

# **Ukrajina ve 30. letech 20. století**

Hladomor 1932 - 33



# Ukrajina na přelomu 20. a 30. let

- V roce **1929** se definitivně ujímá moci **Stalin** (rok velkého zlomu)
- Na konci 20. let tak dochází k **ukončení** procesu **ukrajinizace**
- Pronásledování inteligence – **vlna zatýkání** a konání prvních **politických procesů**
- **Útoky proti** ukrajinské autokefální pravoslavné **církvi**
- **Boj proti nacionalismu** – úbytek ukrajinských komunistů, kteří byli odstraňováni násilím nebo spáchali sebevraždu (Skrypnyk)

# Politika násilné kolektivizace

- Stalin zavedl tzv. **pětiletky** (pětileté hospodářské plány)
- V oblasti zemědělství bolševici prosadili tzv. **kolektivizaci** – vytváření jednotných družstev (**kolchozy**, **sovchozy**)
- Do těchto družstev byli ukrajinští zemědělci nuceni násilím vstupovat
- Stát tak chtěl lépe **kontrolovat ukrajinský venkov a zemědělskou produkci**
- Bolševici na venkově zároveň rozpoutali třídní boj mezi rolníky, když začali **likvidovat tzv. kulaky** (bohaté, majetné sedláky)

# Politika násilné kolektivizace

- V letech 1929 – 1930 zavládl na ukrajinském venkově **teror**
- Problémy s kolektivizací se objevili i v **dalších oblastech SSSR** (Kavkaz, Kubáň)
- Na mnoha místech docházelo k **otevřeným vzpourám proti režimu**
- Odpor donutil Stalina na chvíli **přibrzdit tempo kolektivizace**
- V březnu 1930 vyšel v novinách Pravda Stalinův článek ***Závrat' z úspěchu***

# Politika násilné kolektivizace

- Rolníci mohli dokonce **na čas kolchozy opustit**
- Už v září 1930 byl ale **tlak** na ukrajinský venkov **obnoven**
- Samostatně hospodařícím rolníkům byly **zvýšeny daně**, které nebyli schopni platit
- Byli nuceni opět vstupovat do kolektivních zemědělských družstev
- Do roku 1932 podléhalo kolektivizaci přibližně **80% celkové osevní plochy na Ukrajině**

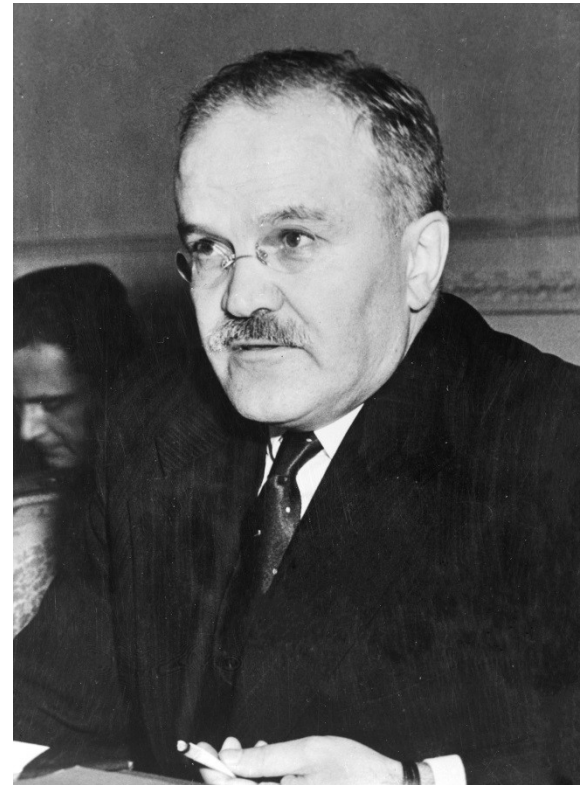
# Od kolektivizace k hladomoru

- Stalin požadoval **stále větší produkci obilí**, kterou nebyly kolchozy schopné splnit
- Export obilí představoval **zisk nezbytných finančních prostředků** pro modernizaci průmyslu
- Za nesplněné kvóty byli nejprve odstraňováni „odpovědní“ funkcionáři
- Za hlavního viníka nevykonání dodávek bylo nakonec **označeno venkovské obyvatelstvo**
- Na Ukrajinu byly z Ruska posílány **výběřčí komise**, které měly zabavovat veškeré obilí

# Od kolektivizace k hladomoru

- Do čela výběrčí komise byl stanoven **Lazar Kaganovič** a **Vjačeslav Molotov**
- Mnoho vesnic, ale i celé oblasti byly zaneseny do tzv. **černých listin**
- Tyto oblasti a vesnice byly **neprodyšně uzavřeny** vojskem a policií a místním obyvatelům byly zabavovány veškeré potraviny
- Vesničané se snažili utéct do měst, ale smrt je dohnala i tam
- Na konci roku 1932 byly zavedeny tzv. **vnitřní pasy**, které měly zamezit migraci lidí z vesnic do měst

# Kaganovič, Stalin, Postyšev, Vorošilov, Molotov

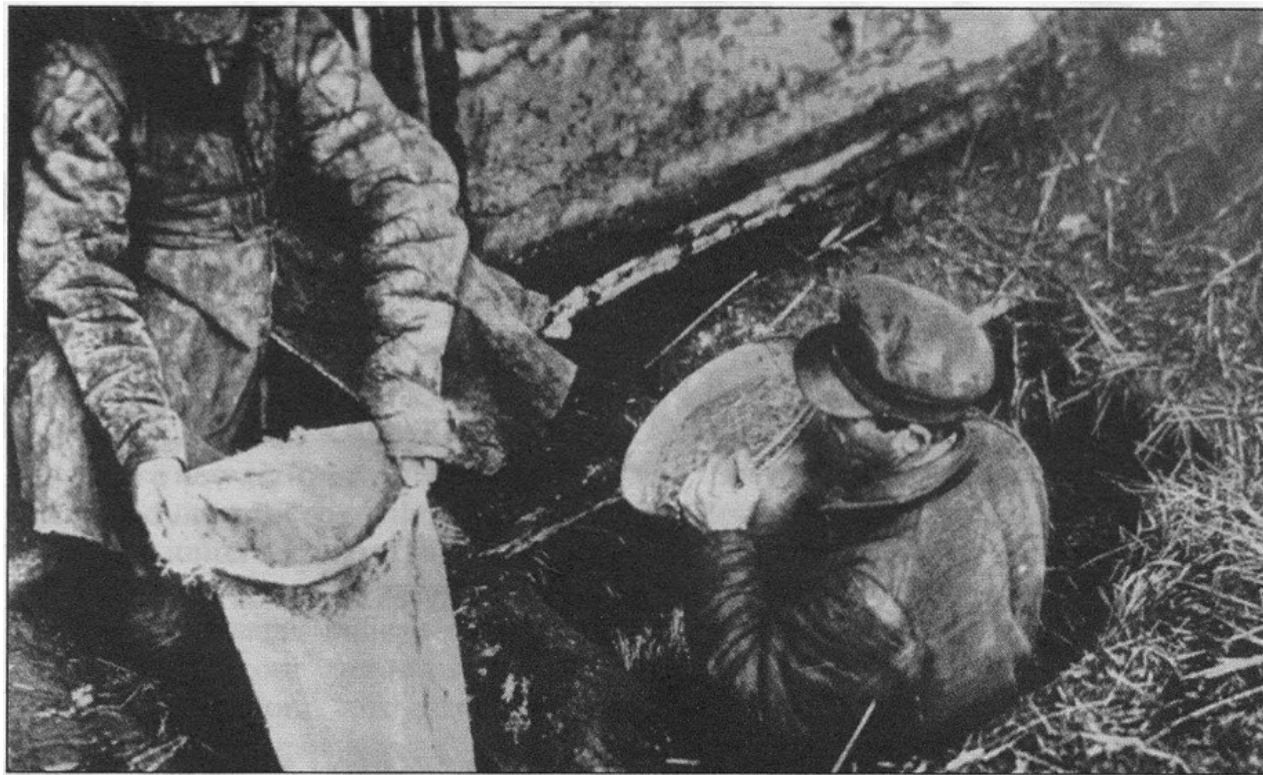




# Od kolektivizace k hladomoru

- Smutným paradoxem zůstává fakt, že **část obilí**, které bylo násilně zabaveno rolníkům, **shnilo v sýpkách**
- Na „uvolněnou půdu **Ukrajiny a Severního Kavkazu** byli přestěhováni lidé z centrálního Ruska
- Situaci nezlepšilo ani zakládání **strojně traktorových stanic (STS)**, které měly přispět k vyšší produkci
- Stroje byly totiž velmi poruchové
- Hladomor **postihl především venkov**, města podstatně méně

# Rekvizice obilí



# Skladiště obilí

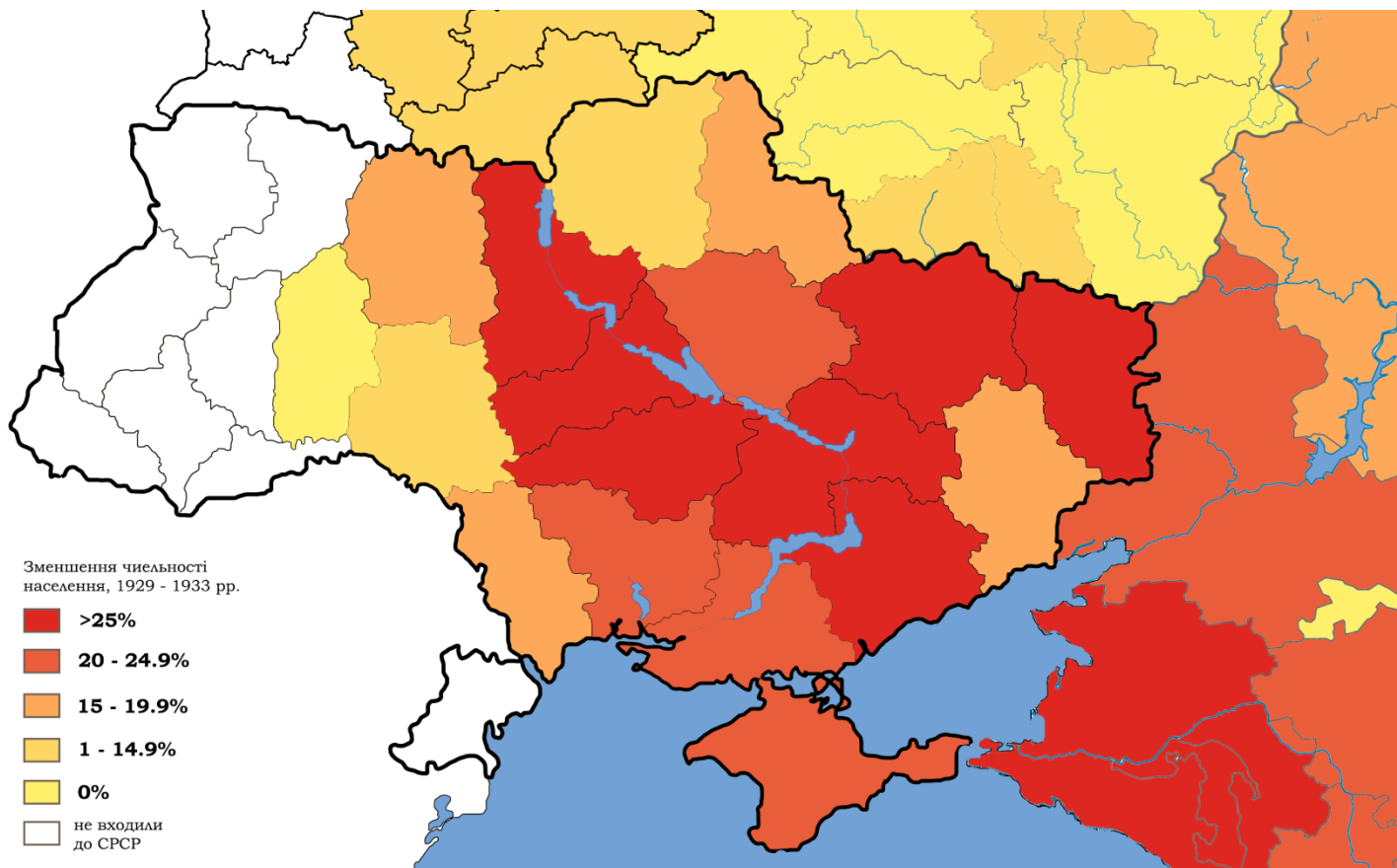


# Míra postižení oblastí USSR





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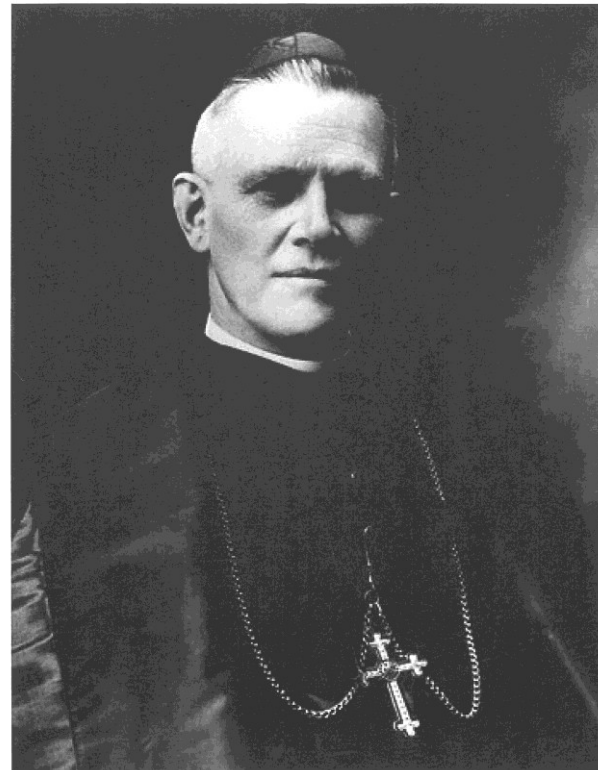
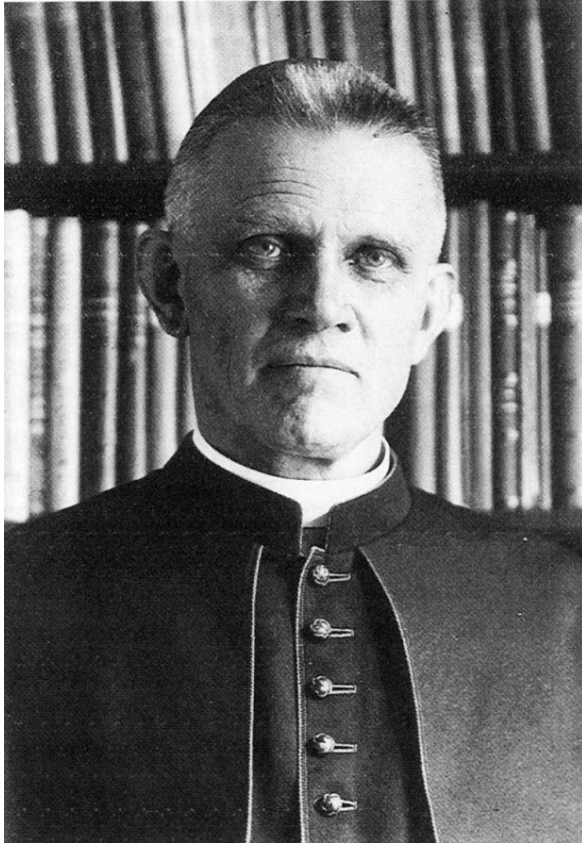
# Počet obětí

- **Nelze objektivně spočítat**
- Pohybuje se mezi 3,5 mil a 7 mil. obětí jen na Ukrajině (v celém SSSR až 10 mil. obětí)
- Reálný počet obětí na Ukrajině se pohybuje mezi **3,5 až 5 mil. obětí**
- Největších rozměrů dosáhla tragédie v létě roku 1933
- Počet se dá odhadovat pouze na **základě rozdílu čísel ze sčítání obyvatelstva** z 20. let a z let 1937 a 1939

# Reakce Západu

- Na rozdíl od hladomoru 1921 – 23 byl ten z let 1932 – 33 bolševiky systematicky **zamlčován a popírán**
- Na Západě sice **vznikaly pomocné výbory**, ale kvůli neochotě bolševiků nemohly rozvíjet svoji činnost
- Do čela humanitární pomoci se postavil vídeňský arcibiskup **Theodor Innitzer**
- O problematiku hladomoru v SSSR se zajímala Evropa a USA

# Theodor Innitzer





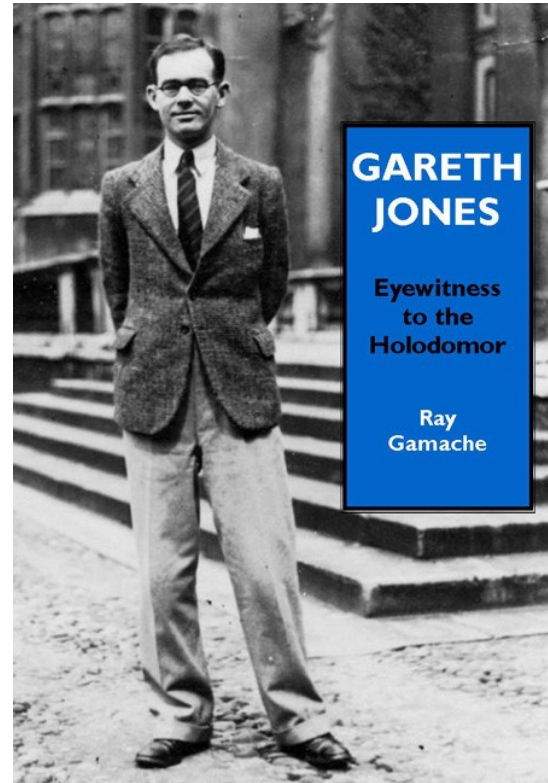
# Objektivní zpravodajství zahraničních žurnalistů

- Několika zahraničním žurnalistům se podařilo proniknout na Ukrajinu v době panování velkého hladu
- **Malcolm Muggeridge**
- **Garreth Jones** (*Manchester Guardian*)
- **Stanley Richardson** (*Associated Press*)
- **William Chamberlein** (*Manchester Guardian*)
- **Ralph Barnes** (*New York Herald Tribune*)

# Malcolm Muggeridge, Gareth Jones



muggeridge-sm.jpg (240 x 339 x 24) Malcolm Muggeridge (1903 - 1990)



# Články v novinách

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
SECOND SECTION  
NEWS, FEATURES

## SIX MILLION PERISH IN SOVIET FAMINE

Peasants' Crops Seized, They and Their Animals Starve



Like hundreds of the millions of Soviet peasants who are starving to death in the famine-stricken Ukraine, the woman in the picture above is a victim of the Soviet government's policy of seizing the crops of the peasants and distributing them to the cities. The woman in the picture above is a victim of the Soviet government's policy of seizing the crops of the peasants and distributing them to the cities.

Russia's beautiful, diversified terrain, fertile soil and abundant sunshine have made the world's most fertile and productive agricultural region. The people who live in this region have been able to produce enough food to feed themselves and their animals and to export the surplus to other parts of the world.

But in 1932, the Soviet government seized the crops of the peasants and distributed them to the cities. The peasants who were left with nothing to eat and their animals to starve to death.

### Reporter Risks Life to Get Photographs Showing Starvation

By THOMAS WALKER

These pictures show the terrible suffering of the millions of Soviet peasants who are starving to death in the famine-stricken Ukraine. The pictures were taken by the author, who risked his life to get them.




Meats Unavailable  
Food Shortage  
Search for Grain

FORUMNO 54-SPRING, 1983

CHICAGO AMERICAN  
SECOND SECTION  
NEWS, FEATURES

## HUNGER, DESPAIR, DEATH IN UKRAINE AGONY



Soviet Starving Tell Own Stories: Jailed for Eating Dogs

By THOMAS WALKER

These pictures show the terrible suffering of the millions of Soviet peasants who are starving to death in the famine-stricken Ukraine. The pictures were taken by the author, who risked his life to get them.

Meats Unavailable  
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### PAWNS OF TRAGEDY IN UKRAINE



CLING TO TEST BEAUTY AIDS

### Hendrik Van Loon

FORUMNO 54-SPRING, 1983

# Články v novinách

Friday, March 31, 1933 THE EVENING

## 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.

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 Chejvalinsk, where I once worked. Disease there is carrying away numbers of us workers and the little food there 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

*"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 so little fodder that the remaining ones are scraggy and ill."

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 gnawed 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 parts 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 the 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

you have destroyed all that's best in Russia!"

...the worker said at least 90 per cent.



MR. GARETH JONES



CHILD BEGGARS IN MOSCOW

## 'THERE IS NO BREAD!'

### Gareth Jones Hears Cry of Hunger All Over Ukraine, Once Russia's Sea of Grain

#### And Then a Second Phrase Occurs: "We Are Swollen," Victims of Famine Complain

*This is the second of three articles on Russia by Gareth Jones, formerly research adviser on foreign affairs to Lloyd George, now commissioned by The Manchester Guardian to write on world affairs. In Russia he was received by Lenin's widow, by Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinoff, by the Commissar of Finance, and by the president of the Atheists. In this article he describes his visit to the North Ukraine, once known as the granary of the world.*

By GARETH JONES  
*Formerly research adviser on foreign affairs on the staff of Lloyd George, and now a writer commissioned by the Manchester Guardian, making a world tour for that publication.*

The snow lay deep around as I began my tramp through the villages of the North Ukraine, the part of Russia which once led Europe and was known as the granary of the world.

I decided therefore to walk along the railway tracks, for if I penetrated into the country I should be lost in the snow and perhaps never return.

The first words I heard were ominous, for an old peasant

for I am a peasant and not a dog."

Red Troopers Are Amiable



GARETH JONES



# Články v novinách

## DELIBERATE STARVATION OF PEASANTS



This report is that of the father of the boy shown in the photo on the left. The boy was found dead in the field near the farm. The boy was found dead in the field near the farm. The boy was found dead in the field near the farm.

Villages depopulated by hunger in Ukraine as Soviet Punish Their Opponents

STARVATION rages through the Ukraine as the Soviet Government punishes its opponents. The villages are depopulated by hunger. The peasants are being starved to death. The Soviet Government is punishing its opponents by deliberately starving the peasants.

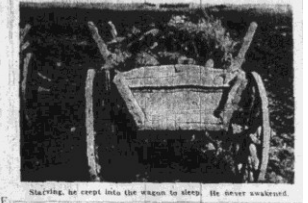
## THE HORROR OF THE UKRAINE

Unbared By Tourist With Secret Camera



STARVED MEN AND HORSES DEAD ON THE ROADSIDE

LEFT FOODLESS BY MOSCOW'S SWOOP ON CROPS



Belgorod's Trail of Death

Soviet camera's evidence. 1,500 dead and dying horses near the collective farms at Belgorod. Their owners begged food for them, but were ordered from the farm at the point of a gun.

STARVATION STALKS THROUGH THE UKRAINE. DISTRICT OF SOVIET RUSSIA, LEAVING TO MARK ITS PROGRESS A TRAIL OF DEATH OR OF AGONY AND INTENSE MISERY.

I have seen... and here, in words and pictures, I show what I saw.

## World Table Tennis "Wimbledon"

More than sixteen nations are to meet in London early next year to compete for the table tennis championship of the world.

It is expected that for the first time Japan and America will be among the rivals.

## Drought Defied By England's 1934 Harvest

THE central harvest of 1934 promises its yield better crops than anybody expected from this year of great drought.

Wheat, barley, oats, and all the other crops are being gathered in the English harvest. The crops are being gathered in the English harvest.

## Overled Away At Point Of Revolvers

By "POP" WRIGHT

County Police Court

ready to start the trial.

## GUNMEN CHASED AFTER BANK RAID

PURSER SHOT DEAD IN STREET BATTLE

BARCELONA, Sunday.

At least 100 men were seen in the street during the chase.

## "MASS GRAFF" IN RUSSIA

SHOW TRIALS PLANNED

RUSSIA

SHOW TRIALS PLANNED

Today's Human Story

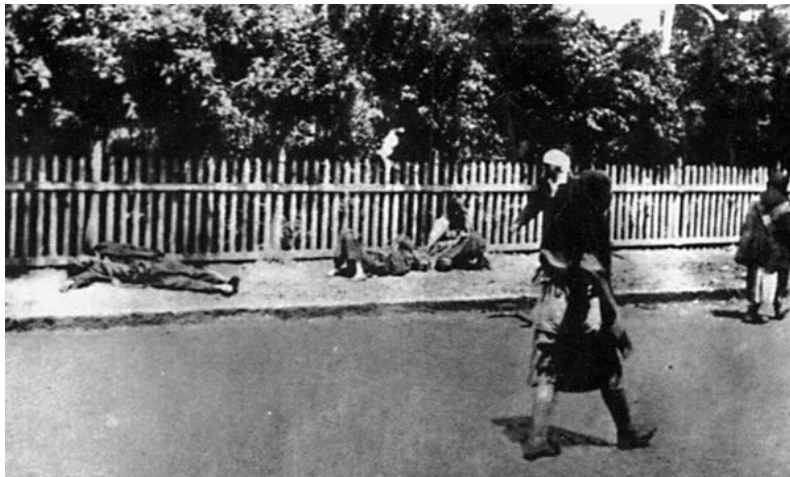
## A Sergeant Decides

By "POP" WRIGHT

County Police Court

ready to start the trial.

# Oběti



# Oběti





# Popírači hladomoru

Walter Duranty (The New York Times), Édouard Herriot



Herriot.jpg (987 x 1280 x 24) Édouard Herriot (1872-1957)



# Interpretace hladomoru

- Genocida ukrajinského národa
- Nešťastná náhoda (špatné klimatické podmínky v letech 1932 – 33)
- (Ne)chtěný důsledek necitlivě prováděné kolektivizace



# Památníky



