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*Plenary sitting*

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**B9-0564/2022**

12.12.2022

## MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

to wind up the debate on the statement by the Commission

pursuant to Rule 132(2) of the Rules of Procedure

on 90 years after the Holodomor: recognising the mass killing through  
starvation as genocide  
(2022/3001(RSP))

**Michael Gahler, Rasa Juknevičienė, Andrius Kubilius, David McAllister,  
Radosław Sikorski, Isabel Wiseler-Lima, Vangelis Meimarakis, Jerzy  
Buzek, Vladimír Bilčík, Sandra Kalniete, Andrey Kovatchev, David Lega,  
Miriam Lexmann, Antonio López-Istúriz White, Aušra Maldeikienė,  
Liudas Mažylis, Janina Ochojska, Michaela Šojdrová, Inese Vaidere,  
Alexander Alexandrov Yordanov**  
on behalf of the PPE Group

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

*The European Parliament,*

- having regard to its previous resolutions, in particular that of 23 October 2008 on the commemoration of the Holodomor, the Ukraine artificial famine (1932-1933)<sup>1</sup>,
  - having regard to the Treaty on European Union,
  - having regard to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Convention on Human Rights),
  - having regard to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,
  - having regard to the Ukrainian Law on the Holodomor in Ukraine of 1932-1933, adopted on 28 November 2006,
  - having regard to the declaration of 5 December 2018 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Secretary-General of the UN on the 85th Anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine, which was signed by 38 UN member states,
  - having regard to Rule 132(2) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is a universal value and one of the basic principles on which the EU is founded;
- B. whereas the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide criminalises a number of acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, including killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group; whereas genocide can take place in both times of war and times of peace;
- 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

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<sup>1</sup> OJ C 15 E , 21.1.2010, p. 78.

the independent Ukrainian nation through genocidal means, namely the artificially created Holodomor mass famine in Ukraine and Ukrainian-populated areas, such as the Kuban region, as well as the deportation and cultural genocide of the Crimean Tatars (with an estimated 34 000-110 000 victims), mass deportations of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups from Ukraine to Gulag camps and Siberia (at least 600 000 between 1940 and 1953), and the brutal annihilation of the anti-Soviet resistance movement (more than 155 000 killed and 130 000-200 000 arrested); 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, has culminated in contemporary Russia becoming a state sponsor of terrorism and a state using terrorist means, and has led to a repetition of horrific crimes against the Ukrainian people in our time;
- F. whereas European integration has been based on a readiness to come to terms with the tragic history of the 20th century and a recognition that reconciling with a difficult history does not denote any sense of collective guilt, but instead forms a stable basis for the construction of a common European future founded on common values and the acknowledgement of a shared and interdependent existence; whereas commemorating crimes against humanity in European history should help to cultivate a common European remembrance and increase the resilience of democratic societies against disinformation and propaganda;
- 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;
- H. whereas with its unprovoked, illegal and unjustified war of aggression against Ukraine, Russia is committing a *Kholodomor* – an attempt to freeze the Ukrainian people to death by intentionally destroying Ukraine's civilian energy and electricity infrastructure on the eve of winter; whereas Russia has aimed to destroy Ukraine's agricultural production and has targeted grain silos, blockaded ports and put global food security at risk;
- 1. Makes the following declaration to the people of Ukraine, in particular to the remaining survivors of the Holodomor and the families and relatives of the victims:
  - (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, national identity and statehood;
  - (b) strongly condemns these acts, which were directed against the Ukrainian peasantry and the Ukrainian people as a whole and were characterised by mass annihilation and violations of human rights and freedoms;
  - (c) expresses its sympathy with the Ukrainian people who suffered during this tragedy

and pays its respects to those who died as a consequence of the artificial famine of 1932-1933;

- (d) calls on all relevant countries to open up their archives on the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933 to comprehensive scrutiny, so that all the causes and consequences can be revealed and fully investigated and researched;
  - (e) calls on all the countries and international organisations that have not yet recognised the Holodomor as a genocide to do so without delay;
  - (f) calls on the Russian people to stop the imperialist, criminal tradition of committing different forms of genocide, which started with the Holodomor and continues with the current criminal, terrorist and genocidal war of aggression, with the permanent aim of destroying the Ukrainian nation as a whole;
  - (g) calls for international pressure to be exerted on the Russian Federation, as the legal successor of the Soviet Union, to cease denying the existence of the Holodomor and to officially apologise for it;
  - (h) reiterates the importance of raising public awareness and remembering the lessons learned from this genocide and calls for a historical and legal assessment of the Holodomor;
  - (i) condemns, in the strongest terms, all forms of totalitarianism and related crimes; regrets that the crimes committed by the Soviet totalitarian regime have not yet been evaluated from the perspective of international law, that the perpetrators of these crimes have not been brought to justice and that these crimes have never been clearly condemned by the international community; calls for a legal and moral assessment of Stalin's dictatorship and the Soviet communist regime and stresses the importance of raising awareness, promoting scientific research and providing youth education, which are of the utmost importance for constructing a common European history and remembrance and strengthening our societies' resilience in the face of modern threats to democracy;
2. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the President, Government and Parliament of Ukraine, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe.