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Genocide
NEVER AGAIN...

Teacher and Student Workbook
Acknowledgments

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The study of genocide should be a major focus in every serious examination of modern history. While modern times have witnessed tremendous progress in technology, science and medicine, and the spread of democracy throughout the world, they have also been witness to the most horrendous aspects of societal behavior.

It is with the aim of developing an appreciation of this reality that this guide for teachers and students has been created. Hatred of and the intentional destruction of entire ethnic and religious groups has not been a unique phenomenon. Many governments have used genocide, as well as ethnic cleansing, subjugation, and religious intolerance, as a form of social policy.

Consequently, it is recommended that students become acquainted with genocide in modern times to understand that the disposition to evil has not been intrinsic to a specific time and place or toward a specific people. The idea that mankind needs to be concerned about the suffering of all groups on our planet can best be cultivated when students are exposed to the study of at least several genocides. There are valuable lessons to be learned from all the genocides. These should lead to a deeper appreciation of the importance of civic awareness, toleration, and democratic involvement among our youthful citizenry.

This Genocide Project was written and compiled by:
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What is Genocide?


Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in a whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group by:

1. Killing members of the group.
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group the conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Constitution on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Article II

Henry R. Hutttenbach: Professor of History at The City College of NY, is the Director of the Center for the Study of Ethnopolitics and Ethnonationalism, New York, editor of Journal of Genocide Research, and author of many books on the subject of nationalism and genocide.

"Genocide is the destruction of a specific group within a given national or even international population . . . Genocide is any act that puts the very existence of a group in jeopardy."
THE FAMINE OF 1932-1933: GENOCIDE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Among the Ukrainian people, there continues to linger the haunting memory of the genocidal Famine of 1932-1933, which Ukrainians call “Holodomor.” At least seven million Ukrainians died of starvation in this artificial famine.*

Though apologists of the Soviet period in Ukraine’s history present various explanations for the famine of 1932-1933 (e.g., “excesses” in the Soviet drive for collectivization, the slaughter of livestock by peasants opposed to collectivization, drought, a poor harvest), most scholars and probably all Ukrainian survivors of the Famine hold that the Famine was deliberately planned and artificially created. It was not the result of natural causes, such as drought or poor harvest; during the years of the Famine the weather conditions were generally favorable and the harvest was plentiful enough to feed the entire population of Ukraine (this is evidenced by official government reports from those years). Virtually every survivor account corroborates that the Famine resulted from the confiscation of the entire harvest in the fields of Ukraine and of all the foodstuffs in people’s homes, by ruthless communist activists sent by the Stalinist leadership in Moscow.

As a result of excessive increases in the crop quotas which Moscow demanded from Ukraine and the confiscation of food “hidden from the government,” by the fall of 1932, the rural population of Ukraine (80% of its people) was left with nothing to eat. Laws, such as the Decree of August 7, 1932, made it a punishable crime to gather and hide for oneself any produce from the fields as these were declared to be “collective property.” Entire regions of Ukraine were placed under virtual food blockades, with decrees halting the delivery of food to stores in these regions. Yet, at the same time, as millions were dying, the granaries were filled with that year’s harvest. Large shipments of grain were sold to Germany and other countries, contributing to the depressionary drop in the price of bread in Europe. Curiously, Soviet regions just outside of Ukraine, (with the exception of the Don and Kuban regions) experienced minimal food shortages. In fact, police patrols were placed on Ukraine’s borders during the time of the Famine to keep starving Ukrainians from crossing into Russia where they could have obtained food to survive.

Further proof of the Soviet government’s responsibility for their genocidal designs toward the Ukrainian people is the fact that the Soviets went to extreme lengths to suppress news of the Famine. The suppression of the truth continued for decades thereafter, virtually until the Soviet collapse in 1991. The authorities not only ordered the press to remain silent about the Famine or deny its existence, but also severely punished everyone who spoke or wrote about it and closed the country to foreign correspondents.

* Please refer to FAQ #2 for a more detailed explanation of the numbers of victims.
The few journalists who had a chance to journey through the Ukrainian countryside at this time either wrote about their experiences after they departed from the Soviet Union or buckled under Soviet intimidation and denied the Famine existed (the most infamous of these was Walter Duranty of *The New York Times*). Consequently, few people outside Ukraine knew of the 1932-1933 Famine-Holodomor.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet empire, researchers of heretofore closed government and Communist Party archives have found numerous documents that attest to the fact that the Famine occurred and that it was mounted at the connivance of Stalin and his henchmen in Moscow. Stalin himself admitted to Prime Minister Winston Churchill that 10 million peasants died in Ukraine and neighboring regions in the 1932-1933 Famine, which he viewed as a virtual war against people who were declared to be hostile by nature to the Soviet communist system.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, Stalin’s successor, Nikita Khruschev, admitted that Stalin harbored genocidal designs against the Ukrainian people: “Stalin (at one point) wanted to deport all Ukrainians from Ukraine, but there was no place to where they could be deported.” No efforts were made to help the starving population and appeals from a few brave communist leaders in Ukraine to decrease the excessive grain quotas were dismissed as treasonous and disruptive to the consolidation of Soviet power in Ukraine.
1. What proof exists that the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine was genocide, i.e. that it was a man-made famine deliberately designed against the Ukrainian people?

**Answer:** The Soviet government's responsibility for the Famine is substantiated by the laws which it enacted and actions which it implemented during that time. Had the Soviet government not been responsible for the famine or had it been interested in reducing its severity, it would have accepted the help that was offered from humanitarian groups in other countries or, at least, it would have lowered the grain quota, which it originally placed on Ukraine in 1932.

Instead, the Soviet government continued to enact draconian laws and enforce inhumane measures that kept food away from the people. These laws undoubtedly led to and exacerbated the Famine. Foremost among these measures were:

- **a)** The Law of August 7, 1932, on the “protection of socialist property,” which imposed severe punishments (including execution) for picking food from fields.
- **b)** The secret decree of November 18, 1932, in which the Central Committee of The Communist Party directed officials to confiscate all kinds of food from the farmers if there was not enough grain to meet the collection quotas.
- **c)** The Decree of November 20, 1932, which halted food payments to Ukrainian farmers (this was the only form of payment that farmers received for their labor) until Ukraine met its grain quota.
- **d)** The Decree of December 6, 1932, which placed large areas of Ukraine under a food blockade, because of the slow pace in fulfilling grain quotas.
- **e)** The introduction on December 27, 1932, at the height of the Famine, of a Soviet passport system which confined peasants to their food-depleted home areas.
- **f)** A series of Party resolutions urging local authorities and activists to be unrelenting in the grain requisitions. One example is the resolution from January 24, 1933, in which the Central Committee of the Communist Party declared the authorities of Soviet Ukraine guilty of “criminal negligence,” for failing to meet the grain quotas.
- **g)** In a secret directive issued January 22, 1933, Stalin ordered that peasants who attempted to enter Russia from Ukraine and the Kuban region be apprehended at railway stations and sent back.

These measures were complemented by actions. Moscow took a number of steps to make sure that the draconian laws, which it passed against Ukrainian farmers, were being implemented:

- **a)** It continually dispatched from Russia thousands of fanatical communist activists to reinforce local “shock brigades,” whose task was not only to confiscate all grain from Ukrainian farmers, but to rummage through houses, gardens, and storage bins in search of “hidden food.” There was clearly no economic need or advantage to be gained from this confiscation of food from the farmers.
- **b)** Top Communist Party functionaries, P. Postyshev, L. Kaganovich, V. Molotov, M. Khatayevich and others, came to Ukraine to ruthlessly enforce Moscow’s measures.
against the Ukrainian people, since the local communist leadership appeared to Moscow to be lacking in “revolutionary fervor” in carrying out policies that some were already calling genocidal.

c) The prohibition, under severe punishment, of any written, printed or spoken mention of the Famine.

d) The erection of watchtowers around farm fields, with thousands of guards directed to shoot at anyone attempting to pick crops for themselves.

e) The continual shipment of food from Ukraine to other Western European countries throughout the Famine years.

f) The sealing of Ukraine's borders with internal police patrol posts which prevented Ukrainian farmers from crossing into Russia, where there was no starvation. Food was confiscated from everyone who tried to bring it into Ukraine. Neither before, nor after the Famine, were there patrols stationed at borders between any of the Soviet republics. Peasants were also prevented from entering cities where they hoped to beg for food from people with food ration cards.

It is also significant that at that time, there was no famine in Russia. Most foreigners traveling into Ukraine during the Famine, as well as survivors of the Famine, note that the massive decimation of the rural population by famine stopped at the borders of Ukraine, (except in the southeast where the “famine belt” extended into the Don and Kuban regions which were populated by Ukrainians). Only some areas in Russia experienced food shortages at that time.

Recently uncovered secret dispatches from the various organs of the Soviet government in Moscow reveal how relentless they were in pushing the food requisitioning drive.

2. How many people died in the genocidal Famine of 1932-1933? Why is there a range or discrepancy among historians about the number of people who died in the Famine?

**Answer:** The absence of an accurate figure of deaths resulting from the Famine of 1932-1933 is primarily due to the meticulous efforts made by the Soviet government to conceal and suppress all data about the Famine. At first, local administrators were directed to attribute all deaths resulting from starvation to a variety of illnesses, but as the mortality rate increased exponentially, most losses were left unrecorded. People were simply buried in mass graves.

Statements made confidentially by various Soviet functionaries to Western journalists and other visiting dignitaries serve as a useful starting point. For example, Adam T. Long reported that in his conversation with M. Skrypnyk, a communist leader in Ukraine, and V. Balitsky, head of the secret police in Ukraine, the figure of 8,000,000 - 8,500,000 deaths was given. In his memoirs on World War II, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill reports on a conversation he had with Stalin in which the Soviet dictator remarked that the campaign against the “kulaks,” resulted in the loss of ten million people, † “the great bulk [of which] were wiped out by their labourers [sic] (Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, pp. 447-448). († The figure refers to the entire Soviet Union.)
Another important source that historians have used to determine the number of losses from the Famine have been official Soviet census data. Strikingly, the results of the census of 1937 were ordered suppressed and all records destroyed by Stalin soon after they were compiled. The heads and key members of the Census Board were arrested as “traitors” who had “exerted themselves to diminish the number of the population of the USSR” (reported in the official party newspaper Pravda, January 17, 1939).

The real reason behind the repeal of the 1937 census was that it recorded a catastrophic decline in the population of Ukraine from the last official census of 1926. Consequently, historians have come to rely on the official census of 1939 which, though undoubtedly inaccurate, is nonetheless somewhat useful in determining the losses which the Ukrainian people sustained during the “peaceful” 1930s.

A former member of the Demographic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR had calculated, based on a comparative analysis of the official census of 1926 and 1939, that Ukraine lost around 7,500,000 people. In 1926, Ukraine had 29,494,800 people and in 1939 its population increased to 30,960,200. The annual rate of increase in Ukraine’s population had been 2.36% before the years of the Famine and thus, Ukraine’s population should have increased by 8 to 10 million people. Though some Ukrainians managed to migrate to other areas of the Soviet Union, deserted areas of southern Ukraine were repopulated after the famine by 2 to 3 million Russian colonizers.

It should be noted that there was no comparable decline of population in the rest of the Soviet Union. However, the percentage of Ukrainians in the overall population of the USSR dropped significantly. Consequently, most contemporary researchers in Ukraine have come to conclude that at least 7,000,000 people died in the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine itself and another 1,000,000 in each of the bordering Don and Kuban regions, which were heavily populated by Ukrainians. After the fall of the Soviet Union, more documents became available to researchers. Extensive research is being conducted now, and a more accurate figure of the number of victims may be determined in the future.

3. Why is there hardly any mention of this genocide in world history books?

**Answer:** The absence of any mention of the genocidal Famine in Ukraine in so many world history books attests to the success of Soviet propaganda and of efforts of Soviet sympathizers in the West to suppress such information. The fact that the Soviet government conducted a genocidal war against farmers in Ukraine and other regions continues to be a very dark blot in Soviet history; it undermines the image of communism as the force that stood for the interests of peasant masses.

4. Why was Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin so intent on decimating Ukrainian farmers?

**Answer:** Stalin and the communist leadership in Moscow, which was concentrated in Russian chauvinist hands, considered the “national problem” (the desire of conquered non-Russian nationalities to have their own independent states) as the greatest threat and obstacle
to the construction of a mighty Soviet empire with its center in Moscow. According to communist ideologues, the main forces of support for these centrifugal tendencies were the national intelligentsias (the educated classes of the non-Russian groups) and the larger groups of farmers who were traditionalistic in their thinking. Thus the “national problem” came to be viewed as closely related to the “peasants’ problem.” Stalin articulated this view in many of his works.

In *Marxism and the National Colonial Question*, Marx wrote: “The peasantry represents the principal army of the national movement. Without the farmers there can be no strong national movement. This is what we mean when we say that the national question is in essence the peasant question.”

Many articles in party newspapers emphasized during the collectivization drive of 1929-1930 that its aim was to “destroy the social foundation of Ukrainian nationalism, the individual farms” (*Proletarska Pravda*, January 22, 1930). Similarly, during the height of the Famine, newspapers emphasized that, “the most meticulous safeguarding of the gathered grain funds is one of the main objectives in the war against our class enemy, surviving Petliurists [Ukrainian patriots] and Makhnovites [peasant anarchists].”

Various authors narrow the motivations of the Stalinist leadership in engineering the Famine to the following three objectives:

1. It was organized to annihilate a significant proportion of the Ukrainian population which remained very resistant to Soviet policies of building a communist society.
2. It aimed to terrorize the surviving Ukrainian population into complete submission to Soviet totalitarian rule.
3. It was used to finance “Soviet industrial expansion” and provide funds for the purchase of machinery in the West through the sale of expropriated Ukrainian grain and other foodstuffs.

**5. Why did the governments of the United States and other Western nations not assist the Ukrainian people when the Famine was occurring?**

**ANSWER:** There can be no doubt that the American government had access to plentiful and timely information concerning the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine. The State Department was made aware of conditions in the USSR by its embassies throughout Europe, which sent extensive reports based on information from American workers and visitors to the Soviet Union, American and foreign press correspondents, foreign diplomats, including Soviet officials, fleeing citizens, etc. Washington even received letters from hungry Ukrainian peasants asking for help. Inundated by queries regarding the Famine, the State Department sought and received confirmation from its intelligence sources on Soviet affairs a month before the U.S. extended its official recognition of the Soviet government.

All this points to the conclusion that the Roosevelt administration made a conscious decision not only not to do anything about the Famine, but also never to acknowledge it publicly. For political reasons, largely related to President Roosevelt’s determination to establish and maintain good relations with the USSR, the American government participated,
albeit indirectly, in what is perhaps the single most successful cover-up of genocide in history. The British, French, and other Western governments took a similar position. Pleas for some type of intervention or assistance went totally ignored by our government. The State Department continued to respond to pleas from Ukrainian, Mennonite, and other communities in America with families in Ukraine, since neither American citizens nor interests were involved, that no action was possible and there was “considerable doubt whether there is any measure which [the American] government could take at the present time which would be helpful.”

6. What were the causes of the genocidal Famine of 1932-1933?

**Answer:** Various authors have endeavored to ascribe the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 to various causes; however, official government reports from those years on weather and harvest conditions in Ukraine attest to the fact that the Famine was not the result of drought or some other natural disaster, nor of crop shortages resulting from various forms of sabotage carried out by peasants opposed to collectivization. The Famine of 1932-1933 was clearly the result of deliberate starvation created by the Soviet government. Requisition brigades, acting on Stalin's orders to fulfill impossibly high grain quotas, took away the last scraps of food from starving families, including children, often killing those who resisted. Millions of Ukrainians slowly starved to death amid some of the world's most fertile farmland while stockpiles of grain rotted by the tons. Meanwhile, the Soviet government was exporting grain to the West, rejecting international offers to assist the starving population and preventing starving Ukrainians from leaving affected areas in search of food. The implementation of a food blockade around large areas of Ukraine exacerbated the situation. Thus the 1932-1933 Famine in Ukraine was a deliberately designed and coldly calculated policy. It was a politically motivated event targeting all Ukrainians.

7. Were other ethnic groups affected by the Famine?

**Answer:** Besides Ukraine, the only other regions that experienced famine on such a devastating scale were the regions of the Don and Kuban, which border Ukraine. The Kuban region was at that time mainly populated by Ukrainians. Out of approximately 1.5 million Ukrainians that lived there in 1926, there remain today less than 300,000. The Don region was inhabited by peasants who identified themselves as either Russians or Don Cossacks and were as recalcitrant in their traditional freedom-loving lifestyle as were the peasants of Ukraine. The Don and Kuban regions had been centers of anti-Soviet armed resistance in the Civil War that broke out after the communist takeover of Russia. The populations of both those regions were undoubtedly deemed as obstructive to the “great experiment” of creating a “communist society,” as were the people of Ukraine. Historians estimate that 1-2 million people perished during the Famine of 1932-1933 in both those regions. In Ukraine itself, it was mostly villages with primarily Ukrainian inhabitants.
that experienced the brunt of the Famine. However, there is information that many of the Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, German Menonite, and Tatar villages in southern Ukraine and Jewish villages in Central Ukraine were also affected. Due to the Soviet resettlement of those ethnic groups after World War II, there are few eyewitness accounts of the suffering of these groups during the Famine of 1932-1933.

Another group that suffered greatly at the hands of the Soviet government just a few years earlier, were the Kazakhs. In 1930, 1-2 million Kazakhs died of starvation, when the Soviet government instituted a policy aimed at coercing them to give up their traditional nomadic way of life and join Soviet collective farms.

8. Who have been the leading deniers of the Famine-Genocide? What do they write about it?

**Answer:** The leading deniers of the Famine Genocide in Ukraine have included the successive leaderships of the Soviet Union, Western journalists and writers who either were Soviet sympathizers or people who strove to avoid the displeasure of their communist patrons and colleagues.

Among the writers who in the 1930s kept praising the Stalinist regime and denying the Famine or diminishing its tragic significance were Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair and others. The most infamous of the journalists singing praises of Stalin’s policies throughout the years of famine and terror was Walter Duranty, correspondent of *The New York Times* in Moscow. He came to be viewed in America as an authority on Soviet affairs because of his extensive and continual reports on developments in the Soviet Union. Few Americans suspected at the time that Duranty was engaged in a cover-up of Soviet atrocities. In his reports from Moscow he strongly denied that Ukraine was experiencing a very deadly and widespread famine. On March 31, 1933, at the height of the Famine he reported: “there is no famine.” In August 24, 1933, Duranty claimed, “Any report of a famine is today an exaggeration or malignant propaganda.” Privately, however, in his conversations with British diplomats, he divulged hearing from Soviet officials that as many as 10 million people might have perished in the Famine. In a dispatch from American officials, he is reported to have asserted, that in agreement with the editors of *The New York Times*, his reports were to always reflect the official views of the Soviet government. Shockingly, Duranty was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 1932 even though his articles were filled with a regurgitation of Soviet propaganda about the processes that led to the artificial Famine-Genocide-Holodomor.

Deniers of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide continue to pop up on the radar every few years until the present day. In the January 12, 1988 issue of the NYC newspaper *Village Voice*, journalist Jeff Coplon wrote a scathing attack on Ukrainians whose efforts to reveal the artificial and sweeping character of the 1932-1933 Famine as “a story [that] is a fraud.”

In Ukraine today, former and present communist activists continue to engage in efforts to prevent the institutionalization of the memory of the Famine on a State level. However, even though discussion of the Famine is somewhat muted in certain regions of Ukraine out of a
fear bred by years of Soviet terror, its memory is so widespread that it has served to erode
the sway of communism on people who were subjected to years of intense communist
indoctrination and who have had to deal with significant economic difficulties in the wake
of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

9. What political and economic consequences have resulted from the Famine Genocide?

**Answer:** The main consequences of the genocidal Famine of 1932-1933 were as follows:

a) The destruction of one-fourth of Ukraine's population. Entire villages were wiped out.

b) The destruction of the most productive segment of Ukraine's farming population. The
Soviet campaigns against so-called “kurkuls” targeted the most productive and
enterprising farmers. These people were considered unadaptable to the communist
concept of society. Consequently, Ukraine continues to lack a class that could raise its
agricultural sector to the levels that it enjoyed before collectivization and Famine.

c) A drastic drop in the number of cattle, poultry, and other domestic animals in Ukraine.
Ukraine has never been able to recover the large number of cattle, horses, hogs and
poultry that its farmers had before the Famine. This has been another reason for the
decline in Ukraine’s agriculture.

d) A devastating impact on the psychology of Ukrainians who survived the horrors of the
artificial Famine. The Soviet government virtually succeeded in remolding the freedom-
loving people of central and eastern Ukraine into a mass of human cogs, filled with terror
of Soviet authorities and of their power over human fate. As one Famine survivor put it,
“Anyone who endured total hunger over such a prolonged period of time, would remain
traumatized for life and ever fearful that the authorities could pull it off again.”

e) A significant alteration in Ukraine's demographics. After the Famine, depopulated areas of
southern and eastern Ukraine were settled by people who were brought in from Russia.
Unfortunately, the new population was hostile to Ukrainian culture and national
aspirations and still is until the present day and has provided opportunities for devious
politicians to create divisions in Ukraine's population. The population of southern and
eastern Ukraine is more oriented toward Russia and hostile to Ukrainian efforts at nation-
building.

10. Was there any resistance among Ukrainians during the Famine of 1932-1933?

**Answer:** In the first years of Soviet occupation (the early 1920s) the Ukrainian countryside
was teeming with armed resistance groups. The widespread scale of that resistance was one
of the factors that prompted Lenin to adopt in 1921 the New Economic Policy (NEP), which
reduced government control of the economy and agriculture. Thus, through a combination of
carrot (NEP) and stick (harsh suppression of resistance with mass executions), Lenin was
able to bring an end to widespread Ukrainian resistance.

During the collectivization drive, Ukrainian farmers rose up again in the form of so
called women’s revolts (named so because women formed the bulk of their participants).
In many villages, women stormed the headquarters of committees charged with implementing the campaign to force farmers into joining collective farms. Sporadic armed uprisings also took place, occasionally involving whole districts, but scythes and shotguns could not prevail against the armed forces of the GPU and NKVD – the Soviet secret police. All of these revolts were crushed in a bloody manner and resulted in mass arrests.

Consequently, the peasants resorted to slaughtering their cattle as a form of passive resistance or mass sabotage. It should, however, be noted that this slaughter of cattle during the collectivization drive was not the factor that provoked the Famine, since it began 2 years after most farms were collectivized, and even during the height of the Famine people were shot for even attempting to kill livestock which, by then, was declared “state property.”

The outbreak of the Famine caught almost everyone by surprise. When communist activists came to confiscate the harvest of 1932 or to take food from the farmers, the government gave assurances that people would receive food payments, once the quotas were met. By the time the farmers realized that the government had contrived a death warrant against them, they were too emaciated to organize any real resistance. There were, however, a number of cases when farmers raided storage houses to take back some food. But all such attempts were dealt with in the form of summary executions.
Ukraine is the largest country in Europe by territory and is in fourth place for population after Germany, France, and Italy. The Russian Republic and Turkey are both larger in territory, but they are in Europe and Asia.

It would be possible to put such countries as England, Ireland, Lithuania, Hungary, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Israel, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino inside the territory of Ukraine and still have 10,000 square miles left over.


(population statistics last updated July 2006)
Please note: the spelling of the Ukrainian capital has been changed from KIEV to KYIV.
1. State four basic reasons why the Famine occurred.

2. What were four consequences of the Famine?

3. State four basic facts describing how the Famine occurred.

4. Express in verbal or graphic form the most potent mental picture you have of the Famine.
1. Examine the two maps of Ukraine and describe its relative location.

2. Ukraine was known as “the breadbasket” of Europe and the Soviet Union. How might this have influenced the Soviet government in its policies towards Ukraine?

3. State 3 examples how Stalin and the USSR “benefited” from the famine in Ukraine.

4. What is collectivization? How did collectivization differ in Russia from the collectivization process in Ukraine?
5. Give three reasons why this Famine-Genocide was so unlike any famine in the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

6. Describe the process by which food was withheld from the Ukrainian peasants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

7. What evidence exists that the Famine was “man made”? Give two pieces of evidence confirming the political or economic motivation behind the Famine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

8. How did the views of some communist leaders differ with respect to the government’s policies? Give specific evidence from source material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. What is the estimated number of deaths in Ukraine caused by the famine and why might the number actually be much higher?</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Speculate on some reasons why the United States and other Western nations did nothing about the situation that was taking place in Ukraine.</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Why can this be considered an example of ethnic cleansing?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Read the definitions of genocide. Apply the events of the 1932-1933 Famine to the definitions and list three reasons why this can be considered genocide.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1. In a short essay, explain how the goals of the Soviet government differed from the goals of the peasants. What two opposing economic systems are revealed in this struggle?
Famine Testimony of Polikarp Kybvalo

The spring of 1933 was the most horrible and tragic moment in the history of the Ukrainian people. In the fall of 1932 and the early winter of 1933 the Russian communist government had taken away the entire grain crop and all food produce from the Ukrainian farmers in order to bring them into submission and obedient servitude in the collective farms.

In the collective farms of my native district, which numbered 672 people, 164 died that fatal spring of 1933. Actually this collective farm suffered little compared with all the surrounding places, for to induce the farmers to remain there, they were given 300 grams of bread per person baked from all kinds of chaff and some liquid concoction cooked from refuse. But there were villages and hamlets where not a single person remained alive. For instance, in the large village of Chemychna, in the Neforosh-chanske County, which stretched for two and a half miles, though I do not recall its population, and the hamlet Rybky, of the Sukho-Mayachka village administration, where 60% of the population died.

Here is another of the many incidents of the famine:

In my native village, there was a stallion kept for breeding mares. He was well fed, receiving 13 pounds of oats daily, but for some unknown reason, he suddenly died. This happened at the end of May 1933. This district administration forbade the stallion to be buried, until a special commission arrived and held an inquest.

The dead stallion lay in the open for three days and began to decay. A guard was appointed to shield it from the starving people who would have eaten the meat. On the fourth day the commission arrived and, having completed the investigation, ordered the stallion to be buried.

No sooner was that done and the commission gone, then like an avalanche, the people descended on the dead, decaying stallion and, in an instant, nothing, was left of him. Violent arguments ensued, because some had grabbed more than their share.

A spectacle I shall never forget was when a 16 year-old boy who, beside his stepmother, was the only survivor in the family, and swollen from starvation, crawled up to the place where the dead stallion had been and finding a hoof, snatched it in both hands and gnawed
at it furiously. The boy was never seen again, and rumors circulated that his stepmother had eaten him.

It was forbidden for people to leave their villages. GPU guards blocked all roads and railways. Any food that the farmers happened to be carrying was taken away from them. For picking a stray head of wheat or a frozen potato or beet left in the field, a person was sentenced to ten years in prison or concentration camp, according to the ruling passed by the government August 7, 1932.

Thousands of corpses littered the streets, byways and buildings. Deaths occurred at such a rate that the government could not keep up with burying the corpses.

During all this time there was not the slightest sign of any famine in the neighboring Russian territory. The Soviet press never mentioned the famine in Ukraine but on the contrary, (even) printed misleading propaganda about “flowering Ukraine” and her great achievements in industry and collectivization.

To cover up its bloody crime, the Soviet government warned all doctors not to state the true cause of death on death certificates. Instead, they stated that a prevalent digestive ailment was the cause.

Testimony presented before the United States Ukraine Famine Commission in Washington, DC, October 8, 1986
“Hooks and crooks of different length were used by the activists to look for buried grain and other valuables in the garden and indoors, under the floor, by the stove. They poked and looked, and looked and looked.”

**Famine Testimony of Tatiana Pawlichka**¹

In 1931, I was ten years old, and I remember well what happened in my native village in the Kyiv region. In the spring of that year, we had virtually no seed. The communists had taken all the grain, and although they saw that we were weak and hungry, they came and searched for more grain. My mother had stashed away some corn that had already sprouted, but they found that too and took it. What we did manage to sow, the starving people pulled up out of the ground and ate.

In the villages and on the collective farms (our village had two collectives), a lot of land lay fallow, because people had nothing to sow, and there wasn't enough manpower to do the sowing. Most people couldn't walk, and those few who could, had no strength. When, at harvest time, there weren't enough local people to harvest the grain, others were sent in to help on the collectives. These people spoke Russian, and they were given provisions.

After the harvest, the villagers tried to go out in the field to look for a few gleanings of wheat or cabbage, and the communists would arrest them and shoot them, or send them to Siberia. My aunt, Tatiana Rudenko, was taken away. They said she had stolen the property of the collective farm.

That summer, the vegetables couldn't even ripen. People pulled them out of the ground, still green, and ate them. People ate leaves, nettles, and milk thistle. By autumn no one had any chickens or cattle. Here and there, someone had a few potatoes or beets. People coming in from other villages, told the very same story. They would travel all over trying to get food. They would fall by the roadside, and none of us could do anything to help them. Before the ground froze, they were just left lying there dead in the snow or, if they died in the house, they were dragged out to the cattle-shed, and they would lie there frozen until spring. There was no one to dig graves.

All the train stations were overflowing with starving, dying people. Everyone wanted to go to Russia (the RSFSR) because it was said that there was no famine there. Very few (of those who left) returned. They all perished on the way. They weren’t allowed into Russia and were turned back at the border. Those who somehow managed to get into Russia were able to save themselves.

In February of 1933, there was so few children left that the schools were closed. By this time, there wasn’t a cat, dog, or sparrow in the village. In that month, my cousin Mykailo
Rudenko died. A month later my aunt Nastia Klymenko and her son, my cousin Ivan, died, as well as my classmate, Dokia Klymenko. There was cannibalism in our village.

On my farmstead, an 18-year-old boy, Danylo Hukhlib, died and his mother and younger sisters and brothers cut him up and ate him. The communists came and took them away, and we never saw them again. People said they took them a little ways off and shot them right away, the little ones and the older ones, together.

At that time, I remember, I had heavy, swollen legs. My sister Tamara had a large swollen stomach, and her neck was long, and thin, like a bird’s neck. People didn’t look like people; they were more like starving ghosts.

The ground thawed, and they began to take the dead to the ravine in ox carts. The air was filled with the reeking odor of decomposing bodies. The wind carried this odor far and wide. It was thus over all of Ukraine.

1Testimony presented before the United States Ukraine Famine Commission in Washington, DC, October 8, 1986

“From early childhood, Mykola Mykhaylovych (Bondarenko) loved to listen to the old people reminiscing about village life in the olden days. Having learned about the Famine, he attempted to reproduce it graphically, but was not satisfied with the few sketches he made. The artist wished to tell about this tragedy in his own, different way.”
Pick out 5 or 6 important facts from the eyewitness accounts and/or the previous readings. Referring to these eyewitness accounts and the previous readings, as a group, prepare an article for a newspaper in 1933 explaining what is occurring in Ukraine.

The following elements must be included in your article:

- Name of the newspaper and date
- Article headline
- Author (make up a name or use a name from the group)
- Main points to be made
- Photograph or illustration
STUDENT PROJECT POWERPOINT PRESENTATION:

Pick a group of students. Have students study one of the first-hand accounts and create a Power-Point presentation of illustrations based on that account. Make a presentation to the class by having one student read the first-hand account aloud with the proper emotional inflection while the visuals/slides are shown.
Addendum to the minutes of Politburo (meeting) No. 93

Resolution of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Council of People’s Commissars and the Central Committee resolve:

To place the following villages on the black list for overt disruption of the grain collection plan and for malicious sabotage, organized by kulak and counterrevolutionary elements . . .

The following measures should be undertaken with respect to these villages:

1. Immediate cessation of delivery of goods, complete suspension of cooperative and state trade in the villages, and removal of all available goods from cooperative and state stores.

2. Full prohibition of collective farm trade for both collective farms and collective farmers, and for private farmers.

3. Investigation and purge of all sorts of foreign and hostile elements from cooperative and state institutions, to be carried out by organs of Workers and Peasants Inspectorate.

4. Investigation and purge of collective farms in these villages, with removal of counterrevolutionary elements and organizers of grain collection disruption.

http://www.ibiblio.org/expo/soviet.exhibit/k2grain.html
“Food is a weapon.”  
*Maxim Litvinov – Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs.*

“A famine that came about without drought and without war.”  
*Alexander Solzhenitsyn, The Gulag Archipelago*

“I saw ravages of the famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine – hordes of families in rags begging at the railway stations, the women lifting up to the compartment windows their starving brats, which, with drumstick limbs, big cadaverous heads and puffed bellies, looked like embryos out of alcohol bottles.”

*Arthur Koestler, The God that Failed p. 68* (a Hungarian-born British writer that analyzed the psychology of victims of Stalin’s 1930s purges in his novel *Darkness at Noon*).
“This famine may fairly be called political because it was not the result of any overwhelming natural catastrophe or such complete exhaustions of the country’s resources in foreign and civil wars.”

William Henry Chamberlin
(Correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor was originally pro Soviet. He was one of the few Westerners who personally toured Ukraine during the Famine), *Russia’s Iron Age* (London, 1935) p. 82

“Anger lashed my mind as I drove back to the village. Butter being sent abroad in the midst of the famine! In London, Berlin, Paris I could see . . . people eating butter stamped with a Soviet trade mark”
“The peasants who were with me when we found the ‘State reserves’ stared with unbelieving eyes and cursed in anger. Subsequently I came to know that in many other parts of the country the government hoarded huge reserves, while peasants in those very regions died of hunger.”

“. . . (Our reporting) served Moscow’s purpose of smearing the facts out of recognition and declaring a situation which, had we reported simply and clearly, might have worked up enough public opinion abroad to force remedial measures. And every correspondent each in his own measure, was guilty of collaborating in this monstrous hoax on the world.”

Eugene Lyons – (Moscow United Press correspondent from 1928 to 1934) Assignment in Utopia pp. 573

“Almost single-handedly did Duranty aid and abet one of the world’s most prolific mass murderers, knowing all the while what was going on but refraining from saying precisely what he knew to be true. He swallowed the ends justifies the means argument hook, line and sinker. When Stalin’s atrocities were brought to light, Duranty loved to repeat ‘you can’t make an omelet without breaking a few eggs.’ Those few ‘eggs’ were the heads of men, women and children, and those ‘few’ were merely tens of millions.”


“Moscow employed the famine as a political weapon against the Ukrainians in the year 1932-1933. The famine was in its entirety artificially induced and organized.”

F.M. Pigido (an economist who lived and worked in Ukraine during the Famine of 1932-1933) Investigation of Communist Takeover & Occupation of the Non-Russian Nations of the USSR p. 35

“Barren fields” he told me (Red Army General). “Do you know that they ate their horses and oxen, such as was left of them? They were starving, do you know that? . . . and remember, these folks weren’t kulaks, weren’t class enemies. They were our own people, our soldiers and I were horrified.”


*Many correspondents erroneously referred to the Soviet Union as Russia.
“There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition.”

*Walter Duranty Russians* Hungry but not Starving: The New York Times (March 31, 1933)

*Many correspondents erroneously referred to the Soviet Union as Russia*

“This visitor has just completed a 200-mile trip through the heart of Ukraine and can say positively that the harvest is splendid and all talk of famine now is ridiculous.”


“Whatever Stalin’s apologists may say, 1931 was a year of famine in ‘Russia,’* with all the signs of peasant distress which I had seen in 1921; the mass migration of destitute peasants from the countryside to the towns and cities; epidemics of typhus and other diseases of malnutrition.”


“The essential point is that, in fact, clear orders existed to stop Ukrainian peasants entering Russia where food was available and, when they had succeeded in evading these blocks, to confiscate any food they were carrying when intercepted on their return. This can only have been a decree from the highest level and it can only have had one motive.”


“The anti-Communist, pro-fascist story about the ‘great famine’ is nonsense”

“... What is disquieting is that where the USSR and its policies are concerned one cannot expect intelligent criticism or even, in many cases, plain honesty from Liberal writers and journalists who are under no direct pressure to falsify their opinions.”

“... Stalin is sacrosanct and certain aspects of his policy must not be seriously discussed... This rule has been almost universally observed since 1941, but it had operated, to a greater extent than is sometimes realized, for ten years earlier than that.”

“... Events in Russia and events elsewhere were to be judged by different standards... it was considered equally proper to publicize famines when they happened in India and to conceal them when they happened in Ukraine.”

George Orwell’s Proposed Preface to Animal Farm “The Freedom of the Press” in 1945 (however, it was not included [in the original publication] and the typescript was only found years later by Ian Angus. It was published with an introduction by Professor Bernard Crick entitled ‘How the essay came to be written’, in The Times Library Supplement, 15 September 1972.
1. After reading the quotes on the preceding pages, classify the quotes into categories according to their sources (journalists, government officials, etc.).

2. Which category of sources would reflect the most accurate portrayal of the events of 1932-1933? Explain your reasoning:

3. What explanation might there be for discrepancies between Duranty’s account of the events and those of the other journalists, such as Chamberlin?
4. Read the two quotes from Walter Duranty, March 31, 1933 and September 18, 1933. 
   Compare them with the quotes from his books published in 1944 and 1949. What differences do you see and what accounts for these differences?

5. Why would some groups (in the past and present) deny the existence of the Famine? 
   Cite 3 specific reasons.

6. *Speculate* on three possible political reasons as to why George Orwell's preface was not included in the early editions of *Animal Farm*. 
Natural Rate of Population Growth in the Ukrainian SSR.

Sources: V. I. Naulko: “Growth of the interethnic connections in Ukraine”, Kiev, 1965
THE SOVIET UNION: A MULTINATIONAL CONGLOMERATE

“The Soviet Union is not a country like others, but almost a continent, where Europe and Asia meet. And it is not a nation so much as an empire . . . it is not a state of workers and peasants it claims to be . . . primarily it is a state of nations”

“More than a hundred nations and nationalities lie within its borders, speaking more than a hundred languages, with all that keeps them apart.”

“National diversity and intensity of national feeling characterize the Soviet political scene.”

**ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE USSR WITH POPULATION OF 500,000 OR MORE**
(1979 CENSUS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population (1979)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>4,151,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijanians</td>
<td>5,447,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashkirs</td>
<td>1,371,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussians</td>
<td>9,463,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechens</td>
<td>756,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuvashis</td>
<td>1,751,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Daghestan nationalities</em></td>
<td>1,657,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonians</td>
<td>1,020,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgians</td>
<td>3,571,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>1,936,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>1,811,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhs</td>
<td>6,556,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirghiz</td>
<td>1,908,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvians</td>
<td>1,439,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>2,851,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>622,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavians</td>
<td>2,968,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordavinians</td>
<td>1,192,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ossets</td>
<td>542,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>1,151,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>137,397,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajiks</td>
<td>2,898,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatars</td>
<td>6,317,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmens</td>
<td>2,028,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmerts</td>
<td>714,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>42,347,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbeks</td>
<td>12,456,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(many different distinct nationalities and languages)*

**POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE EAST SLAVIC NATIONALITIES AND THE USSR AS A WHOLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>137,397,000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>170,557,100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1926 Population</th>
<th>1939 Population</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>77,791,001</td>
<td>99,591,500</td>
<td>+28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussians</td>
<td>4,738,900</td>
<td>5,275,400</td>
<td>+11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>31,195,000</td>
<td>28,111,000</td>
<td>– 9.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken from: *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust*. Published by the Ukrainian National Association, p. 33. The source of information is “Natsionalisti SSR” by Kozlov, p. 29. Small Soviet Encyclopedia, 1940 edition, under “U” – “Ukrainian SSR”; Ukraine’s population in 1927 census listed at 32 million; in 1939 (twelve years later) – 28 million.

35
**Worksheet #7: Statistics and Population Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Russian SFSR</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
<th>Byelorussia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914-1915</td>
<td>4,965,318</td>
<td>1,492,878</td>
<td>235,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-1929</td>
<td>5,997,980</td>
<td>1,585,814</td>
<td>369,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-1939</td>
<td>7,663,669</td>
<td>985,598</td>
<td>358,507</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Cultural Construction of the USSR, Moscow: Government Planning Pub., 1940, pages 40-50.

1. What population changes occurred in each of the countries as shown in the above table from 1915 to 1929 and from 1929 to 1939?

2. Determine the percent of increase or decrease in the population of each country from 1915 to 1929 and from 1929 to 1939.

3. Using your answers to question #1, what observations can you make about the population changes in each country?

**Russian SFSR**  **Ukraine**  **Byelorussia**
WORKSHEET #7: STATISTICS AND POPULATION DATA

LIVESTOCK IN UKRAINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>HORSES</th>
<th>CATTLE</th>
<th>SHEEP</th>
<th>HOGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>5,300,000</td>
<td>8,600,000</td>
<td>8,100,000</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>2,600,000</td>
<td>4,400,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA, PAGE 1064

1. State three possible reasons for the great decreases in livestock in the seven-year period listed in the table above.

2. Determine the percent of decrease for each animal listed in the table from 1928 to 1935. Which one had the greatest decrease?

ESTIMATED DEATHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>HOUR</th>
<th>MINUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 MILLION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA, PAGE 1064

1. If 7 million people died in one year, determine the number of deaths per day, per hour and per minute.

2. Look up the total population of your school district. Based on that figure, if the death rate was the same as in Ukraine, proportionally, what would be the death rate in your district per day, hour, and minute?
### CAUSE / EFFECT OF FAMINE / HOLODOMOR IN UKRAINE IN 1932-1933

#### SOCIAL:
- **e.g., 1. Use of the Famine as a political tool to suppress Ukrainian language and culture.**

#### HOLODOMOR/ FAMINE

#### SOCIAL:
- **e.g., 1. Russification process through loss of cultural identity**

---

Analyze the Economic, Political, and Social **CAUSES** of the Famine.

Analyze Economic, Political, and Social **EFFECTS** of the Famine including the role of the Press.
## Worksheet #9: Cause and Effect: Other Genocides

### Comparison-Contrast with Other Genocides

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Resolution</th>
<th>Loss of Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biafra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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Lydia Bodnar-Balahutrak. “Another Kind of Icon #18,” 1996 charms, rosaries, photocopy, gesso, mm, wood, 34.5 x27cm. collection of O. Bashuk Hepburn, Aylmer, Canada

Mykhailo Dmytrenko. “1933,” 1963 oil on canvas, size and location unknown “Mychajlo Dmytrenko” [Detroit: Jubilee Committee, 1990], p. 92

Paintings by Ivan Novobranets
Artist, Poltava, Ukraine
Oil on Canvas, 1988, 81 cm by 100 cm
“Almost each engraving depicts a window, the cross-like frame of which symbolizes the heavy cross, borne by those condemned to death. Every windowpane symbolized the hope to survive the famine.”
On such a background, are depicted weeds and some other plants, consumed by the starving people during those horrible times. On the lower right window pane is the “recipe” for preparing this ersatz food.

“Noticeable in these engravings is the absence of any accusations of those who wrote the scenario of the Famine, and of those who only too eagerly helped in this criminal action. Only the sickles and hammers on the iron rods with which the communist activists probed everywhere (see pg. 22), looking for hidden grain of the peasants, point to the cause of the famine. And, also, the blood on the knife blade reminds the viewer that we are dealing with a horrible crime.”

Mykola Bondarenko
Graphic Artist
Art Teacher
Uspenky, Ukraine
(Other examples of this artist’s work on page 22 and 23)
ART AND THE FAMINE IN UKRAINE

1. Select one of the photographs on page 26, 27 and 28. Interpret what you see by connecting the picture to the account of the Famine. Use specific facts from the readings as support.

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2. Look at the painting on top right of page 40. What elements in the painting depict factual account of the Famine? Support with specific facts.

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3. Select one other painting on page 40. Interpret the symbols/depictions as they relate to the Famine.

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42
4. Which set of pictures is more powerful: the photographs or the artistic representations? Provide specific support for your opinion.

5. Which set of pictures carries a greater degree of credibility: the photographs or the paintings? Provide specific support for your conclusion.
Famine’s Feast by Tamara Cornelison

First came the czars, who said
You may not speak or write or read the words your Mother gave you.
Then came the commissars, who said
You may not eat or drink that which your Mother Earth has given you:
Because you are the People of the State,
You must support the State in thought and deed:
Give us your grain.

The poets and the writers and the teachers perished first,
Their words lost in the frozen tundra of Siberia
Vast, empty space and angry winds dispersing every letter, every thought.
Ideas vanquished by the cold or by a bullet to the brain

The old ones perished next: Hunger took them before we thought to eat
The dogs, the cats, the rats, the oxen we kept hidden in the woods—
Man, as they say, cannot on bread alone survive.
And when the bread was gone, what could we do?

And then the children vanished in the winter smoke
Some old enough to wonder why, some not.
Their skinny arms and legs mocked by fat bellies,
swollen by the gluttony of want.

The mothers watched in silence and the fathers cursed:
“I am the State, Mine are the State, We are the State
That murders me and mine and ours.
We are abandoned by the world,
We are forsaken by the Lord,
We starve with none to say a word
Or mourn us: How can the dead bury the dead?”

The fields lay silent, fallow, empty.
The graves lay silent, too,
A final shelter for the millions
who lived and loved and hoped
And were no more.

What inferences can you draw about the government of this nation?
Which painting on the previous pages best depicts this poem and why?
GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE
SUMMARIZATION – ARGUMENTATION

1. When and where did the Famine/Holodomor take place and what were the circumstances?

2. What information is presented that leads to the claim that the Famine took place?

3. What is the basic statement or claim that is the focus of the information?
4. What examples or explanations are presented to support this claim?

5. What arguments are made against the claim?
Sources:


Videos:

“Famine-33” Directed by Oles Yanchuk; written (in Ukrainian with English subtitles) by Serhij Diachenko and Les Taniuk, based on the novel “The Yellow Prince,” by Vasyl Barka; directors of photography, Vasyl Borodin and Mykhajlo Kretov; edited by Mykola Kalandjonak and Victor Pacukeyvych. At Film Forum 1, 209 Houston Street, South Village (NYC); time: 95 minutes. This film is not rated.

“Harvest of Despair: The 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine.” Produced by the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee with assistance of the National Film Board of Canada. Directed by Slavko Nowytskyi.

http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3897393411603039499&q=harvest&hl=en
**Sources and Websites**

**Websites:**

- http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/
- http://ucc.ca/faminegenocide/
- http://www.archives.gov.ua/ (main source of photographs)
- https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/up.html#top
- http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/classroom/Lemkin.html
**Bolshevik** – a member of the Russian Communist Party founded by V. Lenin in 1903 as a result of a split within the Russian Social Democratic Party. The Bolshevik faction favored radical revolutionary action and at one meeting of the RSDP Leadership managed to win a majority; thus the name Bolsheviks or larger group.

**Cheka** – Soviet security network formed in 1917 to liquidate “enemies of the Soviet rule.” The Cheka carried out its policy of “Red Terror” by mass killings, executions of hostages, sadistic torture and continual terror.

**collective farm** – a large agricultural unit to which belong hundreds of people who work on it like in a factory. It is supposed to be under the control of its members, but in communist countries collective farms have been under government ownership and control.

**collectivization** – government policy of taking over private farms and joining them together to form a large collective farm.

**communism** – economic system in which all land, natural resources, and industries are owned or controlled by the government. (In theory, they are supposed to be under communal ownership and shared equally, but no communist government has ever implemented this idea). Politically, communism is a totalitarian system.

**genocide** – the systematic destruction of an entire racial, ethnic, or religious group. The word "genocide" was first coined in 1943 by Rafal Lemkin, using the Latin roots geno- (from gens, or "tribe") and -cide (as in "homicide" or "patricide").

**Holodomor** – literally, famine-murder (or murder by famine), a Ukrainian term for the Artificial Famine of 1932-1933, in which at least 7 million Ukrainians were starved to death through the connivance of Stalin and his henchmen.

**imperialism** – the policy of a country to expand its territory by taking over other lands and entire countries.

**Komnezams** (Committees of Poor Peasants) – name of organizations formed in the countryside in the early 1920’s to collect compulsory deliveries of food to the state and to persecute prosperous farmers during “anti-kulak” campaigns.

**kulak** (in Ukrainian kurkul) – more prosperous or middle class farmer who was viewed very negatively by communists because of their success in private family farming. The word “kulak” means “fist” in Russian and they were portrayed as exploiters. In the 1920s anyone who hired even one worker was labeled a kulak.

**NEP** – the “New Economic Policy” proclaimed by Lenin in 1921 as a temporary measure to decrease peasant and middle class hostility to Soviet rule. NEP permitted small privately owned farms and business. It started to be abandoned in the late 1920s and a campaign was launched to nationalize all farms and businesses.
NKVD/KGB – an agency of the Soviet government with a wide network of official and secret police agents in charge of combating activity deemed as dangerous to Soviet rule. The NKVD was in charge of Soviet prisons and the vast concentration camp system (GULAG). Later the NKVD was transformed into the KGB.

propaganda – a systematic effort to persuade people to accept certain ideas or to mold people’s views into a particular mindset using such means as education, mass media, public meetings, publications of various kind.

Razverstka – compulsory grain quotas established by the communist government in Moscow. In 1932-1933, it led to the confiscation of almost the entire crop yield of Ukraine.

totalitarianism – political system in which one political party or group maintains control over all spheres of life. Totalitarian governments are extreme dictatorships that combat all opposing groups and ideas and all rivals. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and all communist countries were examples of totalitarian government.

Ukraine – nation in Eastern Europe, north of the Black Sea. It was one of the first agricultural societies in Europe (5000 B.C.). Ukraine was independent in the Middle Ages (9th-14th centuries), in the 17th-18th centuries, in 1917-1920, and since 1991. In other times it was occupied by Poland, Czarist Russia, Austria-Hungary, and communist Russia.

Ukrainian National Republic – the independent Ukrainian state formed in November 1917 and based on the principles of democracy, a socially-oriented market economy and protection of the rights of ethnic minorities. Fighting a war with communist and csarist Russian forces, UNR held onto limited Ukrainian territory until 1920.

Ukrainization – policy of the government of Soviet Ukraine between 1923 and 1933 aimed at promoting the development of Ukrainian culture and language in the Ukrainian SSR and among Ukrainians in the Soviet Union. It was abruptly terminated in 1933 when the government took a course on bringing Ukrainians closer into the Russian linguistic and cultural sphere.

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Empire formed by Russian Communists in early 1920s as the first “socialist state.” It comprised 15 republics, such as the Russian and Ukrainian SSR. The Soviet Union was officially dissolved in December 1991 after an unsuccessful coup attempt in the summer of that year aimed at terminating Soviet leader Gorbachev’s policy of liberalization.
Rafal Lemkin in the early 1940s created both the concept and the very term “genocide.” Lemkin (1901-1959) was in the 1930s a deputy public prosecutor of the District Court in Brzezany (Tarnopol Province), later transferred to at the same rank to Warsaw, eventually becoming a barrister and a lecturer at Warsaw's Free University. He worked on the concept of genocide (termed by him at the time as “acts of barbarity”) before World War II. In 1941, he managed to get to the United States where, in 1944, he published his landmark work: *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. He was also the principal author of a fundamental international treaty in this field of genocide: The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 9, 1948. In consequence of this, in the 1950s, he was twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. The text of the cited Convention has been ratified by the vast majority of the world’s countries. At the same time the crime of genocide has been added to the criminal statues of the majorities of the world's countries.

As stated in article II of the Convention “genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” in any a number of ways. First of all (art II, pt. a/) of course is killing members of the group. Further, however are also included (pt. b/-e/): b/ causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c/ deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d/ imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e/ forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The first two paragraphs above are a translation from Polish by Peter K. Gessner of a two paragraph section of an article by Ryszard Szawlowski.

http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/classroom/Lemkin.html

Dr. Henry R. Huttenbach, Professor of History at The City College of NY, is the Director of the Center for the Study of Ethnopolitics and Ethnonationalism, New York, editor of *Journal of Genocide Research*, and author of many books on the subject of nationalism and genocide — among them *The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Worms, 1933–1945: A Study of the Holocaust Experience in Germany* (1981), *Soviet Nationality Policies* (1994) and *From Versailles to Dayton* (2000). Prof. Huttenbach is also co-founding director of the International Academy on Genocide Prevention. He has participated in numerous international conferences throughout Europe, the United States, and Israel and has been the recipient of several fellowships from institutions that include the Rockefeller Foundation and Fulbright.

He received an Honorary Doctorate from Uppsala University, Sweden in 2003. Professor Huttenbach has been a Member of Columbia Faculty Seminar on Political Theory and Institutions since 1968, been a Professor at various learning institutions throughout the years such as Columbia University, The New School for Social Research, the Harriman Institute and the University of Washington. He currently lives in New York City where he holds various administrative positions and continues to be an acclaimed guest speaker and lecturer.

http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/cicr/partners/huttenbach.html
Russian history began with the founding of Moscow in 1147, even though many Slavic and non-Slavic tribes occupied the territory long before the 12th century. By 1300, Moscow was the seat of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, ruled by a series of ambitious grand dukes. Muscovy began to expand its borders in all directions and to subjugate other peoples. Muscovy’s rulers called themselves “czars,” the Russian word for Caesar or emperor. Czar Peter I changed the name of the empire from Muscovy to “Russia.” Russia’s rulers never hesitated in their efforts to expand their empire. They fought all of their neighbors in an effort to conquer more land. By 1900, the Russian empire extended from the Black Sea in the South to the Baltic Sea in the North, and from the Vistula River in the West to the Pacific Ocean in the East.

Of the 126 million inhabitants living in the Russian Empire in 1897, only 51 million (41%) were ethnic Russians. The non-Russian majority was considered to be made up of foreigners. Such nationalities were often denied any means of self-expression in their native languages. The government of Russia was officially designated an autocracy, meaning that absolute authority resided in the czar. His power was not limited by a constitution, and individuals had no rights other than those, that the ruler saw fit to grant. Attempts at reforms, such as those initiated by Alexander II, and the revolt of 1905, had limited success and had no lasting impact.

By 1917, the people of Russia had enough of czarist despotism. Czar Nicholas II abdicated in February 1917, and a democratically constituted Provisional Government, headed by Alexander Kerensky, replaced the czarist government. Soon after the 1917 revolution, many of the ethnic groups previously conquered by Russia declared their independence. The Russian empire was crumbling. The Provisional Government was short lived. A well-organized group of communists, headed by Vladimir Lenin, overthrew Kerensky’s government. From 1917 through 1921, a bloody, four-year civil war ensued between the communists (Reds or Bolsheviks) and the non-communists (Whites or Mensheviks). The civil war delayed the establishment of a communist state. Following in the footsteps of their czarist predecessors, Lenin’s Red Army invaded and recaptured some of the countries that had seceded after the 1917 revolution. In 1922, Russia’s communist government officially adopted the name Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for Russia and the territories it had conquered.

Lenin, the “Great Revolutionary” and the first communist leader of the USSR, changed the communist theory of Karl Marx in many ways. He consolidated power by establishing a powerful secret police, known as the Cheka, which suppressed popular dissent and any criticism of the government. To ease the economic hardships caused by World War I and the subsequent civil war, Lenin established a New Economic Policy (the “NEP”). It gave more freedom to the peasants and allowed operation of small business ventures. Peasants were required to turn over a certain percentage of their crops to the government, but were free to keep or sell the rest on the open market. Small businesses, which initially had been nationalized, were returned to private ownership. Major industries, transportation, banks and mines remained in government hands.
The economic growth resulting from the NEP was impressive. A new class of affluent peasants called kulaks arose and small businessmen called NEP men, were spreading capitalistic methods.

This made the NEP unpopular with many true communists. Lenin died in 1924. His right-hand man, Leon Trotsky, was his logical successor as leader of the USSR. Trotsky however, had enemies who united against him and sided with his rival Stalin. Lenin mistrusted Stalin and wanted him removed from the position of the General Secretary of the Communist Party. A power struggle ensued between Trotsky and Stalin. Trotsky fled the country, and by 1928, Stalin had consolidated his power over the USSR.

Initially, Stalin supported the New Economic Policy in opposition to Trotsky. After consolidating his power, Stalin reversed his course. He set the economic goal of industrializing the USSR and catching up to the West in ten years. This would establish the USSR as a strong, modern nation, solidify socialism in the country and enable it to resist any attack from capitalistic nations. The industrialization process was to be accomplished through the world’s first fully planned economy. It called for a series of Five Year Plans, each requiring phenomenal increases in the production of most goods. Emphasis was placed on heavy industry, such as coal, steel, machine tool production, and electrification. In order to provide an industrial work force, the agricultural sector was to be collectivized. Small, family owned farms would be taken over by the state, and combined into much larger, communally cultivated, farms. This would raise productivity of the land sufficiently to feed the growing industrial work force. Additionally, there would be grain for export to provide funds for importing industrial machinery.

The collectivization process proved to be another brutal epoch of Soviet history. The peasants resisted collectivization. They were taken from their land by force, and resistors were shot. Kulaks, the more prosperous and most efficient farmers, were killed, or deported to Siberia or to other remote parts of the Soviet Union. Agricultural production actually declined during the first Five Year Plan. Nevertheless, Stalin did accomplish his goal of collectivizing the agricultural sector, and he managed to feed the growing industrial workforce in the cities. All this was done at the cost of great suffering and the death of millions.

The results of this industrialization process were dramatic, even though Stalin fell short of accomplishing all of his goals. With the help of thousands of foreign experts, the use of forced labor and focusing all resources on key projects, the Soviet Union managed to build a modern industrial base. By the time World War II started, Soviet production of military equipment was at a sufficiently high level to make the USSR ready for war. As a result of this forced industrialization, the USSR became a large industrial power, second only to the United States.

Following the annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1940 by the USSR, no other countries were added to the Soviet Union. The USSR was divided into 15 large, political units called union republics. Like czarist Russia, the USSR was an empire spanning the two continents of Europe and Asia. Hundreds of ethnic groups lived within its borders, and often there were many groups within individual republics. Over one hundred languages were spoken in the USSR. The Soviet “country” was characterized by rampant cultural diversity, strong feelings of nationalism among its various ethnic groups, and their desire for independence.
**Worksheet #1 & #2: Genocide in Ukraine**

**Geography 7.1.12(B)**
Analyze the location of places and regions

**Geography 7.3.12(D)**
Analyze the significance of human activity in shaping places and regions by their economic characteristics
(Effects of changes and movements in factors of production)

**History 8.1.12(D)**
Analyze and interpret historical research
Historical event (time and place)
Historical questions
Primary sources
Credibility of evidence

**World History 8.4.12(D)**
Analyze and evaluate how conflict and cooperation among social groups and organizations impacted world history from 1450 to present
Domestic instability
Ethnic and racial relations

**Civics & Government 5.2.12(C)**
Interpret the causes of conflict in society and analyze techniques to resolve those conflicts

**Reading Eligible Content 11.B.3.1.1**
Interpret, describe and/or analyze the use of facts and opinions to make a point or construct an argument in non-fictional text

**Worksheet #3: Essay Question: Genocide in Ukraine**

**World History 8.4.12(C)**
Evaluate how continuity and change throughout history has impacted belief systems and religions, commerce and industry, innovations, settlement patterns, social organizations in Europe since 1450

**Reading 11.B.3.1.1**
Interpret, describe and/or analyze the use of facts and opinions to make a point or construct an argument in non-fictional text

WORKSHEET #4 & #5: FIRST HAND ACCOUNTS

HISTORY 8.1.12(B)
- Synthesize and evaluate historical sources
- Data in historical and contemporary maps, graphs and tables
- Different historical perspectives
- Visual data presented in historical evidence

READING 11.B.2.2.1
- Identify, interpret, describe and/or analyze the point of view of the narrator as first person or third person point of view

WORKSHEET #6: DOCUMENTATION & JOURNAL ENTRIES

HISTORY 8.1.9(B)
- Analyze and interpret historical sources
- Data in historical and contemporary maps, graphs and tables
- Different historical perspectives
- Visual data presented in historical evidence

READING 11.B.3.2.1
- Identify and/or interpret bias and propaganda techniques in non-fictional text

WORKSHEET #7: STATISTICS AND POPULATION DATA

MATH 11.A.2.1.1
- Solve problems using operations with rational numbers including rates and percents (single and multiple procedure operation, e.g. distance, work and mixture problems, etc.)

MATH 11.E.4.1.1
- Estimate or calculate to make predictions based on a circle, line, bar graph or given situation

MATH 11.A.2.1.2
- Solve problems using direct and inverse proportions
APPLICABLE PA STANDARDS AND ELIGIBLE CONTENT

HISTORY 8.1.12(B)
- Synthesize and evaluate historical sources
- Data in historical and contemporary maps, graphs and tables
- Different historical perspectives
- Visual data presented in historical evidence

WORKSHEET #8: CAUSE AND EFFECT: GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE

READING 11.A.2.3.1
- Make inferences and/or draw conclusions based on information from text

HISTORY 8.1.9(C)
- Analyze the fundamental historical interpretation
- Facts vs. opinion
- Reasons for multiple points of view
- Illustrations in historical documents and stories
- Causes and results

WORKSHEET #9: COMPARISON – CONTRAST OF OTHER GENOCIDES

READING 11.A.2.3.1
- Make inferences and/or draw conclusions based on information from text

HISTORY 8.1.9(C)
- Analyze the fundamental historical interpretation
- Facts vs. opinion
- Reasons for multiple points of view

HISTORY 8.1.9(C) (CONT’D)
- Illustrations in historical documents and stories
- Causes and results

WORKSHEET #10: ART AND THE FAMINE IN UKRAINE

ART HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTENT 9.2.A
**Applicable PA Standards and Eligible Content**

- Historical, cultural and social context (demonstrates development of contextual understanding of cultures and societies)

**Art Historical and Cultural Content 9.2.D**
- Historical/cultural analysis of artworks

**Art Historical and Cultural Content 9.2.F**
- Vocabulary (uses vocabulary related to social studies and art: buttress, archeologist, Medieval period, black figure pottery)

**Worksheet #10: Art and the Famine in Ukraine (Cont’d)**

**Art Critical Response 9.3.B**
- Characteristics of artworks

**Art Critical Response 9.3.D**
- Vocabulary (uses vocabulary related to critical response: art critic, asymmetrical balance, intuitive criticism)

**Art Aesthetic Response 9.4.D**
- Philosophical ideas/meaning and how they are communicated/interpreted in works of art

**History 8.1.12(C)**
- Evaluate historical interpretation of events
- Impact of opinion on the perception of facts
- Reasons for multiple points of view
- Illustrations in historical stories and sources

**Worksheet #11: Literature and the Famine in Ukraine**

**Reading 11.B.2.1.1**
- Identify, interpret, describe and/or analyze the examples of personification, simile, metaphor, hyperbole, satire, imagery, foreshadowing, flashbacks and irony in text

**Reading 11.B.2.1.2**
- Identify, interpret, describe and/or analyze the author’s purpose for and effectiveness at using figurative language in text
Worksheet #11: Literature and the Famine in Ukraine

**History 8.1.12(C)**
- Evaluate historical interpretation of events
- Impact of opinion on the perception of facts
- Reasons for multiple points of view
- Illustrations in historical stories and sources

Worksheet #12: Summarization – Argumentation

**History 8.1.12(C)**
- Evaluate historical interpretation of events

**History 8.1.12(C) (cont’d)**
- Impact of opinion on the perception of facts
- Reasons for multiple points of view
- Illustrations in historical stories and sources

**World History 8.4.12(D)**
- Analyze and evaluate how conflict and cooperation among social groups and organizations impacted world history from 1450 to present
  - Domestic instability
  - Ethnic and racial relations.

**Reading 11.A.2.3.1**
- Make inferences and/or draw conclusions based on information from text.

**Reading 11.A.2.3.2**
- Cite evidence from text to support generalizations