

“Please Note That the Famine Was Man-Made”*: Sources of Personal Origin About the Ukrainian Holodomor (Famine) of 1932–1933

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ABSTRACT. The author proposes classification of source related to the Holodomor for a better understanding of the context of historical research on the issue. The author divides the sources into two large segments: official documentation deposited in archival institutions and sources of personal origin. The first segment includes five groups. Analysing the state of the sources of this segment, the author focuses on the gaps due to “archivocide” as the deliberate destruction by the Soviet authorities of traces of the famine in official documentation and the specifics of documenting administrative decisions of that period. That is why sources of personal origin constitute a significant segment of the Holodomor source base and should be more widely used in research. Here the author managed to identify six groups of unequal size. The article presents thematic blocks of sources of personal origin and gives examples of various types of such sources. A conclusion is made about the continuity of the narrative about the famine in the sources of personal origin and in the individual memory of Ukrainians. Here it is emphasised that the sources about the famine, diverse in terms of types and authorship, did not appear out of nowhere in the post-war period or in the 1980s, but began to appear as early as 1932.

KEYWORDS: Holodomor, source base, sources of personal origin, oral history, history of Soviet totalitarianism.

* A quote from an interview with a 53-year-old collective farm worker recorded during Harvard University Project on the Soviet Social System (1948–1953): Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System. Schedule A, vol. 37, case 622/(NY)1719 (interviewer W.T., type A4). Female, 53, Ukrainian, Kolkhoznik. Widener Library, Harvard University. 6, [online], in: [https://iiflib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:5634437\\$6i](https://iiflib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:5634437$6i). Project initiators did not know about the famine and thus did not include a separate question about it. Nonetheless, ca 50 narratives about the Holodomor were written down from various displaced persons from the USSR mostly of Ukrainian origin (330 respondents, of them 57 Ukrainians and 29 Russians recalled famine in Ukraine). Ukrainians wanted to share their experience of survival even when the interviewers stopped them and changed the topic. Quotation from the title of the article belongs to a female former collective farm member. She stressed the artificial nature of the famine – and forced an interviewer to write down this.

Introduction: Joseph Stalin's fear "of losing Ukraine" and Holodomor as his response

2023 marks the 90th anniversary of Holodomor in Ukraine. It started in the end of 1932 as a result of a series of decisions motivated by political reason: to solve the "Ukrainian issue" once and for all and finally transform Ukraine, which, according to Joseph Stalin's own words, was full of "Petliurian¹ and other bourgeois-nationalist elements"² into a "real fortress of the USSR, a truly exemplary republic", because otherwise, as Joseph Stalin confessed in August of 1932, "we might lose Ukraine"³.

This fear to lose control in Ukraine was tied not only to purely economic reasons – peasants' reluctance to give up individual farming and to enter collective farms. Probably, more threat was seen as coming from national revival clearly articulated through Ukrainization⁴ policy. The latter was launched in 1923 in order to direct national-liberation aspirations of Ukrainians into Bolshevik direction. But ten years of its implementation demonstrated the complete opposite results.

Ukrainian language began to be wisely used in various spheres, including education, science, theatre and cinema. Ukrainian academy of sciences was pretty successful in developing various research spheres. Ukrainian literature was flourishing, offering various ways of development. Writer Mykola Khvylioviy suggested a distinctive Ukrainian way of

¹ Symon Petliura was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921; he later emigrated and was shot in Paris in 1926 by a Bolshevik agent. His name replaced derogatory "Mazepintsi" (hetman Ivan Mazepa, who lost the Poltava battle on 1709 to the Moscow tsar, future Russian emperor Peter the Great; this defeat marked incorporation of Ukrainian land to the Russian empire). His name was used to separate true "Bilshovyk" Ukrainisation from a hostile, "bourgeois-nationalist" one. After WWII the Soviet propaganda replaced the term "Petliurivtsi" with the term "Banderivtsi" (Stepan Bandera, leader of the national movement during WWII; spend almost the whole war in Zaksenhausen concentration camp; was shot by a KGB agent in Munich in 1958) still used to justify crimes of the Russian state against Ukraine.

² The wording is borrowed from the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "Pro khlibozahotivli na Ukraini, Pivnichnomu Kavkazi ta v Zakhidnii Oblasti" dated 14 December 1932 (*Формулювання запозичені з постанови ЦК ВКП(б) та РНК СРСР "Про хлібозаготівлі на Україні, Північному Кавказі та в Західній Області" від 14 грудня 1932 р.*). See more detailed in: *Holodomor of 1932–33 in Ukraine. Documents and materials*, Compiled by Ruslan Pyrih, Translated by Stephen Bandera. Kyiv Mohyla Academy Publishing House, Kyiv, 2008, pp. 22–43, [online], in: http://history.org.ua/LiberUA/PyrihHolodUkr_2008/PyrihHolodUkr_2008.pdf

³ J. Stalin's letter to L. Kaganovich about problems in the Ukrainian party leadership, 1932 August 11, in: *Holodomor Research Institute (Інститут дослідження Голодомору, hereinafter: HRI)*, [online], in: <https://holodomorinstitute.org.ua/documents/lyst-j-stalina-do-l-kaganovycha-pro-problemy-u-partijnomu-kerivnyctvi-ukrayiny/>

⁴ This is the so-called policy that promoted the use of the Ukrainian language in administration, science, culture, art, education. However, the aim of these measures was not to strengthen the Ukrainian state, but to neutralize the national aspirations of Ukrainians, spread Soviet propaganda, strengthen the influence of the Communist Party, demonstrate the "loyalty" of the Soviet state to its opponents in Ukraine, and bring Russified "Bilshovyk" cities closer to Ukrainian-speaking peasants. The policy of Ukrainization was abruptly stopped (after being accused of "wrong application of Bolshevik principles in the implementation of national policy", which allowed the "Petliurivtsi" to gain strength), and mass repression of active participants in the Ukrainization process began in December of 1932.

literature (and it seems not only in artistic, but also a political sense) (“The Apologists of Scribbling”, 1926):

We are dealing now with spiritual explosion among Ukrainians, deep and pregnant with un-estimated consequences. ... the Union [USSR] will nevertheless remain a Union, and Ukraine is an independent Unit. [...] Is Russia an independent state? Independent. Well, we are also an independent state. [...] Thus, so far as our literature is now finally taking its own way of development, we now face such a question: towards what world literature it must orient itself. Anyway, not towards Russian. Decisively and with no reservations. [...] We must orient ourselves towards Western European art, its style, its methods. [...] We know what Europe is, our readers know it. [...] Let's use our own intellect [...] We will go to study in Europe with a hidden thought – to burn in several years with extraordinary light. Do you hear, Moscowphiles from Moscow outscirts, what do we want?⁵

Stalin read this manifest. On April 26, 1926, he wrote a letter to the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) (CC CP(b)U) and called for “transforming Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian community into Soviet culture and community”. His and Khvylioviy's suggestions were included into the report by the first secretary of CC CP(b)U Lazar Kaganovich, titled “Thesis of the Plenum of CC and CC CP(b)U about the results of Ukrainization”, where he mentioned a call for “away from Moscow”, “slogans of orientation toward Europe” and warned that Ukrainian “bourgeoisie” might use these slogans for demarcation from the fortress of international revolution, capital of the USSR – Moscow⁶.

Ukrainian economist Mykhail Volobujev suggested this same direction for the Ukrainian economy, arguing that Russia exploits Ukrainian SSR as a colony. All-Ukrainian Photo-Cinema Department during 1920-s produced more than 140 live-action films, creating a common Ukrainian space of literature, culture, history and traditions. Already in the 1920s State Political Directorate (Rus. *Государственное политическое управление*, GPU) of Ukrainian SSR reported about moods of intellectuals, workers and peasants who expressed their dissatisfaction with the soviet politics. Ukrainian peasants kept their own space of education, traditions and religion thanks to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church that was very active in the rural area, besides their resistance to collectivization. Ukraine, that supposedly had to be an obedient Little Russia (imperial term), that mostly looks like Great Russia, turned into antipode of Soviet Ukraine with a distinctive separate Ukrainian identity, and Joseph Stalin could not definitely tolerate this situation anymore.

In order not to “lose Ukraine”, Kremlin issued a set of documents in the end of 1932 – beginning of 1933. These instruction made it possible: to declare all Ukrainian peasants

⁵ Mykola Khvylioviy, “Apolohety pysaryzmu (to the problems of cultural revilution)”, in: *Public electronic library of Ukrainian Fiction*, [online], in: http://ukrlit.org/khvylioviyi_mykola/apolohety_pysaryzmu

⁶ Volodymyr Panchenko, “Mykola Khvylioviy: History of the Slogan ‘Away from Moscow!’”, in: *The Day*, nos 3–4, (2019), [online], in: <https://day.kyiv.ua/article/ukrayintsi-chytayte/mykola-khvylyovyv-istoriya-hasla-het-vid-moskvy>

guilty in non-fulfillment of grain procurement quotas; to declare through GPU (security service at that time) that Ukrainians were preparing an all-Ukrainian uprising in spring of 1933 (and that is why “a decisive blow to all counter-revolutionary kulak-Petliura elements...” was delivered starting from December of 1932); to deprive them from payment in the collective farms; permission to put fines with potato and meat during total searches that gradually transformed into confiscation of all food reserves; to confiscate grain reserves from the villages; to ban selling of bread till spring of 1933.

Other directives ordered: to deprive peasants of freedom of movement; to seal certain villages, rayons and Ukrainian SSR (together with Kuban with predominantly Ukrainian population) as a whole administrative unit; to stop Ukrainization on Kuban and transformation of Ukrainization in Ukraine as anti-Soviet and “of Petliura” type; ban for the peasants to travel by trains – the main transportation at that time.

In the result of these decisions, food reserves were confiscated from peasant households in the whole Ukraine. Combination of this and other factors, such as winter; limited mobility; absence of money and often clothes (the latter was often confiscated together with the food); blockade of villages, cities and republic in general; coming of certain food loans⁷ (*sic!*) and help only after the beginning of spring sowing campaign of 1933 (but only to those who were able to physically work on the kolkhoz fields) resulted into enormous high mortality rates.

Peasants responded with hiding of food (in the houses, households, woods, rivers, wells etc.) and various survival strategies: exchange of their clothes and property belongings for food in border Belorussian and Russian villages; exchange of earrings, wedding rings, decorations and coins from the times of the Russian empire in special torgsin (trade with foreigners, Rus. *торговля с иностранцами*, Ukr. *торгівля з іноземцями*) stores; escape from the villages to the mines, Soviet farms and towns; attempts to enter a collective farms (kolkhozs); consumption of surrogate food (grass, rotten potato, roots, oilcake, dogs, cats, susliks, horses, birds, river mussels etc.). One of the options was to bring children to the orphanages in the towns and cities and leave them there in hope they will survive; often parents could not find their children after the famine. There were cases of corpse-eating and cannibalism. We know that GPU of Ukrainian SSR opened 83 000 of criminal cases regarding cannibalism in 1932–1933⁸. Considering that often it was a group of people, we can assume that around 100 000 of people who lost their minds and were turned into

⁷ Loans meant that they had to be returned later: the same amount plus 10%. So initially the state had extorted grain from Ukrainians peasants; and then, during the famine, it delivered this grain to starving people as a loan they had to return but in a bigger amount, comparing to what they had received.

⁸ Hennadii Boriak, “Sources and Resources on the Famine in Ukraine’s Archival System”, p. 14. Reprinted from: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 2004–2005, vol. 27, pp. 117–147. Copyright 2008 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, with permission of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, [online], in: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0015082>

cannibals by severe starvation existed in Ukraine. Besides, eating corpses was also widespread, including taking and digging of corpses out of the graves.

In general, demographers say that Holodomor is the only case in history when such a large number of people starved to death during such short period of time (approximately six months). A more detailed overview of the causes and the course of Holodomor can be found in the works of Stanislav Kulchytsky and Anne Applebaum⁹.

As for the estimates of demographic losses, a group of specialists in historical demography agreed on the number of 3.9 million direct losses (not counting around 500 000 – 550 000 people that constituted the average mortality rate during those years – in other words, this is the estimated amount of people who would die if no famine occurred) and 600 000¹⁰ indirect losses. It constituted around 13% of Ukrainian population. In the literature¹¹ and especially in the media one can find unverified estimates and eyewitness accounts of 6–10 million losses. Unfortunately, recently the number of Holodomor victims has turned from a purely scientific problem into a political one and has been subjected to serious instrumentalization. But a genocide does not cease to be a genocide if the number of its victims is measured not by ten million, but by a smaller number.

Due to the passing of the generation of the direct eyewitnesses of the famine (and, accordingly, actual cessation of the formation of an array of the Holodomor oral history) and the completion of the work on the identification of sources on the subject, the need to understand the source base, especially its segment of sources of personal origin, is becoming more urgent.

This article aims to present a classification of the Holodomor source base and to trace which aspects of the famine are covered by personal sources. This approach will make it possible to confirm or refute, on the one hand, the “continuum” in the creation of sources, and, on the other hand, their content (how similar or different are the content blocks of different types of personal sources).

Primary sources of the Holodomor: typology and characteristics

Having achieved its political goals to deprive Ukraine of its identity, intellectuals (many arrests of local all-Ukrainian leaders, teachers, scientists, writers began in Ukraine already in 1933, long before the Great Terror of 1937–1938), Church and base for any pro-

⁹ Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*, London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2017; Stanislav Kulchytsky, *The Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine: an Anatomy of the Holodomor*, translated from the Ukrainian by Ali Kinsella. Edmonton; Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2018.

¹⁰ Omelian Rudnytskyi [et al.], “Demography of a Man-Made Human Catastrophe: The Case of Massive Famine in Ukraine 1932–1933”, in: *Canadian Studies in Population*, 2015, no. 42(1–2), pp. 53–81.

¹¹ Killkist zhertv Holodomoru-henotsydu v Ukraini namahaiutsia shtuchno prymenshyty, – naukovtsi”, 13 September 2018, in: *Holodomor Museum (Музей Голодомору, hereinafter – HM)*, [online], in: <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/news-museji/killkist-zhertv-golodomoru-genocidu-v-ukraini-namagayutsya-shtuchno-primenshiti-naukovci/>

test movements in the villages, the Kremlin turned into a well-thought out information warfare against the famine. It banned any mention about famine inside the country and punished for this with camp terms; banned access to Ukraine to the foreign journalists; misinformed foreign leaders of the states; manipulated information about the famine; blamed survivors as Nazi collaborators etc.

So, during the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) until the end of 1987, the Holodomor was a taboo subject. Therefore, it was only in the late 1980s that researchers got access to the documents. The declassification of documents in now independent Ukraine triggered the process of understanding the accumulated data and attempts to systematize them.

The source base of the Holodomor research (official documentation; we also include the epistolary of high-ranking Soviet officials) consists of many segments. Based on the classification proposed by historians-archivists Ruslan Pyrih¹² and Hennadii Boriak¹³, we propose the following typology of the source base:

1. Documents of the top union level bodies of power and governance.

Institutional fonds: the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (Rus. *Всесоюзная коммунистическая партия (большевиков)*, ВКП(б)); the Central Executive Committee of the USSR (Rus. *Центральный исполнительный комитет СССР*); the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (Rus. *Совет народных комиссаров СССР*), the Joint State Political Directorate (Rus. *Объединённое государственное политическое управление*, OGPU) of the USSR and a number of departments (foreign policy, trade, supply, resettlement committee, etc.).

Personal fonds: Joseph Stalin, Lazar Kaganovych, Viacheslav Molotov.

2. Documents of the republican level. Documents of the bodies of the Soviet government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Ukr. *Всеукраїнський центральний виконавчий комітет*), the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR, the General Procurator's Office, the Supreme Court, people's commissariats (agricultural affairs, justice, education, health protection, worker-peasant inspection), the All-Ukrainian Union of Agricultural Collectives, etc..

Documents of the party bodies: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (materials of congresses, etc., resolutions, letters, telegrams, notes, etc.; documents of the information retrieval, etc.).

¹² Ruslan Pyrih, "Dokumenty z istorii holodu u fondakh arkhivoskhovyshch Ukrainy", in: *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2003, no. 5, pp. 83–95.

¹³ Hennadii Boriak, "Arkhivy Holodomoru v Ukraini 1932–1933: suchasnyi stan ta perspektyvy doslidzhen", in: *Konstanty*, 2007, no. 13, [online], in: <http://mycity.kherson.ua/journal/konstanty13.html>

Correspondence of party leadership with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (G. Petrovsky, V. Chubar, S. Kosior) and letters to them from various party officials.

3. Documents of the grassroots level according to the administrative-territorial division: regional committees, district committees and city committees and executive committees of these three levels – resolutions, reports, letters, etc.

4. State Political Directorate (GPU) of the Ukrainian SSR. These are normative and administrative documents (instructions, reports, letters, special reports, operational summaries, etc., concerning repressions in the countryside, the mood of the population, operational orders No. 1 of 5 December 1932 and No. 2 of 13 February 1933 signed by Vsevolod Balytskyi); operational and statistical reporting documents. The archival and criminal files¹⁴ that preserved a lot of poems, letters and diaries and other testimonies about the famine are discussed separately.

5. Demographic statistical documents. These are parish registers recording deaths and statistical reports and circulars of various levels, etc.¹⁵. We can talk about 4 000 parish registers (several million sheets with records from 1932–1933¹⁶) from less than half of the settlements of the Ukrainian SSR.

Visual sources (photo documents) are a separate group of sources, but their analysis is not part of the task of our research.

The main problem of archival sources is the fragmentation of the source base. The Soviet authorities worked hard to erase traces of the famine and to form the policy of historical memory. We can talk about “archivocide” – the deliberate destruction of documents about the Holodomor by the Soviet authorities¹⁷. For example, the first victims of “archival” repressions were death registration books (it is significant that eyewitnesses of the famine observed the disappearance of both the parish register as such and the person who kept it at the end of 1933¹⁸, and such testimonies are not uncommon).

The next victims were archival documents of the village council level, which were taken under control by the Circular Letter of 27 December 1933 and were probably destroyed; the next wave of destruction of documents already concerned republican archival funds –

¹⁴ Vasyl Danylenko, “Dokumenty Haluzevoho derzhavnogo arkhivu Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy yak dzherelo vyvchenia Holodomoru 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini”, *Rozsekrechena pamiat. Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraini v dokumentakh GPU-NKVD*, Kyiv: VD “Stylos”, 2008, pp. 22–24, 29.

¹⁵ For more details see: Natalia Levchuk, “Do pytannia pro ‘stari’ ta ‘novi’ pidkhydy do otsinky vtrat naselennia Ukrainy vnaslidok Holodomoru 1932–1933 rr.”, in: *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2018, no. 2, pp. 183–184.

¹⁶ Hennadii Boriak, *Arkhivy Holodomoru v Ukraini...*

¹⁷ For more details see: Hennadii Boriak, “Arkhivotsyd” v Ukraini 1934–1941 rr. yak naslidok Holodomoru: orhanizatsiia, perebih i masshtaby vynyshchennia dokumentiv vladnykh instytutsii”, 2013, [11 p.], [online], in: <http://www.history.org.ua/?litera&id=9222&navStart=3>

¹⁸ *Pamiat narodu: henotsyd v Ukraini holodom 1932–1933 rokiv. Svidchennia*. Knyha persha, упорядники: О. Веселова, О. Нікілев; відп. ред. В. Смолій, Київ: ВД “КАЛИТА”, 2009, p. 590.

the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars, and people's commissariats. Historian and archivist Hennadii Boriak estimates the volume of destroyed documents as at least 100 000 documents (about 2 500 files) during the years 1932–1933¹⁹.

Documents of the State Political Directorate faced the similar fate as well: it was impossible to find out in the SSU Sectoral State Archive the reason for almost complete absence of "orders and instructions of the State Political Directorate of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of 1922–1933". The archivists suggest that the reasons could be the same as for the "Union Centre", evacuation during the World War II or other factors²⁰.

The available documents from Russian archives on the topic of famine should be treated with caution due to the deliberate biased policy of their selection. This approach was articulated by Russian historian Viktor Kondrashin in a well-known official explanatory note and recommendations to the compilers of the collection of documents Famine in the USSR 1929–1934:

Therefore, it is necessary to select them [documents – T. B.] in such a way that the tragedy of the entire peasantry could be seen without the emphasis on Ukraine [...] Taking into account the "Ukrainian factor", documents should be selected in such a way that they could prove the universal nature of grain procurements in 1932.²¹

In addition to the deliberate destruction of "paper witnesses" of the crime, the Soviet totalitarian regime often tried to avoid written instructions, giving them orally²² and constructing in documents a picture of events that was "far from" the real picture, which made it possible to preserve "the political face" of the supreme power²³.

Such fragmentation of the sources did not allow historians to fully reconstruct the events of the Holodomor period. And it was exactly the accumulation of an array of oral history and its analysis that added to the historical studies of the Holodomor information that historians lacked, basing their research exclusively on the official documents of early 1930s.

¹⁹ Cf. Hennadii Boriak, "Arkhivotsydy v Ukraini 1934–1960 rr. yak naslidok Holodomoru", in: *Holod v Ukraini u pershiy polovyni XX stolittia: prychny ta naslidky (1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947): Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii*, Kyiv, November 20–21, 2013, Kyiv, 2013, pp. 13–17.

²⁰ Vasyly Danylenko, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²¹ This document was made public in Ukraine in January 2007 after the Rosarchiv management accidentally included it in a formal invitation to participate in the project sent to the State Archives of Ukraine. For more details see: Viktor Kondrashin, "Podobrat ikh [dokumenty] sleduet takym obrazom, chtoby byla vidna trahedyia vsehovo sovetskoho krestianstva, bez aktsenta na Ukrainu". Plan-prospekt z rekomendatsiiamy shchodo vidboru dokumentiv dlia zbirnyka "Holod v SSSR. 1932–1933", [online], in: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0013470>.

²² Andrea Hratsyozo, "Novye arkhivnye dokumenty sovetskoi epokhi: istochnikovedcheskaia kritika", in: *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 2008, no. 4, [online], in: <https://strana-oz.ru/2008/4/novye-arhivnye-dokumenty-sovetskoy-epokhi-istochnikovovedcheskaya-kritika>

²³ Stanislav Kulchytskyi, *Holodomor 1932–1933 yak henotsyd. Trudnoshchi usvidomlennia*, Kyiv: Nash chas, 2008, p. 253.

Typology of sources of personal origin

1. Oral history sources: oral history (testimony) and memoirs. Oral history source is the primary historical source of personal origin, which is created (narrated, retained, recorded) directly from the participant (witness) of the event or from their words. This information was obtained first-hand (rarely indirectly). Unlike other types of sources of personal origin (with the exception of memories), documentary or photo-documentary segments of the source base, the processes of creation and accumulation of oral sources about the Holodomor have continued nonstop for nine decades in a row (until 1987 – outside Ukraine, except for the period of occupation during the World War II when only limited memoirs and writings about the famine of the 1930s were allowed) and actually cease now due to the passing of the generation. Namely, this type of source is not static in relation to the time of creation. According to our estimations, there are at least 110 000 of such sources. This group includes memories, testimonies, and reminiscences, because it is often unknown to what extent the methods of recording oral history were followed, and whether such a source is self-recorded memory, or not.

2. Letters of the following three kinds:

a) The letters written directly at the height of the famine to relatives in Western Ukraine²⁴ with appeals for help – published or retold in Western Ukrainian or the foreign press, which led to aid campaigns in a number of countries. Such appeals often appeared in the reports of diplomats²⁵ and foreign intelligence services²⁶. This is particularly informative source as it contains descriptions of starvation “from the inside” and by people free from soviet censorship.

b) The letters from Ukrainian peasants, grassroots party members, Komsomol members, townspeople, and workers to authorities with a description of famine and asking them to help the starving; sometimes the addressees were their friends or relatives and in those cases such letters were preserved in personal fonds of the addressees. According to our observations, such letters have a high degree of correlation with oral history. Perhaps the most famous letter (for which the sender received six years of imprisonment) was the letter from a collective farm worker Mykola Reva to Joseph Stalin dated 1 May 1940. He recalled the

²⁴ Here by Western Ukraine we mean the territories that in the interwar period were part of various states: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania.

²⁵ Athanasius D. McVay and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, “The Holy See and the Holodomor”, in *The Holy See and the Holodomor: Documents from the Great Famine of 1932–1933 in Soviet Ukraine*, ed. Athanasius D. McVay and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, [Kingston, Ont.]: The Kashtan Press and Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 2011, p. IV–IX.

²⁶ Robert Kushniezh, “Dokumenty polskoi diplomatii ta rozvidky pro Holodomor, in: *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini: prychny, demografichni naslidky, pravova otsinka. Materialy mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii. Kyiv, September 25–26, 2008*, Kyiv: VD “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia”, 2009, p. 148.

famine of 1933²⁷ in a way typical to thousands of other survivors' narratives, who were adults during the famine (children recall much less about Holodomor – their narrative is mostly narrowed to family experience):

The dark reaction of the hungry year of 1933, when people ate tree bark, grass, and even their own children, when hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation, and all this before the eyes of the communists, who drove their cars across our bodies and impudently praised life... [...] The people were dying of hunger not because there was a poor harvest, but because the state took their grain, and that grain lay in the Zahotzerno [Grain Procurement] warehouses in elevators and was being distilled into alcohol for intoxication, while people were dying of hunger... [I]n 1933, when hungry people gathered grains of corn by the Zahotzerno warehouse at the Khorol station, they were shot like dogs; a detachment of mounted police ... pursued us hungry ones, and there was grain in the warehouses, there was flour, but people were dying of hunger, which means that all this was carried out deliberately by the state, and the state knew about this. [...] The village council does not issue death certificates for 1933 because mortality in that year was so great that in more than fifty years so many people did not die as in that year. Whoever was left alive, having endured such difficulties – that person is already ruined because, as I know from my own experience, we collective farmers were swollen from hunger, we fell on our feet, we lost our ability to think, we lost a certain percentage of our eyesight, there is no health [...] All this took place before the eyes of the communists [...] if anyone endeavored to stand up for the people with a mere word, his fate would be settled along with ours.²⁸

Unfortunately, due to the destruction of archives only a small number of such sources have survived. The appeals and letters in the fond of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine were destroyed in the summer of 1941²⁹. Another destruction of documents concerned the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee in 1937–1938 (registers of incoming and outgoing correspondence of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee); in 1940 (113 files for 1932); during World War II (1 500 files); in 1965 (control registration cards of the destroyed peasants' applications)³⁰. According to some data, the Kremlin archive (apparently it refers to the fond of the President of the Russian Federation) contains more than 35 000 letters from starving peasants from Ukraine to Joseph Stalin, which, as it is bitterly stated, were inaccessible as of 2008 and remain in-

²⁷ *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini za dokumentamy HDA SBU: Anotovanyi dovidnyk*, compiled by: V. Danylenko, L. Aulova, V. Lavreniuk, Lviv, 2010, p. 573–577.

²⁸ Letter from the collective farmer Mykola Reva to Joseph Stalin about the Famine of 1933 in Ukraine. In *Rozsekrecheni pam'iat'* (2007). Excerpts, pp. 573–75, 576. Translated by Bohdan Klid, in: *Survivor testimonies, memoirs, diaries, and letters*. Holodomor Research and Education Consortium, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, pp. 13–14, [online], in: <https://holodomor.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/5.-Holodomor-survivors-MY.pdf>

²⁹ Ruslan Pyrih, "Dokumenty z istorii holodu u fondakh arkhivskhovyshch Ukrainy", in: *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini: Prychyny ta naslidky*, edited by: V. Smolii (head) and others, Kyiv: Naukova dumka 2003, p. 19.

³⁰ Hennady Boriak, "Archivocide" in Ukraine in 1934-1941 as a consequence of the Holodomor..., p. 7.

accessible now³¹ (there is no reason to believe that the situation will change in the coming years).

c) The letters with memories about the famine sent to the initiators of oral history projects or editors of magazines abroad after World War II or now in Ukraine, published as memories in collections and periodicals. Compared with the first two groups, it is evident that now these memories of the famine are adjusted due to their distance from the event, and they are mainly about recording the events around from the epicentre of the famine (in the first case) or from the side (often in the second case when officials or townspeople found themselves in the village or watched starving peasants in the cities).

A specific feature associated with these three groups of letters is the loss of originals, because in the first and third cases it is often the press, where these letters were published, became the source of memoirs.

3. Materials containing descriptions of the famine collected by foreign journalists and published in the form of articles in periodicals (foreign and Ukrainian), publications of memoirs and diary notes. Here, both the type of source (letters, memoirs, diary notes) and the method of its publication (the press) are mixed. In the case of the non-Soviet press, we can observe the overlap of two groups of documents: the letters and oral history presented in the form of notes of correspondents based on their own observations and interviews with peasants during personal meetings with them and relayed in the form of a report.

Since it is often impossible to single out specific sources in Western correspondents' reports (not only the original recorded conversation is missing, but also its transcription by the reporter), we consider it necessary to single out this group. Such testimonies of the famine were published in the press or in a separate collection during or several years after the famine.

Perhaps the most famous journalist who promoted the Stalinist narrative about the absence of famine was the Pulitzer Prize winner Walter Duranty³² (who generally influenced US President Franklin D. Roosevelt's vision of the situation in the Soviet Union)³³; a lesser known journalist, a Joseph Stalin's apologist (who later broke with communism and acknowledged the famine) was Louis Fischer. However, there were journalists who were

³¹ *Holodomor v Ukraini 1932–1933 rr.: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk. Vypusk 2*, edited by: S. Kulchytskyi (academic editor), O. Botushanska (res. editor), V. Motyka; edited by: L. Burian, I. Rikun, Odeska derzhavna naukova biblioteka imeni M. Horkoho; Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, Odesa: Vyd-vo Studia "Nehotsiant", 2008, p. 74.

³² S. J. Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist. Walter Duranty. The New York Times's Man in Moscow*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990; James Mace, "Povist pro dvokh zhurnalistiv: Walter Duranty, Gareth Jones, i Pulittsersivska premii", 29 March 2022, in: *HM*, [online], in: <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/news/povist-pro-dvokh-zhurnalistiv-dzhejms-mejs-pro-diuranti-ta-dzhonsa/>

³³ *Velykyi holod v Ukraini 1932–1933 rokiv. u IV t., T. IV. Zvit Konhresovo-prezydentskoi Komisii SSHa z doslidzhennia Velykoho holodu 1932–1933 pp. v Ukraini*, executive director of the Commission – James Mace; science ed. S. Kulchytskyi, NAN Ukrainy, Instytut istorii Ukrainy, Kyiv: Vyd. dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia", 2008, p. 234.

not afraid to point out Joseph Stalin's crime to the whole world – Gareth Jones, Malcolm Muggeridge (also initially a supporter of the USSR)³⁴, Eugene Lyons, Ralph Barnes, William Henry Chamberlin, Gary Lang, and an American of Ukrainian descent Adam Todal³⁵.

Perhaps the most popular among the researchers was Gareth Jones – apparently not least due to his mysterious death and the detective story related to the discovery of his diaries. Four books were published about him in 2001–2015, and in 2019, the film *The Price of Truth* was released. His diaries were published on the website of Nigel Linsan Colley, Gareth Jones' great-nephew³⁶.

In addition to the letters, the narrative sources, which were published in Western Ukrainian and foreign magazines, included the stories of refugees from the Ukrainian SSR (peasants), as well as workers who legally left the territory of Ukraine after completing their work at large industrial enterprises.

4. Documents related to the activities of the diplomatic establishments and special services. Being by their nature documents created as a result of office work of the state apparatus (consulates and embassies of different countries in the USSR or in other states), by their authorship (specific diplomats were not constrained by the restrictions imposed by totalitarian regime on the memory of the famine) and content (the ability to describe famine without regard to Soviet censorship) they resemble oral historical sources about the famine. A specific feature is their relatively neutral view of events (because diplomats could not be either victims or perpetrators of the crime), as if watching events from the outside and trying to convey information about the situation in their country of service to their governments, in their opinion, as correctly as possible.

This group also includes documents of foreign intelligence services which exchanged data with the diplomatic services of their own and other countries. Polish and Romanian security services generally based their reports on the interviews with refugees from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic who managed to cross the Soviet border alive.

For a more detailed overview of the differences between the diplomatic reports of the famine of different countries, refer to Paolo Fonzi³⁷. Here we list only eleven countries whose diplomatic missions, diplomats, Ministries of Internal Affairs or Ministries of For-

³⁴ *Time and Eternity. Uncollected Writings 1933–1983. Malcolm Muggeridge*, edited with the introduction by Nicolas Flynn, Maryknol, New York: Orbis Book, 2010.

³⁵ *Velykyi holod v Ukraini 1932–1933 rokiv*, p. 217–232.

³⁶ *Gareth Jones Diary Notes relating to Soviet Ukraine Famine 1932–33*. Revised 22 April 2015, Nigel Linsan Colley, [online], in: https://www.garethjones.org/soviet_articles/gareth_jones_diary.htm

³⁷ Paolo Fonzi, "Non-Soviet Perspectives on the Great Famine: A Comparative Analysis of British, Italian, Polish, and German Sources", in: *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 48, special issue 3: *Special Issue on the Soviet Famines of 1930–1933*, May 2020, pp. 444–459. Published online by Cambridge University Press: 16 December 2019 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/nationalities-papers/article/nonsoviet-perspectives-on-the-great-famine-a-comparative-analysis-of-british-italian-polish-and-german-sources/C83F7316FDC2B0B36A33344A57669895#>

eign Affairs have documents on the Holodomor in their collections: Estonia, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, the USA and the Vatican. We assume that this list is not exhaustive.

There is an opinion that it was the publication of documents by the diplomatic and special services of several countries in the early 1980s that led to a change in the ideological vector of Soviet propaganda – it was forced to admit the existence of famine, although it continued to insist on natural causes that caused it³⁸.

5. Poems and works of art. This small group of sources geographically gravitates mainly towards the Ukrainian SSR. Due to the ban on using the word “famine” in the public space and repressions for violating this ban, not so many verses and poems composed during or immediately after the famine have survived (and such sources are all the more valuable). Given the prohibition to talk about the famine and the lack of political will to fully recall it and look deeper into it as well as the absence in the information space of a huge number of sources about the famine (both institutional and personal) published to date and visual materials about it, these types of sources are important in the study of famine. The author included in this group fourteen poets, intellectuals and eyewitnesses of the famine, many of whom poetry cost their freedom.

6. Diaries and diary notes. In total, we found data about more than 30 diaries and diary notes with information about the famine. Of this number, we managed to process 25 sources: 24 contain descriptions of the famine “from the inside” in 1932–1933 when the famine happened, and one contains descriptions of the famine a year or two after the peak of the famine in 1934–1935. We have data on four diaries in the periodical press. About the rest we have only memories³⁹.

The diaries were created by people from various social and professional strata: peasants (adults and children), party members, village teachers, writers, urban dwellers etc. This indicates, firstly, that the famine was so intensive that it was visible not only in the rural areas. Secondly, that it differed from previous period of starvation and pushed eyewitnesses to write about it in their diaries, even realizing that they can be sentenced for keeping these notes. Finally, various life experience of the diaries’ authors allows looking at the famine from various perspectives.

Let us give one example of such a source, in which the description of genocide of 1933 intersects with the contemporary Russian genocide of Ukraine. In the summer of 2020, Kyiv historians discovered the diary and poems of a rural teacher Oksentii Musienko (dat-

³⁸ Roman Serbyn, “Photographic Evidence of the Ukrainian Famines of 1921–1923 and 1932–1933”, in: *Holodomor Studies*, 2010, vol. 2, issue 1, pp. 63–64.

³⁹ For more details see: Tetiana Boriak, “Mii mertvyi istoryk: shchodennykovi notatky pro Holodomor”, in: *Etnichna istoriia narodiv Yevropy*, 2022, ed. 68, pp. 80–92, [online], in: <http://ethnic.history.univ.kiev.ua/data/2022/68/articles/9.pdf>

ed December 1932) in the exposition of the Ivankiv Historical and Local History Museum (Kyiv Region). Fortunately, they managed to digitize them in time, before the end of February 2022 when the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine began. During occupation of the town of Ivankiv the museum was burned down by the invaders. The manuscript is currently being prepared for publication⁴⁰.

Content blocks of personal sources

In order to analyse the content of oral historical sources, we made 25 thematic headings: 1) collectivization; 2) dispossession; 3) cannibalism; 4) confiscation of grain; 5) confiscation of products; 6) swelling of people, dying in the open air, corpses on the streets; 7) mortality; 8) burial; 9) survival strategies; 10) crossing the border with Poland and Romania; 11) prediction of famine and acknowledgement of the fact; 12) man-made famine; 13) consequences of famine; 14) food situation; 15) the purpose of famine; 16) years; 17) law dated 7 August 1932 on ban for picking ears of corn, their protection, punishment for picking ears of corn; 18) psychological aspects; 19) prohibition to talk about famine or mention it; 20) diagnoses and doctors; 21) border blockades; 22) displaced people; 23) grain exports; 24) methods, activists; 25) resistance.

Let us give examples of sources of personal origin that testify to one or another aspect of the Holodomor. In the Vatican archive, the last document in the chronological order regarding the famine stated that the capital was moved from Kyiv to Kharkiv because there was no longer any fear of the “Ukrainian separatist movement after the country’s famine”⁴¹.

Italian diplomatic documents testify to repressions against the intelligentsia and Ukrainian culture, in addition to descriptions of the situation in rural areas, the intentions of the authorities to compare the situation with Russian regions, sowing, searches (!), surrogate nutrition, mobilization of townspeople to work in the fields, the scale of death, burials in mass graves, a conclusion about the “change in the ethnographic fabric” of Ukrainians⁴².

There are surviving reports of Latvian ambassador Alfreds Bilmanis in Moscow who tried to get permission to travel to Ukraine. Not receiving it, he independently collected information about the famine (the extinction of whole villages, the flight of peasants to cities, cannibalism, the daily deaths of 20–30 people in the villages in Ukraine)⁴³.

⁴⁰ Oksentii Musienko, *Patent na holod. Poezii. Shchodennykovi notatky. 1931–1933*, prepared by Oksana Yurkova, Hennadii Boriak, NAN Ukrainy. Instytut istorii Ukrainy, Ivankivska raionna derzhavna administratsiia; Ivankivskiy raionnyy istoryko-kraieznavchyy muzei, Kyiv, 2022 (preparing for printing).

⁴¹ Athanasius D. McVay and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *op. cit.*, p. XII–XVI.

⁴² *Lysty z Kharkova. Holod v Ukraini ta na Pivnichnomu Kavkazi v povidomlennkh italiiskyykh dyplomatyv 1932–1933 roky*, Kh.: Folio, 2007, p. 56–241.

⁴³ Edvins Šnore, Indrek Paavle, “The Ukrainian Famine of 1932/33 as seen from Estonia and Latvia”, in: *Holodomor Studies*, 2011, no. 3, nos. 1–2, p. 44–53.

German diplomats expressed the opinion that starvation was used to suppress peasant's resistance⁴⁴; they used the terms "political use of famine", "famine catastrophe"; they mentioned the distribution of food and seeds by the state as a political lever; they mentioned Great Russian chauvinism as the cause of famine; they drew a distinction between the starvation of Germans (economic reasons) and Ukrainian and Russian peasants in Ukraine (national reasons)⁴⁵.

Polish authorities showed perhaps the greatest awareness of the events. Polish diplomats and special services recorded the growing famine crisis already in February 1932, the struggle of the authorities against starving peasants in the cities, closing the borders of the Ukrainian SSR, a huge mortality rate in February 1933, mental state of the peasants, and drew conclusions about a general food crisis throughout the USSR, but the most acute form of famine was in Ukraine. They wrote about corpses in villages and cities, in fields and roads, with no one to bury them, or about corpses being dumped into the cellars of empty houses, about cats and dogs being eaten, about peasants fleeing villages, about cannibalism, the scale of mortality (700 corpses were removed every night in Kyiv alone), about the estimated death rate of at least 5 million people, about the resettlement of Belarusians, Russians and Jews to deserted regions⁴⁶.

This is how the residents of Western Ukraine saw the fugitives from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: "Living skeletons, because the hunger is terrible there"⁴⁷. "Here perished not only kulaks and middle peasants, but the Ukrainian peasantry was "abolished" in general and turned into a passive Soviet serf-collective farmer"⁴⁸. The press wrote about cannibalism: one American traveling in the Ukrainian SSR was attending the trial of a mother for the murder of her four children⁴⁹. It was impossible not to notice mass searches: "Products are taken away from peasants. Requisitions are carried out by Kom-

⁴⁴ Paolo Fonzi, "Trial of Strength against the Restive Peasantry: What the Germans Knew about the Great Famine in the USSR and How They Perceived It", in: *Dokumentuvannia Holodomoru 1932–1933 v Ukraini: arkhivni koleksii za mezhamy Radianskoho Soiuzu*, Kharkiv-Lviv, 2021, p. 203–204, 206, 210.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 204–207; Fonzi Paolo, "No German Must Starve: The Germans and the Soviet Famines of 1931–1933", in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 2021, 38, no 1–2, pp. 39–42.

⁴⁶ Jan Jacek Bruski, "In Search of New Sources: Polish Diplomatic and Intelligence Reports of the Holodomor", in: *Holodomor and Gorta Mor: Historicism memories and Representation of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*, edited by Christian Noack, Lindsay Janssem Vincent Comerford, Anthem Press, 2013, pp. 217–222.

⁴⁷ St. Baran, "Z nashoi trahedii za Zbruchem", in: *Dilo*, 1933, no. 128, 05-21-1933, p. 1, [online], in: <https://libraria.ua/numbers/192/19599/?PageNumber=1&ArticleId=729944&Search=%D0%B4%D1%96%D0%BB%D0%BE%20%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B4%201933>

⁴⁸ *Volyn pamiatiaie. Vidlunnia na Volyni holodomoru 1932–1933 rokiv u radianskii Ukraini. Naukovo-dokumentalne vydannia*, author-compiler M. Kucherepa, V. Tkachuk, in general ed. M. Kucherepa, Volynska oblasna derzhavna administratsiia, Volynska oblasna rada, Redaktsiino-vydavnycha hrupa "Naukovyi tsentr istorichnykh studii Volyni", Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volynskoi oblasti, Lutsk: RVH "Naukovyi tsentr istorichnykh studii Volyni", 2008, p. 167.

⁴⁹ Volodymyr Sadovyi, *Halytska presa 30-kh rokiv KhKh st. pro holodomor u Velykii Ukraini 1932–1933 rokiv*, Drohobych: Kolo, 2011, p. 51.

somol members from the centre bodies on the orders of the authorities. All the products that the peasants had were requisitioned”⁵⁰.

The emigrant J. Zozulya wrote in his letter (September 1932) about the letters from home in which he was asked to send food, because “hunger is staring in the face”⁵¹. The newspaper *Morning Post* in an editorial dated of 16 August 1934, wrote that “the survivors with faces like the dead, with swollen bellies resignedly, are waiting for death to relieve them from their misery”⁵².

The poems of teacher Oleksii Nalyvaiko are as close as possible to the oral historical narrative. Along with his diary, he also wrote six poems during the famine in the village of Fernata⁵³. There is a poem from 25 February 1933:

People around
Are murdered everywhere,
Not with whips,
But famine eats...
Also, – now like
It was, –
[They] torture so
that it is all the same.
They took away everything
As it had never been
[They] destroyed everything...
Ekh! Will drown to the bottom.
And everyone walks –
Orphans in the villages
And everyone cries,
And how much force...⁵⁴

On 28 March, 1933 he pointed at the villages “overgrown with great weeds”⁵⁵. In his poem from 12 June he wrote:

⁵⁰ Vidlunnia zhakhlyvoi trahedii (Do 75 rokovyn Holodomoru 1932-1933 rokiv v Ukraini: Zbirka statei, opublikovanykh u hazetakh 30-kh rokiv u Pidkarpatskii Rusi), edited by: M. Delegan, S. Vyskvarko, Uzhgorod: VAT “Patent”, 2008, p. 82.

⁵¹ *Volyn pamiatia*, p. 26.

⁵² “*My biemo v Velykyi dzvin*”. *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv ochyma ukrainskoi diaspory. Dokumenty z fondiv TsDAVO Ukrainy*, Derzh. kom. Arkhiviv Ukrainy, TsDAVOU; edited by: N. Makovska (director) [et al.], K.: V-vo “Horobets”, 2008, p. 114.

⁵³ Now – the village of Karmaliukivka, Baltic district, Odesa region.

⁵⁴ “*Represovani*” *shchodennyky. Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini*, edit., introduction. art., general ed. of Ya. Faizulina: Ukrainskyi instytut natsionalnoi pamiaty, K.: Feniks, 2018, p. 312–313.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 312–313.

...They ["bureaucrats"] don't care
 That people die of hunger,
 You see, the party
 so dictates... [...]
 No one is guilty
 Besides Bolsheviks
 They have deceived peasants
 And now liquidate them. [...] ⁵⁶

Even the works of art of that time could not keep silent about the famine: they described how a peasant's house was searched, and a pit of bread was found⁵⁷. In the play of 1933, dying and starving peasants ask for help from the village council, which in return proclaims orders from Moscow. There is also confiscation of grain and the suicide of Mykola Skrypnyk depicted ⁵⁸.

Conclusions

The proposed classification of official documentation of the Holodomor source base at first glance demonstrates variability of the hierarchy of the administrative and management system, because the documents about the famine are stored in the fonds of the highest union authorities and administration – top officials of the USSR, as well as in the fonds of republican and lower levels. In addition, the documents of the Soviet intelligence services and statistics agencies should also demonstrate the range of management decisions and their consequences during the famine.

Nevertheless, the collected data on the gaps in this segment of the Holodomor source base indicate the irreversible loss of at least hundreds of thousands of documents caused by the deliberate destruction of documents at the governmental and lower levels of the Ukrainian SSR. That is why the sources of personal origin should be (and are becoming) an integral component of Holodomor studies.

Regarding the latter, we managed to single out six groups, heterogeneous in scope and significance. Oral histories, testimonies and memoirs constitute the largest segment of sources of personal origin, being created in the longest time span (90 years) and all over the world (from Canada to the United States, Latin America, Europe and Australia).

A specific group are letters of three types. The first and the second type (letters to relatives and representatives of the authorities) were created directly during the famine; the third group contained a famine narrative recorded after the famine. It should be noted

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁵⁷ Arkadii Liubchenko, *Vertep*. Krakiv: "Ukrainske Vydavnytstvo", 1943, p. 78–84.

⁵⁸ Serge Cipko, *Starving Ukraine: The Holodomor and Canada's Response*, Regina, Saskatchewan, University of Regina Press, 2017, p. 96–97.

that the originals of the first group have not been preserved and there is a small number of them (several hundred, according to our calculations) in the second group. The third group is lost in the first group of the typology (famine memories, as often the eyewitnesses of the famine sent their memories in written form when called upon by the initiators of recording the oral history of the famine).

The foreign and Western Ukrainian periodicals are valuable sources as they contain both eyewitness accounts (descriptions, letters) as well as accounts of journalists. To date, there are eleven countries whose diplomatic and security archives have accumulated information about the famine recorded by themselves or received from the representatives of other countries. Being outside spectators of Joseph Stalin's war, guided by their own interests, they, nevertheless, presented their views and assessments of the situation.

The last two groups bring us back to the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and allow us to evaluate the testimonies about the famine left either in the form of diary notes or in the form of poetic verse with reference to the author's personality. Preserving such documents usually meant coming to the attention of special services, which seized such evidence of the author's "counter-revolutionary activities". Sometimes families managed to save such sources.

A quick review of the narrative of the above-mentioned groups of personal origin sources allows us to outline both the variability of aspects of the experience of Ukrainian peasants during the Holodomor, and the general correlation of such testimonies with the largest group of sources – oral history. Of course, the narrative of the source depended on the place of residence and professional activity during the famine. But in general, we can talk about the perception of 1932–1933 as the years that witnessed such a dramatic rise in famine that it was no longer possible to justify by weather or economic factors. This is indicated in the sources about the political/national struggle, widespread searches, obstacles to peasants in obtaining food.

The variety of sources of personal origin also testify that the years 1932–1933 were distinguished from the general situation of the famine, which began after the announced policy of collectivization and caused a radical break in the traditional family life when the death of family members became an everyday occurrence and food was impossible to obtain. For outside spectators, the results of this famine were visible in the form of corpses in the streets, begging by starving people, and abandoned villages. For the peasants who found themselves in the epicentre of the famine, it meant that this period became part of their individual memory, which is reproduced in memoirs and oral history.

Also, in our opinion, the entire array of the Holodomor source base refutes the thesis that the famine was "fabricated" by "Nazi collaborators" and "Ukrainian nationalists" after the World War II or in the 1980s, because then such "Nazis" should include every eyewit-

ness of the famine: those (abroad in the post-war period) who decided to speak about the famine or those (in Ukraine) who lived until the ban on mentioning the famine was lifted and could testify about their experiences in 1932–1933 – and there is at least a hundred thousand such people.

Finally, unlike the sources of institutional origin, which were mainly created during the famine, the sources of personal origin testify to a continuous tradition of remembering the famine and trying to describe what was seen in a certain form, ranging from the poems about the famine of 1932 by village teacher Oksentii Musienko to testimonies recorded by the National Museum of the Holodomor-Genocide already during the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2022 (when an eyewitness of the famine was also a witness of present day genocide of the Russian state against Ukraine).

Tetiana Boriak

„Parašykite, kad badas buvo dirbtinis“: asmeniniai šaltiniai apie 1932–1933 m. Holodomorą Ukrainoje

SANTRAUKA

Autorė siūlo Holodomoro šaltinių klasifikaciją, kad būtų galima geriau suprasti istorinių šios problemos tyrimų kontekstą. Šaltinius ji skirsto į du didelius segmentus: archyvinėse įstaigose saugomus institucijų dokumentus ir asmeninius šaltinius. Pirmąjį segmentą sudaro penkios grupės. Analizuojant šio segmento šaltinių būklę, dėmesys skiriamas spragoms, atsiradusioms dėl „archyvocido“ – sovietų valdžios tyčinio bado pėdsakų naikinimo oficialiuose dokumentuose, bei to laikotarpio valdžios sprendimų dokumentavimo specifikos. Būtent dėl to asmeniniai šaltiniai sudaro reikšmingą Holodomoro šaltinių bazės segmentą ir turėtų būti plačiau įtraukiami į tyrimus. Išskiriamos šešios nevienodo dydžio grupės. Pateikiami teminiai asmeninių šaltinių blokai ir įvairių tokių šaltinių tipų pavyzdžiai. Daroma išvada dėl naratyvo apie badą tęstinumo asmeniniuose šaltiniuose ir individualioje ukrainiečių atmintyje. Pabrėžiama, kad šaltiniai apie badą (įvairaus tipo ir autorystės) radosi ne tuščioje vietoje pokariu ar devintajame dešimtmetyje, bet buvo pradėti kurti jau 1932 m.

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Holodomoras, šaltinių bazė, asmeniniai šaltiniai, sakytinė istorija, sovietinio totalitarizmo istorija.

Тетяна Боряк

«Запишіть, що голод був штучний»: джерела особового походження про Голодомор в Україні 1932–1933

РЕЗЮМЕ

Авторка пропонує класифікацію джерельної бази Голодомору для кращого розуміння контексту історичних досліджень з проблематики. Джерела вона поділяє на два великі сегменти: офіційна документація, яка відклалась в архівних установах, та особового походження. Перший сегмент включає п'ять груп. Аналізуючи стан джерел цього сегменту, акцентується на прогалинах через «архівоцид» як свідоме знищення радянською владою слідів про голод в офіційній документації та специфіку документування управлінських рішень того періоду. Саме тому джерела особового походження становлять істотний сегмент джерельної бази Голодомору та повинні ширше залучатися у дослідження. Тут вдалося виокремити шість нерівнозначних за обсягом груп. Наведено тематичні блоки джерел особового походження та запропоновано приклади різних видів таких джерел. Зроблено висновок про континуїтет наративу про голод у джерелах особового походження та індивідуальній пам'яті українців. Наголошено на тому, що різноманітні за видами та авторством джерела про голод не виникли нізвідки у повоєнний період чи у 1980-х рр., а почали створюватися ще у 1932 р.

КЛЮЧОВІ СЛОВА: Голодомор, джерельна база, джерела особового походження, усна історія, історія радянського тоталітаризму.