

50. Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України (ЦДАГО України). — Ф. 1. — Оп. 16. — Спр. 6. — Арк. 266, 304.
51. Червона армія. — 1929. — 13 червня.
52. Этот живой скелет — Гражданин Британии... // Крестьянский журнал. — 1929. — № 8. — С. 9.
53. Як вони «допомагають» селянам // Радянське село. — 1928. — 4 листопада.
54. Amartya Sen. Development as Freedom / Amartya Sen. — Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1999. — 366 p.

Serge Cipko

УДК: 51(092) : Лучкович

TIME CAPSULE: MICHAEL LUCHKOVICH AND THE FAMINE

This paper examines the reaction of the Ukrainian community in Canada at the Ukrainian famine of 1932–1933 in particular highlights the activities member of parliament, a Ukrainian-born Michael Luchkovich which 5 February 1934 gave a speech in federal parliament, reporting on the famine in the USSR and the related this protest the Ukrainian diaspora.

Keywords: Canada, the famine of 1932–1933, Ukrainian Diaspora.

Анализируется реакция украинской общественности в Канаде на украинский голод 1932–1933 гг. В частности освещается деятельность члена парламента, украинца по происхождению Михаила Лучковича, который 5 февраля 1934 г. выступил с речью в федеральном парламенте, сообщив о голоде в УССР и об акциях протеста украинской диаспоры.

Ключевые слова: Канада, голод 1932–1933 гг., украинская диаспора.

Аналізується реакція української громади в Канаді на український голод 1932–1933 рр. Зокрема висвітлюється діяльність члена парламента, українця за походженням Михайла Лучковича, котрий 5 лютого 1934 р. виступив з промовою у федеральному парламенті, повідомивши про голод в УСРР та про пов'язані з цим акції протесту української діаспори.

Ключові слова: Канада, голод 1932–1933 рр., українська діаспора.

On February 5, 1934, the honorable member of Parliament for Vegreville, Alberta, rose from his chair to address his fellow elected representatives in the House of Commons of Canada. His name was Michael Luchkovich. He was first elected to Parliament in the federal elections of 1926 as a candidate for the United Farmers of Alberta.

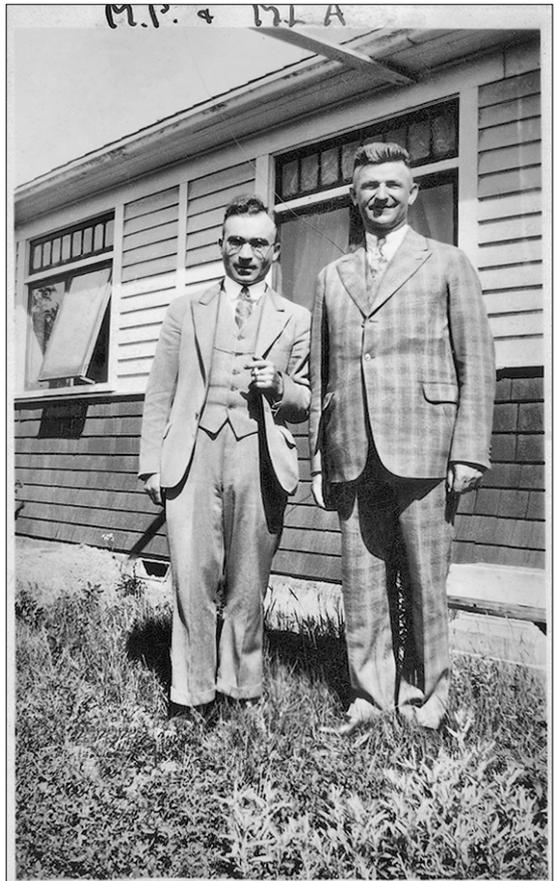
«Mr. Speaker», Luchkovich began. «Certain things that have emanated from at least two of the speakers tonight have brought me to my feet.» Those matters had to do with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) policy that was being debated and the subject of the Famine in Ukraine.

The son of Ukrainian immigrants, the U.S.-born Albertan had in preceding years spoken in Parliament against prejudice in Canada and the treatment of Ukrainians in Poland. In 1931 he represented Canada at the International Inter Parliamentary Union Congress in Romania.

The motion on the table on February 5, 1934, was brought by the CCF, which argued for a system «based on the principle of cooperative production and distribution in which human needs should be the first consideration.» The CCF had only recently been founded and Luchkovich was one of the founding members in 1932.

How did the Great Famine, or Holodomor, enter into debates about CCF policy? It was mentioned by John R. MacNicol, Conservative member of Parliament (MP) for Toronto Northwest, when he drew attention to the effects of socialism in the Soviet Union. «There is a cooperative commonwealth in Russia», he declared, and then proceeded to share a description of conditions in the Soviet Union that had been made by Humphrey Mitchell (Labour Member for East Hamilton, Ontario) after a recent visit there. Mr. Mitchell's observations had months earlier been reported in Canadian newspapers.

Mr. MacNicol quoted from the *Toronto Star*:



Luchkovich, right (1930)

«There are conditions in their factories which the Canadian people wouldn't stand for one minute. Girls walking around barefoot on iron filings, and that kind of thing. But worst of all is the shortage of food. It's not too bad in Moscow, it's a little worse in Leningrad. But out in the country, it's terrible — especially in the south, where much of the food is grown. I saw I don't know how many hundreds of people starving, in Kharkov and Kiev».

According to MacNicol, the reporter then asked Mitchell a question: «How did you know they were starving? He responded: «I've got eyes. You don't need to be a scientist to know a person is starving. When white-faced men and women, and children with distended bellies, crowd around the train at every station begging for money or food — then it's a pretty sure guess they're starving. I saw hundreds of them in Kharkov and Kiev. They didn't even have the traditional dried fish and cabbage soup. They were down to bread and water — and sometimes less than that».

Luchkovich challenged the equation of CCF agricultural policy with communism. «When Canada is ever brought down to an agricultural system administered as it now is in Russia I will no longer give my support to a cooperative movement.» He disagreed with the notion that the «policy of nationalization and farming advocated by this group would inaugurate a system of communism» such as that practiced in the USSR.

«The ballot», he said, «not the bullet, will be our method». He said he would not tolerate belonging to a group if it was inclined to follow the Soviet model. And he went on to state the reason: The famine. «For many months rumors of extreme hunger have been rife in regard to what formerly was the richest, the happiest and the most fertile part of Russia, namely the Ukraine».

Luchkovich then went on to say that he had read dozens of letters that had come to Canada which described conditions in the USSR. He also referred to demonstrations that were held in New York, Boston, and «other places in this continent against the hunger existing in the Ukraine».

Luchkovich noted that resolutions passed at such meetings were sent to the president of the United States, and, he was sure, «many have been sent to the prime minister of Canada». He also noted that the chairperson of one of the meetings, namely the rally held in Boston, «was a man by the name of Sullivan, an Irishman».

Luchkovich read out to the MPs gathered that day in the House of Commons one of the resolutions that was sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and a letter about the Famine that Witting Williams had written to Nation's Business of Washington.

He also referred to the appeals of Cardinal Theodor Innitzer of Vienna on behalf of famine victims and the efforts of Johan Ludwig Mowinkel to «put this matter on the agenda of the League of Nations, without success».

Why were the Norwegian prime minister's efforts unsuccessful? In Luchko-

vich's opinion, it was because there were «too many axes to grind» and «too many impending non-aggression pacts».

The MP for Vegreville concluded his speech by returning to the subject of the farmers in Canada. It was his duty «as a farmer member to sit in eternal vigilance in behalf of the farmer interests of the people who sent me here», he said.

In a 1933 editorial that discussed the Famine, the Edmonton periodical *Ukrainian Visti* (Ukrainian News) had expressed dismay about the lack of protest voiced on Soviet actions in Ukraine in the parliaments of countries where Ukrainians lived. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania were mentioned; so, too, was Canada.

Had there been any discussion about the Famine in Canada's Lower House before February 5, 1934?

In his «The Famine in the Ukraine, 1932–1933: A Canadian Retrospective After Fifty Years» (1982), Gerald Schmitz mentioned how in March 1933 members of the Saskatchewan legislature had agreed to press the federal government of Canada to act on behalf of people starving in the USSR.

«But despite such political expressions of concern», he observed, «there is no record in Hansard of any overtures with respect to the Ukrainian famine». Schmitz added that the «aftermath of the famine was not raised in the House of Commons until 5 February 1934». Noting that it had been raised «in a rather round-about and tendentious way», he quoted in full the relevant portions of Luchkovich's intervention that day.

Nearly three decades later, Luchkovich wrote an open letter to Dean Rusk, the U.S. secretary of state. The letter concerned a decision to exclude Ukraine, along with Armenia and Georgia, «from the nations that were to have the support of the Department of State as being subjugated nations of Eastern Europe».

In his letter, Canada's first MP of Ukrainian origin mentioned the Famine. When he became a member of the House of Commons, Luchkovich wrote from Edmonton, «it was shocking to me in the extreme how little regard was paid to the death of millions of Ukrainian peasants who died in the Communist-inspired famine of 1932–1933». It seemed to him then, Luchkovich continued, «that the death of an alley cat that had wandered into a park was cause for a greater commotion than the demise of such a colossal number of Ukrainian farmers».

Where, he asked, «was our world conscience? Did any country speak out with righteous indignation against such genocide?» It was, he said, «extremely painful».

In Canada, the silence on the subject in the House of Commons, it seems, was broken on February 5, 1934.

The role of the jury low the jury trial system of continental Europe or of the United States.

Trials in continental Europe, for example, follow the inquisitorial system, where judges play an active role during the proceedings. In criminal trials, a judge will

begin by reading the charges and perhaps even summarizing the evidence, and judges can call and question the witnesses in the case.

Trials in the United States proceed under the adversarial system, where the parties play an active role in presenting their case. Under this system, the judge is much more passive, mainly responding to the parties' objections and ruling on motions. State criminal judges are prohibited from commenting on evidence, and federal judges generally refrain from such commentary as well. The parties are responsible for calling witnesses, and judges usually avoid questioning these witnesses.

The reason that judges in the United States take a passive role in jury trials is to avoid unduly influencing the jurors, since an impartial jury is crucial to securing individuals' rights and to limiting the authority of the government by allowing a defendant's peers to decide his or her fate.

Ukraine should be mindful of how it enforces the Constitution's jury guarantee.

If Ukraine combines an inquisitorial system with juries similar to those found in the United States, there is a great risk that the judge's active role in a case could hinder the jury's impartiality, and thus interfere with the rights of the accused and with reliable fact-finding. If Ukraine decides to use an adversarial system, the courts will need clear rules for the procedures and admission of evidence in order to secure the rights of defendants, the fairness of trials and the impartiality of juries. The importance of the legislation that will enforce the Constitution's guarantees thus can not be overestimated.

Laws on the judiciary. Even though these enforcement laws are of critical importance, they have thus far been neglected. Under Article 127 of the Constitution, people's assessors and jurors administer justice «in cases determined by law». The Law on the Judiciary of 2001 states that people's assessors resolve cases in court proceedings «in cases determined by the procedural law» (Article 65), and that juries are formed to review «disputes determined by the procedural law» in cases of the first instance (Article 68). The procedural codes enacted after 2001, however, did not provide for activities by juries or people's assessors.

Thus, both the Constitution and the Law on the Judiciary of 2001 rely on further laws to actually enforce the guarantee to jury trials. The Law on the Judiciary of 2010 fails to even mention or set up any procedures for enforcing the guarantee to a trial by jury.

The Constitution of Ukraine guarantees its citizens a right to trial by jury, but the Constitution requires further laws to flesh out and enforce this right to a jury trial. Since the enactment of the Constitution, the Verkhovna Rada has not implemented this right. Even the most recent Law on the Judiciary, passed in 2010, failed to do so.

This year marks the 15th anniversary of the adoption of Ukraine's Constitution. Unfortunately, nothing has been done to implement juries in Ukrainian courts. Unless the legislature acts, this fundamental right will continue to erode.

1. Dominion of Canada. Official Report of Debates [Hansard]. House of Commons: Fifth Session — Seventeenth Parliament. — Vol. I. — 1934. — Ottawa : J. O. Patenaude, Printer to the King's Excellent Majesty, 1934. — P. 264–284.

2. Luchkovich M. An Open Letter to Mr. Dean Rusk / M. Luchkovich // Ukrainian Review. — 9, nos. 1–2 (Spring — Summer 1962). — P. 104–106.

Н. Ф. Гнатюк

УДК: 94(477-25)«1934–1940»

**БУДІВНИЦТВО ТА РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЯ
КОМУНАЛЬНОГО ГОСПОДАРСТВА КИЄВА —
НОВОЇ СТОЛИЦІ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ (1934–1940 рр.)**

У статті досліджуються мета і особливості методів оперативного утворення зв'язків між різними агентствами і партією, що управляє ними для того, щоб здійснювати складну програму будівництва в Києві нового політичного і адміністративного центру в 1934–1940 рр.

Ключові слова: Київ 1934–1940 рр., столиця, будівництво, реконструкція, комунальне господарство.

В статье исследуются цель и особенности методов оперативного образования связей между разными агентствами и партией, которая управляет ими для того, чтобы осуществлять сложную программу строительства в Киеве нового политического и административного центра в 1934–1940 гг.

Ключевые слова: Киев 1934–1940 гг., столица, строительство, реконструкция, коммунальное хозяйство.

The article examines goals and specificity of the methods of operational formation of linkages between different agencies and party governing bodies in order to implement the complex programme of constructing in Kyiv a new political and administrative centre in 1934–1940.

The emphasis is made on goals and methods of formation of linkages between the agencies under new Soviet command economy. The urgency of execution of governing bodies' orders, related to the positive implementation of complex capital building program pointed to involvement of historically existing capital building funds and new technology and mechanization.