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**STATEMENT IN EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF REPLY BY
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
AT THE 1543rd MEETING OF THE
OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL**

20 November 2025

On the issue of the “Holodomor” in Ukraine

Mr. Chairperson,

Year after year, representatives of the Kyiv regime and their sponsors spread speculation in this room about the “Holodomor” in Ukraine, which was allegedly artificially created by the Bolsheviks. They persistently try to portray the tragic events of the 1930s as a “genocide of the Ukrainian people”. However, this Western-born concept is easily refuted by the historical facts that we have repeatedly cited.

We would remind you that, according to archival data, the tragedy of mass starvation was caused by severe drought and harvest failure throughout the Soviet Union. This has also been confirmed in research by bona fide Western scholars such as US historian Mark Tauger. He clearly states that, in 1932, the USSR suffered a devastating harvest failure, the country’s leadership was not informed in time about the scale of the tragedy, and grain reserves were significantly reduced due to the drought of 1931.

British historians Robert Davies and Stephen Wheatcroft, members of the influential school of so-called Birmingham Sovietologists, argued that Stalin and the leadership did not want a famine as such. They were surprised and alarmed by the scale of the famine in early 1933 and took a number of measures to ameliorate the situation (return of seed loans, reduction of exports, food aid). The famine was an unintended consequence of the policy of rapid industrialization and collectivization combined with a very poor harvest.

Or, for example, what about the fact that the Soviet leadership adopted 57 decisions to provide seed, fodder and food loans to the famine-stricken regions in 1933? At that time, Ukraine and the North Caucasus received 616,000 tonnes of seed loans (48 per cent of the total loans to all famine-stricken regions), 103,000 tonnes of fodder loans (98 per cent of the total) and 265,000 tonnes of food loans (83 per cent of the total). Are the falsifiers of history not familiar with this data? Or are they deliberately ignoring it?

In closing, we should like to emphasize once again that not only Ukrainians, but also millions of Russians, Kazakhs, Tatars, Bashkirs and members of other nationalities living in the Middle and Lower Volga, the North Caucasus, the Central Black Soil region, the Southern Urals, Western Siberia and areas of Kazakhstan fell victim to the famine. The attempts by the Kyiv regime and its Western handlers to use the tragedy of the Soviet people for short-term, opportunistic political purposes are utterly immoral. We

consider such cynical and brazen falsification of history to be a sign of disrespect for the memory of the victims from among the other peoples of the former USSR.

Thank you for your attention.