

Sources on The Holodomor



During the Holodomor it is estimated that 3.9 million people died as a result of Soviet policies designed to politically subjugate Ukraine. The following 25 documents show how and why the Soviet authorities initiated these plans and their human cost. They also show how, although the evidence for government-led mass starvation was clear at the time, it suited others to ignore or reject it. The success of those who covered up the scale of this man-made disaster is clearly shown by how few today, outside Ukraine, are aware of what the Holodomor was.

Sources 1-4 demonstrate how the Soviet leadership was aware of the scale of the human tragedy but viewed it as an effective way of crushing Ukrainian dissent.

Sources 5-7 provide an insight into the scale of the suffering inflicted on Ukraine by some of those who suffered and, in many cases, died.

Source 8-10 highlight the desperate attempts of the Ukrainian community living outside the Soviet Union to mobilize western powers to confront the reality of what was happening.

Sources 11-18 show that diplomats and foreign journalists working in the Soviet Union were making clear through official channels and the popular press the scale of the government-induced famine.

Sources 19-25 offer a troubling insight into the way in which western socialist intellectuals and some foreign journalists working in the Soviet Union deliberately undermined the credibility of reports alerting the West to the scale of the unfolding disaster. They also indicate the “charm offensive” Soviet diplomats engaged in to achieve US recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933.

The Soviet Authorities and the Holodomor

Sources One to Four.

Source One

Lazar Kaganovich (1893-1991) was born in Ukraine. An early Bolshevik he was entrusted by Stalin with enforcing grain quotas in Ukraine, contributing to the Holodomor.

This letter from Stalin to Kaganovich indicates that his priority in 1932 was establishing complete Soviet control over Ukraine.



Letter from Stalin to Kaganovich on changing Ukrainian SSR leadership August 11, 1932

The main issue is now Ukraine. Matters in Ukraine are currently extremely bad. Bad from the standpoint of the Party line. They say that in two oblasts of Ukraine (Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk, I believe), nearly 50 Party committees have spoken out against the grain procurement plan as unrealistic.

This is not a Party, but a parliament, a caricature of a parliament. Instead of directing the administrative areas, Kosior is always waffling between CC AUCP directives and the demands of the committees, and he's waffled himself to the end. Lenin was right when he said that a person who lacks the courage to go against the flow at the right moment cannot be a real Bolshevik leader.

If we do not correct the situation in Ukraine immediately, we will lose Ukraine.

Also keep in mind that within the Ukrainian Communist Party (500,000 members, ha, ha) there is no lack (yes, no lack!) of rotten elements . . . As soon as things get worse, these elements won't hesitate to open a front within (and outside) the Party, against the Party. Worst of all, the Ukrainian leadership does not see these dangers.

Things should not continue this way any longer.

It is necessary:

To remove Kosior from Ukraine and replace him with you [Kaganovich]; you will retain the post of secretary of the CC AUCP.

Set yourself the goal of turning Ukraine into a fortress of the USSR, a real model republic within the shortest possible time. Don't spare money for this purpose.

Without these and similar measures (economic and political strengthening of Ukraine starting with the administrative units along the border, etc.), I repeat once again: we will lose Ukraine.

What do you think on this matter?

This requires attention as soon as possible, immediately after [your] arrival in Moscow.

Regards!

J. Stalin

Source Two

As famine intensified this Resolution by the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow highlights that the main concern of the government was counter-revolution.

Resolution by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on grain procurements in Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and the Western Oblast, December 14, 1932

1. In view of extremely poor efforts and the absence of revolutionary vigilance in a number of local Party organizations in Ukraine and the North Caucasus, a significant number of administrative areas have been infiltrated by counterrevolutionary elements. . . They have managed to find their way into collective farms as directors and other influential administration members, accountants, storekeepers, threshing floor foremen, and so on. They have succeeded in infiltrating village councils, land management bodies and cooperative societies, and are now trying to direct the work of these organizations against the interests of the proletarian state and Party policy, as well as trying to organize a counterrevolutionary movement and sabotage of the harvest and sowing campaigns.

The Central Committee orders the regional Party executive committees to resolutely root out these counterrevolutionary elements by means of arrest and long-term imprisonment in concentration camps, without stopping short of capital punishment for the most malicious elements.

Source Three

In this chillingly bureaucratic memorandum top-level Soviet bureaucrats acknowledge the horrific human impact of collectivisation.

Internal memorandum from the Deputy People's Commissar of Agriculture A V. Grinevich to the People's Commissar of Agriculture AY Yakovlev, on the situation in Zinovivsk. Ukraine

TOP SECRET 3 May 1932

Zinovivsk administrative area is 98% collectivized. As a result of the past production year, the collective farmers, based on information from seventy collective farms, received on average 76 kg of grain per person, and that was to be their nourishment for the whole year. There were several cases of swelling from hunger.

At present, according to information received from workers in the county and the observations that I have had occasion to make in the villages, there is almost no grain on the collective farms. By March there were many in this area who were starving.

Source Four

On 10 March 1933, the lead article in Pravda "Raise Higher the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism!" explained the humanitarian disaster taking place in Ukraine in terms of ideology and class struggle.



And then, finally, do we not find testimony to the same effect in outrageous instances of the crudest distortions of Leninist nationality policy in Ukraine? Here, in a number of areas, as a resulting of the dulling of class vigilance, of not understanding the new manoeuvres of the remnants of the shattered classes and underestimating the unbreakable link between the national and peasant questions.

The class enemy is desperately resisting the victorious building of socialism, also directing his weapons against Leninist nationality policy. The task of Party organisations, especially in Ukraine, Belarus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and other national republics . . . lies in the timely exposure of the new tactics and machinations of class enemies, in tearing off their masks and showing the masses the true counter-revolutionary mask of the bourgeois-kulak elements, deviationists and those reconciled to them.

Contemporary Soviet reactions to the Holodomor

Sources Five - Seven

Source Five

In this Letter students of the Pechersky school Bratslavsky District, facing starvation, directly appeal to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee

Our Dear Leaders!

We, the students of the Pechersky school, Bratslavsky District, ask for your assistance, because we are dying from starvation. We are supposed to be studying, but we can barely walk because of hunger. Whether from independent or collectivised families, we are swelling from hunger, because [as students] we cannot work, and bread is only given to those who earn workday pay.

The October holidays are soon approaching, and we should be happy, but our eyes are yellowing from lack of nutrition, and our stomachs ache from the “garbage” they feed us, because not only has all the grain been taken away down to the last kernel, but also the potatoes, beans and all other food. They are using the potatoes for distilling whiskey – yet we have nothing to eat. We won’t even mention any issues with our shoes and clothing – just asking that you do not condemn us to starvation.

We hope that the Soviet government will not let us die, and will not feed us bullets instead of bread, as happened to our parents under the imperial czars. We are hopeful that the Soviet government will help us and save us from death by starvation.

Requested by students [last names]: Mylhota, Sirokha, Moskaliuk, Baran, Mahdych, Pylypenko, Antonyshyna, Vistiak, [and 2 others whose signatures were unclear].

Source Six

In this letter from Y. Shvets, a collective farmer from the Lenin's Testament collective farm to Gregory Petrovsky, chair of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Shvets exposes the starvation of collective farmers and seeks answers. 13 September 1932

Comrade Petrovsky: In 1931 our cooperative had 2,400 hectares of land and was completely sown, but as we have a good deal of land close to the river, and it is useless, the district [authorities] directed our cooperative to use this land for particular agricultural needs—growing vegetables, raising cattle and pigs.... Our cooperative has 1,052 people to be fed, and here, in 1931, most of our cooperative members—poor peasants—were starving, beginning in December.

In this year of 1932, the cooperative sowed 600 hectares of grain crops.... When the District Executive Committee apportioned the grain-procurement plan, our cooperative was obliged to fulfil a grain-procurement plan of 2,400 poods of grain (16.38 kilograms). But, Comrade Petrovsky, if we stretch it considerably, perhaps there will be enough [grain] to fulfil the established plan, but there will be absolutely nothing left for food....

So please explain to me: has full agreement been reached with our district authorities to leave our village and cooperative hungry for the whole year, or have former landowners perhaps joined the ranks of the authorities and begun to take vengeance for their [lost] estates? Or, perhaps, it is the state of affairs to be hungry under Soviet rule. . .?

Source Seven

Oleksandra Radchenko, a schoolteacher, pictured with her husband and daughter, kept a diary during the Holodomor. In 1945 the family's apartment was raided and she was tried for keeping "a diary with counter-revolutionary contents". At her trial, she explained that "the main aim of my writings was to devote them to my children. I wrote because after 20 years the children won't believe what violent methods were used to build socialism. The Ukrainian people suffered horrors during 1930-33". Convicted, after a decade in the Gulag, she returned to Ukraine 1955."



26th February 1931: We Ukrainians are living through an exceptional moment in history. When you read Leo Tolstoy, you always understand his outrage over the vile acts committed by the government in that disgusting time. But now those horrors appear miserly in comparison with what is going on at the present time. There is no justice. Sticks and whips. Besides sticks and whips, there is much more. They say that during interrogations at the militia station, the accused are beaten. They are forced to place their fingers between the door and the frame, and they are squeezed until the person suffering, enduring inhuman torture, either confesses or reveals his accomplices.

Why are hundreds of thousands of completely innocent people suffering? Children are suffering because their parents were capable, energetic workers. This is how 'dekulakization' is taking place....

We can receive nothing from abroad. My sister tried several times to send a parcel. But parcels either were not admitted or were returned. 'We do not have any hungry people' was written

on one of the parcels. What impudence! Headscarves and shoes were stolen from a parcel in Moscow, and the parcel was returned. . .

23rd March 1933: Upon entering Babka, we came up to a 7-year-old boy. My co-passenger yelled out, but the boy staggered on as if he had not heard; the horse overtook him; I shouted; the boy unwillingly turned from the road; I was drawn to look him in the face. And it was unbearably horrible. The expression on that face left an everlastingly indelible impression. Obviously, that expression in the eyes can be found in people when they know that they will soon die but do not want to die. But this was a child. My nerves could not take it. 'For what? For what, children?' I cried quietly, so that my co-passenger would not see. The thought that I could do nothing; that millions of children were perishing from starvation; that this was elemental, reduced me to total despair. . .

Desperate Appeals to Western Leaders

Sources Eight - Ten

Source Eight



Excerpts from a memorandum to the newly elected President Franklin Roosevelt, from the President of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, urging the President not to recognize the Soviet Union citing the deliberate policy of mass murder carried through by its government.

It will be sufficient for us, however, to affirm the well authenticated reports of impartial American and European newspaper correspondents that during the past year several million inhabitants of Ukraine have died a terrible death from starvation and that even cannibalism was discovered in several sections of the country; all of this in a land which is regarded as one of the most fertile in the world.

As to the cause of this terrible famine in Ukraine, even the foreign correspondents in Soviet Russia do not attempt to hide the fact any longer that the famine is a result of Soviet policy. They regard the famine as another step taken by Moscow directed towards the breaking down of the opposition of the Ukrainian peasantry, which at all times was and still is uncompromisingly hostile to the Communistic system and its occupation of Ukraine.

We are firmly convinced that the famine in Ukraine is not the result of poor crops or drought, but on the contrary is a result of the political and cultural conflicts between Ukrainian nationalistic aspirations and Moscow's imperialistic and centralizing designs. . . the famine is the culmination of the unremitting and ferocious persecution of the Ukrainian people by the Moscow dictatorship.

Respectfully submitted by the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States: Emil Revyuk, President; Dr Luke Myshuha, Secretary [and others]. 30th October 1933

On 16 November 1933, the Roosevelt administration recognised the Soviet Union, entering full diplomatic relations with Moscow.

Source Nine

On October 2, 1933, the Ukrainian National Council in Canada made a desperate appeal to the Canadian Prime Minister Richard Bennett (1870-1947), to launch an international investigation of the famine in Ukraine. The Council made clear they would be able to provide irrefutable evidence for what was occurring.



Thousands of letters are being received in Canada continuously, containing gruesome details of the vast number dying; there are settlements in Ukraine where only one third – sometimes only one fourth – of the original population are still alive.

Crop failure is not the reason for this famine, but the brutal policy of the Moscow rulers. Who needing grain for export to balance their budget, pitilessly take everything from the farmers, already proletarianized. Especially in Ukraine, where the peasants are opposed to the foreign Russian rule, they are being deprived of literally everything, being left without even the smallest ration for daily meals, under the excuse that they are hiding food.

With such tactics, even a bumper crop, of huge yield, could not save these people from starvation. Having in mind the tragic plight of their compatriots, and realizing their moral duty in the matter, the Ukrainian National Council in Canada turn to you, as to a leader of a great civilized nation, with an urgent request to take the necessary steps to arrange for an immediate neutral investigation of the famine situation in Ukraine, with a view to organizing international relief for the stricken population. Any private action, even on the largest scale, would prove inadequate owing to the magnitude of the calamity. We are prepared to supply you, if necessary, with original documents and information giving details of the famine conditions.

We trust that your Excellency will take this, our appeal, under most serious consideration.

We remain, Yours faithfully,

Ukrainian National Council in Canada:
President S Skoblak
Secretary JM Boyduck
Chairman of the Advisory Board L Biberovich

Source Ten

On reaching Canada, a survivor of the Holodomor provides a harrowing account of what she has witnessed and endured.

“A Woman from Ukraine Tells of Famine and Cannibalism”



On the way, she made a stop in Winnipeg for a few days and was brought to the editorial offices of The Ukrainian Voice by some good people. We have to admit that it was interesting to see this woman; she seemed like someone from another world. Her poor clothing showed that she had not come from prosperous conditions. It will be best to convey our conversation in the form of questions and answers.

Q: When did you leave home?

A: On August 5.

Q: How were people living in Ukraine at that time?

A: There was a terrible famine. People were dying of hunger like flies.

Q: Did many die of hunger?

A: As far as I could learn, 25 versts [ca. 17 miles] in either direction about one-quarter of the population survived. Three-quarters died.

Q: Are people suffering the famine quietly, or are they rebelling?

A: How are they to rebel, and what will they achieve by rebelling? They suffer because they have lost all hope. They walk like the blind, and they fall wherever death strikes them. No one pays attention to the corpses lying on the streets. People either step over or sidestep them and keep on walking. From time to time they are collected and buried in common pits. Seventy and more people are buried together.

Q: Have you heard anything about instances of cannibalism?

A: Why not? It happens all the time. There have been cases of a mother starving with her children and then killing and eating them when she sees that they are about to die. Or you are walking along the street and you see a corpse. You look around to see whether anyone

is watching, and you cut off a piece of flesh and then bake or cook it. Q: What is the reason for the famine? Has there been a drought or a bad harvest, or are you not sowing anything? A: There has been a harvest, we sow and we plant, but as soon as anything grows, they take it all away and pack it off to Moscow. We had a good harvest this summer, but so what? They sent in the machines, cut everything, threshed it, and left not a kernel behind. They took everything. People were weeping. They asked, "What will we eat?" But the Chekists [members of the secret police] laughed and answered: "You'll find something." What will people not do in order to hide some grain for themselves! They hide it in their hair, they hide it in their mouth, beneath their tongue, but they [the Chekists] search it out and take it too.

Q: And how do people live in Moscow? In the Moscow region? Is there also a famine there?

A: No, there is no famine there. There is enough of everything. When I arrived in Moscow, I could buy everything I wanted at the bazaar—bread and meat and vegetables.

Q: And how much did your passport to Canada cost? A: 283 dollars. Q: Rubles or

The Ukrainian Voice, Winnipeg, 13 September 1933

"I Will Remember Them", the documentary about the Holodomor-genocide of 1932–33

<https://youtu.be/Vndi4lTOhIE?t=2>

Western journalists, diplomats and trade unionist working in the Soviet Union report the horrific scale of Holodomor

Sources 11 – 18

Source 11

Rhea Clyman (1904-1981) was the first western journalist to report on the starvation in Ukraine. Initially favourable towards Communism, she arrived in Moscow in 1928, became fluent in Russian, establishing herself as an investigative freelance correspondent.



Increasingly sceptical about Soviet rule she drove through what she called “the famine lands” of the Soviet Union as the Holodomor was unleashed. 44 of her reports were featured in the Toronto Telegram from September 1932 to June 1933 of which 21 were front-page stories. As early as August 1932 the Daily Express also covered her investigative reporting. So great was Moscow’s outrage that she was expelled from the Soviet Union in September 1932 for her “maliciously discrediting” Communist rule by reporting “uprisings and hunger rebellions”.



FRIDAY, THE DAILY EXPRESS, DECEMBER 2, 1932

IN RUSSIA NOW STARVATION STALKS THE LAND

VILLAGES TURN INTO ARMED CAMPS

By
**RHEA G.
CLYMAN**

THOUSANDS of peasants will die of starvation this winter. The collective farms have produced less than a third of the estimated crop. The large State farms have failed utterly. Verblud and Gigaut, the large Soviet grain factories, are now being broken up into smaller allotments. The peasants are being massacred. Stalin has succeeded in collectivizing the land, but the collectivization has failed.



Starving children huddle in a tin bath for warmth. I have seen workers sitting with open mouths for the wind and their children crying for food. The situation is desperate. The peasants are being massacred. Stalin has succeeded in collectivizing the land, but the collectivization has failed.

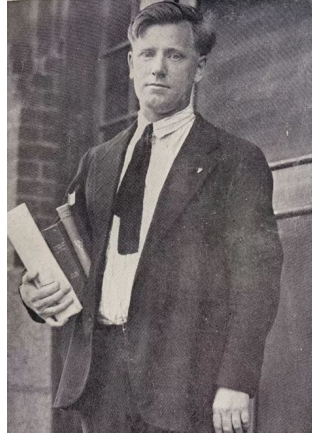
The villages were strangely forlorn and deserted. I could not understand at first. The houses were empty, the doors flung wide open, the roofs were caving in. I felt that we were following in the wake of some hungry horde that was sweeping on ahead of us and laying all these homes bare. . . When we had passed ten, fifteen of these villages I began to understand. These were the homes of those thousands of expropriated peasants — the kulaks — I had seen working in the mines and cutting timber in the North.

We had been two days in Kharkiv, but we were all anxious to get away. The great Ukrainian capital was in the grip of hunger. Beggars swarmed round the streets, the stores were empty, the workers' bread rations had just been cut from two pounds a day per person to one pound and a quarter.

In Isoomka, a Ukrainian village, Clyman reported being asked to petition the Kremlin on their behalf:

"Tell the Kremlin we are starving; we have no bread! We are good, hard-working peasants, loyal Soviet citizens, but the village Soviet has taken our land from us. We are in the collective farm, but we do not get any grain. Everything, land, cows and horses, have been taken from us, and we have nothing to eat. Our children were eating grass in the spring". I left this village with the determination that their petition should not only be heard in the Kremlin, but by the rest of the world also. Stalin was building Socialism in one country, and peasant children were eating grass outside the doors of his Socialist cities".

Source 12



Fred Beal (1906-1954) was an American trade unionist and Communist. He escaped to the Soviet Union and was put in charge of Soviet propaganda in tractor factory in Kharkiv. However, he swiftly discovered obvious evidence of famine. In 1933, he managed to return to the US and in 1935 published what he had seen in Ukraine through William Randolph Hearst's press syndicate.

Hearst's opposition to potential US recognition of the Soviet Union allowed many to allege, including Walter Duranty, that as a "turncoat" Beal's accounts of what he had witnessed were politically motivated and not to be trusted.

I have seen dead people who had died naturally, before. But this was from a cause and a definite one. A cause which I was somehow associated with, which I had been supporting. [...] Some bodies were decomposed. Others were fresher. When we opened the doors, huge rats would scamper to their holes and then come out and stare at us. [Behind the houses] signs were stuck up on graves [...]

I LOVE STALIN. BURY HIM HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE!

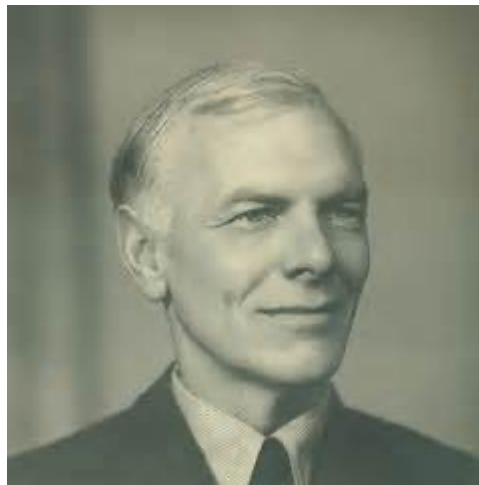
THE COLLECTIVE DIED ON US!

WE TRIED A COLLECTIVE. THIS IS THE RESULT!

[...] On our way back people told us that that village was to be burned.

Source 13

In 1933 the young journalist Malcolm Muggeridge (1903-1990) visited the Soviet Union smuggling out his reports in the British embassy's diplomatic bag. On 25th March 1933, The Guardian anonymously published one of Muggeridge's accounts under the unequivocal headline, "Deliberate Famine in Russia".



Living in Moscow and listening to statements of doctrine and of policy, you forget that the lives of a hundred and sixty millions of people, mostly peasants, are profoundly affected by discussions and resolutions that seem, as abstract as the proceedings of a provincial debating society. "We must collectivise agriculture", or "We must root out kulaks". But what is going on in the remote villages? I set out to discover it in the North Caucasus.

A little market town in the Kuban district. There were soldiers everywhere - well fed, and the civilian population was obviously starving. I mean starving in its absolute sense; not undernourished, but having had for weeks next to nothing to eat. Later I found out there had been no bread at all in the place for three months.

The famine is an organised one. The proletariat, represented by the G.P.U. (State Political Police) and the military, has utterly routed its enemies amongst the peasantry who tried to hide a little of their produce to feed themselves. The worst of the class war is that it never stops. First individual kulaks shot and exiled; then groups of peasants; then whole villages. It is literally true that whole villages have been exiled.

About 60% of the peasantry and 80% of the land were brought into collective farms, tractors to replace horses, elevators to replace barns. The Communist directors were

sometimes incompetent or corrupt; the agronomes were in many cases a failure. Horses, for lack of fodder, died off much faster than tractors were manufactured, and the tractors were mishandled and broken. Collectivisation was a failure. The immediate result was a falling off in the yield of agriculture. Last year this became acute. It was necessary for the Government's agents to take nearly everything that was edible.

In the first volume of his Memoirs, "The Green Stick" published in 1972 (forty years after the Holodomor) Muggeridge still remained bitter that his reports had been, and in some circles, were still seen as exaggeration and scaremongering

Other foreign journalist had been into the famine areas in the USSR except under official supervision, so my account was by way of being exclusive. This brought me no kudos, and many accusations of being a liar. If the matter is a subject of controversy hereafter, a powerful voice on the other side will be Duranty, highlighted in the *New York Times*, insisting on those granaries overflowing with grain, those apple-cheeked dairymaids and plump contented cows, not to mention Shaw and all the other distinguished visitors who testified that there was not, and could not be, a food shortage in the USSR.

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE: "Reflections on Stalin's regime and THE HOLODOMOR"

<https://youtu.be/OeoJJZ5QhKM>

Source 14

Andrew Cairns, a Canadian, was Director of the Grain Department of the Empire Marketing Board. In 1932 he toured the Soviet Union investigating new agricultural methods. On 3 August 1932 he summarised his findings to EMH Lloyd at the British Foreign Office.

At a station close to the Ukrainian border the peasants I spoke to in the bazaar all cursed collectivisation . . . Every station had its crowd from scores to several hundred, depending on the size of the town - of rag clad hungry peasants, some begging for bread, many waiting, mostly in vain, for tickets, many climbing on the steps or joining the crowds on the roofs of each car, all filthy and miserable and not a trace of a smile anywhere.

While climbing up a very steep hill to get a good look at the beautiful Dnieper River, I came across two women pulling what at first, I thought were dandelions or young leeks or greens, but upon examination it turned out to be tender grass. I asked them what they were going to do with the grass, and they said, "make soup". They were third category workers and only got 125 roubles per month and 200 grammes of bread per day. On the way back to my hotel I saw a horrible sight – a man dying on the street. He was apparently insane as he was going through all the motions of eating and rubbing his stomach with apparent satisfaction.

Source 15

Sir Esmond Ovey (1879-1963) had to tread a difficult path as the UK's first ambassador to the Soviet Union, from 1930-1934. On 5 March 1933, his report to the Foreign Office left no doubt what was happening and how it was being censored.



Conditions in Kuban have been described to me by a recent English visitor as appalling and as resembling an armed camp in a desert – no work, no grain, no cattle, no draught horses only idle peasants and soldiers. Another correspondent who had visited Kuban was strongly dissuaded from visiting the Ukraine where conditions are apparently as bad although apathy is greater. In fact, all correspondents have now been “advised” by the press department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to remain in Moscow. Expulsions and arrests are the order of the day and this morning the names of forty officials arrested for agricultural sabotage have been published in the press.

Source 16



Gareth Jones (1905-1935) was Foreign Affairs adviser to the former Prime Minister, David Lloyd George and a freelance journalist. On his third visit to the Soviet Union in 1933 he visited Ukraine meticulously recording the starvation he had witnessed. On 31st March, 1933, a week after Muggeridge's anonymous report in The Guardian, The Evening Standard carried a report directly attributable to Jones:

The main result of the Five-Year Plan has been the tragic ruin of Russian agriculture. This ruin I saw in its grim reality. I tramped through a number of villages in the snow of March. I saw children with swollen bellies. I slept in peasants' huts, sometimes nine of us in one room. I talked to every peasant I met, and the general conclusion I draw is that the present state of Russian agriculture is already catastrophic but that in a year's time its condition will have worsened tenfold... The Five-Year Plan has built many fine factories. But it is bread that makes factory wheels go round, and the Five-Year Plan has destroyed the bread-supplier of Russia.

FAMINE RULES RUSSIA

The 5-year Plan Has Killed the Bread Supply

By GARETH JONES

Mr. Jones is one of Mr. Lloyd George's private secretaries. He has just returned from an extensive tour on foot in Soviet Russia. He speaks Russian fluently—and here is the terrible story the peasants told him.



MR. GARETH JONES.

A FEW days ago I stood in a worker's cottage outside Moscow. A father and a son, the father a Russian skilled worker in a Moscow factory, and the son a member of the Young Communist League, stood glaring at one another.

The father, trembling with excitement, lost control of himself and shouted at his Communist son: "It's terrible now. We workers are starving. Look at Chelyabinsk, where I once worked. Disease there is carrying away numbers of us workers and the little food there is is uneatable. That is what you have done to our Mother Russia."

The son cried back: "But look at the giants of industry which we have built. Look at the new tractor works. Look at the Dniepostroy. That construction has been worth suffering for."

"Construction indeed!" was the father's reply. "What's the use of construction when you have destroyed all that's best in Russia?"

What that worker said at least 96 per cent. of the people of Russia are thinking. There has been construction, but, in the act of building, all that was best in Russia has disappeared. The main result of the Five Year Plan has been the tragic ruin of Russian agriculture. This ruin I saw in its grim reality. I tramped through a number of villages in the snow of March. I saw children with swollen bellies. I slept in peasants' huts, sometimes nine of us in one room. I talked to every peasant I met, and the general conclusion I draw is that the present state of Russian agriculture is already catastrophic but that in a year's time its condition will have worsened tenfold.

What did the peasants say? There was one cry which resounded everywhere I went, and that was: "There is no bread." The other sentence, which was the leitmotiv of my Russian visit, was: "All are swollen." Even within a few miles of Moscow there is no bread left. As I was going through the countryside in that district I chatted to several women who were trudging with empty sacks towards Moscow. They all said: "It is terrible. We have no bread. We have to go all the way to Moscow to get bread and then they will only give us four pounds, which costs three roubles (six shillings nominally). How can a poor man live?"

"Have you potatoes?" I asked. Every peasant I asked nodded negatively with sadness.

"What about your cows?" was my next question. To the Russian peasant the cow means wealth, food and happiness. It is almost the centre-point upon which his life gravitates.

"The cattle have nearly all died. How can we feed the cattle when we have only fodder to eat ourselves?"

"And your horses?" was the question I asked in every village I visited. The horse is now a question of life and death, for without a horse how can one plough? And if one cannot plough, how can one sow for the next harvest? And if one cannot sow for the next harvest, then death is the only prospect in the future.

The reply spelled doom for most of the villages. The peasants said: "Most of our horses have died and we have no little fodder that the remaining ones are scraggy and fit."

If it is grave now and if millions are dying in the villages, as they are, for I did not visit a single village where many had not died, what will it be like in a month's time? The potatoes left are being counted one by one, but in so many homes the potatoes have long run out. The beet, once used as cattle fodder, may run out in many huts before the new food comes in June, July and August, and many have not even beet.

The situation is graver than in 1921, as all peasants stated emphatically. In that year there was famine in several great regions, but in most parts the peasants could live. It was a localised famine, which had many millions of victims, especially along the Volga. But to-day the famine is everywhere, in the formerly rich Ukraine, in West Russia, in Central Asia, in North Caucasus—everywhere.

What of the towns? Moscow as yet does not look so stricken, and no one staying in Moscow would have an inkling of what is going on in the countryside, unless he could talk to the peasants who have come hundreds and hundreds of miles to the capital to look for bread. The people in Moscow look warmly clad, and many of the skilled workers, who have their warm meal every day at the factory, are well fed. Some of those who earn very good salaries, or who have special privileges, look even well dressed, but the vast majority of the unskilled workers are feeling the pinch.

I talked to a worker who was nailing a heavy wooden trunk. "It is terrible now," he said. "I get two pounds of bread a day and it is rotten bread. I get no meat, no eggs, no butter. Before the war I used to get a lot of meat and it was cheap. But I haven't had meat for a year. Eggs were only a kopeck each before the war, but now they are a great luxury. I get a little soup, but it is not enough to live on."

And now a new dread visits the Russian worker. That is unemployment. In the last few months very many thousands have been dismissed from factories in many parts of the Soviet Union. I asked one unemployed man what happened to him. He replied: "We are treated like cattle. We are told to get away, and we get no bread card. How can I live? I used to get a pound of bread a day for all my family, but now there is no bread card. I have to leave the city and make my way out into the countryside where there is also no bread."

The Five Year Plan has built many fine factories. But if it bread that makes factory wheels go round, and the Five Year Plan has destroyed the bread-supplier of Russia.

The Evening Standard, 31 March 1933, London

Gareth Jones' Press Release, Berlin, March 29, 1933.

I walked along through villages and twelve collective farms. Everywhere was the cry, "There is no bread. We are dying". This cry came from every part of Russia, from the Volga, Siberia, White Russia, the North Caucasus, Central Asia. I tramped through the black earth region because that was once the richest farmland in Russia and because the correspondents have been forbidden to go there to see for themselves what is happening.

In the train a Communist denied 'to me that there was a famine. I flung a crust of bread which I had been eating from my own supply into a spittoon. A peasant fellow-passenger fished it out and ravenously ate it. I threw an orange peel into the spittoon and the peasant again grabbed it and devoured it. The Communist subsided. I stayed overnight in a village where there used to be 200 oxen and where there now are six. The peasants were eating the cattle fodder and had only a month's supply left. They told me that many had already died of hunger. Two soldiers came to arrest a thief. They warned me against travel by night as there were too many 'starving' desperate men.

Source 17

Harry Lang was a labour activist and journalist for the progressive Jewish magazine "Forward". In 1933, he went on a journey through the Soviet Union. On 15 April 1935, he wrote the following article for the New York Evening Journal exposing the horror of what he had seen as well as the cover-up:

While traveling in Soviet Russia, I often asked myself, "What has happened to civilization? We have a press boasting of its far-flung system of facilities unsurpassed in history. We have the technical marvels of telegraphy and radio, which in a few minutes bring the news of the least event in a remote corner of the globe to the whole wide world. And yet we have also developed systems of modern dictatorship which can prevent the starvation of millions of people, such as has occurred in Soviet Russia, from becoming known."

I went to Soviet Russia as a freelance writer. I had no assignments, no duties to perform, no promises to fulfil. From country to country, I travelled with one aim—to observe how people lived, to see where there is pain and where there is joy. I LOOKED FOR JOY IN SOVIET RUSSIA. I am a Jew and harboured nothing but hatred for the Russia of the Czars where my people had suffered so much. Full of hope I was now going to the new Russia to see the system which is trying to remake the entire world.

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." I wondered. What was the purpose of such a poster? The Soviet official explained to me: "It is one of our methods of educating the people. We distributed such posters in hundreds of villages, especially in the Ukraine. We had to." "Is the situation that bad?" I asked in astonishment. "Are people really in such a condition as to eat their children's corpses?" The official was silent. It was a painful, disturbing silence. "Not all our people are enlightened," he remarked a little later.

Again, I shuddered. But I went down to the Ukraine and saw with my own eyes the destruction wrought there, the wreckage of a great country. I might have gone back to America after seeing Moscow and Leningrad. I had obtained a sufficient grasp of what life is under a dictatorship. I had seen the chasm between the Russia as she is painted abroad by the Soviet propaganda machine and the true Russia, unhappy, tortured, bleeding.

Only when I came to the Ukraine did I understand why Moscow kept foreign journalists out of it.

Source 18

Whiting Williams (1878-1975) was a well-connected leftwing political activist who on several occasions, donned a fake moustache and working men's clothes, going undercover to discover the truth about labour relations.



In 1933, he travelled, with the Great Depression at its height, through the Soviet Union, Poland, and Germany. This harrowing report from Ukraine appeared in Answers, a weekly London newspaper on 24th February 1934

The worst memory I have brought out of Russia is the children. There was one youngster I saw in Kharkov. Half-naked, he had sunk, exhausted, on the carriage-way, with the kerbstone as a pillow, and his pipe-stem legs sprawled out, regardless of danger from passing wheels. Another—a boy of eight or nine—was sitting among the debris of a street market, picking broken eggshells out of the dirt and examining them with heartbreaking minuteness in the hope of finding a scrap of food still sticking to them. His shrunken cheeks were covered with an unhealthy whitish down that made me think of those fungoid growths that sprout in the darkness out of dying trees. I saw him again in the same place the next day—motionless now with his head sunk between his knees in a piteous abandonment.

While eating in a restaurant in the same town I saw a girl of twelve run up the steps towards a veranda table from which a customer had just risen. For a moment she hesitated; shrank back as if in fear as she saw the man look at her. Finally, reassured by his expression, she darted boldly forward, gathered the scraps he had left on his plate in her fingers, then turned and ran down the steps with her prize. For all the world she was like a wild bird driven by a hard winter to a town garden. There was the same suspicion, the same holding back, and the same momentary boldness followed by headlong flight. Something, also, perhaps, of the same grace and beauty. I shall never see her again, but I cherish the hope that she will survive.

There are hordes of those wild children in all the towns. They live—and die—like wild animals. Where do they come from? I made inquiries about them, and learned that last winter, when food supplies began to fail, large numbers of peasants left their villages and came into towns with their families, hoping that there they might get a chance to work—

These children were not sent to homes. Bread was too scarce. They were put into railway wagons and unloaded out in the open country—too far out for it to be possible to walk back to town. And once, at least, three wagons filled with youngsters were shunted into a siding and forgotten for three days. When, at the end of that time, someone found them, not one of the children remained alive. I don't pretend, of course, that this was a typical case. But what chance have children dumped out in the open country?

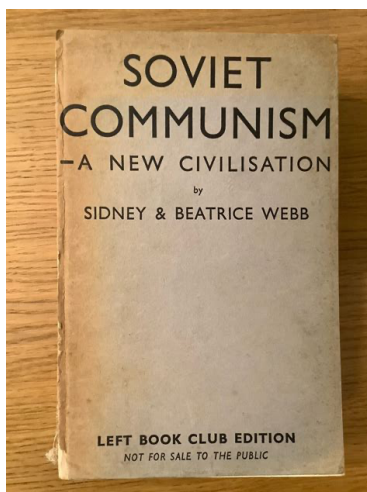
[illegible]

The Cover-Up “Useful Idiots”¹ and Political Expediency

Sources 19 – 25

Source 19

Sidney (1859-1947) and Beatrice Webb (1858-1943) were the leading intellectual figures within early British Socialism. Indeed, Sidney composed the constitution of the Labour Party in 1918, and Beatrice is a “core socialist thinker” in EDEXCEL and AQA Politics syllabuses. In 1932 they travelled to the Soviet Union praising what they regarded as the more favourable response of US writers to the achievements of the Soviet Union when compared to their British counterparts. Despite visiting during the Holodomor, they optimistically refer to “the increasing prosperity of the peasants”.



Contrary to common expectation, we have found the material for our work abundant and accessible. Of the vast outpouring of books in many languages since 1917, giving tourists' impressions of the land of the soviets, together with the better authenticated narratives of the resident newspaper correspondents, we need not speak. Among the more scientific studies of which we have been able to make substantial use in enlargement and correction of our own researches, we have to acknowledge that by far the greatest proportion stand to the credit of the United States: an outcome, we think, not only of the wider interest taken by that country than by Great Britain in a new social order, which is now attracting thousands of immigrants from the United States, but also of the large number of scholarships and fellowships enabling scientific researchers to spend a year or more in the

¹ Lenin is alleged to have referred to western supporters of the Soviet Union as “Useful idiots”.

USSR for the production of valuable monographs. There are far too few such opportunities yet provided for the British student.

The increasing prosperity of the peasantry, in tens of thousands of collective farms, is (1935) leading to novel demands for wireless sets, gramophones, books, bicycles, watches, fur coats, leather jackets, and especially leather boots and shoes, in kinds and qualities heretofore outside the experience of the manager of a village cooperative society. It is a sign, not necessarily of any worsening of the service, but, more frequently, of an awakening of new desires and of a consciousness of higher standards, that the members continue to grumble at the shortcomings of the distributing organisation that they themselves control.



Life in Soviet Russia (1920s)

<https://youtu.be/3l-AOzH039Q>

Source 20

HG Wells (1866-1946) was a British socialist and one of the earliest and greatest science fiction writers (the Time Machine 1895 and The War of the Worlds 1898). On his visits to the Soviet Union, he interviewed both Lenin (1920) and Stalin (1934).

In his interview with Stalin, Wells made no reference to mass starvation; instead, he focused on the potential for Soviet / American cooperation and the prospects for world government.



I have never met a man more candid, fair and honest, and to these qualities it is, and to nothing occult and sinister, that he owes his tremendous undisputed ascendancy in Russia. I had thought before I saw him that he might be where he was because men were afraid of him, but I realize that he owes his position to the fact that no one is afraid of him and everybody trusts him."

Yet I had had to recognize that under him Russia was not being merely tyrannized over and held down; it was being governed and it was getting on. Everything I had heard in favour of the First Five Year Plan I had put through a severely sceptical sieve, and yet there remained a growing effect of successful enterprise.

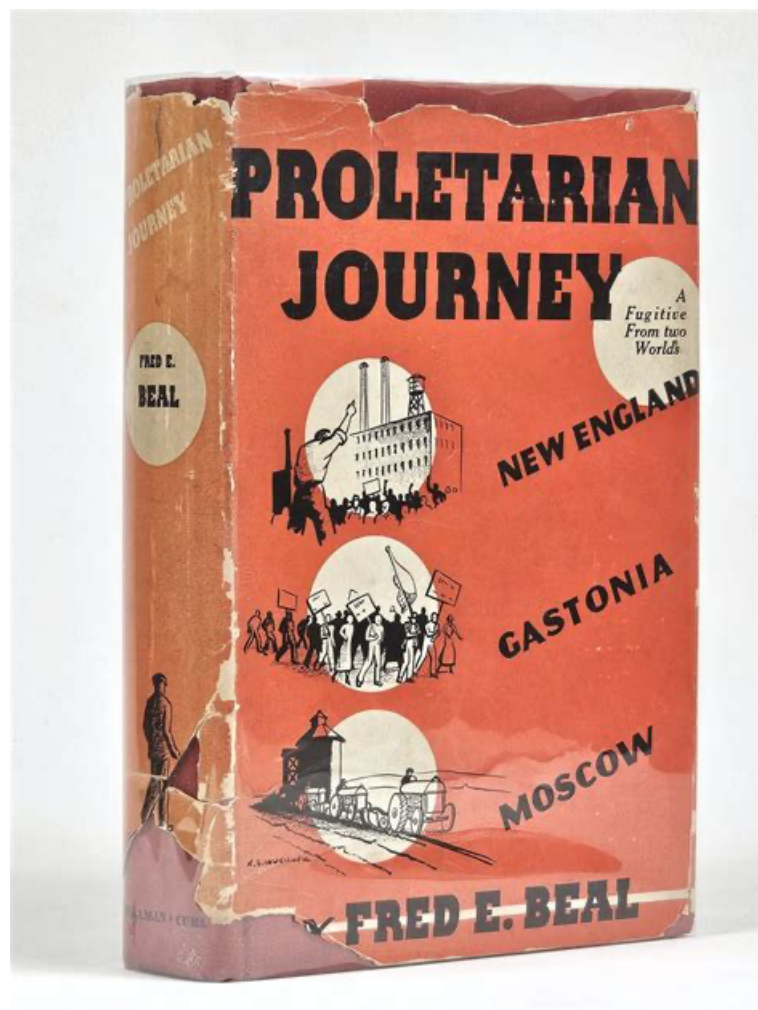
This lonely overbearing man, I thought, may be damned disagreeable, but anyhow he must have an intelligence far beyond dogmatism. And if I am not all wrong about the world, and if he is as able as I am beginning to think him, then he must be seeing many things much as I am seeing them.

I wanted to tell him that I had talked to Franklin Roosevelt of the new prospect of world co-operation that was opening before mankind. I wanted to stress the fact upon which I had dwelt in the White House, that in the English-speaking and Russian-speaking populations, and in the populations geographically associated with them round the temperate zone, there is a major mass of human beings ripe for a common understanding and common co-operation in the preparation of an organised world-state.

HG Wells Experiment in Autobiography (1934)

Source 21

In 1937, in his autobiography, "Proletarian Journey: New England, Gastonia, Moscow" Fred Beal (1886-1954) alleged that when he confronted Gregory Petrovsky, the leading Soviet minister in Ukraine, that millions were dying in Ukraine because of Soviet policy, Petrovsky replied: "Tell them nothing! What they say is true. We know that million are dying. That is unfortunate, but the glorious future of the Soviet Union will justify that. Tell them nothing!"



However, in this letter to Stalin and Molotov, written a month after the memorandum above, it seems that Petrovsky was considerably more troubled about what was happening.

Letter from Gregory Petrovsky to Molotov and Stalin on the grave food situation and famine in Ukraine. (10 June 1932)



During the sowing campaign in Pryluky, Lohvytsia, Varva, Chernukhy, Pyriatyn, and Mala Divytsia administrative areas, I came face to face, so to speak, with the village. . . We knew beforehand that fulfilling state grain procurements in Ukraine would be difficult, but what I have seen in the countryside indicates that we have greatly overdone it . . . I was in many villages and saw a considerable part of the countryside engulfed in famine. There are not many, but there are people swollen from starvation, mainly poor peasants and even middle farmers. At large meetings in villages, I am cursed furiously; old women cry, and men sometimes do so as well. At times, criticism of the situation created goes very deep: "Why did they create an artificial famine? After all, we had a harvest. Why did they take away the seed grain? That did not happen even under the old regime. Why should Ukrainians make difficult journeys for grain to non-grain-producing areas? Why is grain not being brought here?" And so on.

Right now, the men are sowing millet and buckwheat. The days for sowing millet are ending, but not for buckwheat, and the villagers are expecting it from us.... There will be insufficient sowing in these areas compared to last year's area. There is still a month or a month and a half before the new crop. This means that famine will intensify. Therefore, I am asking you directly: Would it not be possible to send relief to the Ukrainian countryside in the amount of two, or, if worse comes to worst, one and a half million poods (16.38 kilograms) of grain?

Because of the general famine, as you know, villagers have started flocking to the Dno station, the Central Black Earth Oblast, Belarus, and the North Caucasus. In some cases, two-thirds of all men have left their villages in search of grain . . . Naturally, there is mayhem at the stations and in transports.... Tickets are not being issued to villagers or are being issued in very limited numbers. Peasants have asked me: Why are trips for grain prohibited?

In closing, I once again request that you consider all methods and resources available to provide urgent food relief in the form of grain to the Ukrainian countryside and to supply buckwheat for sowing as quickly as possible to make up for what has not been sown.

Source 22

Walter Duranty was bureau chief in Moscow for the New York Times from 1922-1936. In 1932 he received a Pulitzer Prize for his reports from the Soviet Union.

Sympathetic to the Soviet Union, well-connected in both Soviet and US diplomatic and government circles, Duranty was clever enough to reveal half-truths so as not to jeopardise his privileged position. His generally positive reporting from Moscow may have contributed to President Roosevelt officially recognizing the Soviet Union in 1933.

Although there have been calls for the Prize to be revoked this has not occurred.



Duranty through the New York Times tried to discredit Jones's report in his article "Russians Hungry, But Not Starving," published on 31 March 1933.

RUSSIANS HUNGRY, BUT NOT STARVING; Deaths from Diseases Due to Malnutrition High, Yet the Soviet Is Entrenched. LARGER CITIES HAVE FOOD Ukraine, North Caucasus and Lower Volga Regions Suffer from Shortages. KREMLIN'S 'DOOM' DENIED Russians and Foreign Observers in Country See No Ground for Predictions of Disaster.

MOSCOW, March 30. In the middle of the diplomatic duel between Great Britain and the Soviet Union over the accused British engineers there appears from a British source a big scare story in the American press about famine in the Soviet Union, with "thousands already dead and millions menaced by death from starvation." Its author is Gareth Jones, who is a former secretary to David Lloyd George and who recently spent three weeks in the Soviet Union and reached the conclusion that the country was "on the verge of a terrific smash," as he told the writer.

Mr. Jones is a man of a keen and active mind, and he has taken the trouble to learn Russian, which he speaks with considerable fluency, but the writer thought Mr. Jones's judgment was somewhat hasty and asked him on what it was based. It appeared that he had made a forty-mile walk through villages in the neighbourhood of Kharkov and had found conditions sad. I suggested that that was a rather inadequate cross-section of a big country, but nothing could shake his conviction of impending doom. Predictions of Doom Frequent. The number of times foreigners, especially Britons, have shaken rueful heads as they composed the Soviet Union's epitaph can scarcely be computed.

A couple of years ago another British "eyewitness" reported a mutiny in the Moscow garrison and "rows of corpses neatly piled in Theatre Square," and only this week a British news agency revealed a revolt of the Soviet Fifty-fifth Regiment at Dauria, on the Manchurian border. All bunk, of course.

It is all too true that the novelty and mismanagement of collective farming, plus the quite efficient conspiracy of Feodor M. Konar and his associates in agricultural commissariats, have made a mess of Soviet food production. [Konar was executed for sabotage.] But to put it brutally--you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs, and the Bolshevik leaders are just as indifferent to the casualties that may be involved in their drive toward socialization as any General during the World War who ordered a costly attack in order to show his superiors that he and his division possessed the proper soldierly spirit. In fact, the Bolsheviks are more indifferent because they are animated by fanatical conviction.

Since I talked with Mr. Jones I have made exhaustive inquiries about this alleged famine situation. I have inquired in Soviet commissariats and in foreign embassies with their network of consuls, and I have tabulated information from Britons working as specialists and from my personal connections, Russian and foreign. Disease Mortality Is High. All of this seems to me to be more trustworthy information than I could get by a brief trip through any one area. The Soviet Union is too big to permit a hasty study, and it is the foreign correspondent's job to present a whole picture, not a part of it. And here are the facts:

There is a serious food shortage throughout the country, with occasional cases of well-managed State or collective farms. The big cities and the army are adequately supplied with food. There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition. In short, conditions are definitely bad in certain sections--the Ukraine, North Caucasus and Lower Volga. The rest of the country is on short rations but nothing worse. These conditions are bad, but there is no famine.

The Holocaust The New York Times Ignored

<https://youtu.be/BqnfmCu6fUk>

KGB Agent Walter Duranty lying about Holodomor

<https://youtu.be/SSyeEhgqTqE>

Source 23

Eugene Lyons (1898- 1985) was the United Press correspondent in Moscow from 1928-1934. He worked with Duranty and late in life recalled how ruthlessly effective his attack on Jones was. Louis Fischer (1886-1970) was another American journalist working in the Soviet Union. From October – November 1932, he travelled through Ukraine, reporting for the progressive journal The Nation. He also questioned Jones' estimate of a million dead.



Eugene Lyons (1898-1985)



Louis Fischer (1886-1970)

We admitted enough to soothe our consciences, but in roundabout phrases that damned Jones a liar. The filthy business having been disposed of, someone ordered vodka.

Throwing down Jones was as unpleasant a chore as fell to any of us in years of juggling facts to please dictatorial regimes - but throw him down we did, unanimously and in almost identical formulas of equivocation. Poor Gareth Jones must have been the most surprised human being alive when the facts he so painstakingly garnered from our mouths were snowed under by our denials.

Who counted them? How could anyone march through a country and count a million people? Of course, people are hungry there - desperately hungry. Russia is turning over from agriculture to industrialism. It's like a man going into business on small capital.

At the time, Fischer stated that those starving were "enemies of the people who preferred begging to work."

Only later, after he had abandoned Communism did Fischer recall that: Ukrainian peasant women "held up to the carriage windows horrible infants with enormous wobbling heads, sticklike limbs, and swollen, pointed bellies" as a result of the widespread malnutrition.

Source 24

Maxim Litvinov (1876-1951) was the urbane Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs. In 1933 he successfully negotiated US recognition of the Soviet Union. Together with his English wife, Ivy, (1889 -1977) he charmed US society and even performed a successful stage double act with Marx Brother, Harpo.

In the letter below Litvinov, assures Ukrainian-born Herman P. Kopplemann, a US Congressman, that reports of mass starvation are the work of Ukrainian propagandists living abroad. 3 January 1934.



Maxim Litvinov, arriving in New York, 15 November 1933

Litvinov in New York

<https://youtu.be/-MHiHgsRerM>

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and thank you for drawing my attention to the Ukrainian pamphlet. There is any amount of such pamphlets full of lies circulated by counter revolutionary organizations abroad, who specialize in the work of this kind. There is nothing left for them to do but to spread false information or to forge documents.

However, I am instructing Mr. Skvirsky in Washington to supply you with data on the real situation in the Ukraine.

Yours sincerely, M. Litvinoff

Source 25

Excerpts from a letter from B. Skvirsky, Head of the Soviet Information Bureau in the US, to Herman P Koplemann, a U.S. Congressman, 3 February 1934, systematically discrediting claims of mass starvation in Ukraine. Significantly he refers to the work of Walter Duranty in support of his counter claims.



My dear representative Koplemann:

Commissar Litvinoff has forwarded to me your inquiry in regard to a pamphlet ostensibly published by the "Ukrainian Women's League of America". In effect these anonymous ladies (I use the word anonymous because no name or address is given in the pamphlet) accuse the Soviet Government of deliberately killing off the population in Ukraine.

The idea is wholly grotesque. The population of the Ukraine is somewhat over 30,000,000. During the period of the first Five-Year plan, concluded a year ago, the population increased at the rate of 2 per cent per year. The death rate was the lowest of that of any of the seven constituent republics composing the Soviet Union and was about 35 per cent lower than the pre-war death rate of Tsarist days. The death rate in the larger Ukrainian cities is the lowest among the cities of the Soviet Union. More than three times as many children are in school today in Ukraine as in 1913. The Ukrainian language is used in the schools as well as Russian and in the literature and the theatre. It was banned in the Tsarist days. So much for the general charge.

Fortunately, we can check up on one or two specific things mentioned in the pamphlet. They show that the authors were not particularly scrupulous about facts.

The pamphlet states that in the N.Y. Times of August 24, 1933, Duranty stated that three to four million persons in the Ukraine died the same year.

Duranty writing from Moscow on that date actually stated that from information he had received he estimated that owing to the poor harvest of 1932, possibly three million persons died during 1932, not in Ukraine alone but in Ukraine, North Caucasus and lower Volga regions together, an area roughly triple the size of the Ukraine.

The pamphlet does not add that in the Times, September 13, writing from Rostov-on-Don in the course of a personal inspection trip through these sections, Duranty stated that estimate of July 24, before he made his personal inspection, was exaggerated. He said the poor harvest of 1932 had made for difficult conditions in certain sections, but there had been no famine. Writing from Kharkov, capital of Ukraine, September 18th on the conditions that year, he said: "The writer has just completed a 200-mile trip through the heart of the Ukraine and can say positively that the harvest is splendid, and all talk of famine now is ridiculous".

Sincerely yours, B. Skvirsky, Counsellor of the Embassy.

Following US recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933, President Roosevelt despatched Harpo Marx on a goodwill tour of the Soviet Union in an unusual bid to encourage mutual respect and understanding.

Any US recognition of the Holodomor was thus politically inexpedient as the US, and the Soviet Union began to tentatively establish closer cooperation.



USA: Harpo Marx returns from stay in Russia (1934)

<https://youtu.be/K3dgH5YP01I>



Website: <https://historyoftotalitarianism.com/>

Email: contact@historyoftotalitarianism.com

The Foundation is a non-profit organisation established to provide information and education about the history of totalitarianism. It runs an annual history essay competition for sixth-formers.