovietized part of the youth and Komsomol members. ROLLENDER continually strengthened the nationalistic and patriotic feelings towards Germany, carrying out this work through the leaders of the communities and groups established by him.” (Testimony of the arrested SHMIDT R.).

### III

#### <sup>b</sup>Acts of sabotage in the kolkhozy<sup>b</sup>

In line with the nationalist work being widely carried out, the principal activities of the fascist elements were directed at destroying <sup>b-a</sup>the kolkhoz system and crushing the kolkhozy<sup>a</sup> by acts of sabotage<sup>b</sup>.

To that aim, the fascist agents directed masses of former Kulaks to the kolkhozy, while the poor and middle-sized farmers were <sup>d</sup>prevented<sup>d</sup> from joining the kolkhozy.

“...The Kulaks from the Shydlovo colony numbering up to 25 families, were the first to <sup>d</sup>join the kolkhoz<sup>d</sup>. They explained their accession to the kolkhoz by telling the poor and middle-sized farmers that it was a “forced” necessity due to the fact that <sup>b</sup>they would be persecuted as rich [if they stayed] on the individual farm, and in the kolkhoz, they will hide their farm until the time when »the government changes and [they] would not have to wait long for that<sup>b</sup>«. They advised the poor and middle-sized farmers <sup>d</sup>not to join<sup>d</sup> the kolkhoz. (Testimony of the arrest[ed] BIRKLEYN).

The policies pursued by fascist agents with regard to the kolkhozy also concerned the fact that large sums of money received from abroad were usually distributed <sup>b</sup>among the wealthy part of the German population and Kulaks<sup>b</sup>, with the aim of <sup>b</sup>eliminating the dependence of the kolkhoz members on the situation in the kolkhoz itself, caused by the refusal to go out to work<sup>b</sup>, etc.

“...Out of the 72 people receiving money, no more than 3 families clearly needed the aid. The remaining 13 families (61 per[sons]) certainly did not need the assistance. They were primarily the *yedinolichniki*, systematically [refusing] to join the kolkhoz, the dekulakized and those paying strict taxes.” (Testimony of the arrest[ed] SHMIDT Reinhold).

“...In the »Das Neue Dorf« kolkhoz, which is in deep ruin at the moment, almost 90% of the kolkhozniki, members of the [religious] community receiving aid, did not go to work. The remaining members of the community spitefully evaded the fulfilment of state obligations and did not join the kolkhoz.”

The following testimony on countering collectivization given by the arrested sectarian SHMIDT with regard to the work carried out by the missionary ROLLENDER among the German sectarians is quite characteristic:

“...When they began introducing collectivization and the members of the community were asked to sign up to the kolkhoz, ROLLENDER replied that we will not join the collective and, if need be, <sup>b-c</sup>we will build a kolkhoz from our faithful<sup>c-b</sup>. As a result, no one from among the sectarians joined the kolkhoz at that time.”

Moreover, <sup>c</sup>acts of direct sabotage were carried out on a wide scale<sup>c</sup> in the kolkhozy:

1. decimation of horse stock;
2. decimation of farm[ing] and supplementary stocks of the kolkhoz farms, poor repairs of the farm[ing] tools and machines, hiding of spare parts for farm[ing] tools and machines held by the Kulaks with the aim of preventing field work, especially during grain harvests;
3. intentional delays in the harvesting campaign, leaving significant amounts of unthreshed rye in the fields, poor quality of ploughing in the fall;
4. hiding, by all available means, the grain, so as not to give [it] to the state [organs].

“...I intentionally tried to harm the kolkhoz. My saboteur activities came down to the fact that, being a vet[erinary] aid in the kolkhoz, I have led to a decrease in the number of horses and allowing illnesses, made the horses unfit [for work]. In recent times alone, as a consequence of my saboteur work, three horses have died and five remained unfit [for work].” (Testimony of the arrested REMPENING).

“...Being a foreman in the kolkhoz over the past two years, I aimed to lower the quality of work. During the ploughs in the fall, I advised to carry out more shallow ploughs. I intentionally delayed the harvesting campaign, I did not carry out the directives of the council as to the quality of the harvests, I did not collect all the windrows and stacks, as a result the grain spilled out and was wasted. I carried out a wide-scale campaign against the *khlebosdacha*, convincing the

kolkhozniki that if we gave the grain to the state, we would starve.” (Testimony of the arrest[ed] PLETT).

“...The destructive work of the Kulak group in the »Rote Fahne« kolkhoz, came down to the following:

1. hiding of spare parts for farm[ing] tools and machines held by the Kulaks, with the [aim of] preventing field work, especially during grain harvests;

2. during the threshing of grain – a large amount of seeds was allowed to go with the straw and chaff. The grain was hidden in attics so as not to give it to the state. As a result, the state grain purchasing campaign was prevented;

3. horses were destroyed in the following manner: they were given seeds to feed on, as much as they wanted, then given water. By those means, in 1931 15 horses died.” (Testimony of the arrested BIRKLEYN).

Of great significance for the acts of sabotage by the fascist elements in the kolkhozy was the assumption, in a number of cases, of [posts] <sup>c</sup>in the lower Soviet apparatus-<sup>c</sup> by the counterrevolutionary element.

In the course of investigation, it was revealed that the secretary of the *sielsoviet*, NEYFELD Nikolay, issued blank documents with the *sielsoviet* stamps to the Kulaks, with which they forged certificates used for leaving for abroad.

“...Being a post clerk, I took down from the correspondence sent by the German colonists <sup>b</sup>the foreign addresses, with the aim of distributing [them] among the German population-<sup>b</sup>. Thereby, I acquired many foreign addresses of the various nationalist organizations, associations and individual persons to whom I regularly wrote letters about the famine in the USSR and requested aid.” (Testimony of the arrested YANTSEN).

“...At the beginning of 1932, the government organs revealed the sabotage activities carried out by Kulaks LUTS, EYTENEYER and oth[ers]. Then LUTS and EYTENEYER escaped. <sup>b</sup>In their escape, they were helped by the chair[man] of the *sielsoviet*<sup>b</sup>, RODE Robert, <sup>b</sup>by issuing documents certifying that LUTS and EYTENEYER were not Kulaks-<sup>b</sup>.”

[..]

As regards the arrests and the investigation on the German fascist underground, <sup>a</sup>we are continuing [them]-<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup>p.p. People’s Commissar for Internal Affairs-<sup>b</sup> of the Ukrainian SSR  
V. BALYTSKY

<sup>b</sup>In conformity: Chief of 2<sup>nd</sup> Division OO-<sup>b</sup>  
(—) FISHER V.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Actually Yosif Fisher (born 1896), with the VChK since 1920, from July 1924 till December 1926 representative of the Vinnytsia Oblast Div. of the GPU; from December 1926 till January 1930 representative of the Kiev Oblast Div. of the GPU; from January 1930 till July 1931 senior representative of the Odessa Oblast Div. of the GPU, operational sector of the GPU; from July till December 1931 assistant to Chief of the Special Unit in Artemivsk; from December 1931 till 1933 senior representative of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, later Chief of Dept. with the Donetsk Oblast Div. of the GPU; from 1933 till

*HDA SBU, F. 9, Spr. 36 "a", pp. 82–97.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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5 June 1934 Chief of 8<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> Dep. with Special Div. of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR; from 5 June 1934 till 1936 Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Dep. with Special Div. of the GPU – Special Div. of the UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR; from 1936 till 1 October 1937 Chief of 3<sup>rd</sup> Div. of the UGB NKVD in Vinnytsia Oblast, later Kharkiv Oblast; from 1 October 1937 till 3 March 1938 Chief of the UNKVD of the Mykolaiv Oblast; last post – Deputy Chief of Directorate of ITL in Vyatka, from 23 October 1938 till July 1939.

## No. 211

### 3 January 1935, Odessa. Fragment of a protocol of interrogation of Prelate Yosif Krushynsky, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

On 3 January 1935, representative of the Special Division of the UGB of the Odessa Oblast Directorate of the NKVD SHTERENBERG carried out an interrogation of the accused cit[iz]en KRUSHYNSKY Y. P., who provided the following personal information:

KRUSHYNSKY Yosif Petrovych, born in 1865 in the farm[stead of] Lavyaniv in the Mariupol Oblast<sup>a</sup>, [from a family of] middle-sized farmer[s], citizen of the Ukrainian SSR, higher education – clerical, German, unmarried, not accounted in military records, clergy, Vicar General in Ukraine, Prelate, does not have a criminal record nor was covered by an investigation, no party membership, is not a member of a lab[or] union, soc[ial] and polit[ical] past – serves as priest, professor of a seminary. Address: v[illage of] Speier in the Karl-Liebkechtovsky R[aio]n.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: Is the economic and political situation of your dioceses known to you, particularly in regard to the parishes in the Karl-Liebkechtovsky Raion?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: Yes, in general terms I am up to date as far as the economic situation is concerned in the dioceses managed by me and I know the political view held by the parishioners.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: Who supplied you with information on the economic and political situation in the dioceses of the Karl-Liebkechtovsky Raion?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: I received no information in writing. I know about the situation in the parishes from oral accounts supplied through conversations and discussions with the priests of the dioceses during their meetings with me.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: What kind of information did you have throughout the years 1933 and 1934?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: In 1933, many of the priests informed me about the high mortality rate caused by the famine that was observed in their parishes. I was informed on the matter by priests: KELLER, GOFMAN, TAUBERGER and LORAN, quoting estimates on the mortality rate caused by the famine. Most of all, I generally was in personal contact with the abovementioned priests and that is why I used mainly the information from them.

Over the course of 1934, through the same sources I was informed about the serious shortages of food in the raion; moreover, the letters sent to me by the priests from other parishes of the diocese also pointed out that there are difficul-

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<sup>a</sup> *As in the original.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

ties with food supplies. The abovementioned priests informed me of the fact that the parishioners had no bread, and KELLER, as well as GOFMAN, reported that many of the parishioners left their parishes for other places and explained it with the fact that the kolkhozy had not provided the people with the basic minimum needed for existence. From that it follows that the mood among the parishioners was not favorable as far as collectivization was concerned.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: To whom did you pass the information on the situation in the diocese and the parishes?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: As far as the famine, mortality rate resulting from it and generally, as far as the situation in the parishes, I passed the information in my letters to Prelate FRIZEN, heading the diocese in the Crimea. In that, I referred to the oral information passed to me by the abovementioned priests: KELLER, GOFMAN, LORAN and TAUBERGER.

Apart from that, in my letters to Father GATSENBILER Mikhail, Mariupol Oblast<sup>a</sup> in Lyuksemburgsky R[ai]on, I wrote about the deaths from starvation. Particularly, I put down that in the village of Speier, 117 persons died, and in the village of Sultz, 129 per[sons] since the beginning of the year; however I did note that it was related to the famine. Those numbers were given to me by priests LORAN and KELLER. GATSENBILER Mikhail was later arrested.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: What anti-Soviet tendencies are present among the parishioners that you know of?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: I know that among the parishioners there are inclinations to turn for material support from abroad, proving that the political attitudes of that part of the parishioners are not favorable towards the Soviet state. It should be added that this trend of requesting aid from abroad spans over some parts of the population; in some parishes [those people] constitute a majority, and in some a minority.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: What contributed to the intensification of those anti-Soviet tendencies?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: Letters sent by a number of people from abroad have contributed to the intensification and creation of those tendencies of anti-Soviet character. Those letters informed that there is a certain amount of money for relief aid to those in need and advised that information be sent abroad about those [people] needing the assistance.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: Did you personally receive letters with such contents from abroad?

<sup>b</sup>-Answer<sup>b</sup>: Yes, at the end of 1932 or at the beginning of 1933, I received a letter from Germany from some GOPFAUF Monika, in which she wrote that in Germany, there was a possibility of [organizing] aid for those in need in the USSR and advised that I send her a list of those in need. Not long afterwards, I received a letter from America from a secretary of [an editorial board] of a German newspaper published in the city of Dickinson, NADOLSKY Johann, in which the latter also declared that he had means at his disposal for the aid to those in need in the USSR.

<sup>b</sup>-Question<sup>b</sup>: What did you do after you received those letters?



<sup>b</sup>Answer<sup>b</sup>: After I received the letters from GOPFAUF Monika and NADOLSKY, I turned to them with a written request for aid for a number of people. I cannot list in detail all those on whose behalf I made the request. I list only those persons whom I remember well at the moment. In the letter to GOPFAUF Monika, I asked on behalf of the following persons: MEYDER Angela, living in Saratov, supported by her daughter, Yekaterina OBERT, worker of the *Shveyprom* (presently dead); SHANTS Magdalina, a Kulak from the v[illage of] Speier, her sons were in the kolkhoz, but were expelled.

In the letter to NADOLSKY, I made a list of those in need and asked him to help them. I recall the following persons on the list:

1. Cleric BABAYEV – Chaldean rite, resid[ing]: Nakhichevan-on-Don.

2. Father KOPP Teobolt – v[illage of] Strasburg, I intended for him to receive money for his ill father, SHNAYDER Yohann.

3. OBERTT<sup>c</sup> Yekaterina, residing in Saratov, worker of the *Shveyprom*.

4. Father LORAN Rafail – from the village of Sultz.

5. Father TSIMMERMAN Adam – from the v[illage of] Kastyrka in the Be-reslavsky R[ai]on.

6. Father GOFMAN from the v[illage of] Landau. Through him, I intended to help the ill Father FLEK.

<sup>b</sup>Question<sup>b</sup>: Did those persons receive aid?

<sup>b</sup>Answer<sup>b</sup>: Yes, all persons received aid, except Yekaterina OBERT, due to her death.

<sup>b</sup>Question<sup>b</sup>: Were the addresses of GOPFAUF M. and NADOLSKY mentioned in the transfers?

<sup>b</sup>Answer<sup>b</sup>: Yes, the addresses of NADOLSKY and Monika GOPFAUF were mentioned and I know that KOPP Teobolt, LORAN Rafail and GOFMAN Anton thanked them for the aid they received.

[...]

The protocol has been read to me, taken down in truth from my words, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

KRUSHYNSKY

The interrogation began at 12 p.m. and ended at 4:30 in the afternoon.

<sup>b</sup>Interrogated by: Representative of Special Division<sup>b</sup>

SHTERENBERG

<sup>b</sup>In conformity<sup>b</sup>: (—)

*HDA SBU, Mykolaiv, Spr. 12926-S, T. 3, pp. 297–302.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c</sup> As in the original. Earlier: OBERT.

## No. 212

8 March 1935, [Kiev]. Fragment of a letter from the Polish Vice-Consul in Kiev to the "East" Bureau of Section II of the Main Staff regarding, among others, the shortages of bread in the countryside

Dear Jurek

[...]

<sup>a-</sup>As regards all information concerning the mood and the situation of the countryside population, I received them from a number of people visiting the consulate, primarily Poles, either with ties to the churches and the religious life or from persons who have families in Poland<sup>a</sup>.

And now some information specifically from the rural areas. First of all, we receive ever more frequent information on the very concrete consequences of the famine and mass deaths from starvation. Detailed information has arrived from the regions of Tsvetkovo, Zvenyhorodka, Tulchin, Bar and a number of places in the Odessa Obl[ast] (including Malovyska).

Against this information, the reports on the very limited efforts taken by the authorities with regard to the organization of bread sales in the countryside are all credible. There are number of towns where the stores with bread and even bakeries operated only through the first few days of January. At the present moment, those bakeries and stores have ceased to exist due to the shortage of flour and grain, or are limited to serving the *verkhushka* of the Soviet and party organizations. It seems to be the principle that they are there to serve the Soviet intelligentsia circles exclusively. The countryside population does not even attempt to get bread for itself in towns and either travels to larger centers or buys the bread brought by speculators, the price of which reaches 6 rub[les] for a kilo[gram] in the rural areas (in Kiev 90 kop[eks]). One fact merits particular attention, namely that the elimination of bread coupons did not contribute to the decrease in market prices for grain in the countryside. Those prices, to the contrary, are presently on the rise.

It is equally characteristic that the rural cooperatives have received the so-called *promptovar* as a means for settling the due amounts for the bread purchased from the peasants in the form of such products as: aluminum dishes, hats, spoons, lamps. In turn, products such as leather, manufactured goods, iron products, etc., are supplied in extremely small quantities. According to the received information, the prices for the abovementioned products are very high; for example, for an aluminum pot they charge 5 poods of sold grain and require an additional payment of 3 [to] 8 rb. in cash.

Apart from that, there is also the officially eliminated, so-called <sup>b-</sup>*obyazatel'naya*<sup>b</sup> *nagruzka*, which comes down to this: a person who is buying an aluminum

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<sup>a-</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Fragment crossed out in handwriting.*

<sup>b-</sup> <sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting with two lines.*

pot must obligatorily purchase one hat or three notebooks, or several brochures and portraits, and at prices which are appropriately high. This is clearly robbery.

It is interesting that, as a result of the above, a secret private trade has developed in small towns, carried out quite intensively in the homes of the Jewish population. This trade mainly takes the form of barter, yet the peasant is required to provide such products as chickens, eggs, cheese or butter. This commerce has such a form due to need for hiding and, in my view the most important, due to the lack of cash, which is a very severe problem in these regions here in general, and particularly in the countryside. For that reason, it is believed <sup>c</sup>that the <sup>c</sup>responsible Soviet elements do not even try to spread the trading network into the rural areas.

In any case, <sup>a</sup>I wish to underline once again that<sup>a</sup> the elimination of bread coupons, contrary to the information published by the Soviet press, did not contribute to the decrease of prices on agricultural products, but quite the opposite, the prices are rising constantly.

[...]

N. Nalewajko<sup>d</sup>, 8 March 1935

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.1993, T. „Ku“, n.pag.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish with numerous corrections, made in handwriting, unaccounted in this publication. Above the text, a receipt stamp with inscription: “W” Received on ... 193... L. and a date added in handwriting: 14 III ...5 and a number: 9319/35 N and a handwritten note: 3559 Verte, mat and illegible initials.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added over in handwriting.*

<sup>d</sup> *Crossed out handwritten signature.*

## No. 213

### 11 March 1935, n.p.p. Fragment of a protocol of a supplementary interrogation of Father Hryhory Litvinovich, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

Protocol of supplementary interrogation of the accus[ed]  
Litvinovich Hryhory Yevmenevich 11 March [19]35

[...]

Question: With whom else do you have contacts abroad?

Answer: In January of this year, I wrote a letter to Archbishop Terenty Teodorovich<sup>1</sup> at the address 13 Zygmuntowska St., Warsaw, Poland with a request for material aid since he is the chairman of a charity committee for aid to clergy in need in the USSR.

Question: How did you learn about such an association in Poland and who gave you Teodorovich's address?

Answer: In the last letter I received from my father-in-law in Poland, Voloshkevich Anton, in the m[on]th of January, there was the address of Teodorovich and information on the existence of such committee offering aid to the clergy in need in the USSR. He wrote us about it because he himself was unable to offer us such material aid.

Question: Did you hear from anyone here in the USSR about the existence of a charity association in Poland headed by Teodorovich, or in any other country offering aid to the clergy in need?

Answer: Before I received the information from my father-in-law, I did not hear about it.

Question: And whom did you tell about the existence of the charity association in Poland?

Answer: I had no time to tell anyone about it. Also I did not think it necessary because I was not convinced that aid would really come from there.

Question: What did you write in your letter addressed to Teodorovich and how many times did you turn to him?

Answer: I addressed Teodorovich Terenty in writing once, writing: "I appeal to Your Highest Reverence, show your help through your committee to your suffering brother..."

It has been for two years now that my family, [comprising] four persons, has been starving, desiring a piece of daily bread, and for the past four months, we literally have not seen any bread or potatoes with our eyes. The service in the par-

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<sup>1</sup> Actually Yosef Teofil Teodorovich (born 25 July 1864 in Zhyvachiv, died 4 December 1938 in Lviv), priest, national activist; in the years 1901–1938 Archbishop, Armenian Catholic Metropolitan in Lviv; in the years 1902–1918 member of the Landtag in Lviv and the Herrenhaus in Vienna; in the years 1919–1922 member of the Polish Lower House, from 1922 till 1923 Polish senator.

ish does not provide any means of living, since those faithful who remain need a piece of bread themselves, [just] as I do, and the meager incomes from the [clerical] service go to pay the taxes.

So far, [our] existence was supported in such a way that we sold things from our property, and now nothing is left.

I count on the pity for our poverty, as I do not ask for aid out of excess, but out of utter poverty. ...The specter of death from starvation forces me to appeal to you for aid.”

So far I have not received a response to that letter addressed to Terenty Teodorovich.

(—) Litvinovich

The interrogation was interrupted.

Interrogated by: Representative of SPO [Directorate of]  
State Security [of the] Vinnytsia

Obl[ast] Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

(—) Dankevich

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75276-FP, pp. 18–19.*

*Copy, handwritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

**No. 214**  
**14 March 1935, n.p.p. Fragment of a protocol of a supplementary  
interrogation of Father Hryhory Litvinovich, questioned by an officer  
of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR**

Protocol of supplementary  
interrogation of the accus[ed] Litvinovich Hryhory Yevmenevich  
14 March [19]35

[...]

Question: With whom else living abroad did you keep correspondence during the time of Soviet rule?

Answer: Testifying on 11 March to your question about my relations with those abroad, by mistake I did not inform you that in 1933, I wrote a letter to Poland to my own sister, Anna... In that letter, I wrote that the situation with us is difficult and [we] came to suffer from hunger and eat only weeds, as well as asked [her] to help me and [my] family in any way [she could].

[...]

(—) Litvinovich

*HDA SBU, Khmelnytsky, Spr. P-26233, p. 20.*  
*Original, handwritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

**No. 215**

**28 March 1935, n.p.p. Fragment of a protocol of a supplementary  
interrogation of Father Hryhory Litvinovich, questioned by an officer  
of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR**

Protocol of supplementary  
interrogation of the accus[ed] Litvinovich Hryhory Yevmenevich  
28 March [19]35

[...]

Question: Why, turning abroad to your relatives and to the committee for aid to clergy in need in the USSR located in Warsaw, did you describe the situation of the clergy and the people in the USSR in clearly slandering words?

Answer: In my letters, I have in fact written to Poland reporting that in my parish, as well as in the neighboring villages, there was great hunger and high mortality rates, and as a result the people have become much poorer and thus do not offer material support to the clergy, as they need the support themselves. I wrote about all this, sending it abroad, attempting to show our true situation, hoping to receive material aid from abroad. With my letters, I never intended to discredit the Soviet authority, but I was driven by my own material motivations.

Taken down in truth from my words, which I hereby confirm with my signature.

(—) Litvinovich

Interrogated by (—)

*HDA SBU, Khmelnytsky, Spr. P-26233, pp. 29–29 v.  
Original, handwritten.  
Document in Russian.*

## No. 216

### 11 April 1935, Warsaw. The work of Gen. Wsiewołod Zmijenko entitled “Valuable declarations” on the official demographic data regarding Ukraine

The famine in Ukraine, based on numbers given by official Soviet sources  
[...]

L.dz. <sup>a-56-a</sup>/II/2/35 on <sup>a-11-a</sup> April 1935

[...]

1. At the order from Chief of E.2, Capt. Charaszkiewicz<sup>1</sup>, a translation from Ukrainian into Polish was made of the work of General Zmijenko entitled “Valuable declarations” – written in 2 copies and sent according to the designated distribution list.

The work of Gen. Zmijenko includes thorough numerical data taken from speeches delivered by Soviet dignitaries affirming millions of losses among Ukrainians caused by the famine.

<sup>b</sup>Since the piece does not possess a scholarly element and gives an overview of the situation in Sov[iet] Ukraine only in a propaganda-oriented sense – the Chief of E.2, Capt. Charaszkiewicz, ordered the copy for Maj. Szczekowski<sup>2</sup> not to be sent for his information<sup>b</sup>.

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<sup>a-a</sup> Filled in handwriting.

<sup>b-b</sup> Added in handwriting.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Kalikst Charaszkiewicz (born 14 October 1895, died 22 December 1975 in London), Maj., from December 1920 with Dept. II of the NDWP, participated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Silesian Uprising (1921); in the years 1931–1939 head of 2<sup>nd</sup> Office (diversion, promethean movement) of Sect. II of the Main Staff; in September 1939 escaped to Romania, in October 1939 to France, and in June 1940 to Great Britain; in the years 1940–1943 Commanding Officer of armored trains “C” and “D” of the 1<sup>st</sup> Command of Armored Trains of the Polish Army; from August 1943 in ITC, later in the administrative Department of the Ministry of Defense, from February 1946 Deputy Head and Head of the Information Dept. with GISZ (Lt. Col. – 1945); from September 1946 in PRC; later active in League for the Independence of Poland.

<sup>2</sup> Władysław Szczekowski (born 14 February 1898), Certified Artillery Captain; before 1918 with the POW in Zhytomyr, later in the Polish Army; in 1921 with the 17<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Command; in the years 1922–1924 with the 7<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment; from 1924 till 1926 studying at the War College; later with Sect. II of the Main/General Staff, in 1935 head of the Independent Bureau “Russia” with Sect. II of the General Staff (Certified Major – 1936); in March 1939 Chief of Staff of the River Fleet; in the September Campaign of 1939 Chief of Staff of the River Fleet, later with SGO “Polesie” (according to other sources: liaison officer with SGO “Narew” or officer of Sect. III of command of the “Prusy” Army); in October 1939 got across to Warsaw; under the codenames “Stanisław”, “Sztark” in the years 1940–1942 Deputy Commanding Officer with ZWZ-AK for the Radom and Kielce area, at the same time of April – May 1942, Chief of Staff with AK for the Radom and Kielce area; in the years 1942–1943 with Sect. II of AK High Command, codename “Leszczyc”, “C-7”. Arrested on 18 November 1943 by the Gestapo on the Napoleon square in Warsaw; probably murdered in August 1944 (Certified Lieutenant Colonel).



<sup>b</sup>-Propaganda overview. No scholarly elements<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>c-d</sup>-Valuable declarations<sup>-d-c</sup>

The Soviet government firmly denies the fact of the famine in Ukraine. This was the basis for turning down the [offer from] European organizations to bring in relief aid. The dissemination of information of the famine was dubbed as slandering insinuations of the enemies of the Soviet government.

The letters from the people condemned to death from starvation were of no help, nor the reports from the correspondents, nor the photographs brought in from Ukraine with great difficulties and at great risk. Everything was denied; the material evidence was described as a plot by the bourgeois against the proletarian state.

Yet, finally we are in possession of a statement made by one of the Soviet activists which allows for an estimate of the number of the victims of death from starvation.

During a meeting of the Kharkiv municipal council, held on 6 October 1934, the Ukrainian District Governor, Petrowski, listing all the good brought by the Soviet government to the people of Ukraine, mentioned that one of the clear indicators of the growing material prosperity is the increase in population. In 1933, the population of Ukraine totaled 31,686,000 (“Visty” from 12 October 1934, no. 236/4223).

The very same Petrowski, in a speech given on the occasion of the October celebrations on 7 November 1934 (that is, one year ago) declared the population of Ukraine to total 32,122,000 (“Visty” 7 November 1932, no. 255/3653).

Having the two numbers given above, it is easy to disprove Petrowski’s claim about the increase of population. The population of Ukraine has decreased over the past year by 436,000 people, proving the deterioration in the material status of the people under the government of the Soviets.

It is known that in counting the population, one always takes into account its growth.

With the aim of determining that growth, let us turn to the [abovementioned] speech of Petrowski, given at the [forum of the] Kharkiv municipal council on 6 October 1934, in which he declares that in 1927 [the population] in Ukraine was 28,900,000; in 1929 we had 30,254,000; in the year 1933 – 31,686,000.

The population of the cities in 1927 came to 4,000,000; in 1933 it was more than 7,000,000. From the official statement of a distinguished Soviet activist, the Red president Petrowski, it is clear that in two years (1928–[19]29) the population of Ukraine increased by 1,354,000, that is 677,000 annually. The above numbers are almost entirely in line with the information of the Centr[al] Statist[ical] Office of Ukraine, which stopped being published in 1929 (at an order from Moscow).

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>d-d</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

From the declaration of Petrowski, it is evident that over the four following years, that is 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933, the population increased only by 1,432,000, that is, on the average 358,000 annually. Thus the growth, as compared to the years 1928–1929 and all previous [years], decreased almost by a factor of two.

Petrowski does not explain why during the second *piatiletka*, the number of births in Ukraine decreased. It would seem that the reason was collectivization, dekulakization and generally the “dizziness” from too great a prosperity which took place precisely during those years, and the concrete result came in the form of a decrease in the number of births.

However, a sudden, catastrophic decrease in the number of people cannot happen after such a shock to the organism of the state.

And thus, if we quote the years 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933, calculating the [population] growth for the period 1930–1932, we will explain the fact which is carefully passed over by the Soviet government and Petrowski himself.

In 1929, the population totaled 30,254,000. In the year 1932 – 32,122,000. Over the period of those three years, the increase in population totaled 1,868,000, or 622,666 annually. As compared to the period 1928–[19]29, the growth did not fall as much as Petrowski claims. Petrowski’s calculations gave such numbers because the Soviet dignitary wanted to hide amongst the overall population growth over a period of few years the terrible famine of 1933 and all the victims who died in Ukraine as a result of inhuman policies of the Soviet government and its attitude towards the people.

From the numbers quoted by Petrowski, it can be concluded that not only did the population not increase, but it decreased by 436,000 persons – one needs to add the number by which the population grew, which for the period of collectivization and “dekulakization” totaled 622,666 people annually. Thus, in the overall number of Ukrainian population, 436,000 + 622,666, or 1,058,666 people missing from the territory of Ukraine.

Let us assume that not all of them died, that a part of them were sent to Siberia or Solovki to work digging the channel, which is not probable because mass resettlements in 1932 decreased significantly. The above number is the smallest [estimate] and completely official because it was given by the government of the USSR.

So far the Ukrainian and foreign press were full of all types of information on the consequences of the famine in Ukraine. Numbers of 10,000,000, 6,000,000 and 2,000,000 victims were quoted, but the government refused to accept them. Today, it also does not accept it and probably will never admit it officially.

The number of 1,058,000 can be treated as official, based on the words of Petrowski.

The fact should be taken into account that, in Ukraine, in place of the resettled and dead peasant Ukrainians, resettled emigrants from Russia were sent on a wide scale, then the number of deceased Ukrainians rises. Unfortunately, we do not have precise Soviet statistics on the number of [people] resettled to Ukraine. Probably there are very many of them.

The Soviet press publishes only the addresses of distinguished dignitaries who note that the resettlements took place in Ukraine. Postyshev is one of the first to speak about it (“Visty” 5 January 1934, no. 5/3992), later Kosior<sup>f</sup> (“Komunist” from 23 August 1934, no. 169/4541) and then again Postyshev (“Visty” from 3 October 1934, no. 245/4232).

The resettlement of foreigners to Ukraine and its terrible depopulation are confirmed by those who escaped from there.

Based on the above, even without the precise numbers, it can be claimed that [in] the number of 31,686,000 people in Ukraine in 1933, as is given by Petrowski, there are at least 1,000,000 resettled foreigners. And this means that many more Ukrainians died in 1933 than we estimated above. Petrowski makes no statement on the population in Ukraine in 1934, even though he could have.

This can be explained by the fact that the famine in the period 1933–[19]34 took many lives in Ukraine, especially among the farmers.

One should not be surprised by the increase in the population of the cities, as it increased at the expense of the starving Ukrainian peasants, traveling from place to place in search of bread, of which there is none in the countryside because it was taken by force. Well, there is no comfort in the increased population of the cities because it is not normal. And moreover, one needs to consider how many foreigners and waifs came to the Ukrainian cities. The Ukrainian people are perishing, dying, degenerating as a result of the fact that the fathers, exhausted with hunger and work, have weak offspring.

This is taking place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a time of various social security mechanisms under the government of “workers’ and peasants” proletariat which intentionally destroys the population of Ukraine and denies Europe the right to bring in relief, unctuously assuring that the famine does not exist.

*CAW, Oddz. II SG, I.303.4.5559, pp. 18–23.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Polish.*

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<sup>f</sup> *Was: Kasyor.*

## No. 217

### After 12 November 1935, n.p.p. Fragment of a memorandum concerning a Pole, Boleslav Bobek

#### <sup>a</sup>*Memorandum*<sup>a</sup>

regarding a f[ormer] Pole, BOBEK Bronislav<sup>b</sup>, son of Franciszek, v[illage of] Chernoye

[...]

30 September [19]35, BOBEK Borys<sup>b</sup>, 39 years of age, residing in the <sup>c</sup>v[illage of] Chernoye, working in the office of the “Kr[asny] Partizan Moldavyi” artel. BOBEK comes from Poland. He kept up correspondence with Poland<sup>c</sup>. During a conversation, I personally asked him what news is sent from Poland. BOBEK answered that they write that in Poland everything is cheap, for example, an egg costs one and a half kopeks, and the remaining [products], such as wheat – up to a ruble for a pood, shoes 5–7 rub[les], good clothes 10–12 [rubles], and everything is available, as much as one wants. I asked BOBEK whether he writes about what is happening here. To that BOBEK stated that yes, he did write about everything, except for those matters which are of political nature – he did not write that. He wrote how there was a famine here, or that the horses were dying. They all received it there. Further, BOBEK said that everything which they say about how the peasants fare in the bourgeois countries is not true.

<sup>c</sup>Further on, BOBEK said that he wrote to Poland about how they forced one to go to work, often even with horses, to repair the roads. During the conversation, BOBEK stated that a certain citizen escaped from Poland in [19]33. He does not know his name, but that man lives in the v[illage of] Koykovo in the Dubasarsky R[ai]on, and is a relative of RAKOVSKY Aleksey<sup>c</sup> (inhabitant of the v[illage of] Chernoye, member of the “Kr[asny] Partizan Moldavyi” artel), and he declared that life is good in Poland and he regrets having escaped from there.

BOBEK filed <sup>c</sup>a request with the Polish Consulate to depart for Poland, but received no response<sup>c</sup>.

[...]

12 November [19]35 <sup>c</sup>12 November<sup>c</sup> – I visited the secretariat of the “Kr[asny] Partizan Moldavyi” artel, where TROYANOVSKY Aleksey, foreman of the 6<sup>th</sup> Brigade and econ[omic] head of the “Bolshevistskaya Peremokha” artel, LUNGA Aleksey and BOBEK Borys<sup>b</sup> were. There was a page from the wall calendar lying on the table, with the date of 11 where there was a note with information on the war of [19]14 – how many people died from starvation, etc. I read that page, whereupon <sup>c</sup>BOBEK stated: “This they can write, but why don’t they write how

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *As in the original. Should be: Boleslav.*

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

many people died of hunger in [19]32, surely more than during the war, and it was not during a war, but [at a time of] peace when they brought this fate. This they will not write, b[ut] one day, someone will<sup>c</sup>.

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Chief<sup>a</sup> RO NKVD  
Lieutenant of State Security  
SVIRIDOV

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 17675-P, pp. 24–28.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

## No. 218

### 15 November 1936, Odessa. Fragment of a report from the German Consulate in Odessa regarding the Soviet propaganda in cinemas

<sup>a-</sup>German Consulate  
in Odessa<sup>a</sup>  
15 November 1936

Translation from German

#### <sup>b-</sup>Soviet propaganda in cinemas<sup>b</sup>

Over the past months, the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union have carried out a screening of Soviet film[s] which quite openly transmit Bolshevik propaganda in a number of [regional] capitals, whereas the reality in the Soviet Union differs drastically from the depicted propaganda. For example, the Soviet Embassies in London, Bucharest, and even Berlin sent out invitations for receptions, during which, among others, the following films were shown:

1. “New <sup>b-</sup>Gulliver<sup>b</sup>”
2. “Friends”
3. “Good crops”
4. “Air maneuvers near Kiev”
5. “Happy youth”.

The Soviet representations intend for those films, with subtitles translated into local languages, to be distributed and thus pursue intensive Bolshevik propaganda.

[...]

With the aim of allowing manifestations against this propaganda, we hereby present a brief overview of five of the aforementioned film[s], as well as materials [useful] for countering the pursued propaganda.

[...]

#### III. “<sup>b-</sup>Good crops<sup>b</sup>”

Thousands of copies of this film have been sent abroad. It is screened in every place where the truth about the famine of the years 1932/[19]33 and the later period was the achievement of [the policy of] openness. It was especially produced with the intention of countering the educational work of the anti-Comintern and other institutions. The film shows a place in the lower Dnieper region (that is precisely the region where the famine was particularly severe). There is a large kolkhoz, enormous herds of pigs and horned cattle, joyous peasants at work and nutritious meals. Enormous harvesters gather crops from the fields very quickly. Grain elevators seem as if they were mountains or skyscrapers. Next, a great “Dniepro-

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<sup>a- a</sup> *Stamped.*

<sup>b- b</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

ges” dam is shown, and finally a “spa for peasants”; earlier [it was] “a palace of a certain landlord.”

The propaganda present in this film needs to be countered with the fact that in the kolkhoz which was shown, individual cases have cleverly been selected, that most of the collectives are far behind the old individual farms as far as profitability is concerned, that the forced collectivization has been carried out by driving millions of inhabitants of the rural areas out from their own homes and deporting them to labor camps, and, most of all, by the fact of disastrous famine of the years 1932/[19]33 and the period that followed. Those disasters, which show not only the inability of the Soviet government to resolve the problem of supplies to the people, but also the uniquely evil intention of eradicating certain groups of people (“organized famine”), are historical facts whose details are revealed today by credible witnesses. The numbers [given by the] Archbishop of Canterbury (“6 million rather than 3 million victims of 1932/[19]33”) and the data [provided by] Dr. AMMENDE<sup>c</sup>, in his work on the famine in Russia (“Must Russia starve?”, Vienna 1935) are indisputable. Moreover, it should be necessarily underlined that in the face of the state of Soviet food supply sector, a return of hunger is to be expected.

As for the “<sup>b</sup>Dnieproges<sup>b</sup>” and the “spa for peasants”, it should be noted that near the dam on the Dnieper River, the workers live in terrible pit-houses (“Izvestia” from 23 August [19]35), that the spa is a “Potemkin decoration” and that it is not likely that in the entire Soviet Union, there is one similar.

[...]

<sup>b</sup>Translated from German: translator<sup>b</sup>  
KIGLER

<sup>b</sup>In conformity:  
Ch[ief] of 1<sup>st</sup> Dept. of 3<sup>rd</sup> Division<sup>b</sup> UGB  
<sup>b</sup>Lieutenant of State Security<sup>b</sup>  
(—) SHNAYDER

*HDA SBU, F. 13, Spr. 161, T. 14, pp. 40–45.*  
*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c</sup> Was: AMMENDES.

## No. 219

### 22 May 1937, Kiev. Fragments of a protocol of interrogation of the former Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, Aleksandr Odyntsov, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

of the accused ODYNTSOV Aleksandr Vasylevich<sup>1</sup>, born in 1895, son of clergy, born in the v[illage of] Andreyevka in the Krolevetsky Raion, Chernihiv Oblast, higher education, fo[rmer] member of the AUCP(b) from 1917, fo[rmer] Dep[uty] *Narkomzem* of the USSR in 1932, in 1933 *Narkomzem* of the Ukrainian SSR, before arrest – Chief of the Azov-Black Sea *KraiZU*,

22 May 1937

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: You stated that in 1935, TSYLKO informed you that GAYSTER belongs to a c-r organization of right-wing activists. Tell us everything you know about GAYSTER.

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I know GAYSTER from working together in the *Narkomzem* of the USSR in 1931. Later he went to the *Gosplan* of the USSR, and at the end of 1934 or the beginning of 1935, he was promoted to [the position of] Dep[uty] of the *Narkomzem* of the USSR. In March of 1933, when I was already working in Ukraine, I met with GAYSTER in Odessa. He would come there, as he told me, [in relation] to some task with the *Gosplan* or *Sovnarkom* of the USSR. Having learned that I am traveling on my own train car to the Right-Bank region [of Ukraine], and primarily to the Uman region, he expressed the desire to come with me.

In the Uman region, we visited a number of kolkhozy. Having returned to the train car, in strongest of words GAYSTER criticized the party policies, saying that what we had seen in the kolkhozy was the result of the policies pursued by the present leadership. “This is what general collectivization has led to – he stated – there is hunger in the countryside, the people are dying and the farming is in ruin. We sit in Moscow, concerned with theoretical discussions, yet we offer no solution for all that is happening.” Local workers came into the car, GAYSTER stayed a little [longer] and, having exchanged farewells with me, got out at the Uman station to return to Moscow on a different train.

[...]

The protocol [has been] read by me, taken down in truth from my words.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Aleksandr Odyntsov, sentenced to death on 13 July 1937 during an away session of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, executed on the same day in Kiev; rehabilitated on 28 November 1956 by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR.



<sup>a</sup>-Interrogated by:

Ch[ief] of 5<sup>th</sup> Dep[artment] of 4<sup>th</sup> Div[ision]<sup>-a</sup> UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>-S[enior] Lieutenant of State Security<sup>-a</sup> BORYSOV

<sup>b</sup>-In conformity:<sup>-b</sup> (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 37109-FP, T. 1, pp. 200–216.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>b- b</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

## No. 220

### 31 May 1937, Kiev. Fragments of a protocol of interrogation of the former Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, Aleksandr Odyntsov, questioned by an officer of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

of the accused ODYNTSOV Aleksandr Vasylevich, born in 1895 in the village of Andreyevka in the Krolevetsky Raion, Chernihiv Oblast, fo[rmer] member of the AUCP(b) from 1917. In 1932 he was a Dep[uty] *Narkomzem* of the USSR, in 1933 – *Narkomzem* of the Ukrainian SSR. From 1934 until arrest – Chief of the Azov-Black Sea *KraiZU*,

31 May 1937

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: In the previous protocol of interrogation, you mentioned as a member of an anti-Soviet organization of right-wing activists, the f[ormer] Dep[uty] Chair[man] of *Gosplan* of the Ukrainian SSR, MINAYEV<sup>1</sup>. Tell us, how did you contact MINAYEV and under what circumstances did it take place?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: More or less <sup>b</sup>at the end of March 1933<sup>b</sup>, I was in the *dacha* of the *Sovnarkom* of the Ukrainian SSR in Pomerky, near Kharkiv.

During a dinner, I met MINAYEV. We met each other earlier, as we would meet during official meetings. During dinner, MINAYEV, having learned that recently I returned from a tour of the kolkhozy in the Right-Bank region [of Ukraine], took interest in my impressions and enquired about the changes that have taken place in agriculture of the Right-Bank region [of Ukraine] in the recent years.

I gave MINAYEV a number of facts as to the difficult situation of the kolkhozy, withholding an assessment of the situation.

After dinner, I immediately left for the *Narkomat*. MINAYEV, saying farewell to me, stated that [it would be] interesting to continue our conversation next time.

<sup>b</sup>After a week<sup>b</sup>, I met MINAYEV during a meeting of the *Sovnarkom* of the Ukrainian SSR.

I went out to smoke and noticed that MINAYEV followed me out of the conference room.

He approached me in the hall [and] proposed going into a neighboring room which was empty.

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined in handwriting.*

<sup>1</sup> Sergey Minayev-Kanevsky, sentenced to death on 13 July 1937 during an away session of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, executed on 13 July 1937 in Kiev; rehabilitated on 7 March 1956 by the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

In this room, where it was [just] the two of us, MINAYEV, recalling our conversation in the *dacha*, asked what conclusions would I draw from what I have seen in the kolkhozy of the Right-Bank region [of Ukraine].

I answered that I thought the situation of the kolkhozy to be very difficult and underlined that some special undertakings are necessary to take the kolkhozy out of this situation.

MINAYEV stated that the first step towards improving the situation of the kolkhozy should come in the form of significantly reducing the load of obligations placed on the kolkhozy. We were called to the meeting and the conversation ended.

<sup>b</sup>At the end of April 1933<sup>b</sup>, I was working in a private room in the *Sovnarkom dacha* in Pomerky. MINAYEV came in and again we started talking about the situation in the countryside.

In the course of that conversation, MINAYEV was more open. He said that the countryside has been led to a very difficult situation as a result of incorrect policies pursued by the party, and that the course set for collectivization and industrialization was too steep.

“At present, the leadership has led the country into a difficult situation – MINAYEV declared – the policy of the AUCP(b) has gone bankrupt. Billions are invested in the industry while the countryside has no shoes, kerosene or soap, and then they shout about achievements. Only a change of course can put the farming back on track. It is necessary to significantly reduce the load of obligations placed on the countryside in kind and in cash, raise the prices for agricultural products, lower the prices of the industr[ial] produce and increase the investments in the rural areas at the expense of industry. We should strive for that.”

[...]

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: Was this the end of your contacts with MINAYEV?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: No. In July or August of 1933, I visited MINAYEV in the *Gosplan* of the Ukrainian SSR. I came to him to consult with the *Gosplan* some matter related to the money given by the *Narkomzem*.

When we finished discussing that matter, I told MINAYEV that I did not know what stance REKIS (*Narkomfin* of the Ukrainian SSR) would take during the meeting of the *Sovnarkom* of the Ukrainian SSR with regard to granting additional money.

MINAYEV answered: “I will take steps so that REKIS gives you support. He will do it. You should know that Aleksandr Aleksandrovyeh (REKIS) is »our man«, he belongs to the organization.”

Thus our conversation ended.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: <sup>b</sup>And did you meet with MINAYEV after 1933<sup>b</sup>?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: No, I did not see MINAYEV again and I had no contact with him.

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: So you learned from MINAYEV about REKIS’ membership in the c-r organization of right-wing activists?

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: Yes, I learned about it from MINAYEV, and later REKIS himself confirmed it to me.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: When did you learn about it from REKIS? Give us the details.

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: In September 1933, on one of the free days, I was in the *dacha* of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR, where REKIS also arrived. He came up to me in the orchard and proposed that we take a walk in the field.

During the walk, REKIS enquired with me about the harvests.

I knew from MINAYEV that REKIS is a member of the organization, [so] without restraining myself, I presented my own assessment of the harvests and the resulting situation in the countryside from the point of view of the right-wingers.

REKIS backed my conclusions and stated: “The crops are truly good this year, but nevertheless, the kolkhozy will not receive much of them. The fundamental mass of grain will be taken for free by the state, and it will collect taxes on top of that.”

“This problem – he stated – remains pressing and unresolved. And it will not be resolved as long as the regime within the party and the leadership of the AUCP(b) itself does not change. Both in Moscow and here in Ukraine, all policies are conducted by a small *verkhushka*, detached from the masses. Even we *narkoms* have no influence here in Ukraine. They do what they want behind our backs.”

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: [This is] not clear. You knew from MINAYEV that REKIS is a member of the organization and that is why you were forthright with him. Yet, why was REKIS forthright with you? What were his reasons? Explain it.

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: That is what I am getting at. In the course of conversation, REKIS declared that he knows from MINAYEV that I belong to the organization of right-wing activists and he personally confirmed that he also belonged to the organization.

He did not say with whom, apart from MINAYEV, he was in touch.

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Did you meet REKIS later?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: After this [meeting], I did not meet REKIS again.

I have read the protocol, taken down from my words in truth.

ODYNTSOV

<sup>a</sup>-Interrogated by:

Ch[ief] of 5<sup>th</sup> Department of Division IV<sup>a</sup> UGB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>-Senior Lieutenant of State Security<sup>a</sup>

BORYSOV

<sup>c</sup>-In conformity:<sup>c</sup> (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 37109-FP, T. 1, pp. 217–221.*

*Authenticated copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>c-c</sup> *Added in handwriting.*

## No. 221

### 10 August 1937, [Kiev]. Fragment of a protocol of interrogation of the former assistant to the People's Commissar for Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, Yefim Yurovsky, questioned by an officer of state security

<sup>a</sup>Protocol of interrogation<sup>a</sup>

of the accused YUROVSKY Yefim Mikhaylovich<sup>1</sup>, born in 1906 in the t[ow]n of Pohrebysche in the Kiev Oblast, fo[rmer] member of the AUCP(b) from 1926 until 1937, fo[rmer] assi[stant] to *Narkomzem* for personnel, fo[rmer] Secretary of the Part[y] Comm[ittee] with *Narkomzem* of Ukraine. At the moment of arrest – head of the part[y] cabinet of the Lenin's *Raypartkom* of the c[ity] of Kiev,

10 August 1937

<sup>a</sup>Question<sup>a</sup>: In the statement given by you on 7 August of this year, you admitted to being a member of a counterrevolutionary right-wing Trotskyite organization and declared a desire to come out completely before the party and the Soviet authority.

I propose that you provide an exhaustive and forthright testimony as to your counterrevolutionary activities.

<sup>a</sup>Answer<sup>a</sup>: I plead guilty that from the m[on]th of August 1934 until the moment of my arrest, I was an active member of a counterrevolutionary right-wing Trotskyite organization aimed at overthrowing the party and Soviet leadership by force and reestablishing capitalism in the USSR.

I was recruited to the right-wing Trotskyite organization by the former *Narkomzem* of Ukraine, PAPERNY Lev Lazarevich.

My recruitment to the counterrevolutionary organization was preceded by the following circumstances:

In the month of December 1933, when I served as Dep[uty] Ch[ief] of the Polit[ical] Off[ice] of the Shepetivka CAM, I was called with a telegram for a talk about my leave and the possibility of being sent to a health resort.

In the course of the conversation with me, PAPERNY took an interest in the situation in the kolkhozy of the Shepetivsky Raion. I informed him in detail, telling him that many of the kolkhozy receive very small profits for *trudodens* and that hunger among the kolkhozniki is inescapable; to him, I openly expressed my dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by the party and the government in the countryside.

I declared to PAPERNY that the state had an obligation to support also the kolkhozy.

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<sup>a-a</sup> Written in uppercase.

<sup>1</sup> Yefim Yurovsky, sentenced to death on 2 September 1937 during an away session of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR; shot on 3 September 1937 in Kiev.

PAPERNY was quite favorably inclined towards my anti-party statement.

Having received the papers, I left for the health resort. Soon after my return from the spa, in March 1934, due to health problems, I was transferred to the Kiev polit[ical] sector of *ObIZU*, where I worked until the beginning of August 1934. At that time, the Ukrainian government was moved from Kharkiv to Kiev, and PAPERNY was nominated to *Narkom* for Agriculture of Ukraine.

At the beginning of August 1934, with the decision on reorganization of the polit[ical] sectors and offices, I was sent at the disposal of the polit[ical] sector of the *Narkomzem* of the Ukrainian SSR, from where the chief of that sector, ASATKIN, sent me to PAPERNY to have a talk [with him].

PAPERNY welcomed me very warmly and told me that he had given the polit[ical] sector a list of employees, who were known to him mainly from the Vinnytsia Oblast, to work in the *Narkomzem*. Among them, I was on the first [place].

During a conversation with me, PAPERNY took great interest in the situation of the kolkhozy. I informed him in detail about the kolkhozy of the border Olevsky Raion, which I visited at the order from the polit[ical] sector and about how many of the kolkhozniki are without grain. I pointed to the mistaken policy of the party with regard to the countryside, as a result of which, the kolkhozniki will starve.

PAPERNY agreed with my conclusions and stated: "The party policy on this matter needs to be corrected." After that conversation, it became clear to me that PAPERNY had as much a counterrevolutionary attitude as I did.

[...]

Taken down from my words in truth.

(—) YUROVSKY

<sup>a</sup>-Interrogated by:

S[enior] Lieutenant of State Security<sup>a</sup>

(—) KRISTAL

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 44941-FP, pp. 20–40.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

**No. 222**

**10 September 1937, Chernansky Raion. Decision of the raion prosecutor  
on the arrest of a Pole, Boleslav Bobek**

<sup>a</sup>Decision<sup>a</sup>

On 10 September 1937, I, the Prosecutor of the Chernansky Raion of the Moldavian ASSR, CHABANENKO, having considered the invest[igation] with regard to the indictment of BOBEK Bronislav<sup>b</sup>, s[on of] Francishek – charged based on art. 54-10 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, having taken account of the fact that BOBEK, B. F. has filed a request for departure to Poland [and] carries on correspondence with Poland, [has] anti-Soviet inclinations, slanders the USSR in his correspondence [sent] to Poland, informs about the non-existent famine in the USSR, etc., carries out a campaign among the kolkhozniki, directed against the Soviet authorities, on various occasions has sang nationalist songs in the presence of kolkhozniki, in conversations on taking out the loan, stated: “How is it that they are taking out a loan? They simply take by force that which the kolkhozniki should receive for their *trudodens*. They tell the kolkhoznik – the kolkhoz owes you, and you should pay for securities – and so they take [his] last kopeks.”

Based on the above, following the line set in art. 156 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR

<sup>a</sup>I have decided<sup>a</sup>:

[to pursue] preventive means with regard to the accused, BOBEK B. F., of Polish nationality, working as an accountant in the “Kr[asny] Partizan Moldavyi” artel, v[illage of] Chernoye, n/p, born in 1897. Born in Poland.

I sanction the arrest and imprisonment in the Tiraspol prison responsibility of the Chernanska RO of the NKVD<sup>1</sup>.

Rai[on] Prosecutor of the Chernansky r[aio]n  
(—) CHABANENKO

*HDA SBU, Odessa, Spr. 17675-P, p. 3.*

*Original, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

*Under the text, a round seal with inscription in Russian and Moldavian: Prosecutor of the Chernansky Raion of the Moldavian ASSR.*

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<sup>a-a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>b</sup> *As in the original. Should be: Boleslav.*

<sup>1</sup> Boleslav Bobek, son of Francishek, was shot on 9 December 1937, in accordance with the decision by the dvoika with the NKVD of the USSR, no. 351, dated 19 November 1937.

## No. 223

17 October 1937, n.p.p. Fragment of a testimony by a Red Army soldier,  
Mykhailo Shkolnyk

[...]

<sup>a</sup>-Question<sup>a</sup>: Tell us [more about] what c-r Trotskyite propaganda you carried out and when did you step on the path of c-r activity?

<sup>a</sup>-Answer<sup>a</sup>: My anti-Soviet activities came down to the fact that I discredited the undertakings of the party and the government and spread slander regarding the Workers'-Peasants' Red Army.

In the summer of this year, I do not remember in which month, while in a tent, during a conversation with the non-commissioned officers Anenko and Goluboky, I stated that in 1932, there was a famine in the USSR caused by bad crops, and in 1933 there were good crops and people were starving, while in the centers, in grain elevators, the grain was sitting. I led the conversation towards a statement that in 1933 the hunger was artificially incited by the communists.

[...]

[Mykhailo Shkolnyk<sup>1</sup>]

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75220-FP, pp. 10–10 v.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup>-<sup>a</sup> *Written in uppercase.*

<sup>1</sup> Mykhailo Shkolnyk (born 1913), non-commissioned officer of temporary service, driver-mechanic with the military support battalion of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Mechanized Brigade of RKKA. Arrested on 7 October 1937, sentenced to four years of imprisonment on 21 January 1938 by the Military Tribunal of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Corps of the Kiev MD; rehabilitated in 1974.



**No. 224**

**21 January 1938, n.p.p. Fragment of a protocol from a meeting  
of the Military Tribunal of 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Corps of the Kiev MD in the case  
of Mykhailo Shkolnyk**

[...]

Def[endant] Shkolnyk: In conversations with comrades, at times I made mistakes of a political nature because I did not understand everything. For example: in the month of June 1937, being on sentry duty, I was doing [mathematical] problems with percentages, taking the examples [for my calculations] from agriculture; I solved the problem of how many horses died in the kolkhoz and individual sector. I took the wrong numbers and as a result I got the answer that in the kolkhoz sector, mortality among horses was at a far higher percentage than in the individual sector. Goluboky gave me this problem to solve. What interest did Goluboky have in this, I do not know.

One day, non-commissioned officer Adenko<sup>a</sup>, among a group of Red [Army staff] – [soldiers] and non-commissioned officers, started a conversation on how in 1933, the famine was allegedly incited artificially by the party and the government of the USSR. I also joined in this conversation. I stated then that in the village where I live, many people also died from starvation. I did not say that the peasants were forced into the kolkhozy.

In the month of September 1937, during the polit[ical] course, when [discussing] the state system, I stated by mistake that the Crim[ean] ASSR is a colony of the Russian SFSR and Russia will never give Crimea back to Ukraine. I did not say to anyone that the people are hostile towards the Red Army.

In conformity: (—)

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75220-FP, p. 36.  
Authenticated copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*

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<sup>a</sup> *As in the original. In document no. 223: Anenko.*

## No. 225

### 15 March 1940, n.p.p. Fragment of a testimony of Konstantyn Bonzyuk, an inhabitant of the village of Andronivka

Testimony of the accused Bonzyuk Konstantyn Myronovych<sup>1</sup>  
dated 15 March 1940

[...]

Question: Describe in more detail the contents of those slandering letters to former Poland and [answer the question,] how many and to whom did you send those letters?

Answer: I sent 15 letters, slandering in character, to my relatives in former Poland: mother Bonzyuk Krystyna, brother Bonzyuk Nikolay, brother-in-law Vorobey Pavel; in [those letters] I expressed my hostility towards the Soviet authorities and described non-existent “atrocities” in the USSR, that is, I wrote in those letters:

“In the USSR, there is hunger. People are swelling and dying from hunger, and let no people say that there is heaven and good life in the USSR; to the contrary, in the USSR, the peasant has no life because of the kolkhozy. They put taxes on the peasants that exceed their abilities, and this from citizen, who has a single pair of pants, they take them for taxes, and those who do not want to hand them over, the Soviet authorities will take their last pair off.”

And in those letters, I advised those inhabitants of Poland, who envy my life in the USSR, not to make a revolution there.

In those letters, I set myself as an example in such words, that “under Soviet rule, the nation and I are not alive, but awaiting death. It is so hard to live that [I wish for a] quick death”, that my children have swollen and “swollen so badly that they can not get up from the bed.”

This is what my writing of slandering letters to Poland against the USSR came down to.

In the presence of other people, I continually expressed my hostile views against the Soviet authorities, which come down to whispering that there are allegedly products in Poland, while here there are none and will be none. I complained at the tax policies of the Soviet authorities and claimed, aiming to incite the people, “that before the master paid more than [is paid] to kolkhozniki, although the master had a lot of land and we only have a yard by our house now.”

[...]

*HDA SBU, Khmelnytsky, Spr. P-26789, pp. 14–14 v.*  
*Original, handwritten.*  
*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Konstantyn Bonzyuk (born 1896), sentenced in 1933 to five years of imprisonment. The main evidence in his case were the letters to his relatives in Poland.

# ANNEX



## No. 1

### N.d.p., [Sumy]. Fragment of a diary of Yosyp Ilashenko

[...]

The year 1933 has arrived – a most difficult year, as such humankind surely does not remember. The meager food stocks prepared for the winter were depleted completely by the spring, and around 1 April, as they say – nothing at all. Neither the production plant, nor the cooperative had any food stocks, which is why they gave nothing to the workers; if they did, it was in extremely small quantities. In the market, even if there was something, it was expensive, particularly the grain, and the plant issued very little flour and sugar as well.

Anastasia from the school would get the flour, and Ludmila bread – and all this in such minute quantities that with great effort, it still hardly lasted for 1½ weeks. We starved completely for the rest of the time; there were situations, when, for entire days, there was no bread at home. Dinners and suppers of especially low quality we took from the plant canteen. For dinner, only borshch with dry marc or with burdock. And if not for certain savings of Anast[asia] Yak[ovlevna] which we exchanged in the *Torgsin* in Sumy and Belopole for flour, millet, groats, etc., I do not know what would happen.

Many [people] ate weeds and hay. People started swelling and dying from hunger. In that way, the bitter cup did not spare my sister, Paraskeva, who, on top of that, was ill in the legs and exhausted; she was unable to work and died on 13 April 1933. We buried [her] in the Zasumsky cemetery.

[...]

When we were in Sumy, the situation as far as food [supplies] changed somewhat for the better; for exam[ple], it was possible to buy bread at 2 r[ubles] 50 k[opek]s for a kilo[gram], as well as oth[er] food products much cheaper, and in general, with the beginning of the harvests, I state again, the situation has clearly changed for the better and one should only wish that the passing year of 1933 should never be repeated.

[...]

[Yosyp Ilashenko<sup>1</sup>]

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75439-FP, pp. 28–32.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Yosyp Ilashenko (born 1892), arrested on 6 March 1944, sentenced by the Military Tribunal with the NKVD Army, on 11 May 1944 to 10 years in prison; rehabilitated in 1992.

## No. 2

### N.d.p., [Baturyn]. Fragment of a diary of a photographer Mykola Bokan

“300 days without a bite of bread” – now it is already 600. And it seems that it will still be quite long before one finds it on the table of a working man. Eaten in small doses, like a delicacy, on holidays.

If one takes out bread, all other food products have become, due to their price, completely unobtainable. That is why the time has come to think how to save the children from death. We plead[ed] with [our] 22-year old son, Kostya, to stick to the means that he acquired on his own. The moment of the farewell dinner was even photographed. We did not think that this was the moment of his departure not only from the family, but from life as well.

On 30 July 1933, after dark, my son Konstantyn was coming from work in the kolkhoz. He collapsed and lay on the ground, and after two hours, in full view of those walking and driving by, he died.

Taking into account the poor health of the deceased, and the fact that he wanted to live with me, suffering from hunger, he started smoking (“comrades” advised him and supplied with cigarettes) and thus, it can be stated that he was tormented to death by that criminal that goes by the name of “organization”. The workers were given boiled buckwheat chaff with a little bit of flour added to eat. Animals died from such food. This could not have happened even under the cruellest farmer. [In any case] one could always leave [the work] and go work for someone else. But when everything is “organized”, where can one go?

...People say: “When a political organization becomes all-powerful, one will find very few crimes which it would not commit.” This is certified in blood.

In the hemp factory, this son received five potatoes for a month’s work. For two months of working in the kolkhoz – a grave, a hole and a wagon to the cemetery – that is all the pay for his dutiful work for others.

“Science-medicine” has certified death from exhaustion.

The tomb of the dead and his father. We recall why he died and how.

His photograph, taken for the home diary. To his sides two [of my] younger sons, also ill from hunger. Could I have taken away allowances of those clearly ill from starvation and given it to a seemingly healthy deceased? No, I could not. The mistake made by the deceased was that he rejected his father and trusted the enemies. He did not tell me that he could not work – it would have been different. He died a beautiful death, as rarely happens. It is only the saints that die this way.

[Mykola Bokan<sup>1</sup>]

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 75489-FP, p. 107 (envelope).*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

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<sup>1</sup> Mykola Bokan (1881–1938), arrested in 17 October 1937, sentenced by the Special Court College of the Chernihiv Oblast Court on 23 June 1938 to eight years in prison; rehabilitated in 1993.

### No. 3

#### N.d.p., n.p.p. Fragments of statements of a writer Alexander Dovzhenko about the famine in Ukraine

[...]

“Dovzhenko criticizes the policy of the Communist Party and the question of collectivization with even more ferocity, disseminating exaggerated, panic-spreading rumors. »The countryside is perishing. Dying. Starving. There is nothing to eat. In one of the villages near Kiev an uprising«.”

[...]

*HDA SBU, Spr. S-836, T. 1, p. 59.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

[...]

...Dovzhenko’s secret literary plans, which he has shared with me in Moscow, on 28 January [1941] at his home, merit particular attention. He told me the plot of the play that he is writing (or rather was writing and left it unfinished) ever since 1934. The play is full of chauvinist elements, hostile to the Soviet reality. It shows the period of collectivization. The people are dying of hunger. A Kulak, who is sent up north, foretells the famine, and the hunger strikes. And the Kulak, in exile, sends a package back to his motherland with a dry piece of bread. The package is delivered to a dying, poor farmer. The most notable part of the play comes with the death of the old man, symbolizing the old, “reliable”, patriarchal Ukraine. The old man dies, unable to withstand the bossiness of this grandson-pioneer. He dies with a song on his lips. And the song is about all the good that is dying in Ukraine with him. Such is (according to Dovzhenko) supposedly the state of the contemporary Ukrainian countryside.

Having told me about it, Dovzhenko added that in the last act of the play, he intends to present the triumph of socialism...

[...]

*HDA SBU, Spr. S-836, T. 2, p. 28.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Russian.*

[...]

20 April 1941

On 19 [April], I was dining at Dovzhenko's and spent several hours [with him]. Dovzhenko read to me parts of his play, "Zaporizhians", on which he is working at the moment in parallel with "Taras Bulba". The play is about the years of collectivization, dekulakization, deportations of Kulaks to the Solovki, which "no *reportkom* will let through", but which Dovzhenko will send directly to Stalin.

The ideological and artistic sense of the play was described by Dovzhenko himself in the following words:

"The Kulak – that is a turned page of our history. Yet, he is not only an abstract »enemy«, but also our people. There was strength and beauty in the Kulak as well – the strength and beauty of the poor farmer won; it was not »the program« that won and destroyed [the Kulak], but the will of the people, the power of the people. With that, I asked about the uprisings – during collectivization, there were, after all, uprisings. Was it also the people that rose?"

Dovzhenko answers: "In the course of its history, the Ukrainian nation did nothing else but rose against someone, and what of it? There are nations that will have an uprising once and gain something, and others that do nothing but rise, rise and achieve nothing with that. It means that this is not the way or »there is not enough strength«. That is beautiful, but only in the cinema." Laughing, he told me how in 1932, in some raion in the Dnipropetrovsk region where a peasant uprising was feared, a secretary of the *obkom* arrived, then it was Khatayevich, gathered the peasants and asked – "So how is it, will you have an uprising?" And some old man answered: "No, we will not: they got drunk, so it was not the right people to go."

[...]

*HDA SBU, Spr. S-836, T. 2, p. 158.  
Copy, typewritten.  
Document in Russian.*



## No. 4

### N.d.p., n.p.p. Fragments of personal notes of an official Heorhy Sambros

[..]

One needs to recognize the historical, class and revolutionary purposefulness of the destruction of Kulaks carried out by Stalin. Anyone who holds the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the historically necessary step [on the path] to communism cannot deny the step taken by Stalin was right. But – as to the methods and means with which the Kulak class was destroyed – there can be diverging views and assessments of that. Here, at the time, the only and universal method of carrying out that revolutionary step was the one most appropriate for the times and the regime – the “spaghetti”, [or] “mincer” method. I believe that one day (perhaps in 50 years or earlier), Marxist history will give an objective – and certainly not a positive – assessment of the those unimaginable methods which Stalin popularized back then.

I will never forget the image, so typical of those times, of dekulakized people whom I accidentally saw during an official trip, being driven away. Being sent by the practical teaching center, I was on official business in Trostyanka, where at the time I no longer had any relatives, only several distant acquaintances. Thus, I had to take my meal in the canteen.

Having walked out of the canteen, my meal finished, I saw several wagons driven by horses pass though the Trostyanka market square. Sad women and children were sitting on the wagons. Next to the wagons, where apart from women, children and one, probably ill, old man, there were almost no belongings, only some rags of clothes – sullen men were walking. Bare foot, poorly clothed, one in a torn jacket, another without any, [only] in a shirt; someone in a hat or dirty cap, and someone with a naked head – dusted, with face skin red as copper, sunburnt, exhausted, in stupor, with hurt feet... A vigorous, tall, thin, gray men stood out above them with a countenance different from others: it burned with unspoken force of contempt for their guards and the feeling of self dignity, it burned with anger of resistance and confrontation. The guards – several men in GPU uniforms – walked in a loose circle, surrounding the entire group. One of them held a hand on an opened holster with a revolver...

...It was a group of dekulakized persons from a neighboring village, being driven away somewhere north. Passersby would stop and take a long time to walk the miserable procession off with their eyes. It was clear that the guards felt awkward under [the weight of ] those looks from passersby and hurried [to] drive their herd quickly through the village.

However, the rebelling old man, to the contrary, intentionally slowed down the pace, taking out a fire striker, slowly lighting a rolled cigarette and in a loud voice, so that all would hear, cursed at the guards and at the Soviet authorities – words that were sharp, strong, stinging, deeply ironic and, at times, extremely witty and wise. Irritated, the commander of the guards even threatened him with

the gun and cursed terribly a couple of times, yet did not dare, in the middle of the street, to either hit him or [take] some other decisive action. There was nothing else left for him but to hurry the horses so as to leave the village as fast as was possible. (However, I am certain that this old man – oppositionist, was not driven to the end of the journey so as to prevent him from hampering the passage: “eliminated” somewhere on the road...).

The faces of other dekulakized persons, and all the more of those middle-sized farmers who were wrongly taken for Kulaks (there were many of them at the time) – sadness, poverty, suffering, hopelessness. With heads down, the men walked in silence next to the wagons and did not react to the old man’s revolt: their attitudes seemed to say “Better to be quiet, you too, you will not achieve anything with words and curses...”

The conclusion from all that I have stated is such that “the system of [making] spaghetti out of those dead and those alive” was characteristic of the Stalinist period. Countless numbers of people were then destroyed, deported, etc.

[...]

<sup>a-24</sup>. In the claws of hunger and hopelessness<sup>a</sup>

Clearly, my doom was coming too... During the years 1930–1933, the “mincer” also mercilessly pulled me into its mechanism of destruction, depriving me gradually, first of civic dignity, good name, authority, political rights, and then also the right to work, to earn.

In fact, I stood at the very edge of the entry point of the “mincer”, where I was just about to be thrown in, this time for physical annihilation.

But I did not want to die, I struggled. I resisted even when the state-run “system of hunting down” was already holding me in the strong claws of organized hunger.

And I did not resist because I feared the doom, death. At times I thought about death, looking forward [to it] with content because I was overly exhausted with the experience of being hunted down and moral suffering. I resisted consciously, internally and mainly because I was young and loved work, action. Particularly academic work, and social work attracted me with enormous [force] and made me forget all the disasters of everyday life. Forward, forward! Everyday forward, as every “tomorrow” promises some achievement, something to be done and because of it – it is worth seeing that “tomorrow”!...

In spite of that, the system of organized economic oppression and hunger, which was the inherent part of the state persecution (as I already showed in the example of Borys’ fate), got me as well, with all its strength, and gradually put me in a situation almost without escape. I must now tell about those claws of hunger in which I was trapped by circumstances.

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<sup>a-24</sup> *Underlined in typewriting.*

In those years, the food supply situation was extremely hard overall. Soviet land was chronically starving. The famines came in waves, as if planned, more or less every ten years.

The first famine – [in] the years 1920–1922. Although it was conditioned by climatic circumstances, a great drought, it took exceptional severity and cruelty due to Soviet social difficulties with the implementation of the principles of the so called “war communism”. Under those conditions of general requisitions and forced [handing over of] food, the peasants felt no need to produce agricultural products for others for sale. They locked themselves within the borders of their own, narrow, natural farming, working only for themselves. This led the country, devastated by drought, to a most severe hunger crisis.

The second famine – [in] the years 1930–1933. This one, except for some climatic reasons, resulted exclusively from the efforts of the government aimed at introducing mass collectivization of agriculture. At that time, from the very beginning the comm[unist] party set too steep a course for general, forced collectivization. The peasants had all their farming property taken away from them (the land, horses, stocks) and transferred to the collective farms. For the peasant, it was too heavy a violation of his psyche and the entire, centuries-old culture of work, life, economy and tradition – [it] caused resistance and led to sabotaging the work, to catastrophic collapse of agricultural production in the entire country, to organized hunger. Seeing the situation, the Central Party Committee had to “fight back”, publishing Stalin’s letter “Dizziness from success”, which, with a back date, was proving that the rushed collectivization is harmful and that it was allegedly carried out by lawless “apostates” against the party guidelines... Thus, the mistake of the CC was quickly and properly corrected. With time, a number of breaks and means which, in fact, within two to three years, to some degree did improve the situation and eliminated the famine, which was much more severe and greater in scope than the first one.

Finally, the third strike of famine came in the years 1942–1944, during World War II. This calamity [was] caused by the war and Stalinist system of collective economy, in its entirety, which, at the time, sacrificed openly and exclusively the individual interests and needs of a peasant family and its economy on the altar of state plans and interests. The kolkhoz order was then primarily a tool of state-run, centralized, agricultural production. The entire farm production of the peasants was directly (through enormous taxes in kind) or indirectly (through a system of allegedly voluntary collections, semi-forced contributions for the army, etc.) taken by the state, leaving the very producer – the peasant – plucked like a duck, barefoot, naked and hungry, and most of all, doubting his work, his prosperity. There was no one to even work in the kolkhozy: the men were at the front lines, only the women were left. Productivity fell to the very minimum, agricultural technologies deteriorated, the crops withered. The system of “mobilizing the population”, mainly from the cities for the harvests, flourished, as did other such things, that is, the system of forced work, in reality for free, and thus of very low productivity. To satisfy the needs of the army and the front – everything that was

possible was drawn from the countryside; the people of villages and towns began to starve severely. The situation was worsened by the enormous crisis in transportation and shortage of drafting force: the people were unable to bring in the fuel, food, sowing seeds, work the fields properly, etc., not because there was simply a shortage of horses, but in fact there were none. The people transported the wood themselves, harnessing themselves to the sledges. The herding of cattle fell, the fat disappeared and the meat as well... Hunger took over the entire Soviet Union [in an] organized [way].

Those three waves of hunger brought inhuman suffering everywhere in the country. Regardless of the external situation, and not the representative picture of the overall flourishing Soviet Union – wide-scale industrialization, building of the industry, mechanization, increase in the country's industrial production, etc. – the general economic status of each individual citizen was falling catastrophically with each year. The people were becoming ever more poor. The material culture [became] primitive. Personal prosperity, home, clothes, a civilized standard of living – among the wide masses of people, inescapably, over the entire first quarter of the period of Soviet rule – have all fallen into ruin...

While during the first wave of hunger, the people in the rural areas were still living off of supplies, both food and material, accumulated earlier, as well as by exchanging them and rationing those valuables, and managed to get through this difficult situation, during the second, and in particular the third wave of general, national hunger, the situation was becoming ever more severe. The earlier supplies and goods disappeared, the people living in the cities no longer had anything to exchange for food from the peasants because already there was not enough food for its very producers, the peasants, and the hunger, with each wave, became greater, wider and more overwhelming.

I have already written about my own, personal experiences of the hunger period of 1920–[19]22. One had to get around things: living in Okhtyrka, I would feed on mere cherries from the trees, I would steal carrots from plots by the road, I ate “shrapnel” groats, I would be content with porridge and oat bread – etc. However, there were, after all, times when I managed, although with great difficulties and rarity, to get fatback, meat, sugar and others. Starving, I would also find the poetic side to my situation. I took delight in my own hardship and even confessed it in my poems, in prose (“Crossed-out stomach”, etc.). The first wave [of hunger] passed with people still having their economic, pre-revolutionary savings, and thus it was easier to endure.

However the second wave struck me personally with much greater ferocity. It found me in Kharkiv. It is about her that I have to write now, and about the third – I shall write when, chronologically, I come to the time of the second world war.

...In villages, people were dying by tens, hundreds. The hungry people would run away from the kolkhozy, from the countryside to the cities, and here they were also dying, finding nothing to eat... On numerous occasions, I was a witness to a death from starvation...

Way back when I was describing the funeral of my mother, who died before new year of 1933, I wrote that the people were swelling from hunger and died like flies. At the Liubotyn [train] station, every day they would collect several corpses and bury them quickly, wherever there was room.

And earlier still, in the years 1931–1932, when I was living in Liubotyn and walking each morning to take the train to the city, for some half a month, day after day, I observed the death of some old woman by a fence... With feet swollen from hunger, her strength lost, she lay by the fence on the road which ran by the train tracks near the Liubotyn abode of summer houses.

Among the weeds, covered all over with the dust from the road, and a wooden plate by her head left by some kind soul for alms, a terrible [apparition] with thin hands, with bones tightly covered by a yellow-grayish skin, with horrifying, livid legs, swollen to the size of logs, and swollen face, on which, like turbid spots, there were the gazing, thoughtless eyes – she lay, day after day, terrible as a nightmare...

For the first few days, she would still move, whisper something when someone stopped by her, and as time went by, day after day, she became more silent, laying motionless, only her eyes moving to the right,... to the left... or looking up above her for a longer period of time, staring at the blue mist of an indifferent, hot summer sky. Finally – she died. The body was left there for about a day, having swollen even more and disappeared at the end. The militia took it and buried somewhere...

The old woman's agony lasted longer than usual because the passersby apparently supported her, even if to a small degree, with their donations. However, no one was able to save her from death because no one had enough food, everyone was starving.

I remember the death of that old woman very well, perhaps because she was a concrete illustration to the widely popular, Ukrainian traditional saying “to die under the fence...”. This illustrative saying is often heard with the simple folk, in tales, songs and colloquial conversations as a symbol of bitter fate and loneliness. My mother, who was a sentimental woman, at moments of grief, after a fight with my father or under the stress of everyday hardships, liked to cry and talk about her sad end – often in our, the children's, presence, she used that saying, complaining that in her old age, like a beggar, she will clearly have to die somewhere “under the fence”. And I remember how those words made a great, terrible impression on me, being so young. That is why the old woman's agony of starvation “under the fence” by the Liubotyn road has so bitterly drawn my attention, as it was a real life illustration to that bitter end of a miserable, lonely, God forsaken human being...

The militia could not keep up with collecting the starving people from the streets of Kharkiv alone, with the obvious exception of the main streets in the center. In other streets, in the years 1932–1933, [no one] would be surprised seeing them. The market squares were cleared of the dead and weak in the mornings: the militia took them somewhere.

On quiet backstreets and on peripheral streets, one could come across similar sights to the one I observed on the Liubotyn road. Not far away from Kotovska street, where I lived in Kharkiv in the period of 1932–[19]33, on the corner of Konusha and one of the backstreets, I would also pass by a group of swollen women, who were lying on the ground by the hedge, having no strength to stand up and go. One of them died quickly, and the others were taken away somewhere, together with the dead body, the almost-dead...

This is what I saw with my own eyes. Yet, from talking to people, I knew that the images of hunger and human suffering were much more terrifying than what I saw personally.

My greatest shock was caused by the stories of the starving children told by my friends. Due to collectivization, disintegration of families, deportations of fathers and mothers, death by starvation – many children were left homeless, roaming wherever their feet would take them, dying from starvation in great numbers. They were also collected from the roads, train stations, municipal squares and streets, swollen, terrifying, and sent to separate child shelters which were secretly kept under the responsibility of the GPU. No stranger was admitted there. From a special recruitment, the GPU mobilized politically reliable teachers to work with those starving children, making them promise that they would not say a word about what they have seen there...

But people are [only] people and those mobilized teachers told their relatives and friends in secrecy about the terrible sight, about mass deaths and the miserable fate of the poor, starving children overcrowded in secret chi[ld] shelters. Surely the authorities were not able to hide the scale of hunger among the children from the society– everyone knew about it, although no one said anything in public.

I recall the great indignation with which a well-informed and renowned Ukrainian poet told me personally about mass deaths and suffering from hunger of the swollen children. He was an ardent supporter of the Soviet government, but nevertheless, in strong words he accused the Soviet clique of Stalinist leadership of having “organized the famine”. He told me that in the future, the history will forgive them for many mistakes and sins against living people, perhaps it will forgive them even the anti-humanitarian methods of dekulakization, and deportations, and firing squadrons – but it will never forgive them and should not forgive them the deaths and suffering of the masses of children, tormented by famine incited by them... Perhaps I was wrong, but at that moment, I told the poet that I agree with him...

But how was my situation at the time against the general hunger? What state did I find myself in?

My food supplies at the time depended entirely on my efforts and persistence in acquiring the right to use the canteens, be it legally or illegally. But the bread rations and canteens alone did not provide sufficient [amounts] of food. I had to provide it with my own efforts. At times it would happen that I searched the stores and municipal bazaars for anything to eat.

But the stores were empty. The Kharkiv greengrocers were a strange sight at the time. Great spaces and storage spaces, with shelves filled with products from the floor to the ceiling at one point, were now empty. There was either nothing at all on the shelves, or they were filled with rows of bottles of vodka of all types. The vodka was everywhere, in all store windows, in all stores, both with groceries and industrial products. Bottles of vodka, as if a rainfall, came down to flood the entire city. Only in some stores, and only on the counter, were the usual “products”: five or six trays or platters of hurriedly prepared dishes – cold salad, looking like a silage, from a rotten, disgusting sauerkraut; a pâté from fish remains with soaked cabbage and salty, cut pickles; rarely, pieces of some frozen meat with a sauce that looked like a shoe paste, soaked green tomatoes with a smell of a rotten barrel; frozen, sour, filled, baked tomatoes with overly peppered, so as not to stink, meat filling, prepared from the remains of some uncertain meat; finally, rarely, such delicacies as, boiled eggs or some small fruits – etc. All those dishes (I remember them so vividly!) would be put out on the counter in small quantities, and were immediately bought out by the buyers, and the stores, for another three to five hours, were once again filled with emptiness, only the reflections bouncing off of the countless bottles of vodka standing on the shelves.

That year, such a severe situation not only existed in Kharkiv. It was very close to being just the same in Moscow. A well-known French poet, Louis Aragon<sup>1</sup>, who was in Moscow at the time, recalls it in such words:

*“Year ’30. »Mostorg«. I will never forget.*

*Long room. Dim light, and on sale – almost nothing.*

*So few products on the empty shelves,*

*People stare at them as at gray dust of mist.*

*And above them – a red drape with white letters...*

.....  
*I’ve learned the shortage of everything – year after year. A pin, it too*

*They made it more expensive, like treasure – there is none other.*

.....  
*In shoes with holes in the winter, under the yoke of the carried weight...*

*And prepared for everything, only to get rubber boots!...”*

(“Liter[aturnaya] Gaz[eta]”, 6 April 1957)

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Aragon, actually Louis Andrieux (1897–1982), a French poet and novelist; at first a representative of Dadaism, later surrealism and finally critical realism; from 1927 member of the French Communist Party; in 1930 visited the USSR, after his return to France he called for a revolution, for which he was sentenced by the court to five years in prison (sentence suspended); during the Spanish Civil War, member of the International Brigades; from 1937 co-editor of the communist “Ce Soir”; supporter and defender of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (this was the reason for closing down the newspaper in August 1939), also a supporter of Stalinism and Stalin himself; participated in the French Campaign of 1940; later with the communist FTP and the National Front; in the years 1944–1953 again a co-editor of “Ce Soir”; in the years 1950–1960 (1982?) member of the CC of the Communist Party of France; in 1957 received the Lenin peace prize; from 1956 opposed to Stalinism and criticized totalitarianism in the USSR.

One was unbearably hungry all the time, and that it is why one had to buy this silage, typical for the whole of Kharkiv, and – forcing oneself – eat it. Perhaps only the municipal bazaars were of help to some degree, where, at high prices, the peddlers sold fresh tomatoes, milk and vegetables. I would buy large, red tomatoes, cut them with the knife, salt them enormously and eat them with bread. Tomatoes with bread – this was my typical, everyday breakfast and supper. Although I like tomatoes, they became loathsome [for me] beyond limits.

Lunch in some canteen, comprised a plate of soup with beets, potatoes and some crumbs, a plate of groats and – not every day – a minute portion of fried meat. All this was real food. That is why the right to belong to some canteen, became, at the time, a matter of life or death.

As I was not a member of the lab[or] union, I had no right to [eat at] the canteen. I had to starve like a renegade. I kept quiet about the fact that I was not a member of the [labor] union, I tried not to tell anyone in Kharkiv and for a long time, the secretary of the institute's labor organization of academic staff, a scatterbrained young girl who had a quite friendly attitude and respect towards me, would give me meal coupons for the academic employees' canteen without asking for my membership card. Thus, every month, I received a slip with coupons for an entire month, and had a daily portion of food. In reality – at the time, I lived, breathed and ate meals – “as outlawed”, illegally...

That is why after some time, when the wave of hunger struck with greater severity, the right to the canteen started being verified – formalities with receiving the coupons, etc. I had to decline the right to the canteen [for] academic staff. In order not to die from starvation, I also had to eat somewhere, and forgetting my shyness and timidity, I went *va banque*, insolently and deceitfully.

Through an acquaintance with a Ukrainian composer <sup>b</sup>-Verovka<sup>b</sup>, I acquired coupons to the canteen of the Blakitny Ukr[ainian] Writers' House. I was aware of the risks: they could have come up to me at the table, ask for the writer's membership card and shame me by pulling me out from the table. But there was no other way, I had to take the risk, and thus started frequenting the writers' canteen.

I was lucky: I ate there for about 1½ to 2 months and no one asked who I was, not once...

I had serious looks, I was polite and behaved with dignity, and several times I dined there together with Borys, who would come to Kharkiv from time to time, “in his company”, and Borys was known among the staff of the House as a Ukrainian writer; I also dined with Vasyl Aleshko and with <sup>c</sup>-Verovka<sup>c</sup>. All this, in the eyes of the hotel's manager, was surely proof of my right to enter the writers' canteen. Personally, however, I felt very bad, sitting on tenterhooks, awaiting problems and shame at any moment. Going to eat [my meal] was for me, at the time, every time, a true moral pain, an everyday Golgotha.

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<sup>b</sup>-<sup>b</sup> *Underlined and added above:* Aleksandr Ivanovich Steblanko.

<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup> *Underlined and added above:* Stablanka.



But they had good food there, edible and – above all – in a cultured manner. Clean table cloths, restaurant-style table sets, paper napkins, skilled waiters, restaurant-style menu system, buffet with appetizers and vodka, etc. – all this was in heavenly contrast to the famine, to the swollen people under the fences... A person who did not step beyond the walls of this privileged canteen could even not have heard about all the atrocities and cruelties of the famine surrounding [us].

At the time when I was frequenting the writers' canteen, I could, to a degree, observe the life of the writers, though at lunch time, there were mostly the petty journalists; "big fish" and "pillars" of literature could be seen only rarely and by accident. They ate at home with the family because that was cheaper.

For some reason, I remember Ostap Vyshna<sup>2</sup> best, although I saw him there no more than twice.

One time, he was extremely agitated. With the help of the hotel's manager, he was preparing a table for 8–10 people, awaiting some good company, setting carafes with vodka, bottles of beer, appetizers. His vigorous face, confidence of movements, his well-mannered behavior still stand before my eyes. I did not know at the time, that in some 1–1½ years, he would be in Tobolsk, in exile, and that for a long time he would be given the modest position of the head of a theatre club in a God-forsaken Siberian town from which I did not live far...

[...]

Yet, I return to the tale of my miserable feeding.

I did not manage to dine at the writers' canteen for long. It was ever more difficult to get the coupons, and with time it became entirely impossible.

I then found support with Matvy who, through his friends at the Academy of Agriculture, would get hold of coupons to their academic canteen, located on Sumy St. (a little further up the road, behind the building of the *Obkom* of the CP(b)U).

It was much more modest, more primitive and the food was worse, but there was plenty anyhow. I found myself among the typical characters of agronomic technicians, swine breeders, etc., with whom I naturally had nothing in common. For some reason I was less afraid that they would discover me and throw me out of there, but I still felt bad. At the time, I was like a dog which ran from one canteen to the other and grabbed food from among strangers who were careless...

Thus, in strange places, fighting for a bite of food stolen somewhere, I struggled through my entire stay in Kharkiv. It is true that, however hungry every day,

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<sup>2</sup> Pavlo Hubenko (literary alias Ostap Vyshna, 1889–1956), Ukrainian writer. In 1907 graduated from the Kiev military paramedic school, later served as a paramedic with the army, then in a railways hospital in Kiev; at the end of 1917 with the Sanitary Directorate of the Ministry of Roads of the UNR. From 1920 with different editorial boards: among other, in the "Knyhospilka" publishing house, in newspapers "Visty VUTsVK", "Selanska Pravda" and periodical "Chervonyi Perec". In total, published over 150 books, humorous tales, columns, novels and satirical pieces. Arrested on 25 December 1933, accused of membership in a Ukrainian counterrevolutionary organization, with a decision of a court troika of the College of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, of 23 February 1934, sentenced to death. The Court College of the OGPU of the USSR, on 3 March 1934 changed the sentence to 10 years in prison. Served the sentence in Ukhta. Released on 7 October 1943 with a decision by the Special College of the NKVD of the USSR of 25 September 1943; rehabilitated in 1955.

I was not starving in the fullest sense of the word. People were swelling and dying here, and me, and a whole mass of Soviet officials at the time, so-so, in truth and lies, found a way and lived: I only became thinner in the face. The entire salary, almost without exception, went to food.

[...]

As I already wrote, in 1934, the food supply situation in Kamyshlov was bad. The famine, which in Kharkiv reached its height in 1933, reached Siberia in full scale only a year later. There were no starving people lying in the street, dying out in the open, but in the backstreet alleys, in the kolkhozniki households, etc., the same beggars, swollen feet, terrible exhaustion, death by starvation, all that was to be found...

In the city of Kamyshlov itself, there were public canteens open to everyone at commercial prices. Obviously, the masses of people could not take advantage of them. However, my wife and I only took our meals in such canteens, spending a ridiculously large part of our salaries on them. The meals were uniquely bad: only in the Urals can they prepare meals in so terrible manner, even from the best products. Mainly they would feed us “rozsolnyky” from a mixture of pickled vegetables, green, unripe tomatoes, cucumbers, cabbage, rutabaga and the remains of meat of the poorest quality. Nevertheless, it was “food”, which, even if with disgust, one could eat.

[...]

[Heorhy Sambros<sup>3</sup>]

*HDA SBU, F. 6, Spr. 68805-FP volume no. 6, pp. 998–1003, 1005–1030, 1031–1032; volume no. 8, pp. 1314–1315.*

*Original, handwritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

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<sup>3</sup> Heorhy (Yuriy) Sambros (born 1895), in 1915 student of the physics and math faculty at Kharkiv University; from April 1916 participated in a course in the Kiev Military Infantry School, later with the White Army, from which he deserted, until 1921 worked at the Okhtyrka Office of Public Education, later as head of the academic Agro-technical Vocational School for Sugar Beet; from 1923 member – Secretary of the Sumy Oblast Directorate for Workers of Education, from December 1924, lecturer in pedagogical courses at the Higher Teacher’s Courses in Sumy, which, with time were turned into Teachers’ Technical College, and from 1930 the Teaching Institute of Soc[ial] Educ[ation], where he took the post of head of the teaching department, later junior professor. In 1930, arrested by the GPU and released after 20 days. In 1931 left for Kharkiv, where he took the position of the head of students’ teaching internships at the All-Ukrainian Institute of Public Education. At the end of 1933, fearing an arrest, left for the Chelyabinsk Oblast, where at first he worked as the head of the Methodology Laboratory in the Kamyshlov Teachers’ Technical College. In 1939 graduated from the Moscow Part-Time Central Foreign Language Teaching Course (German), major: theory and practice of translation. In the years 1936–1941 studied part-time and graduated from the Defectology Department at the Herzen Leningrad Teaching Institute. In 1946 was awarded a medal of the “Leader of Public Education” of the RSFSR, in October 1954, with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR, was awarded the honorary title of “Distinguished Teacher of RSFSR”. In 1955, at the age of 61, Sambros defended his doctoral thesis.

## No. 5

### **N.d.p, n.p.p. An account of the situation in Ukraine by an anonymous author, confiscated by the Polish State Police**

[...]

Already in the spring of t[his] y[ear], the periodicals started publishing information announcing a great famine in the Ukrainian territories of the Sov[iet] Union. Next came the detailed data and announcements clearly presenting Ukraine's farming needs. In the spring, Ukraine, exploited by Red Moscow, was left without grain, and in the fall of last year, the sowings were so poor that the crops could not even provide for Moscow's requirements. Knowing the Red conquerors who use all possible means, it was certain from the very beginning that after the harvests, Ukraine would be left with no means of living. Those predictions came true.

Today, the people of Ukraine are dying of starvation. Thousands of peasants are dying each day, having no way to use that which they have worked for with all their strength. Today, the situation in Ukraine is such as there never was before in the world's history.

It should be stated here by what means Ukraine came under the yoke of the Red dictators and what means and methods were used by Moscow to lead Ukraine into the present situation from which there is no escape.

[...]

Stalin designs great plans which are to put the Sov[iet] Union on par with the greatest bourgeois countries. He designs plans for the period of the coming five years, the so-called "five-year plan". The first five-year plan sets forth the following plans (directions):

All plans are to be implemented not with foreign capital, but by the country's own means. With that aim, 20,000,000 small village farms are turned into great government-run estates, the so called "kolkhozy", because this is what is required by Bolshevik socialism. All those plans lead to the destruction of Ukraine – an entirely farming country. Ukraine is blinded by the construction of the Dniprelstan<sup>1</sup>, as if to say "We care for Ukraine, we want to build on it the fundamentals of communism." A new history was thus made, a new utopia, which started being popularized with all the energy of the Bolshevik propaganda. And the masses came to believe once again that Moscow is doing everything for some great idea. And again there were millions of Ukrainians among those who came to believe. And one more fact which should not be neglected – the enormous force of Red Moscow found the support of many abroad. Many distinguished Galicians joined the Red Bolsheviks, bringing with them the uneducated groups of workers and peasants who know little on the matter. Many people are traveling to Soviet Ukraine, and upon their return, cannot cease to praise Moscow's great work. Yet, they forget that they were only shown that which can make an impression abroad.

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<sup>1</sup> The "Dnieproges" hydroelectric power plant.

The new lackeys of the communist idea with their praise destroyed all the efforts undertaken by those who openly stood against the present system in Ukraine. However, that dumb admiration is slowly fading away. Already after the first years of the five-year plan, it is clear the Moscow has profited at the expense of Ukraine, that its plan is founded on the exploitation of both the natural resources of Ukraine and the work of Ukrainian peasants. The collectivization of farms has brought ruin to farming and exploitation of the peasants.

In the meantime, the deadline of the first five-year plan has been reached. It merely half-fulfilled the hope placed with it. Yet Stalin is not discouraged by the failures. He is preparing a design for a new five-year plan in which, clearly and without any ambiguities, without any attempts at hiding under some idea, he points out that Ukraine will have to feed Moscow, that it must deliver all necessary resources and food supplies. The new five-year plan pronounced Ukraine's destruction from the very beginning. After all, the Ukrainian kolkhozy were given such obligations that even the most persistent work would not be able to meet them.

From that moment on begins the inhuman torturing of the peasant serfs in Ukraine. Each year, after the harvests, Ukraine is invaded by Moscow's penal units, which force the peasants to pay tribute to Moscow. The times of servitude and slavery have returned to Ukraine. The peasant is not allowed to profit from what he produced with his own hands. With a decision from above, he is given such [food] rations as to let him die of starvation. And though the crops decrease each year, the Red supervisor does not lower his requirements, not by an inch. The peasants are perishing. The catastrophe is quickly approaching. In the spring of last year, less than a half of what the five-year plan called for was sown. Neither the penal expeditions nor deportations to labor camps in Solovki can force the peasants to fulfill the plans entirely. Simply, there is nothing to sow with. The winter is a prelude to our present situation. There is hunger everywhere, although not on such scale as today. The spring of 1933 comes, Moscow demands the spring sowings, but the peasants have no seeds. At first, they humbly endure Moscow's tortures, but with time, uprisings break out. In one village, then in another, the peasants drive the penal units away. This has truly infuriated Moscow. An open attack begins against everything that is Ukrainian. Thousands of peasants die on the gallows, tens of thousands die in prisons, hundreds of thousands are sent to the Solovetsky Islands.

Under the pretext of eradicating counterrevolution, Ukraine is brought to ruin. And despite all that, the spring sowings do not succeed. Even with the best sowings, it would hardly suffice to satisfy Moscow. Not a grain is left for the workers. Seeing clearly their situation without escape, the peasants are beginning to think about the ways of leaving even the smallest quantities of their harvests to themselves. At nights, the peasants go out into the fields and cut the grain heads. But not for long. Moscow introduces night watch in all kolkhozy, and those who are found guilty are charged for counterrevolution and punished with forced labor in Solovki. The situation becomes tense. On the one hand, Moscow does not intent

to withdraw any of its requirements, and on the other hand, the peasants, knowing that they will be left without means of living, are considering ways of freeing themselves from the Red yoke. Thus, the crops approach. Weakened with hunger, under stress from waiting, the peasants have no strength to go to work. Moscow does not want to understand it. New penal expeditions drive people to work. Under the barrel of the gun, the peasants work to feed their tormentors.

All produce is immediately transported away onto Moscow's territories. The people of Ukraine are left without means of living, at God's mercy. An inhuman struggle for a piece of bread begins. All this is taking place at a time when nearby, laughing and content tormentors are happy that their plans came through: Ukraine has arrived at the edge of the abyss and is not able to defend itself from the fall. One more step and it will fall into the abyss from which it will not be able to rise. Such are the schemes planned out by the well-fed Red dictators.

Yet, the plans of Ukraine's tormentors will never come true. The entire world has come to learn the news of the terrible tragedy in Ukraine, a tragedy which the no nation in the world has ever seen. Thousands of periodicals have described situation in the Ukrainian territories under Moscow['s rule], presenting the poverty and suffering of a 50-million nation in most terrifying words. In response to that, the government of the Soviet Union, through its diplomatic representatives, has denied this information, claiming that it is a most unilateral presentation of the matter. After all, the famine is in the entire country and is the result of the crisis, not intentional efforts of the government. To prove it, several distinguished politicians are invited to visit Ukraine, who, after their return, write in such a way as to make it appear that it is not all that bad in Ukraine. There is hunger, but not at the fault of the government.

However, few have come to believe in the claims made by Moscow and its lackeys. It is proven by the fact that the League of Nations, the Minority Congress and the parliaments of almost all countries have debated this issue. Yet, it was only proof of the fact that the states did not come to believe the lying claims of Moscow, but that will be of no help to those starving in Ukraine. The European nations were capable of standing up for the Jews when Hitler drove them out of Germany. The entire world protested at the time and offered great financial support to the Jews, and when the Red tormentors have brought utter destruction to Ukraine, then the world debates, admits that immediate aid is needed, but remains completely passive on the matter.

And it is undeniable that the famine exists, and at the fault, or rather thanks to the persistent efforts of the Moscow communists.

In presenting the present tragedy in Ukraine, let us turn to those images constructed from letters sent by our brothers from the other bank of the Zbruch River. It is only by a miracle that those letters ended up with us, since Moscow has introduced a strict censorship of all correspondence being sent abroad, and only one in a thousand letters arrives where it was sent.

Time of harvests... Hot sun burns mercilessly. And for some reason no one is moving, neither in the village, nor in the fields, as if people were dead – perished...

Ripe grain bows down towards the ground, as if asking to be cut... But it waits in vain. No one goes out into the fields... In dirty, dusty houses, exhausted people lie, groaning [from pain]. And all of the sudden, a whirling cloud on the road, behind the village. It grows and approaches the village quickly... They are already visible, the people in uniform, with bayonets on their guns... They rush into the village. Here and there a face peers out of a dusty window and is quickly gone. Invaders have entered the village, stopping in front of the chairman's house, that is, the commune's head. They force him out of the house. The senior officer shouts at him, cursing with the worst of words..., and in a moment's time, the members of the penal expedition disperse into the village. They knock on every window and call everyone to assemble in front of the chairman's house. The peasants walk out stooped, silently, towards the designated place. The senior officer says something to them, shouting, threatening. Within an hour, everyone must be in the fields with all the right tools. Disobedience will be punished with death. Someone tries to excuse himself with a lack of strength. A sharp movement of the hand, and he is walked away... After a moment, several shots and in front of everyone, the "counterrevolutionary" dies. Within an hour, the village is out in the fields. They reap, looking at the mounted guards who pass behind them with their guns ready. At first, the work proceeds somehow... Slowly, the weakened body refuses to subdue. Here and there, one falls onto the ground. The mounted guards do not waste time on those – a shot and that is it... As a warning to other counterrevolutionaries.

Thus the harvests went on, the blood of the peasants sinking deep into the ground worked by them... No one was spared... It was said that such is the requirement of the revolution. In reality, Moscow aimed to destroy the Ukrainian peasants, whom she constantly suspected of anti-revolutionary activity... This was the aim of their work during the harvests and the recent crops. All the harvested products were transported out of Ukraine almost entirely. And if anything was left, those were minute quantities so that no one would say that Ukraine was left without products. In the spring, the situation was bad. Everyone was waiting for the harvests. But it was even worse after the long-awaited harvests. The starved peasants had their bread taken from their hands, the bread they worked so hard for, and with no regrets, Moscow left millions of people to die of starvation.

Highly moving and filled with tragedy were those letters from the period before and during the harvests. But the letters we are getting now go far being what a human could deem unimaginable. The Bolshevik paradise soon changed into a hell on earth. Here is a letter written by a thirty year old woman to her family in Galicia:

"Dear Mom. I am writing this letter to you only now because earlier I could not even get up from bed. With your 10 dollars, I bought some food together with my husband, but how long will it last? It would have been better to forget us, the end would have already come by now. Now we will come to suffer again. Death is better than such life. Dear Mom. You will not want to believe what I am writing, but believe me, we were close to killing our Mikhas. Such hardships have come that we were tormented and lost our minds. Be well, give our regards to everyone, kiss our homeland from us, because we will probably never see it again."

And here is another letter:

“Dear Aunt. You ask if we are well. Do you not know, have you not heard, how well we are here? It has been three months since anyone saw good, edible food, we have long ago killed the horse. It lasted for a while, but when the news got out to the town, they immediately took Ivan away. He is in prison to this day. They said that it was forbidden to kill cattle because they belong to the state. And now we may die of hunger. There is not a living animal in the village, all have been eaten. For a week, we have been eating meat from human corpses. Yes, Aunt, it has come to that, and it shames me to write to you, but what else is to be done? We have nothing to buy with and nowhere to buy; there is no one to produce it, even if we could. Say good bye to all the friends from me and offer a Mass on behalf of me and Ivan...”

Have you ever read about such atrocities in any book? Have you ever, during the long years of living on this earth, happened to hear about such things? A man, like a beast, jumps at the corpses of his brothers, a mother kills her child, all because of hunger. They forget all because death hunts them.

Every day, hundreds, thousands, hundreds of thousands of our brothers from the other bank of the Zbruch River are dying a death which brings great suffering and which was long-prepared by the Red executioner. With systematic efforts, the Moscow leaders have led Ukraine to the present state of affairs.

And all this is taking place at a time when the French Prime Minister Herriot, having returned from his voyage through the Soviet Union, tells the people stories of heaven on earth, whilst hundreds of Moscow’s mercenary propagandists are trying to mislead the foreigners, telling them the most fantastic tales of prospering peasants in Ukraine. And when the Red tormentors completely destroy Ukraine, hundreds of people in Galicia, who have sold themselves to Moscow, usually for great sums, are left believing in Moscow. And we let those traitors carry the name of Ukrainians. We let them come to our institutions and sit with us. We let those scoundrels laugh in our face, proclaiming their communist slogans and recruiting new members.

And the League of Nations, when the aid is needed immediately, sends the matter of the relief for the starving to be considered by a commission. There is no time to take up such minor details. And all because there is no one to stand on our side, because we, a 50-million citizen nation, do not have our statehood, which would not need to ask for the mercy of all the ministers.

Today, only we, the Galicians, can help our brothers. In Lviv, a special committee for relief to those starving in Ukraine has been established. Now, such committees are being established in all the cities. They are tasked with protesting against the brutal eradication of wide masses of Ukrainian peasants and carrying out [money] collections on behalf of the starving. Protests alone will achieve nothing.

What good is the fact that almost every village adopted a protest resolution, what good is it that the youth is trying to protest in various ways? I am not saying that it is not needed. No – protests are necessary and thanks to them, we must

actively testify that the lives of our compatriots under the yoke of the Red tormentors are dear to us. We must prove that all our efforts are aimed at improving the fate of our compatriots.

That is why, at the end of my address, I turn to all the present citizens, respond to every call of the committees, to stand among those who want to help the people of Eastern Ukraine.

And remember that every day, thousands of our brothers there die a terrible death from starvation. For that reason, let us join together in a common effort against the Bolsheviks, which we shall achieve by helping with whatever we can, our compatriots whom the Red tormentors want to destroy<sup>2</sup>.

*DAIFO, F. 68, Op. 1, Spr. 241, pp. 87–88 v.*

*Copy, typewritten.*

*Document in Ukrainian.*

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<sup>2</sup> Probably the text of an address that was supposed to be delivered during the meetings of the Ukrainian community on the day of national mourning, 29 October 1933.



## ABBREVIATIONS

aa, a/a	– ad acta
AAN	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Archives of Contemporary Records
AC	– Army Corps
ADC	– Aide-de-Camp
AK	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Home Army
ALU	– Association for the Liberation of Ukraine
AMW	– Agricultural Machines Workshop
art.	– article
art.	– artillery
ASSR	– Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUCLU	– All Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions
AUCP(b)	– All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
AUNC	– All-Ukrainian National Congress
AW	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Office of the Military Attaché
BK	– unknown abbreviation
BRP	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Brotherhood of Russian Truth
BSSR	– Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic
Bur.	– Bureau
c.	– city
c.	– comrade
CAM	– Centre for Agricultural Machines
Capt.	– Captain
CAW	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Central Military Archive
CC	– Central Committee
CChO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Central Chernozem Oblast
<i>Centrospirit</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Central Directorate for State Spirits Monopoly of the People's Commissariat for Finance of the USSR
cert.	– certified
ChK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Extraordinary Commission
CIK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Central Executive Committee
cit.	– citizen
CK (ЦК)	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Central Committee
cm	– centimetres
Col.	– Colonel
com.	– comrade
Comintern	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Communist International
commis.	– commissioner
c.p.	– case page
CP	– Communist Party
CP(b)	– Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
CP(b)U	– Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine

CPWU	– Communist Party of Western Ukraine
c-r	– counterrevolutionary
CRK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Central Workers' Party
cwt.	– hundredweight
Cz.	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) part
DAIFO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast
DAP	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) German Workers' Party
DAPO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) State Archive of the Poltava Oblast
DATO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) State Archive of the Ternopil Oblast
DAVO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) State Archive of the Volhynia Oblast
D.C.	– District of Columbia
DC	– District Court
DDK	– unknown abbreviation
Dep., Dept.	– Department
Div.	– Division
DLL	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) Deutsche Lewant Linie
<i>Dopr</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) detention, center/prison
Dr.	– doctor
DTO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Road and Transport Division
DVK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Far-Eastern Krai
E. 2	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) 2 <sup>nd</sup> Office (diversion, promethean movement) of Section II of the Main Staff
ed., eds.	– editor, editors
ed. et al.	– editor and others
EKO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Economic Division
EKU	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Economic Directorate
encl.	– enclosure
EPSH	– unknown abbreviation
est.	– established
ex.	– example
F.	– ( <i>Rus.; Ukr.</i> ) record group
<i>Fabzavkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Factory/Plant Executive Committee
FNE	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Front of National Unity
FTP	– ( <i>Fr.</i> ) Partisan Irregular Riflemen
FZS	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Factory/Plant administered seven-year school
g	– gram
Gen.	– General (military rank)
Gestapo	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) Secret State Police
GISZ	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) General Inspector of the Armed Forces
GKO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) State Defence Committee
<i>Gosbank</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) State Bank
<i>Gosplan</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) State Planning Commission
GPK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Municipal Party Committee
GPU (ГПУ)	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) The State Political Directorate

GUGB	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Main Directorate of State Security
GULAG	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies
GUMR	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Main Directorate of Republican Militia
h	– hour
ha	– hectare
HAPAG	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) Hamburg-American Transport Stock Association
HDA SBU	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Branch State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine
ID	– Identity Document
ID	– Infantry Division
im. (im.)	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) named after
IMT	– International Military Tribunal
incl.	– included
inf.	– Infantry
INO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Division for Foreigners
IO	– Investigation Office
IPO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Border Guard Inspection
<i>ispolkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Executive Committee
iss.	– issue
ITC	– Infantry Training Centre
ITL	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Corrective Labour Camp
ITR	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Engineering and Technical Personnel
K. III	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Consular Division
kg	– kilogram
KGB	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Committee for State Security
KK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Control Commission
km	– kilometre
<i>kolgosp</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) collective farm
<i>kolkhoz</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) collective farm
<i>komkhov</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) [Directorate for] Public Services
Komsomol	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Leninist Young Communist League
KOO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Kiev Oblast Division
KOP	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Border Protection Corps
kop.	– kopeks
KP(b)U (КП(б)У)	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine
KPP	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Communist Party of Poland
KR	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Counterintelligence
<i>KraiZU</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Krai Land Office
KRO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Counterintelligence Division
L.	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) apartment
lead.	– leader
<i>leskhov</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Forest Farm
<i>Lespromkhov</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Industrial Forest Farm

Lieut.	– Lieutenant
<i>liknep</i>	– (Rus.) elimination of illiteracy
LKSMU	– (Rus.) Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine
LMD	– (Rus.) Leningrad Military District
LPKh	– (Rus.) Industrial Forest Farm
Lt.	– Lieutenant
Maj.	– Major (military rank)
MD	– Military District
MFA	– Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MGB	– (Rus.) Ministry for State Security
mm	– millimetres
MO	– (Rus.) Moscow Oblast
Mr.	– Mister
Ms.	– Miss
MSZ	– (Pol.) Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MVD	– (Rus.) Ministry of Internal Affairs
NAC	– (Pol.) National Digital Archives
<i>narkom</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissar
<i>narkomat</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat
<i>Narkomfin</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Finance
<i>Narkomindel</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs
<i>Narkomles</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Forestry
<i>Narkompros</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Education
<i>Narkomsnab</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Supply
<i>Narkomzem</i>	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Agriculture
<i>Narobraz</i>	– (Rus.) [Department of] People’s Education
<i>natursplata</i>	– (Rus.) payment in kind
NDWP	– (Pol.) Supreme Command of the Polish Army
NEP	– (Rus.) New Economic Policy
NKGB	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for State Security
NKID	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs
NKL	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Forestry
NKVD	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs
NKWD (HKBD)	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs
NKZ	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Agriculture
NKZS	– (Rus.) People’s Commissariat for Grain and Animal Producing Sovkhozy
NN	– unknown
no.	– number
n.pag.	– no pagination
n.d.p.	– no date of publication
n.p.p.	– no place of publication
n/p	– non party
NRSP	– (Rus.) People’s Revolutionary Socialist Party

NSDAP	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) National Socialist German Workers’ Party
OB	– Operational Branch
<i>Obispolkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Oblast Executive Committee
<i>Obkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Oblast Committee
<i>Oblsnab</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Oblast Supply Office
<i>OblZU</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Oblast Land Office
Oddz.	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Division
ODTO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Department of Road and Transport Division
ODVU	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine
off.	– office
OGPU	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) State Political Directorate
OKR	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Counterintelligence Division
<i>Okrplan</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Okrug Planning Commission
<i>OkrZU</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Okrug Land Office
OMBIT	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Okrug Office for Engineers and Technicians
ONO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Department of People’s Education
OO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Special Division
op.	– record
ORS	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Department for Workers’ Supplies
ORS	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection
OSCE	– Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
<i>Osoaviakhim</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Society for the Support of Defence, Aviation and Chemical Construction
OUN	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
OVK	– Oblast Military Commissariat
OZU	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Okrug Land Office
p.	– point in the Penal Code
P. III	– East Division
PAT	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Polish Telegraphic Agency
<i>Paytorg</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) shareholders’ trading enterprise
PC	– Penal Code
pcs	– pieces
PhD.	– Doctor of Philosophy
<i>pishchetriest</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Stores of the Union of Food Industries
p.m.	– after noon
PNV	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Party of People’s Freedom
Politburo	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Political Bureau
POW	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Polish Military Organization
<i>pozhzavod</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Fire Equipment Manufacture
p., pp.	– page, pages
p.p.	– original signed
PP	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Authorized Representation, Authorized Representative

PP	– Political Police
PPS	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Polish Socialist Party
PRC	– Polish Resettlement Corps
PRN	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) District National Council
Prof.	– Professor
<i>promtovar</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) manufactured goods
PUN	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists
r.; rr. (p. pp.)	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) year, years
<i>radgosp</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) soviet farm
<i>Raykolkhozsoyuz</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Association of Collective Farms
<i>raykom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Party Committee
<i>Raykooptakhsoyuz</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) unknown abbreviation
<i>raypartkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Party Committee
<i>Rayplan</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Planning Commission
<i>Rayspolkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Executive Committee
razn./szp.; R/szp.	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) various espionage matters
rb.	– ruble(s)
RCS	– Republic of Czechoslovakia
RD	– Riflemen Division
REC	– Raion Executive Committee
Ref.	– bureau
rep.	– representing/in place of
<i>reportkom</i>	– unknown abbreviation
res.	– reserves
RIK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Executive Committee
RK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Committee
RKI	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection
RKK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Control Commission
RKKA	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Workers'-Peasants' Red Army
RKM	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Workers'-Peasants' Militia
RO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Division
ROVS	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Russian All-Military Union
RPK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Raion Party Committee
RSDRP	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party
RSFSR	– Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic
RSI	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection
RVO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Russian Military Organization
SBSK	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade
SBU	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Security Service of Ukraine
SDKPiL	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania
Sect.	– Section
<i>Selpo</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Local Food Producers' Cooperative
<i>selrada</i>	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) village council

Sel-Rob	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Socialist Union of Peasants and Workers
Sel-Soyuz	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Socialist Peasants’ Union
SFSR	– Socialist Federative Soviet Republic
SG	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Main Staff
SGO	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Independent Operational Group
<i>Shveyprom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) sewing industry
<i>sielsoviet</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) village council
SKK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) North-Caucasus Krai
SNK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Council of People’s Commissars
SO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Secret Division
SOU	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Secret Operational Directorate
sovkhoz	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) soviet farm
<i>Sovnarkom</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Council of People’s Commissars
<i>Soyuzleszag</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Union Forestry Supply
SP	– State Police
SPO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Secret Political Division
Spr.	– personal records number
SR	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) related to the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (SR)
<i>s/s</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) secret informer
SS	– Schutzstaffel
SSR	– Soviet Socialist Republic
SSS	– Shevchenko Scientific Society
SSU	– Security Service of Ukraine
St.	– saint
St.	– street
st. (cr.)	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) century
STO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Council for Labour and Defence
T.	– volume
TASSR	– Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
teleph.	– telephone
ThD.	– Doctor of Theology
TKP	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Peasants’ Labour Party
TO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Transport Division
<i>Torgsin</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Association for Trade with Foreigners
tow. (тов.)	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) comrade
TPO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Trade and Food Department
<i>Traktorcentr</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Main Directorate for Agricultural Machines Centres
TsDAHO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Central State Archive of Social Organizations of Ukraine
TsDAVO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Central State Archive of the Higher Authority Organs of Ukraine

TsDIAL	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv
TSFSR	– Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic
TSOZ	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Association for the Common Cultivation of Land
TSR	– Peasants’ Labour Party
UAN	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Academy of Sciences
UAOC	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
UBP	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Office of Public Security
UCC	– Ukrainian Central Committee
UdSSR	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UGB	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Directorate for State Security
UGRO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Criminal Office
UHA	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Galician Army
“Ukrainles”	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Ukrainian State Forests
UMD	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Ukrainian Military District
UMGB	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Directorate of the Ministry for State Security
UN	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Nationalists
UN	– United Nations
UNDO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance
<i>univermag</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) department store
UNKGB	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Directorate of the People’s Commissariat for State Security
UNKVD	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Directorate of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs
UNR	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian People’s Republic
UNTP	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian People’s Labour Party
UNTs	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian National Centre
UPA	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Insurgent Army
UPNR	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Party of National Work
UPT	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Educational Society
URC	– Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee
URDP	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party
URO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Registering Division
URRP	– Ukrainian and Russian Radical Party
USA	– United States of America
USDP	– Ukrainian Social Democratic Party
USD RP	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers’ Party
USO	– unknown abbreviation
USR P	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party
USRR (YCPP)	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
USS	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Sich Riflemen
USSR	– Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UTO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Directorate for Employment and Education
UVO	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Ukrainian Military Organization



UYC	– Ukrainian Youth for Christ
v.	– volume
v.	– verte , reverse side
VAO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Ukrainian Agronomic Association
VAPLITE	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) Free Academy of Proletarian Literature
VChK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Russian Extraordinary Commission
VDA	– ( <i>Ger.</i> ) Association of Germanism Abroad
VEO	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Association for Electrical Engineering (?)
VLKSM	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Leninist Young Communist League
VN	– unknown abbreviation
<i>Vnieshtorg</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) foreign trade
<i>Vnieshtorgtrans</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) State Union for Servicing Foreign Trade
<i>Voenved</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Military Department
Voi.	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Voivodeship
vol.	– volume
v.r.	– unknown abbreviation
VT	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Military Tribunal
VTsIK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Russian Central Executive Committee
VUAN	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences
VUTsVK	– All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee
VUZ	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Higher Agricultural School
WBP	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Department of Public Security
WKP(b) (БКП(б))	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
WWI	– World War I
WWII	– World War II
<i>Zagotskot</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) cattle purchasing centre
<i>Zagotzerno</i>	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) grain purchasing centre
ZMKZU	– League of Communist Youth of Western Ukraine
ZRK	– ( <i>Rus.</i> ) Closed Workers' Cooperative
ZUNR	– ( <i>Ukr.</i> ) West Ukrainian National Republic
ZWZ	– ( <i>Pol.</i> ) Union for Armed Struggle



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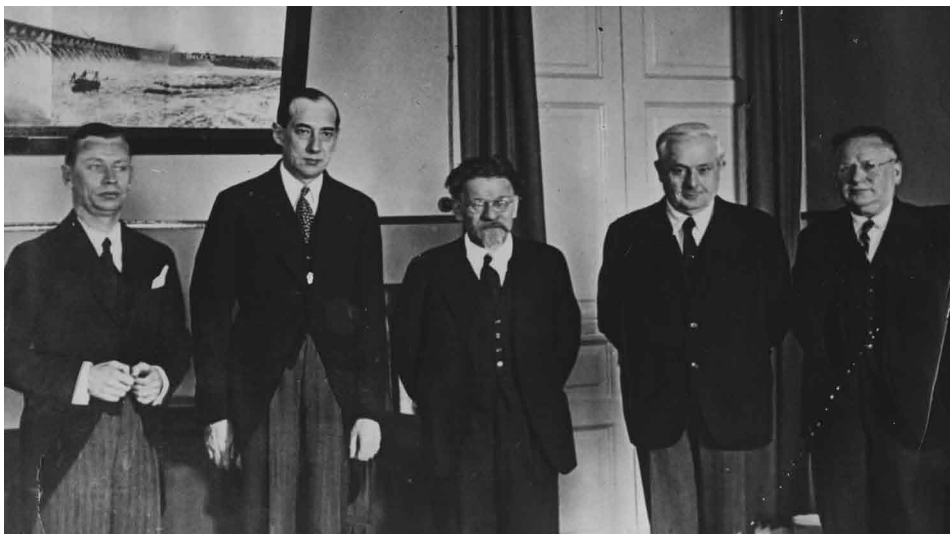




Polish Representative/Polish Ambassador  
in Moscow Juliusz Łukasiewicz. Before  
1939. NAC



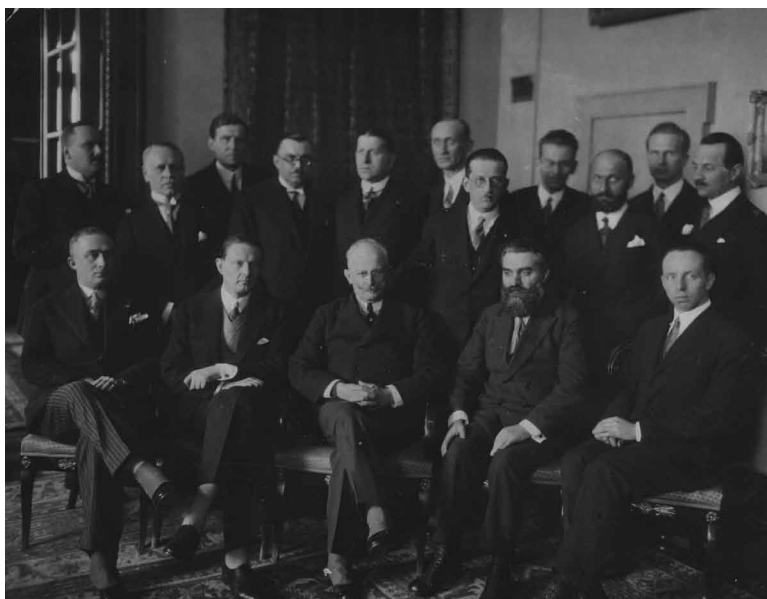
Polish Representative in Moscow Juliusz Łukasiewicz presents the letter of credence  
to the chairman of the CIK of the USSR Mikhail Kalinin. 1 February 1933. NAC



Polish Representative in Moscow Juliusz Łukasiewicz, Minister of Foreign Affairs Józef Beck, Mikhail Kalinin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Maxim Litvinov. February 1934. NAC



Polish consulate in Kiev. Photograph from 1926. NAC



Meeting of consuls in Moscow. Fifth from the right, standing, is consul Mieczysław Babiński, seventh from the right consul Henryk Jankowski. Sitting in the center, third from the right is representative Stanisław Patek. Before 1933. NAC



Henryk Jankowski (in the bottom row, in the center), head of the Polish Consulate in Kiev. NAC



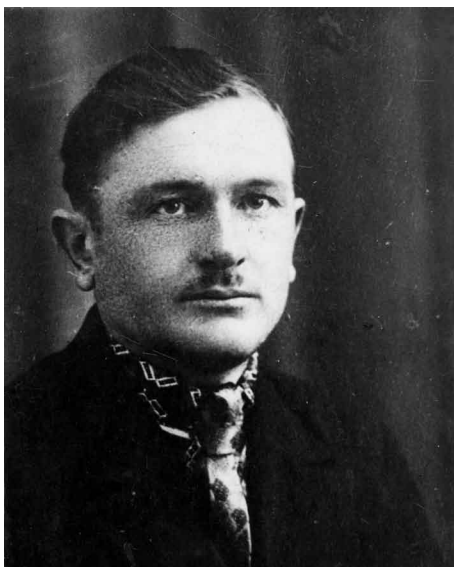
Jan Karszo-Siedlewski, head of the Polish Consulate General in Kharkiv. Photograph from 1938. NAC



Maj. Franciszek Demel, head of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Studies Department of Section II of the Main Staff. CAW



Consul Mieczysław Babiński. NAC



Member of the Polish Lower House Volodymyr Kokhan. Photograph from 1930. NAC



Henryk Suchenek-SucHECKI, chief of Department of Ethnic Issues in the Ministry of the Interior. Photograph from 1927. NAC



Capt. res. Rudolf Świątkowski, Tlumach District Governor. CAW



Franciszek Ditz, officer of the District Headquarters of SP in Lutsk. CAW



Capt., retired, Władysław Skłodowski, Kolomyia District Governor. CAW

116  
2 sierpnia 33 r.

T A J N E I

452.tj.

Szef Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego.

Sytuacja na Ukrainie.

W a r s z a w a .

Zarówno z oficjalnych sprawozdań naszych konsulów, jak i z ustnych relacji osób przyjeżdżających, wynika, że sytuacja aprowizacyjna na Ukrainie nie uległa polepszeniu.

Urodzaje natomiast są nadspodziewanie dobre. Zarówno oziminy, jak i jare zboża, /prócz prosa/, dzięki dobrej glebie i sprzyjającym warunkom atmosferycznym dają plon większy od spodziewanego.

Gorzej znacznie przedstawiają się okopowe, a zwłaszcza buraki, a to wskutek ogromnego zachwaszczenia, dla którego obfite opady okazały się bardzo sprzyjającymi.

Ten ogromny, nienotowany od kilkunastu lat urodzaj nie rozwiązuje jednak jeszcze kwestji aprowizacji, albowiem nie wiadomym jest, jak zostanie przeprowadzona kwestja zbiorów.

Jest to sprawa niezmiernie poważna ze względu na ogromne przerzedzenie ludności wiejskiej /w niektórych okolicach całe wsie powymierały i nie ma kto sprzątnąć zasianego zboża/, katastrofalny stan koni i liczne "nieuwiązki" w dziedzinie motoryzacji sprzętu i dostarczenia potrzebnych materiałów pędnych.

Ostatnio władze sowieckie zaczęły mobilizować doraznie ludność większych miast /Charków, Kijów i t.d./ i tworzyć z nich partje po kilkaset osób, które przymusowo są wysyłane w okolice, potrzebujące rąk roboczych, dla przeprowadzenia żniw. Transport jednak takich partji napotyka jednak na dość poważne trudności z powodu niedomagania kolei.

Z drugiej znów strony wydajność tego rodzaju robotnika jest niepomierne mała i bez przesady można powiedzieć, iż jeden wieśniak jest więcej wart od 10 czy 20 nieprzyzwyczajonych do takiej pracy mieszkańców miast.

Podobno w Kijowie zmobilizowano takich robotników około 50 tysięcy, a w Charkowie jeszcze nawet więcej.

Ciągną oni dużemi partjami na dworce kolejowe, na których ze względu na niedomagania kolei siedzą nieraz w oczekiwaniu na pociąg po parę dni.

Za ludźmi podążają furgony, wyładowane rzeczami i zaprzężone w szkielety końskie. Sprawia to takie wrażenie, jakby ci ludzie nie mieli już do swych stałych siedzib powrócić.

Notowane są liczne wypadki zbiorowych śmierci /po kilkudziesięciu osób/ na skutek objedzenia się nawpół dojrzałymi kłosami zboża.

V e r t e !

Liczne partje ludzi /przeważnie robotnicy fabryczni/ są wysyłane również dla dozoru pól i zaopatrywane we wszelakiego rodzaju broń /stare karabiny, dubeltówki i t.p./.

Na polach nie widać prawie zupełnie technicznych środków dla zbiórki zboża /obserwacje konsula Sośnickiego z okolic Kijowa/, niepodzielnie pracują tylko kosy i sierpy.

Drugą z kolei kwestją godną uwagi jest przeprowadzana obecnie czystka.

Nie można powiedzieć, aby moment czystki wypadł w odpowiednim czasie.

Chłopi odnoszą się do tej sprawy z ogromną obojętnością lub nawet rozmyślnie i złośliwie ją utrudniają. Najczęściej, aby się zemścić na niektórych komunistach, denuncjują ich, że byli przedtem agentami Petlury czy też Polaków, co wprowadza duże zamieszanie w procedurę przeprowadzanej czystki.

W każdym jednak razie czystka jest przeprowadzana i to dość ostro. Ilość usuniętych z partji przekracza 50%, co w porównaniu z rezultatami czystki w innych okręgach /8-12%/ stanowi poważną różnicę.-

P.O.Attaché Wojskowego

*Harland*  
/HARLAND/  
Kpt.dypl.

Letter from the military attaché in Moscow to the head of Section II of the Main Staff.

CAW

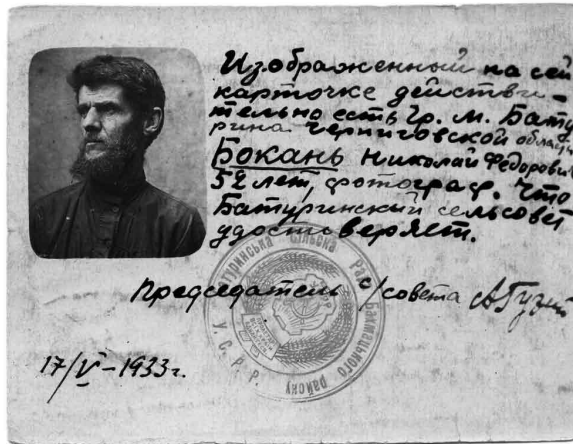


Mykola Lemyk, killer of an employee of the Soviet Consulate in Lviv, during the trial.  
NAC



Welcoming Jan Berson in Warsaw after he was expelled from the USSR (second from the left, carrying glasses and a hat). 21 August 1935. NAC





Certificate of the Baturyn Sielsoviet Chernihiv District, issued on 17 May 1933, with a photograph of Mykola Bokan. The criminal case carried out against him holds unique photographs from the years 1932–1933. HDA SBU



One of Mykola Bokan's sons at the place of death of his brother Konstantyn, who died of starvation. 1933. HDA SBU

Передати до ЗАГСу через родичів померлого або іншим способом

**ЛІКАРСЬКЕ СВИДОЦТВО ПРО СМЕРТЬ № 64**  
(видється безкоштовно)

ЗАГС прилучає до цього запису про смерть та від слів медички стат. орган.

1. Прізвище Бокан ім'я померлого Константин

2. Стать (чол., жін.) \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Вік років од народж. 47 або дата народж. \_\_\_\_\_ 1986 рр. (обов'язково, якщо померлий (а) мол. від 1 року)

4. Дата смерті 1 липня міс. 1933 року

5. Де помер (а): вдома (так—ні) \_\_\_\_\_ в лікарні (так—ні) \_\_\_\_\_ Якщо в іншому місці, точно зазначити де саме \_\_\_\_\_

6. Чи користувався померлий з допомогою цього лікаря (так—ні) \_\_\_\_\_ або іншого лікаря (так—ні) \_\_\_\_\_

7. Хвороба чи інша причина смерті (назва хвороб латинськ., укр. або російською мовами)  
а) основна причина вистощення  
б) ускладнення \_\_\_\_\_

8. Причину смерті з'ясував: а) після розбирання (розтин. тіла, б) лікарем, що допомагає хорому, в) оглядом мертвого тіла, г) за поясненням родичів померлого (ніжкресати)

М. П. \_\_\_\_\_ Підпис лікаря Вітесен \_\_\_\_\_ роки  
Прилучено до статкартки № \_\_\_\_\_ району (МР) \_\_\_\_\_  
[Дан. на звороті]

«Совзоргучет» К. Ф. Ст. ф-т А<sub>3</sub> 105x143.

Death certificate of the deceased Konstantyn Bokan, dated 1 July 1933. According to the document, his death was a result of exhaustion. HDA SBU



Mykola Bokan at the grave of his son Konstantyn, who died of starvation. 1933. HDA SBU



Bokan family. The signature on the photograph made in Russian by M. Bokan. 2 April 1933. HDA SBU



This is how M. Bokan captured the fate of his family. 1933. HDA SBU



Transporting those who died of hunger. Streets of Kharkiv. Photograph by Austrian engineer, Alexander Wienerberger, published in E. Ammende *Muss Russland hungern?*



A queue in front of an empty grocery store in Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



Children from the Cherkasy region. 1933. Photograph from the collection of the Cherkasy Regional Museum



A queue near the *Torgsin* store in Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



A queue near the *Torgsin* store in Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



Starving peasants near Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



On the bazaar in Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



Victim of starvation on a street in Kharkiv. 1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger

**Верхсуду СССР и прокуратуре Верхсуда СССР, НКЮ союзных республик, председателям краевых (областных) судов, краевым (областными) прокурорам, председателям и прокурорам линейных судов, районным прокурорам.**

**Председателю ГПУ Украины, полномочным представителям ОГПУ, ДТООГПУ, начальникам оперсекторов.**

## **ИНСТРУКЦИЯ**

**по применению постановления ЦИК и СНК СССР от 7/VIII-32 г. об охране имущества государственных предприятий, колхозов и кооперации и укреплении общественной (социалистической) собственности.**

### **Раздел 1.**

#### **ПРЕСТУПЛЕНИЯ, ПОДПАДАЮЩИЕ ПОД ДЕЙСТВИЕ ЗАКОНА ОТ 7 АВГУСТА.**

Закон от 7 августа надлежит применять при хищениях государственной и общественной собственности:

- а) промышленной (хищения заводского и фабричного имущества);
- б) совхозной;
- в) государственных торговых организаций;
- г) колхозной;
- д) кооперативной;
- е) грузов на железно-дорожном и водном транспорте и местном автотранспорте.

### **Раздел 2.**

#### **КАТЕГОРИИ РАСХИТИТЕЛЕЙ И МЕРА СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ ЗАЩИТЫ, КОТОРУЮ НЕОБХОДИМО К НИМ ПРИМЕНЯТЬ.**

1. По делам об организациях и группировках, организованно разрушающих государственную, общественную и кооперативную собственность путем поджогов, взрывов и массовой порчи имущества—применять высшую меру социальной защиты—расстрел, без послабления.

2. В отношении кулаков, бывших торговцев и иных социально-чуждых элементов, работающих в государственных (промышленных и сельскохозяйственных—совхозы) предприятиях или учреждениях, изблеченных в хищениях имущества или растратах крупных денежных сумм этих предприятий, а также должностных учреждений и предприятий, меру наказания; при смягчающих обстоятельствах (в случае единичных хищений) высшую меру наказания—десятилетним лишением свободы.

При хищениях, хотя и мелких, совершенных лицами указанных социальных категорий, но влекущих за собой расстройство или остановку работы госпредприятий (хищения частей агрегатов и машин, умышленное уничтожение или порча совхозного инвентаря и т. п.)—также применять высшую меру наказания.

3. В отношении кулаков, бывших торговцев и иных социально-враждебных элементов, проникших в органы снабжения, торговли и кооперации, а также должностных лиц товаропроводящей сети, изблеченных в хищении товаров или продаже их на частный рынок и растратах крупных денежных средств—применять высшую меру наказания, и лишь при смягчающих вину обстоятельствах, в случаях незначительных размеров хищений, высшую меру наказания заменять десятилетним лишением свободы.

Той же мере наказания подвергать и спекулянтов, хотя непосредственно в хищениях не участвующих, но спекулирующих товарами и продуктами, зная, что товары эти похищены из государственных учреждений и кооперации.

4. В отношении лиц, изблеченных в хищении грузов на транспорте, применяется высшая мера наказания, и лишь при смягчающих обстоятельствах (при единичных случаях хищений или хищений незначительных размеров) может быть применено десятилетнее лишение свободы.

Если хищения на транспорте производятся при участии железно-дорожных служащих и рабочих, то к ним должна применяться та же мера репрессии.

5. В отношении кулаков, как проникших в колхоз, так и находящихся вне колхоза, организующих или принимающих участие в хищениях колхозного имущества и хлеба, применяется высшая мера наказания без послабления.

6. В отношении трудящихся единоличников и колхозников, изблеченных в хищении колхозного имущества и хлеба, должно применяться десятилетнее лишение свободы.

При отягчающих вину обстоятельствах, а именно: систематических хищениях колхозного



хлеба, свеклы и других сельскохозяйственных продуктов и скота, хищениях организованными группами, хищениях в крупных размерах, хищениях, сопровождающихся насильственными действиями, террористическими актами, поджогами и т. д.—и в отношении колхозников и трудящихся единоличников должна применяться высшая мера наказания.

7. В отношении председателей колхозов и членов правлений, участвующих в хищениях государственного и общественного имущества, необходимо применять высшую меру наказания и лишь при смягчающих вину обстоятельствах—десятилетнее лишение свободы.

### Раздел 3. О ПОРЯДКЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ ДЕЛ ПО ХИЩЕНИЯМ.

1. Рассматриваются ППОГПУ:  
Дела о хищениях, сопровождающихся массовыми выступлениями, насильственными действиями, террористическими актами, поджогами и т. д., а также дела, по которым проходят организованные группировки с большим количеством арестованных.
2. Рассматриваются соответствующими судами:  
Дела о хищениях на жел.-дор. транспорте и все остальные дела, кроме перечисленных в п. 1 настоящего раздела.

Председатель Верховсуда Союза ССР **А. Винокуров.**

Прокурор Верховсуда Союза ССР **П. Красиков.**

Зам. Председателя ОГПУ **И. Акулов.**

13/IX 1932 г.

### Раздел 4.

### О СПЕЦИАЛЬНОМ ПРИМЕНЕНИИ ДЕКРЕТА ЦИК и СНК от 7/VIII—32 г.

1. Допустить применение меры репрессии по делам, подпадающим под действие закона от 7 августа в отношении преступлений, совершенных до издания закона, в случаях, когда преступления имеют общественно-политическое значение.
2. Изъять из подсудности сельских общественных и колхозных товарищеских судов дела о хищениях колхозного имущества.  
В ведении сельских общественных и колхозных товарищеских судов оставить лишь дела о преступлениях против личной собственности колхозников и единоличников.

### Раздел 5.

### О СРОКАХ ВЕДЕНИЯ СЛЕДСТВИЯ ПО ДЕЛАМ О ХИЩЕНИЯХ.

1. Судбно-следственные органы обязаны заканчивать дела и выносить по ним приговоры не дольше, чем в пятнадцатидневный срок с момента раскрытия преступления и возникновения дела.
2. Как исключение, только в отношении дел, по которым проходит большое количество обвиняемых, срок ведения дела и вынесение приговора определяется не дольше, чем 30 дней.

Instruction to the legal act on the protection of social property ("law of five spikes").

HDA SBU

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!      СТРОГО СЕКРЕТНО.  
ВСЕСОЮЗНАЯ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ (большевиков).  
ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ КОМИТЕТ.

№ П116/16-рс.

16. IX. 1932 г.

Ч Л Е Н А М Ц К К ВКП(б)

Тов... *В. А. Балицкий*

Выписка из протокола № 116 заседания Политбюро ЦК.

16.- Инструкция по проведению закона об охране общественной собственности.

(ИД от 8. IX. 32 г., пр. № 115, п. 5).

Утвердить текст инструкции Верховсуда СССР, прокурора Верховсуда СССР и ОГПУ по проведению в жизнь закона об охране общественной собственности (см. приложение).



СЕКРЕТАРЬ ЦК

*В. А. Балицкий*

аф.

An extract bearing the signature of J. Stalin from the protocol from the meeting of the Politburo of CC AUCP(b) on the matter of approving the instructions to execution of the law on the protection of social property (the so called "law of five spikes"), sent to members of the Central Control Commission of AUCP(b). Copy addressed to the deputy chairman of OGPU, V. Balytsky. HDA SBU

НАЧАЛЬНИК  
ХАРКІВСЬКОГО ОБЛАСНОГО ВІДДІЛУ  
ДПУ УСРР

70

„ 21 “ ноября ..... 1932 р.

Службова записка

ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОМУ СЕКРЕТАРЮ ЦК КП/б/У  
ТОВ. КОСИОРУ.

При сем направляю сведения об арестованных и подлежащих аресту по учетному и управленческому аппарату колхозов в Харьковской Области, согласно В/предложения, по состоянию на 20/XI с.г.

ТИМОФЕЕВ.



~ 718991

21/11/32

Official note from the chief of the Kharkiv oblast division of GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, M. Timofyev to S. Kosior regarding the arrests of kolkhoz specialists and management in the Kharkiv oblast. 21 November 1932. HDA SBU

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

СЕРИЯ "К".

СЕКРЕТАРЮ Ц.К. КП(б)У

тов.КОССИОРУ.

В соответствии с директивой Политбюро Ц.К. КП(б)У, органы ГПУ Украины намечают проведение массовой операции по нанесению оперативного удара по классовому врагу.

Основная цель операции - выявление контр-революционных центров, организующих саботаж и срыв хлебозаготовок и других хозяйственно-политических мероприятий.

На проведение указанной операции мобилизованы все средства нашего чекистского аппарата, с целью вскрытия организующего к.-р. руководства и кулацко-петлюровского повстанческого подполья.

19-го Ноября с.г. были созваны все Начальники Областных Отделов, на совещании с которыми проработаны оперативные планы проведения операции применительно к каждой области в отдельности.

Предварительно оперативными Отделами ГПУ УССР (ОО, СПО, ЭКУ), в согласовании с затребованными с мест данными Облотделов, были суммированы все материалы по агентурным делам и учетам к.-р. одиночек, намечаемых к ликвидации.

В результате подготовительных мероприятий, намечено к ликвидации по Украине 436 групповых агентурных разработок с 2.117 чел. фигурантов. Кроме этого, в операцию включаются 1.308 человек к.-р. одиночек.

Операция должна охватить 243 района Украины.

мере представляет собой кулацко-петлюровский и антисоветский элемент.

Так, например, в Харьковской области из 303 человек арестованных, имеется 38 кулаков, 34 бывших белых и петлюровских офицера (теперь - все счетоводы в колхозах) и 23 человека с антисоветским прошлым.

По остальным областям данные о количестве и социальном составе арестованных полностью еще не получены.

Прошу Политбюро утвердить намеренные выше мероприятия, и одновременно дать указания Областным Партийным Комитетам об усилении партийной и советской работы, без чего наши мероприятия не будут иметь должного и нужного нам результата.

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ ГПУ УССР

*Реденс*

(С.РЕДЕНС)

*22/11-32*  
"22" ноября 1932 года

№ 169281

г. Харьков

Letter from the chairman of GPU of the Ukrainian SSR S. Redens to S. Kosior on the mass-scale operation against the Ukrainian countryside. 22 November 1932.

HDA SBU

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО

# ОПЕРАТИВНЫЙ ПРИКАЗ

По Государственному Политическому Управлению УССР

№ 2

«13» февраля 1933 г.

г. Харьков

Организованный саботаж хлебозаготовок, осеннего сева; организованное массовое воровство в колхозах и совхозах; террор в отношении наиболее стойких, выдержанных коммунистов и активистов села; переброска на Украину осенью прошлого года десятков петлюровских эмиссаров, распространение к.-р. петлюровских листовок, в особенности на Правобережье и анализ агентурных материалов—говорили за безусловное существование на Украине организованного к.-р. повстанческого подполья, связанного с закордоном и иноразведками, главным образом польским Главштабом.

Оперативным приказом от 5-го декабря 1932 г. перед органами ГПУ Украины была поставлена основная и главная задача—немедленного прорыва, вскрытия и разгрома к.-р. повстанческого подполья и нанесения решительного удара по всем к.-р. кулацко-петлюровским элементам, активно противодействующим и срывающим основные мероприятия советской власти и партии на селе.

С целью немедленного прорыва и вскрытия к.-р. подполья, в ГПУ УССР была организована Ударно-Оперативная группа, которая за это время успешно развернула ряд дел и вскрыла контрреволюционное повстанческое подполье на Украине, охватившее до 200 районов, около 30 жел.-дор. станций и депо и ряд пунктов пограничной полосы.

В процессе ликвидации установлена связь подполья с закордонными украинскими националистическими центрами (УНР, „УВО“, и УНДО) и польским Главштабом;

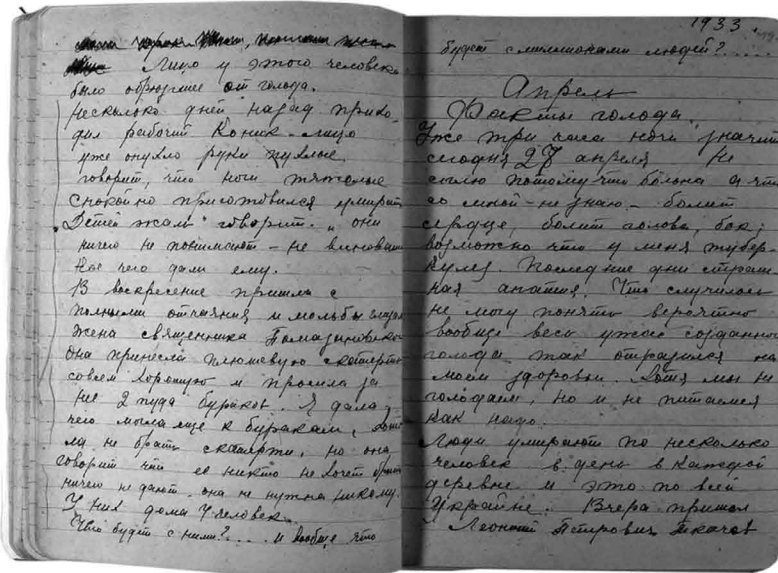
Вскрыта крупная шпионская сеть, внедрившаяся в Разведорганы, промпредприятия, транспорт и объекты оборонного строительства;

ЭКУ ГПУ УССР вскрыта контрреволюционная организация в сельском хозяйстве Украины, связанная с аналогичными к.-р. организациями в Москве, других частях Союза и с закордоном.

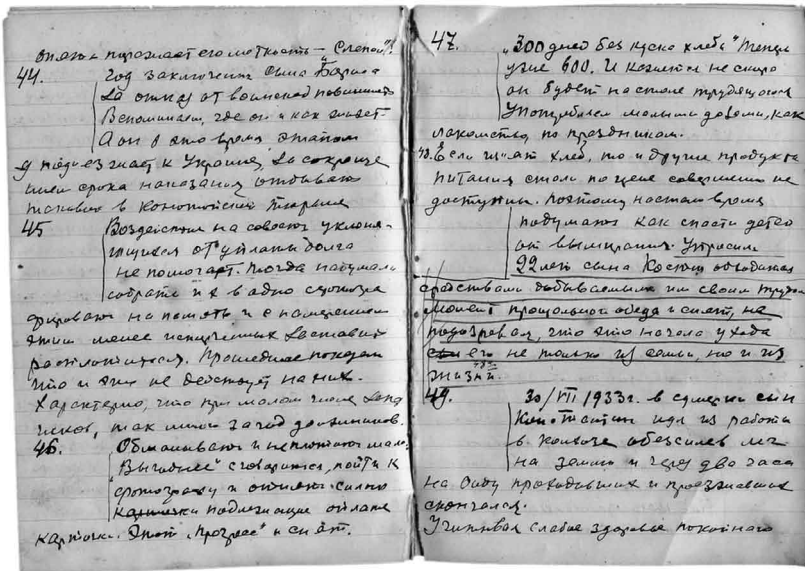
Анализ ликвидированных за это время дел говорит за то, что в данном случае мы столкнулись с единым тщательно разработанным планом организации вооруженного восстания на Украине к весне 1933 года, с целью свержения советской власти и установления капиталистического государства, так называемой — „Украинской независимой республики“.

Достигнутые успехи не исчерпывают стоящих перед нами задач по разгрому к.-р. подполья на Украине.

Operational order of GPU of the Ukrainian SSR on the intensification of repressions with regard to Ukrainian countryside. 13 February 1933. HDA SBU



Fragment of a diary of Olexandra Radchenko describing the situation in Kharkiv in April 1933. The author of the diary was sentenced for “anti-Soviet propaganda”. HDA SBU



Fragment of a diary of M. Bokan on the tragic death from starvation of his son Konstantyn in July 1933. The author of the diary and photographs was sentenced for “anti-Soviet propaganda”. HDA SBU





Арх. № \_\_\_\_\_

Ф. № 8/у.

Киевский Оперативный Сектор  
ГПУ УССР

СОВ. СЕКРЕТНО.

Эконом. Отдел

Группа \_\_\_\_\_

Управл. \_\_\_\_\_

# АГЕНТУРНАЯ РАЗРАБОТКА

№ \_\_\_\_\_

Кличка

"Болото"

М с с 1726 1 аэ

Аг материалы

Начато \_\_\_\_\_ 1932 г.

Окончено \_\_\_\_\_ 1933 г.

38514

Cover of the agent-based case codenamed "Boloto" of the Kiev oblast division of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR, years 1932–1933. HDA SBU

## Заповідань.

Написане тут підслось не для друку. Так одверто описувати і критикувати живу сучасність і радянську історію, як тут написано, — тоді, за мого життя, не положено було.

Але рукопис є документом доби. З плином часу він набуде свою первісну публіцистичну і етичну цінність. Відірвуть люди, згадувані в ньому, і відпадуть заперечення проти розкриття їхнього життя і інтимних переживань. Рукопис, що має і зараз історично-сенсаційну цінку, гни далі набуватиме більшої цінності, як документ своєї доби. Можливо, що дещо з нього тоді опрацюється вартим і для опублікування або, принаймні, для наукового використання дослідниками минулого.

З цих міркувань заповідаю: після моєї смерті передати цей примірник рукопису "Щоднів" до рукописного відділу Української Академії наук у Києві або до Публічної бібліотеки СРСР у Ленінграді.

Автор: Гр. Самброс.

[Теорій (Мурі) Пилипович Самброс].

24. В лещатах голоду  
и безвыходи.

Явно приближалась і моя зам-  
Белб... Протягом 1930-1933 р.р. «м'я-  
сорудка» невблаганно вмонтувала  
мене в свій механізм кнущення, від-  
бираючи поволі спожитку громадську  
геліть, добре і м'я, авторитет, полі-  
тичні права, а потім і право на  
працю, на заробіток.

Власне з ситою вже над самою  
першою «м'ясорудкою», куди ось-ось  
мали зійхнути мене, на цей раз  
вже на фізичне знищення.

Але я не хотів гинуть, пручався.  
Пручався навіть тоді, коли держав-

ського колективізму". За тих умов загальних ревізій і продуктивних утрат — селяни не погубили потреби продукувати сільсько-господарчі товари на інших, на продаж. Вони замикались в рямцях свого вузько-натурального господарства, працювали тільки на себе і для себе. Це й привело державу, ушкоджену посухою, до найгострішої голодної кризи.

Друга хвиля голоду — роки 1930-1933. Вона вже, поза будь-які кліматичні причини, впливала тільки із заходів уряду по здійсненню масової колективізації селянського господарства. Компартіз тоді спогантку взяла надто гострий курс на загальну примусову колективізацію. У селян відбувалась вся сільсько-господарська власність (земля, коні, реманент) і передавалась у колектив.

А ще раніше, в 1931-1932 роках, живучи в Люботині і їдучи зоранку на дагний поїзд, я з півнісцяць, день за днем, спостірегав смерть одної бабусі під тином ... З опухлими вгз голоду ногами, втративши сили, вона лежала під тином на шльху, що проходив близько самої колії залізничної, повз садиб люботинського дагного при-сілку.

Серед бур'яну, густо вкритого при-дорожним тином, з дерев'яною лискою у головах, поставленою гисюць сердобол-ною душою дав милостині, сїтрашна су-хорлявісією рук, з кістками, шільно об-тягнутими прозорою жовтосірою шкїрою, з лядними, набряклыми, мов колоди, си-німи ногами і роздутими, опухлими об-лїтїєм, на зїколу змїтїлими пльї-лами сидїли тїпї, бездушні осї, — ле-жала вона день за днем, жахлива, мов привид...

Перші дні вона ще рухалась, щось шепотїла, коли хїтось зупїтївсь коло неї, а гми далї, день за днем, за-



Horses dying of exhaustion during the Great Famine. HDA SBU



Transport of grain from a kolkhoz to the purchasing center. Kiev oblast. 1932.  
HDA SBU



A village girl from the Kharkiv region.  
1933. Photographed by A. Wienerberger



A village girl from the Kharkiv region  
(?), 1933. HDA SBU



Remaining crops on a kolkhoz  
field guarded from the starving  
peasants. Khorolsky raion,  
Poltava oblast. Autumn 1932.  
HDA SBU



Leaders of the Ukrainian SSR on the podium (from left to right): chairman of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR, P. Lyubchenko, chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR (earlier deputy chairman of OGPU) V. Balytsky, People's Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian SSR V. Zatonsky. 1930's. HDA SBU



Leaders of the Ukrainian SSR on the podium (from left to right): chairman of the GPU of the Ukrainian SSR (earlier deputy chairman of OGPU) V. Balytsky, commander of the Ukrainian Military District, army commander Y. Yakir, secretary general of the CC CP(b)U S. Kosior, secretary of the CC CP(b)U P. Postyshev, chairman of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR P. Lyubchenko. 1930's. HDA SBU