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**ORGANIZATION OF AID TO SUFFERERS FROM THE HOLODOMOR
BY UKRAINIANS FROM ZAKERZONNIA IN UKRAINE, IN 1932 – 1933**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to search for intentions and deeds that testified to the human compassion and mercy of the Ukrainian diaspora of Zakerzonnia towards the population of the Ukrainian SSR, which found itself on the verge of life and death. **Research Methodology.** The research has been carried out on the basis of the approaches of objectivity, comprehensiveness, systematicity, general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization), historical methods (comparative, source analysis), as well as the methodology of cultural and social anthropology (functional and structural methods). **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in the fact that for the first time, based*

on archival materials, the main decisions and results of aid actions of the Ukrainian political, public, and religious organizations of Zakerkonnia aimed at informing, mass public events, and raising funds to help victims of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in the Ukrainian SSR have been comprehensively covered. **Conclusions.** In 1933 the main vector of the Ukrainian moderate political and religious representation was the dissemination of information to the world community about the artificial Holodomor organized by the Bolsheviks and the implementation of a broad humanitarian campaign to raise funds to support those suffering from the artificial famine. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, in particular the dioceses and parishes in Zakerkonnia and the Central Public Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine, which had representative offices in Lemko region, Posiannia, Lublin region, Chelm region, and Pidliashia regions, joined in the implementation of the support fund establishment. In the autumn of 1933 the main donors of the monetary collection were political, public, and religious figures, as well as collective contributions from communities, parishes, organizations, and monasteries. The Ukrainian community showed examples of humanity, empathy, compassion, and readiness to help a Ukrainian who was in a mortal danger.

Key words: Holodomor; Ukrainian SSR, aid, UGCC, Zakerkonnia, Poland.

ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ ДОПОМОГИ УКРАЇНЦЯМИ ЗАКЕРЗОННЯ СТРАЖДАЛЬЦЯМ ВІД ГОЛОДОМОРУ В УКРАЇНІ 1932 – 1933 рр.

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у пошуках намірів і справ, що засвідчували діяльне милосердя української діаспори Закерзоння щодо українців УСРР, які потрапили в екзистенційну ситуацію, викликану штучним голодом 1932 – 1933 рр. **Методологія.** Дослідження здійснено на основі підходів об'єктивності, всебічності, системності, загальнонаукових методів (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення), історичних методів (порівняльного, аналізу джерел), а також методології культурної та соціальної антропології (функціонального та структурного методів). **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше на підставі архівних матеріалів комплексно висвітлено основні рішення та результати допоміжних акцій українських політичних, громадських, релігійних організацій Закерзоння, спрямованих на інформування, масові публічні заходи і збір коштів для допомоги страждальцям від Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. в УСРР. **Висновки.** Головним вектором українського поміркованого політичного та релігійного представництва у 1933 р. було донесення інформації до світової громадськості про штучний Голодомор, організований більшовиками та реалізація широкої гуманітарної акції щодо збору коштів на підтримку страждальцям від штучного голоду. До реалізації формування фонду підтримки долучилися Українська греко-католицька церква, зокрема, єпархії і парафії на Закерзонні та Центральний Громадський Комітет Рятунку України, що мав представництва на Лемківщині, Посянні, Люблінщині, Холмищині, Підляшші. Основними донорами грошового збору восени 1933 р. стали політичні, громадські, релігійні діячі, а також колективні внески громад, парафій, організацій, монастирів. Українська громада проявила зразки людяності, емпатії, співчуття, готовності допомогти одноплемінникові, який опинився у смертельній небезпеці.

Ключові слова: Голодомор, УСРР, допомога, УГКЦ, Закерзоння, Польща.

Problem Statement. Humanity has not been able to overcome the phenomenon of world famine in the 21st century. However, in the 20th century, famine caused by crop failure or economic hardships, at the initiative of the Bolshevik government, acquired a means of political, social, economic, demographic, and ethnic repression. The study of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine will be relevant all the time. All new directions of search and expansion of the geography of connections between victims and people ready to help will only clarify the understanding of the external circumstances and the inner world of the Ukrainian community in post-Soviet Ukraine and the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. This topic has been tangentially studied by a number of authors who focused on the everyday life of the Ukrainian society under the Soviet conditions. In particular, Larysa Yakubova, based on archival materials, elucidated the

consequences of the collectivization process among peasants and representatives of ethnic minorities (Yakubova, 2006; Ukrainiske radianske suspilstvo, 2012; Yakubova, 2024), and demographic losses among peasants (Yakubovskiy, 2021; Yakubovskiy, 2024).

A group of scholars did not ignore the issue of the common fate of different peoples representatives, in particular, the Poles, under the conditions of dehumanization of relations between the state and representatives of the property-owning class – peasants, who were destined to play the role of living reservists (Kalakura, 2008; Zaretska, 2011). A separate significant aspect of the shared grief of the Holodomor was the search of a way out of mortal hardship, for which representatives of the Polish minority could count on help from their relatives or the Polish state.

In his research Robert Kushnezh focused on the political, social causes and consequences of the Bolshevik rule in Ukraine in general and in the Ukrainian countryside in particular (Kushnezh, 2020; Kushnezh, 2023). The author's position, based on materials from the Polish archives (the Archive of New Acts and the Central Military Archive), remains valuable, and consists in the fact that both Polish diplomats in the USSR (in particular, in Kharkiv and Kyiv) and Polish intelligence were well informed about the state of affairs in the Soviet Union in 1932 – 1933. In the studies by Henryk Stroński, we encounter a balanced approach to the fate of the Polish population in Ukraine under the Bolshevik rule (Stroński, 2000; Stronskyi, 2017; Stroński, 1998). It is important that the author points at the everyday behaviour of the Poles, who shared the fate of the victims of the Great Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 alongside the Ukrainians. The researcher focused on finding the ways to help the Poles.

The community and the person with a similar faith still have hope for the support of co-religionists, as was expected in the community of the Ukrainian Catholics in 1932 – 1933. Partially the scholars studied the relationship between the Polish Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholics in times of trial in their studies: Natalia Titova (Titova, 2008; Titova, 2007), Oleksandr Rublov (Rublov, 2011), Roman Podkur (Podkur, 2016).

The response to the fact of the suffering of the Ukrainian population of the Ukrainian SSR in 1932 – 1933 from an artificial famine, which was observed in public and political opinion, led to measures to organize moral and material assistance among the politicians and society of Western Ukraine and the foreign diaspora, as reflected in the research by Danylo Kravets (Kravets, 2019), Yaroslav Papuha (Papuha, 2008), Mykola Kuhutiak (Kuhutiak, 1994), Tamara Vronska, Tetiana Ostashko (Vronska, Ostashko, 2003).

The only way to escape from the Bolshevik terror of famine was through illegal migration to neighbouring Poland. It was the information published by illegal migrants who became witnesses to the inhabitants of Galicia, Volyn, Zakerzonnia, and the whole world through the media. Serhiy Humennyi (Humennyi, 2019) and Tetiana Boriak (Boriak, 2021) focused on these important aspects of saving people and bringing news from Ukraine enslaved by the Bolsheviks.

The purpose of the research is to search for intentions and deeds that testified to the human compassion and mercy of the Ukrainian diaspora of Zakerzonnia towards the population of the Ukrainian SSR, which found itself on the verge of life and death.

Research Results. The natural process of development of the Ukrainian ethnic group in the first half of the 20th century faced challenges of denial from the Great Russians, whose leaders had no alternative but to degrade the Ukrainian people to the status of executors of a foreign hostile will (Bolshevik, proletarian, Great Russian). All components of such an attitude were mandatory: a Ukrainian had to renounce his own origin, since a new cultural unit

was being formed – the Soviet person. All forms of resistance to the Great Russian Bolshevik government were persecuted through deprivation of the right to life, health, education, and restriction of the right to movement. Loyalty to the occupation government had to be as apparent as possible. The communist government began the process of exterminating the leading Ukrainian military, political, and cultural strata, and later the turn came for the main bearer of Ukrainian identity – the peasantry. This was after the Great Russian experience of receiving and accepting aid from the countries of the cultural world (in particular, the USA), which responded to the suffering of the Soviet peasants during the Holodomor of 1921 – 1923.

The reaction to the tragedy of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine among the Polish authorities and Ukrainian society, its parliamentary and extra-parliamentary representatives, turned out to be radically different. The Polish press received clear instructions not to actively publicize the phenomenon of famine in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and especially the scale of this phenomenon. The main motivation for this position of the media and the authorities of the Second Polish Republic was the fact of the signing of the Soviet-Polish non-aggression pact on July 25, 1932, after which the Poles behaved very cautiously in relations with their eastern neighbour – the USSR. Only the Ukrainian public of Galicia and other Ukrainian lands under the Polish rule, represented by leaders and ordinary citizens, reacted loudly to the tragedy of their compatriots on the other bank of the Zbruch River. To this end, public initiatives were launched to draw attention to the catastrophe, condemn the inhumane policies of the Soviet regime, and collect material aid for the starving. Divine services and memorial services for the victims of the famine in the churches of the UGCC received wide participation and publicity.

In the 20th century the Ukrainian people were forced to go through a unique experience, initiated by the bearers of the ideas of searching for a just world, some of whom did not see a crime in violence for the sake of the state (Bolsheviks), while others saw the victim as the cause of injustice, misery, and suffering (Western democracies).

At the end of 1932 Father O. Orsky asked a question, the answer to which was not obvious to him, which is reflected in the columns of “Przemyśl Diocesan News”. In O. Orsky’s work, the dichotomy of profit (enrichment) and restriction of profit, provision of basic needs, was not resolved and almost justified socialist justice, which supposedly had the potential to become a real alternative to the free market, which suffered from the Great Depression. The Uniate analyst focused only on the possibility of the socialist alternative. But even a hundred years after the multimillion-dollar bloody victims of the socialist (Bolshevik, communist) experiment in Ukraine, which is suffering from the war with the heirs of the USSR – the Russian Federation – there remains a share of people who “long” for the Soviet past. It turns out that both making a forecast for the future based on the 15-year rule of the Bolsheviks (as of 1932) and summing up the consequences of almost 74 years of the Soviet rule was and is impossible due to a certain degree of bias regarding the size of the exploitation and equality in absolute poverty. Thus, according to the results of a sociological survey in January 2023, 12% of the population of Ukraine negatively evaluated the collapse of the USSR, with 23% in the south and 20% in the east (Andalitska, 2023). The survey was conducted among citizens of Ukraine in government-controlled territories.

The strategy of socialist construction was subordinated to the methodology of state continuity: the will of the ruler or the ruling union is always higher than the will of a person. Law, institutions, public opinion were subject to these strategies and methodologies. Ideas, resources, mechanisms that fell out of the general rule were subject to obstruction or even

extermination. It happened so to political parties, except for the Bolshevik party. The same fate awaited public associations, including religious ones. A person was gradually deprived of the opportunity for self-organization, losing horizontal connections. The Bolshevik state forced the mimicry of state structures of peoples, public organizations of classes, and industries and services came under comprehensive control. There was a process of separating the producer from the means of production, alienating the source of law from the means of law-making and protection by law. The initiative remained with the state.

A degenerate person was born (degenerated). The process of transforming the hired hand (naimyt) Yarema into the haidamak Halaida (T. Shevchenko's "Haidamaks") was stopped. The state chose the direction of coexistence with millions of prisoners sentenced to free labour and millions of intimidated members of their families, limited in rights. However, the majority were those who either silently or loudly approved the guidelines of the Bolshevik state. There was only one way left – forcing Bolshevik "repentance" through the landlessness of the Ukrainian peasantry. The innocently guilty paid the highest price in the most perverse "class" way: through starvation, searching for food both in their own homes and in city garbage dumps, and transgressing human prohibitions – cannibalism. The reconfiguration (unification) of social relations, the change of attitudes implied the rejection of land ownership, the results of labour, self-organization, one's own views, and diversity. All that remained was the impasse of uniformity, of impersonality – work for the state institution, organization, enterprise; small joys about the minimum wage, a monotonous consumer basket. And the public position that was once defended and fought for at the squares turned into kitchen conversations that often ended in arrest, even for making a joke.

The state is a prison, and a person as a mechanical screw without a clan or tribe became an almost ideal place for the transformation of a person (name) into a number (a unit of statistical reporting). "Women will give birth again" (according to H. Zhukov), "the death of millions is statistics" (according to J. Stalin) – the principles that turned a person into a means, a function of the state machine. It was at this defining moment that the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal J. Ratzinger, the future Pope Benedict XVI, observed on March 15, 2000: "In their horror [the concentration camps] abolish face and history, turning a man into a number, reducing him to a cog in a vast machine. A man is only a function [...]. In our days, we must not forget that these camps were a prototype of the fate of the world, which risks adopting the same structure of concentration camps if it accepts the universal law of the machine" (Hontar, 2023).

The combination of the experience of Ukrainians as victims-resources, victims who are observed but not helped, with the experience of a part of the Ukrainian ethnic group that chose to cooperate with the enemy or the observing society, led to the emergence of traits of fear for life, uncertainty about the future, refusal of initiative, of self-defense, recognition of the authority of the invader's power, and the predominance of adaptation. A small portion of the Ukrainian population retained the capacity for resistance and compassion, which became the basis for organizing measures to help the needy and starving. This primarily concerned the Ukrainian communities west of the Zbruch River.

The articles in the Ukrainian newspapers of Bukovyna, Galicia, Volyn, Zakerzonnia, and the periodicals of the diaspora became a call to show humanity. Thus, we observe information about the state of affairs in "the red paradise" (the Ukrainian lands under the rule of the Bolsheviks) in the columns of newspapers published by the Ukrainian community of the city of Przemyśl. In particular, the newspaper "The Ukrainian Voice" ("Ukrainskyi Holos",

Przemyśl) of August 14, 1932, contained a letter from the Ukrainian woman resident of the Ukrainian SSR to her husband in emigration. The news item reported violence against the author, theft of her personal property, deprivation of ownership of her house and shoes, carried out by representatives of the Bolshevik authorities, which was accompanied by accusations: "...you are a kurkulka and your blood is kurkulska, a cursed Ukrainian you are, go to your husband, you dog, there you will walk among the bourgeois putting your shoes on" (Ukrainskyi holos, 1932, p. 16). A victim of the Bolshevik repressions also reported that "...people walk like old men and are bloated from hunger". It is clear that this woman's husband, who participated in the Ukrainian liberation struggles of 1917 – 1921 and was forced to emigrate, actively supported the aid initiatives of the Ukrainian community outside the USSR. In the editorial of the newspaper "The Ukrainian Voice" (Przemyśl) dated June 19, 1932, the editorial office condemned violent and deceitful socialist practices. The author of the article exposed the sources that became the financial basis of socialist modernization. Unacceptable for the Ukrainian intelligentsia were the facts that Moscow authorities "by force and terror took away the land from the Ukrainian peasants and ordered them, as if they were serfs, to work for collective farms and state farms for the Moscow Jewish proletariat... All these "achievements" of Moscow brought the rich, fertile Ukraine to the point where the standard of living of the Ukrainian population fell to a minimum... As a result of the merciless exploitation of Ukraine by the Moscow Bolsheviks, a terrible famine is looming, destroying millions of Ukrainian peasants and workers" (Ukrainskyi holos, 1932, p. 1).

The authorities of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth within its own borders allowed and facilitated the manifestation of acts of humanity among citizens, which also applied to the behaviour of customs officers, who, under certain circumstances, were even allowed by the state not to collect duties when postal parcels with gifts for personal use crossed the border (based on a regulation of the Ministry of the Treasury dated September 20, 1932) (CSHAUL, f. 162, d. 1, c. 1203, p. 4). Free customs clearance applied to parcels for citizens of all nationalities (the Poles, Jews, Belarusians, Ukrainians, etc., including those in Zakerzonnia) provided that they confirmed their poverty (difficult financial situation) and provided a "certificate of poverty" from local authorities. Of course, only those poor people who had relatives abroad could take advantage of this opportunity. The majority of such owners were the Jews, although sometimes the Ukrainians. For example, Solomon Meerswam from Wisnych Nowy near Krakow (Lemkivschyna), Moisey Tenzer from Ryaševo (Lemkivschyna), Josyp Vlechko from Nowy Sącz (Lemkivschyna), Abraham Polimer from Kolbuszow, near Ryaševo (Lemkivschyna) took advantage of this opportunity (CSHAUL, f. 162, d. 1, c. 1203, p. 19, 33, 88, 107).

The attitude of the Polish customs was opposite to the attitude of the Soviet secret services, whose representatives either did not allow aid to starving Ukrainians at all, or confiscated transfers from abroad or returned only a part of what was sent to the recipients. The situation was made worse by the fact that the Soviet authorities did not recognize the fact of the famine. This policy led to the inhumane behaviour of border troops, who shot the Ukrainians who tried to approach the boats (loaded with grain) that were being let in from the Polish side.

The population of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth suffered from the Great Depression, which was reflected in the fall in prices for agricultural products. The decline in agricultural profitability directly affected the ability of the population to do good in the Chełm and Pidliashia regions. Thus, the report of the Public Security Department of the Lublin Voivodeship of January 5, 1933, referred to "a decrease in community donations

for public purposes”. No pressure from representatives of political forces yielded positive results: “even a little pressure aimed at provoking greater generosity in a certain direction yields completely different results” (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9a, c. 842, p. 2).

The Christian traditions of the Ukrainians bore fruit in the worst economic circumstances: Zakerzonnia helped finance the needs of a person in need – whether an emigrant, a veteran, an elderly priest, the poor, or an orphan (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 166, p. 7). Under such difficult economic conditions, it was necessary to conduct a large-scale campaign (in the autumn of 1933) to collect donations for the Ukrainians suffering from famine in Soviet Ukraine. But the Ukrainians of Zakerzonnia, as well as the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia, managed to give sacrificial money to the needy Ukrainian peasantry beyond the Zbruch river. The main organizational work in this matter was carried out by the Central Public Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine (Lviv, hereinafter – the Central Public Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine), initiated in July 1933 by the Ukrainian National Democratic Union, which organized a wide network of local committees and received support from other Ukrainian public organizations. In its appeal of July 25, 1933, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People’s Commissariat of Culture and the Ukrainian SSR confirmed the facts of Bolshevik terror and exploitation that led to famine and millions of deaths among Ukrainians. These facts were condemned and an appeal was made to the entire cultural world for help (Dokumenty pro dopomohu, 2013).

In Zakerzonnia, the UNDO party-public network was able to participate in the cause of helping those suffering from famine in Soviet Ukraine actively. By 1932, UNDO had created 35 public party committees in Przemyśl County (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 239, p. 9). It was this structure that could be entrusted with the organizational work. In Przemyśl, there was the District Public Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine, whose chairman was Dr. Volodymyr Zahaikivych (an ambassador to the Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Przemyśl and the Sian regions and a lawyer), and an engineer Ivan Skoropada served as a secretary (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 169, p. 39). In some settlements, the initiative to raise funds was taken by individual well-known people, such as in the town of Hrybów (in Lemko region) by a lawyer Vasyl Skrypchuk (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 169, p. 3). In Warsaw, the Committee for Aid to Hungry Ukraine was headed by Levko Chykalenko (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 169, p. 65). Representatives of other Ukrainian parties, in particular, the Ukrainian Peasant Party, also joined the mass celebration of the Day of Ukrainian National Mourning and Protest on October 29, 1933, calling on the rural community to be active participants in the event (Nove selo, 1933, p. 2).

A separate but significant reason for the economic decline of the Ukrainian peasantry was natural disasters. Thus, in the autumn of 1933, part of Hrybów deanery (Novy Sanch county, Lemko region) “was hit by hail and caused great damage, so that a general collection campaign would have been difficult for this reason” (Povidomlennia advokata, 1933). According to the conclusion of a lawyer Vasyl Skrypchuk from Hrybów, people could join the activities to collect material aid for the victims of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Soviet Ukraine, and in the communities of Lemko villages “1) Biltsarewa and Hrybów; 2) Banytsa parish; 3) the village of Czertyzhne; 4) Berest parish; 5) the village of Poliany; 6) Brunari Vyzhny parish; and the villages: 7) Brunari Nizhny, 8) Jaskowa; 9) Czarna; 10) Izby parish; 11) Bilyczna (nowadays headed by the parish priest from Banytsa); 12) Kamiana (nowadays headed by the parish priest from Berest); 13) Korolewa Ruska parish and the village of 14) Bohusha; 15) Snitnytsia parish and the village of 16) Stawyscha; 17) Florinka parish,

and 18) the village of Vafka; 19) Chorna parish and 20) the village of Perunka” by the will of the Przemyśl Greek Catholic consistory on October 29, 1933 (and with the permission of the Polish authorities) a divine service was held, reading of pastoral letters on the topic of the famine in Greater Ukraine, citizens fasted until 6 o'clock in the evening. The initiative to inform the population of the specified region about the criminal policy of the Bolshevik government belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, as a lawyer V. Skrypchuk testified to this and requested the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Church to grant him the authority to establish a local branch of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Church.

Extensive preparatory work for the implementation of this action was carried out with the involvement of church mass media. Thus, on October 17, 1933, in the columns of the newspaper “Przemyśl Eparchial News” Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, bishops Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Josafat Kotsylovsky, Hryhoriy Lakota, Ivan Liatyshevsky, Ivan Buchko addressed the faithful with a call “to fasting, mourning, prayer and good deeds to ask from heaven for God’s mercy for our suffering and starving brothers” (*Peremyski yeparkhialni vidomosti*, 1933, p. 98).

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was the largest contributor to the collection of donations. Thus, out of 371 donors (individual or collective), parish governments made 112 donations, individual churches organized 71 collections, reverend fathers made 64 donations, district committees for the salvation of Ukraine made 10, institutions and societies made 29, and private individuals (individuals and collections) made 85. As we can see, the largest number of donations was made by parish governments. The calculations were made based on the Statement of Victims of the Starving in Ukraine (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 351, p. 42 and next). The reporting document does not indicate the currency in which the donations were made. In our opinion, the reporting was conducted in the currency unit that was current at that time in the Second Polish Republic – the Polish zloty. In total, all donors gave a respectable amount – 11,058.21 (probably Polish zlotys). Among the donations: Parish Governments provided – PLN 2,220.02, church collections – PLN 1,713.29, Reverend Fathers (personally and collections) – PLN 1,999.18, county committees for the salvation of Ukraine – PLN 741.35, Institutions and Societies – PLN 2,049.72, private individuals – PLN 2,334.04. In monetary terms, private individuals showed the greatest sacrifice.

Among the donors, a significant share was made up of benefactors from the Ukrainian towns and cities and villages of Zakerzonnia. Donations were made by all the listed groups and individuals from these lands: Parish Governments allocated – 191.74 PLN or 8.6% of this group of donations, church collections – 156.48 PLN or 9%, Reverend Fathers (personally and collections) – 753.3 PLN or 37.7%, County Committees for the Salvation of Ukraine – 26.68 PLN or 3.6%, Institutions and Societies – 10 PLN or 0.5%, private individuals – 603.35 PLN or 26%. In monetary terms, the greatest sacrifice was made by private individuals. Personal and collective donations from Zakerzonnia region provided PLN 1,740.8 or 16% of the total amount of donations.

Indeed, donations from the villages of Zakerzonnia were not large, as the general financial situation of rural communities was affected by the economic hardship caused by the Great Depression. Thus, the parish government of the village of Balyhorod (Podkarpattia Voivodeship, Liski County) managed to organize a collection for the amount of PLN 10, Bashnia dol. (Podkarpattia Voivodeship, Lubachiv County) – PLN 6, Dobra shlikhetska (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Sianice County) – PLN 17.55, Long Catholic (Dolha) (Lublin Voivodeship, Biel County) – PLN 40, 78. There were also very small collections, such as in

the village of Lipie (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Bieszczady County), where only PLN 3.5 was donated. (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 351, p.43, 44).

The churches of Zakerzonnia also actively participated in the charity campaign to raise funds for the Ukrainians in post-Soviet Ukraine who suffered from famine. In particular, the church of the village of Zaluzhe (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Liubachiv County) collected 5 PLN, the village of Malkovychi (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Przemyśl County) – 17.5 PLN, the village of Medyka (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Przemyśl County) – 17.3 PLN, the village of Rokszyczy (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Przemyśl County) – 6.96 PLN, etc. (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 351, pp. 46, 47).

The venerable fathers of Zakerzonnia personally and through collections managed to collect significant funds that were directed to the needs of starving Ukrainians in 1933. Thus, the parish priest from the village of Batory (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Przemyśl County) Father Pashkiv made a donation of PLN 5.95, the priest from the village of Wankowa (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Lisk County) Father Maziar – PLN 20, the priest from the village of Wijske (Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Sianice County) Father Marynovych – PLN 25, the priest from the village of Złockie (Małopolska Voivodeship, Nowości County) Father Kochmar – PLN 81.13. The largest contribution among the clergy was made by the Greek Catholic Ordinariate in Przemyśl – PLN 427.50 (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 351, p.48, 49).

Among civil institutions and societies, employees of the Przemyśl “Mischchanska Kasa” contributed PLN 10, the Liubachiv District Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine – PLN 26.68. Private individuals from Zakerzonnia, who did not hide their names, also actively participated in the charity process, in particular, from Przemyśl, Mrs. Ivantseva – PLN 5, Mr S. Kropyvnytskyi – PLN 10, Mr. Pereyma – PLN 61.02 and PLN 174.68 (CSHAUL, f. 344, d. 1, c. 351, pp. 51, 53, 56).

The TsHCRU obliged the county committees and responsible organizations to deposit donations into the account of the Land Mortgage Bank (Lviv). As of December 31, 1933, these accounts contained 30.25 American dollars and 63 Polish zlotys (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3666, p. 33, 37). It is important that among the administrative expenses of this bank there was a separate line item relating to donations, which in 1933 amounted to 3,436.80 Polish zlotys (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3666, p. 107). But among the bank’s analyzed charitable contributions, there were no donations to benefit the starving in Ukraine.

The TsHCRU opened an account in the Land Mortgage Bank (Lviv) before the large-scale campaign was held on October 29, 1933, and already on October 17, the organization’s current account contained 6 Polish zlotys (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3914, p. 71). Data from the bank reports by decade of the month make it possible to trace the periods of the most massive donations, the donor, the settlement from which the funds came, the organizations that carried out the collections. Part of these donations came from Zakerzonnia. Thus, from the bank’s cash reports for the first decade of November 1933, we learn that on November 3, 1933, a donation from the parish government of the village of Zalyszczyn (Poland, Lublin Voivodeship, Parczew County) in the amount of 42.5 zlotys was received on the account of the Central State Committee for the Local Government of the Republic of Poland (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3916, p. 66). In the following days, the sacrificial activity continued. On November 9, the TsHCRU received a donation from N. Kowal from Rożniatow (probably Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Pereworsky County) in the amount of PLN 9.30. On the same day, a donation was received from the parish government of the village of Stanków (various locations – Lesser Poland Voivodeship, Nowości County; or Podkarpackie Voivodeship,

Bieszczady County) in the amount of PLN 7.06 (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3916, p. 11), the parish government of the village of Luczyci (Poland, Podkarpacie Voivodeship, Przemyśl County) provided 28 zlotys, and the same government from Makhny (Poland, Lublin Voivodeship, Tomaszów County) donated 10 zlotys. The church actively demonstrated its sacrifice. Thus, on the same day, the Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine received a contribution to the cause of helping the starving from the churches of the village of Smolyhov (Poland, Lublin Voivodeship, Hrubieszów County) of 16 zlotys, from the village of Lyashki dol. (Poland, Podkarpacie Voivodeship, Yaroslav County) of 23 zlotys, from the village of Varilowice (Warylowytsia) (Poland, Podkarpacie Voivodeship, Yaroslavl County) of 23 zlotys. Donations were also made by individuals. For example, Father Petrytsia from the village of Toky (Poland, Podkarpacie Voivodeship, Jasiel County) donated 25 zlotys (CSHAUL, f. 562, d. 2, c. 3916, p. 11back).

The amounts of donations seem insignificant, but considering the prices of agricultural goods at that time, we can understand how many tens, if not hundreds of thousands of lives the Ukrainians of Zakerzonnia would have saved (provided that they had the opportunity to transfer donations in money or products to people who were starving in 1933). In November 1932 the prices of agricultural products in Zakerzonnia, namely in Lublin Voivodeship were the following: 1) rye per 1 meter from 14 to 17 zlotys; 2) wheat per 1 meter from 23 to 26 zlotys; 3) oats per 1 meter from 12 to 14 zlotys; 4) barley per 1 meter from 13 to 15 zlotys; 5) potatoes per 1 meter from 2.5 to 4 zlotys; 6) 1 kilogram of live weight of beef cattle from 80 to 95 groszys (SAVR, f. 46, d. 9a, c. 842, p. 2back).

Conclusions. The results of the research showed that the reaction of the Ukrainian population in Zakerzonnia to the tragedy of their compatriots on the other bank of the Zbruch river was identical to the actions of the Ukrainians throughout the free world, which led to the emergence of public initiatives aimed at drawing attention to the disaster, condemning the Soviet regime, and collecting material aid for the starving.

Requests from the Ukrainians (from the Ukrainian SSR) for material aid, as well as messages from refugees from Ukraine, recorded in the Ukrainian press, prompted calls and measures to highlight the causes of the suffering of Ukrainians in post-Soviet Ukraine and the search of ways to help their compatriots with all possible actions. Representatives of the Ukrainians in the Polish authorities of Zakerzonnia (primarily the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation) actively participated in informing the public about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 and collecting aid among the Ukrainians of Galicia and Volyn. The positions of the Ukrainian political party representations in Zakerzonnia on the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 corresponded to the tendencies of the political struggle in Galicia and Volyn, namely, moderate parties focused on political informing and collecting funds for the sufferers through the Central Committee of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, radical parties were inclined to use terrorist measures against the perpetrators. The left-wing parties, which had close contacts with the Bolsheviks, denied the very fact of the Holodomor.

The response of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Zakerzonnia to the crime of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933 remained within the framework of a Christian response to life's challenges, such as: repentance, fasting, prayer, joint worship, and collection of funds to help the Ukrainians who suffered from this tragedy. In 1932 – 1933 the Ukrainian emigration circles that lived in Poland joined the activities of the Emigration Committee for Aid to the Starving under the Ukrainian Central Committee in Poland. However, the bulk

of the events and organizations were established by the leaders of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union and the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, in whose funds the main documents about the widespread action of October 29, 1933 were found.

Research prospects. A promising approach may be to study documents related to this topic and located in the archives of Warsaw, Przemyśl, Lublin, and Riashiv.

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