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**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN  
UKRAINIAN SOCIETY AGAINST THE  
BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN  
TRANSFORMATIONS**

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Belkin I., Makarov Z.**

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## **2. Heavy pages of history: to the 90th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933**

### **Abstract**

The scientific study examines the period of collectivization of the Ukrainian village in 1932-1933, which became one of the most terrible pages of our history. Many scientific works are devoted to the study of this problem.

It was noted that the Holodomor of 1932-1933 became part of the struggle of the ruling authorities against Ukrainian culture, language, and traditions in the areas where Ukrainians lived.

At the beginning of the 30s of the XX century. mass collectivization was carried out by the authorities, so any food difficulties were characterized as a stage of this policy, and the main cause of the famine was previously considered to be the drought of 1932.

It was analyzed that the greatest losses during the Famine period of 1932-1933 were observed among the rural population of Ukraine, although there were also large losses among the urban population, and physical losses among children are a direct consequence of the famine. The authorities hushed up and denied the fact of famine in Ukraine.

Even today, scientists are working on new evidence regarding the number of victims of the Holodomor.

The European Parliament recognized the Holodomor as a terrible crime against the people of Ukraine and humanity, and condemned the actions of the Soviet authorities against the Ukrainian peasantry.

32 countries of the world officially recognized the Holodomor as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

### **Introduction**

According to scientific and archival sources, statistical data, the scientific article examines the demographic losses of the Ukrainian people during the Holodomor

of 1932-1933 as a purposeful policy of the ruling authorities on the territory of Ukraine during collectivization.

Characterizing the state of scientific development, we note that the research of this topic is devoted to the work of scientists S.V. Kulchytskyi. [1,2], V. Marochko [3], B. Rozhenka [4], S. Maksudova [5], etc. A team of scientists from the Institute of Demography and Social Research named after M.I. plays a major role in researching this topic. Birds of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, separate works of Levchuk N. [6]. Also, it is necessary to single out the American historian James Mace, who diligently researched the topic of the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine [7]. Historian, man of letters, writer R. Conquest, who wrote the book "Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and Holodomor" in 1986, reveals the truth about the genocide of the anti-Ukrainian people, its artificiality and planning by the Soviet totalitarian regime [8].

The American historian T. Snyder in his monograph "Bloody lands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin" talks about the mass destruction of Ukrainians by the Holodomor, including the memories of witnesses [9].

In the second edition of the scientific collection "Genocide of Ukrainians 1932-1933 based on the materials of pre-trial investigations" (edited by O. Petryshyn, M. Gerasymenko, O. Stasyuk) the decrees and orders of the Presidents of Ukraine and the laws of Ukraine regarding commemoration of the Ukrainians exterminated in Holodomor-genocide, and condemnation and prohibition of the totalitarian regime. The basis of the publication's source base is a selection from the materials of archival criminal case No. 475, which consists of 331 volumes and is kept in the archives of the Kyiv Court of Appeals [10].

"Mass artificial famines: we remember, we honor": materials of the International forum (Kyiv, September 7, 2021) are dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Holodomor-genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-1933, to the 100th anniversary of the massive artificial famine of 1921-1923, and to the 75th anniversary of the massive artificial famine of 1946 -1947 [11].

In the collection "Genocide of the Ukrainian Nation 1932-1933/2022: Testimonies" (edited by: O. Stasyuk. Ya.M. Dombrovska) for the first time the testimonies of eyewitnesses of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932-1933, committed by the totalitarian regime, from the materials of criminal case № 475 have been published. (2009); materials of criminal proceedings № 22019000000000309 (2019-2022) and eyewitness testimony of the genocide of Ukrainians committed by the racist regime in 2022. Documents confirming the crimes of the Russian regime against the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian state are also published [12].

The Institute of the History of Ukraine published the work "1933: Why are you still alive?" (2016). Using the examples of evidence collected in different countries and years, the compiler gives the reader a picture of the total coverage of Ukraine by seizing anything that could be used for food: from potatoes and sourdough to a handful of beans and dry beans.

An analysis of the policy of the ruling authorities on the eve and during the Holodomor, from the point of view of preparing for the confiscation of food, in other words, depriving the Ukrainian village of its means of livelihood, is presented. Since the documents are oral history, this type of historical source was analyzed - in general and in particular regarding the Holodomor [13].

**Setting objectives.** The attention of researchers remains relevant to the issues of the Holodomor-genocide of the Ukrainian people in 1932-1933, the conduct of complete collectivization, which allowed the authorities to use violent methods to create collective farms in the countryside, as well as the huge losses of the Ukrainian people during this period.

The purpose of the scientific research is to highlight the results of the policy of the Soviet government on the territory of Ukraine during the collectivization of agriculture, the creation of collective farms, the Holodomor-genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-1933, namely the massive demographic losses of the Ukrainian population during this period.



## **2.1 Recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian people by the world community**

90 years have passed since this most terrible page in the history of the Ukrainian people - the Holodomor of 1932-1933. At the end of November, we commemorate the victims of this Ukrainian tragedy.

It was not allowed to mention the Holodomor for 55 years. For many years, the events of 1932-33 were hushed up not only by mass media, but also by official state institutions. According to the decision of the authorities, there was simply no such famine in Ukraine. When foreign journalists and statesmen raised the issue of famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, this information was denied, and their data were considered simply unverified.

In the USSR at the beginning of the 1930s, the authorities introduced mass collectivization in the countryside, therefore any food difficulties were characterized as a stage of this policy, and the main cause of the famine was considered to be the drought of 1932.

For the first time, we learned about the famine in the Ukrainian village through the report of the English journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, who in the last decade of March shared with the readers of the Manchester Guardian newspaper his impressions of a trip to Ukraine and the North Caucasus in 1932. Three of his articles were published, describing the terrible scenes of starvation of the rural population. A few more foreign journalists tried to visit the famine areas.

Foreign journalists were forbidden to travel to regions where the population suffered from famine [2, p. 23].

The fact of the famine has been confirmed by numerous documents and publications of scientists from Great Britain, the USA, Switzerland and other countries.

The concept and term "genocide" first appeared in the legal and scientific vocabulary after the Second World War. It was introduced by Raphael Lemkin in November 1943 (it appeared in print in 1944). The very fact of genocide determines

not only the number of victims, but also the methods, means, forms and deliberate extermination of large population groups of one or another nationality [8, p. 39].

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in resolution 96 (1) of December 11, 1946, declared that genocide is a crime that violates the norms of international law, contrary to the spirit and purposes of the United Nations; the civilized world condemns it, recognizing that throughout history genocide has caused great loss to mankind.

The Ukrainian famine of 1932–1933 was first recognized as genocide on a national basis by the American scientist James Mace [7, p. 28]. He referred to the results of the US Holodomor Commission in Ukraine, which in 1988 made 19 conclusions that what happened to Ukrainians in 1932-1933 was nothing but genocide, and that the authorities at that time were guilty of this crime . This was the most important point among the conclusions of the Commission [6, p. 28].

In 1988, a commission of prominent lawyers from Switzerland, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Argentina, the United States, and Canada was created in America, which began to investigate the famine in Ukraine [15, p. 27].

The conclusions of the special commission of the US Congress on the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine note:

1. There is no doubt that a large number of the population of the Ukrainian SSR and the Northern Territory of the Caucasus lost to hunger during 1932-1933 due to the man-made famine caused by the confiscation of the harvest of 1932 by the Soviet authorities.

2. Losses of the Ukrainian Holodomor amount to millions of people.

3. The official statement of the Soviet authorities about the "sabotage of the kulaks", which was the cause of all the "difficulties" during the Holodomor, has no basis.

4. Holodomor was not, as often claimed, connected with drought.

5. In 1931 — 1932, the official reaction of the ruling authorities to the lack of grain due to drought outside Ukraine was to provide assistance to the affected territories and to provide some benefits to the peasants.

6. In the middle of 1932, excessive supplies of grain caused the emergence of localized centers of famine, the authorities canceled the previous course and took a tougher position towards the peasants [16, p. 36].

On November 1, 2007, the 34th session of the UNESCO General Conference, which includes 193 countries, unanimously adopted the Resolution on commemorating the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine. This event again drew the attention of the world mass media to the Ukrainian tragedy of 1932-1933.

Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI expressed their respect to the victims of the Holodomor.

On July 3, 2008, at the 17th annual session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the resolution "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine" was adopted.

On October 23, 2008, the European Parliament adopted a Resolution recognizing the Holodomor of 1932-33 as a terrible crime against the people of Ukraine and humanity, strongly condemning the actions characterized by mass destruction and violation of human rights and freedoms, expressing sympathy for the Ukrainian people who suffered from this tragedy, and honored those we lost as a result of the artificial famine of 1932-1933; called for the archives to be opened for comprehensive study in order to fully reveal and investigate the causes and consequences of the tragedy.

On November 21-22, 2013, the international scientific symposium "Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine: history and memory" was held in Kyiv, which was held as part of the International Forum for the 80th Anniversary of the Holodomor "My People Are!" My people will always be there!", organized by the Public Committee to Commemorate the Victims of the Holodomor Genocide of 1932-33 in Ukraine together with the Ukrainian Holodomor Research Center of the NaUKMA. More than 100 scientists from Ukraine and more than 40 countries of the world took part in it.

The following took part in the symposium: Stéphane Courtois, a famous French historian, the author of the modern scientific bestseller "The Black Book of Communism" (published in 26 countries), Nicolas Vert, a French historian-Sovietologist, professor of history at the National Center for Scientific Research of

France, Edvins Shnore from the University of Latvia, author and director of the documentary film "Soviet History", Genady Poberezhny from Harvard (USA), Agnieszka Matusiak from the University of Wroclaw (Poland), Wolf Moskovich (Jerusalem University, Israel), Olga Andrievska (Trent University, Canada), Myroslav Popovych, Ludmila Hrynevych, Stanislav Kulchytskyi and others.

Researchers have released new data on the number of victims of the Holodomor, its causes and consequences for the Ukrainian nation.

A lot of discussions and opinions have caused scientists to question why the totalitarian regime dealt with Ukrainians so cruelly. According to public figure and publicist Yevhen Sverstyuk, the ruling government tried to take revenge on Ukraine, its peasantry [16, p. 32].

Today, the entire world community commemorates the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine.

At the beginning of December 2018, to the 85th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933, a Declaration was signed, co-authored by 38 UN member states, in which "For the first time, the policy of the totalitarian regime, in particular, violent collectivization and confiscation of food, which led to significant losses of the Ukrainian people. The need to open the archives to establish the historical truth and raise awareness of the causes and consequences of the tragedy is also emphasized," said the spokesman of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UN, Oleg Nikolenko. The draft Declaration was prepared at the initiative of Ukraine. Compared to the previous declarations for the anniversary of the Holodomor, the number of states that became co-authors of this document increased. The declaration was first signed by such states as Chile, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Montenegro, Switzerland, Portugal and the Netherlands [17, p. 8].

According to the results of a poll by the sociological group "Rating", which was conducted in October and published on November 20, 2018, 79% of Ukrainian citizens believe that the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was a genocide of the Ukrainian people. 47% of surveyed Ukrainians believe that the state leadership was personally responsible for the organization of the Holodomor of 1932-33 [18].

Vasyl Marochko, the head of the Genocide Research Center of the Ukrainian People, wrote that the Famine of the 33rd is not a thing of the past... People were not buried according to proper Christian rites, their pain and curse haunt us, their souls wander over the Ukrainian black earth, not finding an earthly or heavenly refuge. There are too many losses in Ukraine. The archives contain tens of thousands of letters from peasants to the state leadership, unique documents about the forcible relocation of 113 thousand Russian peasants to Ukrainian villages in the fall of 1933. More than 20 thousand peasant houses were waiting for them [3, p. 30].

More and more countries recognize the Holodomor as a genocide of the Ukrainian nation (as of February 10, 2023): Estonia, Canada, Australia, Hungary, the Vatican, Lithuania, Georgia, Ukraine, Poland, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, Latvia, Portugal and USA. In 2022, the parliaments of the Czech Republic, Brazil, Ireland, Moldova, Romania (a crime), Germany and Austria (a crime) were recognized. On February 1, 2023, the 25th state of the world - Bulgaria - recognized the Holodomor as genocide.

Also, 23 US states joined the recognition of the Holodomor as genocide by the parliaments of different countries: As of June 1, 2018, 11 American states recognized the Holodomor as genocide: Washington, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Missouri, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania [9, p. 12-13]. On May 26, the state of Texas (USA) at the local legislative level recognized the Holodomor of 1932-33 as a genocide of the Ukrainian people and designated November 2021 as the month of commemoration of the losses of this tragedy.

Thus, Texas became the 23rd American state that recognized the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine as genocide [20].

As of June 2023, the Holodomor was officially recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people by 32 countries of the world, the European Parliament, and the government of the partially recognized Chechen Republic of Ichkeria [21].

## **2.2 As if Satan descended on earth (Oles Volya)**

What is the cause of the suffering of the Ukrainian people?

The state that started industrialization could not ensure its accelerated pace. There were not enough funds, so it was decided to take them from agricultural producers.

In 1927, a course of collectivization was adopted, it was decided to create collective farms - collective farms that would be completely dependent on the state.

Thus, in 1928, only 4% of peasant farms were collectivized. The peasants were promised collectivization based on humane principles - voluntary, gradual. So they were in no hurry to join the collective farm.

At the same time, the underestimation of prices for agricultural products led to the fact that procurement prices barely covered the cost of grain. The peasants protested and began to hide grain. Interruptions in the supply of bread to the urban population and raw materials to industry began to be observed.

In January 1928, a decision was made to forcibly remove surplus grain from the peasants. And in November, the course for "complete collectivization" was officially adopted.

In January 1930, the grain districts of the USSR were divided into three regions by the Decree "On the rates of collectivization and state assistance measures for collective farm construction." Ukraine was included in the second group of districts, where collectivization was planned to be completed in the fall of 1932 or spring of 1933.

Peasants began to be herded into collective farms. At the same time, a resolution dated January 30, 1930 was adopted. "Measures for the liquidation of Kurkul farms in the field of continuous collectivization", which determined the basis of the new policy for Kurkul peasants. At that time, the line for the elimination of kulkism became the main one. The means of production, livestock, household and residential buildings were confiscated from the "Kurkuls". There were about 800 such farms in Ukraine, if they: used hired labor or had mills, an oil mill, rented premises, were engaged in trade [22, p. 28].

The represented peasants were divided into three categories. Before the first, they kept a counter-revolutionary asset, which was subject to immediate liquidation by imprisonment in a concentration camp or prison. Peasants who were assigned to the second category were deported to distant localities of the CPCP. Those who fell into the third category remained in the place, but had to settle outside the boundaries of collective farms. The share of farms to be liquidated should have been from 3% to 5% of their total number. The campaign to liquidate the Kurkul farms lasted for three to four months - from February to May 1930. [1, p. 122].

Forced collectivization, as well as grain harvesting, was carried out by the method of contrasting the strata of the peasantry with different property status. In order for the owner-peasant to "voluntarily" write an application for joining the collective farm, he had to be intimidated by the example of a dissolute neighbor. Therefore, collectivization was accompanied by the destruction of the most industrious and, therefore, the wealthiest layer of the peasantry and, accordingly, by the significant destruction of the productive forces of agriculture [23, p. 8].

As of March 10, 1930, 61,887 farms had already been dismantled, which was only 2.5% of all peasant farms. By the middle of 1931, 98,500 peasant families were deported from Ukraine and up to 200,000 peasant households were expropriated [16, p. 37].

According to the order of the People's Commissar of Agriculture, cows, horses, small livestock and poultry were communalized within three months, which influenced the peasants' decision to slaughter cattle and led to a reduction in their herd by almost 15 million heads. This was organized by the ruling power, one of the main prerequisites for the future famine. In addition, the state raised a plan for the delivery of food by collective farms, it was so high that there was almost nothing to give out on labor days, and collective farm workers survived at the expense of their homesteads. Excessively high taxes forced peasants to sell their property and livestock and leave their villages. During the period from 1928 to 1931, the number of peasant farms in Ukraine decreased by 352 thousand [22, p. 28].

At that time, a wave of peasant uprisings and riots swept through the country (40 thousand). Only in January-March 1930, 2,200 peasant demonstrations took place, in which almost 800,000 people took part. Thus, in Podillya, peasant uprisings against collectivization took place in all districts without exception [24, p. 7].

On March 2, 1930, the article "Dizzy from Success" criticized the role of local bodies in carrying out collectivization itself. Peasants began to leave collective farms, in three months almost 50% of collective farm workers returned to individual farms (1,594 thousand farms). But they did not return their property, livestock, taxes were increased, which caused them to return to the collective farms.

During the years of complete collectivization in Ukraine, about 200,000 peasant farms were expropriated. In Podillya, the largest number of peasants were dispossessed in Vinnytsia district - 2,585 households, in Proskurivsky district - 1,281 [24, p. 54].

At the beginning of 1932, the leadership of Ukraine repeatedly appealed to Moscow to ease the pressure on Ukraine. It warned that Ukrainian agriculture was in a critical situation. But the management ignored this request [25, p. 14].

One of the statements regarding the situation in Ukraine: "...The most important thing is now Ukraine. Things are getting out of hand in Ukraine. Bad along the party line. They say that in two regions of Ukraine (say, in Kyiv and Dnipropetrovsk), about 50 district committees have spoken out against the bread procurement plan, deeming it unrealistic. In other district committees, the situation is not better, as they say. What does it look like? This is not a party, but a parliament, a caricature of the parliament. Instead of leading the districts, Kosyor constantly maneuvered between the directives of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) and the demands of the district committees, and now he maneuvered to the pen. Lenin correctly said that a person who does not have the courage to go against the flow at the right moment cannot be a real Bolshevik leader. Bad along the lines of the Soviet. Chubar is not a leader. Bad along the GPU line. It is not up to Redens to lead the fight against the counter-revolution in such a large and unique republic as Ukraine" [26].



By the end of 1932, more than 70% of peasant farms were collectivized. But no one canceled the bread procurement plan. During January-November 1930, Ukrainian peasants gave the state 400 million poods. of bread, and for the same period of 1931 – 380 million poods. That is why the peasants hid bread. Starting from 1931, even their seed reserves were taken [22, p. 27].

The discontent of the villagers erupts into a riot, they set fire to the houses and buildings of the village activists who carried out the forcible seizure of food, as evidenced by archival documents: the house of the head of the collective farm was burned. The head of the collective farm himself and his activists beat a collective farm worker [27, sheet. 10].

A general famine begins in 44 districts of Ukraine with numerous human losses. In comparison with 1931, the authorities raised the grain procurement plan in 1932 by 44%. This decision and the brutality with which the withdrawal of food was carried out led to a famine that was essentially artificial. Repression began against collective farm workers who hid the true size of the harvest.

The resolution "On the protection of the property of state enterprises, collective farms and cooperatives and on the strengthening of public (socialist) property", which was adopted on August 7, 1932, freed the hands of the authorities regarding the ways and methods of exterminating Ukrainians. This law was popularly called the "Law of five ears of corn." Peasants and their children who tried to pluck a few ears of wheat or rye that had not yet ripened to bring to their parents or children were sentenced to be shot or imprisoned for 10 years [26].

Witnesses of the 1932-1933 famine noted that girls wove ears of wheat into braids and thus brought some home, but it was very risky, because if they were caught, they would be immediately sent to prison [12, p. 40].

In the fall of 1932, the commission began to seize the last bread from the peasants by cruel methods [1, p. 38].

From November 1 to February 1, 1933, this commission reported on the "procurement" of 104.6 million pounds. grain Everything was taken from the peasants: not only bread, but also breadcrumbs, potatoes, lard, pickles, beans, peas, onions, beets,

that is, all food supplies. There are no stocks left. As a result, the excess of human losses over births began already in the Ukrainian village from October 1932. The apogee of the famine occurred in June 1933, when statistical authorities registered a tenfold greater number of physical losses in the village.

In November 1932, Vsevolod Balitsky was part of a large group in Kharkiv. Before the trip, he was given a task, which he soon announced in operational order № 1 dated December 5. The order began with the statement that in Ukraine there is "organized sabotage of grain harvests and autumn sowing, organized mass thefts in collective farms and state farms, terror against the most stable and resilient communists and activists in the countryside, overturning dozens of Petliur emissaries, distribution of Petliur leaflets."

Hence the conclusion about "the unconditional existence of an organized counter-revolutionary insurgent underground in Ukraine, which is connected with foreign countries and foreign intelligence, mainly the Polish General Staff." The version about foreign intelligence was presented to intimidate the party-Soviet nomenclature, which was supposed to assist the center in the execution of the future action. On February 13, 1933, when the campaign to confiscate everything edible in Ukrainian villages had already ended, V. Balitsky in order № 2 reported on the exposure of the counter-revolutionary underground in 200 districts [13, p. 13-14].

A letter was sent to the secret department of the Kozyatyn district committee, which was found near the door of the village council. And there is a poem in it: "Ukraine cried small tears when our bread was taken away from Muscovite by trains. Oh, who will feed us gray-haired, poor, hungry, working, tireless. Speculators - good people in Moscow buy bread, and peasants in Sov do it every day, starve. The peasant party loves us, rages day and night. Do faster, do more. Moscow is starving. Who does not want to do it here, we will judge. Let him know and remember how to live in the Union.

Those who do not want to work, we will pay them. We will not let the bourgeois in Moscow disappear. Eh, if it was Moscow alone, then we would finish it, and that Leningrad would also be driven to the grave" [27, sheet. 22].

Ukrainian villages found themselves in military-administrative isolation, which proves an act of genocide, because the villagers were deprived of the possibility of survival, migration, and finding other sources and means of livelihood outside the village. On December 27, 1932, a unified passport regime was introduced on the territory of the USSR in accordance with the resolution "On the establishment of a unified passport system in the Union of the SSR and mandatory registration of passports", which de facto and legally deprived peasants of the right to obtain passports, and therefore the possibility of movement and employment [3, p. 37].

90 districts that were listed on the "black" board were surrounded by internal troops [22, p. 29]. No one could leave there, and no food was brought there. If it was possible to get out of such a village, then the return was not always joyful. In cities, it was forbidden to sell bread to villagers, they could not buy clothes, shoes, even salt and matches, and peasants were forbidden to hire themselves. So the Chekists dealt with those who managed to get to the city, exchange things for food and return under the wagons, in vestibules. They were thrown out right on the go. There were so many corpses that they did not have time to receive them. It was ordered to throw everyone into the well, and then to fall asleep [22, p. 30].

Autumn of 1932. All the grain was taken away from the collective farm, and people got nothing for their work again. There are almost no single farms left. Who were forced into collective farms, who were taken to Siberia. These are the memories of Oleksiy Reznikov, a resident of the town of Illintsi in Vinnytsia region [13, p. 139].

People began to swell from hunger. But parents and children tried to find buds, twigs, stalks in the fields and in the forest. Then they pounded, brewed and ate. Some parents, in order for their children to survive, gave the last piece of bread to them, while they themselves became bloated from hunger. Detachments in order to implement the bread procurement plan shook out everything - from pantries, bins, pots, mittens. Even what was cooked was taken away. If any of the team members suspected that the owner had buried the grain, they used metal rods to check the yard, vegetable garden, hay, and straw. The so-called "troika" operated in the village. These are the representatives of the authorities who could kill a peasant dissatisfied with the authorities without a

trial or investigation. Everyone was afraid of them and tried not to argue with one or another established order [12, p. 16].

From the recollections of a resident of the Bar district of the Vinnytsia region, "They took not only grain, but also clothes from the chest, linen, home-made cloth, pillows were sold for nothing, and the money seemed to be handed over to the money tax of the district finance department, and even then it went somewhere. I wanted to eat day and night, it seemed that I would never be full" [13, p. 128].

It was in those families where there were babies or small children that the activists took away everything and laughed. The most terrible thing is that there was no stranger among them, all of them were their own.

Maryna Sychenko, born in 1925, from the town of Boyarka, expressed the opinion that "if a soul could be taken away, the communists would have stolen it." She spoke about the fact that the Holodomor is such a terrible thing that those who remain alive will remember it until their death. Everything was taken from people. In 1933, entire villages were left without people. From the villages, people went to the district in the hope of finding at least a potato husk. But nothing was true anymore. People fell on the move [13, p. 306].

The famine began in the fall of 1932, but the spring of 1933 was the hardest [12, p. 41-42].

People in search of a better life and at least some food secretly tried to reach Belarus by train. Most of them could not stand the long journey in cold freight cars and froze before reaching the place of rescue [28, p. 29].

In Ukraine in 1932-1933, the population decreased by 17 people every minute, 1,000 every hour, 25,000 every day. 90% of human losses occurred in 1933 [29, p. 392].

Activists took away all edible food, for the fact that children went to collect ears of corn, village activists beat them severely, they became disabled for life. In order to hide even a little bit of grain, people built a wall in order to pour grain into a niche between the wall and the wall. Officials knocked on the walls. If they found a find,

they took away both the grain and the owner. In the summer, hungry people ate raw mushrooms, and even poisonous ones [32, p. 32-33].

This famine lasted for two years. In terms of its anti-Ukrainian orientation and scale of application, the famine of 1933 turned out to be the most terrible weapon of mass destruction and social enslavement of the peasantry.

At the end of December 1933, the planned resettlement of people from the Horkiv, Bryansk, and Ivanivka regions, the Central Black Earth region, and from Belarus to Odesk, Kharkiv, and Dnipropetrovsk regions was carried out in Ukraine, depopulated by famine: 329 echelons, 21,856 households, 117,149 family members, 14,879 horses, 21,896 cows and 38,702 heads of various livestock [33, p. 112].

Russian and Belarusian collective farm workers did not want to go to the south of Ukraine, because they knew about the famine and the typhus epidemic in Ukrainian villages. The displaced people also suffered because they did not receive the promised "paradise", and the surrounding hungry peasants stole their leftover bread. In the Kuban, where Ukrainian bread growers also lived, 14 thousand demobilized Red Army soldiers were settled to fill the devastated villages [3, p. 39].

Victims of the Holodomor-genocide suffered much more complex physiological and psychological disorders. In 1932-1933, as a result of the criminal actions of the communist totalitarian regime, Ukrainians were constantly in a state of frustration, accompanied by anger, despair, guilt, and loss of self-control. People suffered from mental disorders due to hunger, their consciousness was clouded, their thinking, will, and memory were disturbed. The surrounding reality caused panic fear among some people. The intensity of the psychological crisis grew gradually and reached its peak in the winter of 1932-1933, when Ukrainians understood the insurmountable nature of the current situation and were in a state of complete mental breakdown.

The strength and scale of the suffering of the Ukrainians was beyond the limits of the adaptive resources of the psyche. People quite quickly lost the basic vital functions, experienced psychological and moral destruction, their psychological protection mechanism gradually disappeared, moral constants atrophied, the desire to

save themselves at any cost grew, and the survival instinct dominated. In a crisis situation, the entire system of self-regulation is disrupted, which in other conditions ensures the synchronous operation of the rational and irrational in the human psyche [11, p. 162-163].

It is this in 1932-1933 that explains the rare cases of psychological breakdown, violation of moral standards, which is confirmed by archival documents from many regions of Ukraine, materials of national books of memory. Such cases in liminal states were the highest phase of deformation of human consciousness.

The results of the psychological and physiological consequences of the hunger strike, the memories of witnesses, victims of the 1932-1933 genocide, the stories of their children and grandchildren, recorded by investigators, historians and researchers, enabled experts to comprehensively analyze the distant psychological phenomenon and transgenerational (intergenerational) consequences of the genocide.

The crime of genocide left deep psychological consequences in the memory and consciousness of the descendants of the victims.

According to the researchers, the trauma of genocide is one of the most difficult among other types of collective trauma, which takes the longest to heal. For a long time, Ukrainian society was unable to cope with collective trauma, as mass repressions, executions, deportations continued against Ukrainians, and a mechanism aimed at the complete destruction of the Ukrainian nation was working. Therefore, even today, the transgenerational transfer of collective trauma to the next generations, who experience it as their own, with the corresponding consequences, takes place. Collective trauma is not limited in space and lasted in time.

One of the consequences of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 is the loss of individual and collective memory, and therefore the historical truth about the crime of genocide. For more than half a century, the Ukrainian nation had no right to speak the truth about this crime, which blocked the moral progress of society.

According to the conclusion of the comprehensive forensic psychological examination № 503 dated September 9, 2020, it was established that the crime of genocide of Ukrainians committed by the totalitarian regime in 1932-1933 led to a

breakdown of the psyche, which has far-reaching consequences - psychological trauma for its immediate victims and signs of transgenerational transmission her future generations. The Holodomor-genocide caused the physical, spiritual, moral and psychological destruction of the Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian identity [10, p. 540].

Holodomor researcher J. Mace called modern Ukrainian society post-genocidal. And this means not having memory, feelings and aspirations.

S. Onufriev considers the famine to be a historical trauma experienced by a large number of people in a certain territory, and which does not end within one generation, but lasts at least three generations, or even more. He notes that trauma should be talked about and talked about constantly, because the first generation is silent, the second grows up as if offended, because it seems that it does not receive enough attention, it is unloved. The third generation begins to feel guilty [34, p. 304].

The search for the causes of the famine continues to this day. But the majority of research scientists believe that the Holodomor in Ukraine was organized to stop the implementation of the "Ukrainization" policy.

In the mid-1930s, the Russian language and culture were once again undoubtedly at the top of the unofficial hierarchy. First of all, representatives of the Ukrainian church, culture, science and politics were persecuted, imprisoned and mass-murdered by the Soviet secret police in order to destroy the bearers of cultural identity. Ukrainian national communists were also persecuted. With the policy of forced collectivization, Ukrainian women farmers who resisted violent requisitions were persecuted and brutally oppressed.

Ukraine was important to the Soviet leadership as a territory, and also had an extremely important economic importance - Ukraine, together with the Kuban, produced most of the grain of the Soviet Union - had to be under the strict control of the Soviet center of power in Moscow. So it turns out that the goal of the political crime of the Holodomor was the desire of the Soviet leadership to control and suppress the peasants. All of Ukraine suffered from famine and repression, not only its agricultural regions [12, p. 322].

The Ukrainian population, which was partially destroyed and weakened, obeyed and continued to unconditionally obey the orders of the authorities. This so-called "victory" is marked by the words: "Life has become better, more fun" [5, p. 30].

### **2.3 Demographic losses of Ukrainians in 1932-1933 as a result of the genocide of the Stalinist regime**

The number of Holodomor victims is a debatable issue among researchers and politicians. Demographic losses of the population include: direct demographic losses, which are defined as the difference between the real number of deaths and their hypothetical number; birth deficit (indirect losses) – the difference between the hypothetical (in the absence of famine) and the actual number of births.

Today it is difficult to name the exact number of victims of the famine. According to the calculations of Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Kulchytskyi, losses as a result of the Holodomor of 1932-33 amount to 3 million people [2, p. 27].

Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Serhiychuk notes that the demographic losses for the period 1932-1934 reached 7 million people [6, p. 181].

According to the results of research conducted by the Institute of Demography and Social Research named after M.I. Birds of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the total number of human losses in 1932-1934 is estimated at 4.5 million people, of which 3.94 million people are losses due to direct demographic losses from the Holodomor, 0.6 million people are unborn, - notes N. Levchuk [6, p. 103].

The Holodomor of the early 1930s of the XX century. led to a demographic catastrophe (population decline).

The population of Ukraine at the beginning of 1932 was 31.4 million people, and in the same period of 1934 - only 27.8 million people. It was possible to restore the number of the population in 32 only after 9.5 years [35, p. 5].

With the analysis of demographic losses during the Holodomor by the scientist S. Maksudov, the most terrible famine was experienced by the majority of the rural population of Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and Kazakhstan [5, p. 28-29]. The criminal nature of the authorities characterizes the huge direct losses of children in 1932-1933,



which were a direct consequence of the famine. Among children aged 0-14, losses amount to almost 1.7 million people, of which 1.6 million are in the countryside. It is calculated that as a result of the Holodomor, every seventh child was prematurely lost, and in the village – every sixth [35, p. 5].

During one year in Ukraine, losses among Ukrainians amounted to the same amount as Jews in all countries that were occupied by fascist Germany [1, p. 11].

Professor Y. Shapoval notes that in recent years the most controversial issues were the demographic and statistical dimension of this period. One group of scientists proves that 10 million people became victims of the Holodomor, others call the number 7 million. Scientific and statistical studies of the Institute of Demography give a figure of more than 4 million. This is a real confirmation of the victims. Research will continue, so this figure may be different, it may even increase [36].

According to statistical data on the number of the population, which were compiled in the second half of the 30s, it is noted that the demographic statistics revealed a threatening trend of depopulation. It is reported that 1933 was the year of an extraordinary decrease in the number of the population in Ukraine. This is reflected in the decrease in population growth. If in 1926-1929 the population growth was 534,000 people, then at the beginning of 1934 it decreased to 88,000 people [3, p. 137].

In the "Holod" report of June 22, 1933, S. Gradenigo indicates that government representatives admitted that human losses in Ukraine alone amounted to 9 million people.

On September 19, 1933, Otto Schiller, the agricultural attaché at the German Embassy in Moscow, reported on the famine in the Soviet Union about the scale of population decline, which reached 25-30%, and the figure of 10 million victims of famine is not an exaggeration [11, with. 184]. According to the results of the calculations made by the scientists of the Institute of Demography, the estimation of direct population losses due to famine in the regions of the USSR is presented in three sections: all population, urban, rural. Losses due to direct demographic losses, according to research by scientists, for the Ukrainian Republic amounted to 3.9 million

people in 1932–1934, namely: 250,000 in 1932; 3529.2 thousand - in 1933; 163.3 thousand - in 1934.

Statistical indicators record that the majority of losses in all regions of Ukraine occurred precisely in 1933. In particular, in Donetsk - 76%, Chernihiv - 81%, Moldavian ASRR - 85% of losses. The highest rate of absolute losses due to direct demographic losses was recorded in the Kyiv region, which reached 1110.8 thousand people. Already in 1934, the relative indicators of losses were lower than in 1932 in almost all regions [35, p. 5].

Speaking about direct losses among the population, it is necessary to note their predominance among men, who account for approximately 2.4 million (61%). Losses due to direct demographic losses in 1933 per 100 people were 153.3 for men and 88.4 for women [35, p. 5]. So, total losses due to direct demographic losses in 1932–1934 amounted to about 13% of the total population of the USSR in 1933. Losses due to direct demographic losses of the urban population amounted to 293 thousand, including 49,000 in 1932 r.; 194.0 thousand - in 1933; 51.0 thousand - in 1934. And among the urban population, a decrease in its number is noted. 66% of losses in cities occurred in 1933. Relative losses due to direct demographic losses among the urban population are 7.0 - in 1932; 26.8 – in 1933; 6.9 – in 1934 and almost 40 – for the period 1932–1934 (per 1,000 population). Of the total number of losses due to direct demographic losses of 3.9 million people, rural residents account for 3.6 million people, 91% of whom - in 1933. Direct annual losses per 1,000 people of the rural population amount to 8.5 - in 1932; 150 – in 1933; 5.6 - in 1934. Cumulative losses for 1932–1934 reach almost 164 per 1,000 people. These data were calculated by the author's team of scientists of the Institute of Demography and Scientific Research named after Birds N.M. Levchuk, T.G. Buryak, O. Volovyna, O.P. Rudnytskyi, A.B. Kovbasiuk [6, p. 100].

Petro Yashchuk, a Ukrainian researcher of the Holodomor-genocide, collected unique materials from the history of the 20th century. about the extermination of the Ukrainian nation. In calculating the losses of Ukrainians during 1932-1933, he relies on the testimony of the People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR M. Skrypnyk, who even before the end of the Holodomor spoke about 8 million human

losses due to famine in Ukraine and the North Caucasus. Having made calculations, P. Yaschuk concluded that during 1932-1933, direct demographic losses in Ukraine alone reached more than 9 million Ukrainians [11, p. 185].

The President of Ukraine, L. Kravchuk, stated that the number of Ukrainian casualties in 1932-1933 was up to 10 million, a third of which were children. He claimed that outside the USSR, the Holodomor was organized by the totalitarian regime in the Kuban and mostly in the southern regions of the Kursk and Voronezh regions, that is, in regions where Ukrainians mainly lived.

Along with the catastrophic rise in mortality in 1932-1933, there was a sudden drop in the birth rate in Ukraine. Thus, in 1934, 561.6 thousand children were born, which is 1.8 times less than in 1931 [15, p. 274].

According to research results, indirect losses of the population of the USSR as a result of the famine of 1932-1933 amounted to 586,000 people, including 519,100 people in cities and 66,900 people in villages. And the deficit of births per 1,000 people among the urban population is 9.1, and among the rural - 23.4. The study shows that the shortage of births in cities is significantly lower than in villages, which is noted in the indicators of 1933 and 1934 [6, p. 101-102].

What is the reason for such indicators? Scientists note that the reduction in the contingent of women giving birth occurred as a result of the loss of a significant number of women of childbearing age due to starvation, as well as that in conditions of famine, the number of conceptions decreases and the risk of pregnancy increases, which leads to a sharp drop in the birth rate. Therefore, demographers include such a component as the unborn to indirect costs [35, p. 5].

In their research, most scientists focused more on the losses among the rural population of Ukraine, paying less attention to the city dwellers, who were also starving and, accordingly, suffered losses, although much smaller.

Scientists believe that the famine had both a class and a national character. According to the research of Professor S. Kulchytsky, based on the statistical data of the Registry Office, it is noted that among the registered human losses, the share of Ukrainians is the largest (1552.2 thousand people). Moldovans (16.1%), Poles

(20.7%), Germans (13.2%) and Bulgarians (7.7%) lived almost entirely in villages. Jews (27.04%) mostly settled in cities. The vast majority of Russians (85%) lived in cities [36, p. 509].

The American historian T. Snyder notes that according to the 1937 census, the number decreased by 8 million people. He expresses the opinion that the demographic losses of Ukrainians during this period range from 3.3 to 3.9 million people [9, p. 82].

The decrease in the number of Ukrainians was also recorded based on the analysis of the population censuses of 1926 and 1937. The first All-Russian population census was conducted in 1926. According to this census, the entire population of the USSR was 147 million people, of which 77 million 800 thousand people (52.9%) - Russians and 31 million 200 thousand people (21.2%) - Ukrainians.

The next All-Union population census was conducted in 1937. According to the results of the 1937 census, Russians numbered 93,900,000, and Ukrainians – 26,400,000. The results were so dangerous for the communist totalitarian regime that the census was classified, and the leaders and organizers shot [10, p. 566-567].

Experts analyzed the data of the State Committee of Statistics and came to the conclusion that for 11 years (from 1926 to 1937) the percentage of increase in the number of Russians was 20.8%, and the percentage of Ukrainians decreased by 15.3%, which is noted in Table 1.

Table 1.

**National composition of the USSR according to census data**

National composition of the USSR	1926, million people	1937, million people	% until 1926.
All population	147027,9 thousand	161753,2 thousand	+10,0
Russians	77791,1 thousand	93933,1 thousand	+20,8
Ukrainians	31195,0 thousand	26421,2 thousand	-15,3

As can be seen from Table 1, experts, using the methods of statistics, historical demography and sociology, determined that from 1926 to 1937 the number of the Ukrainian ethnic group in the USSR should have increased by at least 21%, i.e. reached 37.8 million people. The difference between the two censuses is equal to 11.4 million

people and shows the number of losses of the Ukrainian nation. This is one of the proofs of the genocide of Ukrainians committed by the totalitarian regime.

The American researcher J. Mace believes that since December 1932, the famine was connected with the campaign against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, as a result of which the Ukrainian elite was practically destroyed.

Professor of Harvard University, doctor of historical sciences, Serhii Plokhii noted that the attack on the Ukrainian peasantry went hand in hand with the attack on Ukrainian culture and identity. The famine that began in Ukraine after the issuance of the Politburo resolution on grain procurement and Ukrainization was a consequence not only of Stalin's policy towards the peasantry and party cadres, but also of changes in national policy that equated resistance to grain procurement with nationalism [37, p. 328].

It should be noted that in 1986-1987 a special commission was created and worked in Ukraine under the leadership. According to the results of the commission's work, it was established that in 1932-1933, human losses from famine in Ukraine amounted to 13 million [11, p. 58].

The conclusion of the complex judicial historical-linguistic examination of November 10, 2020 № 307/379, conducted by the Institute of the Ukrainian Language of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the National Museum of the Holodomor-Genocide and the "Holodomor Research Institute" branch of the National Museum of the Holodomor-Genocide established the proper name of the crime of genocide committed in 1932-1933 by a totalitarian regime against the Ukrainian nation. - Holodomor. The term mass artificial famines is used to describe the famines of 1921-1922, 1932-1933, and 1946-1947 in Ukraine committed by the communist totalitarian regime against Ukrainians;

- the conclusion of the complex judicial statistical and forensic examination № 957 of December 3, 2020, conducted by the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine and the "Holodomor Research Institute" branch of the National Holodomor Genocide Museum, established that during the commission of the crime of genocide in 1932-1933 in the USSR and on historical ethnic lands and places of compact residence

of Ukrainians in the USSR, the population decreased by 10 million 500 thousand Ukrainians;

- the conclusion of the comprehensive judicial statistical and forensic examination № 525 of December 3, 2020, conducted by the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine and the "Holodomor Research Institute" branch of the National Holodomor Genocide Museum, established that the loss of 85-95 percent of Ukrainians in 1932-1933 . is directly related to hunger and the complications or diseases that accompany it (hunger).

On September 7, 2021, the International Forum "Mass artificial famines: we remember, we honor" was held in Kyiv. At the event, materials were presented that fundamentally change the generally accepted ideas about the crimes of the totalitarian regime against the Ukrainian nation.

The event is dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the mass artificial famine of 1921–1923 and the 75th anniversary of the mass artificial famine of 1946–1947 and the genocidal famine of 1932–33. The Forum was attended by representatives of the Verkhovna Rada and the Government of Ukraine, international and non-governmental organizations , scientific community, leaders of public opinion of Ukraine, religious figures. A complex judicial historical and forensic examination established that during the commission of the crime of genocide in 1932–1933 in the USSR and on ethnic lands and places of compact residence in the USSR, the number of Ukrainians decreased by 10 million 500 thousand, of which 4 million were children.

We are for scientists of different schools and approaches to argue ad infinitum, proving their rightness. As a result, the truth should be established, with which most experts will agree. However, stretching arguments for your political thesis to prove that our Holodomor is more terrible than the Holocaust is an extremely harmful approach. And he will harm the world recognition of our tragedy. Sensational conclusions of complex forensic examinations about 10.5 million victims were made public on September 7 in Kyiv at the International Forum "Mass Artificial Famines: We Remember, We Commemorate."

Expert examinations were appointed under a new criminal proceeding regarding the genocide of Ukrainians in 1932–33. A new investigation into this case was initiated by the Holodomor Museum in October 2019. The calculation methodology has not yet been published as a scientific paper (but is planned to be soon).

The Institute of Demography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine is extremely skeptical about the figure of 10.5 million victims (detailed reviews are still being prepared). Currently, the only printed source of information about the methodology of examinations is the book "Genocide of Ukrainians 1932-33. According to the materials of judicial investigations", published by the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine and the Holodomor Museum.

The results of the analysis of documents from Ukrainian and foreign archives, testimonies of eyewitnesses and victims of the crime of genocide, reports and official letters of foreign diplomats; publications of foreign journalists, statistical sources; research materials of demographers, statisticians of the 1930s, research of modern Ukrainian and foreign scientists testify to the destruction of up to 16 million Ukrainians in 1932-1933 [10, p. 573].

In the course of the complex judicial statistical and forensic examination № 957 of December 3, 2020, which established that during the commission of the crime of genocide in 1932-1933, the number of Ukrainians decreased by 9 million 108 thousand 500 in the USSR and 1 million 391 thousand 500 Ukrainians outside the USSR. A total of 10 million 500 thousand Ukrainians [10, p. 575].

The expert commission agrees with the results of the complex judicial statistical and forensic examination, using forensic, historical and statistical methods, conducted a thorough investigation of scientific works, studies, historical and statistical sources, came to the conclusion that the number of Ukrainians in the USSR decreased by 9 million 108 thousand 500.

The tragedy of the famine of 1932-33 should become the main lesson for us today. We must remember our past and do everything to get the Ukrainian village back on its feet.

## **Conclusions**

In conclusion, it should be noted that history repeats itself.

In 1932-1933, the physical and moral and ethical destruction of the Ukrainian ethnic group took place. Hunger made people submissive, or worse, insane. Hungry people committed serious crimes. It was hunger psychosis - an unprecedented social phenomenon.

The Holodomor-genocide became an integral part of the total struggle against Ukrainianness, Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian language, and traditions not only in Ukraine itself, but also in the entire USSR (Kuban, Volga, Kazakhstan, Caucasus), where Ukrainians lived.

For Ukraine, the Holodomor is a deeply traumatic, cruel and painful page in its history. The Holodomor shaped the national consciousness of a large European country that broke away from the Soviet past. The Holodomor is part of the common history of Europeans. Therefore, we consider it our duty to spread knowledge about this crime against humanity and facilitate its necessary further prosecution.

The crime of genocide left deep psychological consequences in the memory and consciousness of the victims.

The communist regime's repressive policy of concealing the truth about the crime of genocide and destroying historical memory led to further traumatization of the Ukrainian nation. The lack of memory of the crime of genocide among Ukrainians has led to political and moral discomfort and a split in the national consciousness of modern Ukrainian society.

The mass deportations organized by the totalitarian regime of the USSR, the way they were carried out and the living conditions in the new places of resettlement led to a significant increase in mortality among Ukrainians, which, according to international law, is considered a manifestation (component) of genocide.

The issue of losses of Ukrainians in 1932-1933 outside the USSR in historical territories and in places of their compact residence in the USSR requires additional research.



The causes of the famine disaster should not be sought in natural factors, i.e. a bad harvest. Even if, contrary to all official or unofficial estimates, it is assumed that the harvest was very low, it would have been enough, if not for a sufficient supply of food, then at least to avoid a mass extinction, if it had been reasonably distributed. The export of grain, in which peasants often see the cause of famine, is not so significant compared to the total harvest that it can explain the catastrophic food situation. In 1933, exports accounted for 1.3 million tons, while the probable total harvest was 60 million tons. It is unlikely that the reason for the famine could also be the increase in state grain reserves for the needs of the army, if only because the capacity of all state granaries could not be so quickly to increase

It should also not be forgotten that hunger and destitution caused irreparable damage to the health of the population of the affected areas. This especially affected children, many of whom, crippled by hunger, could hardly grow up as normal children.

Although the manifestations of famine are the same throughout the territory covered by it, the extent of the damage in places still varies. The territories of Western Ukraine and many regions of the North Caucasus were particularly badly affected. In these areas most affected by the famine, there was a massive decrease in the number of the population and the decline of the villages, which caused significant damage to agriculture.

Therefore, the Day of Remembrance of the victims of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 became a day of great national sorrow for Ukrainians. Hunger became the main element of the policy of genocide of the Ukrainian people, and therefore we must remember our past and do everything to ensure that this tragedy never happens again. A large number of historians, not only Ukrainian, but also foreign, do not abandon the study of the main causes and demographic consequences of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, continuing to research them.

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