

# The Holodomor as an Example of Disinformation

## Ninety Years of Hiding the Truth

Łukasz Migniewicz

### Sources

---

#### Source A

A report on Gareth Jones's press conference published in the *New York Evening Post* on 29 March 1933<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1 Excerpt from the *New York Evening Post* from 29 March 1933

*Evening Post Foreign Service*, New York, 1933

Famine Grips Russia Millions Dying, Idle on Rise, Says Briton

Gareth Jones, Lloyd George Aid, Reports Devastation

TOURS FARM AREAS, FINDS FOOD GONE

Asserts Reds Arrest British to Check Public Wrath-Peasants. "Wait for Death"

BERLIN, March. 29th, [...]

Mr. Jones, who speaks Russian fluently, is the first foreigner to visit the Russian countryside since the Moscow authorities forbade foreign correspondents to leave the

---

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.garethjones.org/soviet\\_articles/millions\\_dying.htm](https://www.garethjones.org/soviet_articles/millions_dying.htm) - accessed on 18 July 2023

city. His report, which he will deliver to the Royal Institute of International Affairs tomorrow, explains the reason for this prohibition. Famine on a colossal scale, impending death of millions from hunger, murderous terror and the beginnings of serious unemployment in a land that had hitherto prided itself on the fact that every man had a job – this is the summary of Mr. Jones's first-hand observations. [...] "Everywhere was the cry, There is no bread. We are dying." [...] I tramped through the black earth region because that was once the richest farm land 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." [...] "We are waiting for death" was my welcome, but "See, we still, have our cattle fodder." Go farther south. There they have nothing. Many houses are empty of people already dead", they cried.

The Jones report, because of his position, because of his reputation for reliability and impartiality and because he is the only first-hand observer who has visited the Russian countryside since it was officially closed to foreigners, is bound to receive widespread attention in official England as well as among the public of the country.

Excerpts from the biography of **Gareth Jones**



*Figure 2*

*Photograph of Gareth Jones*

**Gareth Jones** was a Welsh journalist who in March 1933 first reported in the Western world, without equivocation and under his own name, the existence of the Soviet famine of 1932–33, including the Holodomor. By June 1933, Jones had visited the USSR three times and published numerous articles in British and American journals. Soviet Foreign Commissioner Maxim Litvinov (whom Jones had interviewed earlier in Moscow) accused him of espionage and, in a personal letter to British Prime Minister Lloyd George, informed him of Jones's lifetime ban from the USSR.

In 1935 Jones travelled to Manchukuo. There, in unclear circumstances, he was abducted by bandits and murdered. There is circumstantial evidence that the NKVD was involved in the journalist's murder.

Source: Wikipedia

## Source B

A reply on 29 March 1933 to Gareth Jones's report sent by the Moscow-based *New York Times* correspondent Walter Duranty published in *The New York Times* on 31 March 1933<sup>2</sup>

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

Russian and Foreign Observers in Country See No Ground for Predications of Disaster

[...] Saw No One Dying

[...]

Since I talked to **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 shortage 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 [...].

---

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.garethjones.org/soviet\\_articles/russians\\_hungry\\_not\\_starving.htm](https://www.garethjones.org/soviet_articles/russians_hungry_not_starving.htm) - accessed on 18 July 2023

## An excerpt from the biography of Walter Duranty



**Walter Duranty** was a Anglo-American journalist and *The New York Times* correspondent in Moscow for the period 1922–36. In 1932 he received a Pulitzer Prize for his series of reports about the USSR in which he praised the progress of communism. Duranty did not interview any Russian citizen for the purpose of his prize-winning articles.<sup>3</sup> In 1934 Duranty left Moscow and continued as a Special Correspondent for *The New York Times* until 1940. He wrote several books on the Soviet Union after 1940. Duranty died in 1957 in Orlando, Florida, aged 73.

Source: Wikipedia

## Source C

### An opinion concerning Walter Duranty<sup>4</sup>

In Moscow, Duranty became the king of life. He had at his disposal a large, luxurious flat, a car and, of course, unlimited access to quality food and drink. [...] It is also not excluded that he was on the payroll of the Soviet services. [...] Duranty died in 1957. More than three decades later, his biography, written by Sally J. Taylor, was published – in reaction to it, *The New York Times* admitted that Duranty's writings must be considered an example of the worst journalism to have appeared in the pages of that newspaper. The subject of Duranty's being stripped of his Pulitzer Prize was revisited several times –each time without success. The subject returned literally a few weeks ago, obviously in the context of Russian aggression against Ukraine.

---

<sup>3</sup> *The New York Times* Statement About 1932 Pulitzer Prize Awarded to Walter Duranty  
<https://www.nytc.com/company/prizes-awards/new-york-times-statement-about-1932-pulitzer-prize-awarded-to-walter-duranty/>

<sup>4</sup> Mateusz Zimmerman, 'Wielki Głód, wielkie kłamstwo. Uchodził za wyrocznię, okazał się agentem Stalina' [The Great Famine, a great lie: he was considered an oracle yet turned out to be Stalin's agent] in: <https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/wielki-glod-wielkie-klamstwo-uchodzil-za-wyrocznie-okazal-sie-agentem-stalina/swhfk3h> (accessed 16 July 2023).

Source D

A Soviet propaganda poster (1933) by V.I. Govorkov<sup>5</sup>



Translation: Upper section: Kolkhoz farmers and private ones!

Lower section: We will transfer the bread to the state, all of it and on time!

<sup>5</sup> <https://propagandahistory.ru/192/Sovetskie-plakaty--Tridtsatye-gody--CHast-V/> (accessed 18 July 2023).

**A 1933 photograph from the Dnipropetrovsk oblast (region of Ukraine): peasants delivering grain to a collection point<sup>6</sup>**



---

<sup>6</sup> <https://opir.weareukraine.info/how-stalin-starved-the-ukrainian-resistance/> (accessed 18 July 2023).



Source E

Covers of Russian propaganda books on the Great Famine in Ukraine



**Цинизм российской лжи не имеет границ**

Titles of the books (left-right): *The Mythology of the Great Famine*; *How to Pitch Ukraine Against Russia: The Myth of Stalin's Great Famine*; *The Myth and Truth about Stalin's Great Famine: On Ukraine's Tragedy in 1932–1933*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> [https://argumentua.com/stati/zapretit-golodomor-kak-rossiya-skryvaet-svoi-prestupleniya?fbclid=IwAR0fdShz2Obj-0obwczp4TW5R9ETLJvA-BIITyEe9sSMe\\_IBkbXQ4H4bSo](https://argumentua.com/stati/zapretit-golodomor-kak-rossiya-skryvaet-svoi-prestupleniya?fbclid=IwAR0fdShz2Obj-0obwczp4TW5R9ETLJvA-BIITyEe9sSMe_IBkbXQ4H4bSo) (accessed 18 July 2023).

Source F

Information from Russian official governmental social media

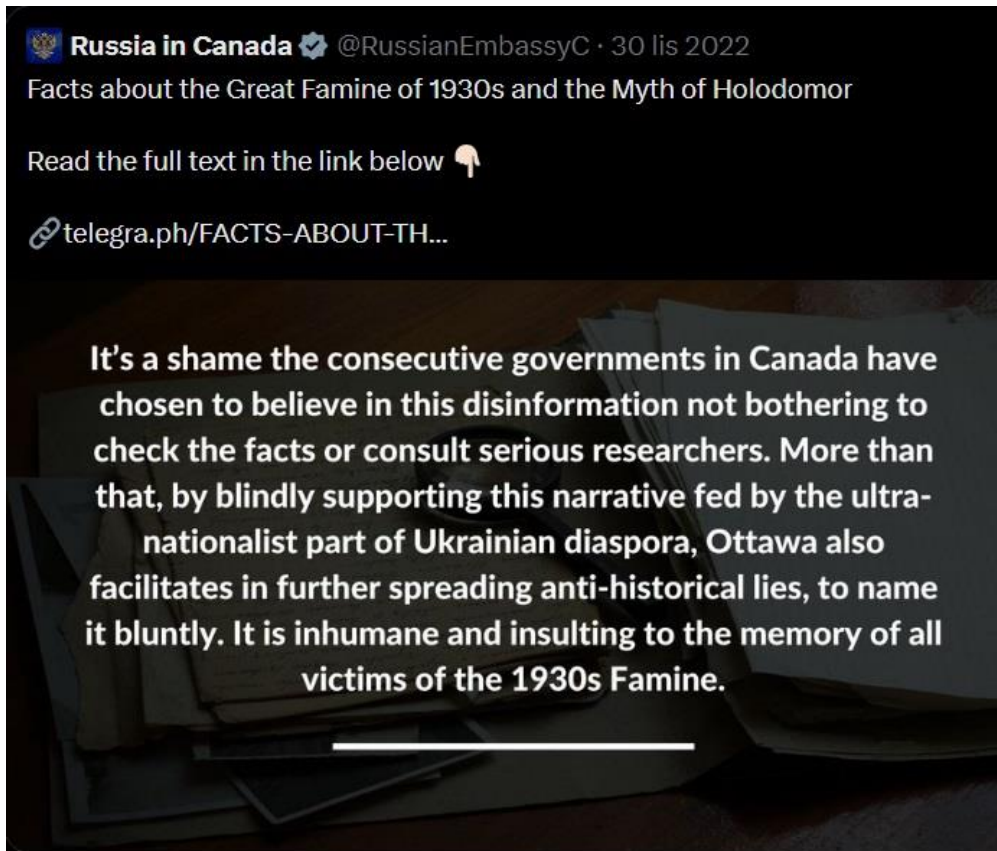


Figure 4 A message tweeted by the Russian Embassy in Ottawa concerning the Great Famine<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> [https://twitter.com/Yvan\\_Baker/status/1598795162477789184](https://twitter.com/Yvan_Baker/status/1598795162477789184) (accessed 19 July 2023).





*Figure 5 A message of 24 November 2018 published by the Russian Foreign Ministry on its official FB profile<sup>9</sup>*

In the 1930s, a severe famine broke out in the Soviet Union, affecting many peoples living on the territory of the young state. It became a common tragedy for Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs and other nations of the country and the greatest humanitarian disaster on the territory of the USSR. Attempts to present these tragic events solely as the 'genocide of the Ukrainian people' have nothing to do with restoring justice or historical facts, and are politicised and anti-scientific in nature.

transl. Łukasz Migniewicz

<sup>9</sup><https://www.facebook.com/MIDRussia/photos/a.265191980246917/1562402713859164/?type=3&theater> (accessed on 16 July 2023).

## Source G

### **European Parliament resolution on 90 years after the Holodomor: recognising the mass killing through starvation as genocide (2022/3001([RSP]))**

*The European Parliament,*

[...]

C. whereas the Holodomor famine of 1932--1933, which caused the deaths of millions of Ukrainians, was deliberately planned by Stalin's regime in order to force through the Soviet Union's policy of collectivisation of agriculture against the will of the rural population in Ukraine, to suppress national resistance against Soviet rule and to eradicate Ukrainian national identity; whereas 2022 marks the 90th anniversary of the Holodomor;

D. whereas the Russian/Soviet empire has systematically strived to destroy the backbone of the independent Ukrainian nation through genocidal means, namely the artificially created Holodomor mass famine in Ukraine and Ukrainian-populated areas [...] whereas Putin's Russia is continuing the same genocidal attack on Ukraine that has been consistently and systemically carried out by the Russian empire against the Ukrainian people.

E. whereas 20th-century Soviet crimes have not received a clear legal and moral evaluation by the international community; whereas the glorification of a Soviet imperialistic past, which whitewashes the totalitarian communist regime and has revived Stalin's cult in Russia [...].

G. whereas Australia, Canada, Columbia, Czechia, Ecuador, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Ukraine, the United States and the Holy See recognise the Holodomor as a genocide; whereas the German Parliament recently adopted a resolution doing the same;

[...] a) recognises the Holodomor (the artificial famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine) as a genocide against the Ukrainian people that aimed to destroy the social foundations of the Ukrainian nation, its traditions, culture, [...] identity.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-9-2022-0564\\_EN.html](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-9-2022-0564_EN.html) (accessed 20 July 2023).