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I would like to touch the problem from the “Polish perspective”—that is, how the question of who carried out the Holodomor was perceived by Polish diplomats and consular officers working during those days in the Soviet Union.

For Polish representatives, it was clearly visible that behind the “crime of the famine” stood the Stalinist regime itself, which managed to resolve definitely the “peasant question”. For the Poles, one question was also never in doubt, i.e., the “Ukrainian specificity” of the hunger.

One of the strongest documents proving what was just stated is the report of the Polish consul general in the Ukrainian capital city, Kharkiv, Jan Karszo-Siedlewski dated 31 May 1933. When the famine reached its greatest peak, he left Kharkiv on 5 May 1933 and went to a consular meeting in Moscow. He reached the Polish legation in Moscow the following day. On 11 May 1933 he made the return journey and arrived in Kharkiv the next day. The Polish diplomat during that trip had not only a possibility to observe the situation in starving Ukraine but also to compare it to conditions outside the republic. He was astonished at the difference between the Ukrainian countryside and the neighboring *Central Chernozem Oblast* or even the infertile suburbs of Moscow. Karszo-Siedlewski noted that the Ukrainian villages were in a state of decay, seeming abandoned and miserable. The huts were half-devastated, often without roofs. There were no new farmsteads anywhere. Children and the elderly looked like skeletons. No livestock anywhere. Something was growing on barely 20 percent of the area, 40 percent has just been ploughed and the rest was a wasteland. Nevertheless, during the highest season of sowing, only a few workers and tractors were on the fields. Sowing was being done by the most primitive methods, mostly by hand.

Arriving at the *Central Chernozem Oblast*, the diplomat emphasized that he had the impression he had come from the Soviet state to Western Europe. There were many more ploughed and sowed fields. The villages were clean, huts renovated, greater prosperity was visible among the inhabitants and you could see grazing livestock.

Another “Polish proof” strongly depicting the artificiality of the famine and at the same time accusing those who were responding for lives of millions of people is a (enclosed) photograph taken in August 1933 during the business trip around southern Ukraine of the Polish delegation consisting of an acting military attaché at the Polish Embassy in Moscow Władysław Harland and an embassy Secretary Stanisław Zabięło accompanied by the consular official and (unofficially) the head of the intelligence outpost M.13 in Kharkiv Zdzisław Miłoszewski. After the trip Harland sent to the Second Department of the General Staff of Polish Army (intelligence) a thorough report from the trip. Miłoszewski on the other hand during that journey was taking a lot of photographs depicting mainly Harland and Zabięło but one photograph is particularly valuable. It depicts a Bolshevick grain station on the Dnipro River. The back of the photo features the following fragment: „One of the grain points at the “vessel stop” on the Dnipro River. It must be said that all the grain depots (collection points) looked the same. I photographed one of them as an example”.

It must be emphasized that Polish delegation saw these grain points in August 1933, i.e. while thousands of people were dying from the lack of food. It is another photographic proof that the famine was man-made: while the famine was at its apogee and acts of cannibalism were taking place, Soviet depots were full of grain, which is perfectly visible on the photograph below.