

# Fraud, Famine and Fascism

The Ukrainian Genocide Myth  
from Hitler to Harvard



**Douglas Tottle**



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Born in Quebec, Douglas Tottle has spent most of his life in Western Canada. Tottle has worked as a photographer and photo-lab technician, fine artist, underground miner, and as a steelworker. An active trade unionist, Tottle edited the United Steelworkers' journal *The Challenger* from 1975 to 1985, during which time the paper received over 20 international and Canadian labor journalism awards. Tottle has also worked as a labor history researcher, and as an organizer. During the 1970s he assisted the organizing drive of Chicano farmworkers in California and worked with Native Indian farmworkers in Manitoba. Tottle has written for various Canadian and U.S. periodicals, magazines, and labor journals.

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The Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard

**Douglas Tottle**



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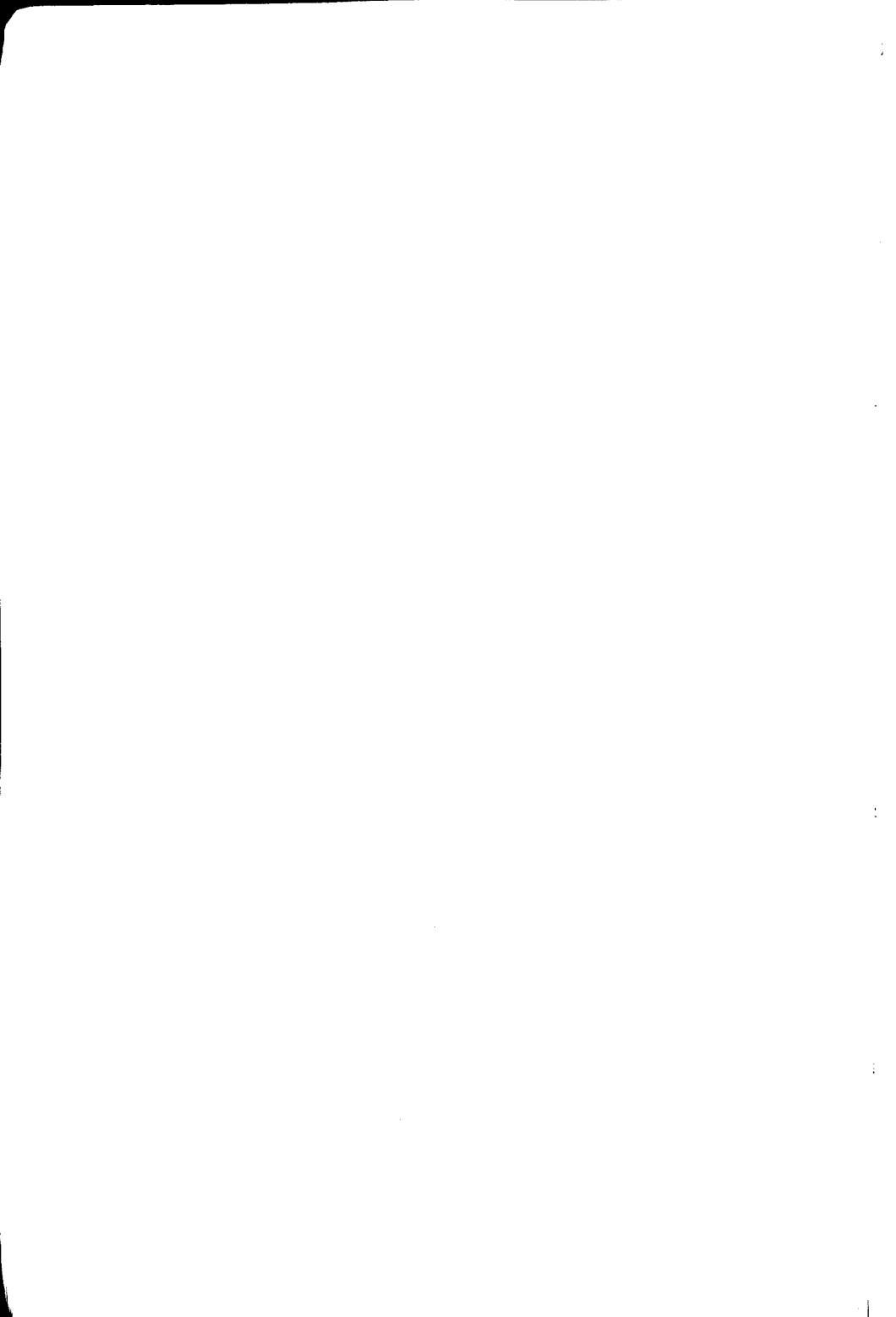
*To Shayndeleh, my sister and friend*

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Finally, I am honored by my acquaintance with Jewish survivors from Western Ukraine and Poland. They related to me their experience of Ukrainian Nationalist pogroms and police round-ups, verifying the experience of others with Ukrainian Nationalists as willing tools of the Nazis in town, country and concentration camps. Particularly helpful were the personal memoirs and written accounts made available to me by Galician Jews who survived the death camps or who survived in the forests. Canada is greatly enriched by their presence among us. Without their inspiration, which greatly encouraged me to get to the truth on a whole number of questions, this book could not have been completed.





## INTRODUCTION

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From the earliest days of the Russian revolution to the present, propaganda campaigns have been conducted against the Soviet Union. Those in positions of power in capitalist countries see socialism as a threat to their continued profit and privilege. Both to undermine support of a socialist alternative at home, and to maintain a dominant position in international economic and political relationships, all manner of lies and distortions are employed to cast the USSR in as negative a light as possible. Stereotypes and caricatures have come to dominate many people's understanding of Soviet history and current reality.

The particular issues of this psychological war are wide-ranging and are at times short-lived. The idea that the socialist revolution "nationalized children" — my teacher's explanation of day care, years ago — has long since faded into history. American allegations (in 1981) of Soviet chemical warfare in Southeast Asia — "yellow rain" — eventually collapsed when the offending chemical was shown by scientists to be dung produced naturally by bees in flight. But it is the charges that are remembered; the retractions, if ever made, are relegated to the newspapers' back pages and forgotten. The various campaigns combine to shape popular perceptions in the service of political ends.

This book is the story of one campaign that has endured. Based on the thesis that the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine was a deliberately planned "genocide" of Ukrainians by the Soviet government, the famine-genocide campaign has surfaced intermittently over the past five decades. The 1980s' revival of the famine-genocide campaign has sought to win acceptance of this theory in historiography. However, while historians accept that famine occurred in Ukraine in 1932-1933 — as well as in other areas of the USSR — they are still debating the causes, extent and results. My examination of the campaign and its charges of "Ukrainian genocide" does not attempt to study the famine in any detailed way. Nonetheless a few words are in order.

The 1917 Russian revolution was followed by military intervention by fourteen foreign powers (including the United States, Britain and Canada) and an extended civil war. The destruction of seven years of war, revolution and intervention, combined with severe drought, resulted in widespread hunger and starvation — the Russian famine of 1921-1922. Having survived these ordeals, the Soviets charted a course that had no precedents in world history: the building of a socialist society. They sought

to transform a backward land plagued by poverty and illiteracy into an industrialized country with a modern agricultural sector. This was seen by the Soviets as necessary not only for economic and social development, but also for the very survival of socialism in a hostile international environment. In the early 1930s, the Japanese takeover of Manchuria and Hitler's seizure of power in Germany were seen as particularly menacing.

The mass collectivization of agriculture and an ambitious industrialization program were the central features of the first five-year plan launched in 1929. Collectivization met with active opposition from sections of the peasantry, and in many areas the struggle approached the scale of civil war. Drought (a complicating factor), widespread sabotage, amateurish Soviet planning, Stalinist excesses and mistakes caused the famine of 1932-1933.

Throughout the famine-genocide campaign however, the factors of drought and sabotage have been ignored, denied, downplayed or distorted. Soviet excesses and mistakes, in contrast, are emphasized, given an "anti-Ukrainian" motivation, described as consciously planned, and the results exaggerated in depictions of starvation deaths in the multi-millions.

Fraudulent photographs and suspect evidence are extensively used to embellish charges of "genocide," and are in fact the dominant images of the campaign. The sheer volume of non-authentic material used to support the genocide claim should in itself be grounds for the outright rejection of such a dubious thesis.

Featured in the Nazi press in 1933, the famine-genocide campaign moved to Britain in 1934, and to the United States the year after. In Germany, a country with a history of strong communist, socialist and trade union movements, the Nazis created the first organized propaganda campaign (1933-1935) as part of their consolidation of power. In Britain and the United States, on the other hand, the campaign was advanced as part of right-wing efforts to keep the Soviet Union isolated and out of the League of Nations. It also served to discourage growing working class militancy in the Great Depression.

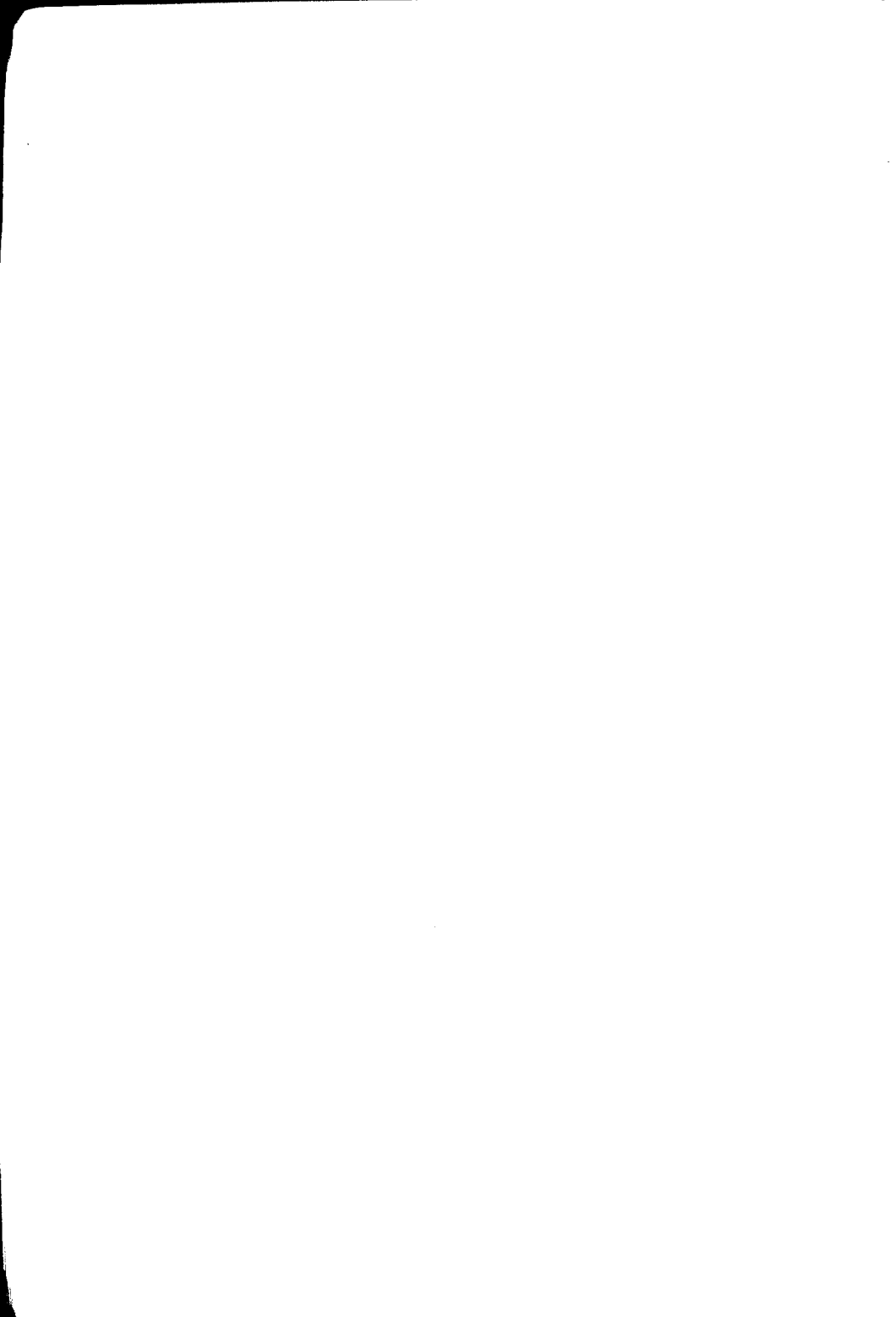
The famine-genocide campaign finds its most ardent promoters among Ukrainian Nationalists. (The term Ukrainian Nationalist is used here and throughout the book to denote the right-wing and fascist minority in the Ukrainian community, among whose goals is an "independent" Ukraine on an anti-socialist basis. The author in no way seeks to identify this extreme Nationalism with the Ukrainian nation or persons of Ukrainian origin in general.) The campaign was given fresh impetus in the post-war period with the arrival in North America of several thousand Ukrainian Nationalists. Among the bona-fide

immigrants in the years just after the war, were thousands of former Nazi collaborators and sympathizers. Their direct interest in the campaign coincided with the Cold War propaganda of that time.

The Cold War climate of the Reagan era has seen a revival of the campaign, surpassing that of the 1930s and 1950s. While movies like *Rambo* and *Red Dawn* occupy the fantasy phase of this political assault on the Western cultural intellect, the exhumation of the "Ukrainian famine-genocide" attempts to carry the assault into the pseudo-historical realm. The campaign further serves to distract attention from recent investigations of war crimes committed by Nationalist collaborators now resident in the West.

U.S. historian J. Arch Getty has commented: "We might profitably wonder about the resurgence of the intentional famine story just now. It seems to be part of a campaign by Ukrainian nationalists to promote the idea of a 'terror famine' in the West. . . . The not-so-hidden message behind the campaign coincides with long-standing political agendas of emigre groups: given that the Soviets could murder so many of their own people, might they not be willing to launch a destructive war in order to spread their evil doctrine? Because the Soviets are like the Nazis, we must avoid appeasement, maintain our vigilance — and stop deporting accused World War Two war criminals to Eastern Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Overall, the specific motivations of the Nationalists' campaign are consistent with the foreign policy goals of the broader right wing. Cold War confrontation, rather than historical truth and understanding, has characterized the famine-genocide campaign. By cutting through the tangled web of fraudulent evidence, Nazi and fascist connections, cover-ups of wartime collaboration, and questionable scholarly research, it is my hope that this book will contribute to exposing the political myth of Ukrainian genocide. The historical study of the famine of 1932-1933 deserves an objective and non-propagandistic approach.



## Chapter One

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### THOMAS WALKER THE MAN WHO NEVER WAS

*In 1898 various U.S. business interests, including sugar companies, were anxious for the United States to seize Cuba. A pretext was needed to build up pro-war sentiment among the U.S. public. American press magnate William Randolph Hearst, so the story goes, assigned the noted artist Fredrick Remington to Cuba to find evidence of conditions which would justify a U.S. military intervention. Finding nothing out of the ordinary, Remington cabled back to Hearst: "Everything is quiet here . . . I wish to return." Hearst replied: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."<sup>1</sup>*

In the fall of 1934, an American using the name Thomas Walker entered the Soviet Union. After tarrying less than a week in Moscow, he spent the remainder of his thirteen-day journey in transit to the Manchurian border, at which point he left the USSR never to return. This seemingly uneventful journey was the pretext for one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated in the history of 20th century journalism.

Some four months later, on February 18, 1935, a series of articles began in the Hearst press by Thomas Walker, "noted journalist, traveller and student of Russian affairs who has spent several years touring the Union of Soviet Russia." The articles, appearing in the *Chicago American* and *New York Evening Journal* for example, described in hair-raising prose a mammoth famine in the Ukraine which, it was alleged, had claimed "six million" lives the previous year.<sup>2</sup> Accompanying the stories were photographs portraying the devastation of the famine, for which it was claimed Walker had smuggled in a camera under the "most adverse and dangerous possible circumstances."

In themselves, Walker's stories in the Hearst press were not particularly outstanding examples of fraud concerning the Soviet Union. Nor were they the greatest masterpieces of yellow journalism ever produced by the right-wing corporate press. Lies and distortions had been written about the Soviet Union since the days of the October Revolution in 1917. The anti-Soviet press campaigns heated up in the late 20s and 30s,

# SIX MILLION PERISH IN SOVIET FAMINE

## Peasants' Crops Seized, They and Their Animals Starve



Like thousands here, peasants' crops were seized and they starved. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets.

### Reporter Risks Life to Get Photographs Showing Starvation

THOMAS WALKER, a reporter for the Chicago American, risked his life to get these photographs showing the starvation in the Soviet Union. He was captured by the Red Army and held for several weeks before being released. His photographs were the first to show the true extent of the famine.

By THOMAS WALKER



**Soviet Intelligentsia**  
The Soviet intelligentsia, including writers, artists, and scientists, were also victims of the famine. Many were starved to death or sent to labor camps.

The famine in the Soviet Union was the result of the seizure of peasants' crops and the starvation of the people and their animals. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets, and the land was left barren.

The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets. The bodies of the dead were piled up in the streets.

### Peasants' Horses Starve

The peasants' horses, which were essential for plowing and transport, were also starved to death. The lack of food for the animals made it impossible for the peasants to work the land.

### Four Million Starve

Four million people starved to death in the Soviet Union during the famine. The famine was the result of the seizure of crops and the starvation of the people and their animals.

FAMINE — CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

# Голод — злочин проти людства

... (Small text below the headline)

Thomas Walker's faked stories and photos appeared in the Hearst press in February 1935. Other sources claim different photographers, years and seasons for these laundered pre-1930s photos, which also show evidence of alteration and touch-up. This excerpt from Hearst's *Chicago American* (February 25, 1935) was published as "famine-genocide" evidence in a 1983 issue of the Chicago-based Ukrainian Nationalist journal *EKRAN*.

directed by those, like Hearst, who wanted to keep the USSR out of the League of Nations and isolated in all respects.

However, the Walker famine photographs are truly remarkable in that, having been exposed as utter hoaxes over fifty years ago, they continue to be used by Ukrainian Nationalists and university propaganda institutes as evidence of alleged genocide. The extent of Walker's fraud can only be measured by the magnitude and longevity of the lie they have been used to portray.

Horror stories about Russia were common in the Western press, particularly among papers and journalists of conservative or fascist orientation. For example, *the London Daily Telegram* of November 28, 1930, printed an interview with a Frank Eastman Woodhead who had "just returned from Russia after a visit lasting seven months." Woodhead reported witnessing bloody massacres that November, a slaughter which left "rows of ghastly corpses."

Louis Fischer, an American writer for the *New Republic* and *The Nation*, who was in Moscow at the time of the alleged atrocities, discovered that not only had such events never occurred, but that Woodhead had left the country almost eight months before the scenes he claimed to have witnessed. Fischer challenged Woodhead and the *London Daily Telegram* on the matter; both responded with embarrassed silence.<sup>3</sup>

When Thomas Walker's articles appeared in the Hearst press, Fischer became suspicious — he had never heard of Walker and could find no one who had. The results of his investigation were published in the March 13, 1935 issue of *The Nation*:

Mr. Walker, we are informed, "entered Russia last spring," that is the spring of 1934. He saw famine. He photographed its victims. He got heartrending, first-hand accounts of hunger's ravages. Now famine in Russia is "hot" news. Why did Mr. Hearst keep these sensational articles for ten months before printing them? My suspicions grew deeper . . .

I felt more and more sure that he was just another Woodhead, another absentee journalist. And so I consulted Soviet authorities who had official information from Moscow. Thomas Walker was in the Soviet Union once. He received a transit visa from the Soviet Consul in London on September 29, 1934. He entered the USSR from Poland by train at Negoreloye on October 12, 1934. (Not the spring of 1934 as he says.) He was in Moscow on the thirteenth. He remained in Moscow from Saturday, the thirteenth, to Thursday, the eighteenth, and then boarded a trans-Siberian train which brought him to the Soviet-Manchurian border on October 25, 1934, his last day on Soviet territory. His train did not pass within several hundred miles of the black soil and Ukrainian districts which he "toured" and "saw" and "walked over" and "photographed." It would have been physically impossible for Mr. Walker, in the five days between October 13 and October

18, to cover one-third of the points he "describes" from personal experience. My hypothesis is that he stayed long enough in Moscow to gather from embittered foreigners the Ukrainian "local color" he needed to give his articles the fake verisimilitude they possess.

Mr. Walker's photographs could easily date back to the Volga famine in 1921. Many of them might have been taken outside the Soviet Union. They were taken at different seasons of the year . . . One picture includes trees or shrubs with large leaves. Such leaves could not have grown by the "late spring" of Mr. Walker's alleged visit. Other photographs show winter and early fall backgrounds. Here is the *Journal* of the twenty-seventh. A starving, bloated boy of fifteen calmly poses naked for Mr. Walker. The next moment, in the same village, Mr. Walker photographs a man who is obviously suffering from the cold despite his sheepskin overcoat. The weather that spring must have been as unreliable as Mr. Walker to allow nude poses one moment and require furs the next.

It would be easy to riddle Mr. Walker's stories. They do not deserve the effort. The truth is that the Soviet harvest of 1933, including the Soviet Ukraine's harvest, in contrast to that of 1932, was excellent; the grain-tax collections were moderate; and therefore conditions even remotely resembling those Mr. Walker portrays could not have arisen in the spring of 1934, and did not arise.

Fischer challenged the motives of the Hearst press in hiring a fraud like Walker to concoct such fabrications:

. . . Mr. Hearst, naturally does not object if his papers spoil Soviet-American relations and encourage foreign nations with hostile military designs upon the USSR. But his real target is the American radical movement. These Walker articles are part of Hearst's anti-red campaign. He knows that the great economic progress registered by the Soviet Union since 1929, when the capitalist world dropped into depression, provides left groups with spiritual encouragement and faith. Mr. Hearst wants to deprive them of that encouragement and faith by painting a picture of ruin and death in the USSR. The attempt is too transparent, and the hands are too unclean to succeed.

In a post-script, Fischer added that a Lindsay Parrott had visited Ukraine and had written that nowhere in any city or town he visited "did I meet any signs of the effects of the famine of which foreign correspondents take delight in writing." Parrott, says Fischer, wrote of the "excellent harvest" in 1933; the progress, he declared, "is indisputable." Fischer ends: "The Hearst organizations and the Nazis are beginning to work more and more closely together. But I have not noticed that the Hearst press printed Mr. Parrott's stories about a prosperous Soviet Ukraine. Mr. Parrott is Mr. Hearst's correspondent in Moscow."

The incredible photographs accompanying Walker's fake stories also aroused the suspicions of James Casey, an American investigative writer.



Headlined by Hearst as having "just been taken in the Soviet Union," the photographs were, in fact, "resurrected" and "rejuvenated":

Art department heads of Hearst's newspapers have been instructed to dig up old war and post-war pictures from the files . . . pictures taken fifteen to eighteen years ago from the war-torn areas of Europe . . . Some of the pictures have been retouched to look like new. In other cases, the old war pictures have been rephotographed. As a result, many of them look like prints.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the photographs were eventually identified as showing scenes from the old Austro-Hungarian empire. One photograph from the *New York Evening Journal* (February 18, 1935), was identified by Casey as actually portraying an Austrian cavalry soldier standing beside a dead horse following a World War I military action.<sup>5</sup>

Similar faked pictures, Casey noted, "are now appearing in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, *Der Sturmer* and other Nazi papers, and are being circulated throughout Germany."<sup>6</sup>

Hearst and Walker were prepared to go to incredible lengths of cynicism and perverse cruelty in exploiting human sentiments of compassion. Famous among the Walker photographs is the "frog child," published with the following caption:

FRIGHTFUL — Below Kharhov (sic), in a typical peasant's hut, dirt floor, thatched roof and one piece of furniture, a bench, was a very thin girl and her 2 1/2 year old brother (shown above). This younger child crawled about the floor like a frog and its poor little body was so deformed from lack of nourishment that it did not resemble a human being. Its mother had died when it was one year old. This child had never tasted milk or butter and only once had tasted meat.<sup>7</sup>

One might as well say that this photo portrays a relief worker, anywhere in Europe, sitting in a clinic waiting room with a starving or deformed child. There is something unmistakably urban, non-slavic and early 1920'ish about the woman's flapper hat. Furthermore, the woman, who looks perfectly healthy, is dressed for cold weather while "her brother" is naked. The bench has a ribbed back as on old-fashioned office benches, hardly corresponding to the sole household furniture of a "typical peasant."

As used in the Hearst press, this photograph — and other Walker fakes encountered frequently in the famine-genocide campaign — has been retouched and altered. It betrays the appearance of being a doctored copy of a non-primary source, rather than a direct print from a negative. This author has encountered this unforgettable picture in an early 1920s publication of a Russian famine of the period following World War I. In

# HUNGER DIET FAMINE LAND CRIPPLES BABES SEEM RUSS BABES SKELETONS

# ★ ★ ★ Mayor Ends Ele

Corpses Fill Villages  
as Moscow Seizes  
Ukraine Crops

(Picture on Page 12)

Starvation stalks through the Ukraine regions of Soviet Russia, leaving a ghastly trail of death and agony.

The Ukraine is the most fertile grain producing district in Russia.

The facts contained in this series of articles, of which this is the second, were obtained by Thomas Walker, an American newspaper man, now resident in London, at the peril of his life.

When Mr. Walker entered Russia last Spring he smuggled in a camera.

While photographs shown with these articles were obtained under the most adverse and dangerous possible circumstances, the evidence they present is more grim and graphic than words.

By THOMAS WALKER,  
Noted Journalist and Traveler  
and Student of Russian Af-  
fairs, who for several years  
has toured the Union  
of Soviet Republics.

IN the Intourist Guide  
Book to The Soviet  
Union, one reads:

"The peasants' huts  
of the Ukraine are al-  
ways clean, carefully  
whitewashed and buried  
in the foliage of their  
gardens."

At a small village below  
Kharkoff I went into a  
typical hut with dirt floor.

Continued on Page 12, Column 1



Here is the 13-year-old peasant girl and her brother, aged two, described by Mr. Thomas Walker in the accompanying article. The boy was emaciated

and weak from hunger that he crav-  
ed about like a frog, and had never taste-  
d milk or butter in his life. Picture copy-  
righted, 1935, American Newspapers, Inc.

## NRA MESSAGE U. S. Asks Representative in Court MELLON'S TA

Thomas Walker's girl with frog-child from Hearst's *New York Evening Journal* (February 19, 1935). Contradictory claims for the origin of this photo were put forward by Nazi propagandists in the 1930s. A scene from the 1920s, this photo is still widely used as evidence of "famine-genocide."

any event, it will be recalled that Walker was never in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

Portions of the 1935 Hearst-Walker series, including some of the photos, had in fact appeared the year previous in the August 6, 1934 *London Daily Express*. Attributed to an anonymous young English "tourist," the story includes a virtually identical account of Walker's "frog child" fabrication. However, this earlier version of the hoax locates the tale in Belgorod — which is in Russia proper. Subsequent versions of the hoax over the decades politically relocate the story to Kharkov, which is of course in Ukraine.

Thus, at least some of Walker's faked accounts were prepared well in advance of his actual fall of 1934 Soviet visit. It would seem that the Hearst-Walker conspirators decided to come up with an expanded and improved series, including some of the materials published anonymously in Britain. One concludes that Walker's brief Soviet trip was simply an afterthought, a cosmetic gesture for the already planned publication of the series in Hearst's American papers in 1935.

Not only were the photographs a fraud, the trip to Ukraine a fraud, and Hearst's famine-genocide series a fraud, Thomas Walker himself was a fraud. Deported from England and arrested on his return to the United States just a few months after the Hearst series, it turned out that Thomas Walker was in fact escaped convict Robert Green. The *New York Times* reported: "Robert Green, a writer of syndicated articles about conditions in Ukraine, who was indicted last Friday by a Federal grand jury on a charge of passport fraud, pleaded guilty yesterday before Federal Judge Francis G. Caffey. The judge learned that Green was a fugitive from Colorado State Prison, where he escaped after having served two years of an eight-year term for forgery."<sup>8</sup>

Robert Green, it was revealed, had run up an impressive criminal record spanning three decades. His trail of crime led through five U.S. states and four European countries, and included convictions on charges of violating the Mann White Slave Act in Texas, forgery, and "marriage swindle."<sup>9</sup>

Evidence at Walker's trial revealed that he had made a previous visit to the Soviet Union in 1930 under the name Thomas J. Burke. Having worked briefly for an engineering firm in the USSR, he was — by his own admission — expelled for attempting to smuggle a "whiteguard" out of the country. A reporter covering the trial noted that Walker "admitted that the 'famine' pictures published with his series in the Hearst newspapers were fakes and they were not taken in Ukraine as advertised."<sup>10</sup>

The "evidence" of famine-genocide brought to the American public by this "noted journalist" and "witness" lives on in jaundiced historiographic circles. Walker's material and claims of six million victims are still recognized and issued by history factories like Harvard University's Ukrainian Studies Fund, as well as by the Ukrainian Nationalists' own media. Walker's fake photographs are the most prominently displayed pictorial "evidence" associated with post-war famine-genocide campaigns, despite the fact that this material was exposed as fraudulent immediately following its release in 1935. Apparently it is felt that the risks inherent in duping the public are necessary to further famine-genocide concoctions.<sup>11</sup>

## Chapter Two

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### THE HEARST PRESS THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

Despite the Thomas Walker fiasco, Hearst did not give up the famine-genocide campaign — it was part and parcel of his overall propagation of anti-Soviet, pro-fascist views. While it is beyond the scope of this book to examine in detail the activities of the multi-millionaire press magnate William Randolph Hearst, it can be stated that he was known to millions during the 1930s as "America's No. One Fascist." It is widely known that certain U.S. corporations (for example, Henry Ford), lent money to the Nazis, while a U.S. oil corporation fuelled Franco's army during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>1</sup> What is less widely known, however, is that for a period during the 1930s, Hearst employed Italy's fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, paying him almost ten times the amount the latter received in monthly salary while head of the Italian state: "For a long time his [Mussolini's] chief source of income was \$1500.00 per week from the Hearst press; early in 1935, however, he gave up writing regular articles because international politics were so delicate that he could not express himself frankly."<sup>2</sup>

Hearst was by no means the only extreme right-wing news mogul. George Seldes, veteran correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* and author of the classic *Facts and Fascism*, warned of the connections between big business, the press and fascist tendencies in the 1930s and wartime United States:

If the reader thinks of our chain newspaper owners, Hearst, Howard, Patterson and McCormack, as merely four of America's 15,000 publishers, he fails to see the danger to America from an anti-democratic, anti-American press. These four publishers put out one-fourth of all the newspapers sold daily on our streets, they own forty of the 200 big city papers which make American public opinion, they run not only the three biggest newspaper chains in the country, but two of the three big news services which supply news to a majority of America's dailies, and because they have always been anti-labor, anti-liberal and anti-democratic even when not openly following the Mussolini and Hitler lines, they constitute what I believe is the greatest force hostile to the general welfare of the common people of America.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the most extreme famine-genocide claims from the 1930s emanated from these publishers.

This was not the limit of Hearst's fascist connections. In the late summer of 1934, Hearst visited Nazi Germany. In Munich he was joined



William Randolph Hearst, known to millions of Americans during the 1930s as "America's No. 1 Fascist," poses with Nazi leaders during his fall 1934 visit to Nazi Germany. Left to right: Mr. Rocker, Hearst's private secretary; Nazi leader Alfred Rosenberg; William Randolph Hearst; Dr. Karl Bomer, Press Division chief of the Nazi Foreign-Political Bureau; Thilo von Trotha, Rosenberg's lieutenant. Some months after his return to the U.S., Hearst launched his famine propoganda campaign.

by a man he knew well, Ernst Hanfstaengel, press officer for the Reich and an intimate adviser of Hitler.<sup>4</sup> While at Bad Neuheim, four stormtroopers arrived to inform Hearst that a plane waited to take him to Hitler, whom he met for discussion.<sup>5</sup> A number of agreements were reportedly reached, one being that Germany would purchase its foreign news through Hearst's news-gathering agency, the International News Service. The deal was said to have been worth one million marks a year.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps such financial considerations served to underline Hearst's own political convictions, revealed in his comment reported in the *New York Times*: "if Hitler succeeds in pointing the way of peace and order . . . he will have accomplished a measure of good not only for his own people but for all of humanity."<sup>7</sup>

Hearst appears to have long been a devout promoter of German state interests. As far back as the First World War: "He opposed loans and shipments of munitions to England and France, and the arming of United States merchantmen. He hired a former *New York Times* correspondent, William Bayard Hale, and sent him to Germany. Hale was later found to be in the pay of the Germans . . ." <sup>8</sup>

Hearst's wartime news methods were so yellow that *Harper's Weekly*, suspecting Hearst was using mythical correspondents to send out fake dispatches, stated as much on October 15, 1915. In October 1916, the British and French governments banned the Hearst press from the use of cables and mails. The Canadian government followed suit the following month, banning Hearst newspapers outright. To be caught with a Hearst newspaper in those days carried a \$5000 fine or up to five years imprisonment.<sup>9</sup>

It was following Hearst's trip to Nazi Germany that the Hearst press began to promote the theme of "famine-genocide in Ukraine." Prior to this, his papers had at times reflected a different perspective. For example, the October 1, 1934 *Herald and Examiner*, carried an article by the former French premier, Edouard Herriot, who had recently returned from travelling around Ukraine. Herriot noted: ". . . the whole campaign on the subject of famine in the Ukraine is currently being waged. While wandering around the Ukraine, I saw nothing of the sort."<sup>10</sup>

Not unrelated to plans for a famine-genocide campaign, was a massive red-scare campaign which had been unleashed in the Hearst press in the late fall of 1934. To back up his call for legislation requiring teachers to swear loyalty oaths, Hearst assigned "hundreds" of reporters to "expose" radical professors in "a red hunt that smeared many honest liberals . . ." <sup>11</sup> And, while taking a soft line on Nazi activities in Germany, Hearst launched his press attack portraying alleged "famine, misery, and

brutality" in the Soviet Union.<sup>12</sup>

For the Nazi press in Germany, its Volksdeutsche proteges in other countries, and the Hearst publishing empire in the United States, 1935 was to become the Year of the Ukrainian Famine. One of Hearst's famine-genocide campaign allies, Dr. Ewald Ammende, described the launching of the Hearst campaign: "On January 5, 1935, William Randolph Hearst broadcast a speech based almost entirely on the account of the [Cardinal] Inntizer Committee . . . The entire Hearst press next proceeded to deal with the Russian famine."<sup>13</sup>

Violently denigrating Soviet efforts to collectivize and industrialize, and at the same time shielding developments in Nazi Germany, Hearst gave vent to his elitist views on his coast-to-coast network broadcast: "The truth is that government by the proletariat, government by the least capable and least conscientious element of the community — government by the mob, government by tyranny and terrorism . . . is the fearful failure that it needs must be and definitely deserves to be."<sup>14</sup>

Having said so, Hearst did his utmost to make it so, at least in the imagination of his readers. The man who published uncensored articles by the Nazis Goering and Rosenberg, and the fascist dictator Mussolini,<sup>15</sup> had launched his famine-genocide campaign. By mid-February 1935, Hearst and his mercenary scribblers were ready to go into action. Reports of a "prosperous Soviet Ukraine" were killed, and in their place the faked stories of Thomas Walker were introduced.

Following the Walker series, Hearst launched his next caper, determined to convince Americans that the Soviet Union was a land of utter starvation, genocide and cannibalism. This time he offered the tales of one Harry Lang, editor of the *Daily Forward*, a Yiddish language publication of the extreme right-wing faction of the Socialist Party. Hearst's choice of Harry Lang made shrewd sense: Lang's socialist past would hopefully provide a more universal facade to his anti-Soviet campaign, the illusion of left-wing support.

Why would a socialist team up with a multi-millionaire capitalist publisher?

By the early 1920s, following splits between right and left, the *Forward* had sunk to the status of a right-wing pulp journal. It came to represent the views and interests of a clique tied in with "business union" operators, who resisted violently — with ink, threat and boot — any militancy among the workers they dominated.<sup>16</sup>

In a 1926 strike, the *Forward* resorted to outright strikebreaking against militant unionists, whose demands, if won, would have embarrassed and jeopardized the hold its associates had on their unions:



The *Forward* wholeheartedly fulfilled its "holy mission." Daily it delivered a barrage of red-baiting against the strike . . . The aim of the Communist leadership of the strike, the *Forward* cried, was to show Stalin "that his American followers had begun to make the revolution." Since the fur workers were not interested in this "revolution," they were being terrorized by the Communists to continue striking. The *Forward* even "discovered" a mysterious "Room C" in the strike headquarters. There, it narrated, hundreds of fur workers who refused to support the strike were taken and beaten into submission by the "Communist terrorists."

The *Forward* carried advertisements which urged all furriers who wished "to become financially independent" to apply at certain strikebreaking employment bureaus. The workers angrily ripped into shreds copies of the paper . . .<sup>17</sup>

In 1933, the *Forward* was even approached by employers to help set up company unions so as to thwart organizing drives by militant unions which would cost them more money in wages and benefits.<sup>18</sup> This was the same year that *Forward* editor, Harry Lang, went to the USSR — the basis of his "horror accounts" of famine-genocide.

Thus, it was a very short political walk from Harry Lang's editorial office at the *Forward* to Hearst's lie factory, especially with regard to inventions about Russia. Lang and the red-baiting *Forward* were as eager to defend capitalism as their associated "union" leaders were determined to maintain their positions as a "labor aristocracy." It is therefore difficult to accept attempts by some historians to pass off Harry Lang's famine-genocide stories as the admissions of a "disillusioned socialist".

Lang's contributions to Hearst's famine-genocide campaign reached new heights of the macabre. Under such sensationalist headlines as "Soviet Masses Pray at Graves to Die", "Soviet Secret Police Rob Starving", "Guns Force Russian Labor", "Starving Soviet Foes Exiled to Arctic", and "Soviet Torture of Women Told", Lang "bared Soviet horrors":

In the office of a Soviet functionary I saw a poster on the wall which struck my attention. It showed the picture of a mother in distress, with a swollen child at her feet, and over the picture was the inscription: Eating of Dead Children Is Barbarism. The Soviet official explained to me: ". . . We distributed such posters in hundreds of villages, especially in the Ukraine. We had to."<sup>19</sup>

However, Hearst was no more successful with Lang than he had been with Walker. Lang's stories were publicly challenged by Americans who had visited, or worked at, some of the places he "described" in Ukraine. American worker Santo Mirabele wrote:

Harry Lang, you say you were in Kharkov . . . and saw workers returning from the tractor plant dirty, shabby with babies in their arms

because there are no baby carriages. Harry Lang, you are a liar . . . didn't you see the baby carriages and the workers' apartments about ten blocks away from the great tractor plant? Don't you know the workers have plenty of facilities to wash and clean before leaving the plant? Didn't you see the kindergarten among the apartments? Didn't you see the same thousands of workers coming back in the night-time to the plant auditorium to hear music and enjoy themselves for a couple of hours?

These are the things I saw in Kharkov in 1932. I am willing to meet Harry Lang on a platform at any time — liar and pen prostitute that he is — and let the public judge who is telling the truth.<sup>20</sup>

Lang was denounced by the Jewish working class movement, and in his own Socialist Party. The Socialist Party's National Secretary, Clarence Senior declared:

The Socialist Party of the United States repudiates the attacks upon Soviet Russia now appearing in the Hearst papers. Lang who claims to be a Socialist has not only violently misrepresented the Socialist attitude to Soviet Russia, but has placed himself beneath contempt of all workers by making himself the tool of William Randolph Hearst, the bitter enemy of the labor movement and the principal mouthpiece for American fascism . . .<sup>21</sup>

Numerous meetings were held within Socialist Party circles on the issue of expelling Lang from the party. At one, representing 43 branches of the Workmen's Circle group, I. Laderman stated that he had been in Ukraine at the same time as Harry Lang, and gave the lie to Lang's series in the Hearst press. In mid-May 1935, the Illinois State Socialist Party called for Lang's expulsion, while the New York Socialist Party suspended his membership for a year.<sup>22</sup>

Even the *Forward* itself printed a disclaimer: "Lang wrote on his own responsibility." The *Forward* had to admit that the majority of the numerous protests which it had received concerning Lang's articles, came from "warm friends of the *Forward* (who declare) how much they deplore and are aroused by this incident."<sup>23</sup>

*The Nation* drew attention to a major motive of Hearst's choice of "witnesses":

. . . the spectacle of a professed Socialist, no matter how renegade, combining forces with the most unscrupulous and reactionary journalist in America in a campaign of misrepresentation regarding the first Socialist country is bound to be misleading. Hearst knows that his readers are not in a position to judge the accuracy of his charges. And he knows too that his ends can best be served by throwing a smokescreen over the amazing progress which the Soviet Union has made in the past two years. By attempting to discredit communism in distant Russia, he is merely resorting to an easy and dishonest method of attacking radicalism of all varieties in America.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the rejection of Harry Lang, Hearst had not yet exhausted his famine-genocide series. But time was limited — 1935 was not a difficult year like 1932 or the pre-harvest portion of 1933, and Hearst's own correspondent was sending favorable reports of Soviet economic and social progress.<sup>26</sup> However, Hearst was determined to starve the Soviet Union to death, even if retroactively.

Following Lang on the list of hired pens was R.H.Sanger, who made his debut in the late April issues of 1935. Initially introduced by the Hearst papers as an "ex-communist," Sanger later admitted that his "communism" consisted of having attended some classes at a socialist night-school while employed at the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington. To illustrate his stories, a photograph supposedly showing Sanger interviewing a group of Russian workers in Moscow was included. Critical observers, however, pointed out that the photo was credited to a staff photographer of Hearst's *Evening Journal*. None of the photographs showed conditions supporting claims of famine-genocide.

More "witnesses" were trotted out. In May 1935, Hearst celebrated the "coming out" of Andrew Smith, who had just returned from three years in the Soviet Union. Smith wasted little time in selling horror stories to the Hearst press, although his previous correspondence with American friends had not indicated any such state of affairs. Perhaps he needed a fresh start in unemployment-ridden America.

No doubt remembering how they'd burned their fingers in the previous series, the Hearst papers now reproduced alleged supportive documentation of Smith's stay: his entitled vacation papers. Those who knew Russian, though, pointed out that Smith's discharge certificate read "discharged for loafing," not "discharged for vacation."<sup>26</sup>

*The Nation* further discredited Smith's claims, exposing serious inconsistencies and "falsifications" in Smith's "budget" described in the Hearst press.<sup>27</sup> Smith's stories were also denounced as lies by an American worker with whom Smith had worked in the Soviet Union and whom he had named as a key witness to his allegations. Carl Blaha not only called Smith a liar, but gave a detailed and much different account of actual working and living conditions which he and Smith had experienced.<sup>28</sup>

The "testimony" of Andrew Smith was not limited to allegations of famine-genocide. As late as 1949 he collaborated as a prosecution witness for the Cold War House Committee on Un-American Activities.<sup>29</sup>

Another informer for the McCarthy-era House Committee was a certain Fred Beal, who had fled to the Soviet Union in 1930 to avoid a 20-year jail sentence resulting from the Gastonia strike.<sup>30</sup> Beal returned

incognito to the U.S. for six months, and then returned to the Soviet Union voluntarily. Upon his final return to the United States in 1933, Beal, the unemployable fugitive in the midst of economic depression, was by 1934 preparing to sell out for money and hope of a reduced jail sentence.

In June 1935, articles by Beal appeared in Harry Lang's *Forward*, others followed in the Hearst press. According to one newspaper, which published excerpts of Beal's earlier correspondence which contradicted his claims in the Hearst press, Beal's articles were "coached" during May 1934.<sup>31</sup>

Beal's accounts in the Hearst press were disputed by fellow American workers, among them an auto worker, J. Wolyneec, who had worked at the Kharkov tractor plant from 1931 to 1935. Wolyneec, who was not a communist party member, had known Beal in Ukraine for two years. He challenged Beal's reports of overheard conversations, revealing that Beal could not speak Russian [or Ukrainian].<sup>32</sup> Wolyneec cited an earlier booklet by Beal, entitled *Foreign Workers in a Soviet Tractor Plant*, in which Beal had given descriptions completely contradicting those he later wrote for the Hearst press. Just a short time before he himself returned to the United States, Beal wrote in this booklet:

It would not be true to say that all the foreigners have been satisfied with life in the Soviet Union. Most of them came with honest intentions, but there were also a few who expected something for nothing. They were of course, disappointed and quickly returned. But most of those who go back tell the truth of the situation here.<sup>33</sup>

Beal was not one of the latter.

Following his rehabilitation in the Hearst press, Beal was allowed to serve only a token of his original jail sentence. His autobiography — *Proletarian Journey* — appeared in 1937, a classic in yellow journalism used as a weapon in the famine-genocide campaign to this day.

In this book, Beal presents slanderous "samples" of Americans who had volunteered to assist in Soviet industrialization. Beal's supposed dialogue with a Black woman, who he alleges was "picked off the streets" to fill a Comintern quota of Black Americans to work in the USSR, clearly shows his racist and sexist mentality. In response to his question about her past union membership, Beal's caricature replies:

No, suh, I don't belong to no union. Deys have no union in mah business. Ah once worked in a shirt factory and de people dere, dey made me join de union, but ah's quit. Why man, Ah wouldn't work in no factory. Ah gets more money from my gennemen friends.<sup>34</sup>

To this invention Beal adds a male American worker as lecher and rapist.<sup>35</sup> Elsewhere, he has one of his characters claim: "These Moscow

broads are a dirty bunch, they never take a bath."<sup>36</sup> Of course the book would not be complete without a description of a land ravaged by famine-genocide:

... I took the train from our little station of Lossevo, and rode for two hours to Chekuyev. From this place, we walked for several miles. We met not a living soul. We came upon a dead horse and a dead man upon the side of the road. The horse still lay harnessed to the wagon. The man was still holding the reins in his lifeless, stiff hands. Both had died from starvation . . .<sup>37</sup>

One may well ask why a train would bother stopping at a place where nobody was left alive for miles around, or how a man and his horse had expired simultaneously. Significantly, although *Proletarian Journey* is well illustrated with Beal's photos from the USSR, none even remotely indicate conditions of famine-genocide and the hardship described in his book or his earlier articles in the Hearst press.

Defending his articles in the Hearst press, Beal writes in his autobiography: "the Hearst papers are read largely by the working masses, and have always had a distinct bias in favor of labor."<sup>38</sup> Rare indeed was the person who, even for a price, would suggest that the Hearst press was a friend of labor.

Nonetheless, Beal earns himself a special place in right-wing history books by claiming to have had an audience with Petrovsky, President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, who allegedly told him that millions were dying.<sup>39</sup> Contemporary anti-communist Sovietologists such as Robert Conquest and Dana Dalrymple cite Beal on this question; but, as we have seen, Beal cannot be considered a reliable source.

Fifty years later, "witnesses" such as Beal, Walker, Lang, Smith and others continue to play their original role on the campaign stage. In fact, the 1930s campaign is having a bigger impact a half-century later. References to 1930s newspaper accounts lend a certain superficial credibility to current famine-genocide allegations. What was recognized in the 30s as politically-motivated sensationalism has been transformed in the 1980s into primary evidence. Examples of fraud and contradictions exposed at the time are conveniently forgotten. The notorious right-wing character of the Hearst press is rarely remembered. By noting these features of the 1930s campaign and the selective memory of those who use the Hearst press in propagating the genocide thesis, one gains a further insight into the character of today's famine-genocide campaign.



## Chapter Three

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### FAMINE PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH FAMINE?

Simultaneous with Hearst's 1935 famine-genocide campaign, the Nazi press in Germany and similar papers elsewhere in Europe issued materials on the same theme. The Nazis had been flogging the issue as early as 1933, complete with fraudulently mis-dated photos.<sup>1</sup> The official Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, publicized and lauded Hearst's campaign in its article "William Hearst ueber Die Sowjetrussische Hungerkatastrophe" (William Hearst on the Soviet Russian Hunger Catastrophe).<sup>2</sup> The Nazi contributions to the campaign did not go unnoticed. A *New York Times* correspondent remarked:

... there has been a fresh outburst of "starvation propaganda" in the German and Austrian press, with appeals for charity for the "unhappy victims of the Soviet famine." This writer heard in Berlin that this campaign was supported by photographs taken earlier. Some were even said to date from the Volga famine of 1921. This is a favorite trick of anti-Bolshevik propagandists.<sup>3</sup>

The propagandistic extension of the by-then non-existent famine was further embellished by the appearance in 1935 of a German-language book, *Muss Russland Hungern?* by Dr. Ewald Ammende.<sup>4</sup> Its 1936 English-language edition, *Human Life in Russia*, has had a lasting influence on those who propagate the famine-genocide myth. The significance of Ammende's book can be appreciated by the fact that it was republished in 1984 (after a 50-year lapse) concurrent with the Reagan-era Cold War.<sup>5</sup>

*Human Life in Russia* makes little pretence of objectivity. Ammende not only credits the accounts by Hearst press characters like Andrew Smith and Harry Lang, but brings in press accounts from Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and the emigre Nationalist press.<sup>6</sup> Allegations by unnamed "travellers" and "experts" are freely "cited." Documentation is minimal: footnotes are remarkably scarce and no bibliography is included.

An investigation of the photographic evidence is in order, particularly since virtually all photographic evidence commonly utilized to support famine-genocide allegations can be traced to Ammende as well as Hearst's Thomas Walker series and German Nazi publications, which share a considerable number of identical photographs. Ammende himself states: (the photographs) "are among the most important sources for the

actual facts of the Russian position."<sup>7</sup>

According to Harvard University's Dr. James E. Mace (who writes the apologetic "Historic Introduction" to the 1984 reprint of *Human Life in Russia*), Ammende was personally involved in relief work during the 1921-22 Russian famine.<sup>8</sup> This should be borne in mind, particularly when considered alongside the peculiarities, contradictions and motivations in the use of the photographs. Further, Ammende is most reluctant to acknowledge the photographic affinities of *Human Life in Russia* with earlier publication in England, the United States, Nazi Germany and elsewhere.

Ammende avoids any genuine documentation of the photographs in question: "the majority of them were taken by an Austrian specialist . . ."<sup>9</sup> As with so many famine "evidence" books, Ammende does not identify him. None of the photos are specifically identified as having been taken by the un-named Austrian. We are informed that "the authenticity of the photographs, which form a permanent record of the terrible events in Ukraine . . . is undoubted."<sup>10</sup> However, the proof of this assertion consists in alleging that the photos had been examined and passed by nameless "experts."

Ammende claims that "the pictures were actually taken in the streets and squares of Kharkov in the summer of 1933, as is also apparent from various details clearly visible in the pictures."<sup>11</sup> However, only 10 of the 26 photographs appear to portray urban scenes. Of these, only two (opposite page 32) are identified as Kharkov by captions. These show what appear to be orderly assemblies outside stores. There is no apparent evidence of famine or panic, despite the caption's claim that the store is being "besieged by the population." The queue in the second photo is actually rather sparse and lined up in well-spaced file. Although the stores' signs are partially legible, the photos are undocumented as to date and specific location. Given the inefficiencies of Soviet food store distribution methods, such a picture might have been taken during any one of a number of years.

The sole remaining reference to Kharkov in any of the photos is found in a caption beneath a picture of some corpses lying in a boxcar (opposite page 192). However even this was not taken in Kharkov; the caption states: "These families boarded a train and went to Kharkov to demand food, which they did not, however, receive. When the train was opened they were found to have died from hunger on the return journey." In truth, the photo portrays not "families," but three or four corpses. Since the boxcar was opened on the "return" journey, it would have been as simple to identify the location as it would have been to name the



photographer. But, as elsewhere, these most elementary details are not provided to support Ammende's claims.

The remaining "street" photos (opposite pages 96, 97, 128; page 192, top) are, like the rest, undocumented and uncredited. Contrary to Ammende's claims, they contain no clues as to what city or on what date they were actually taken. Signs, landmarks, etc., which are traditionally included to serve as points of identification, are noticeably absent. In some cases (opposite page 128), the photos are composed or cropped in such a way that the identification of key human subjects is rendered impossible. Nor is it certain that these photographs were exposed by the same photographer and equipment.

*Human Life in Russia* carries many photos not found in the book's original German edition.<sup>12</sup> Although they are not specifically identified, one notes Ammende's claim that these additional photos "were supplied to the author by Dr. Ditloff, for many years Director of the German Government Agricultural Concession — *Drusag* — in the North Caucasus."<sup>13</sup> After informing the reader that the German concession was liquidated in 1933 (in late August, long after the Nazis took power), Ammende states that the photographs "were taken by Dr. Ditloff himself in the summer of 1933, and they demonstrate the conditions prevailing on the plains of the agricultural areas of the Hunger Zone."<sup>14</sup>

One notes that Dr. Ditloff was posted to the North Caucasus, not Ukraine. However, Ammende is deliberately obscure as to just where Ditloff did his remarkable shutter-bugging. If the "plains of the agricultural areas of the Hunger Zone" refer to Ukraine (as used in subsequent claims of famine-genocide), then one must wonder what Ditloff — by then a functionary of the Nazi government — was doing wandering about the country unhindered and randomly snapping pictures. In any event, regardless of their real date and place of origin, Dr. Ditloff's pictures appear in later publications either without any documentation or attributed to a totally different source, sometimes with new, fabricated captions.

Certain of Ditloff's photos are identical to those of Thomas Walker, already proven fraudulent. In one photograph (opposite page 64), a girl holds a deformed "frog-child," the same photograph used by Walker. While Ammende reproduces as "evidence" the bulk of Walker's fictitious frog-child story, he does so not in connection with this photo, which he uses in another context.<sup>15</sup> To avoid identification of the story with its equally fraudulent use in the Hearst press in 1935, Ammende cites its appearance in an unidentified London newspaper of August 6, 1934. This, in fact, turns out to be the *London Daily Express* (as noted in Chapter 1).



Photographs fraudulently used in *Human Life in Russia* (opp. p. 65). The photo on the left was stolen from a 1921-1922 Russian famine relief source — *Information No. 22* (Geneva, April 30, 1922, p. 16), published by Dr. F. Nansen's International Committee for Russian Relief. Altered versions of this 1922 photo appear in Ukrainian Nationalist books such as Walter Dushnyck's *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine* (p. 46) and *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* (Vol. I, p. 228). "Brothers in Distress" (right) is taken from a pre-1930s movie. Even the Ukrainian Nationalist film *Harvest of Despair* admits its non-1930s origin, and uses it in relation to the 1921-1922 famine.

In addition to the frog-child photo, Ammende includes six other photos published almost a year earlier in the United States by Thomas Walker.<sup>16</sup> These include the photo of soldiers with dead horses, also featured in the 1934 *Daily Express* under the caption "Belgorod's Trail of Death" (Belgorod is in Russia, not Ukraine). Though fully aware of the *Daily Express'* credit to a young English "tourist," Ammende credits this picture to the German Dr. Ditloff.

Among the remainder of Ammende's undocumented but politically captioned menagerie are distress pictures of starving children, strikingly reminiscent of the period embracing the last years of Tsarism, World War I and the immediate post-war period. In fact, "Brothers in Distress"<sup>17</sup> — two emaciated children, one spoonfeeding the other from a pot — has nothing to do with alleged 1930s events in Ukraine. Millions of North Americans who viewed "Peter Ustinov's Russia" TV series saw the same photo portraying hunger conditions in an earlier period.<sup>18</sup> The picture originated as a "still" copied from a documentary film made long before the 1932-33 famine. (One notes that Ammende makes no reference to either of his two "photographers" having filmed motion pictures.) This picture has also been featured in other documentary movies of early 20th century Russia. Even the Ukrainian Nationalist propaganda film *Harvest of Despair* presents this picture in relation to the 1922 Russian famine.

*Human Life in Russia's* sordid trail of fraud does not end here. The top photo opposite page 161 was first published (in relation to 1932-33) in the German Nazi party's organ *Voelkischer Beobachter* in Berlin (August 18, 1933). It is one of three obviously updated 1920s photos used with the article "Hungerhoelle Sowjetrussland." The article is unsigned, indicating that it represents official Nazi party line. Ammende has captioned his version of the photo "famine victims in hospital." This holds damaging implications for famine-genocide theorists — medical care and rehabilitation contradicts the notion of a deliberate famine to exterminate a people.

There are still more contradictions. Ammende states that all of *Human Life in Russia's* photographs were taken in the summer of 1933.<sup>19</sup> One is therefore astonished to find a summer graveyard scene appearing on the same page as a photo of a pile of naked, frozen corpses on a snow-covered field.<sup>20</sup> The latter seems to be a portrayal, from a different camera angle, of a winter graveyard scene found in the 1922 book, *La Famine en Russie*.<sup>21</sup>

This photo has not yet been laid to rest in history's refuse pile. Used as famine-genocide evidence, the photo's caption is frequently rewritten, showing subsequent authors' discomfort with Ammende's "summer"



Ammende claims that Dr. Ditloff took these photos in the "summer of 1933." Thomas Walker claimed he took these photos in the "spring of 1934." A 1935 Nazi propaganda book credits Ditloff and dates them as "spring" of 1933. Note photo (bottom left) of woman and boy bundled up for severe winter weather.

claim. For example, the photo appears in *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* with the caption, "Frozen Corpses at a Kharkiv Cemetery."<sup>22</sup> In Nahayewsky's ultra-rightist *History of Ukraine*, the caption is changed without any mention of location: "Shown above is a snow covered pile of famine corpses. They had to lie there until spring awaiting burial."<sup>23</sup> Dushnyck's *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine*, gives no hint as to location or season, but has cropped out parts of the snow-covered foreground. His caption reads: "This is not a pile of wood, but corpses of starved Ukrainians at a burial spot."<sup>24</sup> (Other than the above captions, these authors give no information as to the source of the photos whatsoever. Other examples of interpolative and arbitrary captioning can be cited concerning this one picture alone.)

Other "summer scenes" in *Human Life in Russia* include a subject dressed in heavy coat, head covering and boots; a corpse-wagon driver, whose bulky fur hat and fastened-up fur-collared coat also indicate costume indicative of an earlier decade; a woman and boy bundled up for winter, the boy wearing not only a hat but a hooded coat, scarf and mittens as well. Yet another photo shows a girl with a coat, hat and scarf — holding a naked child on her lap.<sup>25</sup>

While Ammende's reluctance to document his pictures is understandable, it is curious that most famine-genocide authors utilizing the same photographs neither cite nor mention Ammende, his book, nor its mysterious photographers. This is surprising since *Human Life in Russia* is frequently cited for its text, and is recognized by right-wing historians as a classic book for their purposes.<sup>26</sup>

Subsequent publications use the same photos in one of two manners. Either they are used without any pretence of documentation, with no credit to any photographer, or credit is given to Thomas Walker and/or the Hearst press. This despite the fact that Walker claimed to have taken the photos in the spring of 1934, while the photos are currently used to portray events in 1932 or 1933.

For example, Olexa Woropay's *The Ninth Circle*, credits Thomas Walker for those of its pictures shared with *Human Life in Russia* and credited to Ditloff by Ammende. *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust*, leaves undocumented photos designated by Ammende to have been taken by the unnamed Austrian; and credits Thomas Walker for photos which Ammende has credited to Ditloff.<sup>27</sup> In a partial departure from this practice, Harvard's *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933: A Memorial Exhibition*, attributes some of the photos in question to Thomas Walker, and the rest to yet another book which credits Ditloff.<sup>28</sup>

While the average person might understandably despair at this confusing tangle of documenting evidence, one justifiably expects historians to verify and authenticate source material. Thus it is rather astonishing that Harvard University's Dr. James E. Mace played a significant role in all of the above books. Not only did he pen the "Historical Introduction" to the 1984 reprint of *Human Life in Russia*, he edited and introduced *The Ninth Circle*, contributed a feature article to the *Great Famine in Ukraine* and was one of three people credited with preparing *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine*. He has thereby affixed his seal of approval to contradictory and mutually exclusive accounts concerning the origin of the photos. Apparently prepared to endorse anything anti-communist, certain academics seem intent on compromising their reputation (and that of their university).

What, then, is one to make of the photographic evidence offered by Ammende's *Human Life in Russia*? Were Ditloff's photos actually Walker's, or were perhaps Walker's photos actually Ditloff's? Ammende does state that some of the photos had previously been published without Ditloff's permission. As though anticipating doubts and challenges, Ammende feebly passes the buck, stating that Ditloff would assume full responsibility and guarantee the photos' authenticity.<sup>29</sup>

Predictably, Ammende makes no attempt to clarify just where, when and by whom some of the Ditloff photos had previously been published. Nor does he state which photos had been used without permission. Since previous unauthorized publication of an author's "most important source" of evidence (particularly if accompanied by accounts contrary to one's own) is an affront to any honest historical writer, Ammende's silence on this matter engenders the utmost skepticism. Topping it off is the fact that Ammende was well aware of Hearst's famine series from its very beginning. He not only cites Hearst accounts to develop his own argumentation, but also states: "On January 5, 1935, William Randolph Hearst broadcast a speech based almost entirely on the account of the Cardinal Innitzer Committee . . . *The entire Hearst press next proceeded to deal with the Russian Famine.*"<sup>30</sup> One recalls that Thomas Walker's faked articles and photos were the very first of Hearst's famine series. Thus, Ammende was no innocent dupe who received bogus photos in ignorance. In fact, Ammende was the General Secretary of the Innitzer Committee from whose accounts Hearst drew information for his January broadcast.

Other aspects of Ammende's past raise questions. According to his preface to *Human Life in Russia*, Ammende spent time in the Volga and Kama regions of Czarist Russia studying peasants and the Russian grain

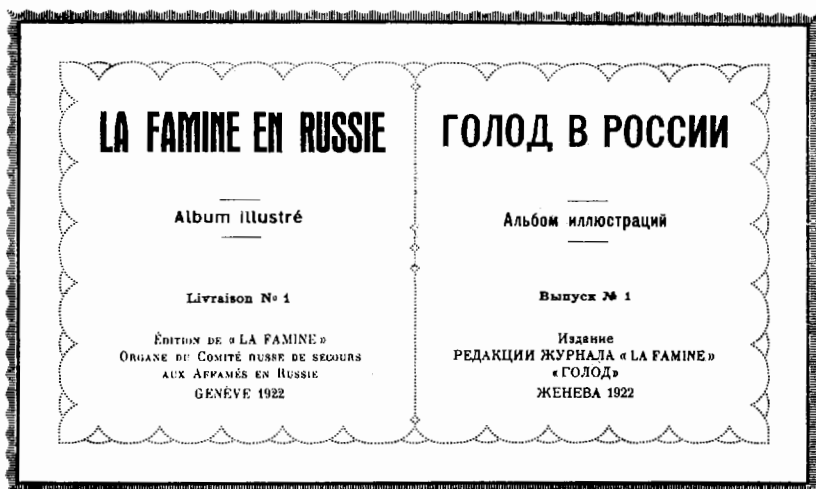
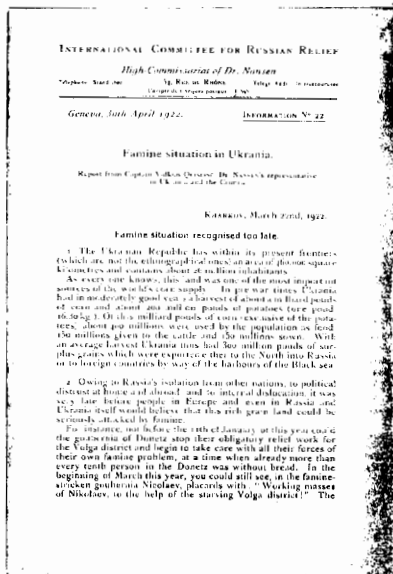
trade as early as 1913.<sup>31</sup> After the revolution, during the period of foreign intervention and Civil War, Ammende admits to having held a post with the counter-revolutionary Estonian and Latvian governments. He was assigned to work in liaison with the Hetman Skoropadsky regime, installed in Ukraine by the Germans in 1918. Ammende's political sympathies can be detected in his legitimizing reference to the "independent Ukrainian republic" under the Kaiser's puppet, Skoropadsky.<sup>32</sup> Ammende describes his work as a journalist and involvement in supporting relief work in the Russian famine of 1921-1922.<sup>33</sup>

In following the subsequent career of this oft-cited expert on the Ukrainian famine, one notes that for many years Ammende served as General Secretary of the so-called European Nationalities Congress, which included Nationalist emigre affiliates and others who had fled the Russian revolution.<sup>34</sup> The Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter* laudingly acclaimed Ammende in promoting the famine-genocide campaign and the European Nationalities Congress in 1933.<sup>35</sup>

Late in 1933, Ammende was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Interconfessional and International Relief Committee for the Russian Famine Areas by the pro-fascist Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna. Even Harvard's Dr. Mace had to admit that "it might be said that Ammende called for aid to the hungry only *after* the famine had come to an end..."<sup>36</sup>

Ammende's associations, travels and activities indicate that he was in an excellent position to have had access to a wide variety of human-suffering and famine pictures during the two decades prior to the 1930s. Indeed, a wide assortment of photos and documentary film footage was taken in Russia, Ukraine, Eastern Europe and Armenia during the period of World War I, the Russian revolution, Civil War and foreign intervention, events which contributed to the Russian famine of 1921-22. These photos — taken by journalists, relief agencies, medical workers, soldiers and individuals — were frequently published in the newspapers and brochures of the period. Such photos were the most likely source for the famine-genocide photographic "evidence": they could be easily culled from archives, collections and newspaper morgues and grafted onto accounts of the 1930s.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, certain key "Ditloff" pictures published in *Human Life in Russia* did originate from 1922 famine publications. For example, the photo captioned "The Last Journey" (opposite p. 193) was first published well over a decade earlier. Captioned "Funeral Procession in Kherson," it appears in the bulletin "Information No. 22" (p. 21) published in Geneva, Switzerland by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen's International Committee for



These publications are devoted to the Russian famine of 1921-1922, but their photographs are fraudulently used to illustrate "1933 Ukrainian famine-genocide." The film Harvest of Despair, for example, uses photos found in each. Top left: Dr. Fridtjof Nansen's International Committee for Russian Relief, *Information No. 22*, Geneva, April 30, 1922. Top right: Ukrainian Nationalist publication *Holod Na Ukrainyi*, by Ivan Gerasymovitch, Berlin, 1922. Bottom: *La Famine en Russie*, Geneva, 1922.





Photographs from *Human Life in Russia*. "The Last Journey" (upper left) is a 1921-1922 Russian famine scene filched from *Information No. 22* (p. 21). The photo, upper right, shows men wearing World War I Russian army caps and first appeared as "1933 famine" propaganda in the Nazi newspaper *Voelkischer Beobachter* (August 18, 1933). Bottom left: a posed photograph similar to 1921-1922 Russian famine relief agency photos (eg. *Information No. 22*, p. 66). Bottom right: this frozen graveyard scene gives the lie to Ammende's "summer of 1933" claim; it closely resembles that found on page 10 of *La Famine en Russie*.

Russian Relief, issued on April 30, 1922. Similarly, Ammende's photograph opposite page 65 (left), can also be found in the 1922 bulletin (p. 16). The photo of emaciated children neatly posed on a bench (opposite p. 33, top), strongly resembles the technique and style of arranged, official documentation photos taken by relief groups during the 1921-1922 famine.

As an experienced 1921-22 Russian famine relief worker, Ammende was undoubtedly familiar with the 1922 Nansen material; indeed Ammende describes a meeting with Nansen in *Human Life in Russia*.<sup>38</sup> There is little doubt that Ammende was complicit in his friend Ditloff's famine photo-faking adventure. It may be, however, that a more central role in the fraud was played by Ditloff himself — and the Nazis.

Dr. Ditloff, it will be recalled, was Director of the German government's agricultural concession in the North Caucasus under an agreement between the German government and the Soviets. When Hitler took power in early 1933, Ditloff (like famine "experts" Herwarth and Henke) did not resign in protest. He remained as Director for the project's duration, indicating that the Nazis did not consider him inimical to their interests. Following his return to Nazi Germany later that year, Ditloff gathered or fronted for a spurious assortment of famine photographs. These, as has been shown, included photos stolen from 1921-1922 famine sources. In addition, at least 25 of the Ditloff photos can be shown to have been released by the Nazis, many of which were passed to or picked up by various anti-Soviet and pro-fascist publishers abroad.

Some of Ditloff's photos were published in the Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter* (August 18, 1933). Others turned up in the *London Daily Express* (August 6, 1934). Here one should note that Ammende and Ditloff were in England in May 1934, campaigning for British pressure against the Soviet Union on the famine question. Ammende and Ditloff visited the British Foreign Office, seeking to make the British vote on Soviet admission to the League of Nations "conditional upon some [Soviet] assurances on the matters . . . such as famine relief."<sup>39</sup> As Thomas Walker was then living in England as an anti-Soviet hack writer, it is possible that photos were passed to him there. Indeed it becomes obvious that Walker was the anonymous English tourist in the *London Daily Express*.

In 1935, both the Nazi press and William Randolph Hearst systematically promoted the famine-genocide campaign, complete with gruesome photographs. That year also saw the publication in Berlin of Nazi Alfred Laubenheimer's violently anti-semitic book *Und Du Siehst Die Sowjets Richtig*.<sup>40</sup> Laubenheimer's introduction to *Und Du Siehst*

glowingly praises Hitler's rule: "Thank God that since the National Socialist [Nazi] revolution these incomprehensible conditions have fundamentally changed. The struggle against the Bolshevik terror has been successfully carried out in Germany."<sup>41</sup> It comes as no surprise that in 1937 the Nazis authorized a second printing of this book.

Prominently featured in Laubenheimer's book is a special section of 25 Ditloff photographs, used to illustrate the Nazis' famine-genocide claims.<sup>42</sup> Two-thirds of these are identical to Thomas Walker photos published the same year by the Hearst press.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the Ditloff photos in *Und Du Siehst* include virtually the whole set of Walker photos.

Ditloff contributed more than photographs to this Nazi propaganda book. *Und Du Siehst* also includes a major article by the Doctor, who is acclaimed as an authority in the article's introduction.<sup>44</sup>

In 1936, Dr. Ditloff's old travelling companion and fellow famine-campaigner, Ewald Ammende, published his English-language edition, *Human Life in Russia*. Contrary to Ammende's claim, the majority of the photos are Ditloff fakes — a significant number being identical to those used by both Walker and Laubenheimer the previous year.

Whatever the actual mechanics of the distribution of the Ditloff-Walker photographs, their fraudulence is well established. Those intent on propagating the famine-genocide myth for political purposes have not hesitated to use these photographs repeatedly to this day — without adding a shred of authenticating evidence to this questionable material. The political motives and persuasions of the groups and individuals involved are indeed relevant here. German Nazis, defeated right-wing Ukrainian Nationalist exiles, European conservatives, neo-fascist media millionaires like Hearst — all wanted to isolate and bring pressure on the Soviet Union, to discredit and reverse socialist developments.

## Chapter Four

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### COLD WAR I BLACK DEEDS

The famine-genocide campaign of the 1930s leaned heavily on materials — often fraudulent — traceable to right-wing, anti-Soviet sources. Mainstream historians did not accept the fabrications of the extreme right.<sup>1</sup> In fact, so dubious was this thesis to contemporary historians, that some Ukrainian Nationalists and Cold War scholars claim that the "famine-genocide" has been either ignored or deliberately concealed in some form of pro-Soviet, left-wing, or even Jewish conspiracy.<sup>2</sup>

Rooted in the pro-Nazi and conservative opinion climates of the 1930s, the famine-genocide issue was exhumed during the Cold War of the 1950s. The McCarthy period witnessed not only a resurgence of the lunatic right, but its alliance with the post-war wave of Ukrainian Nationalists who had fled Ukraine with the retreating Germans. An anti-communist marriage of convenience took place between the American ultra-right and Ukrainian Nationalists, sections of whom had collaborated with the Nazis. These now required new clothes and a cover story for past activities, while the Cold War promoters could point to such people as "living witnesses of the communist menace facing humanity."

A number of books were published by Ukrainian Nationalists, not only to ingratiate themselves with their new Western political allies, but also to propagate their interpretations of history among the Western public. Typical of the Cold War style of famine-genocide allegations is *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin*.<sup>3</sup> Published in 1953 and 1955, this two-volume set is yet another weapon in the Nationalists' arsenal of apologetics and cover stories. Despite the admission in its preface to being "motley" and "uneven," *Black Deeds* is used as resource and reference material for the current generation of famine-genocide campaigners.

The publishers of the volumes — SUZERO and DOBRUS respectively — give an indication of its blatant lack of objectivity. SUZERO is the so-called Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, while DOBRUS stands for the equally wordy Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime in USA. Both groups are affiliated to the World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Soviet Regime. Of some relevance here may be the observations noted in the U.S.

Congressional Record of the 1948 debate on the Displaced Persons Bill: "No doubt every one of them [former East European collaborators of Nazi occupation during the war] now bears a new name, passes [himself] off as a martyr of Soviet oppression, and answers to all the specifications of a 'political refugee.'"<sup>4</sup>

Included in Volume I is a special section devoted to Nationalist allegations of Soviet mass executions during the 1930s in Vynnytsya. Unearthed in 1943 during the Nazi occupation, the graves were "examined" by a Nazi-appointed "commission" and were featured in Nazi propaganda films.<sup>5</sup> Among the *Black Deeds* writers in this section is Petro Pavlovich. Described in a photo caption as "the chief witness of the mass murder at Vynnytsya," Pavlovich also testified before a U.S. Congressional Commission on Communist Aggression in 1953. However, missing from his contributions to the U.S. Cold War Commission and *Black Deeds* is the violent pro-Nazism, anti-semitism and worship of Hitler which characterized his original account in *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* (Crimes in Vynnytsya).<sup>6</sup>

Written under his earlier name of Apollon Trembovetskyj, *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* was published with Nazi authorization in 10,000 copies. An enthusiastic Nazi collaborator, Pavlovich/Trembovetskyj was editor of *Vinnytski Visti* in German-occupied Vynnytsya. The preface to *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* betrays its author's intention — and that of the propaganda exercise as a whole — to rally support for sagging Nazi war fortunes:

Let [the massacre] strongly unite our people with the mighty strength of Germany, the liberator of Ukraine, let it unite [us] in the cruel and merciless struggle with the terrible enemy of mankind — Bolshevism.<sup>7</sup>

The book's appeal for support for the Nazis is indicative of the degree of Nationalist collaboration, then into its third year. By 1943 the Nazis had caused the death or transport for slave labor of millions of Ukrainians; still the Nationalists' appeals continued. Proclaiming Hitler "the great humanitarian and Savior," Trembovetskyj urges: "Only by hard work and our lives will we be able to repay our debt to Hitler, and defeat Judeo-communism."<sup>8</sup>

*Zlochyn U Vinnytsya* is riddled with anti-semitic slurs. Trembovetskyj calls upon Ukrainians to be steeled "in the greater and cruel struggle against Jew-communism" and refers to "Stalin the Jewish moron" and "Stalin and his Jewish government." In a section entitled "Jews and the NKVD," Trembovetskyj specifically blames Jews for the alleged 1930s massacres.<sup>9</sup>

Post-war testimony of German soldiers, however, exposes the unearthing of mass graves at Vynnytsya as a Nazi propaganda deception.

Ап. ТРЕМБОВЕЦЬКИЙ

*Мученикам-українцям, які безцінно зацпили в катівнях Вінницького НКВД, присвячує автор свою працю.*

# ЗЛОЧИН — У ВІННИЦІ



ВІННИЦЯ

1943

який загинув за проповідь цієї ж самої правди від руки цих же самих юдеїв.

Одного разу хотіли ці ж самі юдеї побити Христа камінням за те, що він говорив їм правду. І озвався до них Ісус:

„Багато добрих діл Я показав вам од Отця Мого; за яке з тих діл б'єте мене камінням? (Іванн., 10, ст. 32). Чи може за те, що Я виводив воду з каменя і напував вас, чи за те, що гошував вас м'яною і переселами, чи може за те, що хворих ціляв, мертвих воскрешав“.

Отже ви, мої дорогі сини, встаньте зразу і запитайте подібно до Христа цього кровожерного хитра „батька всіх трудящих“—Сталіна, за яке з тих добрих діл, що ми за життя своє зробили для тебе і твоєї жиди, ти нас так тяжко скатував? Чи може за те, що, не розгинаючи спини, працювали ми на каторжних колгоспних ланах, вирощуючи дорядну пшеницю, щоб твої жиди на сабах і п'єсах мали слячну булку, чи може за те, що, заливаючи потом свої очі, працювали на буржках, щоб твої юдеї мали солодощі, чи може за те, що виступували найкращу футболу для смачного бульйону і котлет „советському дворянству“, чи може за те, що в інкубаторах виводили мільйони птвиц та яєць для вас же, чи може за те, що, відриваючи від рота у своїх дітей молоко, переробляли на масло для „чуда ізраїльського“?

Скажи, кате, скажи, чого мовчиш? Мовчиш кат, бо знає, що загинули вони за те саме, за що загинув Христос: за Правду, за те, що вони уміли відрізати темряву від світла і світло від темряви, добро від зла. І таким людям, ясно, не було місця в СРСР: згідно з „батьківською конституцією“ вони мусли йти в ці страшні могили.

Немає сили, нема розуму, щоб обнесадити цих катів „Любі мої! 20. липня минує два роки з того дня, коли місто Вінниця було звільнене німецьким військом від більшовиків, від пролиття крові і сльи, від каторги. В цей день ми повинні особливо бути вдячні за своє звільнення. Якби він, цей кат, ще цих два роки пробув на Україні, то, безумівно, цей великий сід був би устелений вашими трупами і мільйони нових трупи нашого народу були б закопані по всіх інших містах України.

І милосердний Господь, почувши наші благання, наш плач і сльози дітей наших, послав посланника свого для нашого звільнення в особі Фюрера Великонімецьчини Адольфа Гітлера, який урятував наше життя, утер сльози нам і нашим дітям, принісши пролиття безвинної нашої крові.

За наше звільнення ми завжди мусямо бути вдячні великому німецькому народові і його воїнам. Ми повинні йти разом з ними в одному єднанні, ми повинні чесно, одностайно і односторонньо виконувати волю Фюрера, віддаючи свою працю і, навіть коли це треба, **ТО І ЖИТТЯ СВОЄ** для блага всього людства і свого народу.

Лише так ми доб'ємось найкращої і остаточної перемоги над безиррицтвом і антихристиянством—юдо-комунізмом.

Title page of *Zlochyn U Vynnytsya*, a 1943 Ukrainian Nationalist account of the unearthing of the Vynnytsya graves. Page 46 (in part) lauds: "Hitler the great humanitarian and savior. Only by hard work and our lives will we be able to repay our debt to Hitler, and defeat Judeo-communism."



Pro-Nazi clergy Bishop Yevlohiy and Archbishop Hrihory at the Vynnitsya graves opening. Bishop Yevlohiy stated: "The Lord God had mercy on us and sent us for our salvation the praiseworthy hands of the German people and their chief Adolph Hitler. We all must come to the aid of the German people and with honest work and devoted heart hasten the victory over Bolshevism."

According to Israel's authoritative *Yad Washem Studies*, Oberleutnant Erwin Bingel testified that on September 22, 1941, he witnessed the mass execution of Jews by the SS and Ukrainian militia. This included a slaughter carried out by Ukrainian auxiliaries in Vynnytsya Park, where Bingel witnessed "layer upon layer" of corpses buried. Returning to Vynnytsya later in the war, Bingel read of the experts brought in by the Nazis to examine the exhumed graves of "Soviet" execution victims in the same park. Upon personal verification, Bingel concluded that the "discovery" had been staged for Nazi propaganda purposes and that the number of corpses he saw corresponded to those slaughtered by Ukrainian fascists in 1941.<sup>10</sup>

Illustrating the Vynnytsya section of *Black Deeds* is a photograph of Ukrainian Orthodox Church Bishop Yevlohiy at the opening of the graves in 1943. Following funeral rites for the victims, writes Trembovetskyj in *Zlochyn U Vinnytsya*, Bishop Yevlohiy stated:

The Lord God had mercy on us and sent to us for our salvation the praiseworthy hands of the German people and their chief Adolf Hitler. We must all come to the aid of the German people and with honest work and devoted hearts hasten the victory over Bolshevism.<sup>11</sup>

Overall, the editors of Volume I have gone to considerable pains to come up with pictorial documentation somehow relating to the book's lurid allegations. They have not succeeded — unless a cartoon of Stalin with the stereotypical facial physiognomy reminiscent of an earlier generation of anti-semitic artists can be considered evidence.<sup>12</sup> Aside from third-rate artwork, this volume is decorated with irrelevant drawings, portraits of fascist and pogromchik-government leaders, the inevitable undocumented photographs, and the following indicative farce:

Accompanying the article "Collective Farming" by one "P.V." is the usual undocumented photograph, in this case a group of peasants with horse-teams. The peasants, incidentally, all appear well-dressed in practical work clothes. P.V.'s powers of scientific observation enable him to state that, "all of them are barefoot and look wretched in their rags and tatters."<sup>13</sup> The description "rags and tatters" seems better applied to Nationalist levels of scholarship, since none of the peasants' feet are even visible in the photograph. In similar vein, there appears a photo of collective farmers — a "weeding team" — in which some of the women are smiling and laughing.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the "agency" which provided the political artwork was fresh out of pictures showing unhappy workers toiling in ragged undergarments.

Volume I also presents a handful of alleged 1932-1933 famine photos plagiarized from earlier historical periods. All are undocumented. Some



are stolen from 1921-1922 Russian famine publications. For example, "A little cannibal" appeared in "Information No. 22" (published by the International Committee for Russian Relief in 1922). That this photo was stolen from its 1922 source, and not from Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (where it also appears), can be deduced from the following facts: Ammende gives his version the caption "Another Victim of the Famine"; in 1922, the photo was given the caption "Cannibal from Zaporozhe: has eaten his sister" — a parallel to the *Black Deeds*' "little cannibal."<sup>15</sup>

Other photos are taken from Nazi German publications of the 1930s. For example, the photo showing three men wearing First World War issue caps (p. 237), was first published in relation to 1930s claims, on August 18, 1933 in the Nazi party's official organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

Among those listed as generous donors toward the publication of *Black Deeds* is Fedir Fedorenko. Can this be the same Fedorenko deported from the United States and later convicted as a confessed Treblinka death camp guard?<sup>16</sup> Other donors include Anatol Bilotserkiwsky,<sup>17</sup> identified in several books as Anton Shpak, a former Ukrainian Nazi police officer in Bila Tserkva, Ukraine. Of this person, the Ukrainian writer M. Skrybnyak states: "According to documents and witness testimony, Anton Shpak and his like exterminated close to two thousand civilian residents in Bila Tserkva during the Nazi occupation. Most of the victims were Jews."<sup>18</sup> A surviving witness, I. Yevchuk, remembers:

When they were leading the Jews to where they were going to shoot them, a pretty young girl ran up to Shpak. "Oh come, Anton, what are you doing? Don't you remember we went to school together, you used to carry my bag?" She pleaded. "Shut up, you kike bitch," roared Shpak, raised his gun and shot the girl right in the face.<sup>19</sup>

On the same day, Yevchuk states, Shpak also killed Mordko B. Diener, his wife, and an old woman, Dworja Golostupetz.<sup>20</sup> Bilotserkiwsky (Shpak) identifies himself as a member of the World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners of the Soviet Regime.<sup>21</sup> Had Shpak and others like him not escaped to the West, undoubtedly they would have become "Soviet prisoners" and stood trial for their crimes.

Among Volume I's famine writers with a Nazi collaborationist background is Oleksander Hay-Holowko.<sup>22</sup> This man was not only an SS-member, but also worked as a propagandist for a Ukrainian SS outfit. When the Nazis invaded Ukraine, Hay-Holowko served as "Minister of Propaganda" for the OUN-Nationalist clique in Lviv, whose brief reign of fascist terror was characterized by the slaughter of thousands of Jews by Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>23</sup>

Subtitled "The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933," Volume II of *Black Deeds* has impeccable McCarthy-era credentials, and what is more,



Bis zum Skelett abgemagert und vor Hunger gestorben



In Kleidern legt man die Toten auf die Straßen, damit sie von einem Sammelwagen abgeholt werden. Leichenfledderer behlen ihnen die armseligen Kleider und verkaufen sie auf dem Markt gegen ein Stück fast ungenießbaren Brotes



Die Blu  
Das

Immer erst  
werden die S  
ordenlich  
den Sowjet  
bringen.

Mit alle  
das Bild  
Kuhhund u  
Herben der  
Laden über

Das möglich  
regierung, das  
in Rußland es  
selbst durch Aug  
Glenks im Rade  
hilflos die Bau  
deh sein Kuelke  
der), um mal  
Schlimmste muer  
kommen die We  
sem ehemals o  
die zum Anbreche  
Kriegzeitung zu  
Kunde gegen d  
sterben.

Während fünf  
Welt mit unzahl  
nahmen in der

Mornir  
Do  
iü

The Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 18, 1933: photos from 1921-1922 are used to illustrate the 1933 famine. In 1935 these photos reappear in the anti-semitic propaganda book *Und Du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig* (reprinted in 1937). This book and Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (1936) credit Fritz Ditloff as the photographer. Photos from this selection are also utilized by the following Ukrainian Nationalist books: *Black Deeds of the Kremlin* (1953, 1955); *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine* (1983); *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust* (1983); and the so-called documentary film *Harvest of Despair* (1984).

When I visited Zaporozhe in the end of February, the deaths from starvation amounted already to 30 to 40 every day in each volost. The day I visited Kherson town (March 3rd, 1922), there were registered from the day before 42 deaths from starvation (20 adults, 22 children), and I was told that there might then be 100 cases a day. The town has about 20,000 inhabitants. In the town of Yekaterinoslav (160,000 inhabitants), about 80 persons daily are now dying from starvation. In the ooyezd of Taganrog in the month of February 642 cases of death from starvation were registered. It must also be remembered that hunger indirectly



Gangrene from hunger.

increases susceptibility to disease. Even diseases that under ordinary circumstances have only an insignificant percentage of mortality have now a very great one. For instance, measles is often followed by gangrene of the gums, passing into noma<sup>1</sup>, with more than 20% mortality. Vaccinations lose much of their preserving capacity. The use of surrogates for food gives a great percentage of abdominal diseases; others, as for instance bread with apricot, are very poisonous with a mortality of 50% very soon after eating. In connection with the use of meat from dead horses there are cases of glanders. In consequence of starvation especially among the adults a great many cases may also be observed of the swelling illness, that causes

<sup>1</sup>) Gangrene of the mouth.

provides evidence of the open political collusion between Ukrainian Nationalism and neo-fascist tendencies during the 1950s Cold War in the United States. The reader is informed that Volume I of *Black Deeds* was accepted as "evidence" by the House Committee on Communist Aggression, headed by the old Cold Warrior himself, Representative Charles H. Kersten of Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup> In turn, Rep. Kersten penned the violently anti-communist Introduction to the second volume of *Black Deeds*.<sup>25</sup>

In lieu of any documentation of the "illustrative material" used in Volume II, the reader is merely referred to the archives of SUZERO and DOBRUS, as well as to O. Kalynyk, author of the book, *Communism the Enemy of Mankind*, published by the youth organization of the OUN-Bandera.<sup>26</sup> The "illustrative materials" are all too familiar. Opening the first two pages of the book are nine Thomas Walker photographs and his partial accounts from the Hearst press of 1935. The remaining photographs — none of which are documented or credited — include ten from Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* (two of which were also used by Walker and another by *Voelkischer Beobachter*), one from the 1922 bulletin "Information No. 22," and a variety of Russian Civil War and 1922 Russian famine scenes.<sup>27</sup> For example, the photograph captioned "The Execution of Kurkuls [Kulaks]" (p. 155), shows four soldiers and an officer, apparently on burial detail. Unfortunately for the book's editors, the soldiers appear to be wearing Tsarist army uniforms — wrong army, wrong decade.

A particularly unsavoury aspect of Volume II is its gruesome allegations of cannibalism. In fact, Volume II has been called, rather unkindly but with some justification, a Ukrainian Nationalist cookbook. A series of "testimonial articles" bear titles like: *We Ate Father; He Cooked His Dead Mother's Hand; He Ate His Wife; The Children Are There — In the Pot; First They Ate Their Own Family; A Mother Eats Her Child; She Turned Her Father Into Jellied Meat; and with a gourmet touch, Pasties of Human Flesh*.<sup>28</sup>

While reading relics of the Cold War past can at times provide a rather perverse source of entertainment, *Black Deeds* has been used as "evidence" by various right-wing committees and authors, as well as to influence public opinion and policy. Though one doubts if *Black Deeds* was often (if ever) purchased by the general public, it has been supplied gratis to university and public libraries — this author has come across such "gifts," identified with stickers reading "with compliments of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee." Perhaps it is hoped that the unwary will be taken in.

## Chapter Five

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### THE NUMBERS GAME

The evidence presented to establish a case for deliberate genocide against Ukrainians during 1932-33, remains highly partisan, often deceitful, contradictory and consequently highly suspect. The materials commonly used can almost invariably be traced to right-wing sources, anti-communist "experts," journalists or publications, as well as the highly partisan Ukrainian Nationalist political organizations. An important role in the thesis of genocide is assumed by the number of famine deaths — obviously it is difficult to allege genocide unless deaths are in the multi-millions. Here, the methodology of the famine-genocide theorists can at best be described as eclectic, unscientific; and the results, as politically manipulated guesstimates.

A "landmark study" in the numbers game is the article "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," by Dana Dalrymple, published in *Soviet Studies*, January 1964. According to historian Daniel Stone, Dalrymple's methodology consists of averaging "guesses by 20 Western journalists who visited the Soviet Union at the time, or spoke to Soviet emigres as much as two decades later. He averages the 20 accounts which range from a low of 1,000,000 deaths (*New York Herald Tribune*, 1933) to a high of 10,000,000 deaths (*New York World Telegram*, 1933)."<sup>1</sup> Reproduced here is Dalrymple's list of 20 and accompanying references.<sup>2</sup>

As Professor Stone of the University of Winnipeg suggests, Dalrymple's method has no scientific validity; his "method" substitutes the art of newspaper clipping for the science of objective evidence gathering. This becomes apparent when one discovers the totally unacceptable use of fraudulent material built into the attempt to develop sensational mortality figures for the famine.

On the list one finds, for example, Thomas Walker. Of this literary swindler who was never in Ukraine to begin with, Dalrymple states: "... Thomas Walker made a comparable survey several months later — in the late Spring of 1934 — by breaking away from a guided tour. Walker had previously '... spent several years touring the USSR' and presumably could speak Russian."<sup>3</sup> As unacceptable as using Walker as a source, is Dalrymple's compulsion to insert groundless assumptions that this man "presumably could speak Russian," not to mention the utilization of these fabrications as evidence for extending the famine into 1934. To further exploit the Walker caper, Dalrymple states that "Walker included an extensive and chilling array of pictures."<sup>4</sup>

## DALRYMPLE'S LIST OF TWENTY

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### ESTIMATED RUSSIAN FAMINE DEATHS, 1933

<i>Estimate made or reported by</i>	<i>Estimated number of deaths</i>
1. Ralph Barnes	1,000,000+
2. Walter Duranty	2,000,000+
3. Maurice Hindus	3,000,000+
4. William Chamberlin	4,000,000
5. Stephen Duggan	4,000,000
6. Frederick Birchall	4,000,000+
7. Bernard Pares	5,000,000
8. Eugene Lyons	5,000,000±
9. Archbishop of Canterbury	5,000,000±
10. Clarence Manning	5,000,000±
11. Whiting Williams	5,000,000+
12. Naum Jasny	5,500,000+
13. Harry Lang	6,000,000
14. Thomas Walker	6,000,000
15. Nicholas Prychodko	7,000,000+
16. William Chamberlin	7,500,000±
17. Ewald Ammende	7,500,000±
18. Otto Schiller	7,500,000±
19. Serge Prokopovicz	9,000,000
20. Richard Sallet	10,000,000
Average	5,500,000+

1. Ralph W. Barnes, 'Million Feared Dead of Hunger in South Russia,' *New York Herald Tribune*, August 21, 1933, p. 7.
2. Walter Duranty, 'Famine Toll Heavy in Southern Russia,' *New York Times*, August 24, 1933, p. 1 (computed from figures given by Duranty).
3. Cited by Eugene Lyons in *Assignment in Utopia*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1937, p. 579.
4. W. H. Chamberlin, 'Soviet Taboos,' *Foreign Affairs*, April 1935, p. 435.
5. Stephen P. Duggan, 'Russia After Eight Years,' *Harper's Magazine*, November 1934, p. 696.
6. Frederick Birchall, 'Famine in Russia Held Equal of 1921,' *New York Times*, August 25, 1933, p. 7.
7. Bernard Pares, *Russia*, New American Library, New York, 1953, p. 7.
8. Lyons, *loc. cit.* (estimates made by foreigners and Russians in Moscow).
9. 'Starvation in Russia' (proceedings, House of Lords, July 25), *The Times* (London), July 26, 1934, p. 7.
10. Clarence Manning, *Ukraine Under the Soviets*, Bookman Associates, New York, 1953, p. 101.
11. Whiting Williams, 'The Worker's View of Europe,' *Nation's Business*, December 1933, p. 20.
12. Naum Jasny, *The Socialist Agriculture of the USSR*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1949, p. 553.
13. Harry Lang, 'Socialist Bares Soviet Horrors,' *New York Evening Journal*, April 15, 1935, p. 2.
14. Thomas Walker, '6,000,000 Starve to Death in Russia,' *New York Evening Journal*, February 18, 1935, p.1.
15. Nicholas Prychodko, *Ukraine and Russia*, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg, 1953, p. 15.
16. Chamberlin, *op cit.*, p. 432 (estimates of foreign residents of Ukraine).
17. 'Wide Starvation in Russia Feared,' *New York Times*, July 1, 1934, p. 13.
18. Otto Schiller, *Die Landwirtschaftspolitik der Sowjets und Ihre Ergebnisse*, Berlin, 1943, p. 79.
19. Serge N. Prokopovicz, *Histoire Economique de L'URSS*, Portulan, Paris, 1952, p. 66.
20. 'Says Ten Million Starved in Russia,' *New York World Telegram*, July 7, 1933, p. 3.

Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," *Soviet Studies*, January 1964, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, pp. 259-260.

Alongside the fabrications and guesstimates of the Thomas Walkers and Langs, are the politically-motivated figures of Ukrainian right-wing emigres like the Nationalist Nicholas Prychodko, a collaborator who worked for the Nazi-authorized "Ministry of Culture and Education" in Kiev during the war. Also included is the death estimate of Otto Schiller, a key Nazi functionary assigned to reorganize Ukraine's agricultural resources to meet the needs of Hitler's Reich and war machine.<sup>5</sup> One notes that for Schiller's figure, Dalrymple cites a Nazi-issued book published in Berlin.

Turning from one-time Nazi functionaries and wartime collaborators, one also finds the guesstimate of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dalrymple's citation of the Archbishop's hearsay contribution seems to reflect a statistical need for clerical name-dropping. Lacking the infallibility of the Bishop of Rome, the Archbishop's claim still warrants examination. As a source Dalrymple cites a press clipping of a debate in the British House of Lords. Canadian researcher, Marco Carynnyk, sheds light on the background:

In July 1934, Lord Charnwood, "drawing on information provided by Malcolm Muggeridge and Ewald Ammende . . . gave notice that he would be raising a question about the famine in the House of Lords." The British Foreign Office replied: ". . . But there is no information to support Lord Charnwood's apparent suggestion that the Soviet government have pursued a policy of deliberate impoverishment of agricultural districts of the country, whether or not their policy is considered to have had that effect." In the subsequent House debate on July 25, 1934, the Archbishop of Canterbury [doubtless also influenced by Ammende's "information"] supported Lord Charnwood by claiming a hearsay figure of 5,000,000 deaths. Government members shot down the discussion, partly "on grounds that those who wanted to talk about famine in Ukraine were not noticeably eager to examine oppression in Germany or poverty in England."<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps the government members had in mind the Archbishop's remarks to a meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury the previous month, in which he stated: "I have the greatest sympathy with the immense, undoubted and, on the whole, beneficial awakening which has come to German life in every aspect of the remarkable revolution associated with the name of Herr Hitler."<sup>7</sup> A few days after the House of Lords debate, the *London Daily Express* began publication of the anonymous tourist (Walker) series — the initial shot in an extensive campaign on the famine in the British press.

Another personage featured on Dalrymple's list is William H.



Chamberlin. A long-established anti-Soviet writer, Chamberlin's career eventually led him onto the Board of Trustees of the American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism (AMCOMLIB), better known as Radio Liberty. Funds for AMCOMLIB were raised through the efforts of Crusade for Freedom, which itself received "over 90 per cent of its income . . . from the unvouchered accounts of the CIA . . ." <sup>8</sup> Since Chamberlin's first guess is a modest — by faminologist standards — 4,000,000, Dalrymple lists him twice. Chamberlin's second "estimate of foreign residents in Ukraine" of 7,500,000 is of course added to the total to be averaged out.

One also finds the death guesstimates of Eugene Lyons, whose brand of journalism landed him on the Senior Editor's desk at *Reader's Digest*. This fact is mentioned by Dalrymple presumably to establish Lyons' literary credentials in the minds of a less critical generation of readers. According to Dalrymple, Lyons' guess is based on hearsay "estimates made by foreigners and Russians in Moscow." Incidentally, Lyons, like Chamberlin, also served on the Board of Trustees of AMCOMLIB. <sup>9</sup>

Not surprisingly, Dalrymple also lists the death figure of Ewald Ammende, although Ammende had not been in the Soviet Union since the 1921-22 period. Dalrymple notes Ammende's leading post in the Aid Committee established in the summer of 1934, as well as the establishment of various relief funds "concurrently." <sup>10</sup>

There is little doubt that such "aid committees" were politically motivated fronts set up for propaganda purposes. One such fund (referred to by Dalrymple) was the H.H. Elizabeth Skoropadsky Ukrainian Relief Fund, named after the daughter of Hetman Skoropadsky. Skoropadsky, it will be recalled, headed a Ukrainian Nationalist puppet government set up by the German occupation authorities in Ukraine in 1918. His brief rule ended when the Germans withdrew later that year. Skoropadsky fled into exile in Germany where he was paid a handsome pension by the Weimar and later Nazi German governments. The Hetmanites maintained groups abroad, including Canada, where they comprised a sect within the Ukrainian fascist movement. Skoropadsky was killed in 1945 during an American air raid, while attempting to flee Berlin by train. The very involvement of Hetmanite groups indicates a political *raison d'être* for the "relief funds."

Furthermore, it has been acknowledged even by right-wing historians that whatever famine had existed had come to an end by the time these committees and funds had been established. <sup>11</sup> This aspect of the farce did not go unnoticed by the media of the day. As far back as late August 1933, the *New Republic* declared:

... the present harvest is undoubtedly the best in many years — some peasants report a heavier yield of grain than any of their forefathers had known since 1834. Grain deliveries to the government are proceeding at a very satisfactory rate and the price of bread has fallen sharply in the industrial towns of the Ukraine. In view of these facts, the appeal of the Cardinal Archbishop [Innitzer] of Vienna for assistance for Russian famine victims seems to be a political maneuver against the Soviets.<sup>12</sup>

And, contrary to wild stories told by Ukrainian Nationalist exiles about "Russians" eating plentifully while deliberately starving "millions" of Ukrainians to death, the *New Republic* notes that while bread prices in Ukraine were falling, "bread prices in Moscow have risen."<sup>13</sup> One wonders in light of claims that 25 to 50 per cent of Ukrainians had died, just how such a bumper harvest could have been sown or harvested at all.

By all credible accounts, the crops of 1933 and 1934 were successful. As a tribute to this fact, very few, if any famine-genocide hustlers today support claims of a 1934 famine. However, both Ammende, and following him Dalrymple, seem to have been determined to starve Ukraine to death in 1934 as well. In fact, Dalrymple's Ammende source for the list of 20 is Ammende's letter to the *New York Times* published on July 1, 1934 under the heading "Wide Starvation in Russia Feared." In a follow-up letter the following month, Ammende wrote that people were dying on the streets of Kiev. Within days, *New York Times* correspondent Harold Denny cabled a refutation of Ammende's allegations. Dated August 23, 1934, Denny charged: "This statement certainly has no foundation . . . Your correspondent was in Kiev for several days last July about the time people were supposed to be dying there, and neither in the city, nor in the surrounding countryside was there hunger." Several weeks later, Denny reported: "Nowhere was famine found. Nowhere even the fear of it. There is food, including bread, in the local open markets. The peasants were smiling too, and generous with their foodstuffs. In short, there is no air of trouble or of impending trouble."<sup>14</sup>

Obviously, nobody had informed the peasants that they were supposed to be falling prostrate with hunger that year. But perhaps someone with the techniques typical of latter-day faminologists will suggest the presence of an armed guard crouched behind the cabbage stall, who ordered everyone to smile.

Dalrymple's list also includes Frederick Birchall. During his tenure as Berlin Bureau chief for the *New York Times*, Birchall was one of the first U.S. journalists to jump on the pro-Hitler bandwagon and attempt to put a "human face" on Nazism. American author Michael Parenti cites a CBS national radio interview with Birchall for the latter's claim that the Nazis were not intending "any slaughter of their enemies or racial oppression in

any vital degree." Parenti states:

While the Soviets were being portrayed as ever on the edge of launching aggressive attacks against any and all, Birchall reassured listeners that the Nazis had no desire to go to war and Hitler could not be called a dictator. With that keen eye for the irrelevant that is the hallmark of American journalism, he observed that Hitler was a vegetarian and non-smoker, attributes . . . supposedly indicative of a benign nature. And he noted that Hitler had taken upon himself "the hardest job that ever a man could undertake."<sup>16</sup>

The highest scorer among Dalrymple's 20 assembled famine-genocide hunters is a Richard Sallet, whose material was carried in the Scripps-Howard newspaper, the *New York World Telegram*. This paper's brand of journalism had the reputation of being closely akin to that of Hearst. Apparently the Scripps-Howard people felt no need to be conservative when it came to tales bashing the "Russkies" — Sallet tops the guesstimates with 10,000,000 deaths.

Before departing Dalrymple's list, let it be noted that a significant number of the sources have been shown to be either complete frauds, hearsay based on "foreign residents" (an interesting journalistic term) or hearsay altogether, former Nazis and Ukrainian collaborators, while at least three of the estimates are cited from the anti-Soviet campaigns of the neo-fascist Hearst — Scripps-Howard style press and another five from books published in the Cold War years of 1949-53, save one which was printed in Nazi Germany.

In establishing a background for his case, Dalrymple not only relies very heavily on press clippings, but also refers to questionable historical figures. Among his celebrities (not included in the list of 20), we find the infamous Cardinal Innitzer, brought in to bolster allegations of cannibalism during the famine.<sup>16</sup> Within a few years of his "relief committee" work, Innitzer played a key role in betraying Austria to the Nazis. British historian Joseph McCabe, quoting the *Annual Register*, states:

Hitler assured the Cardinal that he would scrupulously respect the rights of the Church; he assured the Vatican that in return for help in Austria he would sweeten their soured relations with Germany. Innitzer ordered Catholics to vote for the man "whose struggle against Bolshevism and for the power, honor, and unity of Germany corresponds to the voice of Divine Providence," as he said . . . After his own signature to the plebiscite he added the words "Heil Hitler."<sup>17</sup>

It is a matter of some significance that Cardinal Innitzer's allegations of famine-genocide were widely promoted throughout the 1930s, not only by Hitler's chief propagandist Goebbels, but also by American fascists as

well. It will be recalled that Hearst kicked off his famine campaign with a radio broadcast based mainly on material from Cardinal Innitzer's "aid committee." In *Organized Anti-Semitism in America*, a 1941 book exposing Nazi groups and activities in the pre-war United States, Donald Strong notes that American fascist leader Father Coughlin used Nazi propaganda material extensively. This included Nazi charges of "atrocities by Jew communists" and verbatim portions of a Goebbels speech referring to Innitzer's "appeal of July 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union."<sup>18</sup>

In the hands of Dalrymple and others, the dead seem to multiply at a most phenomenal rate. Hearsay, gossip, political testimonies, confessions of defectors, yellow journalism, Nazi and Ukrainian rightists, all interconnect in an incestuous embrace throughout the famine-genocide campaigns.

But what about the accounts of the famine by those who did not agree with the genocide-spinners' conclusions? If included, might not Dalrymple's averages be brought down to a level of demographic reality? This though, is quantitatively unacceptable for the political purposes of Ukrainian right-wingers, Cold War academics and Western propaganda agencies. "Unfriendly witnesses" must be disposed of.

Since the reports of most witnesses do not support his thesis, Dalrymple must either discredit them, impute motives, or better still, not mention them at all.<sup>19</sup> Thus, although Dalrymple admits "that there has been some question as to the existence and magnitude of the famine," he hastily discredits those whose reports beg to differ, declaring: "those who did not 'see' the famine may be divided into two groups: (1) those who for one reason or another actually did not see it; and (2) those who saw the famine but did not report it."<sup>20</sup>

Having established that he can count to two, Dalrymple has from the start laid the groundwork for the classification of unfriendly witnesses into the "duped" and the "liars." Dalrymple then goes on to impute political and opportunistic motives to this deliberately reduced handful:

The first group (1) consists of socialists who were blind to this particular fault in the Soviet program, and/or visiting dignitaries who were given a Potemkin-like tour of Russia which avoided exposure to the famine. The socialists, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, for instance, saw a shortage of food but no famine as such.<sup>21</sup>

Dalrymple insinuates that the Webbs, "like M. Herriot, the former Prime Minister of France, and Sir John Maynard, were only shown what the Russians wanted them to see."<sup>22</sup> Sir John Maynard, a former high official in the Indian government was a renowned expert on famines and

relief measures. On the basis of his experience in Ukraine, he stated that the idea of three or four million dead "has passed into legend. Any suggestion of a calamity comparable with the famine of 1921-1922 is, in the opinion of the present writer, who travelled through Ukraine and North Caucasus in June and July 1933, unfounded."<sup>23</sup> Even as conservative a scholar as Warren Walsh wrote in defense of Maynard, his "professional competence and personal integrity were beyond reasonable challenge."<sup>24</sup>

The integrity of Herriot and Maynard stand head and shoulders above anyone Dalrymple has selected to back his case. But without doubt, the faminologists can produce a Ukrainian Nationalist who will "testify" that on the day before such visits, an official passed through the villages crying, "all whores and beggars off the streets — the Webbs are coming."

Having categorized the Webbs, Herriot and Maynard as "dupes," Dalrymple claims that Walter Duranty and "some other newsmen" (whom he chooses not to name), "knew of the famine but avoided referring to it explicitly because of government pressure."<sup>25</sup> Dalrymple offers no proof of this allegation, but doubtless true to form, some hearsay or off-the-record gossip can be dredged up.

The allegation of lying witnesses is a frequent theme in faminology. The Ukrainian Nationalist journal, *EKPAH-EKRAN* from Chicago, in its 1983 famine commemorative issue, lists for example: "... Walter Durante of the *New York Times*, Louise Fisher (sic), Eugene Lyons, William Rezwick, Morris Hindus (sic) and others. For profit's sake, they deceived the American public and kow-towed to Moscow, while millions of Ukrainias (sic) were dying. . ."<sup>26</sup>

One is shocked to discover the well-known anti-communist Eugene Lyons on this Nationalist hit-list of Soviet dupes. Perhaps it is *EKPAH-EKRAN*'s way of showing displeasure with his guess of 5 million deaths, when the going rate is 7 to 15 million. Perhaps it's not surprising that while printing Thomas Walker photographs, this publication charges that journalists disagreeing with its point of view were lying for financial gain — without offering the slightest proof.

Not content with alleging financial motives in the denunciation of "unfriendly" witnesses, some Ukrainian Nationalist organizations and publications resort to open anti-semitism. A book published by the Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army goes so far as to state:

In 1933 the majority of European and American press, *controlled by the Jews*, were silent about the famine . . . The conspiracy of silence practised by Russia and her *Jewish sympathizers* hides much more. In 1932 the *Jewish journalist* Duranty was sent from the U.S. to check up on the rumour that there was a colossal famine in Ukraine. Duranty, later given one of the

highest awards in journalism, falsely and deliberately denied the "rumour" . . .<sup>27</sup>

Such interpretations offered by a prominent wing of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement indicate a view of history closely approximating that of the Nazis.

Dana Dalrymple's 1964 article was supplemented the following year by an article entitled, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934: Some Further References."<sup>28</sup> Seeking to expand his earlier death guesstimates, Dalrymple introduces a report by a Dr. Horsley Gantt, who claims a death figure of 15 million.<sup>29</sup> This allegation, if true, would have eliminated 60 per cent of the Ukrainian republic's ethnic Ukrainian population of approximately 25 million in 1932.

A careful reading of Dalrymple's update, however, shows this figure to be based on what can only be termed dubious hearsay, if not fabricated rumor. Almost predictably, Dalrymple reveals the source of Gantt's figure to be alleged conversations: "Dr. Gantt indicates that he privately got the maximal figure of fifteen million from Soviet authorities."<sup>30</sup> True to form, the alleged Soviet authorities are not named or otherwise identified.

Dalrymple revealingly informs us that, "while his article was not published until 1936, Dr. Gantt indicates that he provided much of the information on the extent of the famine used by American correspondents during this period . . ."<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, Ralph Barnes, whom Dalrymple mentions as an example of a reporter receiving information from Dr. Gantt, appears to have had little faith in Gantt's death figures. According to Dalrymple's list, Barnes' own guess was a mere one-fifteenth of Gantt's claim.<sup>32</sup> Such contradictions notwithstanding, Gantt's unverifiable hearsay allegations, despite their demographically implausible figures, have contributed to the death guesstimates circulated by subsequent right-wing polemicists.

Dalrymple's second section of "Further References," features "Contemporary Observers" brought to light in "(a) study of previously unopened records of the U.S. Department of State."<sup>33</sup> This refers to a memorandum of a conversation held by Felix Cole (charge d'affaires, Riga) and a certain John Lehrs, with a member of a foreign legation in Moscow. Once again, Dalrymple will not or cannot identify the staff member of the foreign legation — which might very well have been that of Nazi Germany for all the reader knows. Such unfounded hearsay based on diplomatic gossip hardly constitutes acceptable evidence. Yet Dalrymple has the audacity to credit seven to eight million people "dying from starvation" to such hearsay reports.<sup>34</sup>

"Emigre Reports" is the third category found in "Further References." In apparent desperation, Dalrymple turns to the accounts of

the discredited *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*. Then, after citing a Nationalist "autobiography" published by the anti-communist Russian emigre press, Dalrymple refers the reader to works of fiction: "Wasył Barka presents a more extensive account in his novel *Zhovty Kniaz* (The Yellow Prince). The book describes a collective farm family's struggle for existence during the famine and reflects most of the typical occurrences of that period."<sup>35</sup>

Having pursued his famine fact search well into the realm of political fiction, Dalrymple notes that the novelist in question is in the employ of the Radio Liberty Committee in New York, a CIA-funded propaganda and disinformation agency.

In concluding "Emigre Reports", Dalrymple borrows a death toll of five to seven million from *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, an official Nationalist apologia, whose chief editor was the former wartime head of the Nazi collaborationist "Ukrainian Central Committee," Volodymyr Kubijovyc.<sup>36</sup>

Dalrymple's "Further References" totally miscarries with its final section, "Khrushchev on the Famine." Here Dalrymple reveals the bankruptcy of his undertaking without the slightest pretence of any kind of scholarship:

Shortly after my paper went to press, Khrushchev saw fit to comment on famine conditions during the Stalin period. In December 1963 he acknowledged — for the first time — that famine had existed under Stalin and Molotov. His comments, however, were confined to 1947.<sup>37</sup>

Although the "comments" referred to conditions after the carnage and destruction of World War II, this does not prevent Dalrymple from pontificating that Khrushchev's descriptions of 1947 hardship "seem equally applicable to the famine of 1932-1934."<sup>38</sup> Such research methods, perhaps suitable for assembling a paste-up scrapbook, are inadequate for any serious purpose. However, despite the weaknesses and methodological faults of Dalrymple's "study," his work has been uncritically accepted by those determined to "prove" a case of deliberate famine.<sup>39</sup>



**50th ANNIVERSARY  
OF  
GENOCIDE  
BY FAMINE  
IN UKRAINE 1932-33**  
 THAT THIS GENOCIDE WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN  
**A DAY OF REMEMBRANCE  
FOR  
7 MILLION VICTIMS OF  
MURDER BY STARVATION**



**TO THEIR  
ETERNAL  
MEMORY  
TO  
MOSCOW'S  
ETERNAL  
SHAME**



**A DAY OF REMEMBRANCE AND  
MOURNING FOR THE 7 MILLION VICTIMS  
VICTIMS OF FORCED STARVATION IN 1932-33 UKRAINE**  
 WE GATHER ALL OUR FEELINGS TO JOIN WITH  
**A COMMEMORATIVE MANIFESTATION  
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1983**



The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is pleased to announce that it will be holding a Day of Remembrance for the 7 million victims of the famine in Ukraine, 1932-33, on Sunday, October 9, 1983. The Day of Remembrance will be held at the Ukrainian Canadian Centre, 400 Main Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 1T8. The Day of Remembrance will be held from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. The Day of Remembrance will be held in memory of the 7 million victims of the famine in Ukraine, 1932-33.

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**1:00 P.M.** - Opening of the Day of Remembrance  
**1:30 P.M.** - Presentation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee  
**2:15 P.M.** - Musical Performance  
**3:00 P.M.** - Prayers and Blessings

**WOLFOOD FUND**  
 SUITE 1 - 400 MAIN ST.  
 WINNIPEG, MANITOBA  
 R3B 1T8

**SPONSORED BY**  
 the UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE - WINNIPEG BRANCH - ON BEHALF OF  
 ALL MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS AND THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY OF WINNIPEG.



Full-page ads complete with fake and spurious photographs were features of the famine-genocide campaign in 1983. Above: *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 1, 1983, ad placed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Photos used in the ad (top to bottom): frozen corpses — a “summer” scene from *Human Life in Russia* and the Nazi-published *Und Du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig*; men wearing tsarist-issue army caps, published in the Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter* (August 18, 1933); children from the 1921-1922 Russian famine, published in *La Famine en Russie* (Geneva, 1922, p. 7); starving child on a bench, from *Information No. 22* (Geneva, 1922, p. 19); Bottom left: Nazi propaganda photo from *Voelkischer Beobachter*; bottom right: a 1922 famine victim, from *Information No. 22* (p. 16).



## Chapter Six

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### COLD WAR II THE 1980s CAMPAIGN

It was not by accident that mass campaigns were funded across North America in 1983 to commemorate the "50th anniversary of famine-genocide in Ukraine." The main purpose of the resurrection of so dubious an issue was to elevate anti-communist sentiments and facilitate Reaganite Cold War aims. Unlike earlier "anniversaries" which were limited to the periphery of right-wing Ukrainian exile circles, the latest commemoration was highlighted by mass media advertising, billboards, public rallies, and continuing attempts to include the Ukrainian "famine-genocide" in school curriculum. In Edmonton and Winnipeg, monuments to "the victims of genocide" were erected. Winnipeg's "famine obelisk" was a "gift" to the city from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, at a reported cost of \$75,000. As Winnipeg has long been a twin city with Lviv, Ukraine — much to the annoyance of the Ukrainian Nationalists — this monument can only be seen as a political provocation against peaceful relations. It is revealing that not so much as a small plaque was ever put up honoring the millions of victims of the Nazi holocaust. That this event took place in the 1980s stands as an unfortunate tribute to the new Cold War climate and the lobbying power of right-wing Ukrainians.

"Scholarly" backing of the famine-genocide campaign reached unprecedented heights in the 1980s. "Credit" for this is taken by Harvard University, as stated in a recent publication copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College: "... the Famine occupied only a marginal place in the historical writings produced by the post-war generation of Western Sovietologists . . . The Famine Project established by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University in 1981 has been most decisive in the organization of scholarly work on the Famine. Members of the Project include Robert Conquest, senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University . . . (and) James E. Mace, research associate at the Ukrainian Research Institute and director of the Project . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Harvard University has long been a center of anti-communist research, studies and programs, often in collaboration with U.S. military and intelligence agencies.<sup>2</sup> It was a Harvard history professor, William Langer, who headed the Research and Analysis Branch of the wartime

Office of Strategic Services. American writer C. Ford has described the Research and Analysis Branch (R & A) as: "... the largest collection of eminent educators and scholars ever gathered together in a single government agency. R & A skimmed the cream of the social sciences departments in all the universities . . ." <sup>3</sup> Ford quotes former U.S. statesman McGeorge Bundy, who wrote in *The Dimensions of Diplomacy*:

In very large measure the area study programs developed in American universities in the years after the war were manned, directed, or stimulated by graduates of the OSS — a remarkable institution, half cops-and-robbers and half faculty meeting. It is still true today, and I hope it always will be, that there is a high measure of interpenetration between universities with area programs and information-gathering agencies of the government of the United States. <sup>4</sup>

Published in 1983 by Harvard University's Ukrainian Studies Fund to "commemorate the 50th anniversary of the famine," Olexa Woropay's book *The Ninth Circle* is yet another volume in the growing famine-genocide library. <sup>5</sup> First published in England in 1953 by the youth wing of the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the "commemorative edition" was edited and introduced by Harvard University's Dr. James E. Mace. Despite this assistance, *The Ninth Circle* appears to be improperly documented. Professor John Ryan, referring to a brief by Ukrainian Nationalists to the Winnipeg School Board which used *The Ninth Circle* as supporting evidence, charged:

Their brief is a polemic, devoid of any documentation, and the book, *The Ninth Circle*, by Olexa Woropay is in the same category and lacks the essence of any scholarship. For example, the series of accounts of personal experiences (pp. 17-36) has no identification of a single person who supposedly told these stories. Other than mere scholarly shortcomings, there is a disturbing undertone to the whole book. Woropay presents a detailed account of his activities in the Ukraine during the 1930s, but he studiously avoids any mention of what he did during the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine. Leaving this gap in his career as a question mark, he resumes his chronicle in 1948, but by this time he is in Muenster, Germany. Here he is interviewing Ukrainians, who like himself, had left the Ukraine. Did he and his colleagues, in the manner that thousands of others had done, leave with the retreating Nazi troops because they had collaborated with the Nazis? In his account there is not one derogatory word about the Nazis, instead there is nothing but hatred and condemnation for the Soviets. With this in mind, how is the reader to view the objectivity of the material that is being presented? <sup>6</sup>

*The Ninth Circle's* connection with Harvard may not be limited to Mace and the university's Ukrainian Studies Fund. One Harvard research

program is particularly relevant here. Soon after the war, the U.S. State Department's Office of Policy Coordination (later a component of the CIA) commissioned a team of Harvard historians to interview East Europeans in the displaced persons camps in Europe. The research project's primary goal was intelligence-gathering. These interviews provide many of the "eyewitness accounts" for famine-genocide allegations.<sup>7</sup>

One wonders, in fact, if Woropay's interviews in Muenster, Germany in 1948 were part of the Harvard-CIA project. Woropay himself indicates that his "research" consisted of little more than the gathering of post-war political campfire tales in a West German displaced persons camp:

As it was winter, there was nothing to do and the evenings were long and dull. To pass the time, people told stories about their own experiences. There were many peasants from Eastern Ukraine and they recalled life under Soviet rule.<sup>8</sup>

Predictably, Woropay offers no political or wartime background about his anonymous "witnesses." To have done so might well have further strained the credibility of *The Ninth Circle*.

The pictorial proof provided by Woropay is similarly suspect. Only Thomas Walker photographs have been selected, this despite the fact that Woropay claims to have been a famine eyewitness. Can it be that he could not tell the difference between obviously doctored fakes taken over a decade earlier, including some from Russia, and scenes from an alleged holocaust he claims to have witnessed in his own land?

The text of Walker's stories is not reproduced with the photos; perhaps it is hoped that the Walker connection, like the alleged 7 to 15 million Ukrainians, will simply disappear. After all, Walker claimed to have made his travels in the spring of 1934; Woropay and Mace dare not attempt to stretch out the famine for another year, they are on shaky ground as it is. (Actually, one must recall, Walker never set foot in Ukraine, and entered the Russian Federation in the fall of 1934.) But, much to Woropay's embarrassment no doubt, whoever snipped out the text of Walker's story missed a line under the photo opposite page 8. This line reads: "When Mr. Walker entered Russia last Spring [1934] he smuggled in a camera."

If the claims of "famine-genocide" witnesses are as fraudulent as the photographic evidence used to illustrate them, one might safely conclude that today's public is being taken for no less a ride than the readers of Hearst's famine-genocide stories in 1935.

This conclusion applies equally to *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933: A Memorial Exhibition* prepared by Oksana Procyk, Leonid

Heretz and James Mace. This book is the catalogue of a major exhibition sponsored in 1983 by the Harvard College Library, the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Studies Fund of Harvard University. The catalogue's introduction indirectly emphasizes its goal of attaining an emotional impression of the famine, rather than an analysis of its causes, an emphasis which characterizes most of the famine-genocide campaign:

The second objective of this catalogue is to convey the intangible aspects of the Famine to the reader. Although scholars continue to debate the causes of the Famine, the number of its victims and its geographic extent, there can be no doubt of the magnitude of the tragedy in its spiritual and human dimensions. Through the use of photographs, memoirs, the testimony of survivors and the literary works of eyewitnesses we have attempted to evoke an image, however inadequate, of the nightmare world of the starving Ukraine of 1932-1933.<sup>9</sup>

The nightmare image evoked by the book's photographic evidence is shattered however by an examination of the cited sources. Harvard's *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine* contains 44 alleged 1932-1933 famine photos. Almost one-quarter of these (12) are credited to Ammendé's *Muss Russland Hungern*, the 1935 German edition of *Human Life in Russia* which contains photos allegedly taken by an anonymous Austrian photographer (see Chapter 3). Three are dubious and misdated photos — including one of soldiers in Czarist-era uniforms — from the spurious *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, Vol. 2 (see Chapter 4).

The largest group of Harvard photos is taken from two avowed Nazi propaganda books by Alfred Laubenheimer: 10 are credited to Laubenheimer's *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund*, and 14 to Laubenheimer's *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig*. In the latter, it will be recalled, Laubenheimer credits Dr. Ditloff, who subsequently found wider fame in Ammendé's *Human Life in Russia*. As we have seen, Ditloff was not above passing off 1921-1922 Russian famine photos as evidence of the 1932-1933 famine in Ukraine.

Three of the Ditloff photos used by Harvard were initially published in the August 18, 1933 issue of the Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*. A further eight are among the many Ditloff photos used by the Hearst press credited to the fraudulent Thomas Walker.

While in themselves famine photographs do not prove the thesis of genocide, they are used to reinforce visually, charges of deliberate, planned mass starvation. Verifying their origin is an issue in its own right, particularly given the conflicting claims of credit for certain widely-used famine photos. As one of the three people who prepared *Famine in the*

*Soviet Ukraine*, Harvard's James Mace could have perhaps clarified this issue. Previously, Mace had been associated with the publication of both *The Ninth Circle* — which credits Walker — and the 1984 reprint of *Human Life in Russia* — which credits Ditloff for photographs shared in common. In *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine*, for the first time both Ditloff and Walker are credited in one and the same book. Some care has been taken to avoid direct overlap — eight Ditloff/Walker photos are credited to *Und du Siehst* (Ditloff) and five different Ditloff/Walker fakes are credited to Walker. One glaring contradiction, though, has been overlooked. Plate 128 (p. 45) of Harvard's *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine* contains a photograph (bottom right) of a woman with a small boy, one of five photos credited to Thomas Walker and Hearst's *New York Evening Journal*. This same photo appears on p. 333 (plate 86) of Laubenheimer's *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig* (1935 edition) where it is credited to Ditloff!

Mace and his Harvard colleagues have the further audacity to state, in their introduction to Walker's material: "American newspapermen . . . Thomas Walker . . . wrote plainspoken and graphic accounts of the Famine based on what they had witnessed in the Ukraine in 1933."<sup>10</sup> Ignoring the fraudulent nature of the Walker series exposed over 50 years ago, the Harvard scholars conveniently backdate Walker's stated 1934 trip to 1933. This gives an indication of the true meaning of the statement in the Introduction to *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine*: "First of all, (the catalogue) is a survey of the present state of scholarship and current knowledge about the Famine."<sup>11</sup>

Not only is this "scholarship" riddled with inaccuracies, exaggeration, distortion and fraud, it resorts uncritically to Nazi sources without informing the reader of the spurious nature of these sources. Source for over half of the Harvard photos are the two Laubenheimer books noted previously, with over one-third of the book's total taken from *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig*. Laubenheimer opens the section featuring the Ditloff photo collection and Ditloff's famine-genocide article with these lines from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*:

If, with the help of his Marxist creed, the Jew is victorious over the other peoples of the world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of humanity and this planet will, as it did millions of years ago, move through the ether devoid of men.

Eternal Nature inexorably avenges the infringement of her commands.<sup>12</sup>

Anti-semitic diatribes permeate Laubenheimer's book. "Jewish bolshevism" is blamed for enslaving and starving the gentiles of the Soviet

DR.-ING. A. LAUBENHEIMER

*B 33  
S 220*

# Die Sowjetunion am Abgrund!



Mit zahlreichen Original-  
aufnahmen des Verfassers u. a.

2. Auflage

Embajada de Alemania  
Servicio de Prensa  
Salamanca 25/7

1933

VERLAG VOLKSWIRTSCHAFTSDIENST  
BERLIN-HALENSEE

Früher erschienen vom gleichen Herausgeber:

## Die Sowjetunion am Abgrund

Von Dr.-Ing. A. Laubenheimer,  
mit zahlreichen Originalaufnahmen,  
kart. RM. 1.—

„Diese knappe und wirkungsvolle, alle Tatsachen zusammenfassende und durch die grauenhafte Sprache der Bilder erschütternde Schrift verdient weiteste Verbreitung.“  
(Der Reichsführer der VDA, gen. Dr. Steinacher).

„Mit dieser Schrift erwerben sich Verfasser und Verlag ein großes Verdienst um sachkundige Aufklärung der deutschen Öffentlichkeit! Man merke, die Schrift ist von einem Spezialisten geschrieben, der auch vom deutschen Standpunkt als ein „Spezialist“ angesehen werden darf.“

(Dr. Adolf Ehrh, Leiter der Antikomintern, Gesamtverband deutscher antikomunistischer Vereinigungen e. V.)

„... derartiges Material war bisher in Deutschland noch nicht bekannt! Die Veröffentlichung erfüllt eine Kulturmission, sie sollte in der ganzen Welt Verbreitung finden. Sie ist eine Warnung vor dem Bolschewismus und gleichzeitig ein Appell an das Weltgewissen.“  
Bund der Auslandsdeutschen.

„Diese Veröffentlichung gibt eine in Text und Bild gleichermaßen erschütternde und überzeugende Darstellung des Elends des russischen Menschen unter der Sowjet Herrschaft. Ihre Verbreitung ist dringend erwünscht. Wir empfehlen diese wertvolle Veröffentlichung bestens.“

Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie.

„Alle deutschen und ausländischen Veröffentlichungen der letzten Jahre, die sich mit russischen Fragen beschäftigen, werden in den Schatten gestellt... Was Laubenheimer über das Leben der Menschen in der U.S.S.R. am Ende des ersten Fünfjahresplanes schreibt, ist so erschütternd, daß man über seine Schilderung der russischen Hölle nicht so bald zur Ruhe kommt.“  
„Auslandswarte“

„Der Verfasser hat die Sowjetunion von Leningrad bis Tiflis und von der polnischen Grenze bis hinter den Ural bereist und zwei Jahre in Betrieben gearbeitet, die über dieses gewaltige Gebiet verstreut liegen. Der Einblick in die Arbeitsweise der Landwirte und der Werke an den verschiedensten Stellen der Sowjetunion, vor allem aber an Orten, die fern von den Reisewegen der Fremden liegen, gestatten ihm ein sicheres Urteil, zumal er Gelegenheit hatte, das Volk in seiner eigenen Sprache reden zu hören und die Menschen in ihren Wohnorten aufzusuchen. Wir kennen keine Arbeit aus der riesengroßen Literatur über Rußland, die so geeignet ist, Aufklärung zu schaffen wie diese kleine Broschüre.“  
Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung.

Nibelungen-Verlag, Berlin und Leipzig

Nazi propaganda is used as source material for evidence of "1933 famine-genocide." Laubenheimer's *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund* was also utilized by the Nazis in German embassies — note markings and Nazi emblem. Right: 1935 ad for *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund* — praise from German and Volksdeutsche Nazi front organizations.

U<sub>nd</sub>  
du  
Siehst die  
Sowjets  
Richtig

Berichte von deutschen und ausländischen  
„Spezialisten“ aus der Sowjet-Union

Herausgegeben von Dr.-Ing. A. Laubenheimer

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NIBELUNGEN-VERLAG · BERLIN-LEIPZIG · 1935

3. TEIL

DIE TRAGÖDIE DES BAUERNTUMS

*„Siegt der Jude mit Hilfe seines  
marxistischen Glaubensbekenntnisses  
über die Völker dieser Welt, dann  
wird seine Krone der Totenkranz der  
Menschheit sein, dann wird dieser  
Planet wieder wie einst vor Jahr-  
millionen menschenleer durch den  
Äther ziehen.  
Die ewige Natur rächt uner-  
bittlich die Übertretung ihrer  
Gebote.“*

*Hitler: „Mein Kampf.“*

*Und Du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig* contains the largest collection of photos commonly used as evidence of “planned genocide of Ukrainians” in the famine of 1932-1933. Above, right: a quote from Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* kicks off the section on the famine in this Nazi propaganda book. The 15 photographs appearing on the following two pages are identical to those used in the faked Thomas Walker series in the Hearst press (February-March 1935). While Walker claims he took the photos in the spring of 1934, *Und Du Siehst* claims Fritz Ditloff took them in 1933. The costume, formal posing, and technical quality of some, suggest pre-1930s origin. Different camera-photographer combinations are also suggested, and some of the photos had been published in the 1920s.







Union; the following Nazi threat against the Jews is typical: "Woe, woe to the Jews and their helpers when the day [of retribution] comes, and it will come. And the old line of Russian blood boils up and a subjected people shall rise up for a just purpose and free itself from this shame and dishonor!"<sup>13</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Nazi publishers of *Und du Siehst* found the accounts of Malcolm Muggeridge sufficiently in line with their purposes to include one of his articles.<sup>14</sup>

*Famine in the Soviet Ukraine* also includes photographs from Laubenheimer's earlier book *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund*.<sup>15</sup> The latter was advertised and endorsed by such Nazi and front organizations as the Gesamtverband deutscher antikommunistischer Vereinigungen, the Bund der Auslandsdeutschen, and the Reichsstand der deutschen Industrie.<sup>16</sup> Widely circulated by the Nazis as anti-Soviet propaganda in the 1930s, it was also distributed through Nazi German embassies abroad.<sup>17</sup> Though not selected for use in *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine*, certain photos appearing in *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund* show signs of being altered.<sup>18</sup>

Given the use of anti-semitic, Nazi sources, one should perhaps not be surprised to find included in the bibliography of *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine* a publication by former Ukrainian SS-man Olexa Hay-Holowko. Hay-Holowko was "Minister of Propaganda" in the fascist OUN-Bandera clique which claimed a brief "government" in Lviv, Ukraine in July 1941 under the German occupation. The most distinguishing feature of this "government's" tenure was the mass slaughter of thousands of Jews (and anti-fascist Ukrainian intellectuals) by Ukrainian Nationalist Nazi auxiliaries and pogromists.<sup>19</sup>

Another contribution to the recent revival of the famine-genocide campaign is Walter Dushnyck's *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine*. Sub-titled "Terror and Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism," the cover features a white human skull superimposed on a red hammer and sickle (somewhat thematically reminiscent of an earlier generation of fascist poster art). This booklet — 56 pages of cold war text — is often provided as resource material in attempts to get Boards of Education to include the "famine-genocide" in school curriculum.

Published by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, an international umbrella group uniting various Nationalist factions, *50 Years Ago* was printed by the Svoboda Printing Company of New Jersey. The latter is a descendant of an earlier *Svoboda*, a newspaper also published in New Jersey. Formerly linked to the pro-Nazi movement prior to America's entry into World War II, *Svoboda* was once banned from entry into Canada during the war as being pro-fascist and

subversive.<sup>20</sup>

The Foreword to *50 Years Ago* turns out to have been prepared by none other than Dana Dalrymple. Perhaps hoping to distance himself somewhat from the book's crude quality and rabid anti-communist rhetoric, Dalrymple states: "I am less certain of the degree to which the famine was planned."<sup>21</sup> Dalrymple still seems not to have caught on to the fraudulent nature of Hearst's old famine campaign (or perhaps he hopes his readers haven't). Twenty years after his own utilization of Thomas Walker's fraudulent accounts in the pages of *Soviet Studies*, page 9 of Dalrymple's Foreword is decorated with Walker fake photographs.

Displaying the uncritical stance of his earlier articles, Dalrymple in his Foreword refers the reader to "Communist Takeover of Ukraine" from the Select Committee on Communist Aggression of 1954. Hearsay sources gleaned from the various hearings staged during the hysterics of the McCarthy era in the United States deserve a far more cautious approach than Dalrymple possesses.

Dushnyck himself was an associate editor of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*. Under the editorship of former Nazi collaborator Kubijovyc, the "encyclopaedia" includes rewrites of wartime Nationalist collaboration and portrays Ukrainian history in sympathy with Petliura, Bandera, the Nachtigall pogromists and the Halychyna-SS units. Dushnyck is also identified in his book as the editor of the anti-communist journal, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, a fact made abundantly clear since he refers repeatedly to this journal as source material for his allegations.

What *50 Years Ago* omits to inform the reader about Dushnyck's past is even more significant. According to the New Jersey-based right-wing *Ukrainian Weekly*, Dushnyck's roots can be traced to Europe's pre-war fascist movement. His obituary recalls that "Dr. Dushnyck was active in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and was acquainted personally with the leading members of the OUN's Supreme Council." The *Ukrainian Weekly* also notes that Dushnyck had been a contributor to *Rozbudova Natsii* (Reconstruction of a Nation), published by the Ukrainian Military Organization/Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in pre-war Europe.

The text of *50 Years Ago* is shallow cold war rhetoric. A critique by Professor John Ryan states:

... (*50 Years Ago*) although ostensibly documented, violates certain canons of scholarship. For example, the book contains numerous direct quotations from Soviet leaders, or directives from the Soviet Government, but not in a single instance is this documented to a primary source; instead the footnotes refer to secondary sources, all of which appear to be anti-Soviet publications, and most refer to *The Ukrainian Quarterly* of which the author is the editor.



Photograph used by Walter Dushnyk in *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine*. The caption deceptively cites a Canadian paper as the source. The photograph has actually been taken from *La Famine en Russie* (Geneva, p. 7), published in 1922. *50 Years Ago* was presented by Ukrainian Nationalists to the Winnipeg School Board in 1983 as evidence to support introduction of "famine-genocide" interpretations to school curriculum.

This is not proper scholarship, and on this basis alone it makes the entire publication highly suspect. If Walter Dushnyck had intended this to be a serious scholarly article, with a B.A. and an M.A. he surely should have known the correct procedure. I note that his Ph.D. is from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, but from what I can determine, Canadian and American universities do not recognize the status of this university.

... For someone familiar with the subject matter, this material is totally bankrupt of any intellectual understanding of the events of that time. Rather than scholarly analysis, the material consists of a highly emotionally charged vitriolic polemic. Indeed it has little to do with scholarship and unquestionably it is lacking in objectivity.<sup>22</sup>

*50 Years Ago* continues the Nationalists' practice of using fake and undocumented photographs as evidence. Of the 14 famine photographs offered, 8 are Walker/Ditloff fakes. Among the remaining six, "A pack of starving children" (p. 22) appeared in the 1922 publication, *La Famine en Russie* (published by the Comite Russe de Secours aux Affames en Russie, Geneva, 1922, p. 7). The "Collection of Corpses" (p. 24), another stand-by fraud from 1921-1922, made its 1932-1933 famine-genocide debut in the August 18, 1933 issue of the German Nazi organ, *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

The graveyard scene from Ammende's *Human Life in Russia* appears on p. 36, with much of its wintery foreground cropped out in deference to Ammende's dating of the summer of 1933. On p. 40, the reader is offered an undocumented picture of homeless children of such dated appearance and atrociously over-copied poor quality that its pre-1930s origin is scarcely in doubt. A naked corpse vintage 1922 decorates p. 44; it too appeared in the previously cited *Voelkischer Beobachter*. Lastly, for p. 46 Dushnyck has selected "A Once Handsome Ukrainian Boy." This photo appears in the 1922 bulletin, "Information No. 22" (published by the International Committee for Russian Relief, Geneva, April 30, 1922, p. 16).

The photographs, Dushnyck states, "were provided by the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A."<sup>23</sup> This church has long been the fiefdom of the former Nazi-authorized cleric and wartime collaborator Stepan Skrypnyk, "Metropolitan Mstyslav."

Attempting to shore up his thesis of famine-genocide, Dushnyck turns to an "examination" of the number of famine deaths. Rather than averaging hearsay estimates *a la* Dalrymple, Dushnyck's "method" consists of projecting an anticipated population growth rate, based on the 1926 census, onto the listed population of the 1939 census for Ukraine. The difference between the hypothetical estimate and the 1939 census listing is then pronounced to be "famine victims."

For example, Dushnyck states: "taking the data according to the 1926 census . . . and the January 17, 1939 census . . . and the average increase

## Books

## Eyewitness to the famine

By Paul Pihichyn

The century of the Twentieth Century has been marked by several tragic episodes of genocide.

There was the genocide by the Turks, in 1915, to exterminate the Armenians, the slaughter of Jews in Nazi Germany before and during the Second World War, the death of millions of Cambodians at the hands of the madness that Pol Pot instilled in the 1970s.

For the most part, these tragic events have been accepted as fact by the world. We have been left with no doubt that they really did happen.

There is, however, a great deal of doubt as to the accuracy of the accounts of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33. The Ukrainian famine of 1932 and 1933 affected as many as 10 million Ukrainians — three million of whom died — some tactically killed by the armies and policies of Josef Stalin and his Communist regime.

Despite the growing body of evidence accumulated over the years, despite the eye-witness accounts of many of the survivors of the famine, despite the public recognition that has been accorded to Winnipeg, in the memory of the millions who died, a significant lack of action exists. It is time to deny that the Ukrainian holocaust ever happened.

Miron Dolot is not what you know. From first-hand experience, that those who denied deny the existence of survivors of more than 10 percent of the Ukrainian population are wrong — and deliberately so.



Carts collect the bodies of victims of the famine in 1932; the horses were well fed.

**Execution by Hunger** by Miron Dolot  
 1983, Miron Dolot, Ltd. Winnipeg  
 \$12.95

The book describes the village of Magnitka and the harsh conditions of the famine. It is a story of the lives of the people who were killed by the famine and the horror of the Soviet system. It is a story of the lives of the people who were killed by the famine and the horror of the Soviet system.

with what was to come in that terrible autumn of 1932. "The famine in the Ukrainian wheat crop of 1932 started about two months before the harvest. At the end of May, when strangers appeared in our village, little by little, we began to find out who they were. The Party had mobilized 11,000 of its most active and reliable members (the Soviet Proletariat Committees) to organize a speedy harvest of the task crop, to secure its yield and search for ways to the state."

— Miron Dolot, *Execution by Hunger*

These accounts were needed to start in the field and back away the historical grain.

The drought simply was not used to feed the grain that made their way through the village daily against the bodies of the people that had died. Mr. Dolot recalls that when no animals were available, humans were killed to feed the state.

So desperate were the times that some turned to suicide, accepting a quick death to the agony of starvation. Mr. Dolot came across one such who had chosen to take her life and leave her little boy to be starved for her.

A 1922 photo from *La Famine en Russie* (p. 9) embellishes Paul Pihichyn's uncritical review of *Execution by Hunger* in the *Winnipeg Free Press* (November 23, 1983). Written by Miron Dolot (an admitted alias), *Execution by Hunger* is undocumented and contains no photos.

before the collectivization . . . (2.36 per cent per year), it can be calculated that Ukraine . . . lost 7,500,000 people between the two censuses."<sup>24</sup>

Though this "method" of calculating famine deaths is widely employed by famine-genocide theorists, the frequency of its use does not make it any more scientifically valid. U.S. sociologist Albert Szymanski, in criticizing an estimate of three million deaths, has noted:

This estimate assumes: (a) that even in the conditions of extreme famine, instability and virtual civil war, peasants would conceive at the same rate as in less precarious periods; (2) that abortion or infanticide (intentional or not) did not significantly increase; (3) that there were as many women of maximum reproductive age in 1932-1933 as before or after. All of these assumptions are erroneous. All peasants have traditional techniques of birth control and are thus able to limit their reproduction to a significant degree; it is the economic benefit attendant upon having large families which is operative — a factor not applicable during famine — not ignorance of birth control . . . (Further,) legal abortion was so widely practiced in this period that, in 1936, the state banned it as part of the campaign to increase the population.<sup>25</sup>

A decline in the birth rate could thus have been expected, and not only due to the reasons outlined by Szymanski. In examining the demographics of the famine era, S.G. Wheatcroft states:

As is well known, the First World War, Civil War and the early years of the 1920s caused a great gap in births in these years. The age cohort born in 1914 would have been 16 in 1930 and so would have just been entering the period of major reproduction. Consequently, Lorimer and other scholars have concluded that the age structure of the population would have led to a decline in births throughout the early 1930s and until the missing populations born into the 1914-1922 age cohorts had passed on well into the future.<sup>26</sup>

These rather key considerations are not taken into account by famine-genocide theorists such as Walter Dushnyck. A similarly unscientific approach is taken by Harvard "expert" James Mace. Among Mace's many contributions to the famine-genocide campaign is an article published in the journal *Problems of Communism*.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps it is no accident that this publication is the organ of the notorious United States Information Agency (USIA). From the Voice of America to the TV show Let Poland Be Poland, from Radio Marti beamed at Cuba to involvement in the coverup of the KAL 007 spy mission, the USIA is renowned as a vehicle of disinformation and psychological warfare directed against socialist countries and liberation movements.<sup>28</sup>

In this article, Mace states: "If we substract our estimate of the post-famine population from the pre-famine population, the difference is

7,954,000, which can be taken as an estimate of the number of Ukrainians who died before their time."<sup>29</sup> But, as respected demographers Barbara Anderson and Brian Silver have pointed out, Mace is confusing population deficits with excess mortality. By making no allowance for a decline in the birth rate, Mace equates those who were never born with those who "died before their time."<sup>30</sup>

The Mace-Dushnyck methodology also ignores other factors: change of declared nationality, intermarriage, assimilation, migration, etc., all of which have an impact on census figures.<sup>31</sup> For example, Robert Wixman has pointed out that in the late 1920s — between the two censuses in question — the Kuban Cossacks were reclassified from Ukrainian to Russian (they live in Russia). Anderson and Silver note: "If the reclassified Ukrainians numbered 2-3 million suggested by Wixman, then between 25-40% of Mace's estimated deficit of Ukrainians could be accounted for in this way."<sup>32</sup>

There is a multitude of difficulties in interpreting this field, Anderson and Silver emphasize. They cite the noted statistician Lorimer, who wrote concerning his own findings: "There are, of course, many other sources of possible error in all these computations. Consequently, these results should be accepted with many reservations."<sup>33</sup> It appears that the propagators of famine-genocide hold no such reservations.

Not content with leaving bad enough alone, Mace goes one step further, attempting to substantiate his famine-genocide assumptions by the results of the 1959 Soviet census:

... we can trace the famine by looking for regions where the number of rural women (the least mobile segment of the population) have an abnormally small number in age categories which would have been born immediately before or during the famine. [Again Mace assumes they were born to begin with.] These are Soviet Ukraine, a nation with fiercely independent traditions; regions inhabited by large cossack populations, also fiercely independent; and the Volga German areas . . .<sup>34</sup>

But in a rather unusual oversight for a Harvard "expert" on Ukrainian history, Mace fails to take into account a significant event which occurred between the 1932-1933 famine and the 1959 Soviet census — World War II. Mace seemingly hasn't heard that Ukraine was occupied by the Nazis from 1941-1944, and was the scene of battles which took the lives of millions of combatants and civilians alike.

Kharkiv oblast, for example, is singled out in Mace's "geography of death." For some reason, Mace neglects to mention that Kharkov was not only under Nazi occupation until late July 1943, but was also the regional scene of four massive battles prior to liberation. Of the 700,000 people



living in the city at the time of its capture by the Nazis, only half survived.<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, Mace ignores basic facts concerning the Volga Germans — between 650,000 and 700,000 Volga Germans were resettled eastward during the war and never returned to the areas of their former settlement.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to ignoring those residents of the 1930s who died or were relocated due to the war, Mace also ignores the vast numbers who left for other areas and republics during the period of massive post-war reconstruction. In short, the 1959 census, as Mace himself knows, reveals demographic patterns primarily attributable to post-1941 developments. His attempt to detect smoke from a campfire which has been engulfed by a forest blaze is fruitless from its beginning. One might conclude that any admission of World War II as a factor was seen by Mace as detrimental to his case — he cares not about Nazi genocide, seeking only to convince readers of “communist genocide.”

One gets a more graphic sense of the unscientific nature of such statistical manipulation by projecting a hypothetical famine-genocide onto population trends in the province of Saskatchewan. Using base figures from the *Canada Year Book*, it can be “proved” that 228,586 residents of this province vanished during the Great Depression and the immediate aftermath (1931-1941).<sup>37</sup>

Saskatchewan population 1931:	921,785
Saskatchewan population growth 1921-1931:	22%
Projected Saskatchewan population 1941: (1931 population plus 22%)	1,124,578
Actual Saskatchewan population 1941:	895,992
“Victims of Famine-Genocide”:	228,586
“Victims” as a percentage of the 1931 population:	25%

Citing such statistical “proof,” some might argue that the capitalists committed deliberate genocide against the population of Saskatchewan in the 1930s so as to suppress the militant resistance of prairie farmers and workers, whose lives were being ruined by economic depression. Suppression of the masses’ struggle — such as the RCMP attack on the Estevan strikers or the bloodshed inflicted on the unemployed Trekkers in Regina — could be cited, not to mention the mass eviction of poor tenants and farm foreclosures.

Of course, no rational person would accept such a thesis. Saskatchewan’s lower population can be attributed to lower population growth rates during the Depression, emigration out of the province, and — like Ukraine — Saskatchewan was no stranger to drought or economic

upheaval.

Actually, the population of Ukraine did not decline in absolute terms; between 1926 and 1939 the population increased by 3,339,000 persons.<sup>38</sup> Even given a traditionally higher birth rate for Ukraine, the rate registered — particularly in light of the other considerations outlined above — hardly indicates genocide.

The high mortality estimates featured in the famine-genocide campaign appear wildly exaggerated from yet another point of view. Six, eight, ten, fifteen million deaths, all from an ethnic population of just over 25 million Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR, according to the Nationalists themselves<sup>39</sup> — it is inconceivable that Ukraine could lose from 25 to 60 per cent of its ethnic population and still gather a successful harvest in 1933, and then lose another 5 to 10 million people in World War II.<sup>40</sup> If such inventions are followed to their final conclusion, we are asked to believe that as few as 10 million ethnic Ukrainians were left alive in the Ukrainian SSR following the war.<sup>41</sup> There is little point asking how such a remnant could increase to some 36.6 million ethnic Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine alone amid a total population of 49.7 million for the republic in 1979.<sup>42</sup> Such is the folly of famine-genocide numerology fobbed off as statistics.

While it is not possible to establish an exact number of casualties, we have seen that the guesstimates of famine-genocide writers have given a new meaning to the word hyperbole. Their claims have been shown to be extreme exaggerations fabricated to strengthen their political allegations of genocide.

## Chapter Seven

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### HARVEST OF DECEPTION

The famine-genocide campaign launched by the Nazis in 1933 and revived on a massive scale 50 years later, reached a climax of sorts with the appearance in 1986 of the "scholarly" attack of Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow* and the "visual" assault of the film *Harvest of Despair*.

Produced by the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee of the St. Vladimir Institute and made under the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, *Harvest of Despair* employs virtually all outdated and undocumented stills commonly used in the famine-genocide campaign in its appeal to the emotion of the viewer.

This Nationalist propaganda film has been shown across Canada since 1984, used as yet another weapon in attempts to insert the "famine-genocide" in school curriculum as part of a much wider campaign. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, apparently unaware of its complicity in this fraud, televised *Harvest of Despair* to a country-wide audience in the fall of 1985. Illustrating the Reagan-era tendency of the political and media establishments to accept anything anti-Soviet, the film won a Gold Medal and the Grand Trophy Award Bowl at the 28th International Film and TV Festival in New York in 1985.

Contradicting the prestige that such an honor implies however, one New York magazine described this film festival as: "Notoriously known as a pay-through-the-nose-for-a-snatch-of-the-big-time festival, it has been denigrated over the years in this column for its policy of giving out specious official plaques to all entries regardless of quality."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps smelling a rat, certain U.S. media outlets have been at least instinctively wary of this film. The Public Broadcasting System initially declined to handle it, while WNET wisely declared it "inadequately documented," later qualifying their position by stating that it lacked "journalistic integrity." In November 1985, WPBT in Miami rejected *Harvest of Despair* on the grounds that it had "perceived bias in terms of the viewing public." Certain other U.S. media organizations have correctly described it as "subjective" and expressing "one point of view."<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding such rejections, *Harvest of Despair* was reportedly in the line-up for an Academy Award — the equivalent of accepting the Cardiff Man into the Anthropological Hall of Fame.

In *Harvest of Despair*, a whole army of right-wing witnesses is

paraded across the screen. In a post-war celluloid reunion of former allies from Hitler's ill-fated "New Order" in Eastern Europe, former Ukrainian Nazi collaborators and ranking German Nazis make an appearance. These include Stepan Skrypnyk, whom the American historian Alexander Dallin points out was formerly the editor of the Nazi-controlled paper *Volyn* under the German occupation.<sup>3</sup>

With the blessing of the Nazi occupiers of Ukraine, Skrypnyk graduated from layman to "ordination" as a bishop in a record time of three weeks. According to the Ukrainian Nationalist wartime paper *Nastup*, Skrypnyk, as newly-ordained Bishop Mystyslav, added his name to a joint telegram to Adolph Hitler which stated:

In this hour we appeal to the almighty with ardent prayers and ask that He give you strength and health to complete the great cause you have begun . . . We believe that the time is not far off when, in a rejuvenated Europe built on the basis of genuine Christian morals, the bells will ring out joyously telling the world about your victory.<sup>4</sup>

According to the brochure accompanying *Harvest of Despair*, Skrypnyk's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States was a financial contributor to the film's production costs.

*Harvest of Despair* also features accounts by two former Weimar Republic diplomats to the Soviet Union, who switched over to the Nazis when Hitler seized power in Germany in 1933. The first is Hans Von Herwarth, known during the war as Johann Herwarth Von Bittenfeld. Herwarth returned to the Soviet Union with the Nazi invasion where his previous "Russian experience" was used to recruit mercenaries for Hitler's war machine from among Soviet prisoners of war.<sup>5</sup>

The second is Andor Henke, who served Hitler as a Nazi diplomat.<sup>6</sup> In 1941 Henke approached the Byelorussian Nationalist emigre leader Vasyl Zakharka to solicit support for Hitler's war aims and occupation of Byelorussia. In the film, Herr Henke appears to be either senile or otherwise incapacitated, and does not actually present the famine-genocide allegations attributed to him. Instead his relatives do the talking for him.

Supplementing the testimony of these former Nazis is Nazi war footage from the propaganda department of the Third Reich. The Nazi "discovery" of mass graves at Vynnytsya is presented, purporting to depict Soviet atrocities of the 1930s. In fact, Vynnytsya had been the scene of the mass execution of Jews by the Nazis and local Ukrainian police in 1941.<sup>7</sup> It would thus seem that *Harvest of Despair* is utilizing Nazi propaganda of the Ukrainian fascists' own anti-semitic atrocities to build their scenario of "Russian genocide" against Ukrainians.

Malcolm Muggeridge, Tory England's favorite Konservative anomaly, makes a predictable appearance in *Harvest of Despair*. A former British intelligence agent,<sup>8</sup> Muggeridge has lent his name to various right-wing causes, writing, for example, the foreword to Oleskiw's famine book, *Agony of a Nation*. As noted previously, Nazi propagandists published anti-Soviet material by Muggeridge in the 1930s. Like Thomas Walker, Muggeridge claims to have made a "breakaway" private tour of Ukraine during the famine, and his accounts are cited as authoritative in right-wing circles.

Revealingly, portions of the British newspaper which carried his famine allegations are reproduced in the film. One observes that Muggeridge was described therein as having entered Russia "as a fervent communist," a revelation which must have come as a surprise to the British Communist Party. The journalistic gimmick of press-ordained "communists" becoming repentent pro-capitalists within the space of a famine article was also used by the Hearst press.

General Grigorenko, Ronald Reagan's favorite Russian defector, adds his presence to the film as well. This fellow is trotted about the U.S. and abroad, expenses paid, to lecture folks on the evils of communism under the guise of "human rights" — though you won't find him on U.S. Indian reservations, unemployed demonstrations, or picketing the South African embassy.

The ever-present Dr. James Mace of Harvard's Institute of Ukrainian Studies also puts in an appearance. As one of the top U.S. apologists for the post-Hitler crowd of Ukrainian Nationalists in exile, Mace will on occasion jet across the continent to beat the drums as an expert on the "famine-genocide." In obvious appreciation for his work around this Cold War propaganda issue, Mace was appointed staff director of the U.S. government's "Commission on the Ukrainian Famine" in February 1986.

Yet another player in the film is Soviet defector Lev Kopylew. However, previous writings by Kopylew had not indicated that he subscribed to the "Russian versus Ukrainian" famine-genocide thesis. Famine researcher Marco Carynnyk's taped interview with Lev Kopylew was viewed in the spring of 1983 at Toronto's St. Vladimir Institute. In the original tape, Kopylew — in responding to the question of the famine being deliberately planned — denies that it was, although he speaks of instances of over-exuberant grain requisitioning by lower officials. Not surprisingly, this portion of the interview is censored from *Harvest of Despair*. Perhaps this incident is related to the fact that Carynnyk is suing the film's producers in the Supreme Court of Ontario for infringement of his copyright on photographic material he provided for the film.<sup>9</sup>

Overall, the film's producers, Slavko Nowytsky and Yuri Luhovy, have managed to slap together a patchwork of material. Film reviewer Leonard Klady has noted that co-producer Luhovy "admits most of his income comes from editing feature films of dubious quality. He has a reputation as a good 'doctor' — someone who's brought in to salvage a movie which is deemed unreleasable by film exhibitors and distributors."<sup>10</sup> In *Harvest of Despair* it appears that the doctor delivered one of the great cinema miscarriages of all time. Objectivity and scientific presentation are sacrificed on the altar of Cold War psychological warfare.

According to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, Luhovy "personally viewed more than a million feet of historic stock footage to find roughly 20 minutes (720 feet) of appropriate material for the film."<sup>11</sup> This says less about his research than about the total lack of photographic evidence of famine-genocide.

Indeed, not one documented piece of evidence is presented in the film to back up the genocide thesis. Instead, in a montage of undocumented stills, the viewer is subjected to Thomas Walker/Ditloff forgeries; numerous scenes stolen from the by-now familiar publications covering the 1921-1922 Russian famine, *La Famine en Russie* and "Information No. 22"; Ammende photos (with all their contradictions noted earlier); 1920s' photos used in the Nazi organ *Voelkischer Beobachter* in 1933. Certain *Harvest of Despair* photos can also be traced to Laubenheimer's Nazi propaganda books, as well as to a Ukrainian-language publication published in Berlin in 1922 (*Holod Na Ukrainyi* [Hunger in Ukraine] — by Ivan Gerasymovitch).<sup>12</sup>

Other scenes both borrow from the past and from the future. For example, footage of marching soldiers has Red Army men wearing uniforms from the days of the Russian Civil War. Footage of impoverished women cooking is also of Civil War vintage. Other scenes display peasant costumes from the Volga Russia area of the immediate post-World War I period, not Ukrainians in 1933. Footage of miners pulling coal sledges on their hands and knees is actually of Czarist-era origins. Scenes of peasants at meetings wearing peculiar tall peaked caps date from earlier periods; further, their clothing is not consistent with Ukrainian costume. Material filched from Soviet films of the 1920s can be identified, including sequences from *Czar Hunger* (1921-1922) and *Arsenal* (1929), and even from prerevolutionary newsreels.<sup>13</sup>

Flipping forward to the future, the film shows scenes of military manufacturing of tank models not produced until later in the 1930s. As well: "the episode of bread distribution in Nazi besieged Leningrad (taken from 'The Siege of Leningrad,' one film of the epic 'An Unknown War')

was used by the authors of the videofraud as 'filmed evidence' of food shortage . . . in the Ukraine in the 1930s."<sup>14</sup> And so on, and so on.

It seems that like others before them, the producers of *Harvest of Despair* scrounged through the archives looking for bits and pieces of old war-and-starvation shots that might be spliced into the film to great subliminal effect — bound together with narrative and interspersed partisan interviews. As much has been admitted, as we will see.

In November 1986, Ukrainian Nationalists in alliance with right-wing school board officials, made an attempt to place their famine-genocide propaganda in the Toronto high school curriculum. Toward this end, a film showing of *Harvest of Despair* was arranged at the Education Centre. Panelists advertised for the event included then vice-chairman of the Toronto Board of Education Nola Crewe, Dr. Yury Boshyk, Research Fellow at Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute and Marco Carynnyk, writer and researcher associated with *Harvest of Despair* in its research stage.

Confronted by this author in the discussion portion of the meeting, that the stills and footage used in the film were fraudulent, the panelists were forced to admit openly that this author's charges were true.<sup>15</sup> Though reluctant to acknowledge the full extent of the fraud, deliberate deceit was confirmed. As the *Toronto Star* reported:

Researcher Marco Carynnyk, who says he originated the idea of the film, says his concerns about questionable photographs were ignored. Carynnyk said that none of the archival film footage is of the Ukrainian famine and that "very few photos from '32-33' appear that can be traced as authentic. A dramatic shot at the film's end of an emaciated girl, which has also been used in the film's promotional material, is not from the 1932-1933 famine, Carynnyk said.

"I made the point that this sort of inaccuracy cannot be allowed," he said in an interview. "I was ignored."<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps this is why, to use the term of B. S. Onyschuk, vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, Carynnyk was "let go" from the film before its completion.<sup>17</sup>

In light of the above, one wonders why Carynnyk waited several years before coming forward publicly with the truth, and even then only after a public challenge and exposure by this author.

In a quite incredible admission from an academic, Orest Subtelny, a history professor at York University, justified the use of frauds. Noting that there exist very few pictures of the 1933 famine, Subtelny defended the actions of the film's producers: "You have to have visual impact. You want to show what people dying from a famine look like. Starving children are starving children."<sup>18</sup>

It is called the forgotten holocaust—a time when Stalin was dumping millions of tons of wheat on the Western markets, while in Ukraine, men, women and children were dying of starvation at the rate of 25,000 a day, 17 human beings a minute. Seven to 10 million people perished in a famine caused not by war, or natural disasters, but by ruthless decree. To commemorate the 50th anniversary of this great tragedy the story is finally being told. Since 1981, the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee has been gathering materials, seeking out eye-witnesses and documenting this unprecedented event. **HARVEST OF DESPAIR** is the product of this effort.

The film probes the tragic consequences of the Ukrainian nation's struggle for greater cultural and political autonomy in the 20s and 30s. Through rare archival footage, the results of Stalin's lethal countermeasures unfold in harrowing detail. Highlighting the film are intensely moving eye-witness

accounts of survivors of the famine, as well as such noted individuals as Petro Grigorenko, a former Soviet General, British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, Ambassador Johann Von Herwarth, the then German Attache in Moscow and Andor Hencke, then German Consul in Ukraine and others.

In 1985, the film "Harvest of Despair" won seven awards at national and international film festivals. These include the first prize at the Houston International Film Festival in the Government and World Relations category, the Chris Statuette award at the Columbus International Film Festival in the Social documentary category; and both a gold and grand award at the International Film and T.V. Festival in New York.



*The  
1932-33  
Famine  
in  
Ukraine*

# Harvest of Despair

## Program

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 4:00 | Light Supper   |
| 4:45 | <b>Historical overview:</b><br><i>Forced Famine in Ukraine</i><br>Dr. Orest Subtelny, Professor of History, York University  |
| 5:00 | <b>Film: HARVEST OF DESPAIR</b>  |
| 6:00 | <b>Panel discussion:</b><br><i>Why teach the 1932-33 forced famine in Ukraine</i><br><b>Panelists:</b><br>Dr. Yury Boshyk - Research Fellow, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute<br>Nola Crewe - Vice-Chairman Toronto Board of Education<br>Valya Kurylliv - History Teacher, York Board of Education<br>Larry Mosnyk - History Teacher, Humber College<br>Marco Carynnyk, Writer and Researcher<br><b>Moderator:</b><br>Alea Chumak - Trustee, Toronto Board of Education |
| 7:50 | Adjourn  |

RVP by No. 12 - 591-8355

Even the promotional brochure for Harvest of Despair uses a non-authentic photo — a Russian girl from the 1921-1922 famine. Its false use in illustrating the 1933 famine was admitted by the film's researcher Marco Carynnyk.



# THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE: the unknown holocaust



amount, perhaps one tenth, has been levied as taxes and for the help of the Volga district. About 2.1 million was sown as winter-seed. There remained about 3.3 million pounds for seed for the new year, food for a population of 1.3 million, and for  $\frac{1}{2}$  million horses and cattle. This did not include the remainder of the former harvest, probably amounting to very little, if anything. Even if you reckon nothing for seed and animals, the 3.3 million pounds divided into hunger rations of  $\frac{1}{2}$  funt (about 200 gr.) daily, would not have lasted more than about 3 months. Accordingly it could with mathematical certainty



Starving children in Berdiansk (Zaporoshe).

have been foreseen that famine would begin in October 1921, would grow sharper day to day and in some months affect almost the whole population.

Of the relatively best situated famine goubernia Donetz, we get the following details.

Crop	ca. 18 million pound
Used as seed	" 10.5 " "
Levied as taxes, etc.	" 2.6 " "

ca. 5 million pounds which for the population would in uniformly divided half-pound rations have lasted about 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  months.

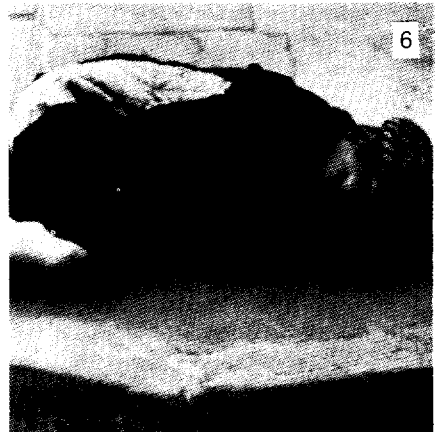
Left: cover of a Ukrainian Nationalist book distributed free in the hundreds of copies at the November 1986 showing of Harvest of Despair at Toronto's Education Centre to influence educators to teach the "famine-genocide." *The Great Famine in Ukraine* is filled with spurious photographs. Right: the original 1922 source of the cover photo: *Information No. 22*, published by the International Committee for Russian Relief (Geneva, 1922, p. 6).



*Bild 29. Ein bettelnder Dorfjunge in den Straßen Moskaus, der, heimtätig, schüchtern um Almosen fleht. Was mag diesen Jungen mit dem traurigen Gesicht wohl heimatlos gemacht haben? Jedenfalls sind die Eltern auch von Haus und Hof vertrieben. Vielleicht ist der Vater mitten in der Nacht von der unheimlichen GPU geholt worden.*



The Ukrainian Famine Research Committee states that still photos used in *Harvest of Despair* are taken from "3 primary sources." Not included in their "3" is the anti-semitic Nazi propaganda book, *Und Du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig*. Photos above and opposite, used in *Harvest of Despair*, are taken from *Und Du Siehst*, many of which are Russian scenes. Left: peasants in Russian costume — note bast footwear and leggings (*Und Du Siehst*, p. 37, plate 7). Right: caption in *Und Du Siehst* reads, "A village beggar boy in the streets of Moscow . . ." (p. 48, plate 29). Opposite: 1/p. 42, plate 16; 2/p. 43, plate 18; 3/p. 42, plate 17; 4/p. 51, plate 35; 5/p. 57, plate 47; 6/p. 132, plate 69.



Needless to say, such frank admissions could not be allowed to unhinge a well-orchestrated international Cold War exercise. Within two days, the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee issued frantic denials — denials fraught with contradictions, distortions and untruths.<sup>19</sup>

The Committee's press release claims: "Pictures from the 1921 Famine are used when the film deals with the 1921 Famine. Pictures from the 1933 Famine are used when the film deals with the 1933 Famine."<sup>20</sup> This is not true. The Harvest of Despair section dealing with the 1921 famine is a 28-second fraction of the film with which no one has taken issue. The original 1922 sources of specific stills used in relation to 1932-1933 were identified in this author's release distributed at the November meeting.<sup>21</sup>

Though confronted with the original sources of specific frauds, the Committee seeks safety in largely falling back on secondary sources as a line of defense: "The still pictures on the 1932-1933 Famine," the Committee states, "are taken from 3 primary sources." (sic) Cited as the three sources are Ammende's *Human Life in Russia*, the private collection of the wife of Nazi diplomat Andor Henke (the particular pictures are not identified), and the Walker fakes of the 1935 *New York Evening Journal* and *Chicago Herald and Examiner*.<sup>22</sup>

Ammende's pictures, they claim, are "clearly traceable to the 1933 Famine."<sup>23</sup> This is claimed despite the fact that some of Ammende's pictures appear in the 1922 book, *Holod na Ukrainyi*, published by Ukrainian Nationalists themselves and often cited by subsequent Ukrainian Nationalist writers in relation to the 1921 famine. Furthermore, the Committee alleges that Ammende "travelled extensively in Ukraine during the time of the famine."<sup>24</sup> This is a rather novel claim — in fact Ammende witnessed only the 1921 Russian famine. Perhaps the Committee should actually read *Human Life in Russia*.

The Committee states that Walker's photos were used only "... where they could be authenticated as coming from other sources ..." <sup>25</sup> Does this mean matching them with photos in *Human Life in Russia*? But Ammende claims a different year and photographer. Perhaps they were matched via their simultaneous appearance in various Hearst newspapers? In that event, Walker equals Walker. If they were matched with the 1934 *London Daily Express* series by the anonymous "tourist," they would have noticed that the accounts were Thomas Walker almost verbatim. Is it possible that "authentication" came from Laubenheimer's Nazi propaganda book, *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig*? If so, they are not only crediting Nazi publications, but would have seen that Laubenheimer credits Ditloff for the photos. This writer is still waiting to

see how these so-called researchers have managed to authenticate the *Chicago American* Walker photographs as anything other than the pilfered pre-1930s frauds that they are.

Concerning its use of stills in general, the Committee gives the word "documentary" a new 1984-doublespeak meaning:

All of the photographs used were only used as *visual aids or illustrations* . . .<sup>26</sup> Where the origin of any still picture could not be verified by our Committee, or the producers of the film, they were either not used, or where they were used it was *only* in places where they did not affect the narrative, and only as illustrations of the eyewitness accounts of others. Such use of these latter pictures are clearly recognized as proper by film producers of documentaries, and do not in any way distort or affect the facts presented in the film, or the authenticity of the events shown."<sup>27</sup>

Such use, in fact, is clearly not recognized as proper. By definition, a "documentary film" visually documents, verifies facts and events. Nowhere in the film are specific stills or footage identified as illustrative as opposed to documentary. The very fact that non-authentic material was used is nowhere acknowledged in the film. Reminiscent of Nazi propaganda "documentaries" of the 1930s, *Harvest of Despair* goes beyond dishonest scholarship. The pervasive use of misrepresented pictures misleads and manipulates the viewer to suit the political purposes of the film's creators. Given Carynyk's admission that the film's producers "ignored" his protests that "this sort of inaccuracy cannot be allowed," one can only conclude that *Harvest of Despair* represents deliberate fraud.

It is not out of place to repeat this author's call for an independent review to further examine and evaluate this film, particularly given the grants and logistical support it received from publicly-funded bodies such as the National Film Board of Canada and Multiculturalism Canada.

*Harvest of Despair* is clearly not a documentary. Rather it is a crude propaganda contribution to an ongoing Cold War campaign. Completely in keeping with this context, the film's co-producer Luhovy demonstrates his flair for late-night 1950s melodrama by declaring: "I cannot honestly say whether relatives of mine who live in the Soviet Union will suffer because of this film."<sup>28</sup> Luhovy's Soviet relatives may well suffer severely — from the embarrassment of having a kinsman produce such an odorous conglomeration serving such a long-discredited cause.

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After much pomp and heraldry, including syndicated excerpts complete with fake photos in the daily press,<sup>29</sup> the long-awaited, ultimate

"famine-genocide" study finally appeared in late 1986. Described as "excellently and professionally written" by none other than the West's leading feudalist fiction writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine* by Dr. Robert Conquest has emerged as the best attempt of the famine-genocidists for legitimacy.<sup>30</sup>

Like the ubiquitous James Mace, Robert Conquest has been used for years to link the famine with the wider propaganda purposes of the right wing. Considered by some to be Mace's mentor, similarities of politics, methodology and purpose are not surprising. Conquest's career as an obsessive anti-Soviet historian has spanned two cold wars. Presently a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, he has long been associated with rightist emigres and anti-communist propaganda efforts as an "expert."

According to the *London Guardian*, Conquest was formerly employed by the British Secret Service's disinformation project, the Information Research Department (IRD). Key IRD targets were the "Third World" and "the Russians." Embassies had resident IRD men undercover who planted materials with local journalists and opinion formers, materials admitted by former "senior officials" to be heavily "slanted."<sup>31</sup> The *Guardian* further states:

IRD also encouraged book production described in Whitehall as "cross-fertilization." Robert Conquest . . . frequently critical of the Soviet Union was one of those who worked for IRD. He was in the FO [Foreign Office] until 1956.<sup>32</sup>

At IRD's suggestion, Conquest wrote a book about the Soviet Union; one-third of the books were bought up by Praeger, which reportedly had a record of publishing books at CIA request.<sup>33</sup>

A 1986 publication provides further insight into the mentality and broader political purposes of "famine-genocide" historians such as Dr. Conquest. *What to Do When the Russians Come: A Survivalist's Handbook*, by Conquest (and Jon Manchip White) seems designed to push the U.S. political climate even further into the realm of Cold War paranoia and irrationality. Lauded by the *Wall Street Journal* and flogged by the ultra-right Conservative Book Club, the *Handbook* lowers U.S. Sovietology to the level of the film *Red Dawn* and the *Amerika* TV series. Indeed, Conquest may have surpassed Hearst-level story-telling, approximating Nazi horror fiction on more issues than just the famine. A brief glance at the book's promotion proves illuminating. A full-page ad in *Military History* magazine trumpets:

BURN THIS BOOK But that's only the beginning, if the peaceniks have their way and Russia ever does take over. The alternative might be to spend the rest of your days up near the Arctic circle . . .<sup>34</sup>

The above promotion draws up a list of the "ingenious variations" of communist terror in store for democratic Americans, including the specter of gang-rape of American women by Russian soldiers, a miserable fate for American children, and warnings of inevitable "famine." But there may be hope. This book, its Conservative Book Club promoters inform us, is "where to learn about guerrilla warfare, and about surviving . . ." It cites the *Wall Street Journal* for an endorsement — "must reading about what to expect in the U.S. if we become so spineless that the Soviets take us over . . ."<sup>35</sup>

What better "historian" to give a scholarly veneer to the famine-genocide campaign than Dr. Robert Conquest? But some revisions were in order. Conquest's earlier work (*The Great Terror*) had alleged that only five to six million had perished in the 1932-1933 period, only somewhat more than half being Ukrainians.<sup>36</sup> This figure was inadequate for the new, improved 1980s famine-genocide campaign. Amid renewed investigations of East European war criminals in North America, diversionary works with death calculations approximating or surpassing Hitler's six million Jewish victims were required. With the ascendancy of Reaganism and a growing Cold War mentality in U.S. Kremlinology, conditions existed for the re-introduction of old far-right claims under the guise of serious scholarship. As published in a prominent Ukrainian Nationalist journal, Conquest had — by 1983 — upped his death estimates to 14 million and extended famine conditions to 1937.<sup>37</sup> Such revisions coincided handily with the "50th anniversary of the famine-genocide" launched that year.

*Harvest of Sorrow's* opening chapters and general outline of events tend to duplicate the traditional approach of American Sovietology to Soviet history and Leninist theory, as well as right-wing Ukrainian Nationalist interpretations of Ukrainian history. Thus, the various Nationalist cliques who held parts of Ukraine during the Russian Civil War and foreign intervention are simply presented as bona fide governments. Conquest's acceptance of the Nationalists' statehood mythology is unquestioning. The mass slaughter of Ukrainian Jews carried out under Nationalist "independence" in 1918-1919 is dismissed vaguely in three words.<sup>38</sup> The Nazi occupation of Ukraine is presented implicitly as a break between periods of Soviet "terror," and the liberation from the Nazis as Soviet "reoccupation."<sup>39</sup>

A critical examination of Conquest's references reveals a reliance on

right-wing and spurious accounts to the point of being unbalanced. In addition to Thomas Walker's faked accounts, one finds the discredited *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, Fred Beal of Hearst press infamy, Ammende's *Human Life in Russia*, material published in Nazi Germany and other dubious sources examined elsewhere in this book. A key chapter of *Harvest of Sorrow* — Chapter 12: "The Famine Rages" — can serve as an example of Conquest's subjective bias, reliance on unverifiable claims, and methodology of selection and evaluation.

Chapter 12 contains 237 references.<sup>40</sup> Over half (more than 120) are to rightist Ukrainian emigre sources, of which 50 alone refer to *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*. Woropay's Walker-illustrated, partly anonymous *Ninth Circle* is cited 14 times. Other references include *Communism the Enemy of Mankind* (published by the youth wing of the OUN-Bandera), 1935 Hearst press accounts, the CIA-funded Harvard Refugee Interview Project, and the McCarthy-era U.S. House Committee on Communist Aggression (1955). Works of fiction are liberally used as if bona fide documentation. For example, 13 references are to a novel allegedly by Vasily Grossman, published in New York.<sup>41</sup>

A revealing example of Conquest's "scholarship" can be seen in his selection of the following account for Chapter 12. A foreign correspondent reports that, near Kiev, he witnessed the following scene:

In one hut they were cooking a mess that defied analysis. There were bones, pigweed, skin, and what looked like a boot top in the pot. The way the remaining half-dozen inhabitants (of a former population of forty) eagerly watched this slimy mess showed their state of hunger.<sup>42</sup>

It turns out that the foreign correspondent is none other than Thomas Walker, the man who never was. Even more incredible, in his reference note for this quote, Conquest has backdated the issue of this Hearst press article from 1935 to "February 26, 1933."<sup>43</sup>

In response to subsequent criticism levelled at his book, Conquest has attempted to defend the authenticity of the Thomas Walker materials: "The facts speak for themselves," replies Mr. Conquest. While conceding that he did cite articles from the Walker series, he does not accept that they were fraudulent. "This has never been established."<sup>44</sup>

Conquest's photographic evidence consists of the same tired, outdated pictures. These include Thomas Walker fakes complete with the banner of Hearst's March 6, 1935 *Chicago American*. One even finds the "girl with the frog-child" lifted from a 1922 Russian famine relief publication and made famous through use by Walker, Ammende and Laubenheimer. In addition, one finds the old snow-and-ice "summer of 1933" graveyard scene that Ammende tried to pass off in 1936, and an



obvious 1921-1922 relief shot of a posed line of starving children entitled "The homeless ones."<sup>45</sup>

Again in response to criticism, Conquest tries to justify the use of 1921-1922 photos to illustrate allegations of famine-genocide in 1932-1933: "Moreover, he says photographs from that time are difficult to identify clearly, but at any rate he did cover the famine of 1921 in his book so those from that period need not be inappropriate."<sup>46</sup> *Shades of Harvest of Despair*.

Aside from the political imbalance of Conquest's sources, his reliance on memoirs reveals further defects in his research and methodology. One analyst of war memoirs has stated: "the memoir is a kind of fiction, differing from the 'first novel' . . . only by continuous implicit attestations of veracity . . . The further personal written materials move from the form of the daily diary, the closer they approach the figurative and the fictional."<sup>47</sup> One might add — particularly where self-serving issues of a political nature are concerned, and where unsavoury aspects of a past must be concealed.

American historian J. Arch Getty has observed that for no other period or subject, except the study of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, have "historians been so eager to write and accept history-by-ancedote." He states:

Grand analytical generalizations have come from second-hand bits of overheard corridor gossip. Prison camp stories ("My friend met Bukharin's wife in a camp and she said . . .") have become primary sources on (Soviet) central political decision-making . . . the need to generalize from isolated and unverified particulars has transformed rumors into sources and has equated repetition of stories with confirmation.<sup>48</sup>

It is a revealing characteristic of Conquest's methodology pertaining to the Soviet Union, writes Getty, that he elevates rumor and hearsay to the level of historical fact.<sup>49</sup> In fact, Conquest himself has stated: "Truth can thus only percolate in the form of hearsay" and, "on political matters basically the best, though not infallible source is rumor."<sup>50</sup> Getty comments: "Such statements would be astonishing in any other field of history. Of course historians do not accept hearsay and rumor as evidence."<sup>51</sup>

Having baptised hearsay and rumor into the realm of historical evidence in *The Great Terror* (the subject of Getty's criticism), Conquest proceeds to bestow upon them the rites of confirmation in *Harvest of Sorrow*. The following examples come from one page alone:

A foreign Communist *was given* figures of ten million deaths for the USSR as a whole. [The reference is to a 1935 Hearst press article.]

Another foreign worker . . . *learnt from local officials* that Petrovsky had admitted a death roll, so far, of five million. [The reference is to Fred Beal.]

. . . It seems reasonable to suppose that Duranty's figures derive from the same source as those, also never printed, *given one of his colleagues* by another high official . . . or at any rate from similar official estimates circulating among authorities . . .

. . . Another American *was told* by a high Ukrainian official that six million had died . . . [The reference is to Lang.]

. . . A Ukrainian-Canadian . . . *was told* that a secret report . . . gave a figure of ten million dead.<sup>52</sup>

Conquest's calculation of death estimates, when not relying on traditional right-wing and faminology figures, adds little new to famine-genocide demography. Like others before him, Conquest derives an on-paper shortage of millions upon millions of people by comparing census figures with projections based on earlier population growth rates.<sup>53</sup> On this question, as with other aspects of the thesis of famine-genocide, *Harvest of Sorrow* fails to break out of the discredited, politically-motivated methods of famine-genocide research.

Conquest's unswerving anti-communist bias enables him to wallow in the morass of rightist materials where more critical scholars fear to tread. But then, serious, objective scholars hardly lend their talents to such neurotic priorities as "survivalism" and commie takeovers of America. Conquest's use of long-established fraudulent accounts such as Walker's hardly lends credibility to the claims made in the dustjacket of *Harvest of Sorrow* that the book has been "meticulously researched."

Thus, the definitive "scholarly" and "visual" evidence of "genocide" presented in *Harvest of Sorrow* and *Harvest of Despair* falls short. Despair and sorrow are more definitive of those attempting to reap a harvest of Cold War style anti-Sovietism by falsely interpreting the famine of 1932-1933 as "planned genocide."

## Chapter Eight

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### THE FAMINE

"Evidence" prominently featured in the famine-genocide campaign has been shown to be fraudulent or suspect. Fake photographs, unscientific statistics-juggling and politically motivated hearsay and testimony are among the many devices employed to embellish allegations of famine-genocide. Subject to similar manipulation are the causes of the famine: drought, sabotage, Soviet amateurish planning, excesses and mistakes in history's first mass socialization of agriculture in the context of a hostile international environment.

Throughout the history of the famine-genocide campaign, the factors of drought and sabotage have been ignored, denied, downplayed or distorted. Soviet excesses and mistakes, in contrast, are emphasized, given an "anti-Ukrainian" motivation, described as deliberately and consciously planned, and the results exaggerated in depictions of starvation deaths in the multi-millions. The central event — the collectivization of agriculture as part of socialist development — is never given anything but a classically anti-communist interpretation. As in Ronald Reagan's black and white world of "terrorists" and "freedom fighters" it is inconceivable and completely unacceptable to the Ukrainian Nationalist and Sovietologist interpretation that socialism and the Soviet Union should be acknowledged as having any popular support and the right to exist. How neatly a Soviet "genocide" fits into their stereotyped image of "Bolshevik tyranny."

For some promoters of "famine-genocide," anything other than man-made causes are ignored or denied. Natural causes, such as drought, are alleged never to have taken place; claims that drought was a contributing factor are denounced as Soviet inventions.<sup>1</sup> One might then expect that no non-Soviet source could be cited to substantiate drought.

However, *A History of Ukraine* by Mikhail Hrushevsky — described by the Nationalists themselves as "Ukraine's leading historian" — states: "Again a year of drought coincided with chaotic agricultural conditions; and during the winter of 1932-1933 a great famine, like that of 1921-1922, swept across Soviet Ukraine . . ." <sup>2</sup> Indeed, nowhere does *History of Ukraine* claim a deliberate, man-made famine against Ukrainians, and more space is actually devoted to the famine of 1921-1922.

Posthumously published in 1941 by the major Ukrainian Nationalist group in the United States at the time (the Ukrainian National Association), Hrushevsky's history was updated to 1940 based on notes by

Dr. Luke Myshuha.<sup>3</sup> Lest anyone accuse Myshuha of being a communist dupe, it should be noted that he is identified in the book's acknowledgements as editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Svoboda*. *Svoboda's* Rome correspondent dished out money supplied from the U.S. to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which moved its headquarters to fascist Italy in late 1940.<sup>4</sup> Myshuha himself visited Berlin in 1939, speaking over Nazi radio in Ukrainian, and his Nazi connections were the subject of testimony before the U.S. Congressional Dies Committee.<sup>5</sup>

More recent histories can also be cited on the subject of drought. Nicholas Riasnovsky, former visiting professor at Harvard University's Russian Research Center, notes in his *History of Russia* that drought occurred in both 1931 and 1932.<sup>6</sup> Michael Florinsky, immediately following a description of the mass destruction wrought by kulak resistance to collectivization, states: "Severe droughts in 1930 and 1931, especially in the Ukraine, aggravated the plight of farming and created near famine conditions."<sup>7</sup> Professor Emeritus at Columbia and a prolific writer on the USSR, Florinsky can hardly be accused of leftist sympathies: born in Kiev, Ukraine, he fought against the Bolsheviks in the Civil War.<sup>8</sup>

Even Ewald Ammende, the first major political-famine writer of the 1930s, credits causes other than "pre-planned communist genocide." Primarily blaming breakdowns and inefficiencies of Soviet collectivization of agriculture, Ammende states: "If a future harvest were *severely injured by climatic or other natural causes — as was the case in 1933* — the catastrophe would once more reach vast dimensions."<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, contemporary famine-genocide writers avoid reference to the above quote from *Human Life in Russia*.

While drought was a contributing factor, the main cause of the famine was the struggle around the collectivization of agriculture which raged in the countryside in this period.

Ten years after the revolution, private production still dominated the agricultural economy. Backwardness and manual labor characterized the state of agriculture on the millions of small-scale peasant farms. In 1928, three-quarters of the land was sown by hand. One-third of the crop area was harvested by sickle and scythe, 40 per cent of the crop was threshed by flail. Over one-quarter of peasant households possessed no draught animals or farming implements, and 47 per cent had only ploughs.<sup>10</sup>

An integral part of socialist development and the basis for mechanization and all-round modernization of agricultural production, collectivization represented a revolution of rural life. Small individual peasant holdings were united into large cooperative, collective farms.

Developed first on a voluntary basis, collectivization accelerated in the late 1920s and became a concerted drive by the end of the decade, a key feature of the USSR's first five-year plan launched in 1929.

Collectivization — socializing the agricultural economy — included ending private ownership of the means of agricultural production.\* Socialization of the land was coupled with socialization of draught and productive animals, farm buildings, machinery and equipment. Ending private ownership meant that the class of private owners — the kulaks — would no longer exist *as a class*. This policy was called "eliminating the kulaks as a class" and was part of the full-scale collectivization program under way by the beginning of the 1930s.

Though only a small fraction of the farm population, the kulaks occupied a significant place in agricultural production, with a larger crop area and marketable grain production than their number implied. In 1927 for example, four per cent of households owned 15 per cent of the area under crop. The kulaks were the money-lenders, the middlemen, the entrepreneurs of the countryside. It was primarily they who owned the farm sires, the rural industrial enterprises such as mills and smithies, who leased to the poorer peasants their farm implements, machinery and draught animals, who controlled a large part of the retail trade in the rural areas.<sup>11</sup>

As part of the collectivization program, the land of the kulaks was to be confiscated and transferred to the collective farms, as was their cattle, machinery and other farm property. A sizable number of wealthier kulak families were to be evicted from collectivized areas and sent elsewhere.

The kulaks responded — fighting against collectivization with an organized campaign of large-scale destruction. The struggle swept through the countryside, approaching civil war scale in many areas, with devastating results particularly in Ukraine.

Frederick Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College at the time of writing, states that he and thousands of other tourists travelled in Ukraine during the famine period. He writes:

Their [kulak] opposition took the initial form of slaughtering their cattle and horses in preference to having them collectivized. The result was a grievous blow to Soviet agriculture, for most of the cattle and horses were owned by the kulaks. Between 1928 and 1933 the number of horses in the

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\* Private ownership is not the same as personal ownership. Private ownership concerns the means used to produce goods — for example, machinery. Under private ownership, goods produced by the labor of others belong to those who own the means of production. For example, cars made by autoworkers do not belong to them, but to the owners of the car factory.

USSR declined from almost 30,000,000 to less than 15,000,000; of horned cattle from 70,000,000 (including 31,000,000 cows) to 38,000,000 (including 20,000,000 cows); of sheep and goats from 147,000,000 to 50,000,000; and of hogs from 20,000,000 to 12,000,000. Soviet rural economy had not recovered from this staggering loss by 1941.

... Some [kulaks] murdered officials, set the torch to the property of the collectives, and even burned their own crops and seed grain. More refused to sow or reap, perhaps on the assumption that the authorities would make concessions and would in any case feed them.

The aftermath was the Ukraine "famine" of 1932-33... Lurid accounts, mostly fictional, appeared in the Nazi press in Germany and in the Hearst press in the United States, often illustrated with photographs that turned out to have been taken along the Volga in 1921.... The "famine" was not, in its later stages, a result of a food shortage, despite the sharp reduction of seed grain and harvests flowing from special requisitions in the spring of 1932 which were apparently occasioned by fear of war with Japan. Most of the victims were kulaks who had refused to sow their fields or had destroyed their crops.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike many famine-genocide theorists who discount kulak sabotage, some Ukrainian Nationalists offer enthusiastic descriptions of sabotage and terrorism. Isaac Mazepa, former Premier of Petliura's Nationalist government in Ukraine and a die-hard Nationalist til his death, admitted frankly that the crop failures, and logically much of the resulting famine, were largely due to these causes:

At first there were disturbances in the kolkhosi [collective farms] or else the communist officials and their agents were killed, but later a system of passive resistance was favored which aimed at the systematic frustration of the Bolsheviks' plans for the sowing and gathering of the harvest... The catastrophe of 1932 was the hardest blow that Soviet Ukraine had to face since the famine of 1921-1922. The autumn and spring sowing campaigns both failed. Whole tracts were left unsown, in addition when the crop was being gathered... in many areas, especially in the south, 20, 40 and even 50 per cent was left in the fields, and was either not collected at all or was ruined in the threshing.<sup>13</sup>

One doubts that the Nationalists' heroes — those propertied groups who committed great destruction of agricultural resources — were charitably received by the rest of society which suffered as a result. The destruction of the means of life must have been regarded as criminal.

The struggle around collectivization was not limited to kulaks. A considerable number of middle peasantry were wrongly treated as kulaks. Instead of being won over to supporting collectivization, they resisted collectivization. Louis Fischer observed: "I myself saw, all over the Ukraine in October 1932, huge stacks of grain which the peasants had refused to gather in and which were rotting. This I write 'was their

winter's food. Then those same peasants starved.' Mr. Chamberlin has falsely interpreted the famine and some Americans have accepted his interpretation."<sup>14</sup>

Problems inherent to the massive introduction of a new, collective system of farming further complicated the situation. The very scale and speed of collectivization was astounding: in the space of four years, over 14 million farms were collectivized, including 70 per cent of the farms in Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> Collectivization took place at rates and with methods subject to extreme swings depending on the abilities and attitudes of local and regional authorities. Careful planning gave way to confusion as even at the top level collectivization schedules and targets were subject to drastic changes and revisions. With limited historical experience to draw upon and in a countryside renowned for backwardness and age-old peasant traditions, millions of small strips and holdings were amalgamated into a few hundred thousand collective farms. Peasants long used to manual labor and working with draught animals were now introduced to tractor ploughs, tractor-drawn seeders, mechanical combines and threshers. Against this background and widespread sabotage, a smooth transition was impossible.

Added to this were errors and excesses committed in the course of collectivization. Contrary to what Nationalist ideologues and "experts" would have us believe, Soviet historiography does not ignore this period, nor does it gloss over errors committed. (It is true, though, that little has been written in the Soviet Union specifically about the famine; as contemporary Soviet life is demanding a more open look at their history, one can expect this will change.) The eight-volume (two of which are double) *History of the Ukrainian SSR* offers the following analysis and criticism in the chapter "Struggle Against Distortions of the Party Line in the Building of Collectivization":

On the path of establishing the collectivization movement were placed great difficulties which were conditioned by the newness and complexity of the process, the age-old peasant tradition of private ownership, technical-economic obsolescence, and the great shortage of cadre. These difficulties were complicated by the capitalist encirclement in which the Soviet state found itself and the intensification of class struggle in the rural areas. In these conditions, the distortions of the party line toward the building of collectivization, which were noticed in the first stage of solid collectivization, were especially dangerous. The leadership of a number of regions, in pursuit of high percentages of collectivization, instead of persistent and painstaking organizational mass work among the peasantry, took (instead) the path of coercion. Many mistakes and distortions were made by responsible workers of Shepetytsky, Tulchyn, Proskuriv and various other regions where, during the last twenty days of February 1930,

the level of collectivization in some districts jumped from 10-15 to 80-90 per cent.

Distortions in the movement for collectivization were also tied to the phenomenon that republican and local organizations did not always issue correct instructions. Thus, in the Ukraine, regional and district party committees received, on February 24, 1930, a directive to collectivize the steppes by the end of the spring sowing campaign, and the entire Ukraine — by the autumn of 1930. This was a vulgar violation of the directives of the party concerning the rates and methods of collectivization.

A particularly dangerous distortion of party policy in regard to the collectivization movement was the incorrect approach taken toward the middle peasantry in various districts. Accomplishing the course of collectivization, the party guided itself by the Leninist approach that successes in the socialist transformation of agriculture were dependent, to a large extent, on the attitude of the middle peasantry. Nevertheless, there were cases of dealing with the middle peasantry as if they were kulaks. As was noted in a letter to party organizations from the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) of April 2, 1930, the policy of strengthening the alliance with the middle peasantry with the support of the poor peasantry, and in conditions of merciful struggle against the kulaks, began to be replaced by the policy, hostile to Leninism, of commandism in relations with the middle peasantry.

All these distortions and mistakes, which had nothing in common with the Leninist line of the party, were useful to the kulaks, the bourgeois nationalists, the right-opportunists and Trotskyists.<sup>16</sup>

Arbitrary methods, a system of administrative command and treating middle peasants as kulaks expanded the opposition to collectivization and the social and economic upheaval. Soviet mistakes and excesses, drought and the organized campaign of sabotage and resistance resulted in the famine of 1932-1933. There was no plan to wipe out Ukrainians as a people; the mistakes — even when accompanied by tragic and unforgivable excesses — do not constitute "pre-planned genocide."

The famine was compounded by typhus epidemics. Internationally acclaimed urban planner and recipient of the Order of Canada, Dr. Hans Blumenfeld worked as an architect in the Ukrainian city of Makayevka at the time of the famine. He writes:

There was indeed a famine in 1933, not just in the Ukraine, but also in ... the Lower Volga and the North Caucasus; and Makeyevka, located near the junction of these three regions, felt the full impact of it. ... Only once did I see a child with spindly legs and a swollen belly; it was in the garden of a nursery school at the hand of a nurse waiting for the doctor. Nor did I ever see a corpse lying in a street. ... There is no doubt that the famine claimed many victims. I have no basis on which to estimate their number ... Probably most deaths in 1933 were due to epidemics of typhus, typhoid fever, and dysentery. Waterborne diseases were frequent in Makeyevka; I narrowly survived an attack of typhus fever.<sup>17</sup>



Very occasionally, sources from the "famine-genocide" camp note the widespread epidemics. Despite the absurdity of his death guesstimate, Horsley Gantt confirms this point, as cited in the following Dalrymple passage: "He [Gantt] reports that the peak of the typhus epidemic coincided with that of the famine. . . . He adds, however, that because starvation was complicated by the epidemics, it is not possible to separate which of the two causes was more important in causing casualties."<sup>18</sup>

The famine did not extend past the pre-harvest period of 1933. To further their political ends, the famine-genocide campaigners of the 1930s, such as Ammende and the Hearst press, attempted to stretch out the famine into and occasionally even beyond 1934; their followers of the 1980s rarely dare to make similar claims. The success of the 1933 harvest was guaranteed by measures taken by the Soviet government to overcome the situation. Thirty-five million poods of seed, foodstuffs and fodder were sent to Ukraine in the spring of 1933. Changes were made to improve the organization and management of the collective farms, and thousands more tractors, combines and trucks were delivered.<sup>19</sup> Dr. Hans Blumenfeld offers a useful personal summary of the period:

. . . [The famine was caused by] a conjunction of a number of factors. First, the hot dry summer of 1932, which I had experienced in northern Vyatka, had resulted in crop failure in the semiarid regions of the south. Second, the struggle for collectivization had disrupted agriculture. Collectivization was not an orderly process following bureaucratic rules. It consisted of actions by the poor peasants, encouraged by the Party. The poor peasants were eager to expropriate the "kulaks," but less eager to organize a cooperative economy. By 1930 the Party had already sent out cadres to stem and correct excesses. . . . After having exercised restraint in 1930, the Party put on a drive again in 1932. As a result, in that year the kulak economy ceased to produce, and the new collective economy did not yet produce fully. First claim on the inadequate product went to urban industry and to the armed forces; as the future of the entire nation, including the peasants, depended on them, it could hardly be otherwise. . . .

In 1933 rainfall was adequate. The Party sent its best cadres to help organize work in the kolkhozes. They succeeded; after the harvest of 1933 the situation improved radically and with amazing speed. I had the feeling that we had been pulling a heavy cart uphill, uncertain if we would succeed; but in the fall of 1933 we had gone over the top and from then on we could move forward at an accelerating pace.<sup>20</sup>

The tasks of socializing industrial and agricultural production, however much anathema to capitalists and others who oppose socialism, were aimed at raising conditions to the level of the 20th century. The Soviets felt that socialization and development were critically necessary to the survival of their country, particularly in light of the rise of fascism elsewhere in Europe and Japanese expansionism in the East. The

American journalist, Albert Rhys Williams, observed as much and quoted Stalin as saying in 1931: "we are from 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must run through this distance in 10 years. Either we do this or they will crush us."<sup>21</sup>

And run they did! The collectivization program and the large-scale industrialization projects of the five-year plans of the 1930s were directed at building a modern industrial country, further developing socialism and strengthening the ability of the USSR to defend itself. At great cost, against tremendous difficulties, and not without painful mistakes and excesses, the Soviet Union achieved its goals. American journalist Howard K. Smith observed:

... production found its 1913 level only in 1928. Then they began their plans for industrialization. In other words, they had not twenty-three, but only twelve years to prepare for World War II. The measure of their success is in the comparative indices of industrial production for 1940, with level of 1913 as index 100 in all cases:

France	93.2
United Kingdom	113.3
USA	120.0
Germany	131.6
USSR	908.6 <sup>22</sup>

As to the results of collectivization and industrialization in Ukraine during this period, American journalist Edgar Snow wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post*:

Ukraine ... in 1940 ... was second only to the United States in the mining of iron, and dug twice as much as France, the leading European producer. Its blast furnaces smelted more pig iron than England and twice as much as France, being exceeded only by the United States and Germany. In steel production it stood fourth in the world, far ahead of such countries as France and Japan. Coal mining stood in the same position ... In field husbandry Ukraine is famous for more than its grain. Its potato crop is exceeded in the world only by Germany and Poland. It is the world's largest producer of beet sugar ... Vegetable oil is pressed from an annual crop of more than a million tons of sunflower seed. Cotton and natural rubber ... are large new crops.<sup>23</sup>

Significantly, recognition of these accomplishments has been granted by some Ukrainian Nationalist historians, as the above was cited in Ihor Kamensky's book *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine 1941-1944*.<sup>24</sup>

The achievements of socialist construction are all the more remarkable in light of the very real problems and difficulties of the 1930s. Almost in themselves they give the lie to allegations of 7 to 15 mass starvation deaths having occurred a mere six to seven years previous, suggesting something quite different from the holocaust line of Innitzer,

Hearst, the Nazis, the Ukrainian Nationalists and modern-day cold warriors.

The fact that Japan seized Manchuria and Hitler seized power in Germany during the very period of the famine may indicate that the Soviet Union undertook its crash programs barely in time. The social reorganization of Soviet industry and agriculture, so despised by right-wing emigres and capitalists alike, proved to be Europe's successful bulwark against Hitler's war machine. Despite initial enormous losses at the beginning of the war, within a year the Soviets' real power was apparent to the Germans. As historian Heinz Hohne states:

Two sobering years of bloody war in Russia provided cruel proof of the falsity of the tale about sub-humans. As early as August 1942 in its "Reports from the Reich" the SD noted that the feeling was growing among the German people that "we have been victims of delusion. The main and startling impression is of the vast mass of Soviet weapons, their technical quality, and the gigantic Soviet effort of industrialization — all in sharp contrast to the previous picture of the Soviet Union. People are asking themselves how Bolshevism has managed to produce all this."<sup>25</sup>

Had not Nazi Germany and its European allies broken their backs against the social and industrial might developed by the USSR in the 1930s, the Axis powers, armed with the additional wealth of Soviet resources, could well have emerged the victors. In that event it is a moot question as to whether any Ukrainian Nationalists would have survived the Nazis' planned race programs to write about "famine-genocide."

According to Ukrainian Nationalists, the famine affected — or rather was consciously directed — almost exclusively against ethnic Ukrainians. Indeed, *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* openly states as much, and would have us believe that other nationalities were unaffected and eating normally.<sup>26</sup> The scope of the hardships is chauvinistically restricted, distorted, and politically manipulated. Other nationalities who suffered — Russians, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Caucasus groups — are usually ignored, or if mentioned at all are done so almost reluctantly in passing. It is as though the Nationalists' xenophobic horror stories can tolerate no competitors. Bolshevik "Russians" are pitted against "pure" Ukrainians. In breathtaking verbal sorties at times unsurpassed outside Nazi literary circles, we are told: "This whole monstrous horde of Russian Communists, like a pack of beasts of prey, threw itself on an already impoverished and plundered Ukraine."<sup>27</sup>

James Mace also attempts to interpret the famine as deliberately focused against certain nationalities, going so far as to claim that: "... famine stopped *precisely at the border* with Russia and Belorussia pro-

per . . ."28 Right-wing historian Alec Nove — who otherwise supports the deliberate famine thesis — takes issue with Robert Conquest's emphasis on ethnicity as the determining factor: "There is one matter on which one must disagree with Conquest. It is what could be called the Ukrainian aspect . . . Russians who happened to be in the area affected . . . in Lower Volga and North Caucasus for example — also died . . . Yes, the Ukrainian countryside suffered terribly. But Conquest seems prone to accept the Ukrainian nationalist myth."<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Hans Blumenfeld, writing in response to Ukrainian Nationalist allegations of Ukrainian genocide, draws on personal experience in describing the people who came to town in search of food:

They came not only from the Ukraine but in equal numbers from the Russian areas to our east. This disproves the "fact" of anti-Ukrainian genocide parallel to Hitler's anti-semitic holocaust. To anyone familiar with the Soviet Union's desperate manpower shortage in those years, the notion that its leaders would deliberately reduce that scarce resource is absurd . . . Up to the 1950s the most frequently quoted figure was two million [victims]. Only after it had been established that Hitler's holocaust had claimed six million [Jewish] victims, did anti-Soviet propaganda feel it necessary to top that figure by substituting the fantastic figure of seven to ten million . . .<sup>30</sup>

Most contemporary non-Ukrainian Nationalist "famine-genocide" historians do not attempt to limit the famine to Ukraine. At the same time however, they try to portray the period of the early 1930s collectivization as one of mass destruction of the Ukrainian people, and of their ethno-cultural annihilation. Some even go so far as to extend famine conditions up to the end of the decade.<sup>31</sup> If such claims were true, one might have expected the Nazis, along with their Ukrainian fascist "Marching Groups" and interpreters, to have discovered a thinly populated wasteland of backward and "Russified" starvelings when they invaded Ukraine in 1941. The Ukrainian Nationalist collaborators from western Ukraine who entered Soviet Ukraine alongside the Nazi armies give a rather different account. For example, prominent Nationalist Lev Shankivsky, in *Pokhidni brupy OUN* (OUN Marching Groups), quotes the report of a Galician "culture worker":

One can come across an ordinary village girl . . . during our talk we discover that the girl is well-versed in mathematics, physics, chemistry . . . had finished secondary school and worked as a tractor driver . . . In other examples one could meet a former university, medical institute or teachers' college student among the village girls. Such cases are frequent. . . People are well informed. One could discuss any political or social theme with the peasants . . . Our fellows [the Galician OUN fascists] fared badly in discussions on professional matters or knowledge of state structure . . .<sup>32</sup>

One can only wonder what kind of "genocide" results in such cultural and educational advances.

Other sources describe an even more hostile reaction of the Ukrainian population to the Nazis' Nationalist puppets. A priest, Father Ohienko, dispatched by the Nazis to Kiev, was sorely troubled, as indicated by a wartime letter to a friend:

I have been here for already several months but I can find no spiritual peace. You can't imagine how Bolshevism has changed everything . . . People are malicious and consider us enemies in the way that perhaps their ancestors once treated the Tartars . . . Complete disrespect . . . Everywhere we find pointed hostility. All Ukrainians arriving from the outside [Nationalist collaborators] they call fascist spies, Hitler's mercenaries which I admit is partly true . . . The Germans really do assign us the dirtiest jobs.<sup>33</sup>

The record of Ukrainian resistance to the Nazis and their Ukrainian Nationalist auxiliaries is exemplary. As American authority on the Soviet Union, William Mandel, states:

In the largest eastern portion of the Ukraine, which had been Soviet for twenty years loyalty was overwhelming and active. There were half a million organized Soviet guerrillas . . . and 4,500,000 ethnic Ukrainians fought in the Soviet army. Clearly that army would have been fundamentally weakened if there had been basic disaffections among so large a component.<sup>34</sup>

The Nationalists' own *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, admits to an even greater number of Ukrainians having fought in the Red Army, giving an estimate of "approximately 5 million."<sup>35</sup> One can only be amazed at the ability of a nation to mobilize such numbers of predominantly military age males in light of the Nationalists' claimed famine death figures. The *Encyclopaedia* also concedes that out of 11,000 "Hero of the Soviet Union" medals awarded, 2,000 went to Ukrainian soldiers.<sup>36</sup> Mandel, among others, explains this solid defense of the Soviet Union: "There was an obvious reason for this loyalty. For the bulk of the Ukrainian peasants, workers, and the professionals newly emerged from those classes, the Soviet system had demonstrated overwhelming economic and cultural advantages."<sup>37</sup>

In fact, the only area in which the Nationalists found any kind of base during the Nazi occupation, was in formerly (until 1939) Polish Galicia, where the Nazis did the bulk of their recruiting for fascist police and SS units. This is confirmed by historian Roman Szporluk, who writes that the "zones of operation" of "organized Ukrainian Nationalism . . . was limited to the former Polish territories"<sup>38</sup> — that is, to the political base area of the pre-war Ukrainian (Galician) fascist movement.

The truth of the matter is that from 1918 to the present, the various factions of Ukrainian Nationalists have had little support to speak of from the Ukrainian people themselves. Nationalist Mykola Stepanenko begrudgingly admits that: "The current Ukrainian resistance and nationality defence movement (sic) . . . has not yet enjoyed the support or active participation of technocrats, government officials, lower and middle echelon party members, professionals and workers."<sup>39</sup> One can only add, that if the Ukrainian people didn't support the Nationalists at the time of Stepanenko's writing in exile (1977), they certainly didn't while he was goose-stepping around Europe in the Nazi uniform of the 14th Waffen SS Division.

Had the 1941 population of Soviet Ukraine consisted of the remnants and survivors of a mass multi-million holocaust of a few years previous, or if they had perceived the 1932-1933 famine as genocide, deliberately aimed at Ukrainians, then doubtless fascism would have met a far different reception; Soviet Ukrainians would have been as reluctant to defend the USSR as Jewish survivors would have been to defend Nazi Germany.

But, as we shall see next, the Nazi occupation of Ukraine is relevant not just for the opposition to the Nazis from the overwhelming majority of the population. It is also very relevant for the role played by the Ukrainian Nationalists — the main perpetrators of the famine-genocide myth.

## Chapter Nine

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### COLLABORATION AND COLLUSION

On June 30, 1941, the Nazi army entered Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine. In its vanguard came the German-uniformed Nachtigall Battalion of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the command of Roman Shukhevych. With the collusion of the Nazi Abwehr, the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists immediately set up a so-called "Government of Western Ukrainian Lands," headed by Yaroslav Stetsko who had accompanied the Nazi invaders to the city. A pogrom of the Lviv area's Jewish population at once was launched.<sup>1</sup> This was anticipated, noted Phillip Weiss, a leader of Winnipeg's Holocaust Committee and survivor from Western Ukraine, by "... the air of fear and terror hanging over the city because of the approaching German army and the public knowledge of the forthcoming pogrom of Jews by Ukrainian Nationalists."<sup>2</sup>

American writer Saul Friedman, who undertook extensive research on the historical persecution of Jews by Ukrainian Nationalists, states in his book *Pogromchik*:

During the first three days of July 1941, the Nachtigall Battalion, composed almost entirely of Ukrainians under the direction of the Gestapo, slaughtered seven thousand Jews in the vicinity of Lwow (Lemberg). Before their execution, Jewish professors, lawyers and doctors were made to lick all the steps of four story buildings and to carry garbage in their mouths from house to house. Then forced to run a gauntlet of men wearing blue and gold armbands (coincidentally the colors of the Petliurist Republic), they were bayoneted to death in what was officially termed Aktion Petliura.<sup>3</sup>

Under the Banderite Nationalist clique posing as a government, many of Lviv's non-Jewish writers, intellectuals and professionals known to be hostile to Nazism were also slaughtered. There is for example, the fate of Dr. Taras Maliarchuk, a Ukrainian surgeon: "No. 516; surgeon; drowned in bathtub; his wife raped in the presence of their children and then bayoneted; their five-year old daughter Maria was thrown out a window and their three-year old son Mikhailo was shot with a small-caliber Browning pistol."<sup>4</sup>

A Ukrainian-Jewish survivor from Kolomija described the barbarism of the Ukrainian Nationalists. "The moment the Germans came in, ... (the Ukrainian Nationalists) put on white armbands ... and they went on a killing spree." Hidden in a bunker with 17 other people, she remembers:

We heard a shot close by. Later a girl and myself went up quietly from the basement . . . We looked around, went out, there was a pregnant woman lying. Her baby was moving in her still. She didn't speak but she was still alive. Then we heard something coming close. We ran away . . . When I went up from the bunker on that second day . . . and looked through the window to see what was going on, the picture we saw will never be erased from my mind. Ten or twelve Ukrainian police walking by in their high leather boots; all covered with blood. They went to the well which was at the end of our street to wash off the blood.<sup>5</sup>

Historian Reuben Ainsztein has chronicled the widespread and voluntary help given by the Ukrainian Nationalists to the Nazi exterminations in Western Ukraine. In his classic *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, he states that at the beginning of the Nazi occupation, the OUN leaders:

Stetsko and Bandera proclaimed the creation of a "free Ukraine" and organized a 31,000 strong militia . . . The militia played a most important part in making it possible for the Einsatzkommando to carry out their task of genocide and terror until the middle of August [1941] . . . The militia was then disbanded and 3,000 cut-throats were allowed to enroll in the Ukrainian Auxilliary police which was to play such an abominable role in the annihilation of the Jews in Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup>

In the first eight months of Nazi occupation of Western Ukraine, 15 per cent of Galician Jews — 100,000 people — were slaughtered by the joint actions of the Germans and Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>7</sup> Jewish-Canadian survivor and decorated anti-Nazi partisan Nahum Kohn describes the Ukrainian fascist role in the holocaust in Ukraine's Volyn region: ". . . whenever Jews were slaughtered, four or five Germans would participate, 'helped' by 100 or 200 Ukrainian Nationalists. When the Ukraine was virtually Judenrein ('cleansed of Jews'), the Banderovtsy (OUN-Bandera) turned on their Polish neighbors."<sup>8</sup> In his autobiography, Kohn describes how his partisans came to the rescue of the Polish inhabitants of Pshebrazhe, ravished by Banderite fascists who had slaughtered 40 per cent of the villagers.<sup>9</sup>

The Ukrainian Nationalist perpetrators of pogroms against the Jews — both before the war and particularly during the war — are portrayed in quite a different light in Ukrainian Nationalist publications propagating the famine-genocide myth.

The first chapter of *Black Deeds of the Kremlin* opens with a full-page portrait honoring the pogromist leader of Nationalist Ukraine (1918-1919), Simon Petliura. Described by historian Gerald Reitlinger as ". . . one of the most dubious national heroes of all time," Petliura was thrown out of Soviet Ukraine by the revolution and joined his lot with the



foreign interventionists against the USSR.<sup>10</sup> Hoping to return his Nationalist clique on the bayonets of foreign troops, he made a deal with Poland which gave away Western Ukraine (Galicia) to the Poles through the April 21, 1920 treaty.<sup>11</sup> Nationalist-oriented historian John J. Reshetar admits that "while enjoying the hospitality of the Poles during the winter of 1919-1920 Petliura met with Pilsudski and became convinced that the sole means of obtaining Allied, and more specifically, French, support was by becoming a Polish satellite."<sup>12</sup>

Remnants of Petliura's Nationalists accompanied the 1920 French-backed Polish invasion of Soviet Ukraine, which was decisively defeated by the Bolsheviks. The Poles held on to Western Ukraine, and Petliura went off to exile in France. Of this so-called leader, even his colleague Volodymyr Vynnychenko remembers: ". . . (an) unhealthily ambitious maniac, soaked up to his ears in the blood of pogromized Jewry, politically illiterate, willing to accept all reaction in order to preserve his power."<sup>13</sup>

Assassinated by a Jew, Sholem Schwartzbard, in Paris in 1926 as retribution for the Petliura government army's slaughter of tens of thousands of Jews,<sup>14</sup> Petliura was the symbol used by the Nationalists to avenge their "great knights." In July 1941 in Lviv, the OUN Nationalists declared a "Day in Honor of the Memory of Petliura" and turned the streets red with the blood of Jewish victims. As holocaust historian Lucy Dawidowicz states:

In Lwow the Germans and Ukrainian [Nationalists], in house-to-house hunts for Jews, shot them randomly on the spot. Belatedly avenging the assassination . . . of Petliura, notorious anti-Semite . . . the Ukrainians staged mammoth pogroms, slaughtering thousands and carrying off other thousands of Jews to Einsatzgruppen headquarters. Within hours or days, those Jews who had been taken away were machine-gunned en masse at some remote desolate area. The disaster was epic . . .<sup>15</sup>

Another full-page *Black Deeds* tribute honors the Nazi "Major" and murderer Roman Shukhevych, commander of the bloody Nachtigall Battalion.<sup>16</sup> Following the reorganization of his troops into Nazi Schutzmannschaft battalions in the summer of 1941, Shukhevych, under Nazi direction, led his men into Byelorussia to slaughter partisans, Jews and peasants. Later in the war, this recipient of the Nazi Iron Cross commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which Ainsztein describes as "the most dangerous and cruel enemies of surviving Jews, Polish peasants and settlers, and all anti-German partisans."<sup>17</sup>

Also venerated in *Black Deeds* are a number of clergymen who supported the Nazis, blessed the Ukrainian SS-units, or who in other ways politically facilitated the Nazi occupation. Unlike Skrypyk (Bishop

Mystyslav) or Father Vasył Laba (who settled in Edmonton), Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Josyp Slipyi were unable to flee the country with the German retreat; they are honored in *Black Deeds* with portraits.<sup>18</sup> Pro-Nationalist historian John Armstrong notes: ". . . [Sheptytsky] personally favored the creation of the Galician Division [14th Waffen-SS], and sent one of his clergy, Dr. Laba to act as chief chaplain. Bishop Joseph Slipyi conducted a service in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, celebrating the inauguration of the Division."<sup>19</sup>

Upon the capture of Kiev, Metropolitan Sheptytsky sent the following message to Hitler:

As head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church I send your excellency my heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the occupation of the capital of the Ukraine, the golden domed city on the Dnieper — Kiev! . . . We see in you the invincible leader of the insuperable and glorious German Army. The cause of the destruction and eradication of Bolshevism which you as Fuehrer of the Great German Reich took as the goal of this campaign assures Your Excellency the gratitude of all the Christian world. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church knows the historic meaning of the mighty progress of the German Nation under your guidance . . . I shall pray to God for Him to bless the victory which shall be the guarantee of enduring peace for your Excellency, the German Army and the German Nation.<sup>20</sup>

Like the fascist policemen washing their boots at the well, the Ukrainian Nationalists of the Banderivtsy, SS units, Auxilliary militia, etc. are confronted with the problem of washing away the blood spilled during the Nazi occupation. Many thousands who fled to Germany and elsewhere in the wake of retreating Nazi armies, had to cover up their personal and collective guilt in the holocaust and betrayal of their country. There is in fact a conscious attempt to disguise the past of such persons, and to distort the history of the role of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Nazi holocaust. Such cover-ups are sub-themes in the famine-genocide campaign, for the credibility of famine-genocide allegations is undermined by direct association with war-time collaboration and atrocities. For example, during a 1984 Winnipeg teachers' symposium at which he was speaking on "famine-genocide," James Mace was asked why he thought the Ukrainian Nationalists supported Hitler and the Nazi invasion of Ukraine. Mace replied that they supported Hitler for only a brief period at the beginning of the war.<sup>21</sup>

But the relationship between German Nazism and Ukrainian Nationalism was no brief honeymoon. Both represented forms of extremist nationalism which by the late 1920s had reached some common ideological grounds. Two documents from the 1920s indicate the direction of Ukrainian Nationalism's transition period. The first is the Decalogue

(Dekaloh), the ten commandments of Ukrainian Nationalism. Originally published in *Surma* in 1929, all members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were expected to memorize it:

1. Attain a Ukrainian State or die in battle for it.
2. Do not allow anyone to defame the glory or the honor of Your Nation.
3. Remember the Great Days of our efforts.
4. Be proud of the fact that You are an heir of the struggle for the glory of Volodymyr's Trident.
5. Avenge the death of Great Knights.
6. Do not speak of the cause with whomever possible, but only with whomever necessary.
7. Do not hesitate to commit the greatest crime, if the good of the Cause demands it.
8. Regard the enemies of Your Nation with hate and perfidy.
9. Neither requests, nor threats, nor torture, nor death can compel You to betray a secret.
10. Aspire to expand the strength, riches, and size of the Ukrainian state even by means of enslaving foreigners.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, if on a more intellectual level, one finds unmistakably fascist notions of mystification and "the will" in V. Voin's theses on "state-minded youth":

1. The clearest feature of a person in the universe is his ability to master his living and non-living environments, even in time and space. Indivisible in their essence, ideas and actions when systematically executed, are means to (this) mastery. Beyond them there is only chaos. The eternal struggle with chaos is the basic task of the person. The ideal is the eventual subjugation of chaos by the person.

2. The greatest imperative for Ukrainians, the struggle for the Ukrainian perfect nation, is simultaneously a struggle against chaos in the familial and societal spheres. This struggle is possible only with the training of leaders, who will systematically rule over these spheres, without any compunctions to destroy everything hostile within themselves and in their environment. The creation of such leaders is the basic task of the Nation. The ideal is a Nation, where the individual exists only for the Nation in the name of its perfection . . .

11. The character of the organization of Ukrainian youth must correspond to the character of the Ukrainian nation. The most fundamental and most famous organization, instinctively accepted by everybody in the Ukraine, is that of the military, praised in songs and ballads . . .<sup>23</sup>

Researcher Alexander J. Motyl comments:

That Voin's extremism was probably not untypical for the League is suggested by a public statement released by LUN [League of Ukrainian Nationalists] in the late summer of 1926. "... the only possible form of state rule, at the beginning and under present conditions, can be a dictatorship of

groups of organized Ukrainian patriots-nationalists, who have state-minded tendencies, (a dictatorship) which should be realized in the person of that national *vozhd* (fuehrer) who will organize and complete the liberation of the Ukrainian people.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of the 1920s, the leadership of exiled Ukrainian Nationalists had coalesced around the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the *vozhd* Eugene Konovalets. Established in 1927, the OUN was based on the League of Ukrainian Nationalists, which had been set up at a joint convention of the Union of Ukrainian Fascists, the Ukrainian Nationalist Federation and the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine in 1925. The OUN organ, *Rozbudova Natsii*, betrays evidence of the anti-semitism which was widespread in the Ukrainian Nationalist movement: "... Ukraine is jeopardized by the Jews. The latter have not only done us a lot of harm, but... will keep on doing us harm so long as the Ukrainians fail to apply the necessary means of self-defense."<sup>25</sup>

During the 1930s, the fascist outlook of the OUN was complemented by a campaign of terror and assassination in Poland,<sup>26</sup> tactics indicated in the Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Meta*: "... Ukrainian Nationalism must be prepared to apply any method of struggle against communism, not excluding mass physical extermination, even if the latter implies sacrificing millions of lives."<sup>27</sup>

Even earlier, in November 1930, the OUN journal *Rozbudova Natsii* proclaimed: "We shall be merciless on that great day which will surely come... There shall be mercy for neither the young nor the old." It is not surprising that in January 1932 the League of Nations Council branded the OUN a terroristic organization.

The affinity of Ukrainian Nationalism and Nazism was not confined to Europe. In Canada, anti-semitism, praise of Hitler, racism and fascism were openly expressed in Ukrainian Nationalist journals in the 1930s. In Winnipeg a Ukrainian language edition of the infamous anti-semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published in 1934 and reprinted as late as 1959. The following passage can be found in the October 1938 issue of *Church Life*, organ of Ukrainian Catholics in Winnipeg:

The greatest man at the present moment is Adolph Hitler. He has changed the map of Europe and united all the Germans in one state... Together with Mussolini he has resisted the Bolshevist invasion of Europe, stepped on the necks of the Bolsheviks in Spain and declared that they shall not advance beyond their befuddled Russia!... Hitler is saving Europe and her culture from the Bolsheviks.

In the same year, the Canadian newspaper of the United Hetman Organization (followers of Hetman Pavel Skoropadsky) stated: "... It has

become impossible for the French nationalists to call themselves French. The very name invites the attack of Yids [Jews]. Billions of Yid dollars are being mobilized for the pacification of European gois [gentiles] . . ."28 In similar vein, *Novy Shliakh* (New Pathway), Winnipeg's voice of the OUN's Melnyk faction, the Ukrainian National Federation, published:

In Russia Yid terrorists killed 28 bishops, 1,215 priests, 6,575 teachers, 8,800 doctors, 54,850 village elders, 260,000 soldiers, 105,000 policemen, 48,000 gendarmes, 12,500 police chiefs, 355,250 intellectuals, 192,000 workers, 815,000 peasants . . . No one objected. But today when Jews aren't even beaten, but only frightened, everybody hollers.<sup>29</sup>

One notes that while yesterday alleged perpetrators of genocide were labelled Jews, today the label has changed to Russians. Anti-semitism has a long history in Nationalist ideology. A particularly vile example of Nazi-like hate literature appeared in the January 1935 issue of *Klich* (The Call), published by Anthony Hlynka, a Social Credit member of parliament from Vegreville, Alberta. It blamed the Jews for the famine:

This is the descendant of blood suckers who exploited Ukraine.  
 His ancestors robbed our fathers of the last strip of land.  
 His ancestors held the keys to our temples.  
 His ancestors were the informers against us.  
 His race barred the path to formation of our state.  
 His race murdered the leader of the Ukrainian Republic.  
 His race besmirched before the world the name of our great  
 Chmelnytsky.  
 His race is responsible for the unprecedented terror in the Ukraine.  
 His race murdered by exiles, tortures and famine not only millions of  
 our brothers and sisters but also millions of innocent children of the  
 Ukraine.  
 His race has abused, debauched, polluted, corrupted and defiled the  
 majesty of the Ukraine.<sup>30</sup>

With no mention of the anti-semitism of *Klich*, Marunchak writes of Hlynka in *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*: "For his interest in the plight of the refugees, A. Hlynka soon gained the recognition as being the 'guardian of third [post-war] immigration to Canada'."<sup>31</sup>

The ideological background of Ukrainian Nationalism was a contributing factor to support for Hitler fascism. Ukrainian Nationalist ideologue Dmitro Dontsov (who was allowed to settle in Canada after World War II) attempted to justify Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, describing pre-Nazi conditions, in part: "The third factor of the decay was the international Jewish community who attacked the collapsed country like locusts in order to, jointly with the victors, freely dispose of it, to smear literature, music and theatrical art with the evils of pornography . . . to

smear pure art with the ideas of Bolshevism."<sup>32</sup> Well-connected to Nazi intelligence circles following Hitler's seizure of power, the OUN's fascist views led directly to the wartime alliance with the Third Reich: "the xenophobic, anti-democratic and anti-semitic nationalism of the OUN meshed easily with Nazism."<sup>33</sup>

Following Konovalts' death in 1939, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists split into two factions: the OUN-B headed by Stepan Bandera, and the OUN-M led by Andrei Melnyk. Testimony of German Abwehr officer Erwin Schtolze at the Nuremberg war crimes trials revealed that both Melnyk and Bandera were on the Nazi payroll prior to Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union:

It was pointed out in the order that for the purpose of delivering a lightning blow against the Soviet Union, Abwehr II . . . must use its agents for kindling national antagonisms among the people of the Soviet Union . . . I contacted the Ukrainian National Socialists who were in German Intelligence Service and other members of the nationalist fascist groups . . . Instructions were given by me personally to the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Melnyk (Code Name 'Consul I') and Bandera (Code Name 'Consul II') to organize . . . demonstrations in the Ukraine in order to disrupt the immediate rear of the Soviet armies . . . Apart from this, a special military unit was trained for subversive activities on Soviet territory . . .<sup>34</sup>

Ukrainian Nationalist battalions were trained in Germany prior to the war and some were used by the Nazis in their 1939 invasion of Poland. As the Nationalists' own encyclopaedia states: "The first Ukrainian unit was formed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists on the eve of the Polish-German War. Approximately 600 men strong, it consisted of former soldiers of the Carpathian Sich. Commanded by Col. Roman Sushko, it marched into Galicia with the German Army in September 1939."<sup>35</sup>

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, his forces included the Nachtigall and Roland battalions of Ukrainian Nationalists. The bloody record of butchery by the Nachtigall Battalion of Jews and Poles in Lviv will never be forgotten. The formation of these units is admitted by the Nationalists' encyclopaedia: "On the eve of World War II, as a result of an agreement between some German authorities and the Bandera OUN faction, two Ukrainian volunteer detachments (Nachtigall and Roland) were formed on German territory . . . They took part in the military operations of the German army . . . [In late 1941] they were reorganized . . . into the Police Battalion 201 and deployed in Byelorussia..."<sup>36</sup>

Thus we have seen that the Ukrainian Nationalist alliance with

Nazism predated "the beginning of the war." At the same time, the alliance was not without contradictions. While the Nationalists pinned their hopes on the Nazis as the vehicle to gain control of Ukraine, the German fascists were not about to cede any part of their power. United by their opposition to the Soviet Union, the Nazis' direct rule of Ukraine also stood as an obstacle to the Ukrainian Nationalists' ambitions. This contradiction has been wildly exaggerated in the post-war coverup of Nationalist collaboration and complicity with the Nazi holocaust; it is hoped that the retroactive transformation of "junior partner" collaborators into "anti-Nazi patriots" will win them acceptance as "allies of democracy," the better to serve the contemporary anti-Soviet crusade.

Ivan Bahryany, for example, offers the following alibi in *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*: "Ukrainians are not war criminals because they fought against Hitler and Stalin. They fought against both before the war and they fought against both during the war."<sup>37</sup>

Of course no one has ever claimed that Ukrainians as such are war criminals. After all, most Ukrainians who were in a position to do so fought against Hitler. But if by Ukrainians, Bahryany refers to the Nationalists, then he stands condemned as a liar of the stature of Goebbels himself. The Ukrainians who fought Hitler were in fact among the main targets of Nationalist armed units.

And who is Ivan Bahryany? During the Nazi occupation, he was one of the few Ukrainian writers permitted to have works published through the Nazi-controlled Ukrainian Publishing House. That this publisher was Nazi-authorized is confirmed by *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*: "Late in 1939, by permission of the German authorities, the Ukrainian Publishing House (Ukrains'ke Vydavnytsvo) was established in Cracow, in close association with the Ukrainian Central Committee. The Ukrainian Publishing House had the exclusive right to publish Ukrainian newspapers, journals and books within the 'Generalgouvernement.'"<sup>38</sup>

One notes that this collaboration commenced in German-occupied Poland, a full year and a half before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Its authority was later extended to the Nazi-occupied areas of Ukraine, and it also published pro-Nazi Ukrainian papers such as *Volyn* (1941-1944), *Krakiwski Visti* (1940-1945), and *Lvivski Visti* (1941-1944), to name a few.<sup>39</sup> It was an important tool of German political, literary and social control over Ukrainians living under occupation.

Feverishly casting about for some "proof" of anti-Nazi combat, the Nationalists and their apologists claim that the Ukrainian Insurgent

Army\* (UPA) was actually a patriotic "national liberation army" which strove to drive the Nazis from Western Ukrainian territory. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta — publisher of the Canadian edition of Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow* — has published a book in which the OUN-Bandera's UPA is even described as being on a par with the French Resistance.<sup>40</sup> Ihor Kamenetsky, another example, states in *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine* that the Nationalists' "... partisan movement in Ukraine had a considerable influence on the weakening of the German war effort in the East."<sup>41</sup> In reality, the so-called UPA "partisans" took pressure off the Nazi front lines by helping to clean out Soviet partisans and secure the German rear areas of supply and occupation.

Let us examine the fabric from which authors like Kamenetsky attempt to weave their historical disguise. Kamenetsky utilizes inventions about non-existent clashes between the OUN-Bandera's UPA and the Nazis. For example, he claims that the Chief of Staff of the German SA, Victor Lutze, was killed by a UPA detachment on the highway between Kovel and Brest in May 1943.<sup>42</sup> The fact that other Nationalist historians and their followers give different and contradictory locations for the alleged assassination of Lutze does not add to the credibility of this post-war invention.

The truth of the matter is that Lutze was injured in an auto accident near Berlin and died in a Potsdam hospital hundreds of kilometers from where the Nationalists claim the UPA killed him.<sup>43</sup> According to Goebbels' diaries, Lutze's funeral was attended by Hitler, Goebbels and other top-ranking Nazis. As a result of Lutze's mishap, Goebbels writes, Hitler warned the German leadership that cars bearing Nazi party plates must limit their speed to 50 miles per hour.<sup>44</sup>

Elsewhere, Kamenetsky implies that a German anti-partisan offensive in Volyn was directed against the Nationalist UPA:

In the big action in the summer of 1943, conducted by SS General Bach-Zelewsky against the Ukrainian partisans in Volnia and Polyssa, 50 tanks ... and nearly 10,000 German and auxiliary police were used. In addition, several Hungarian detachments and eastern volunteer battalions participated.<sup>45</sup>

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\* Formed in 1943, the Ukrain'ska Povstan'ka Army (UPA) is usually referred to in English as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Sometimes referred to as the Ukrainian Partisan Army, to its surviving Jewish, Ukrainian and Polish victims it is usually known as the Banderivtsy (Banderists) — followers of Stepan Bandera's wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.



While it is true that the Nationalist UPA "partisans" fought in Volyn in this period, they were not fighting the Nazis. Reuben Ainsztein writes:

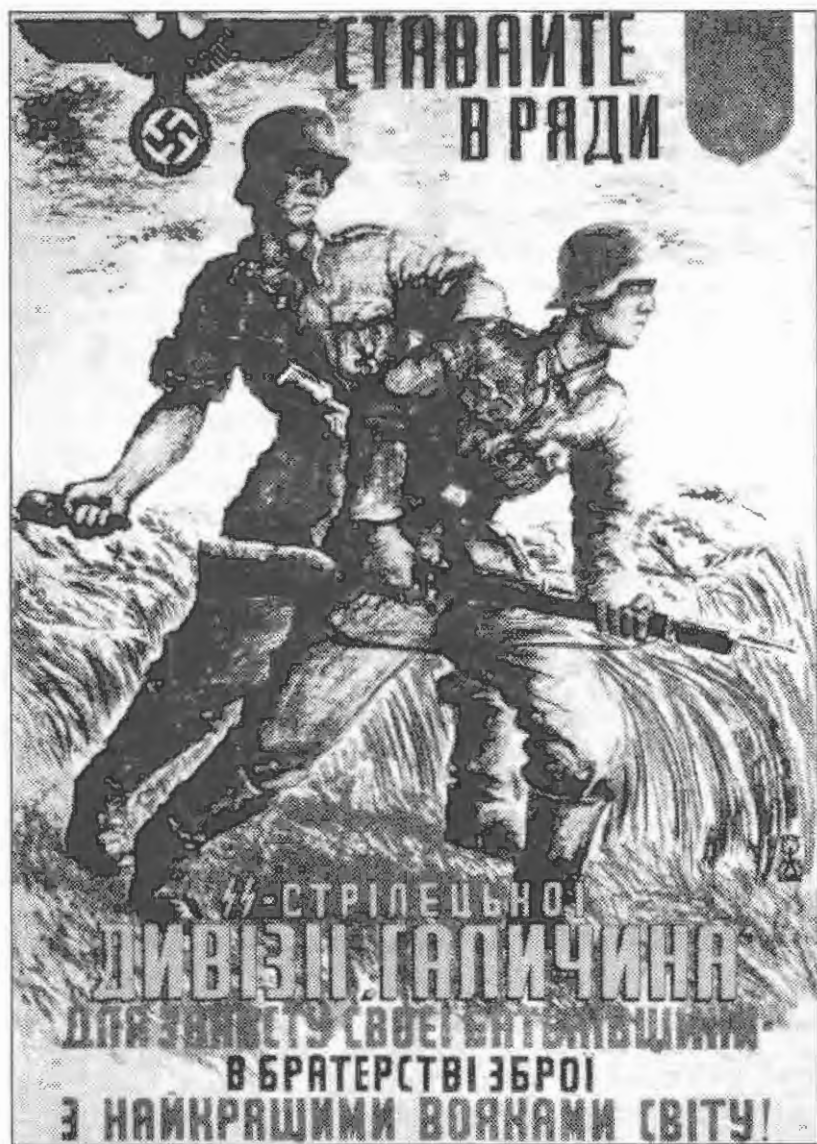
It was then that [Soviet partisan leader] Aleksei Fyodorov-Chernigovskiy arrived with his brigade group from the Chernigov region in the area where Brinsky's brigade was operating. Within a couple of weeks Fyodorov turned that part of Volyn into partisan territory where Germans had lost all control and began his systematic campaign against the railway network at a time when the Kursk battle was reaching its climax. The Germans assembled a 15,000 strong force made up of SS and Wehrmacht troops, Lithuanians, Vlasov units and *Ukrainian police, as well as 5,000 Ukrainian Nationalists*, and in August launched a massive operation against the partisans . . .

While Fyodorov took the brunt of the fighting against the Germans, Brinsky's brigade was given the task of engaging the *Ukrainian Partisan Army [UPA] battalions, which supported by German bombers and mortar batteries, tried to push the partisans into the bag prepared by the Germans.*<sup>46</sup>

Composed of criminals and executioners, former members of the hated Ukrainian police, security gendarmes, SS-men and fascist Legionnaires, the UPA and other Nationalist gangs were certainly not "known" for their anti-Nazi combat. As Ainsztein states:

Assured of German assistance in arms and, when necessary, outright military cooperation, the UPA gangs, which became known as the Banderovtsy, proved themselves under the command of Shukhevych, now known as Taras Chuprynka, the most dangerous and cruel enemies of surviving Jews, Polish peasants and settlers, and all anti-German partisans. . . . The fanaticism and nationalistic madness of the Banderovtsy, Bulbovtsy and other Ukrainian nationalist gangs reached depths that appeared incredible even to Soviet and Jewish partisans, whose ability to be horrified by what man could do to man was blunted by their daily experiences of the Nazi New Order. The Jewish partisan Bakalczuk-Felin . . . has left us a description of entire Polish villages wiped out, their inhabitants invariably tortured and raped before being slaughtered with knives and axes, the babies murdered with the same kind of savagery as had been the fate of Jewish children.<sup>47</sup>

Kamenetsky and his ilk do not have an enviable task in trying to transform Hitler's Ukrainian auxiliaries and terrorists into anti-Nazi partisans. But then this is not the first time we have encountered such duplicity in Ukrainian Nationalist portrayals of their history. Not surprisingly — and reminiscent of scholarship demonstrated in famine-genocide accounts — two-thirds of the "evidence" for Kamenetsky's assertions come from ideological colleagues. Out of 49 references in Chapter 5 of *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine* used as substantiation for the allegedly anti-fascist role of the UPA, no fewer than 28 come from Nationalist apologist Krypyakevich and 5 from anti-semite Petro Mirchuk.<sup>48</sup>



Recruiting poster for the 14th Waffen SS Division. In Canada, the organization of former members of the 14th Waffen SS is called the Brotherhood of Former Combatants, First Ukrainian Division, Ukrainian National Army, and is affiliated to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Similarly distorted — if not passed over in silence as by Mace\* — is the role of the Ukrainian, 14th Waffen SS Galizien Division (also known as the Halychyna Division). Formed in 1943 with OUN-Melnyk support and reconstituted after its crushing defeat at Brody in 1944, the 14th Waffen SS Division's main function was brutal anti-partisan work in several countries. Ukrainian Nationalists and their apologists generally seek to give the impression that the Galizien Division, unlike other Waffen SS units, was almost a patriotic Boy Scout organization with no political attachment to the Nazi cause. History shows otherwise. In his May 1943 appeal for Galicians to join this SS unit, Volodymyr Kubijovych stated:

The long-awaited moment has arrived when the Ukrainian people again have the opportunity to come out with guns to give battle with its most grievous foe — Muscovite-Jewish Bolshevism. The Fuehrer of the Great German Reich has agreed to the formation of a separate Ukrainian volunteer military unit under the name SS Riflemen's Division "Halychyna" . . . You must stand shoulder to shoulder with the unbeatable German army and destroy, once and for all, the Jewish-Bolshevist monster.<sup>49</sup>

Citing Himmler's speeches contained in the U.S. National Archives, the Canadian Bureau of the Simon Wiesenthal Center describes the unsavory record of this SS unit:

On May 16, 1944, SS Chief Heinrich Himmler congratulated the officers of the 14th Waffen SS Division (Galician No. 1) for having improved the beautiful Ukrainian landscape by ridding it of its Jews. Himmler added that he was aware that nothing would please the division more than to hand out the same treatment to the Poles but the timing of that action would be decided by Hitler, the man to whom they had pledged absolute obedience.<sup>50</sup>

The 14th Waffen SS, led by Nazi officers from the top practically down to the company level, with no independent Ukrainian Nationalist

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\* Mace's reluctance to discuss the facts of Nazi-Nationalist wartime collusion at the previously mentioned Winnipeg teachers' symposium is perhaps not surprising. It is well known in the Ukrainian community that two former General Staff members of the 14th Waffen SS Division settled in Winnipeg after the war and played a prominent part in Nationalist activities, including in organizations which today flog the famine-genocide campaign for which Mace acts as a resource person. These are Osyp Nawrocky, former chief of the Chancellery of the SS Division, who worked for the Administrative Office of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and Stepan Volynets, who served as a columnist for the Nationalist paper *Ukrainsky Holos*. (See Marko Terlytsia, *Here is the Evidence*, Toronto, Kobzar Publishing, 1984, pp. 45, 47, 51, 53.)



Osyp Nawrocky (far right), one-time head of the pre-war terrorist Ukrainian Military Organization and during World War II a General Staff member of the 14th Waffen SS Division, poses with Nazi officers during the German occupation of Ukraine. Escaping to the West after the war, Nawrocky lived in Winnipeg and held a leading position in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.



command, was instrumental in giving military training to the UPA. This could only have taken place with the planning, knowledge and approval of the top SS command and the German officers leading the division. Indeed, certain Nationalist historians openly admit that the UPA was assisted by the 14th Waffen SS. Wasyl Veryha, an SS veteran and Division historian in Toronto, wrote in *Visti Combatanta* (a Ukrainian SS veterans' magazine):

While recalling the fairly well known facts that the personnel trained in the division [14th Waffen SS] had become the backbone of the UPA, it should be mentioned that the UPA command also sent groups of its people to the division to receive proper military training . . . This reinforced the UPA which was left on the Native land [after the Nazi retreat], in particular its commanders and instructors.<sup>51</sup>

The assessment of the UPA as a Nazi tool appears to be shared by certain sections among the Nationalists. Perhaps hoping to distance themselves from the UPA's bloody record, the Nationalist publication *Ukrainskyi Samostiinyk* admitted that the UPA "was influenced by and formed after the Nazi standard," and had "acquired the whole of Nazi mentality." Further, it "was not a combat unit of the Ukrainian people but merely a Ukrainian Waffen SS — OUN."<sup>52</sup>

Ukrainian Nationalist service to Hitler's Third Reich did not end with the expulsion of the Nazis from Ukraine in 1944. As Nazi officer Schtolze revealed at the Nuremberg war crimes trials:

During the retreat of German troops from the Ukraine, Kanaris personally instructed the Abwehr to set up an underground network to continue the struggle against Soviet power in Ukraine, to organize acts of terrorism, subversion and espionage. Competent agents were left behind specially to direct the Nationalist movement. Orders were given to install caches, to store munitions, etc. To maintain liaison with these bands, agents were sent across the front line.<sup>53</sup>

Further, U.S. historian John Armstrong (usually sympathetic to the Nationalists) admits that after the Germans were driven out of Ukraine and continuing into early 1945, "German military agencies" air-dropped supplies to UPA units, ". . . which most German officers by then regarded as a useful harassment to the Soviet supply lines."<sup>54</sup>

As we have seen, collaboration between the Nazis and Ukrainian Nationalists began long before the war and continued throughout the war, even after the Germans were completely driven out of Ukrainian territory. The Nationalists were firmly locked into the Nazi occupation machine. Their police and punitive units mass-murdered Jews and Ukrainians alike. Vast numbers of Ukrainians were also rounded up, with the help of

Ukrainian collaborators, for shipment to Germany as slave laborers. Thousands of actions were carried out by Nationalist militias, SB, UPA and Ukrainian police units, often under German supervision. Nationalist-recruited troops served Hitler in Ukraine, Poland, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Ukrainian collaborators assisted in the murder of hundreds of thousands in death camps like Treblinka, Sobibor, Yanowska and Trawniki.<sup>55</sup>

Such was the "anti-Nazi struggle" of those whom Nationalists today would present as "national liberation fighters," "heroes of the Ukrainian people" and "patriots who struggled for a free Ukraine."





## Chapter Ten

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### WAR CRIMINALS, ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE FAMINE-GENOCIDE CAMPAIGN

Vain were the hopes of Nazis and Nationalists. Defeat and retribution approached like a whirlwind from the east. Fleeing the Soviet offensive with the retreating Germans, Nationalist collaborators headed west.

After the Allied victory over Nazi Germany, thousands of people dislocated by the war congregated in Displaced Persons camps in Europe waiting for resettlement. Many sought to start a new life in North America, Australia and other countries. Not least among them were the large numbers of active collaborators who were in danger of being identified and brought to justice. The Allies had agreed to screen refugees and hold those suspected of war crimes.

However, World War II had hardly ended before a new war was in preparation. As early as 1945, the U.S. administration was planning a first strike against the USSR, and in its war plans and preparation Nationalist collaborators also had a role to play.

The post-war period introduced new elements into the Nationalists' famine-genocide campaign, for example its use by some to divert investigations of war criminals. Anti-semitism, long a feature of some sections of the Nationalist community — has been toned down, but continues to surface. As in the 1930s, the campaign has drawn support from the broader right wing. The campaign is one specific form of a general effort to advance a foreign policy of confrontation with the USSR, not excluding nuclear war. The ascendancy of the American Right, represented by the Reagan administration of the 1980s, not coincidentally heralded a revival and elevation of the famine-genocide campaign to new heights. The 1980s campaign finds its roots partly in developments of the early post-war years.

As detailed in *The Belarus Secret* by John Loftus (former attorney for the U.S. Justice Department Office of Special Investigations), Western intelligence agencies helped sanitize Nazi collaborators for emigration to new homelands in return for a new collaboration. A particularly important role was played by the U.S. administration's Office of Policy Coordination headed by Frank Wisner: "The IRO (International Refugee Organization) as well as the U.S. DP (Displaced Persons) Commission had long regarded the Ukrainian Nazis as ineligible for visas and had placed their organizations on the 'inimical list'; but that did not deter Wisner."<sup>1</sup> In a bid

to open the gates for Ukrainian and other collaborators, Wisner asserted: "The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and the partisan army it created in 1942 (sic), UPA, fought bitterly against both the Germans and the Soviet Russians."<sup>2</sup> Here one sees the thesis of Nationalist "anti-Nazi combat" in one of its earliest forms — a cover-story used by American intelligence to smuggle Ukrainian and other East European Nazis into the United States following the war. Loftus comments:

This was a complete fabrication. The CIC (U.S. Counter-Intelligence Corps) had an agent who photographed eleven volumes of the secret internal files of OUN-Bandera. These files clearly show how most of its members worked for the Gestapo or SS as policemen, executioners, partisan hunters and municipal officials. The OUN contribution to the German war effort was significant, including the raising of volunteers for several SS divisions. It was precisely because of its work with the Nazis that Wisner wanted to hire the OUN for his special forces.<sup>3</sup>

Wisner's letter on behalf of the OUN fascists succeeded in "convincing" immigration officials to take the OUN-Bandera organization off the "inimical list."

By the time the DP act (Displaced Persons Act) had expired in 1952, 400,000 immigrants had come to the United States. Among them were important Nazi collaborators from Byelorussia, the Ukraine . . . including the nucleus of Wisner's "special forces." During the same four year period Wisner's OPC enjoyed virtually unlimited freedom of action and had grown to the point that it was consuming more than half the CIA's annual budget. Wisner's private army had launched an undeclared war against the Soviet Union. He had defied the Congressional ban on smuggling Nazis; he had misappropriated government funds to buy arms for ex-Nazi terrorists; and he had obstructed justice by sheltering fugitive war criminals who had been denounced by the Nuremberg Tribunal, the United Nations, and the Congress of the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Frank Wisner and the Office of Policy Coordination did not, however, operate outside of the overall plan of the U.S. administration for war against the Soviet Union. Declassified documents of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council baldly outline American preparations for war, including readiness for first-use of nuclear weapons.<sup>5</sup> National Security Council Directive 4/A of December 1947, sketches the directions of covert activities. Psychological warfare included ". . . primarily media-related activities, including unattributed publications, forgeries, and subsidization of publications; political action involved exploitation of dispossessed persons and defectors, and support to political parties; paramilitary activities included support to guerrillas and sabotage; economic activities consisted of monetary operations."<sup>6</sup>

Laundered East European collaborators were put to work at Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, the Voice of America and schools training U.S. intelligence officers in East European languages.<sup>7</sup> Some were trained for sabotage operations inside the Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup> Others were employed as "living witnesses of communist terror" in the psychological conditioning of the American people for war against the USSR.<sup>9</sup> The Ukrainian "famine-genocide" was but one of many themes. Their interests coincided with those of the U.S. administration. George Kennan writes in his memoirs:

It was the existence in our country of one vocal and not uninfluential element that not only wanted war with Russia but had a very clear idea of the purpose for which, in its own view, such a war should be fought. I have in mind the escapees and immigrants, mostly recent ones, from the non-Russian portions of the postwar Soviet Union, as well as from some of the Eastern European satellite states. Their idea, to which they were passionately and sometimes ruthlessly attached, was simply that the United States should, for their benefit, fight a war against the Russian people to achieve the final breakup of the traditional Russian state and the establishment of themselves as the regimes of various "liberated" territories . . . They appealed successfully at times to religious feeling and even more importantly, to the prevailing anti-communist hysteria. An idea of the political power they possessed can be had from the fact that some years later (1959) they were able to recommend to Congress, through their friends there, the text of a resolution — the so-called Captive Nations Resolution — every word of which was written (on his own published admission) by their spokesman, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, then associate professor at Georgetown University, and to get this document solemnly adopted by Congress as a statement of American policy. This resolution committed the United States, insofar as Congress had the power to do so, to the "liberation" of twenty-two "nations," two of which had never had any real existence, and the name of one of which appears to have been invented in the Nazi propaganda ministry during the recent war.<sup>10</sup>

As one of the architects of the Cold War "containment" policy of the United States, Kennan could hardly have been shocked at this by-product of the work of the CIA in furthering U.S. policy.

The United States was not the only destination after World War II. Allowed to enter Canada, particularly after the launching of the Cold War, were former members of the terrorist Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Ukrainian police, punitive detachments, security police, concentration camp guards. Nor should one forget the political collaborators, propaganda writers, and slave-labor procurers from the Melnyk and Bandera wings of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Most notable was the Canadian government decision in 1950 to admit *en masse*, members of the Galician Waffen-SS division. Accorded special treatment,

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AGENT REPORT		WFO/tpm
1. NAME OF SUBJECT OR TITLE OF INCIDENT <b>OUN/B RE: SB (SLUZA BEZPEKY)</b>		2. DATE SUBMITTED <b>2 November 1948</b>
3. REGRADED CONFIDENTIAL ON <b>FEB 20 1985</b> BY <b>CDR USAF/SCOM FOIPD</b> Auth Para 1 603 DoD 5200. 14		3. CONTROL SYMBOL OR FILE NO. <b>IV-4490</b>
4. REPORT OF FINDINGS		
<p>3. Personal history of General Paul SHANDRUK: At the outbreak of World War I, SHANDRUK was chief of police for the Imperial Russian Government, in the POLTAVA region. In 1916 he was inducted into Military Service, and attended a military school at TSGHURTIEV as a cadet. He was disqualified from same and was assigned as a sergeant to a rear echelon unit of the army. In this assignment he rose to the rank of a Junior lieutenant, and transferred at the outbreak of the revolution to the Ukrainian army with the rank of a captain. There he became an adjutant to PEDLURA, Fnu, who promoted him within a short time to a colonel. In 1920 he served with the Ukrainian Army in Poland, and after his release entered Polish Military service, as an agent for their Counter Intelligence. In 1923 he obtained the rank of a Major in the Quartermaster Corps, after graduating from the Military Academy in WARSAW. This</p>		
5. TYPED NAME AND ORGANIZATION OF SPECIAL AGENT <b>HERBERT BECHTOLD, S/A, CIC, Region IV.</b>		6. SIGNATURE OF SPECIAL AGENT <i>Herbert Bechtold s/a</i>

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Agent Report, File No. 4490 Subjects: OUN/B, Es: 5 (SLUZA BEZPEKY) dated 2 November 1948 Continued Page 2

assignment to this special branch of service was only a camouflage for his activities with the counter intelligence. His area of assignment was WOLYNIA. By 1937 SHANDRUK was working as a double agent for both Germans and Poles. Nevertheless he was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and at the outbreak of the Polish-German war, automatically became a Major-General due to an immediate promotion of all officers. After the collapse of Poland he began working for the intelligence section of the Gestapo, and was thus instrumental in the denunciation of many Polish ex-officers and partisans hiding from the Germans. While active in this capacity SHANDRUK met such other Polish ex-officers as Fnu SAMUTIN, Fnu KRESTA and Petro DIATCHENKO who were members of an intelligence net employed by the Germans. Their spheres of interest, however, varied because they were working for ABWEHR, whereas he was employed by Gestapo. In 1943 the Germans organized an Ukrainian Army, for whose leadership General Michael OMELIANOVITCH-PAVLENKO was delegated. The latter, however, never did receive this appointment, since he was arrested by the Gestapo for undisclosed reasons and SHANDRUK was appointed in his place. He served in this position until 1945. Shortly before the German capitulation he sent Colonel SKOUSYI-RAVUSKI to establish contact with G-2 of the opposing American forces (probably 7th Army), for negotiations concerning a merger of forces and a continuation of hostilities against their Soviet allies. The latter, after contacting American forces, was placed under arrest, and SHANDRUK was forced to disband his forces.

Declassified U.S. intelligence document describing the Nazi career of Ukrainian Nationalist collaborator Pavel Shandruk. Besides serving as a Gestapo agent, Shandruk headed the "First Ukrainian Division" (the 14th Waffen SS), following its cosmetic name-change in April 1945. Shandruk's service dates back to his role as a "pogromchik" leader during the 1919 mass murder of Jews by Petliura's Ukrainian Nationalist forces (see Saul Friedman, *Pogromchik*, pp. 220-221).

they were allowed into Canada years before the ban on other SS units was lifted.

Under Nazi command, the 14th Waffen-SS division had cut its retreat through Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, fighting the partisans and the masses of people rising up against the Nazi yoke. Some had served the Nazis in their defense of Budapest.<sup>11</sup> Just prior to Germany's surrender, on April 24, 1945, the division changed its name to the "First Division" of the non-existent "Ukrainian National Army" in an effort to disguise its SS background. Other Ukrainian fascist units such as the bloody 31st Punitive Detachment, were incorporated into the division prior to surrender.<sup>12</sup> The re-christened SS unit was headed by the notorious General Pavel Shandruk, a turncoat from the pre-war Polish army with a long record of Nazi service. Following the Nazi surrender, the main body of the division was interned by the British in a camp in Rimini, Italy.

Ukrainian Nationalists abroad set up "relief committees" to get these collaborators and others out of the Displaced Persons and internment camps, and into countries such as Canada and the United States. In Canada a key role was played by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC). Prominent today in the famine-genocide campaign (the film *Harvest of Despair* was made under its auspices), the UCC was founded in November 1940 by the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the League of Ukrainian Organizations and the pro-fascist United Hetman Organizations and Ukrainian National Federation. Citing documents from the Public Archives of Canada, Toronto's Simon Wiesenthal Centre has outlined the active role played by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.<sup>13</sup>

"The Hetman organization," the Wiesenthal Centre notes, "sought to restore the monarchy in the Ukraine and establish a military dictatorship based on Italian fascism."<sup>14</sup>

Publishers of the *New Pathway*, the Ukrainian National Federation had a pre-war record of glorifying the Nazi regime and Hitler. Even Watson Kirkconnell — "honorary advisor" to the coordinating committee which led to the formation of the UCC — had previously acknowledged that the UNF were "Ukrainian Nazis." Noting that the UNF was the Canadian branch of the OUN (Melnyk followers), Kirkconnell wrote that this organization was "anti-semitic, markedly military, authoritarian, and anti-democratic and has been outlawed in Poland for their campaigns of murder and terrorism."<sup>15</sup> A confidential 1940 report to the Department of War Services described the UNF as "rabid admirers of the Nazi system."<sup>16</sup>

In 1946, Ukrainian Canadian Committee President Wasyl Kushnir

visited the SS-men in Rimini, some of whom were still dressed in their Nazi uniforms. Upon Kushnir's return to Canada, the UCC lobbied to secure their entry into Canada. This was seemingly difficult — SS members were barred from entry. Appearing before the Senate's Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, Kushnir was asked if military men were among the displaced persons under discussion. Kushnir replied in the negative, supporting Senator David's claim that the SS-men were workmen by adding that they had been forcibly deported.<sup>17</sup>

The formal barrier to SS members faded in importance as the Cold War deepened. Of more concern to the Canadian Immigration Department was whether or not an applicant was or had been a "communist." Thus, an anti-Nazi partisan of left persuasion, or one who had fought under left-wing leadership against the German occupation (in many European countries, the major part of the resistance movements) stood to be turned away.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, former Nazi SS-men were admitted by the thousands. Even prior to the admission of the members of the 14th Waffen-SS Division, certain Canadian authorities were complicit in facilitating the entry of SS members: in December 1947 "a member of the Ontario legislature on a fact-finding tour of Europe, wrote from Germany to Saul Hayes, the Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, that RCMP officers screened and approved 'about a dozen men who had been stopped by the doctor before boarding ship because the doctor had discovered the SS mark tattooed under their armpits.'"<sup>19</sup>

No sooner had they settled into their new environment than the political activists among them sought out, or were approached for, new alliances within the Cold War political and academic arenas. Canadian Nazi investigator Sol Littman, for example, has stated: "To gather information on Soviet-bloc countries, they (the RCMP) have cultivated the radical, right-wing nationalists in the Baltic, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Romanian, Croatian and Polish Canadian communities."<sup>20</sup>

New-wave Nationalists rose rapidly in the ranks of the American and Canadian organizations, some of which had been weakened and depleted during the war years due to their earlier pro-Nazi leanings. Adding some thousands of new members, the new arrivals eventually came to dominate the leadership of the right-wing in the Ukrainian community, giving the movement a new lease on life.

In Canada, for example, a number of post-war Ukrainian exiles of OUN-Melnyk loyalties joined the Ukrainian National Federation. New organizations were also set up, such as the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the OUN-Bandera's UPA); the Brotherhood of Former Combatants, First Division, Ukrainian National Army (alias of

the 14th Waffen SS); and the OUN-Banderite League for the Liberation of Ukraine. These groups eventually affiliated to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Former fascists, Nazi collaborators and SS-men are to be found throughout the ethnic and political associations dominated by certain Nationalist tendencies. Some prominent Ukrainian Nationalists openly brag of the influence wielded by former SS members in Ukrainian right-wing organizations. Former Ukrainian SS-man Mykola Stepanenko, who reportedly has done work for both Radio Liberty and Radio Canada, addressed a banquet celebrating an anniversary of the 14th Waffen SS Division in Toronto. Speaking as a representative of "the government center of the Ukrainian National Republic," he boasted:

I share your conviction that former members of the First Ukrainian Division are today found: "in all Ukrainian organizations, societies and institutions, that they are among the leaders of every such organization. They hold responsible posts at private enterprises, functioning in a variety of government and public capacities, in the education system from public schools to universities. All of them went through the school of life in the Division . . . and they are not ashamed of it."<sup>21\*</sup>

While Stepanenko and others may not be "ashamed" of their former membership in the SS, the general trend in the Ukrainian Nationalist movement has been to cover up Nationalist complicity in Nazi Germany's crimes. A new image and clean clothes were collectively required which would obscure past collaboration with the Nazis and enable them to pick up the shattered pieces of their anti-communist struggle from new bases in the West.

One need only examine the numerous "institutions" set up to develop the history of Ukrainian Nationalism to a fine art of apologetics. The vast bulk of Western material on Ukrainian history, culture and politics is manufactured by exiled right-wingers and their liberally funded "academic institutions." Such institutions as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Smoloskyp Publishers, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (New York), the Ukrainian Free University in Munich try to pass off Nationalist interpretations of history as representing the views and aspirations of all Ukrainians in the world.

Frank Wisner and the Office of Policy Coordination played a direct

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\* Former members of the 14th Waffen SS (alias First Ukrainian Division) are not found in "all Ukrainian organizations"; all Ukrainian organizations are not Nationalist, and only a minority of Ukrainian Canadians and Americans have been associated with right-wing Nationalist organizations. Nationalist claims to speak not only for all Ukrainians abroad, but for Ukraine as well, are patently ridiculous.

role in the 1950s in establishing emigre institutes. John Loftus notes further: "Funding for these 'research institutes,' which were little more than front groups for ex-Nazi intelligence officers, came from the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism, now known as Radio Liberty. The committee was actually a front for OPC."<sup>22</sup>

Many of these institutions continue to be generously assisted by various public and private sources, openly or covertly. In the United States, a *Village Voice* expose drew attention to the Prolog Research and Publishing Association Inc. Its purpose: "the investigation of the history, economics, politics, and culture of the Ukraine . . . exposing to the public opinion of the world the true nature of communist dictatorship and the threat to freedom everywhere."<sup>23</sup> Prolog's certificate filed in New York in 1956 lists the Ukrainian Nazi war criminal Mykola Lebed as a director. According to the *Village Voice*, Lebed headed an OUN faction, for which Prolog was at least partly a front group. The *Village Voice* comments: "Ukrainians familiar with the workings of Prolog say that it could not have sustained itself solely from sales of its publications — many of which were regularly smuggled into . . . Ukraine — and that it probably received help from a government agency." Several people interviewed mentioned the CIA.<sup>24</sup>

In Canada, Nationalists and anti-communists dominate some universities' Ukrainian and East European studies departments. They appear to have had a free hand to publish propaganda as history.<sup>25</sup> Such "studies" departments, gilded by the name of respected universities, are not only a means of perpetuating the ideological positions of Ukrainian Nationalism, but strive to elevate and insinuate them into more broadly accepted history. As such they serve the ideological armory of the Cold War right wing.

In deference to more "respectable" North American approaches to anti-communism, contemporary Nationalist material has generally toned down or quietly abandoned former Nazi-like and Jew-baiting themes. Perhaps this underlies Robert Conquest's wishful assertion that "generally speaking, Ukrainian Nationalism as it now exists is of a liberal and generous type."<sup>26</sup> However, anti-semitism has not been completely relegated to history. It continues to rear its head in allegations of famine-genocide, and particularly in response to investigations of war criminals.

A particularly vicious example is the book *Why is One Holocaust Worth More than Others?*, published in 1986 by the Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).<sup>27</sup> Written by a former UPA member using the name Yuriy Chumatskyj, the book sees history as a Jewish plot in classic fascist fashion. Its main argument runs as follows: the Jews are to



blame for the "deliberate famine" of 1932-1933, which (it is claimed) killed more Ukrainians than Hitler (and his Ukrainian auxiliaries) killed Jews in the war; no one, therefore, dare accuse post-war Ukrainian Nationalists of harboring collaborators and war criminals; such accusations use faked Moscow-Zionist evidence.

To play up the fabrication of famine-genocide, the holocaust against the Jews is downplayed and dismissed as an assertion of "Zionist Jews." From the beginning, the cause of anti-semitism is seen as "Jewish obstinacy and arrogance."<sup>28</sup> The figure of six million Jewish victims is discounted as an "allegation" and the reader is told that the holocaust against the Jews is merely being used as "Israel's number one propaganda weapon."<sup>29</sup> In sympathy with those who deny the holocaust, such as Canadian racists Zundel and Keegstra, Chumatskyj states:

... revisionist historians who claim there was no plan to exterminate Jews, there were no mass gassings and that fewer than one million Jews died of all causes during World War II, are persecuted, and their books banned by trade boycott. They have been persecuted in the courts . . . in the USA, West Germany and Canada, they are subject to character assassinations in the media . . .<sup>30</sup>

The real holocaust, contends Chumatskyj, was caused by Jew/Bolsheviks. He states: ". . . according to Zionists' statements Hitler killed six million Jews but Stalin, supported by the *Jewish state apparatus*, was able to kill ten times more Christians . . ."<sup>31</sup> Alleging that Jewish financiers backed the Russian Revolution, that Jews made up the leadership and were responsible for 60-65 million gentile deaths, Chumatskyj relies on anti-semitic mythology to explain the causes of the 1932-1933 famine. In answer to his own question "Why was this famine created?" Chumatskyj states:

... having the majority in the USSR administration, the Jews were involved in all decision-making including the settlement of Jews in Ukraine and Crimea, plus the plan to build "Zion" in Ukraine. Planning of the Ukrainian famine was still a few years into the future. Disarming Ukraine with false promises of amnesty and further intimidating the populace by judicial process, Russia then took steps to implement the "famine plan." The Jewish farmers were warned in advance and they left their homesteads moving to nearby cities and villages. The Jewish population did not starve as the warning enabled them to store food in anticipation.<sup>32</sup>

Having thinned out Ukraine by "planned famine" for the purpose of Jewish colonization, the reader is told that the "Jew-controlled" western press suppressed news of the famine.<sup>33</sup> The Irish gentile writer Duranty is even labelled a "Jewish journalist" in support of the thesis of "Jewish sympathizers" covering up a genocide.<sup>34</sup>

Current investigations of Ukrainian war criminals are therefore misdirected, it is claimed. In support, the book offers the following statement by Yaroslav Stetsko, wartime Ukrainian fascist leader who after the war headed up the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" until his recent death: "Today power<sup>1</sup> is exercised by the Moscovite 'sub-human.' The flaccid West acts as if no one saw that the real 'sub-human' is not the wrong [Ivan] Demjanniuk, but the creatures who occupy the Kremlin!"<sup>35</sup>

The "Jewish-Bolshevik" conspiracy theme is also recalled in the reaction of certain other Ukrainian Nationalists to the possible extradition or prosecution of Ukrainian war criminals. Under the heading "Ukrainians on Trial: Thanks to Soviet-Jewish 'Witnesses and Documents' " the Nationalist journal *EKPAH-EKRAN* states:

Often it is very painful, when one hears, reads, sees, in the so-called "media," sensational and purposeful commentaries, reports about "crimes" of Ukrainians against the Jews and the "collaboration" of the former with the Germans. . . . where are our educational institutions — UVAN, NTSH, departments of Ukrainian Studies, social organizations, political parties, UCCA, CUC, WCFU, churches, professional associations, who would take a public position in the English language press in regards to the falsity of witnesses, Soviet-Jewish witnesses and KGB "documentations," the oft-planned Jewish campaigns against the accused tried by American courts! . . . our emigration must defend the Ukrainian honor in a general and abstract manner and not in a singular understanding before western courts. That is — compactly oppose false Soviet "documentations" and their supposed witnesses, tendentiousness, with politically forged Jewish witnesses who have unlimited access to American "news media."<sup>36</sup>

The Canadian government's decision to establish a commission to investigate the presence in Canada of war criminals (the Deschenes Commission) provoked somewhat similar responses. "Canada's newspaper for Ukrainian students," *Student*, stated for example: "The Jewish community, throughout history, has led an urbanized existence; attempting to always be at the political/commercial forefront, exerting influence on decision making processes to benefit themselves wherever possible. The appointment of the Deschenes Commission is but one result of their efforts." *Student* attributes the "silence" of the "few Ukrainians in any position to speak out on this matter with any degree of credibility" to "fear of backlash from within their professional lives. They are well aware of the formidable Jewish presence in all areas of employment and avoid biting the hand that feeds them."<sup>37</sup>

Even more repugnant are comments made by Father Myron Stasiw on a Toronto radio station in February 1985. Stasiw, a former member of the 14th Waffen SS Division, still carries his SS tattoo and shows no shame at having been a member of that dirty outfit. A prominent member of the

Ukrainian Nationalist community, Stasiw was elected president of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalists (affiliated to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee) in April 1987. Stating that if such a thing existed as "Ukrainian war criminals" they would be "considerably less numerous than the Jewish war criminals," Stasiw repeats the old slanders once circulated by Ukrainian reactionaries:

The Jews in their hatred for the Ukrainians go back 300 years and more; but they do not say what the causes of these Jewish pogroms were — those who had the keys to the Christian churches and would not allow the people to enter to pray. They were the tavernkeepers, who robbed the peasants of their lands for whiskey, and made them their serfs. The Jews likewise do not speak about how the Jews poured molten tar and boiling water and stoned the heads of the Ukrainian [Petliura Nationalist] soldiers in Berdichev, in 1918 at the time of the Ukrainian state . . . How many Jews were there in the government of Leiba Trotsky? . . . Consider the achievements of Kaganovitch as commissar of Ukraine in the years of the famine of 1932-1933, when more than seven million Ukrainians perished from artificial famine.<sup>38</sup>

A related theme (seen also in *Why is One Holocaust Worth More than Others*) has become particularly popular in Nationalist protest against investigation of war criminals. That is to project the concept that "communism equals fascism-plus," to depict the Soviet Union as having committed a "genocide" as great as, or even greater than Hitler's genocide against the Jews. For example, L. Shulakewych writes to the editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*: ". . . Hitler annihilated about 11 million in his genocidal operations. Stalin had at least 29 million killed . . ." <sup>39</sup> The writer goes on to berate "Jewish organizations" for insisting that Nazi documents and other evidence from the USSR be used by the Canadian government commission investigating war crimes. Similarly, in an apparent attempt to divert attention from the trial then underway in Israel of John Demyanyuk (the former Ukrainian SS-man accused of operating the Treblinka gas chamber), a Mr. Onyshko writes: "The Russians pioneered the use of gas chambers in 1938 in Vorkuta. It is an old communist trick to use gas chambers to destroy those fighting the Russian monsters."<sup>40</sup> Nationalist campaigns such as that alleging Soviet "genocide" in the Ukrainian famine, are thus used to deflect examination of Nationalist complicity in the fascist crimes.

This though is a secondary aim; the primary purpose served by the famine-genocide campaign is to contribute to psychological conditioning for confrontation and war against the Soviet Union. This is seen by some to be the method by which to make the Nationalist dream of an "independent Ukraine" a reality.

In 1920, Ukrainian Nationalists looked to interventionist Poland and its invasion of Soviet Ukraine as the vehicle for gaining power. From the mid-1930s through World War II, Nazi Germany was seen as the means to the Nationalists' end. In the post-war period, the United States has been seen as holding the promise of realizing the goal of a Nationalist-ruled Ukraine. U.S. policies based on hostility and distrust toward the USSR and nuclear war are seen as necessary for this purpose.

The following statement from the Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Homin Ukrainy*, would indicate that some Nationalists are pinning their last hopes for a return to Ukraine, or rather to her ashes, on a nuclear strike against the USSR:

We regard the threat of a third world war, as it approaches humanity, as our last, perhaps the apstest chance . . . Even if one half, or more of humanity were to perish in this war, we wouldn't consider it too exorbitant a price in order to gain our freedom.<sup>41</sup>

In a similar fit of madness, the Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Svoboda* declared: "In several years from now the American president will have only two things to choose between — either to start a nuclear war against the USSR, or to yield to Moscow."<sup>42</sup> In support of American plans to deploy neutron bombs in Europe, former Nazi collaborator and exiled OUN leader Yaroslav Stetsko stated: "In a war against the Warsaw Treaty countries NATO hasn't a chance of winning victory by conventional weapons unless it deploys neutron weapons in Europe . . . Among all the different types of nuclear weapons, it is the most humane . . . The use of tactical nuclear weapons does not mean a universal nuclear war."<sup>43</sup> Not to be outdone, *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* stated: "The USSR's existing any further poses a greater threat to the world than a nuclear cataclysm."<sup>44</sup>

Outside of the Nationalist movement, in a broader context, the famine-genocide campaign is one cog of the wheel of psychological warfare against the USSR in the U.S. military machine. Declassified U.S. documents of the late 1940s and 1950s clearly link an offensive policy against the Soviet Union and its defeat, with the perceived interests of the United States. In the 1980s, the U.S. administration has re-emphasized official policy legitimizing first-use of nuclear weapons, "pre-emptive" nuclear attack, and theories of "limited" and "winnable" nuclear war.<sup>45</sup> An atmosphere of direct confrontation with the USSR has been promoted, using the language of blackmail and threats characteristic of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's "crusade against communism."<sup>46</sup>

Carefully cultivated is the image of a Soviet "Evil Empire" prepared to launch a conventional or nuclear war to achieve "world domination." One must beware of appeasement — the argument goes — and pursue a

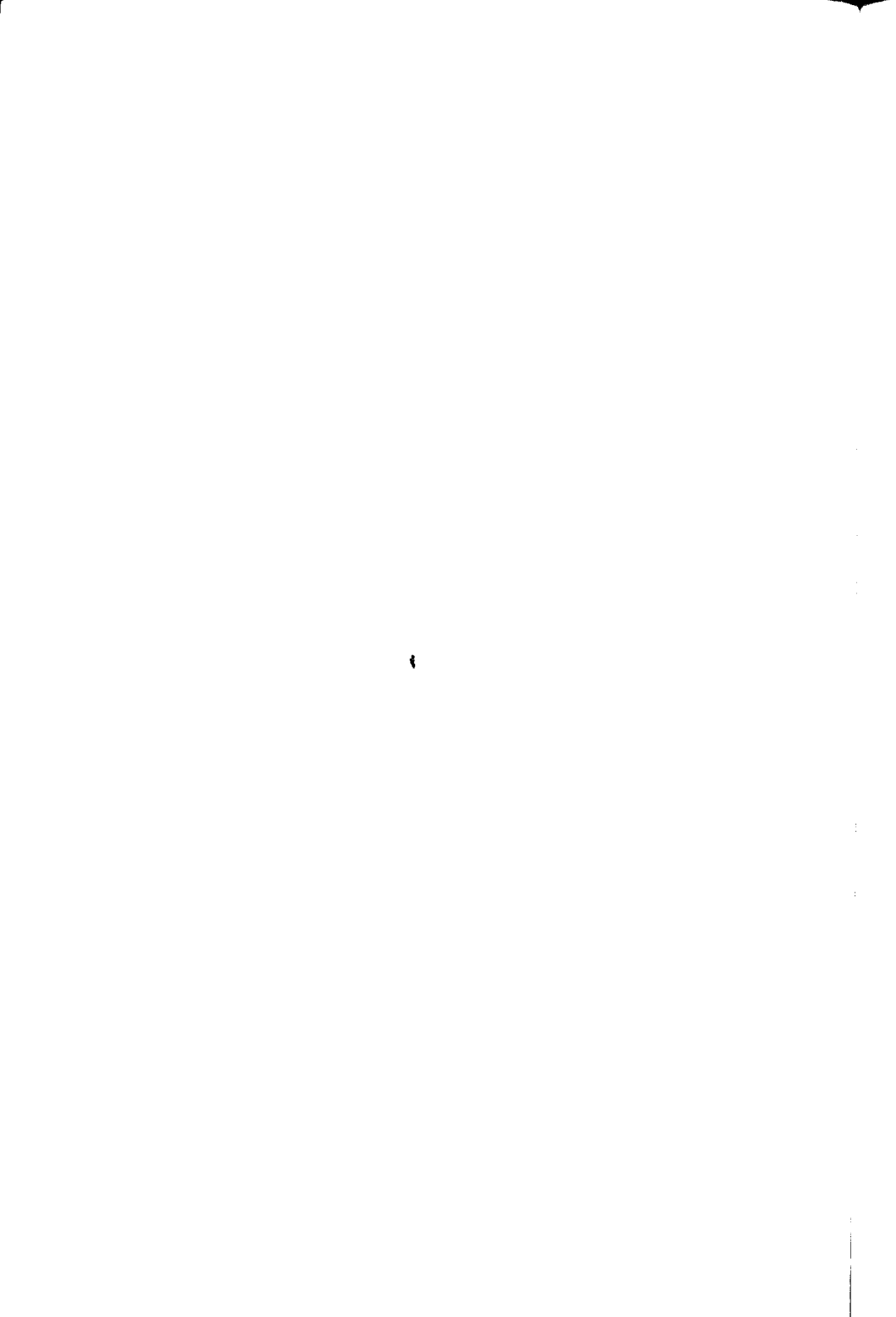
position of military strength.

The "Evil Empire" image rests — if only in small measure — on the interpretation of the 1932-1933 famine as a deliberate, pre-planned genocide of millions of Ukrainians.

Cold War confrontation, rather than historical truth and understanding, has motivated and characterized the famine-genocide campaign. Elements of fraud, anti-semitism, degenerate Nationalism, fascism and pseudo-scholarship revealed in this critical examination of certain key evidence presented in the campaign, of the political purpose and historical background of the campaign's promoters underline this conclusion.

Over 50 years ago, American journalist Louis Fischer exposed the fakery and political motives of the pro-fascist publisher William Randolph Hearst. In examining the record of those propagating the famine-genocide campaign today, one is drawn to Fischer's conclusion:

*"The attempt is too transparent, and the hands are too unclean to succeed."*



## Appendix

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### FROM THIRD REICH PROPAGANDIST TO FAMINE-GENOCIDE AUTHOR

"Eyewitnesses" are among the most effective sources used in "famine-genocide" propaganda. The scholarly weakness of such "evidence" has been generally noted. It is not possible to examine each specific individual's story. One must suffice.

Among the many "testimonies" in *Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, is one by Olexa Hay-Holowko. At the time of the book's publication, this man was living in Winnipeg under the false name of "Boryslawsky" — a name he used until 1958 when he reverted to his wartime name.<sup>1</sup> Discussions with post-war Ukrainian immigrants and information from various research organizations reveal that Hay-Holowko has left out some parts of his "story."

An identification card issued in Cracow, Poland on November 14, 1942, under Hans Frank's "Generalgouvernement" identifies Hay-Holowko as a Nazi-approved *Schriftsteller*, or writer. The document is stamped "Berlin," indicating the highest official Nazi approval. Born on August 12, 1910 in Pysariwka, his status is given as married.<sup>2</sup> His birthdate and place of birth should be borne in mind, for, as will be shown, Hay-Holowko keeps changing particulars on documents prior to and after Germany's surrender.

Hay-Holowko was also granted a work-pass issued through Volodymyr Kubijovyc's Ukrainischer Hauptausschuss (Ukrainian Central Committee). This German-controlled collaborationist front was set up in Cracow in 1940 by the Nazis and Ukrainian Nationalists, long before the invasion of the Soviet Union. The work-pass, issued in 1943, declares Hay-Holowko to be a member of the Lviv Writers' Association. It bears the extremely low certification number of seven, which would seem to indicate that he was among the very first to sign up for the Nazi-approved association. The affixed photograph clearly matches his post-war photos.<sup>3</sup>

According to one of his books published decades later in Canada, Hay-Holowko had work approved and published under Nazi authority during the occupation of Ukraine.<sup>4</sup> In addition, it has been reported from Ukrainian immigrant sources in Canada that he worked alongside Nazi officers in attempts to recruit Soviet prisoners to fight for Hitler, such as at the POW camp in Borislav.

Hay-Holowko's personal wartime writings state that in August 1944

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНИЙ КОМІТЕТ У Г. Г.  
СПІЛКА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПИСЬМЕННИКІВ У ЛЬВОВІ

UKRAINISCHER HAUPTAUSSCHUSS IN G. G.  
ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT UKR. INISCH.  
SCHRIFTSTELLER IN LEMBERG

ПОСВІДЧЕННЯ Ч. 7

BESCHEINIGUNG Nr. 7

Стверджується що Письменник (-иця)

Wir bestätigen hiermit, dass der Schriftsteller (in)  
Oleksa Haj-Holowko  
wirklich das Mitglied der Arbeitsgemeinschaft  
Ukrainischer Schriftsteller in Lemberg ist!

Eigenhändige  
Unterschrift

Sekretär:

Gültig bis 31. 12. 194 3  
Sekretär: AA

Gültig bis 194 3  
Sekretär



Гай-Холовко  
членом Львівської  
Письменницької Співки  
в Львові

Власноручний підпис Секретар  
Дієсно до 31. 12. 194 3 Дієсно до 194  
Секретар



Surname Hajewycz

Christianname Alexander

Born 16. 10. 1916.

at Bamberg

Student of gymnasium

is a member of Ukrainian Highschool  
Students Union in Innsbruck.

Signature

Innsbruck, 1943

194 3

Before and After. Above: Haj-Holowko's Nazi-authorized membership card for the writers' association. Note low membership number. Below: after the Nazi surrender, SS-man Haj-Holowko used an alias and false identification papers under the name of "Hajewycz" to escape detection.



he was sworn into the SS and received his SS tattoo under the left arm.<sup>5</sup>

Nazi Germany's surrender found Hay-Holowko in Austria, where, incidentally, thousands of Ukrainian SS-men emerged after retreating from Yugoslavia and elsewhere. In the panic and scramble of the last days of the war, many Nazis and collaborators tried to change identities, and to finish up the war in the British and American zones. The SS Halychyna Division and other Ukrainian fascist forces "reconstituted themselves" with German consent as the "First Ukrainian Division" of the non-existent Ukrainian National Army immediately prior to the Nazi surrender — a tactic devised to avoid retribution. Since the allies had agreed that all SS formations were criminal organizations, there were initially a lot of nervous collaborators looking for safety.

Hay-Holowko seems to have been no exception. Two identically printed travel passes were made out for the 12.445 train from Linz to Feldkirch. One is for "Olexij Haj-Holowko" born 12.8.1910; the other, for "Olexander Hajewytsch" born 12.10.1912.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly such documents would come in handy if checked by certain Allied authorities.

That though was just the beginning. In Kramsach/Tirol he was issued a *Bescheinigung* on June 1, under the name Olexsy Hay-Holowko, born 12.8.1910. This certificate indicates his presence in a Displaced Persons camp and bears the signature of the local burgermeister, Herr I.A. Wolf.<sup>7</sup> A police form dated June 16, 1945, reveals Hay-Holowko to have registered in Innsbruck under the name Alexander Hajewytsch, born 12.10.1912 in Sanok. His last place of residence is given as Vienna.<sup>8</sup> Yet another document, dated June 22, 1945, appears to be a falsely obtained identity card for the "Ukrainian High School Students Union" at Innsbruck. Identified as a philosophy student, his alias is given a modified Polish spelling — Alexander Hajewycz; born 12.10.1912 in Sanok.<sup>9</sup> Less than a month later, a police document issued July 19, 1945 is made out to Alex Haj-Holowko, born 12.8.1910 in Pysariwka — matching that given on the Nazi-approved documents from Lviv during the war. The last place of residence is given as Kramsach, and the occupation as writer. By means of the photographs it becomes unmistakably clear that Hajewytsch, Hajewycz and Hay-Holowko are one and the same person.

On his Austrian-obtained documents, Hay-Holowko claimed to be unmarried. In fact, he was married in Lviv (Lemberg) on February 14, 1942 to Alexandra Kusykeva.<sup>10</sup> Not only did he desert his wife, but a young son as well. Yaroslav Holowko was born on August 24, 1942 in Lviv, the birth being recorded at St. George's High Cathedral.<sup>11</sup> Although professing to be Greek Orthodox in his post-war documents, the marriage and baptism took place in the Roman Church. No divorce was obtained

from this marriage.

Thus we see a person on the run, taking extraordinary pains to conceal not only his real identity but also his exact location, destinations, places of residence and dates thereof. One suspects that some documents were made out in advance of the particulars indicated, and others later than described. Given the black market in identity passes and other documents among those hiding from the past, such maneuvers were entirely feasible.

The recent book *We Accuse: Documentary Sketch*, by Ukrainian writer and researcher Valery Styrkul, contains very interesting material on Holowko. (Styrkul is also author of a book on the organization and atrocities committed by members of the 14th Waffen SS Division in Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia.)<sup>12</sup>

Where was Olexa Hay-Holowko in early July 1941, when the cream of Lviv's intelligentsia and thousands of innocent Jewish men, women and children were being slaughtered by Ukrainian fascists during the Nationalists' first exercise in "government" since Petliura? According to Styrkul:

In that pseudo-administration, Olexa Hay-Holowko was made propaganda minister . . . Neither was it coincidental that Hay-Holowko found himself among such members of the "government" as Stetsko, Lebed, Shukhevych, and others. He hated Jews as much as they did. After the war started, he even wrote these "poetic" — or rather, fanatic, cannibalistic — lines:

May a hurricane . . . sweep the world clean of the hateful Jews;  
 Death, formidable and wrathful, has already sounded his trumpet,  
 He is towering over you, scythe in hand . . .  
 Because the damned Jews  
 Hung around the St. Sophia . . .<sup>13</sup>

Hay-Holowko, not surprisingly, totally omits any mention of his role as propaganda minister in his published memoirs.<sup>14</sup> While presenting himself as having a most phenomenal memory for trivial details and alleged conversations going back a half-century, Hay-Holowko suffers amnesia when it comes to the pinnacle of his political career. This lapse of memory however, is not shared by the Bandera wing of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement. The Banderist book, *The Restoration of the Ukrainian State in World War II*, not only lists him in the line-up of this so-called government, but honors him with a photograph.<sup>15</sup>

Stetsko's OUN-Bandera "government" lasted only 10 days and a few more pogroms before being replaced by direct Nazi German rule. According to Styrkul, Hay-Holowko was subsequently trained by the Germans and became a war propaganda correspondent, working for the

SS formation *Skorpion Ost* (Scorpion of the East). A member of a press corps of Nazi armed forces writers, Hay-Holowko was later reported to have been placed in command of the Steel Cohort, apparently a group of Ukrainian Nationalist propagandists attached to the Nazi army. Styrkul states that toward the end of the war Hay-Holowko received a further promotion in the SS: "In February 1945, Haj-Holovko was appointed editor of the newspaper *Do Boyu* (To Combat) and attached to the SS Halychyna Division."<sup>16</sup>

Styrkul may also shed light on Hay-Holowko's desperate flight from justice at war's end: In June 1945 Hay-Holowko was "arrested in Augsburg (Germany) on charges of war crimes while serving in the SS. On his way to prison, once they were out of town, he knocked out and strangled his American driver, jumped out of the car and ran away, leaving behind his papers, among them his photos and diary."<sup>17</sup>

After a couple of years in Germany, Hay-Holowko decided to get away from that part of Europe altogether. In 1948 he went to England as "Mr. Boryslawsky" where he lived and worked during that year. Later he decided to emigrate to Canada, but was reportedly held up by authorities who wondered with good reason why his brother, who had settled in Edmonton, Alberta, happened to have a different family name.

Stranded in England, Mr. Boryslawsky, still undivorced from his 1942 marriage, arranged an engagement through correspondence to a woman in Montreal, whom he had never met, in order to be sponsored into Canada as her fiance. Although using a false name (in violation of Canadian immigration laws), remaining silent about his SS past, and married with a family left behind in Lviv, Hay-Holowko succeeded in entering Canada in 1949. After visiting his brother in Edmonton, he came to Winnipeg, married his correspondence bride and settled down.

Holding various jobs and political affiliations within the Nationalist community, Hay-Holowko has had a number of books published and once worked at the *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice). In 1953 he briefly came out of the closet under his own name of Hay-Holowko to pose as an expert on the "famine-genocide" of 1932-1933. Thus he appeared in *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* (Volume I).

In the 1980s' revival of the famine-genocide campaign, Hay-Holowko — former Nazi collaborator and SS-man — reappeared on the Cold War scene, an "eyewitness to famine-genocide." Interviewed by the *Winnipeg Free Press* in 1983, Hay-Holowko repeated the by-now standard Nationalist horror stories and rhetoric. Headlined "Dead dragged by legs and stacked in trucks like mere cordwood," the article was accompanied by a photo of Hay-Holowko and the second Mrs. Holowko

confidently posed, with smug smiles, beneath an arranged icon of Jesus.<sup>18</sup>

Hay-Holowko captured considerable limelight in Manitoba during that "50th Anniversary Year of the Famine." At a Nationalist-organized commemoration march and rally in Winnipeg in October 1983, Hay-Holowko appeared as a key speaker, alongside Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley and two representatives from a Jewish organization, who appear to have had short memories. Addressing the rally, Hay-Holowko stated: "I am a victim who survived the great, great famine which the Soviet Union imposed upon those who refused to give into slavery."<sup>19</sup>

One wonders just how Hay-Holowko was a survivor of anything other than his own appetite, if his own books are any indication. Although he claims that the Jews and communists had access to food while "Ukrainians" starved, in the autobiographical *Smertelnoiu Dorohoiu* (Along the Road of Death, Volume II), Hay-Holowko describes a relatively prosperous life:

In the dining room the table was covered. There stood his wife and younger daughter. We all sat down at the table and tasted borscht. We conversed and then his wife brought in the cutlets and mashed potatoes.<sup>20</sup>

On New Year's 1933, Hay-Holowko writes of party-going with a new girlfriend for whom he had purchased two new dresses, and then seeing a movie. Later they attended a party at the House of Literature, where there was an abundance of food and drink.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout the period in question, this "famine-genocide victim" seems to have enjoyed more than his share of drinking and dining. Perhaps he meant that he was a survivor from the retribution of the Ukrainian people, which he would have faced had he not changed his name and fled after the war.

Hay-Holowko did not fight against the Nazi slavery which murdered millions of Ukrainians for whom he now pretends to speak. On the contrary, he served the "New Order" in a number of capacities. He continues to serve, as an exponent of the famine-genocide campaign.

# NOTES

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## Introduction

1. *London Review of Books*, January 22, 1987.

## Chapter One

### Thomas Walker: The Man Who Never Was

1. James Creelman in *Pearson's Weekly*, September 1906.
2. See for example, Thomas Walker, "6,000,000 Starve to Death in Russia"; "Children Starve Among Soviet Dead"; "Bodies of Soviet Famine Victims Robbed"; "Soviet Drafts Men, Starves Women"; "Starvation Wipes Out Soviet Villages"; *New York Evening Journal*, February 18, 19, 21, 25, 27, 1935 respectively.
3. Louis Fischer, "Hearst's Russian Famine," *The Nation*, Vol. 140, No. 3636, March 13, 1935.
4. *Daily Worker*, February 21, 1935.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *New York American*, March 3, 1935.
8. *New York Times*, July 16, 1935.
9. *Daily Worker*, July 20, 1935.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Among the many publications which use Walker's fraudulent materials as historical proof are: "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934" by Dana Dalrymple, *Soviet Studies*, January 1964; *The Ninth Circle* by Olexa Woropay, Harvard Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1983; *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust*, Ukrainian National Association (USA), 1983; *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine — Terror and Human Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism* by Walter Dushnyck, 1983; *Witness: Memoirs of the Famine of 1933 in Ukraine* by Pavlo Makohon, Anabasis, 1983; *Human Life in Russia* by Ewald Ammende, John T. Zubal, 1984 (reprint of the 1936 edition); *Harvest of Sorrow* by Robert Conquest, University of Alberta Press, 1986; *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933: A Memorial Exhibition* prepared by Oksana Procyk, Leonid Heretz and James E. Mace, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Harvard College Library, 1986.

## Chapter Two

### The Hearst Press: The Campaign Continues

1. The U.S. oil company Texaco fuelled Franco's fascist armies in Spain. See Peter Elstob, *Condor Legion*, New York, Ballantine Books, 1973, p. 82. For further information on American corporate collaboration with the Nazis (including during World War II), see Charles Higham, *Trading with the Enemy: An Expose of the Nazi-American Money Plot, 1939-1949*, New York, Delacorte Press, 1983.

2. John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, New York, Harper Bros., 1936, p. 179.
3. George Seldes, *Facts and Fascism*, New York, In Fact, 1943, p. 210.
4. W.A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961, p. 443.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
6. *Daily Worker*, February 13, 1935.
7. *New York Times*, August 23, 1934. Hearst's pro-Nazi views were not limited to the 1930s. The day after Hitler's army invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the *New York Journal American*, in sympathy with the Nazis, advised Europeans [even after fascist occupation] to unite in face of expanding communism!
8. Swanberg, p. 299.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
10. Similarly, the *Boston Sunday Advertiser*, October 1, 1934.
11. Swanberg, p. 471; see also pp. 468-469, and *New York Times*, December 24, 1934, *Social Frontier*, April 24, 1935.
12. Swanberg, pp. 469-470.
13. Ewald Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984, pp. 274-275.
14. Swanberg, p. 470.
15. Hearst's *New York American*, for example, featured articles by the top Nazi Alfred Rosenberg ("Now is the Time for Other Nations to Meet Germany's Desire for Peace"), Hermann Goering ("Reich Training Youth to Build Up Airforce, But Not For War"), and fascist dictator Benito Mussolini ("Italy Glories in Militarism, Say Duce; Pacifists the Worst Enemies of Peace"). See George Seldes, *Facts and Fascism*, p. 227.
16. Philip Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, Newark, Nordan Press, 1950, pp. 106-107.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 439.
19. See *New York Evening Journal*, April 17, 18, 20, 22, 23 and April 15, 1935 respectively. Lang's cannibalism tales live on in such books as *The Soviet Revolution 1917-1939* by Raphael Abramovitch, New York, International Universities Press, 1962 (p. 345).
20. *Daily Worker*, May 21, 1935.
21. *Socialist Call*, April 1935.
22. *Daily Worker*, April 23 and May 16, 1935.
23. *Forward*, April 18, 1935.
24. *The Nation*, May 8, 1935.
25. See *The Nation*, March 13, 1935.
26. *The Nation*, June 26, 1935. See also *Daily Worker*, June 8, 1935.
27. *The Nation*, June 26, 1935.
28. *Daily Worker*, June 8, 1935.
29. Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade*, New York, Basic Books, 1984, p. 440.
30. *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 1947.
31. *Daily Worker*, July 12-15, 1935.
32. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1935.
33. Fred Beal, *Foreign Workers in a Soviet Tractor Plant*, 1933, pp. 49-50.
34. Fred Beal, *Proletarian Journey*, New York, Hilman-Curl, 1937, p. 247.

Published in England as *Word from Nowhere*.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

### Chapter Three Famine Photographs: Which Famine?

1. See for example, "Hungerhoelle Sowjetrussland — Das Massensterben in Sowjet 'Paradies' ", *Voelkischer Beobachter* (Berlin), August 18, 1933.

2. *Voelkischer Beobachter*, January 25, 1935.

3. *New York Times*, February 10, 1935.

4. Ewald Ammende, *Muss Russland Hungern?*, Vienna, Wilhelm Braummüller, 1935.

5. Ewald Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984.

6. Eg. *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Koelnische Zeitung*, *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung*, *Nation und Staat*, etc. (Nazi Germany); *Osservatore Romano* (Vatican); various Ukrainian Nationalist journals such as *Dilo* and *America*, as well as various pro-Nazi Volksdeutsche papers outside of Germany proper.

7. Ammende (here and after reference is to *Human Life in Russia*), p. 22.

8. *Ibid.*, p. viii.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

11. *Ibid.*

12. As well, the German-language edition includes a few pictures not in the English-language edition.

13. Ammende, p. 23.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, opposite p. 64, p. 82.

16. For example, the photos opposite the title page, pp. 64, 129, p. 161 (bottom).

17. Ammende, opposite p. 65 (right).

18. Peter Ustinov's *Russia*, Part 5: War and Revolution.

19. Ammende, p. 23.

20. *Ibid.*, opposite p. 224 (bottom).

21. *La Famine en Russie, Album Illustré*, Livraison No. 1, Geneva, Comité Russe de Secours aux Affames en Russie, 1922 (in French and Russian), p. 10.

22. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, Volume II, The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933*, Detroit, DOBRUS, 1955, p. 436.

23. Rev. Isidore Nahayewsky, *History of Ukraine*, 2nd enlarged and supplemented edition, Philadelphia, America Publishing House of Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, 1975.

24. Walter Dushnyck, *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine — Terror and Human Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism*, New York and Toronto, World Congress of Free Ukrainians, 1983, p. 36.

25. Ammende, opposite p. 128 (top), opposite p. 193, two photos opposite p. 64.

26. See for example, Dana Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," *Soviet Studies*, January 1964; Wasyl Hrushko, *The Ukrainian Holocaust*, Toronto, Bahryany Foundation, 1983.

27. *The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust*, New Jersey, Ukrainian National Association, 1983. This book is illustrated entirely with famine photographs plagiarized from the World War I to 1921-1922 Russian famine era. For example, the book's cover consists of a photo plagiarized from Dr. F. Nansen's International Committee for Russian Relief, Information No. 22, Geneva, April 30, 1922, p. 6. The photo on page 73 (bottom) comes from the same 1922 bulletin (p. 19).

28. Alfred Laubenheimer, *Und du Siebst die Sowjets Richtig: Berichte von deutschen und auslaendischen "Spezialisten" aus der Sowjet Union*, 2nd revised edition, Berlin and Leipzig, Nibelungen Verlag, 1937.

29. Ammende, p. 23.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275. Emphasis added.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

35. *Voelkischer Beobachter*, October 13, 1933.

36. "Historic Introduction", Ammende, p. ix. Emphasis in original.

37. This author compared so-called Ukrainian famine photos of 1932-1933 with hundreds of photos of wartime and post-war destitution and epidemic scenes from 1918 to the early 1920s found in anthologies and documentaries. See, for example, Ernst Friedrich, *War Against War*, Berlin, Freijugend, 1925. This author concludes that most of the "famine" photos bear a closer technical affinity to photos of this earlier period. Some "1932-1933" photos are of such crude quality and depict such antiquated scenes that an even earlier period of origin is suggested.

38. Ammende, pp. 13, 17.

39. Marco Carynnyk, "The Dogs That Did Not Bark", *The Idler*, February 1985, p. 19.

40. Alfred Laubenheimer, *Und du Siebst die Sowjets Richtig: Berichte von deutschen und auslaendischen "Spezialisten" aus der Sowjet-Union*, Berlin and Leipzig, Nibelungen Verlag, 1935.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

42. *Ibid.*, plates 78-102, pp. 329-340.

43. *Ibid.*, plates 79-80, 82-88, 90-96.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 315. The 1937 edition of *Und du Siebst* also includes Ditloff's article and photographs.

## Chapter Four Cold War I: Black Deeds

1. U.S. historian J. Arch Getty, for example, describes the "intentional famine" theory as one that "has not been generally accepted outside the circles of exiled nationalists." See J. Arch Getty, "Starving the Ukraine," *London Review of Books*, January 22, 1987, p. 7.

2. The "Jewish conspiracy" theory, for example, can be seen in Yuryj



Chumatskyj, *Why Is One Holocaust Worth More Than Others?*, Lidcombe, Australia, Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), 1986, and *Canadian Farmer* (Winnipeg), November 25, 1963. For more on this topic, see Douglas Tottle, "Anti-Semitism and the Ukrainian 1933 Famine-Genocide Hoax, *Outlook* (Vancouver), June 1987.

3. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book, Volume I (Book of Testimonies)*, Toronto, Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, 1953. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, Volume II, The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933*, Detroit, The Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime in USA, 1955.

4. Article by an Office of Strategic Services agent who had observed East European Nazi collaborators preparing for false entry into the USA, inserted into the Congressional Record Appendix during the August 7, 1948 debate on the Displaced Persons Bill, United States Congress. Cited in John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, p. 86.

5. The Nazi-organized "International Commission" included two people from Nazi Germany, three from countries aligned with Nazi Germany (Italy, Finland, Vichy France) and two from countries occupied by the Nazis (Holland and Belgium). See *Black Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 414.

6. Apollon Trembovetskyj, *Zlochyn u Vinnytsya* (Crime in Vynnytsya), Vinnytsya, Vinnytski Visti Publishers, 1943.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9, 43, 36.

10. Oberleutnant Erwin Bingel in "The Extermination of Two Ukrainian Jewish Communities: Testimony of a German Army Officer," *Yad Vashem Studies*, Vol. III, Jerusalem, 1959, pp. 303-320.

11. Trembovetskyj, p. 44.

12. *Black Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 226.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 228; "Information No. 22," Geneva, International Committee for Russian Relief, 1922, p. 16; Ewald Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984, opp. p. 65.

16. *News from Ukraine*, Nos. 28-30, 1986.

17. *Black Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 545.

18. *Their True Face*, Part III, Lviv, Ukraina Society, 1978, p. 57. This book contains a full chapter on Shpak/Bilotserkiwsky, plus a photograph.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ukrainsky Visti* (Edmonton). SUZERO, publisher of *Black Deeds*, is an affiliate of this Federation.

22. *Black Deeds*, Vol. I, p. 291.

23. See Chapter 9 and Appendix.

24. *Black Deeds*, Vol. II, p. v. Kersten drafted the Kersten Amendment, endorsed by the U.S. Congress in 1953, to allot \$100 million for establishing "underground" movements in the USSR and other East European countries.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. v-vi.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 443, 448, 463, 466 (also used by Walker), 488, 538 (also used by *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 18, 1933), 554, 560, 598 (also used by Walker) — identical to photos used by Ammende in *Human Life in Russia*. Civil war period and 1921-1922 Russian famine scenes: pp. 161, 166, 170, 175, 177, 444, 457 (published in "Information No. 22," Geneva, International Committee for Russian Relief, 1922, p. 15), 475, 494, 504, 508, 556, 595, 620, 692, 701. Many of the latter appear to have been selectively cropped.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 650-652, 655, 660, 662.

## Chapter Five The Numbers Game

1. *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 21, 1984.
2. Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934," *Soviet Studies*, January 1964, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, pp. 259-260.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
5. Gerald Reitlinger, *The House Built of Sand: The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia, 1941-1944*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1960, p. 191.
6. Marco Carynnyk, *The Idler*, February 1985, p. 20.
7. Cited by R. Bishop, "Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Britain," *International Press Correspondence*, October 5, 1934, p. 1371.
8. John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, p. 107.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
10. Dalrymple, p. 268.
11. See, for example, James Mace, "Historic Introduction," in Ewald Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984, p. ix.
12. *The New Republic*, August 30, 1933, p. 57.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *New York Times*, October 15, 1934.
15. Michael Parenti, *The Politics of Mass Media*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1986, p. 116.
16. Dalrymple, p. 254.
17. Joseph McCabe, *The Vatican in Politics Today*, London, Watts and Co., 1947, pp. 44, 52.
18. Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America: The Rise of Group Prejudice During the Decade 1930-1940*, Washington, D.C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, p. 61.
19. Not mentioned by Dalrymple are the accounts by Louis Fischer, Sherwood Eddy, George Bernard Shaw, the Canadian Frederick Griffin, Robert Byron, and a host of others whose first-hand accounts contradict the thesis of "pre-planned famine-genocide."
20. Dalrymple, pp. 250, 251. A third group could be added — Dalrymple's own partisan witnesses. Following Dalrymple's method, this third category could be described as those who for one reason or another — e.g. not being there — did not see famine, but who for political or financial reasons concocted incredible stories of millions of deliberate deaths (use of fraudulent photos optional).
21. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

22. *Ibid.*
23. Sir John Maynard, *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*, London, Victor Gollaner, 1942, p. 296.
24. Warren B. Walsh, *Russia and the Soviet Union: A Modern History*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958, p. 451.
25. Dalrymple, p. 251.
26. *EKPAH-EKRAN*, Ukrainian Magazine for Youth and Adults, Chicago, Nos. 123-125, 1983, p. 2.
27. Yuriy Chumatskyj, *Why Is One Holocaust Worth More Than Others?*, Lidcombe, Australia, Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1986, pp. 34, 41, emphasis added. Chumatskyj, like Goebbels, claims the right to decide who is a Jew; Duranty — born in Ireland and educated in England — was not Jewish.
28. Dana Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934, Some Further References," *Soviet Studies*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, April 1965, pp. 471-474.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 471.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. The Barnes article cited by Dalrymple was entitled "Million Feared Dead of Hunger in South Russia." Dalrymple, January 1964, p. 260.
33. Dalrymple, April 1965, p. 472.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, p. 473.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 473-474.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
39. James Mace, for example, describes Dalrymple's articles as "ground-breaking." See Ammende, p. iii.

## Chapter Six

### Cold War II: The 1980s Campaign

1. Oksana Procyk, Leonid Heretz, James E. Mace, *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine 1932-1933: A Memorial Exhibition*, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Harvard College Library, 1986, p. 66.
2. For a recent example, see Hank Carson, "Harvard Embarrassed by CIA Link," *The Guardian* (New York), November 6, 1985, p. 5. Concerning a scandal regarding the funding of an "Islamic politics" conference, Carson writes: "University officials were angry, not because of the CIA connection — like many universities, Harvard has extensive, longstanding links with the agency — but because (Harvard professor) Safran had not processed the CIA money through university channels and given some of the money to Harvard for overhead."
3. C. Ford, *Donovan of OSS*, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1970, p. 111.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.
5. Olexa Woropay, *The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933*, edited by James E. Mace, Cambridge, Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1983.
6. Professor John Ryan, Dept. of Geography, University of Winnipeg, to Bryan Dixon of the Winnipeg School Board, January 23, 1984.

7. John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, pp. 117-118; Dr. Jame E. Mace, Introduction, *The Ninth Circle*, p. xi; Dr. James E. Mace, Historical Introduction, *Human Life in Russia* by Ewald Ammende, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984, p. iv, n. 4, p. v, n. 8.

8. Woropay, p. 17.

9. *Famine in the Soviet Ukraine*, p. xi.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

11. *Ibid.*, p. xi.

12. Alfred Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig: Berichte von deutschen und auslaendischen "Spezialisten" aus der Sowjet Union*, Berlin-Leipzig, Nibelungen-Verlag, 1935, p. 259.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-106. Translation of extract from *Winter in Moscow*, London, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1934.

15. Alfred Laubenheimer, *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund*, Berlin-Halensee, Verlag Volkswirtschaftsdienst, 1933.

16. See *Und du Siehst*, last page.

17. The author's copy of *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund* bears not only the emblem of the Nazi Party, but also the stamp "Embajada de Alemania, Servicio de Prensa Salamanca."

18. *Die Sowjet Union am Abgrund*, plate 13, p. 45; plate 16, p. 50.

19. See Chapter 9 and Appendix.

20. Charles Higham, *American Swastika*, New York, Doubleday, 1985, p. 119.

21. In Walter Dushnyck, *50 Years Ago: The Famine Holocaust in Ukraine, Terror and Misery as Instruments of Soviet Russian Imperialism*, New York, World Congress of Free Ukrainians, 1983, p. 5.

22. Ryan to Dixon.

23. Dushnyck, p. 56.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

25. Albert Szymanski, *Human Rights in the Soviet Union*, London, Zed Press, 1984, p. 225.

26. S.G. Wheatcroft, "On Assessing the Size of Forced Concentration Camp Labor in the Soviet Union, 1926-1956," *Soviet Studies*, April 2, 1981, p. 285.

27. Dr. James E. Mace, "Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine," *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1984, pp. 37-50.

28. See for example, Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror*, New York, Delta, 1984, p. 418; "The Great War of Words," *Time*, September 9, 1985, p. 35; Phillip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Penguin, 1975, Appendix II; Roger Burbach and Patricia Flynn, *The Politics of Intervention: The United States in Central America*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1984, p. 140; Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinser, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*, Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1983, p. 136; "Sandinistas Outgunned in Regional Radio Wars," *The Guardian* (New York), September 11, 1985, p. 13.

29. Mace, "Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine," p. 39.

30. Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Demographic Analysis and Population Catastrophes in the USSR," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 1985, p. 532.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-533.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

33. Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union*, Geneva, League of Nations, 1946, p. 240.

34. Dr. James E. Mace to Professor Jaroslaw Rozumnyj, February 4, 1984. A copy of this letter sent by Mace to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was presented to a meeting of the Winnipeg School Board, February 14, 1984, in support of the UCC campaign to include the "famine-genocide" issue in the school curriculum.

35. Ian Grey, *Stalin: Man of History*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979, p. 370.

36. *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Russia and the Soviet Union*, A. Brown, J. Fennell, M. Kaser, H. Willetts, eds., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 75.

37. *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1945, p. 193.

38. Julian V. Bromley, ed., *Present-Day Ethnic Processes in the USSR*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1982, p. 68.

39. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982, p. 811 states that Ukrainians made up 80.1 per cent of 31.4 million inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR in 1931.

40. Ihor Kamenetsky gives a figure of 10 million. See *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1956, p. 84.

41. This figure would include the ethnic Ukrainian population of the western lands incorporated into Soviet Ukraine immediately prior to, and following World War II.

42. Bromley, p. 68.

## Chapter Seven Harvest of Deception

1. *New York Independent*, July/August 1985, p. 68.

2. Peter Paluch, "Spiking the Ukrainian Famine Again," *National Review*, April 11, 1986, pp. 33-38.

3. Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-1944: A Study of Occupation Politics*, London, Macmillan, 1957, p. 483, n.

4. *Nastup* (Prague), July 12, 1943. Cited by Klym Dmytruk, *Swastikas on Soutanes*, Kiev, Politvidav Publishers, pp. 123-124.

5. Dallin, p. 237.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 213, n. 2.

7. Oberleutnant Erwin Bingel, in "The Extermination of Two Ukrainian Jewish Communities: Testimony of a German Army Officer," *Yad Vashem Studies*, Vol. III, Jerusalem, 1959, pp. 303-320. See also Chapter 4.

8. John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, p. 72.

9. *Toronto Star*, November 20, 1986.

10. *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 26, 1984.

11. *Ibid.*

12. The following is a partial list of fakes used in Harvest of Despair:  
— portrait (upper portion) of a woman with head covering: Walker photo, 1935 *New York Evening Journal* series; also used by Ammende, *Human Life in*

- Russia*, opp. p. 64, attributed to a different year, season and photographer;
- man dressed for winter with fur hat: Walker photo, *Chicago American*, March 4, 1935;
  - dead horse: cropped detail, Walker photo, *Chicago American*, February 25, 1935; also used by Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, opening plate, bottom, attributed to a different year, season and photographer; *London Daily Express*, August 6, 1934, claiming famine in Belgorod (which is in Russia, not Ukraine);
  - woman lying in a field: Walker photo, *New York Evening Journal*, February 21, 1935; Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, opp. p. 129, attributed to a different year, season and photographer;
  - dead bodies in a freight car: Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, opp. p. 192, bottom;
  - frozen graveyard scene, Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, opp. p. 224 (offered as "summer 1933"); off-angle variation of photo used in *La Famine en Russie*, Geneva, 1922, p. 10, left.
  - naked child's corpse in the street: first published in relation to 1932-1933 in the Nazi party organ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 18, 1933;
  - corpse wagon with bodies and driver: *La Famine en Russie*, Geneva, 1922, p. 9;
  - wagon and corpse collectors, latter wear articles of military uniform in style of World War I issue: *Voelkischer Beobachter*, August 18, 1933;
  - carter, with fur hat, beside wagon loaded with naked corpses: 1922 "Funeral Procession in Kherson," "Information No. 22," International Committee for Russian Relief, April 30, 1922, p. 21;
  - woman lying face up on the ground: Walker photo, 1935 *Chicago American* series;
  - young, blond girl wearing a smock: detail cropped from photo of 1922 refugees, Saratov, Russia, *La Famine en Russie*, Geneva, 1922, p. 5.
13. Hryts Mukhailiv, "Ghosts of Despair," *News from Ukraine*, No. 48 (932), November 1986.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Globe and Mail*, November 18, 1986.
16. *Toronto Star*, November 20, 1986, emphasis added.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Globe and Mail*, November 18, 1986.
19. "Press Release," "Ukrainian Famine Research Committee," St. Vladimir Institute, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Toronto, November 19, 1986.
20. *Ibid.*
21. As outlined in note 12 above.
22. "Press Release."
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
27. *Ibid.*, emphasis in original.
28. *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 26, 1984.
29. See Douglas Tottle, Letter to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, December 13, 1986, documenting fraudulent use of six photos in the *Globe and Mail*, November

29 and December 1, 1986. Of these six photos only one is used in *Harvest of Sorrow*.

30. Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*, Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, in association with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986.

31. "Death of the department that never was. David Leigh recounts the 30-year history of the Foreign Office's propaganda operation," *London Guardian*, January 27, 1978.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Military History*, April 1986.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, New York, Macmillan, 1973, p. 23.

37. *Ukrainian Weekly*, Vol. LI, No. 12, March 20, 1983.

38. *Harvest of Sorrow*, p. 37.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 333-334.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-382.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 396.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 380, n. 133.

44. Rui Umezawa, "Re-evaluating the terror famine. The Ukrainian Holocaust debate surfaces again in Western Canada," *Alberta Report*, January 26, 1987.

45. *Harvest of Sorrow*, between pp. 196 and 197.

46. Umezawa in *Alberta Report*.

47. Paul Fussell, *The Great War in Modern Memory*, Oxford, 1975, p. 310, cited in J. Arch Getty, *The Origins of the Great Purges*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 4. On the unreliability of autobiography as historical evidence, Getty also cites Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, Robert Angell, "The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology," *Bulletin of Social Sciences Research Council*, No. 53, 1945; Kenneth D. Barkin, "Autobiography and History," *Societas*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring 1976, pp. 83-103.

48. Getty, p. 5.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 6; p. 222, n. 12.

50. *The Great Terror*, p. 569.

51. Getty, p. 222, n. 22.

52. *Harvest of Sorrow*, p. 304. Emphasis added.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-307. For critiques of such "analysis," see Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Demographic Analysis and Population Catastrophes in the USSR," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 1985, p. 517 ff; Stephen G. Wheatcroft, "New Demographic Evidence on Excess Collectivization Deaths," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 1985, p. 50 ff; Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver, "Tautologies in the Study of Excess Mortality in the USSR in the 1930s," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, summer 1986, p. 307 ff; and Chapter 6 of this book.

## Chapter Eight The Famine

1. See, for example, Dr. James E. Mace to Professor J. Rozumnyj, February 4, 1984.
  2. Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, published for the Ukrainian National Association, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, p. 566. Hrushevsky was formerly President of the Ukrainian Central Rada, head of state (1917-1918) of the Nationalist clique's brief "government." *A History of Ukraine* was reprinted in 1970 by Archon Books with no substantive change to the sections in question.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 551, n.
  4. Charles Higham, *American Swastika*, New York, Doubleday, 1985, p. 119. Higham characterizes the Ukrainian National Association (for whom *A History of Ukraine* was published) as being riddled with pro-Nazi elements prior to the Americans' entry into World War II (pp. 118-119).
  5. Associated Press report, Washington, September 29, 1939, cited by Lieut. William A. Kardash, MLA, *Hitler's Agents in Canada*, Toronto, Morris Printing Co., 1942, p. 17.
  6. Nicholas V. Riasnovsky, *A History of Russia*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 551.
  7. Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A Short History*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1969, p. 510.
  8. *Ibid.*, see Introduction.
  9. Ewald Ammende, *Human Life in Russia*, Cleveland, John T. Zubal, 1984, p. 53.
  10. *From the First to the Second Five Year Plan: A Symposium*, Moscow and Leningrad, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, 1933, p. 174.
  11. S.P. Trapeznikov, *Leninism and the Agrarian Peasant Question*, Vol. II, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1981, pp. 67-68.
  12. Frederick L. Schuman, *Russia Since 1917: Four Decades of Soviet Politics*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1957, pp. 151, 152.
- In some aspects, kulak destruction surpassed that of the Nazis in occupied Soviet territory: 32 million cattle and 97 million sheep and goats destroyed by the kulaks; compared to 17 million and 27 million respectively by the Nazis. See Pyotr Mikhailov, "Mercy in the Inferno of War," *Soviet Life* (Washington, D.C.), October 1985, p. 35.
13. Isaac Mazepa, "Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule," *Slavonic Review*, Vol. 12, 1933-1934, pp. 342-343.
  14. *The Nation*, May 29, 1935.
  15. *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 280.
  16. *Istoria Ukrainskoi RSR* (History of the Ukrainian SSR), Vol. 6, Kiev, Naukova Dumka, 1977, p. 220.
  17. Hans Blumenfeld, *Life Begins at 65: The Not Entirely Candid Autobiography of a Drifter*, Montreal, Harvest House, 1987, pp. 152, 153.
  18. Dana G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934: Some Further References," *Soviet Studies*, April 1965, p. 471.



19. See, for example, M.P. Bazhan, chief ed., *Soviet Ukraine*, Kiev, Editorial office of the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1969, p. 293.
20. Blumenfeld, pp. 153, 154.
21. Albert Rhys Williams, *The Russians*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1943, p. 101.
22. Cited by Carl Marzani, *We Can Be Friends: The Origins of the Cold War*, New York, Topical Books Publishers, 1952, p. 272. Schuman gives the same figures, p. 145.
23. *Saturday Evening Post*, September 27, 1945, cited by Ihor Kamenetsky, *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine 1941-1944*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1956, p. ix.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Heinz Hohne, *The Order of the Death's Head*, London, Pan, 1972, p. 464.
26. See, for example, "No Famine Anywhere Else in Russia," *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, Vol. II, Detroit, 1955, pp. 621-622.
27. Olexa Woropay, *The Ninth Circle*, Cambridge, Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1983, p. xx.
28. In Ammende, p. viii.
29. Alec Nove, "When the Head is Off . . ." *The New Republic*, November 3, 1986, p. 37.
30. *Globe and Mail*, February 28, 1984.
31. James Mace, for example, refers to continuing "hunger," "more or less permanent impoverishment," and states: "Although the situation was less horrifying after 1933, the need for humanitarian relief measures remained a pressing reality throughout the 1930s." See Ammende, p. ix.
32. Lev Shankivsky, *Pokhidni hrupy OUN*, Munich, 1958, p. 72.
33. Published in *Suchasne i Maibutnje*, No. 4, 1948.
34. William M. Mandel, *Soviet But Not Russian*, Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1985, p. 238.
35. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Vol. II, published for the Ukrainian National Association, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1971, p. 1083.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Mandel, p. 239.
38. Roman Szporluk, "The Ukraine and the Ukrainians," in Zev Katz, ed., *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities*, New York, Free Press, 1975, p. 24.
39. Mykola Stepanenko, "Ukrainian Culture in the Brezhnev-Kosygin Era," in G. W. Simmonds, ed., *Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, Detroit, University of Detroit, 1977, p. 78.

## Chapter Nine Collaboration and Collusion

1. See Valery Styrkul, *We Accuse: Documentary Sketch*, Kiev, Dnipro Publishers, 1984, pp. 139-142; Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, Harper and Row, 1974, p. 252; Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, New York, Dodd Mead, 1986, pp. 22-25.

2. *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 4, 1984.
3. Saul S. Friedman, *Pogromchik*, New York, 1976, p. 374.
4. Strykul, p. 141.
5. Interview with the author, early November 1984.
6. Ainsztein, p. 252.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
8. Nahum Kohn and Howard Roiter, *A Voice from the Forest*, New York, Holocaust Library, 1980, p. 121.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
10. Gerald Reitlinger, *The House Built of Sand: The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia 1939-1944*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1960, pp. 163, 167.
11. John J. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 301-303, 305. Includes text of treaty.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.
13. See *ibid.*, p. 306. Vynnychenko was chairman of the General Secretariat of Petliura's "Central Rada." Of the defeat of the Rada, Vynnychenko wrote: "True, the Bolsheviks also didn't have large and disciplined units, but their advantage lay in the fact that all our broad masses of soldiers would offer them no resistance whatsoever, or would even go over to their side; and also that almost all the workers in every single city would join arms with them; that the village paupers were apparently all Bolshevik-minded; and that in a word, the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian population as such was against us." *Vidrodzhennia natsii*, Part II, Vienna, 1920, pp. 215-216.
14. For information on the Petliura army's mass slaughter of Ukrainian Jews, see Elias Heifetz, *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919*, New York, J.V.Y. Thomas Seltzer, 1921.
15. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, New York, Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1975, pp. 377-378.
16. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin*, Vol. I, p. 323.
17. Ainsztein, p. 253.
18. *Black Deeds*, pp. 513, 515.
19. John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, Littleton, Colorado, Ukrainian Academic Press, 1980, pp. 173-174.
20. Cited by Klym Dmytruk, *In Holy Robes*, Kiev, Ukraina Society, 1978, p. 29.
21. Stated at a high school teachers' symposium, Grant Park High School, October 19, 1984.
22. Cited by Alexander J. Moryl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Developments of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1980, pp. 142-143.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
25. Y. Milyanich, "Jews, Zionism and Ukraine," *Rozbudova Natsii*, Nos. 8-9, Prague, 1929, p. 271.
26. See William A. Kardash, *Hitler's Agents in Canada*, Toronto, Morris Printing Co., 1942, pp. 5-7.
27. *Meta* (Lviv), Issue 15, April 17, 1932.
28. *Ukrainian Toiler*, No. 51, 1938.

29. *Novy Sbliakh*, January 5, 1939.
30. Cited by R.H. Davies, *This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler*, Progress Books, 1943, p. 151.
31. Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970, p. 565.
32. *Liturnaukovy Visnyk*, May 1939.
33. Joe Conason, "To Catch a Nazi," *Village Voice*, February 11, 1986.
34. *Nuremberg Trial of Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg, 1947, VII, pp. 272-273.
35. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., Vol. II, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. 1086.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 1087.
37. *Black Deeds*, p. 14.
38. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Vol. II, p. 505. The Ukrainian Central Committee was headed by Nazi collaborationist Volodymyr Kubijovyc, who worked closely under Hans Frank in administering German-occupied western Ukraine. Frank was executed at Nuremberg, while Kubijovyc escaped, edited Nationalist encyclopaedias and is cited as a "famine-genocide" expert.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 468.
40. Yury Boshyk, ed., *Ukraine During World War II: History and its Aftermath*, Edmonton, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986. See pp. 149-150. This book attempts to rationalize the OUN's Nazi service, downplays the anti-semitism and Jew-hunting of the Nationalists, and seeks to run interference on the question of the presence of Nazi war criminals and collaborators in Canada.
41. Ihor Kamenetsky, *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine 1941-1944*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1956, p. 82.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
43. Heinz Hohne, *The Order of the Death's Head: The Story of Hitler's SS*, London, Pan Books, 1972, p. 385. Hohne cites the Nazi wartime source, Archiv fuer Publizistische Arbeit, August 26, 1943.
44. Louis P. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1948, p. 355.
45. Kamenetsky, pp. 80-81.
46. Ainsztein, pp. 359-360. Emphasis added.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.
48. The 28 references are to Ivan Krypnyakevych, *The History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces*, 2nd rev. ed., "General Taras Chuprynka From Orders to UPA, May 1945." This revised edition of the original (Lviv, 1936) has been updated to include laundered accounts of Ukrainian fascist military escapades during World War II. The 5 references are to Petro Mirchuk, *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army 1942-1952*, Munich, Cicero, 1953. By plagiarizing the name of Borovets' (Bulba's) group, it can be made to appear that the OUN's "UPA" was founded in 1942. These books are pioneering attempts to rewrite the history of Nationalist military collaboration with the Nazis. The OUN-Bandera's continued terrorism against Soviet and Polish civilians for several years after Germany's surrender was played up by the Nationalists to gain financial and other support from Western militarists and intelligence agencies who anticipated war with the Soviet Union in the late 1940s and early 50s. Petro Mirchuk's anti-semitism, cover-up of alleged Nazis in the

United States, and downplaying of the Jewish Holocaust are outlined by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in its special report, "The Campaign Against the U.S. Justice Department's Prosecution of Suspected War Criminals," New York, June 1985, pp. 34-37.

49. *Lviivski visti*, Lviv, May 6, 1943.

50. Canadian Bureau of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, "Simon Wiesenthal Centre: Close Tie Between RCMP and Pro-Fascist Wartime Ukrainian Canadian Organizations Revealed by Documents in Canadian National Archives. Major Ukrainian Umbrella Group Organized by RCMP Agent," Toronto, 1986.

51. *Visti Combatanta*, No. 5-6 (36-37), 1968, p. 23.

52. *Ukrainskyi Samostiinyk*, February 1950, cited by V. Khystovyi, *A Plot Against the Future*, Uzhgorod, Karpaty Publishers, 1983, p. 36.

53. *Nuremberg Trial*, VII, p. 273.

54. Armstrong, p. 292.

55. In addition to sources previously cited, see Marko Terlytsia, *Here is the Evidence*, Toronto, Kobzar Publishing, 1984; Michael Hanusiak, *Lest We Forget*, Toronto, Progress Books, 1976; Richard Rashke, *Escape from Sobibor*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1982; Jean-Francois Steiner, *Treblinka*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967; Leon W. Wells, *The Janowska Road*, New York, MacMillan, 1963.

## Chapter Ten

### War Criminals, Anti-Semitism and the Famine-Genocide Campaign

1. John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, p. 101.

2. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 104. The reference to SS divisions is to the Melnyk wing of the OUN and to the 14th Waffen SS Division destroyed at Brody in 1944 and later rebuilt.

4. *Ibid.*

5. See, for example, "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945-1960," *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Spring 1983; Peter Pringle and William Arkin, *SIOP: The Secret U.S. Plan for Nuclear War*, New York, 1983; Thomas H. Etzold, John Lewis Gaddis, eds., *Containment: Documents on the American Policy and Strategy, 1945-1950*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1978; Anthony C. Brown, ed., *Dropshot: The United States Plan for War with the Soviet Union in 1957*, New York, Dial Press, 1978.

6. *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, U.S. Senate, Book IV, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1976, p. 26.

7. Sol Littman, *The Rauca Case: War Criminal on Trial*, Markham, Ontario, Paperjacks, 1983, p. 156.

8. See Peer Da Silva, *Sub-Rosa: The CIA and the Uses of Intelligence*, New York, Times Books, 1978, pp. 55-56; Avro Manhattan, *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom*, London, C.A. Watts, 1952, pp. 52-53; Reg Whitaker, "Canada Used Loose Screen to Filter Nazi Fugitives," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 1, 1985; William Blum, *The CIA: A Forgotten History*, London and New Jersey, Zed

Books, 1986, pp. 126-127.

9. For example, we have seen in Chapter 4 that Volume I of *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin* was accepted as documentary evidence by the Cold War Committee on Communist Aggression headed by Rep. Charles Kersten. The "Kersten Amendment" released vast sums of money for subversive activities against socialist countries.

10. George Kennan, *Memoirs: 1950-1963*, Vol. II, Boston, Toronto, Little, Brown and Co., pp. 97-99. Ukrainian Nationalist leader Lev Dobriansky, formerly connected to U.S. military intelligence, was U.S. ambassador to the Bahamas in the early 1980s.

11. Valery Styrkul, *We Accuse: Documentary Sketch*, Kiev, Dnipro Publishers, 1984, pp. 218-222. Styrkul cites Nationalist sources, such as *Visti Kombatanta*, No. 3, 1977.

12. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 1089. Found in a trench near Pidgaitsy "... where the 31st Punitive SD Detachment had been active — hundreds of mutilated bodies of people tortured to death, with cut off ears, put out eyes, broken arms and legs" (see *History Teaches a Lesson*, Kiev, Politvidav Ukraini Publishers, 1986, p. 245, n. 39).

13. Simon Wiesenthal Centre, "Close Tie Between RCMP and Pro-Fascist Wartime Ukrainian-Canadian Organizations Revealed by Documents in Canadian National Archives. Major Ukrainian Umbrella Group Organized by RCMP," Toronto, 1986. See Catherine Bainbridge, "Iniquity avoids scrutiny, Nazi hunter says," *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 5, 1986, p. 5.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Watson Kirkconnell, *Canada, Europe and Hitler*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 142.

16. Cited by Simon Wiesenthal Centre.

17. Styrkul, p. 295.

18. See, for example, Whitaker; and Helen Davis, "Unsung Heroes of Partisan War Unveil Deeds as a Reminder," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 13, 1985.

19. Littman, p. 128.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

21. *Visti Kombatanta*, No. 5-6 (36-37), 1968, p. 12. Stepanenko is quoting Vasyl Veryha (*Nasha Meta*, No. 20 (77), 1965).

22. Loftus, p. 107.

23. Cited by Joe Conason, "To Catch a Nazi," *New York Village Voice*, February 11, 1986.

24. *Ibid.*

25. We have noted previously *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, edited by key Nazi flunky Volodymyr Kubijovyc, prepared by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, published for the Ukrainian National Association by University of Toronto Press. Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow* and *Ukraine During World War II* (edited by Yury Boshyk) were published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.

26. Robert Conquest, Introduction, "Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR," *Ukrainian Herald*, 7-8, Baltimore, Smoloskyp Publishers, 1976, p. 5.

27. Yuriy Chumatskyj, *Why is One Holocaust Worth More than Others?*, Lidcombe, Australia, Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1986. Imported

into Canada, this book was sold openly in April 1987 by Arka Books in Toronto and Montreal. Arka's mentor is the OUN-Banderite group League for the Liberation of Ukraine, an affiliate of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34. Chumatskyj cites in support of his anti-semitic interpretation of the famine, Kalen Lucyk's article in the now defunct Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Canadian Farmer*, November 25, 1963.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 84. Stetsko was head of the OUN-Bandera's fascist "government" in West Ukraine in July 1941, during which Ukrainian Nationalists slaughtered thousands of Jews in pogroms.

36. *EKPAH-EKRAN* (Chicago), No. 123-125, 1983, trans. from the Ukrainian. UVAN: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences; NTSH: Shevchenko Scientific Society; UCCA: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; WCFU: World Congress of Free Ukrainians. For information on Ukrainian war criminals in the United States, see Alan A. Ryan Jr., *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984. Ryan is former Director of the U.S. Justice Department Office of Special Investigations.

37. *Student* (Toronto), Vol. 18, No. 87, November-December 1985.

38. Trans. transcript, "Ukrainian Hour," CHIN radio station, February 1985.

39. *Winnipeg Free Press*, May 28, 1986.

40. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1986.

41. *Homin Ukrainy* (Toronto), March 1977.

42. *Svoboda*, March 6, 1980.

43. *Sblyakh Peremohy* (FRG), September 5, 1982.

44. *Vyzolnyi Shliakh* (London), No. 2, 1981.

45. For example, U.S. President Carter's sanction of Directive No. 59 on July 25, 1980 legitimizes "limited" nuclear war; National Security Council Directive No. 32 of May 1982 (under President Reagan) sanctions first-use of nuclear weapons and theories of "winnable" nuclear war.

46. "Crusade" was indeed the word chosen in President Reagan's address to the British Parliament in June 1982.

## Appendix

1. *Henderson's Greater Winnipeg Directory*, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, Winnipeg.

2. Document in German and Ukrainian, copy in author's possession. Unless otherwise indicated, copies of documents subsequently cited are in the author's possession.

3. Document in German and Ukrainian.

4. Olexa Hay-Holowko, *Smertelnoiu doroboiu* (Along the Road of Death), Vol. II, Winnipeg, Trident Press, 1983, p. 205.

5. *Journal*, August 1944, p. 12.

6. Documents in German, stamped "Ukrainischer Hauptausschuss — Stützpunkte Linz."
7. Document form number v-o-6369, in English and German.
8. "Anmeldung bei der Polizeichen Meldebehörde," stamped "Der Polizeipräsident in Innsbruck."
9. Document in English.
10. "Testimonium Copulationis," marriage registration in Ukrainian and Latin.
11. Document in Ukrainian with German duplicate.
12. Valery Styrkul, *The SS Werewolves*, Lviv, Kamenyar Publishers, 1982.
13. Valery Styrkul, *We Accuse: Documentary Sketch*, Kiev, Dnipro Publishers, 1984, pp. 139, 142.
14. Olexa Hay-Holowko, *Duel with the Devil*, Winnipeg, Communigraphics, 1986.
15. *The Restoration of the Ukrainian State in World War II*, Toronto, Ukrainian Central Information Service "Studium" Research Institute, n.d., pp. 16, 19 (photo).
16. Styrkul, *We Accuse*, p. 143.
17. Ibid.
18. *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 9, 1983. This particular issue of the *Winnipeg Free Press* contains several "famine-genocide" articles, including "Starvation deliberate, diabolical" — an interview with Malcolm Muggeridge by Marco Carynnyk. Of some significance is the fact that Carynnyk's interview is illustrated with Thomas Walker photographs.
19. Ibid., October 11, 1983.
20. Hay-Holowko, *Smertelnoiu doroboiu*, p. 109.
21. Ibid., pp. 159-166.

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Douglas Tottle exposes the fraudulent charge of famine-genocide made against the USSR . . . Skillfully Tottle traces the labyrinthine history of the "evidence" — documentary and photographic — on its convoluted passage from nazi publications to the Hearst press to the misfounded "scholarship" of such present-day Kremlinologists as Robert Conquest. Tottle's sharp and engagingly written investigation is useful and intelligent. The author makes an important contribution by exposing the ways and wiles of anti-communist propaganda.

Clarence J. Munford  
*Professor of History*  
*University of Guelph*

For almost 70 years the study of the Soviet Union has been trapped in a sea of distortion, lie and propaganda. While this has not always been one-sided, its overall effect has been to stimulate fear, suspicion and danger of war. In the present age of new thinking about the history of socialism in the USSR, it remains necessary to deal with and disperse at least the worst of the lies. Tottle's book demonstrates clearly the viciousness surrounding the theory of the Ukrainian genocide and hopefully will open the way to genuine study of the Ukrainian road to socialism.

David Whitefield  
*Professor of History*  
*University of Calgary*

