

The Holodomor Series

Hennadii Boriak

Ukrainian Studies Fund

*Sources for the Study of the Great Famine
in Ukraine*

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Hennadii Boriak

Introduction by Mark von Hagen

Ukrainian Studies Fund
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE GREAT FAMINE IN UKRAINE.

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FOREWORD

The massive famine that took place in 1932-1933 in Ukraine and the regions of Kuban settled by Ukrainians has emerged as a determinative event in 20th century European history. The Stalin regime's attempt to implement its draconian policies and assert its authority over Ukrainian territories, using food as a weapon, had profound demographic, social, and political consequences that remain visible today. In the Ukrainian language there is a special term to describe these events: Holodomor. It literally means "widespread death by hunger". It is impossible to understand Soviet history and the Soviet's use of power without considering the Holodomor.

More than 75 years have passed since these tragic events, but not enough is known about them. In order to provide the public with specialized studies about the Holodomor and related periods of Soviet and East European history the Ukrainian Studies Fund, with the help of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, has initiated the Holodomor series. We hope that this series will increase public awareness and provide a deeper understanding of this twentieth century tragedy.

Ukrainian Studies Fund
Cambridge, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

Hennadii Boriak, former head of the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine and currently department head for specialized research and electronic resources at the Institute of History (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), presents here two essays that serve as an indispensable guide to the state of archival holdings, primarily in Ukraine but also abroad, that treat the history of the 1932-33 famine-genocide in Ukraine. As Boriak reminds us, until the late 1980s, the Soviet ban on even mention of the famine left scholars with a narrow source base that left many questions impossible to research. That source base was preserved thanks to the determined efforts of scholars and activists in the Ukrainian diaspora, above all the oral histories that are discussed below; also important were the eyewitness reports of foreigners, including diplomats, journalists and tourists. The late 1980s saw the publication of the first archival documents and the entry of the famine as a scholarly and political issue in late Soviet and then independent Ukraine. Two heads of the State Committee on Archives deserve the overwhelming credit for the unprecedented access to the archives now enjoyed by scholars: Ruslan Pyrih, one of the first heads of archives in independent Ukraine and a scholar of the famine-genocide himself, and his successor, the author of these two important essays, Hennadii Boriak.

We were only recently reminded that the fate of these archives is not irreversibly secure; when the Ukrainian government appointed Olha Ginzburg, a Communist former deputy to the Rada, to replace Boriak, he resigned in protest after a period of attempted accommodation with the new authorities. For those of us who have had the great pleasure of working with Boriak and relying on his scholarly judgment and expertise, his demotion was understood as an alarm signal for historians of Ukraine. We didn't have to wait long for our fears to be vindicated. One of the most egregious acts of the new head was to shut down the website on the *holodomor* that had been painstakingly assembled under Boriak's leadership; Ginzburg did not

deem the famine to be an appropriate topic for Ukrainian history. Such an attitude was characteristic of her views of the Soviet period more broadly, and Stalinism more specifically. Only after several months of protest from within and without Ukraine was the government persuaded to remove Ginzburg from this post.

Ginzburg's views are worth noting because they are not hers alone; at a minimum, they are shared most vocally by the Communist Party of Ukraine's membership and its leader, Petro Symonenko. In other words, the famine-genocide has not moved comfortably from the realm of Soviet taboo to dispassionate scholarly analysis, though significant progress has been made with the expanded archival access. Today famine research is threatened by a new historical-diplomatic conflict between Ukraine and Russia. President Victor Yushchenko's government has launched a vigorous diplomatic campaign to win international recognition for Ukraine's famine as a genocide. Though Ukraine's campaign has won adherents among several individual states, it has so far failed at the level of international organizations, including the United Nations, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In July 2008 the parliamentary assembly of the OSCE recognized the tragedy of the man-made famine and attributed the deaths of millions of innocent victims to the Stalinist totalitarian regime, but was blocked from declaring the famine a genocide by an equally vigorous diplomatic campaign waged by Russia.

Russia, together with Kazakstan, another nation whose population suffered tremendous losses from famine, resisted the Ukrainian move on the grounds that there was no evidence that the famine was ethnically targeted, but rather was a tragedy shared equally by the entire Soviet people. That was the message of a recent resolution of the Russian State Duma and has been the standard comment on this issue from the President, Prime Minister, and Foreign Minister, as well as several leading Russian politicians and pundits. And, as Boriak's essay reminds us, the head of the Russian Archive Service has framed any Ukrainian-Russian archival collaboration and any research on the famine in general along these lines of shared tragedy and the denial of any distinctive Ukrainian aspects of the tragedy — even, as Boriak points out, before any substantial research has been done. Moreover, Russia's chief archivist, in his instructions, repeats a standard accusation from the Soviet period, namely, that “anti-Soviet organizations. . . used the existence of the Holodomor in the USSR to achieve their propaganda aims.” Russian scholars, most notably the team of Viktor Danilov, who assembled the monumental five-volume *Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside* (volume three covers the famine years), had remarkable access to archives when they

started their research and publication, but that access diminished over the years too, as new archival regimes were implemented in Russian repositories. It is likely that the *Tragedy* will be the last major Russian scholarly publication on the famine for the foreseeable future.

Today's bitter polarization over the famine is part of the continuing legacy of the initial politicization of the famine itself and the way the regime chose to preserve, and then to classify as secret, the records at the time and since. Starting with the very documents that were meant to record cause of death, the local offices of ZAGS (Registry of Vital Statistics) were instructed not to list famine as cause of death, but to substitute any of a number of approved diseases. Boriak's essay includes a reproduction of such instructions, as well as a remarkable document that had originally listed famine as cause of death, only to be later visibly "corrected" to "unknown." He also discusses several cases of subsequent orders for the local ZAGS offices to clean up their records and remove those from the fatal years, including a remarkable "top secret" instruction dated April 1934 from the Odesa Oblast Executive Committee to all lower-level executive committees to remove from their files any evidence of crimes against the Ukrainian peasantry. Elsewhere, there is documentary evidence of initially high estimates of death being arbitrarily reduced in reports of local authorities. Such politically motivated tampering with the documentary evidence is one of the many reasons that historians and demographers will find it very difficult—if not ultimately impossible—to settle the highly contested issue of the number of famine victims over these years in Ukraine and among Ukrainian citizens of the Soviet Union in nearby regions, such as the Kuban'. And, of course, the collections that preserved records of the famine shared in the fate of nearly all Ukrainian archives during World War II, destroyed by one side or the other as the German and Soviet armies advanced and retreated more than once.

But there is another important lesson to be learned from Boriak's important history of the *holodomor* archives in Ukraine and Russia. Despite the regime's often fanatical obsession with secrecy and the destruction of evidence of its murderous policies in Ukraine, what *has* survived is so immense in the number of files, the scope of institutions and agencies, and in the variety of documents, that it can easily provide work for a couple of generations to come. The scope of the tragedy that started as collectivization and ended as famine-genocide was so huge that it was impossible for even a Stalinist police state to control the flow of information. The number of involved state and party agencies, from the republican to the village council level, was such that anywhere near complete control was a bureaucratic fantasy. And so, Boriak's essays are much more than a review of newly ac-

cessible collections; they are equally an ambitious research plan for future generations of historians, demographers, and others. He identifies completely new topics: such grisly ones as trial records, evidence, and sentences for thousands of cases of cannibalism; the efforts of Galician Ukrainians in eastern Poland to raise awareness and collect food aid for the victims in Soviet Ukraine; the records of Polish intelligence who took testimonies from thousands of Soviet Ukrainians able to flee across the border; the roles of the GPU (state police) in repressive actions and in surveillance of the prevailing moods and political attitudes in the countryside; letters sent from ordinary citizens and lower-level officials to newspapers and local and regional agencies with popular perceptions of the unfolding famine and appeals for help; and the fate of "special settlers" deported from Ukraine to Siberia, the Urals, and other places of exile to the east. The 75-year period of confidentiality has expired on the records of vital statistics in the civil registry files, thereby opening up the possibility of reconstructing micro-histories for hundreds of villages.

Boriak's essays are a tribute to the determined work of thousands of Ukrainian archivists who have accomplished the invaluable task of cataloguing tens of thousands of newly available documents, including photo and film footage from the period, nearly all previously unknown because they had been held in restrictive access collections until the late 1980s. All future historians will owe those archivists, and those who continue to work in often less than favorable conditions and with little financial reward, a deep debt of gratitude when they enter the archives in pursuit of their particular scholarly project.

The *holodomor* is a tragic chapter without which the history of modern Ukraine cannot be understood. I doubt that Ukrainian historians will so revise their history as to date the origins of modern Ukraine in the famine-genocide, as more and more historians of modern Ireland do with the Great Irish Famine of 1846-51. Still, the recently created Institute of National Memory in Kyiv has taken up the challenge of shaping a new historical narrative of the twentieth century and has focused its researchers' efforts on two periods that were most heavily censored and distorted during the Soviet period: Stalinism, including the famine-genocide, and World War II, including the Holocaust. Clearly the famine-genocide will occupy a more prominent role in future Ukrainian history books. Much work remains to be done. For scholars in the west, these two essays show many exciting new directions.

Mark von Hagen
December 2008
Tempe, Arizona

SOURCES AND RESOURCES ON THE FAMINE IN UKRAINE'S ARCHIVAL SYSTEM^{*‡}

HENNADII BORIAK

During the last few years the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine has developed and posted on the web a comprehensive database of documentary resources on the 1932–1933 Famine-Genocide in Ukraine. The site includes the pilot version of the “Electronic Archive of the Holodomor” with full texts of 1,500 documents from the state archives of Ukraine and Russia; the most comprehensive available set of photo and film documents on the Holodomor; related party leaders’ speeches; a full list of documentary online exhibitions posted on the web by state archival institutions; an online bibliography of source publications and surveys of sources; announcements on the latest source publications; documentary Internet resources; and other reference materials.¹

^{*} Reprinted from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 27 (2004–2005): 117–147.

[‡] This article is based on a paper delivered at the symposium “Breaking the Great Silence on Ukraine’s Terror-Famine on the 75th Commemoration of the Famine and the 25th Anniversary of the HURI Famine Project,” Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Mass., 30 November–1 December 2007. A video recording of the event is available at <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-4651663665332904756&hl=en> (accessed 16 April 2008). A shorter Ukrainian-language version of this article was published as “Arkhyvy Holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni: Suchasnyi stan ta perspektyvy doslidzhen,” *Konstanty* (Kherson), no. 1 (13) (2007): 3–13. See also “Holodomor Archives and Sources: The State of the Art,” *The Harriman Review* 16, no. 2 (November 2008) for an earlier version of the text.

¹ See the special section of the official web portal of the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, “Genotsyd ukrains'koho narodu: Holodomor 1932–1933 rr.,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/index.php> (also in English as “Genocide of the Ukrainian People: The 1932–1933 Famine,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/index-eng.php>). The “Electronic Archive of the Holodomor” comprises the core of this section; see <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/Publicat/>.

Today archivists and scholars are approaching the end of the second decade of intensive efforts to seek out, declassify, and make available these materials. The time has come to draw conclusions and at least pose, if not fully answer, the following questions: What is the documentary base for studying the Famine-Genocide? Is the information potential of this documentary base sufficient? What is the ratio between published and unpublished documents? Are there any as yet unstudied groups of documents? Should we expect sensational new archival discoveries? In other words, what is the state of the art of Holodomor archives and sources?

The next question is what should be done further. Which sources should be put on the agenda as priority items for researchers?

First of all, let us recall that in Ukraine *not a single archival document* about the Famine was published until the end of the 1980s. For over half a century, all Western historiography relied solely on oral evidence, episodic documents from diplomatic archives, materials from journalists, and sporadic photographs. Generally, this was the period of what can be called the “pre-archival” historiography of the Holodomor.

During the nearly two decades of “archival” historiography, we have learned that a great mass of written information, both secret and open, about the preconditions, causes, scale, and consequences of the Famine had been produced at all levels of state authority. Even though they were aware of the dangerous nature and content of these documents, central authorities were unable to establish total control over or prohibit the flow of papers “born of” the Holodomor, much less destroy them all. Party committees, governmental institutions, and newspaper editorial boards were deluged with letters, complaints, appeals, and statements about the real situation in rural regions.

The most precarious time for these documents was the initial period of their existence. It may safely be assumed that a significant part, mainly those related to the registration of illnesses and deaths in hospitals and village councils, was destroyed immediately, “while still hot.” Today we have in our possession documented, direct instructions issued by governing bodies ordering the destruction of such records,² and also evidence confirming the falsification of causes of death in civil registry and medical records of that time.³

² Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (hereafter TsDAVO), fond 318 (National Economic Survey Administration [*Upravlinnia narodnohospodars'koho obliku*], Kharkiv and Kyiv, 1923–1941), 1596 files (*spravy*).

³ See, for example, the death record from Antonivka village, Stavyshe raion, Kyiv oblast (21 June 1932), with the cause of death “died of starvation” crossed out and “unknown” added in its place (State Archives of Kyiv Oblast, fond 5634, opys 1, sprava 969, arkushi 86r–86v [hereafter op., spr., ark.]). See figures 2a and 2b.

Paradoxically, in the post–World War II period the preservation of republic- and all-Union-level documents in secret, controlled-access archival collections (*spetsfondy*) secured their conservation and integrity exceptionally well. In this instance, the regime itself rendered a service to future historians. By contrast, the documents of local authorities and regional institutions and organizations were regarded as inconsequential and thus “neglected,” never to be put into closed secret collections.

After the collapse of the communist regime, the archival administration of Ukraine undertook a disclosure of documents unrivaled in any other territory of the former USSR. This process has continued, and today the proportion of classified documents in the state archives of Ukraine (which stood at 0.55 percent at the end of 2006 and 0.47 percent at the end of 2007) is one of the lowest in Europe.⁴ Naturally, among the declassified materials, the documents related to the history of the 1932–1933 Holodomor were in greatest demand. They have become the principal source base for scholarly research into this painful topic and have helped to destroy numerous false myths of the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, in the maelstrom of political battles in present-day Ukraine, the source base for researching the Holodomor has become the object of numerous attempts to manipulate the facts. I would like to mention a few.

One of them, recently advanced by the Ukrainian communists, is very curious. Their leader, Petro Symonenko, cynically misconstruing documents of the higher party leadership, has included Stalin’s henchmen of the 1930s as being among the first to publish historical sources related to the Holodomor: “Communists were the first to provide information about the Famine in Ukraine. It was as early as 1933 that the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine published all of the most significant materials about the situation of 1932–33, not hiding the truth about these events.” Furthermore, the “archives expert” assuredly declares, “Today one cannot find a single document that proves that the Famine was an intentional policy to eradicate the peasantry,” and draws the conclusion, “Therefore, the position of the Communist Party today is the following: famine and tragedy did occur, but this was a tragedy not just of the Ukrainian nation, but of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and Ukraine.”⁵ His thesis is thus quite simple: there indeed was a famine, the

⁴ Regarding the declassification of archives, see the web portal of the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, “Rozsekrechuvannia arkhiviv,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Archives/Rozsekr-arch.php>.

⁵ See interview with the leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party conducted by Anton Zikora, “Symonenko vyznaie til’ky odyen henotsyd—‘Turechchyny proty Virmenii,’” *UNIAN*, 24 November 2006, <http://unian.net/news/print.php?id=174464> (accessed 28 April 2008). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

communists were the first to recognize the starvation, and they published all the relevant documents themselves. We can therefore close the books on the Holodomor archives.

Fittingly, the position of the Ukrainian communist leader fully coincides with the conception of another document—the guidelines proposed by the Russian Federal Archival Agency (Rosarkhiv) for a collaborative project titled “Famine in the USSR: 1932–33.” I would like to cite some of the cynical instructions contained in that document: “Considering the ‘Ukrainian factor,’ we should select the documents in such a way that they prove the universal character of the grain-requisitioning agricultural procurement process in 1932...in the crisis regions”; and “At the same time, document selection should be conducted in such a way as to portray a tragedy of the Soviet peasantry as a whole, without emphasizing Ukraine...To this end, one can publish a selection of civil registry offices’ certificates from the Volga region [Povolzh’e], with specific records of starvation deaths in the Lower and Middle Volga territories in 1933.” In other words, by selecting several examples of deaths by starvation in Ukraine, the Volga region, and the Northern Caucasus, the project could conclude that the entire USSR suffered from the Famine equally.⁶ Of course, there is no denying that famine struck other parts of the Soviet Union. However, this should in no way diminish the fact that Soviet authorities deliberately targeted ethnically Ukrainian rural areas with measures to ensure the starvation of the peasantry there, and that the devastation wreaked by this action was massive.

Moreover, in keeping with the best traditions of communist propaganda, the above document recommends emphasizing that “anti-Soviet organizations...used the existence of the Holodomor in the USSR to achieve their propaganda aims.” It is, obviously, in this way that the document’s authors expect us to interpret the efforts, in 1933, of the Ukrainian public in Western Ukraine to provide the world with information about the Holodomor. The author of this concept is Viktor Kondrashin, a professor at Penza University and director of the project. In a recent interview he characterized the Ukrainian law acknowledging the Holodomor as an act of genocide (adopted in November 2006) as “dancing on the bones of victims” and an attempt

⁶ The cited document is preserved in the author’s archives. See also facsimile publication of the guidelines for the above-mentioned project with comments: O. Palii, “Moskva nakazala Ianukovychu,” *Ekspres* (Lviv), 5–6 May, 2007.

by “certain political forces” to “line their pockets” using the history of the Famine.⁷

Ukrainian historians and archivists categorically rejected this approach and proposed instead to prepare a number of individual volumes of documents devoted to specific regions of the USSR, with relevant comments and conclusions in each volume. We insisted on distinguishing between famine resulting from state grain procurements, and *artificial* famine resulting from *grain procurements coupled with a total non-grain food requisition*. Our proposals were met with displeasure and labeled as an attempt to “blur the overall picture of this phenomenon [starvation] in the common history of the state that existed at that time.” “The differentiation between ‘famine’ [*holod*] and ‘famine-genocide’ [*Holodomor*] would not withstand scholarly criticism,” we were told, and then presented with the initial results of our Russian colleagues’ manipulation of source material: “Analysis of documents discovered in the Russian State Archive of the Economy that deal with vital statistics for 1933 has already shown that the correlation of mortality and birthrates in Ukraine and Russia in the epicenter of the Famine was roughly the same. *No unique distinction of these processes in Ukraine was observed when compared to Russia* [my emphasis].”⁸ This dreadful conclusion, which has the sound of a judge passing sentence, was reached *before any* serious study and comparative analysis of the vital statistics registers from affected territories in Ukraine and Russia had begun.

Let these statements lie on the conscience of those who make them.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

To give an idea of the large and diverse complex of archival sources on the Holodomor that we are aware of today, we refer to the classification scheme

⁷ “Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) Archives to Offer Real Picture of the 1929–1932 Famine, Says University Rector,” *Action Ukraine Report (AUR)*, no. 832, 22 April 2007, <http://action-ukraine-report.blogspot.com/2007/04/aur832-apr-22-stalins-great-terror-70.html#a6>; “Rassekrechennye arkhivy FSB prol’iut svet na golodomor,” *Izvestiia*, 17 April 2007, <http://www.izvestia.ru/news/news132448/>. For other statements by Mr. Kondrashin, see “Istoriki nazyvaiut mifom genotsid ukrainskogo naroda v 1932–1933 godakh,” *news.mail.ru*, 19 December 2007, <http://news.mail.ru/politics/1532494>; “Unikal’nye dokumenty iz arkhivov FSB o zhertvakh golodomora 1930-kh gg.,” *www.directory.com.ua*, <http://directory.com.ua/news101429.html>. On the latter site Kondrashin states, “It would be absolute stupidity if the Famine were to be recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people.” All sites accessed 29 April 2008.

⁸ Source document from the author’s archives.

proposed by Ruslan Pyrih, the well-known Ukrainian historian of the Famine-Genocide and former director of the State Archives of Ukraine.⁹ Table 1 at right, based on our very preliminary estimates, shows how each group of documents figures in the overall representation of source materials for studies of the Holodomor.

The first group consists of documents of the Soviet Union's highest organs of power: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, the People's Commissariat of Land Resources, the Committee for Procurement, the Unified State Political Administration (OGPU), the All-Union Committee for Migration, and many others. The documents in this group are of crucial importance for studying the main issues of the Famine-Genocide. They are kept in Moscow at the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE).

The documents of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the supreme state and party authority, reflect the true policy followed in all areas of societal life. Some 270 matters directly related to Ukraine were discussed during the 69 meetings of the Politburo held in 1932–1933. The reason for such careful and consistent attention to the republic was, according to Stalin, “the danger of losing Ukraine,” a strategic region for the Soviet empire where the rural population retained its spirit of patriotism and aspirations to independence and resisted collectivization, grain and food procurements, and sovietization.

⁹ The first general survey and classification of sources on the Holodomor was offered by Ruslan Pyrih in 2003 in a special chapter of a foundational work published by the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Science of Ukraine; see R. Ia. Pyrih, “Dokumenty z istorii holodu u fondakh arkhivoshkovyshch Ukraïny,” in *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Prychyny ta naslidky*, ed. V. M. Lytvyn, 8–26 (Kyiv, 2003); http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/Documents/Famine_32-33.php. An updated version of this survey is published as an introduction to a more recent publication; see Ruslan Pyrih, ed., *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv, 2007), 5–33.

The 2003 volume also includes several other surveys of sources on the Holodomor: by N. V. Platonova and T. V. Vrons'ka on the State Archives of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (pp. 26–41); by V. I. Marochko on materials in the Russian archives (pp. 41–50); by Vas. M. Danylenko and V. I. Prystaiko on the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) (pp. 81–98); and an analysis of published documents by O. M. Veselova and Marochko (pp. 50–81).

Table 1. Approximate proportion of the principal groups of documents on the 1932–33 Famine-Genocide in Ukraine.

Source of documents	percentage of total
All-Union organs of power and administration	12
Republic-level organs	23
Local party and government organs	49
Foreign diplomatic legations, political and public organizations, and materials of foreign press media	1
Letters, claims, complaints, petitions	8
Oral testimonies (published)	7

A mass of Chekist documents from the OGPU, preserved at the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of Russia (FSB), also belongs in this group. Here one finds dispatches, reports, circulars, and instructions regarding the social and political situation in rural regions of Ukraine—discontent, resistance to grain confiscation, group protests, the intent to emigrate, a mass exodus out of Ukraine, and measures in response — including the repression of participants in protests, the hunting down and arrest of kulaks and people in nationalistic organizations, more confiscations of grain and bread, and the organization of blockades at railroads.

The statistics generated by the higher levels of the OGPU should be treated with considerable caution, since they were subjected to an almost incredible downward revision. For example, one report from April 1932 contains information about only “eighty-three cases of swelling and six cases of death because of starvation in Ukraine.”¹⁰ One can imagine what sort of manipulation such data had experienced.

The first category should also include a group of NKVD archival *fonds* held at the State Archive of the Russian Federation. These concern specially displaced persons—the so-called “kulak deportation” to the Ural region and other parts of the GULAG. There are also 32,000 personal files of Ukrainian “special settlers” held at the State Archive of Sverdlovsk Oblast.¹¹

¹⁰ Pyrih, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 12.

¹¹ V. I. Marochko, “Rosiiis’ki arkhivni dzherela ta zbirnyky dokumentiv pro prychny ta obstavyny holodomoru,” in Lytvyn, *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 45–46.

Key documents from the archives of higher party and government agencies were published extensively in the early 1990s, usually with financial support from Western institutions. This was the decade of “skimming off the cream” from declassified Russian archives. More recently, thanks to the efforts of leading Russian historians, some landmark titles have appeared, including *Stalin i Kaganovich: Perepiska* (2001; 2003), “*Sovershenno Sekretno*”: *Lubianka Stalinu o polozhenii v strane* (2001–), and the distinguished five-volume edition, *Tragediia sovetskoï derevni*, prepared by the prominent historian Viktor Danilov and his colleagues (the third volume [pub. 2001] contains documents from 1930 to 1933). Also notable is a volume edited by the Ukrainian historians Iurii Shapoval and Valerii Vasyli'iev, which contains the travel diaries of Viacheslav Molotov and Lazar' Kaganovich during their visit to Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus in 1932–1933, along with Politburo minutes from that period and other documents from the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (2001). Many documents of this first group were later republished in Ukrainian editions.¹²

The second group includes documents of republic-level (i.e., Ukrainian) governmental and administrative bodies: the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine (CP[b]U), the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (RNK), the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTsVK), the People's Commissariat of Land Resources, the Ukrainian Collective Farms Center, the State Political Administration (GPU), the People's Commissariat of Justice, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Court, and various other people's commissariats (i.e., Health Care, Education, and others). These documents are preserved in Ukrainian central and departmental (*haluzevi*) state archives: the Central State Archives of Public Organizations (TsDAHO), the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government (TsDAVO), the State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (DA SBU), and the State Archives of the Ministry for Internal Affairs (DA MVS). Almost all of the documents of the Communist Party and a part of the key documents of Soviet governmental agencies have already been published.

¹² O. V. Khlevniuk et al., eds., *Stalin i Kaganovich: Perepiska 1931–1936 gg.* (Moscow, 2001; English ed., New Haven, 2003); G. N. Sevost'ianov et al., eds., “*Sovershenno Sekretno*”: *Lubianka—Stalinu o polozhenii v strane (1922–1934 gg.)*, 10 vols. (Moscow, 2001–); V. Danilov, R. Manning, and L. Viola, eds., *Tragediia sovetskoï derevni: Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie*, vol. 3, *Konets 1930–1933* (Moscow, 2001); Iurii Shapoval and Valerii Vasyli'iev, *Komandiry velykoho holodu: Poizdki V. Molotova i L. Kahanovycha v Ukraïnu ta na Pivnichnyi Kavkaz, 1932–1933 rr.* (Kyiv, 2001).

This group is notable for its wealth of information about the immediate causes, conditions, mechanics, technologies, and executors of the man-made Famine. There is extensive factual material regarding the total confiscation of food, extensive food shortages, widespread bloating from starvation, mortality, and cannibalism. The absolute subordination of these republic-level authorities to instructions from Moscow is quite striking in the documents here. They are similar in nature to the first group, as they were produced by the republican counterparts to all-Union structures.

The documents of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U are the most informative because of the party's key place among governing bodies. It should be noted, however, that the amount of information in a document is almost always inversely proportional to the level of its origin — the higher the level, the less information about the Famine it contains.

Documents of republic-level executive authorities (principally the People's Commissariat of Land Resources, Ukrainian Collective Farms Center, All-Ukrainian Union of Agricultural Collectives, and the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection) contain extensive factual material about the Famine according to the sector of administration involved. As for the archives of the People's Commissariat of Health Care, at least 12,000 files from the early 1930s were destroyed in Kyiv in 1941 as Soviet troops retreated.¹³

The documents of law enforcement bodies—the GPU, People's Commissariat of Justice, and the General Prosecutor's Office—are especially important, as these institutions participated intensively in the mass repression of the peasantry and carefully documented their activities.

The archives of the GPU—the most powerful branch of the republic's repressive punitive-justice system—were the last major collection related to the Holodomor to be declassified in Ukraine.¹⁴ In 2006 over 150 documents (more than 1,000 pages) were made public in digital form through posting on the Internet; subsequently, they went on display for over a year in a large-scale touring exhibition titled “Declassified Memory.” During this time, the

¹³ Vadim Kogan, “Search and Findings: Primary Sources concerning the Famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933 (Medical Aspects [of] the Problem),” *Agapit* (Kyiv), no. 13 (2002), <http://histomed.kiev.ua/agapit/ag1/ag01-15e.html>; republished on the website *ArtUkraine.com*, <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/medasp.htm>.

¹⁴ For the most recent survey of the SBU archives, see Vasyli Danylenko, “Dokumenty Haluzevoho derzhavnogo arkhivu Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy iak dzherelo vyvchennia Holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraini,” in *Rozsekrechena pam'iat': Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini v dokumentakh GPU-NKVD*, comp. V. Borysenko et al., 20–44 (Kyiv, 2007).

exhibit was shown in every oblast capital city (usually supplemented with local documents from the state oblast archives) and, arguably, has become the most influential instrument for raising awareness in Ukraine about this tragedy. The process of making these documents public reached its culmination in August 2007 with the publication of a documentary collection bearing the same name (and comparable content) as the exhibit.

GPU papers of day-to-day operations document the extent of Chekist and militia involvement in the mass confiscation of food through intensive repressions. The GPU's statistics, as mentioned earlier, include falsified data about the scale of starvation and mortality; even the Chekists themselves recognized this fact. One can cite the chief of the Kyiv oblast branch of the GPU, from March 1933, to appreciate just how much the agency's figures deviate from the real situation in Ukraine and complicate the process of drawing up a register of victims' names: "The GPU district [*raion*] offices do not keep a tally, and sometimes even a village council does not know the true number of those who died from starvation."¹⁵ In a similar vein, the chief of the Kharkiv city branch department of the GPU stated in June 1933 that "the mortality rate has become so high that a host of village councils have stopped registering those who died."¹⁶ We have no reason to believe that the situation in other regions was any different.

The documents of the People's Commissariat of Justice and the Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR provide evidence of government-led terror against the peasantry through the judicial system.

The key documents of the State Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are concentrated in the collections titled "Protocols of Special Proceedings and Tribunals [*troiky*]" and "Criminal Cases in Trial Courts and Extrajudicial Organs." The criminal files reveal the shocking truth about the total social collapse in rural regions and the psychic trauma that led to the eating of cadavers and cannibalism. Of the 83,000 such cases launched by the NKVD in 1932–1933, we have a record of no more than 3,000 today (the rest were destroyed in 1956). More than 2,500 people were convicted of cannibalism. Documents for 1,000 of these cases have survived. In my opinion, the public is still not ready today to accept these grisly photo and text records. However, the Kherson Oblast State Administration has posted a documentary piece titled "The Famine of 1932–33 in Kherson Oblast" on the Internet and published eleven photographs without any reference to their origin. Three

¹⁵ Cited in Pyrih, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

of them appear to be photos from the criminal cases of those convicted of cannibalism.

A separate block of documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs archive contains approximately 426,000 criminal cases of so-called special settlers and deportees—persons interned in 1932–1933 in the Krasnoiarsk territory, the Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Tomsk, and other oblasts, and the Komi Republic.¹⁷

The third group is the largest. It includes the documents of local party and government organs: oblast, city, and raion committees of the communist party; oblast and raion executive committees; and the local organs of the GPU, the militia, the judiciary, the prosecutor's office, health care bodies, educational institutions, workers' and peasants' inspections, village councils, and the like. The orders issued by these agencies provide little information, as they essentially applied the center's political estimations and directives to local conditions. In contrast, the reports and correspondence of regional offices sent to Ukrainian central authorities provide highly detailed and personalized accounts of the events involved. They present a vivid picture of starvation and death, local political attitudes, and manifestations of mass protest and resistance.

The documents of this group are concentrated primarily at the state archives of those seventeen (present-day) oblasts on whose territories the Holodomor raged and in the network of corresponding oblast archives of the SBU and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Only a tiny part of these documents have been published — naturally, in local editions.

The fourth group of documents includes materials from foreign diplomatic legations, political and public organizations, and the foreign press.¹⁸ This is the smallest and least studied group of documents in Ukraine. Included in this category are reports of the German and Italian general consulates in Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Odesa; information from British diplomats and economic experts; and analyses by the Polish police. The authors of these reports were unanimously convinced of the undeniably man-made nature of the Famine, a deliberate measure taken by the regime to suppress the Ukrainian peasantry.

¹⁷ See N. V. Platonova and T. V. Vrons'ka, "Arkhivni materialy NKVS i DPU u fondakh Derzhavnoho arkhivu MVS Ukraïni," in Lytvyn, *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 26–41.

¹⁸ For a survey of this group, see Pyrih, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 28–31.

The fifth group includes letters, affidavits, complaints, petitions, and diaries. These are vivid, deeply psychological depictions of the personal experiences of those confronted by the reality of this tragic event.

Letters were typically sent to republic-level institutions in Kharkiv (VUTsVK, RNK, and the Central Committee of the CP[b]U), or addressed personally to highly placed officials (such as Hryhorii Petrovs'kyi or Vlas Chubar), or to local government, land-management, and law-enforcement bodies. The letters of peasants addressed to Stalin, Molotov, and Kaganovich and sent to the editorial boards of central newspapers constitute a significant block of documents. Mikhail Kalinin's office alone received approximately 30,000 letters. The higher party and governmental leaders were quite aware of the damning nature of these letters, which reflected the slaughter that had become a reality of life in the village. It is hardly accidental that five million letters from the 1930s disappeared from the Russian State Archive of the Economy without a trace.¹⁹ Only a small number of items from this group has been published. No special editions with such documents have yet appeared in Ukraine.

Recently, the State Archives of the SBU disclosed excerpts from two unique diaries from the Famine era: one by Oleksandra Radchenko, a teacher, and another by Dmytro Zavoloka, a party investigator and official with the Kyiv Oblast Auditing Commission. Both reveal a profound comprehension of the situation and attempts to come to grips with the tragedy emotionally. Both the diaries and their authors were suppressed.²⁰

In sum, according to preliminary estimates, the entire archival legacy of the Holodomor consists of about 70,000 to 80,000 documents concentrated within about 2,000 archival *fonds* and collections. The overwhelming majority of them, being documents of local authorities, are found in the regional archives of Ukraine.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

As for the body of published material that is out in the open and has gone into academic and public circulation, the bibliography of scholarly works related to the Holodomor of 1932–1933 includes about 1,500 items. Of these, only about 250 are documentary publications: up to 35 book editions of documents (of which 26 are regional in scope) that appeared between 1990

¹⁹ Marochko, "Rosii's'ki arkhivni dzherela ta zbirnyky dokumentiv pro prychny ta obstavyny holodomoru," 47–48.

²⁰ See these diaries in Borysenko et al., *Rozsekrechena pam'iat'*, 539–72.

and 2007, and the remainder—over 200 items—journal and newspaper publications. In total, documentary publications contain about 5,000 archival documents, comprising some 6 to 7 percent of their total number.²¹

Is this a great or a small number? I think it is sufficient. Despite the relatively small number of items, the most important and crucial materials in terms of range and content have been published. They afford us the possibility of making conceptual and legal conclusions about the conditions, causes, and consequences of the man-made Famine. Moreover, today there is not much hope of making sensational new discoveries of related documents.

The continual republication of documents that have appeared in earlier editions is strong testimony to a certain exhaustion of the source base. The share of republished materials in documentary editions ranges from 30 to 70 percent, suggesting that their publishers are beginning to “go round in circles.” The latest document collections confirm this thesis. I would like to mention several of them.

First and foremost is the comprehensive *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Dokumenty i materialy*, compiled by Ruslan Pyrih and published in August 2007.²² The author is not only a renowned researcher, but also a pioneer in the publication of documents from the former Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Let us remember that in 1990, at significant personal risk, he personally untied the “archival sources bag” and published the first documentary collection on the Holodomor in Ukraine.²³

²¹ See my survey of published documents: Hennadii Boriak, “The Publication of Sources on the History of the 1932–1933 Famine-Genocide,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 25, no. 3–4 (2001): 167–86; <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/BoryakHarvard.pdf>. An online bibliography of related source materials is published by the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine; see “Holodomor 1932–1933: Publikatsiï ofitsiinykh dokumentiv, inshykh arkhivnykh materialiv, spohadiv, svidchen’; Materialy do bibliohrafiï,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/Documents/Bibliogr.php>. It is based on a more comprehensive work published in 2001 by the M. Gorkii Odesa State Research Library and the Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Science of Ukraine; see L. M. Bur’ian and I. E. Rykun, comps., *Holodomor v Ukraïni, 1932–1933 rr.: Bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchych* (Odesa, 2001), 656 pp. See also a recent bibliography of selected documentary publications, L. P. Odynoka, L. F. Prykhod’ko, and R. V. Romanovs’kyi, comps., *Holodomory v Ukraïni 1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947: Materialy do bibliohrafiï dokumental’nykh publikatsii* (Kyiv, 2005), 55 pp.; <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/Golodomori.pdf>.

²² Ruslan Pyrih, ed., *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni: Dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv, 2007), 1128 pp.

²³ Ruslan Pyrih et al., comps., *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraïni: Ochyma istoriykiv, movoiu dokumentiv* (Kyiv, 1990).

Pyrih's 2007 publication, with approximately 700 documents from 20 Ukrainian and 5 Russian archives, is the largest known collection of Holodomor documents. Reprinted items constitute more than 60 percent of the total number. Thus, while *searching* for archival documents was the primary task for publishers of archival materials in the late 1980s, today's authors face the no less daunting problem of *selecting* documents for their compilations. Pyrih's book may be considered the first documentary encyclopedia, as well as the first scholarly anthology on the Holodomor. It truly represents the culmination of a succession of broadly based national documentary publications that appeared over the last two decades.

At about the same time, the volume *Rozsekrechena pamiat': Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni v dokumentakh GPU-NKVD* came out, containing declassified materials from the archives of the secret police.²⁴ The exceptional value of these documents lies in the fact that they reveal the lesser-known elements of the mechanics of creating the Famine and also the scale of the resistance coming from the Ukrainian village. First and foremost, they clearly document the confiscation of non-grain foodstuffs from villagers. This signals a specific operation that transformed the grain confiscation into a widespread famine. Second, these documents reconstruct the larger picture of the spread of anti-Soviet sentiment: the mass walkout of peasants from collective farms and their claims for the return of their horses and plots, the seizure of assets, and open acts of protest. This, naturally, spurred the authorities to an energetic fight against “counterrevolution.” See, for example, the anti-Soviet leaflet from the Chernihiv region from the early 1930s (figure 1, right). The main idea of this “enemy propaganda” is, to quote, “Down with Soviet power, which oppresses people and forces them into slavery!” In fact, this is a counterrevolutionary appeal!²⁵

After the openly anti-Ukrainian signal from Stalin—his instruction not to “lose Ukraine” in his letter of 11 August 1932 to Kaganovich²⁶—the agencies of the GPU were transformed into an instrument of terror against the peasantry. It is in the Chekists' documents that we find the sensational (in my opinion) definition used by the Chekists themselves for their operation

²⁴ V. Borysenko et al., comps., *Rozsekrechena pamiat': Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni v dokumentakh GPU-NKVD* (Kyiv, 2007), 604 pp.; full text online version, http://ssu.kmu.gov.ua/sbu/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=69643&cat_id=69642 (accessed 3 July 2008).

²⁵ Two copies of the original leaflet under the title “Okhvisha za vil'ne zhyttia” are kept at the Berezna Museum of Regional History (Chernihiv oblast); online publication, <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Avtografy/R-14.php?22>. See figure 1.

²⁶ Khlevniuk et al., *Stalin i Kaganovich*, 273–74.

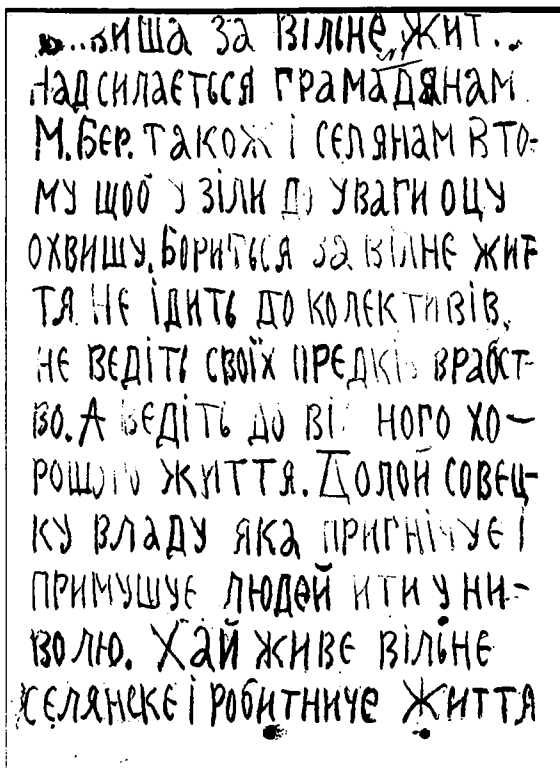


Figure 1. Anti-Soviet leaflet titled “For a Free Life!” (*Okhvisha za vil'ne zhyttia*) distributed in the city of Berezna in the Chernihiv region. Berezna Museum of Regional History, 2 copies.

Transcription: Охвиша за вільне життя надсилається громадянам м. Бер[езна] також і селянам втому щоб узіли до уваги оцу охвишу. Боритесь за вільне життя. Не ідять до колективів, не ведіть своїх предків в рабство. А ведіть до вільного хорошого життя. Долой совєцьку владу яка пригнічує і примушує людей ити у ниволю. Хай живе вільне селянське і робітницьке життя.

Translation: Leaflet for a Free Life, sent to the citizens of the city of Ber[ezna] and also to the villagers in order that they give this leaflet their consideration. Fight for a free life. Do not go to the collectives, do not lead your ancestors [*sic*] into slavery. Lead them, rather, to a free, good life. Down with Soviet power, which oppresses people and forces them into slavery. Long live a free peasants' and workers' life.

in the villages—"rural terror." This is the official terminology. The epithet "Petliurite" (i.e., nationalist) is always used alongside the adjective "kulak" to mark not only the class enemy, but also the ethnic enemy at whom the genocide was aimed.²⁷

A collection of documents of the GPU organization in Crimea includes clear instructions on establishing railroad blocks in order to prevent the shipping of grain northward, to the starving Ukrainian villages.²⁸

The source base for yet another recent Kyiv publication, *Ukrains'kyi khlib na eksport—1932–1933* (2006) by Volodymyr Serhiichuk, are the archives of the organizations responsible for removing grain from Ukraine both to meet the needs of the domestic market (i.e., the USSR) and to dump the grain aggressively onto the European market in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Millions of Ukrainian peasants paid a terrible price for this policy.²⁹

As for recent regional publications, I would like to note the volumes prepared by Sumy, Vinnytsia, and Odesa archivists in 2005–2007, based primarily on local archives. The second edition of the Odesa volume and also the Kharkiv, Cherkasy, Luhansk, and Donetsk volumes should be mentioned as notable new contributions to the growing bibliography of regional documentary collections.³⁰

²⁷ See Vas. M. Danylenko and V. I. Prystaiko, "Dokumenty Derzhavnoho arkhivu Sluzhby bezpeky Ukraïny iak dzherelo vyvchennia holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni," in Lytvyn, *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*, 81–98.

²⁸ Borysenko et al., *Rozsekrechena pam'iat'*, 28, 57–58.

²⁹ Volodymyr Serhiichuk, comp., *Ukrains'kyi khlib na eksport—1932–1933* (Kyiv, 2006), 432 pp.

³⁰ L. A. Pokydenchenko, comp. *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv na Sumshchyni* (Sumy, 2006), 356 pp.; R. Iu. Podkur et al., comps., *Holod ta holodomor na Podilli 1920–1940 rr.*, (Vinnytsia, 2007), 704 pp.; L. H. Bilousova et al., comps., *Holodomor v Ukraïni: Odes'ka oblast' (1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947 rr.): Spohady, dokumenty, doslidzhennia* (Odesa, 2005), 152 pp.; Bilousova et al., comps., *Holodomory v Ukraïni: Odes'ka oblast' (1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947): Doslidzhennia, spohady, dokumenty* (Odesa, 2007), 460 pp.; Kharkiv Oblast State Archives and the Media Technology Research Center, "Holodomor 1932–1933 rr., Kharkivs'ka oblast': Svidchennia, dokumenty," <http://www.golodomor.kharkov.ua/docs.php?lang=ua> (full text database, includes 329 documents, accessed 15 May 2008); B. F. Parseniuk et al., *Nevhamovnyj bil', 1932–1933: Istorychni doslidzhennia, narysy, svichennia, spohady, dokumenty*, ed. S. F. Blidnov (Donetsk, 2007), 198 pp.; P. Zhuk et al., *Holodomor 1932–1933 na Cherkashchyni: Knyha pam'iaty v dokumentakh ta spohadakh* (Cherkasy, 2007), 484 pp.; M. M. Starovoitov and V. V. Mykhailychenko, *Holodomor na Luhanshchyni 1932–1933 rr.: Naukovo-dokumental'ne vydannia* (Kyiv, 2008), 288 pp.

NEW RESEARCH

In the context of our thesis, that there has been a certain exhaustion of the archival source base for identifying the key moments and mechanisms in the creation of the Famine, I would like to draw your attention to several new, top-priority bodies of material and the prospects for new investigative projects — especially, for a careful reconstruction of the course of the tragedy of the Ukrainian village and an estimation of its consequences.

The first segment of the documentary base, almost completely unexamined and unavailable until recently, consists of the vital statistics registers kept by local civil registry offices. In accordance with the law, they have been held in the archives of the Ministry of Justice for seventy-five years and closed to researchers. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Great Famine coincides with the termination of the confidentiality measures for personal information in the registers. At the request of the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, oblast state archives have launched a large-scale project aimed at an early declassification and acquisition of the extant registers for 1932–1933 and subsequent years for preservation by the state. (In many cases, a single volume of these registers will contain entries up to the end of the 1930s.)

In general, we can speak of about 4,000 vital statistics registers acquired by the state archives.³¹ This amounts to at least one million pages of records for 1932–1933. According to very preliminary calculations, they contain information about no more than three million deaths. The extant mortality/birth registers for the years of 1932–1933 cover *a maximum of one-third* of the territory afflicted by the Famine, and mortality records *directly attributed* to the Famine constitute *no more than 1.5 percent* of the total mortality records of civil registry offices. The reason behind this was the strict prohibition on recording starvation as a death factor at that time. Thus, direct indications of death because of starvation (“starvation,” “unbalanced diet,” “exhaustion,” “emaciation,” “atrophy,” “dystrophy,” and “avitaminosis”) are rare. At the same time there are certain regularities in identifying euphemistic diagnoses (“dropsy [edema],” “heart dropsy,” “dysentery,” “pneumonia,” “intestinal tuberculosis,” “swelling,” etc.) and certain compound diagnoses (pneumonia-emaciation, myocarditis-emaciation, etc.). Figure 2, next page, shows an example of one such record.

³¹ See public reports on the transfer of registers in November 2007: “U Lavrynovycha vyryshyly dostrokovo zaarkhivuvaty roky Holodomoru,” *Ukrains'ka pravda*, 23 November 2007, <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2007/11/23/67313.htm>; “Miniust Ukrainy peredaet v arkhivy sviditel'stva o gibeli ukraintsev ot Holodomora, *Obkom*, 23 November 2007, <http://www.obkom.net.ua/news/2007-11-23/1710.shtml>.

№ 9 рада Ставишчанська району „21“ Червень міс. 1932 р. № 21

Померлого Коробий Його ім'я Ієфросина по-батьківськи Александр

Місце померлого (назва району та села або міста, вул., буд. №) в Антонівці

Вік 21 міс. 1932 р. 4. Чоловік, жінка (підкреслити).

Вік (скільки повних років мав) _____

Вік, що помер, не досявши до 1 р., точно зазначити: а) народилося „1“ міс. 1932 р.

Чи у матері була померла дитина: перша, друга, або „5“ в) батьки дитини живуть укупі, чи може

Помер, батько помер, покинув родину, розлучився тощо вкупі г) вік матері 45 років.

Підпис померлого КСРЮ 8. Національність Українець

Стан і померлого: парубок, дівчина, удівець (а), одружений (а), розлучений (а) — підкреслити.

Якщо: прожиток сам, а як не сам, то хто утримував на вдовизі в с. Антонівці

І. а) Релігія, промисел, посада і спеціальність у них _____

б) Якщо жив коштом держави чи громадських організацій, зазначити на які саме (пенсія, стипендія тощо) _____

в) Якщо жив з інших джерел, точно в _____ ти в яких саме _____

ІІ. Становище в зайнятті: робітник, служб., ремісник, кустар, кооперований (чл. артілі) чи ні, торговельно-помічник у зайнятті член родини тощо — зазначити _____

Для сільських господарів: озв. бник чи член колгоспу (коопу), с.-г. артілі, СОЗу _____

ІІІ. Назва підприємств, установи чи закладу, зазначаючи яке підприємство, де працює, служив або господарює. _____

ІV. Місце (удма, в лікарні, дит. будинку тощо) _____ Якщо відма, то чи користувався _____

Чи отримав допомоги померлий (так, ні) _____

Приналежність смерті — зазначити докладно _____

Чи лікарську довідку № _____ Чи може запис складено на оголошеного від суду за померлого _____

Figure 2a. Falsified diagnosis: Death record for eight-year-old Iefrosyniia (Khrosyna) Korobii, from the death record book for Antonivka village, Stavyshe raion, Kyiv oblast, 21 June 1932. State Archives of Kyiv Oblast, fond 5634, op. 1, spr. 969, ark. 86.

Помер (удма, в лікарні, дит. будинку тощо) _____ Якщо відма, то чи користувався _____

Чи отримав лікарської допомоги померлий (так, ні) _____

Приналежність смерті — зазначити докладно _____

Чи лікарську довідку № _____ Чи може запис складено на оголошеного від суду за померлого _____

Figure 2b. Close-up of line showing crossed-out cause of death (“z holodu”).

In addition, medical and paramedics' documents record only the names of local residents, so that hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people fleeing starving villages remain anonymous in documents, which simply list them as nameless "beggars." Special methods will be needed to properly assess the demographic data as well as to reconstruct the instructions given to local physicians in making diagnoses. As noted earlier, the Chekists themselves acknowledged that local authorities produced falsified data about the scale of starvation and mortality.

Thus, this unique group of documents must be studied not only by historians, but also by professional physicians and demographers. The concentration of the registers in twenty-five oblast state archives today (whereas previously they had been dispersed among hundreds of raion and local depositories) will open up this possibility, although clearly it will be a complicated undertaking and one that may raise more questions than it answers. Certainly, the low number of documented names of Famine victims could itself become a factor for new insinuations on the part of those denying the Famine as genocide.

Another source that researchers and publishers of documents generally overlook is local press materials; namely, newspapers and nonperiodical publications from 1932–1933. Until recent times local press publications were more likely to be used as illustrations to the written documentation rather than as historical sources.³²

These materials have an extraordinary informative potential. They contain numerous references about the harvesting process, reports on sessions of itinerant raion courts with their verdicts (including the death sentence), as well as dozens of names of persons condemned and lists of the villages posted on the "black list." Examining local press media makes it possible to reconstruct the personal aspect of this tragedy on a microlevel in each village. They contain invaluable data for compiling a chronicle and martyrology of those repressed during the Holodomor as well as a very accurate geographical map of the Great Famine.

Utilizing this resource requires considerable effort, a special methodology, and a carefully organized work plan, mainly because it is dispersed throughout a number of libraries, and also because of its great size. According to the Ukrainian Book Chamber, more than 1,000 newspaper titles were

³² See for example, facsimiles of newspaper publications in the collections of documents from the Sumy, Odesa, and Luhansk regions: Pokyrdchenko, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv na Sumshchyni*; Bilousova et al., *Holodomory v Ukraini: Odes'ka oblast'*; Starovoitov and Mykhailychenko, *Holodomor na Luhanshchyni 1932–1933 rr.*

published in the 486 raion centers of the Ukrainian SSR in 1932–1933 with varying periodicity. The total number of the available press materials may be estimated at about 150,000 items.

A third group of documents, problematic in nature, are photos from the time of the Holodomor. Documentary photographs provide fertile ground for manipulation of public opinion, especially by those who deny the Famine-Genocide. For obvious reasons, one cannot find significant photographic evidence about the regime's crimes in the state archives. Only a tiny group—something in the range of one hundred or so items—may be considered authentic. I refer to thirty photos of victims of the Famine in Kharkiv taken by the engineer Alexander Wienerberger (preserved in the collection of the Viennese cardinal Theodore Innitzer); the collection of about eighty photos by Marko Zhelezniak from the village of Udachne in Donetsk oblast; several unique photos by Mykola Bokan', the persecuted rural amateur photographer from Chernihiv oblast; and some photos taken surreptitiously by foreign correspondents.³³

Understandably, the very limited quantity of Famine photos has led to the unfortunate practice of substituting photographs from other historical periods and regions as depictions of the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine. As a rule, these are photos from the period of the first Soviet Famine in 1921–1922, mostly from the Volga Region.³⁴ On the other hand, some Russian authors

³³ The most extensive collection of authentic photos is kept at the H. Pshenychnyi Central State FilmPhotoPhono Archives of Ukraine and presented online; see State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, "Genocide of the Ukrainian People: The 1932–1933 Famine," <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/photos.php>.

³⁴ Misattribution of the 1921–1923 photodocuments (mostly without any captions or references to sources) to depict the tragedy of 1932–1933 is becoming increasingly widespread. See, for example, "Holodomor u Kyievi (foto)," *Internet reporter*, 9 December 2006, <http://rep-ua.com/56415.html>; Raisa Mykhailenko, "Holodomor na Chernihivshchyni: Slidy zlochyngu," *Vysoky val*, 24 January 2008, http://sian-ua.info/index.php?module=pages&act=print_page&pid=13090; Cherkasy Regional State Administration, "Holodomor 1932–33 na Cherkashchyni: Obzhynky smerty," <http://www.oda.ck.ua/index.php?article=254>; Kherson Regional State Administration, "Nad pam'iattiu ne vladnyi chas," <http://www.oda.kherson.ua/cgi-bin/control.pl?lang=uk&type=body&id=../control/uk/data/politics/gniva.html> (revealed are eleven photos, mostly from the times of the first Soviet Famine, including photos from criminal cases of those condemned for cannibalism); and "V Berlins'komu muzei vidkrylas' vystavka pro Holodomor," *INTV*, 15 October 2007, <http://www.intv-inter.net/news/article/?id=57709269>. Recently, a picture taken by the news service UNIAN was republished in the news report "Viktor Yushchenko: 'Holodomor—naibil'sha u sviti trahediia,'" *Svoboda* (New Jersey), no. 43, 26 October 2007. It shows President Yushchenko displaying a photo

use authentic Ukrainian Famine pictures to depict the Famine in the Middle Volga region.³⁵

This negligent practice, which is sometimes a conscious decision on the part of some authors to use striking, but non-authentic photos as the symbols of the awful tragedy, allows critics to claim falsifications (and not just of the photos). The latest publication by Ruslan Pyrih,³⁶ the documentary exhibitions from the archives of the SBU entitled “Declassified Memory,”³⁷ as well as many online exhibitions posted on the web by Ukraine’s oblast state administrations have already become targets for such charges, particularly on the part of the communists. They regularly use arguments about falsified photos to discredit legitimate works.

On the other hand, it is a great mistake, in my opinion, to underestimate the value of the huge collection of official photo and film documents from the period of collectivization and the Holodomor. There are no dead bodies or emaciated corpses in these staged propaganda photos. However, they reproduce the frightening ambience in which the tragedy of the Ukrainian village took place: children gather frozen potatoes while smiling for a reporter; kulaks (in Ukrainian: *kurkuli*) are “dekulakized” and denounced in dramatic

of victims from Samara gubernia during the first Soviet Famine as an illustration of the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine. The original photograph was taken by the Nansen mission and published in 1925 (see Antoni Starodworski, *Sowiecka reforma rolna: Przyczynę do zagadnień socjologicznych* [Warsaw, 1925], 49). I am grateful to Dr. Roman Procyk for alerting me to this example. The same photo, with the caption “Kladovyshche v Kharkovi. Zamerzli trupy ukrains'kykh selian pomerlykh z holodu. 1933 rik,” can be found in the discussion forum on the *Korrespondent.net* website, see <http://forum.korrespondent.net/read.php?2,298227,page=1>. The government newspaper *Uriadovyy kurier*, no. 191, 17 October 2007, contains a report on the official opening ceremony of the exhibition “Exterminated by Hunger: Unknown Genocide of Ukrainians” that features a photograph from Kazan gubernia, 1921. A discussion of many such misattributions can be found in the article, “Golod na Ukraine 1932–1933: Istoricheskie manipuliatsii,” <http://www.geocities.com/holod3233/index.html>; and www.geocities.com/holod3233/false-h3.html.

³⁵ See the publication of the *Izvestiia* editorial office illustrated by documents from the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine web portal: Elena Loria, “Unikal'nye dokumenty iz arkhivov FSB o zhertvakh Golodomora 1930-kh gg.,” *Izvestiia nauka*, 24 November 2006, <http://www.inauka.ru/history/article69901.html>.

³⁶ Pyrih, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraïni*. See especially the spine of the book, the dedication page, and the back endpaper (photos from the period of the 1921–1923 Famine).

³⁷ The exhibition is based mostly on a collection of declassified documents from the SBU archives; a facsimile of the entire documentary collection is published online, http://www.sbu.gov.ua/sbu/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=49757&cat_id=53076. Most of the documents are included in the recently published book, Borysenko et al., *Rozsekrechena pam'iat'* (see note 24).

fashion; so-called “enemies of the people” are unanimously condemned; there are meetings of collective farmers, meetings of committees of poor peasants; columns of Chekists on the march; and there is harvesting with modern agricultural equipment and the issuance of rations to collective farmers.

Official photo-documents of 1932–1933 can be a powerful instrument in shaping public awareness. This was well understood by Andrei Marchukov, the author of a recent publication of documents titled “Operatsiia ‘Golodomor’” in the popular Russian historical magazine *Rodina*.³⁸ Besides providing generally uninformative textual documents, he shows a sequence of eleven photographs that evoke the peaceful, cheerful, almost pastoral atmosphere of harvesting without a hint of the catastrophe. Photos from Ukraine are shown alongside photos from the Volga region, effectively “leveling out” any differences in the situation between Ukraine and other regions of the USSR. The one and only photo showing famine, titled “Starving People in Ukraine,” looks unconvincing and somehow mythological. To add to this, the singular Famine shot is—seemingly “accidentally”—missing any reference to an archival source, while all the others, without exception, have specific references to archival collections. The reader thus receives the message that the provenance of the photograph is unknown and likely suspect. It cannot be attributed to a reputable archival source; otherwise the author would have mentioned it.

In my opinion, it is high time to make a definitive identification of the existing and widely used photos, possibly with the participation of scholars internationally via a special Internet forum, in order to dot the i’s in the ongoing discussions regarding the quantity and authenticity of the documents of this group. I would especially like to stress the necessity for the creation of a centralized memorial register and the publication of all photo documents, without exception, that contain scenes from everyday life in the Ukrainian village during the early 1930s. They are presently dispersed throughout various archival and museum repositories. According to preliminary calculations, there are *no more than ten thousand* such items. The publication of these documents will make possible a reconstruction of the landscape of the tragedy in the widest sense.

The fourth segment of the documentary base that I would like to mention when speaking about potential avenues of investigation is regional archival materials. They constitute the largest group in terms of their quantity, but

³⁸ Andrei Marchukov, “Operatsiia ‘Golodomor,’” *Rodina*, no. 1 (2007): 60–67; addendum, “Kogda bezumstvuiet mechta,” 68–76. Online version (of introduction only), http://istrodina.com/rodina_articul.php3?id=2100&n=107.

the least utilized to date in terms of research and publication. These documents allow us to study the question on a microhistorical level and to create the most accurate chronicle possible of the Great Famine in its regional manifestations.

By order of the president of Ukraine, since the end of 2006, all state archives have been working on a nationwide register of archival *fonds* bearing a memorial character — in order to give due recognition to the many victims of famines and other political repressions of Soviet times. Documents related to the Great Famine have become the core of this “National Register of Memorial Collections.” All of the materials are being professionally catalogued by collection (*fond*), file (*sprava*), and document group or individual document. At present some two thousand descriptions of these *fonds* have been sent to Kyiv to be posted on the website of the State Committee on Archives.³⁹

One more group of unstudied documents consists of the over 400,000 criminal files of so-called special deportees—persons interned in 1932–1933 in different parts of the GULAG, and also 1,000 criminal files of persons convicted of cannibalism. They are kept at the State Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine. To this group should be added the archival *fonds* of the NKVD at the State Archive of the Russian Federation that concern specially displaced persons—the so-called kulak deportation.

The documents for the 1,000 cases of those convicted of cannibalism include photographs of the material evidence and of those who committed these crimes. This unique indictment of the communist regime remains a still unpublished body of documents related to the Famine.

Let me add a few words regarding the project titled “Electronic Archive of the Holodomor: A Consolidated Register of Archival Documents Online.”⁴⁰ This project aims to provide open access to sources by publishing (electronically) *all* the documents related to the Famine-Genocide on the Web. Texts would appear in the database either transcribed from their published versions, or as scans of original documents (in PDF or other graphic formats). Each document would be accompanied by all requisite information—date, caption, location, bibliographic information (if need be), and so on. The pilot version

³⁹ See selected materials submitted for the National Register of Memorial Collections, <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Archives/Reestr/>. To date, fonds from TsDAVO and the state archives of Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Kherson, Khmelnyskyi, and Chernihiv oblasts are listed.

⁴⁰ State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, “Elektronnyi arkhiv Holodomoru: Zvedenyi reiestr arkhivnykh dok.,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/Publicat/>.

of the database includes up to 2,000 documents. Consequently, it is the largest electronic documentary resource and most comprehensive chronicle dealing with the day-to-day life of the Ukrainian village at that time. We consider this project to be the final step in making available the broadest possible selection of Holodomor sources and the culmination of considerable work on documents and their publication over an almost twenty-year period. It should be noted that this large-scale project was made possible due to the generous support of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc.

To conclude, let me present a unique, long-anticipated document (and the only one of its kind discovered to date). It is, in the full sense of the word, a “last minute find,” which confirms the need to further process the regional documentary mass, in particular, the death records at local civil registry offices. This document, recently found at the State Archives of Odesa Oblast and shown in figures 3a-b (pages 30-31), is the first *direct documentary* evidence testifying to large-scale actions by state authorities in 1934 to eliminate any traces of crime against the Ukrainian peasantry.

On 13 April 1934, the Odesa Oblast Executive Committee sent a “top secret” instruction to all city councils and raion executive committees of Odesa oblast (with copies to all party raion committees and inspectors of the National Economic Survey Administration [*Upravlinnia narodnohospodars'koho obliku*], later—the Central Statistical Board).⁴¹ According to this instruction, in March 1934 the National Economic Survey Administration carried out an inspection of civil registry offices in village councils throughout Ukraine. It was found that “this work is actually in the hands of class enemies—kulaks, Petliura henchmen, special deportees, etc.” This supposedly resulted in a “*fraudulent*

⁴¹ See Illustrations 3a and 3b, State Archives of Odesa Oblast, fond R-2009, op. 1, spr. 4, ark. 91, 92; published in Bilousova et al., *Holodomory v Ukraïni: Odes'ka oblast'* (facsimile); document online, <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine?Citates.php#cite01>.

In 1993 similar records from the State Archives of Vinnytsia Oblast were first referred to and quoted by Illia Shul'ha. At the time, Shul'ha had concluded that all death records for 1932–1933 were destroyed, save for a few rare exceptions (e.g., only four village councils in the entire Podillia region had preserved lists of dead for that period, accounting for 1,193 deaths). In 2003 Stanislav Kul'chyts'kyi and Hennadii Efimenko repeated the same flat conclusion about the destruction of all Civil Registry of Vital Statistics (ZAGS) records. The Russian historian Nikolai Ivnitskii (2000, 2003) followed his Ukrainian colleagues' conclusion (with no reference to archival documents) about the withdrawal and total destruction in 1934 of the ZAGS register books from 1932–1933, noting that only a few of them were preserved. In fact, at that time they could not have known that about 4,000 death register books had survived in Ukraine in local archives. See Shul'ha, “Holod 1932–1933 rr. na Podilli,” in *Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni: Prychyny i naslidky; Mizhnarodna naukova konferentsiia*; Kyiv, 9–10 veresnia

overestimation of death rates and underestimation of birth rates [my emphasis]” as well as the loss of records at civil registry offices’ archives: “At village councils the records are kept in such a way that anyone can have free access to them. It was discovered that in some village councils the records have been simply stolen, possibly, for counterrevolutionary purposes.”

With regard to supervising death and birth records at local archives and establishing “order” within vital statistics, certain measures were taken. Among them one can find the following instruction: “To withdraw death registration books from village councils: for 1933 from all village councils without exception and for 1932 according to the list provided by the National Economic Survey Administration. To transfer the withdrawn village council registration books to the raion executive committees for safekeeping as classified material” (see figures 3c-d).

From here the fate of the records remains unknown. No traces of the withdrawal or destruction of death records have been found in the archives of the central office of the National Economic Survey Administration kept in Kyiv.⁴² Most likely, they were destroyed even before World War II. Paradoxically, in this case the lack of those documents within a well-preserved and integral archival *fond* is much more revealing and significant than would be their availability. Those documents represented a fatal danger for the authorities; thus, they were destroyed “at the top,” but hundreds of instructions, forgotten or neglected, were disseminated throughout Ukraine, with dozens of copies accumulating as classified documents in the *fonds* of Ukrainian local authorities and institutions.

I do hope that new, similar findings will soon appear to testify to the measures taken by the authorities to get rid of dangerous documents, so devastating to the reputation of the Soviet state. This will enable us to better understand the present-day circumstances of the remarkable phenomenon known as the “Holodomor archives.”

1993 r.; *Materialy*, ed. S. Kul'chyts'kyi (Kyiv, 1995), 141; Kul'chyts'kyi and Efimenko, *Demografichni naslidky holodomoru 1933 r. v Ukraini; Vsesoiuznyj perepys naseleennia 1937 r. v Ukraini: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kyiv, 2003), 189n73 (online: <http://www.history.org.ua/kul/contents.htm>); N. A. Ivniiskii, *Repressivnaia politika sovetskoi vlasti v derevne (1928–1933 gg.)* (Moscow, 2000), 293; Ivniiskii, “Il ruolo di Stalin nella carestia degli anni 1932–33 in Ucraina (dai materiali documentari dell'archivio del Cremlino del Comitato centrale del Partito comunista dell'Unione Sovietica e dell'OGPU,” in *La morte della terra: La grande “carestia” in Ucraina nel 1932–33; Atti del Convegno Vicenza, 16–18 ottobre 2003*, ed. Gabriele De Rosa and Francesca Lomastro (Rome, 2004), 90.

⁴² TsDAVO, fond 318 (National Economic Survey Admin., Kharkiv and Kyiv, 1923–1941), 1596 files.

ИТ/ИИ.

10.03.44.

СЕКРЕТОМ.

10.03.44 г.

ВСЕМ ГОР.СОВЕТАМ и РА ИСПОЛКОМАМ ОБ.ОБЛАСТИ.

Копия: - РА ПАРКОМАМ, ИНСПЕКТОРАМ УИГО.-

Обл. Секретно.

УНАУ Украины в конце Марта этого года произвело обследование состояния работы ЗАГС'а в ряде сельсоветов всех областей Украины. Это обследование было ряд. актов, осуществляющих с недостаточной образностью постановке учета рождаемости и смертности в сельсоветах.

В ряде сельсоветов эта работа находится фактически в руках классово-враждебных элементов - кулаков, потляковцев, административно высланных и т.д.

Так, обследованием установлено, что в Славском области в с. Припечье 1 - Дубового района ведение книг ЗАГС'а было поручено некоему ЖЕЛУХУ, дважды судившемуся и работавшему в сельсовете в порядке отбывания принудительных работ. После того, как этот вор-рецидивист бежал с деньгами сельсовета, ведение книг ЗАГС'а было поручено сыну кулака Васько. Нет сомнения, что в значительной части сельсоветов области дела учета населения находятся в чуждых руках, классово-враждебных, прямо заинтересованных в фальсификации учета населения, в искажении истинного положения вещей, в кулиническом преувеличении смертности и преуменьшении рождаемости.

Как результат работы чуждых элементов, обследованием установлено, что на одних и тех же умерших лиц выписывалось по две, три карточки, одни и те же лица регистрировались дважды на территории двух сельсоветов, или учет населения умисленно вовсе не производился. Даже в лучших по постановке дела сельсоветах актовые книги ведутся небрежно, нет подписей заведующего и смерти, подписей должностных лиц, нумерация перепутана, есть пропуски в книгах, что создает почву для всяких злоупотреблений и вредительских махинаций.

Хранение книг в сельсоветах такое, что к ним имеют доступ всяки. В некоторых сельсоветах оказалось, что книги просто похищены, возможно для контр-революционных целей.

Такое положение должно не может быть терпимым и потому Секретом И Р Е Д Л А Г А Е Т:

1. Немедленно организовать проверку сельских ЗАГС'ов, поставив задачу такого обследования - очистку аппарата ЗАГС'а от классово-враждебных элементов, упорядочение делопроизводства ЗАГС'а и хранения книг, как текущих регистраций, так и архив. Для проведения проверки выделить инспектора УИГО и 2-х работников, особо доверенных, из состава районного актива.

2. Для обеспечения сплошного и постоянного контроля над ведением книг и предотвращении случаев повторных регистраций, внести в обязанность председателей сельсоветов не позже каждого 2-го числа посылать вторые экземпляры списков в Инспектуру И. У. Оставшиеся в сельсоветах записи актов и персональные в УИКУ вторые экземпляры должны иметь полные данные и скреплены печатью сельсовета и подписью председателя.

Нач. спец. бюро

Г. Рупен

К. Кул

секретаря сельсовета.

3. Усилить надзор за регистрацией всех актов, особенно рождений и смертей, привлекая к ответственности за несвоевременную регистрацию или уклонение от нее.

4. Изъять из сельсоветов книги смерти за 1932 год по всем без исключения сельсоветам, а за 1933 г. по списку, составленному УИИУ. Изъятые от сельсоветов книги передать на хранение в секретном порядке при Райисполкомах.

5. Возложить ответственность за состояние регистрации актов гражданского состояния и сохранность архивов на секретаря Райисполкома.

О.Н. ЗАМ. ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ ОБЛИСПОЛКОМА

/ С. К А Р Г А /

В.О. СЕКРЕТАРЬ ОБЛИСПОЛКОМА

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В е р н о :

Figures 3a-b. Top secret instructions regarding withdrawal of death record books for the years of 1932-1933 from the local civil registry (ZAGS) archives of Odesa oblast into classified storage at the raion executive committees, April 1934. State Archives of Odesa Oblast, fond R-2009, op. 1, spr. 4, ark. 91-92.

ОБЛИСПОЛКОМ.

ВСЕМ ГОРСОВЕТАМ И РАЙИСПОЛКО-
МАМ ОД[ЕССКОЙ] ОБЛАСТИ.

13.IV.34 г.
УНГО.

Копия: - РАЙПАРКОМАМ, ИНСПЕКТОРАМ

№ 478 о.с[екретно]

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УНХУ Украины в конце Марта этого года произвело обследование состояния работы ЗАГС"а в ряде сельсоветов всех областей Украины. Это обследование дало ряд фактов, свидетельствующих о преступно-безобразной постановке учета рождаемости и смертности в сельсоветах.

В ряде сельсоветов эта работа находится фактически в руках классово-враждебных элементов—кулаков, петлюровцев, административно высланных и т. д.

Так, обследованием установлено, что в Одесской области в с. Ясиново I—Любашевского района ведение книг ЗАГС"а было поручено некоему ЖЕРУЛЮ, дважды судившемуся и работавшему в сельсовете в порядке отбывания принудительных работ. После того, как этот воррецидивист сбежал с деньгами сельсовета, ведение книг ЗАГС"а было поручено сыну кулака Ваське. Нет сомнения, что в значительной части сельсоветов области дело учета населения находится в чуждых руках, классово-враждебных, прямо заинтересованных в запутывании учета населения, в искажении истинного положения вещей, в жульническом преувеличивании смертности и преуменьшении рождаемости.

Как результат работы чуждых элементов, обследованием установлено, что на одних и тех-же умерших лиц выписывалось по две, три карточки, одни и те же лица регистрировались дважды на территории двух сельсоветов, или учет населения умышленно вовсе не производился. Даже в лучших по постановке дела сельсоветах актовые книги ведутся небрежно, нет подписей заявителей и смерти, подписей должностных лиц, нумерация перепутана, есть пропуски в книгах, что создает почву для всяких злоупотреблений и вредительских махинаций.

Хранение книг в сельсоветах такое, что к ним имеет доступ всякий. В некоторых сельсоветах оказалось, что книги просто похищены, возможно для контр-революционных целей.

Такое положение дальше не может быть терпимо и потому облизполком П Р Е Д Л А Г А Е Т:

1. Немедленно организовать проверку сельских ЗАГС"ов, поставив задачу такого обследования—очистку аппарата ЗАГС"а от классово-враждебных элементов, упорядочение делопроизводства ЗАГС"а и хранения книг, как текущей регистрации, так и архив. Для проведения проверки выделить Инспектора НГО и 2-х работников, особо доверенных, из состава районного актива.

2. Для обеспечения сплошного и постоянного контроля над ведением книг и предотвращения случаев повторных регистраций вменить в обязанность председателям сельсоветов не позже каждого 2-го числа посылать вторые экземпляры записей в Инспектуры Н. Х. У. Остающиеся в сельсоветах записи актов и пересылаемые в УНХУ вторые экземпляры должны иметь подписи заявителей и скреплены печатью сельсовета и подписями председателя и секретаря сельсовета.

3. Усилить надзор за регистрацией всех актов, особенно рождений и смертей, привлекая к ответственности за несвоевременную регистрацию или уклонение от нее.

4. Из"ять из сельсоветов книги смертей за 1933 год по всем без исключения сельсоветам, а за 1932 г. по списку, сообщенному УНХУ. Из"ятые от сельсоветов книги передать на хранение в секретном порядке при Райисполкомах.

5. Возложить ответственность за состояние регистрации актов гражданского состояния и сохранность архивов на секретаря Райисполкома.

О. П. ЗАМ. ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ ОБЛИСПОЛКОМА
/С. КАРГА/

В. о. СЕКРЕТАРЯ ОБЛИСПОЛКОМА
/ Г. БЛОХ/

Отп. – 162 экз.

.
расч. разсылки
при экз. № 1.

Верно:

Figure 3c. Transcription of figures 3a–3b.

OBLAST
EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE

TO ALL CITY AND RAION EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEES OF OD[esa] OBLAST

13.IV.34
No. 478 - t[op] s[ecret]
overwritten by hand 184-s[ecret]

Copy: — RAION PARTY COMMITTEES, UNHO* [NATIONAL
ECONOMIC SURVEY ADMINISTRATION] INSPECTORS

At the end of March this year UNKhU' [National Economic Survey Administration] of Ukraine carried out an inspection of the work of ZAGS [Civil Registry of Vital Statistics] offices in a number of village councils in every region of Ukraine. This inspection revealed a series of facts testifying to the criminally outrageous manner in which birth and death registration is conducted in the village councils.

In a number of village councils this work is actually in the hands of class enemies—kulaks, Petliura henchmen, special deportees, etc.

Thus, the inspection established that in Odesa oblast, in the village of Iasinovo I [Iasenove Pershe], Liubashivka raion, the entire recording process of the Civil Registry of Vital Statistics was entrusted to a certain ZHERUL', a twice convicted criminal, who was sentenced to compulsory labor at the village council. After this repeat-offender thief ran off with the village council monies, the management of ZAGS books was entrusted to Vas'ka, the son of a local kulak. There is no doubt that in a great number of village councils the job of registering the population is in alien hands, the hands of the class enemy, directly interested in muddling the registration [process], in distorting the true state of things, in fraudulently inflating mortality and underestimating birthrates.

The inspection also revealed that as a result of the activity of class enemies, there were numerous cases when two or three cards were issued to one and the same deceased person, or the same person was registered twice in two village councils, or that vital statistics were maliciously not registered at all. Even in the best-managed village councils, registration books are handled carelessly, entries for deaths lack testifying signatures, [or] the signatures of council officials, the numerical order is jumbled, there are omissions in the [registration] books, all of which is conducive to all sorts of abuses and harmful machinations.

At village councils [registration] books are kept in such a way, that anyone can have free access to them. It was discovered that in some village councils the [registration] books were simply stolen, possibly for counterrevolutionary purposes.

This situation can no longer be tolerated and for this reason the Oblast Executive Committee P R O P O S E S:

1. To immediately organize an inspection of village ZAGS offices, with the aim of purging class enemies from the apparatus, [and] regularizing office routines and custody of [registration] books, including current registrations as well as archived material. To dispatch an UNHO [National Economic Survey Administration] inspector and two especially trustworthy workers from among the raion [party] activists to conduct the inspection.

2. To impose on the chairmen of village councils responsibility for mandatory forwarding of a second copy of [all] registrations to the Inspectorate of the National Economic Survey Administration no later than on the 2nd day [of each month] to ensure complete and continuous control over [registration] bookkeeping and to prevent occurrences of double registration. Both the copy of registrations remaining in the village council and the copy sent to the National Economic Survey Administration must be signed by those who reported the event and authenticated with the seal of the village council and signatures of the village council chairman and secretary.

3. To increase supervision over all document registration, especially birth and death [records] by holding [individuals] accountable for untimely registrations or for failure to register.

4. To withdraw death registration books from village councils: for 1933 from all village councils without exception and for 1932 according to the list^{*} provided by the National Economic Survey Administration. To transfer the withdrawn village council registration books to the raion executive committees for safekeeping as classified material.

5. To make the secretary of the raion executive committee personally responsible for the proper conduct of civil registrations and the security of the archives.

A[cting] F[irst] Dep[uty] Chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee
/S. Karga/

A[cting] Secretary of the Oblast Executive Committee
/G. Blokh/

Number of copies typed — 162 copies

Recipients listed on copy no. 1

Verified [with the original]: *signature*

* The text uses both Russian and Ukrainian terminology interchangeably, e.g., *Upravlinnia Narodnohospodars'koho obliku* (UNHO) and *Upravlenie narodnokhoziaistvennogo ucheta* (UNKhU); see also “V. o.” (*vykonuiuchy i obov'iazky*) in the second signature.

** No such list has been found in the archives to date.

THE PUBLICATION OF SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE 1932-1933 FAMINE- GENOCIDE: HISTORY, CURRENT STATE, AND PROSPECTS*†

HENNADII BORIAK

For obvious reasons the first documentary publications about the Famine-Genocide of 1932–1933 could not be based on the Ukrainian archives. Western scholars and researchers from the Ukrainian diaspora took the lead in publishing sources in order to reveal this crime. For more than half a century the only documents to bear witness to the Famine-Genocide were ones that remained outside the control of the ideological operations of the Soviet totalitarian system. Typically such evidence was revealed through the testimony of eyewitnesses who were fortunate enough to survive and flee abroad, or that of foreigners (journalists, diplomats) who were not afraid to tell the truth about the events of the 1930s on the territory of Soviet Ukraine.

The first such publication appeared as early as 1934 in Vienna in the form of a small brochure in English and German entitled *The Famine: Authentic Documentation of the Mass Starvation in the Soviet Union*.¹ Owing to the efforts of researchers and political leaders of the Ukrainian diaspora, the two-volume English-language collection entitled *The Black Deeds of the*

* Reprinted from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 25, no. 3-4 (Fall 2001): 167-186.

† This article is based on a paper delivered at the 35th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Toronto, Canada, November 22, 2003.

¹ *The Famine: Authentic Documentation of the Mass Starvation in the Soviet Union* (Vienna, 1934). (In German: Theodor Innitzer, *Hungersnot: Authentische Dokumente über das Massensterben in der Sowjetunion* [Vienna, 1933].) 64 pp.

Kremlin: A White Book was published in Canada and the United States to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Famine-Genocide.² In 1966, a Spanish edition of *The Black Deeds* appeared.³

The next stage in making sources available to the public emerged as a result of the activity of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which in August 1984 held separate hearings on the problem of the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine and published the testimonies of survivors and witnesses in a special volume.⁴

In 1987 several documents from the Italian and German diplomatic archives were published in journals and newspapers of the Ukrainian press abroad.⁵ These publications constituted a real breakthrough for the subject,

² Semen O. Pidhainy, ed., *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*, 2 vols. (Toronto and Detroit, 1953–1955). (Vol. 1: *Book of the Testimonies*, ed. I. I. Sandul and A. R. Stepovy, trans. Alexander Oreletsky and Olga Prychodko, vii, 545 pp.; vol. 2: *The Great Famine in the Ukraine in 1932–1933*, ed. V. Hryshko and P. P. Pavlovych, xxiv, 720 pp.)

³ *Las Negras Acetones del Kremlin: Libro Blanco*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1966–1967). (Vol. 1: *Libro de Testimonios*, 633 pp.; vol. 2: *Libro de Testimonios* [El Gran Hambre en Ucrania en 1932–1933], 797 pp.)

⁴ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Ukrainian Famine of 1932 and 1933: Hearing* [Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations: A Bill to Establish a Commission to Study the 1932–1933 Famine Caused by the Soviet Government in Ukraine], 98th Cong., 2nd sess., August 1, 1984 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984). 137 pp., illustrations.

⁵ “Dokument pro holod” [Letter from the Italian consul Gradenigo to the Italian embassy in Moscow, 1933], *Moloda Ukraina* (Toronto), no. 364 (1987): 8–10; “Dokument pro holod,” *Patriarkhat: Za iednist' tserkvy i narodu* (Philadelphia), no. 2 (1987): 9–11. Republished as “Golod i ukrainskii vopros,” *Slovo* (Kyiv), August 20–27, 1993, p. 3 (with commentary by V. Marochko); “Golod i ukrainskii vopros,” *Iug*, July 27, 1999; “Holod i ukrains'ke pytannia,” *Samostiina Ukraina* (Kyiv), nos. 19–20 (May 1999): 4 [in section “Z arkhivu,” *Zhnyva skorboty*, no. 4 (1999), published by the Asotsiatsiia doslidnykiv holodomoriv v Ukraïni as a supplement to *Samostiina Ukraina*]. Materials from the Italian consul were later published in full in the original language: A. Graziosi, ed., *Lettere da Kharkov: La carestia in Ucraina e nel Caucaso del Nord nei rapporti dei diplomatici italiani, 1932–33* (Torino: Einaudi, 1991); some of these documents (translated from English) were also published in Ukraine, see “Chorna pliamia v istorii Ukraïny: Svidchat' italiiskii diplomatychni dokumenty,” trans. Ihor and Iryna Ievtukh, *Trybuna*, no. 1 (1991): 26–8.

For German diplomatic documents, see D. Zlepko, “Velykyi holod: Kolektyvizatsiia i pliany likvidatsii Radians'koi Ukraïny pid chas holodu 1932–33 rokiv; Na osnovi neopublikovanykh dokumentiv politychnoho arkhivu Ministerstva zakordonnykh sprav Federativnoi Respubliky Nimechchyny,” *Visti kombatanta*, no. 4 (1987): 40–50. Within two years D. Zlepko published an entire collection of German diplomatic documents about the Famine-Genocide in German: D. Zlepko, *Der ukrainische Hunger-Holocaust: Stalins verschwiegener Völkermord 1932/33 an 7 Millionen ukrainischen Bauern im Spiegel geheimgehaltener Akten des deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes* (Sonnenbühl: H. Wild, 1988), 309 pp. with illustrations and facsimiles. These are dispatches and reports of a political, social, and economic character from the consulate staff in Kharkiv and Kyiv, detailed information about the journey over Ukrainian territory made by the French premier Edouard Herriot, who after returning to the West became an apologist for Stalin.

since in the following year documents from the British Foreign Office on the Famine-Genocide also appeared.⁶ Reports of the Italian consulates in Kharkiv, Kyiv, Odesa, Leningrad, and the embassy in Moscow for the years 1932–1935 were published as well.⁷ In addition, the testimony of Malcolm Muggeridge, the Moscow correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* at the time, was made public,⁸ and photographs documenting the famine in Kharkiv were published.⁹ These documentary publications, as well as others, owed their appearance to the activity of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine as well as to the U.S. Congress Commission on the Ukraine Famine, which was created in December 1985. The latter commission supervised the oral history project of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine, which collected and published the recollections of witnesses. Developed and headed by James E. Mace, the Ukrainian

⁶ Marco Carynnyk, Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, and Bohdan S. Kordan, eds., *The Foreign Office and the Famine: British Documents on Ukraine and the Great Famine of 1932–1933*, foreword by Michael R. Marrus (Kingston, Ont., and Vestal, N.Y.: Limestone Press, 1988). lxi, 493 pp. with map and bibliography (pp. 467–71). The Ukrainian translation of a portion of these documents was published in 1989: “Ukraina: Holod 1932–1933 rokiv; Za povidomlenniamy brytanskyykh dyplomativ,” trans. Ihor Ievtukh, with a foreword by Stanislav Kul’chyts’kyi, *Vsesvit*, no. 11 (1989): 153–61. With a map.

⁷ See United States Congress Commission on the Ukraine Famine, *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933: Report to Congress*, adopted by the Commission April 19, 1988; submitted to Congress April 22, 1988 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1988). xxv, 524 pp.

⁸ “Malcolm Muggeridge,” exhibit P-8, Records of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine [Toronto, 1988–1990], Nobel Institute of Norway, Oslo (three articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, March 25, 27 and 28, 1933; interview by B. Nahaylo on March 1, 1983; Ian Hunter, *Malcolm Muggeridge: A Life* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1980), 82–5, 246–7); “Testimony of Malcolm Muggeridge (in the presence of Kitty Muggeridge), taken at Robertsbridge, Sussex, England, on June 27, 1988, by Mr. Hunter, Ms. Chyczyi,” exhibit A-6, Records of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine [Toronto, 1988–1990], Nobel Institute of Norway, Oslo. 117 pp. Copies of the Records of the International Commission are also available at the Ukrainian Research Institute Library, Harvard University; the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; as well as libraries in Stockholm, Ottawa, Toronto, Louvain, Paris, and Munich.

⁹ “The 1932–33 Original Photographs from Kharkiv, Ukraine, submitted by William Liber, Q.C., Counsel for the World Congress of Free Ukrainians,” exhibit P-42, Records of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine [Toronto, 1988–1990], Nobel Institute of Norway, Oslo. 47 pp. (Reproductions of 26 photographs and excerpts from a book by Alexander Weinerberger, *Hart auf Hart: 15 Jahre Ingenieur in Sowjetrußland* [Salzburg and Leipzig: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1939], text in English and German.)

Famine Oral History Pilot Project made possible the eventual publication of a unique three-volume edition (1990), which contained more than two hundred testimonies.¹⁰

Documents from the Dnipropetrovsk archive, which Oleksa Kalynyk smuggled to the West, represent a fundamentally different type of resource. They are presently housed in New York in the archives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. These papers contain various kinds of documentary evidence from regional and district levels for the years 1929–1933, including a unique civil register—death certificates from the village of Romankovo for 1933–1934.¹¹ Oleksa Kalynyk made some of these documents public as early as 1953. Because virtually the entire archival collection of the Registry of Vital Statistics (ZAGS) was lost during the war, the Romankovo records are, in all probability, the only source of its kind. It should be noted that the registrars in ZAGS were instructed not to record the actual cause of death, but instead to state various diagnoses, especially death by “colic,” “inflammation of the intestines,” “emaciation [or exhaustion],” and “feebleness from old age.”

During the 1980s, with the relaxation of repression and ideological pressures, some progress on exposing the Famine-Genocide was made in Ukraine as well. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date, but “underground” activity had clearly spread by the second half of the 1980s. In 1989–1990, Vasyli' Marochko and Ievheniia Shatalina published the first documentary publication in *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal).¹² At the beginning of 1990, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC CPU) approved a special resolution, “On the 1932–1933 Ukraine Famine and the Publication of Relevant Archival Materials,” which assigned scholars at the Institute of Party History at the CC CPU the task of issuing a “collection of scholarly articles and archival documents on the 1932–1933

¹⁰ United States Congress Commission on the Ukraine Famine, *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933: Oral History Project of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine*, ed. James E. Mace and Leonid Heretz, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1990). Texts in Ukrainian with English summaries.

¹¹ Oleksa Kalynyk, *Shcho nese z soboiu komunizm?* (Munich and Toronto: Spilka vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1953). 112 pp. and 28 plates of archival photocopies. An English-language publication of Kalynyk's collection appeared under the title: *Communism: The Enemy of Mankind; Documents about the Methods and Practice of the Russian Bolshevik Occupation in Ukraine* (London: Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain, 1955). 120 pp., 24 pages of plates, illustrations.

¹² “Holod na Ukraïni (1931–1933 rr.),” with introductory notes by V. I. Marochko and Ie. P. Shatalina, *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 7 (1989): 99–111; no. 8 (1989): 105–17; no. 9 (1989): 110–21; no. 11 (1989): 78–90; no. 12 (1989): 123–8; no. 1 (1990): 104–12.

Famine.”¹³ Thus appeared the important publication *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraïni: ochyma istoriykiv, movoiu dokumentiv* (The 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine: Through the Eyes of Historians, in the Language of Documents). The year 1990 became the point of departure for a substantial disclosure of documents about the Famine from the Party archives, and in due course, the state archives, of Ukraine.

This 1932–1933 Famine collection was the first in a series of publications of so-called Party documents to disclose a substantial number of previously unknown and classified materials from the highest levels—all-Union and republic Party headquarters to local Party agencies—from January 1932 through November 1933.¹⁴ The edition contains approximately 250 documents primarily from the Party archives of the Institute of Party History, CC CPU (presently the Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine, TsDAHO), a few dozen documents from the central Party archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) (presently the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History), and from regional Party archives. Most of the documents are memoranda from the secret police (GPU or State Political Directorate) of the Ukrainian SSR to the CC CP(b)U; from the oblast agencies of the GPU to the oblast Party committees; and memoranda and information from various judicial and prosecuting agencies concerning public opinion, the state of the food supply, and the starvation of the population in particular regions. Some statistical data were published on the number of deaths from starvation for the first time.

The 1932–1933 Famine collection of documents is a standard academic edition with all the essential features. The compilers may be criticized only for failing to include references about the “originality” of the published documents. Since the collection contains documents originating from institutions with different levels of responsibility (all-Union, republic, oblast, and district), information about whether a source is an original or a copy is extremely important for the researcher. For example, the existence of an original letter from the Secretary of the CC CPU to the CC of the all-Union

¹³ See *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraïni: Ochyma istoriykiv, movoiu dokumentiv*, compiled by R. Ia. Pyrih et al. (Kyiv: Polityvydav Ukraïny, 1990), 3–4.

¹⁴ It is worth noting that the first attempts at publishing the central Party documents related to the Famine of 1932–1933 were also realized in the West. One may cite the Records of the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine, exhibit P-4 [“Soviet decrees”] (texts in English, Russian, and Ukrainian); and Soviet Party and government decrees and newspaper reports concerning the 1932–33 Famine in Ukraine, compiled and translated by Marco Carynnyk (texts in English, Russian, and Ukrainian); see exhibit P-5 [“Soviet Admissions and Denials”].

Communist Party that remains in the archive of the CC CPU may serve as evidence that the letter was never sent to Moscow. The first Ukrainian documentary collection about the Famine, which was prepared with the approval and even on order of the CC CPU, provided only a survey of the Famine sources in the holdings of the Party archives, and did not explore deeply. Soon after, there appeared another fundamental publication, *Kolektyvizatsiia i holod na Ukraïni, 1929–1933* (Collectivization and Famine in Ukraine, 1929–1933),¹⁵ prepared by the Institute of the History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, together with the Central State Archive of the October Revolution and of Higher Agencies of Government (presently, the Central State Archive of Higher Agencies of Government and Administration, TsDAVO). The compilers of this publication had a somewhat different conceptual approach: namely, to show not only the horrific conditions of the Famine, but also the broad historical background of the “socialist reorganization of agriculture.” In general, they avoided republishing Party documents of a directive nature. Another principal difference from the “Party collection” publication is that *Kolektyvizatsiia i holod* almost exclusively contains unclassified documents, ones that were never hidden from historians in special depositories. These published documents reflect the Famine indirectly, but very persuasively: four hundred documents present a frightening scene of the Ukrainian village trying to survive under conditions of inhuman pressure from Stalin’s command system. Almost all of the documents originate from the Archive of Higher Agencies of Government, and only less than ten percent from regional archives. The momentous work of these scholars and archivists had an immediate and enormous impact on the public (the following year saw an additional printing). In hindsight, however, we should point out that the compilers did not manage to expose the specifics of the Famine-Genocide in each region, since documents from the regional state archives remained outside their purview.

The series of publications of documents from the archives of central Party and government agencies that was issued under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine was brought to a logical completion when the Institute of Ukrainian Archeography, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine,

¹⁵ *Kolektyvizatsiia i holod na Ukraïni, 1929–1933: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv*, compiled by H. M. Mykhailychenko and Ie. P. Shatalina, ed. S. V. Kul’chyts’kyi (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1992), 732 pp. Publication of the Archeographic Commission of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Central Archival Administration at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Higher Agencies of Government, and Agencies of State Administration.

put out *Upokorennia holodom* (Suppression by Famine) for the Famine's sixtieth anniversary.¹⁶ This collection contains fifty-nine documents mostly from sources in foreign languages and sources that were inaccessible to the average Ukrainian reader: (1) a selection of documents from the above-mentioned collection of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York; (2) Ukrainian translations of British and German diplomatic reports; (3) materials from the world press; (4) minutes of hearings of the United States Congress Commission and the International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932–1933 Famine, as well as (5) the *Knyha smerti s. Romankovoho Kam'ians'koho raionu Dnipropetrovs'koï oblasti* (Death Records of the Village of Romankovo, Kam'ianske District, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast) in its entirety (including the text and a facsimile reproduction). At the beginning of 1990, copies of these archival documents were kindly provided by the Shevchenko Scientific Society to the Archeographical Commission of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

As a result, an important corpus of documents from Party and law enforcement (*sylovi*) structures, central state and administrative bodies, regional agencies, as well as from foreign sources came into academic and public circulation. During the next phase, it was clear that the main task for archivists and scholars was to expand the source base through detailed examination of Famine materials in the regional document collections. Overall from the years 1992 to 2003, thirteen regional collections of archival documents and newspaper items have been published. The majority of these are textbooks and popular editions, with the exception of two (from Sumy and Cherkasy), which may be called academic publications. The publication entitled *Z istorii holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. na Sumshchyni* (From the History of the Famine of 1932–1933 in the Sumy Region) published by the Sumy Archive, which has an original format and is exceptionally well produced, contains essays, a catalog of four hundred archival documents, and a complete list of ninety-five archival fonds [collections] and published sources.¹⁷

In total, the regional editions contain more than five hundred documents. A general and rather odd shortcoming of all the documentary publications is their lack of a necessary feature of scholarship; namely, a list of the fonds from which the documents came. Perhaps this shortcoming is a relic of Soviet practices in publishing texts.

¹⁶ Maryna Mukhina, *Upokorennia holodom: Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, (Kyiv: Instytut ukrains'koï arkhieohrafiï AN Ukrainy, 1993). 309 pp.

¹⁷ L. A. Pokydenko, ed., *Z istorii holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. na Sumshchyni* (Sumy: Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koï oblasti, 2002). 61 pp.

The testimonies and memoirs of eyewitnesses—participants and observers of those terrible events—provide an inexhaustible source of information about the Famine. It is precisely this category of sources that first revealed the truth about this tragedy to the world.

In Ukraine such testimonies were published for the first time in 1991 in a small book by O. Mishchenko titled *Bezkrivna viina* (Bloodless War). The book contains memoirs of the author's compatriots—residents of the Kozelshchyna district, Poltava oblast.¹⁸ In 33-i: *Holod; Narodna knyha-memorial* (1933: Famine; People's Book-Memorial, 1991), a compendium of oral sources that is unique in content, factual information, and value, Lidiia Kovalenko and Volodymyr Maniak have compiled a huge number of eyewitness testimonies.¹⁹ The collection contains a thousand memoirs about the Famine, arranged according to a geographic scheme of seven regions corresponding to administrative-territorial divisions. The material is presented in several forms: literary texts, transcriptions from recorded oral accounts, and summary accounts based on information from several respondents. On occasion lists of Famine victims in particular villages supplemented the testimonies.

Kovalenko and Maniak's work has been continued in an analogous compilation entitled *Ukrains'kyi Holokost 1932–1933* (Ukrainian Holocaust 1932–1933),²⁰ which contains two hundred testimonies collected by students of Dnipropetrovsk University and the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in areas of Dnipropetrovsk and neighboring regions (Kirovohrad, Poltava, and Cherkasy oblasts and, in the Russian Federation, Kuban, Rostov, and Kursk oblasts).

On the micro-historical level, within the bounds of one rural council, we can find testimonies of Famine survivors from the village of Severynivka (Sumy region) in H. Ivanushchenko's collection, *Holodomor 1932–1933 rokiv* (The Famine-Genocide 1932–33).²¹ The testimonies of eyewitnesses of the national tragedy were also included in other editions of sources.

¹⁸ Oleksandr Mishchenko, *Bezkrivna viina: Knyha svidchen'* (Kyiv: Molod', 1991). 176 pp.

¹⁹ 33-i: *Holod; Narodna knyha-memorial*, compiled by Lidiia Kovalenko and Volodymyr Maniak (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1991). 584 pp.

²⁰ *Ukrains'kyi Holokost 1932–1933: Svidchennia tykh, khto vyzhyv*, compiled by Iurii Mytsyk (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim "KM Akademiia," 2003). 296 pp.

²¹ H. Ivanushchenko. *Holodomor 1932–33 rokiv: Ochyma svidkiv, movoiu dokumentiv; Severynivs'ka sil'rada Sums'koho raionu* (Kyiv: Ukrains'ka Vydavnycha Spilka, 2003). 60 pp.

In general, from 1998 to 2003, 22 separate documentary collections or books of memoirs and more than 20 journal and 150 newspaper selections have been published. Approximately 10,000 texts of original documents, testimonies, and memoirs, recorded after a considerable lapse of time (60 to 70 years), have been put into circulation. As might be expected, the published documents constitute only a small part of the entire corpus of archival sources on the history of the Famine-Genocide currently housed in the state archives. However, on the whole, they offer a clear idea of the sources on which knowledge of the 1932–1933 famine in Ukraine is based.

The magnitude of that deliberate disaster, the awareness of Party and state leaders about a possible social upheaval, the authorities' need to suppress the Ukrainian village, the existence of channels of secret recordkeeping and circulation of documents among the different agencies—all were factors that generated written information at all levels of government about the causes, extent, and consequences of the Famine. These records constitute, so to speak, the first type of document about the Famine. The second type consists of the enormous flow of letters, complaints and claims, and statements and accounts concerning the true state of the rural population's suffering from starvation, which were sent to Party committees, governmental agencies, and newspaper editors. Both types of document are primarily kept in the archival holdings of central Party and governmental agencies: the CC CPU, the Politburo, the Secretariat and its departments (in charge of administration, personnel, and information), and oblast and district Party committees, such as the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTsVK), the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR; the People's Commissariats of Internal Affairs, Food, Land Affairs, Education, Public Health, and Justice; the Public Prosecutor's office, the Supreme Court, the Central Auditing Commission, and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, as well as corresponding agencies on the oblast, district, and village levels, committees of poor peasants (*komnezamy*), political departments of MTS (machine and tractor stations), children's homes, agricultural cooperatives, and so forth.

The distinguished scholar Ruslan Pyrih has selected several groups of documents from the archives of the CC CPU: first, proceedings of congresses, conferences, and plenary sessions of the CC CPU, decrees of the Politburo and the Secretariat, and documents of the Central Committee's departments; second, decrees of local committees, and other materials of oblast, city, and district Party committees that were transmitted to the republic headquarters of the All-Union Communist Party; third, briefings from governmental agencies that were sent to the attention of Party leaders; and fourth, citizens' appeals to the Central Committee. Only a small portion of

these have remained intact to this day, since during the evacuation in the summer of 1941, owing to the unavailability of means of transportation, the majority of documents in the archives of the CC CPU, including materials from governmental departments, were destroyed. The only documents that managed to survive were those cataloged as part of the archival holdings of the CC's Politburo.

Documents of central state agencies (housed at the archive of the Higher Agencies of Government) of the Ukrainian SSR contain important information that enables us to understand the real reasons for the Famine, reveals the mechanism of repression against the peasants, and shows the role of republic leaders in carrying out Moscow's policy with regard to the Ukrainian village. They contain the laws and decrees of VUTsVK, the decrees of the Soviet of People's Commissars (at times issued jointly with the CC CP(b)U), decrees of the people's commissariats, memoranda, and information from these state agencies. The most informative materials, however, are not the official documents, but rather the numerous appeals of collective farmers, independent farmers, workers, Red Army servicemen, and the rural intelligentsia to VUTsVK, the Soviet of People's Commissars, and the people's commissariats.

Two groups of related documents in the archives of Ukraine's western regions may be singled out. The first group is concerned with the efforts of Ukrainian organizations and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to organize aid to victims of the Famine on Soviet territory and to hold demonstrations in support of their starving compatriots. The second group contains information from official Polish agencies, including diplomats, about events in the Ukrainian SSR and about refugees from the Ukrainian republic who testified before the relevant agencies of the Polish Republic.

Thus, geographically, the resource materials on the history of the Famine-Genocide cover virtually the entire territory of modern Ukraine, with the possible exception of Transcarpathia, which during the 1930s was part of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea — at the time, a part of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR).

In general, we are talking about more than fifteen hundred archival holdings of institutions and organizations that operated on the territory of twenty-three of the present-day oblasts of Ukraine. The archives contain more than two hundred thousand files. This corpus constitutes an exceptional and extremely rich source base, which has not yet been arranged as a self-contained information base of documentation of the past.

A separate group consists of documents from different agencies created by the law enforcement structures of the time (the GPU, the People's Commis-

sariat of Internal Affairs). Among these, special attention should be paid to information from the GPU agencies of the Ukrainian SSR. First of all, they were created within a punitive system whose main objective “on the internal front” was to expose and prevent counterrevolutionary acts. Second, in view of the scale of the Famine, only the GPU organization with its broad network of agents and unlimited power could secure—or falsify—a complete body of information about the Famine-Genocide. Third, researchers today have at their disposal only one category of documents produced by the GPU: namely, those documents intended for the information of the CC CP(b)U, which were subsequently filed in the Party records of that period. Their content is similar to that of the general corpus, with the exception of such specific types of sources as dispatches “by direct wire” and special communications. The documents were produced on three hierarchical levels—district, oblast, and republic, and their material may be classified into three types—those conveying orders, information, and analysis.

Famine-Genocide documents of a statistical nature may be arranged according to the time frame they cover: one day, five days, seven days, ten days, two weeks, one month. One should also note the classification of statistical data concerning the scale of the Famine: the number of districts involved, the number of settlements within each district affected by famine, the number of households, the number of inhabitants — specifically, adults and children, collective farmers, and individual farmers, the number of people with swollen bodies, ill, or dead from starvation, and the number of cases of cannibalism. The GPU documents reveal that a high degree of attention was paid to subjective aspects of Famine events. In particular, there are descriptions of the political opinions of the peasants, workers, and intelligentsia, as well as of the frightening phenomenon of cannibalism. According to Ruslan Pyrih, the analysis of available documents proves that as food shortages rose and mass starvation increased, the GPU became the most important agency responsible for collecting and summarizing statistical information. At the height of the tragedy, in the spring and beginning of the summer of 1933, this agency became the only likely source of such information. The facts reported in the GPU documents are highly reliable, and they are consistent with our view of the historical setting in which they occurred. The material reflects the realities of the day: the anti-kolkhoz moods and actions of the peasants, the protest actions of the workers, the rise of religious feelings, difficulties with food supply, mass starvation, out-migration for work, homeless children, epidemics, high mortality, cannibalism, and so forth. On the other hand, the statistical figures regarding the number of starvation victims as presented by the GPU agencies, especially at the highest level, require seri-

ous verification against other sources, because in many cases the numbers of dead and ill were often lowered, even when compared with the figures provided by Party agencies.

Recently declassified documents from the archives of different divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in the 1930s are of great interest in view of the fact that they reveal the true scale of the Famine-Genocide and the repressive measures taken to suppress the people's dissatisfaction with the regime's policy. In this respect, the most important archive is that of the Agricultural Enterprises Department of the GPU in the Ukrainian SSR, which administered and controlled the activities of agricultural enterprises. Another important source are documents related to the trials of Ukrainian citizens during the Famine and the practice of exile as punishment. The state archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its regional branches house two thousand files from the period of the Famine-Genocide. They appear to have been put together in a very crude way, and strike the careful reader with their lack of investigative evidence or other proofs consistent with the criminal code.

Unique and unknown until recently are 164 court cases for persons convicted of cannibalism. As a rule, only the protocols are attached to the file, without any supporting evidence. The protocols have two columns: "case heard" and "decision adopted." The latter includes the means of punishment: execution or ten years in a concentration camp. The frightening geographical range of cannibalism cases is revealing: about 40 percent of the cases were in Kyiv oblast; 27 percent in Kharkiv oblast; 14 percent in Odesa oblast; and 7 percent in Dnipropetrovsk oblast.

A separate category consists of the criminal files of "special settlers," who were deported from Ukraine by administrative order from 1920 to 1950. Some 425,000 files have survived for persons resettled in 1932–1933 to the Krasnoiarsk territory, Irkutsk oblast, Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Kemerovo and Tomsk oblasts, and other areas. The files of special settlers are a unique historical source, one that reveals the reasons for the deportation of Ukrainian citizens, their categories, the scale of repression during a particular historical period, and the geography of mass terror. They also make it possible to identify the social and ethnic groups that were the special targets of the system of repression. At the same time, the files were an essential component of the criminal procedures of the time, the records of which are distinguished by the intentional falsification of documents, distortions of facts, and mistakes in surnames.

Another part of the Famine-Genocide documentary base includes the registry of death records maintained by the Civil Registry of Vital Statistics

(ZAGS). At present, they are kept at archival establishments subordinated to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine, and remain virtually an untouched field for researchers of the Famine-Genocide. In spite of the fact that the birth and death records (*metrychni knyhy*) were for the most part destroyed by order of the GPU, and that information about the causes and scale of death has been falsified, some registry books for 1932–1933 have, nevertheless, survived. It is impossible to calculate the total figure of Ukraine's population loss due to the Famine, but it is possible to analyze data in a regional breakdown (on the village and district levels). Both types of these resource collections remain practically unknown to researchers and publishers.

Photo documentation deserves separate investigation and research. For obvious reasons, the state archives did not preserve photographic evidence of the regime's crimes as part of official documentation. That is why, at present, all we have at our disposal are a few photographs from the collection of the Viennese Cardinal Theodor Innitzer and photographs taken by foreign correspondents. All of them were initially published in the 1930s in the Western press and were later republished many times, prompting numerous discussions.

Owing to the extremely limited base of photo sources, photographs from a different historical period and other regions are occasionally published as documentary evidence of the Famine-Genocide. As a rule, such photos come from the period of the first Soviet famine in 1921–1922 on Russian territory. Since it was convenient, at the time, for the Bolsheviks to present the famine—which had actually been caused by the state's policy of “war communism”—as a consequence of foreign military intervention, they willingly allowed these photo documents to be widely circulated. Due to the absence of authentic photo sources of the 1932–1933 Famine-Genocide, these same photographs have been used over and over. Even a recent publication on the Famine-Genocide by the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center seems to include at least one photograph from Russia in 1921.²²

In general, today we can speak of a certain exhaustion of the source base for investigating the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine as well as the exhaustion of traditional forms of documentary publications. There is a clear need to make Famine-related documentary evidence available on a broader scale. Having agreed to continue publications of newly revealed and recently unclassified archival documents, especially those on the regional level, the

²² Wsevolod W. Isajiw, ed., *Famine-Genocide in Ukraine, 1932–1933: Western Archives, Testimonies, and New Research* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre, 2003), 96–7.

State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, jointly with the Ministry of Education and Science and the National Academy of Sciences, has initiated the preparation of a popular edition of a new kind—a documentary reader about the Famine-Genocide to be used as a textbook for all those who study the history of twentieth-century Ukraine in schools, gymnasiums, colleges, and universities. This publication will contain the most striking and representative of the published documents — those that reveal the causes, course, and consequences of the Famine-Genocide, the suppression of truthful information about it, and aid efforts and protest actions.

There is also a need to widely circulate additional sources about the Famine that have not yet been explored—above all, those that are held in the archives of foreign countries. In particular, this category includes documents housed in the central Party-state agencies of the USSR, which are now kept in the archives overseen by the Federal Archival Agency of Russia (the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History and the Russian State Archive of Modern History), the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, and the departmental archives of law-enforcement services—the successors of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and the OGPU of the 1930s. With a few exceptions, these documents are still unknown in Ukraine. Let us recall that the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation received the complete holdings of the former Archive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which had held all of the most important decrees, proceedings of meetings and conferences, announcements, and the correspondence of Joseph Stalin with other members of the Politburo. At present, almost all of this material is classified as secret. Most likely the multilingual *Tragediia sovetskoi derevni, 1927–1939* (The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside, 1927–1939)²³ is the only publication on the problem of the Famine that contains documents from the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, and other federal archives of Russia (with the exception of the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation). Even a cursory analysis of the second volume shows the need for a detailed study of the holdings of the Russian federal archives for the purpose of further research on documentary evidence about the Famine-Genocide. Out of a total of seventy documents in the volume relating to Ukraine, only seventeen have been published in Ukrainian collections. Moreover, the Moscow

²³ *Tragediia sovetskoi derevni: Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie; Dokumenty i materialy v 5 tomakh, 1927–1939*, ed. V. Danilov et al., vol. 1, *Mai 1927–Noiabr' 1929* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1999); vol. 2, *Noiabr' 1929–Dekabr' 1930* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), 928 pp.; vol. 3, *Konets 1930–1933* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), 1008 pp.

volume contains fifteen documents extant in Ukrainian archives—from the republic and oblast level party committees, as well as information from the republic GPU about events in Ukraine—that have never been included in the Kyiv editions. This fact, in particular, compels us to develop strategies for searching in Moscow for documents that the Ukrainian archives do not have, not only on the all-Union, but also on the republic level.

Another promising project would be for Ukrainians to research the still untapped corpus of documentary sources about the Famine-Genocide in Ukrainian areas of the Russian Federation, namely, Kuban, Rostov, and other oblasts adjoining Ukraine.

One more category of little-known sources, though indirect, is the information of diplomatic representatives, correspondents, and secret service agents from Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Germany, Poland, Romania, the United States, France, and Czechoslovakia for the years 1932–1933. Currently, only a small portion of those diplomatic documents has been published. Although British, Italian, and German archives may be considered largely examined, only some of the Polish diplomatic documents have been published, and the archives of foreign diplomatic agencies of other countries neighboring Ukraine in the 1930s have not been researched at all.

A final avenue that can be used to augment the Famine-Genocide source base is the collection of oral testimonies and memoirs of eyewitnesses of the tragedy (survivors) and their descendants. Everywhere oral history sources occupy an important place among historical documentation. The initiative of the devoted first researchers of the oral history of the Famine-Genocide—Maniak, Kovalenko, and Mishchenko—continues today in the work of state archives and universities of Ukraine. Collections of memoirs of surviving victims and eyewitnesses of the Famine are held in the archives of Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv, Sumy, and Cherkasy oblasts. This work obviously requires coordination, as well as serious methodological and financial support, with a view to the urgency of the task given the age of potential respondents.

The Internet offers broad opportunities for publishing documents in order to preserve the memory of one of the greatest tragedies of the twentieth century. In recent years, the World Wide Web has evolved into an extraordinary information resource: an elementary set of keywords (Famine, Genocide, Holodomor, Ukraine) prompts search engines to offer a list of more than eighteen thousand results. A search using only Ukrainian keywords comes up with over a thousand results. Among these are special websites on the Famine-Genocide run by official agencies, public organizations, and memorial

associations; sections about the Famine on other sites; published documents, official materials, investigations, and reviews of sources; press releases, official statements, and speeches; internet exhibits of documents and art; hundreds of publications on the topic at sites about Ukrainian history, modern world history, or the history of communism; special sections on electronic tourist information about Ukraine; data from electronic library catalogs, other bibliographic references, and so on.

Nevertheless, even a superficial review of the Internet sources on the Famine shows that researchers and publishers of documents have clearly not yet fully realized the opportunities for making archival Famine materials available on the Internet. Out of several thousand web references, we can find only two dozen or so of the more informative, specialized websites or web pages that present documentary resources on the subject in a minimally adequate way.

First of all, these are the two Ukrainian sites. The first, titled “Poshuky i znakhidky: Pershodzherela z pytan' Holodomoru v Ukraïni 1932–1933 rr. (Medychnyi Aspekt Problemy)” (Searches and Findings: Primary Sources concerning the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine [Medical Aspects of the Problem]), is the first Ukrainian Internet journal on the history of medicine.²⁴ On the site, the editor-in-chief, Vadym Kohan, has published a review of archival documents on the medical aspect of the Famine. He was the first to introduce to the scholarly world an unexpectedly significant collection of documents from central and local public health agencies and medical institutions that are housed in the Central State Archive of Higher Agencies of Government and Administration of Ukraine (TsDAVO), and the state archives of Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Odesa, Cherkasy, and Kherson oblasts. (It should be noted that at least twelve thousand files of the People's Commissariat for the Public Health of Ukraine from the 1930s were destroyed in 1941, on the eve of Kyiv's occupation.) The documents that were saved characterize the medical problem of the Famine-Genocide along the following lines: the impact of food shortages prior to and during the Famine period on the state of general health organizations and medical workers in rural areas; the starvation and illness rate of the population (including infectious diseases); statistics about starving persons and patients whose bodies were swollen from lack of protein and the number of those who died

²⁴ See Vadim Kogan, “Search and Findings: Primary Sources concerning the Famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933 (Medical Aspects [of] the Problem), *Agapit* ([The Ukrainian Historical and Medical Journal, National Museum of Medicine of Ukraine], Kyiv), no. 13 (2002), <http://www.histomed.kiev.ua/agapit/ag1/ag01-15e.html>; reprinted on the website ArtUkraine.com, <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/medasp.htm>.

from starvation; the falsification of diagnoses; population growth and loss (birth and death rates in individual districts); the homeless rate for children and adults; methods of fighting these phenomena; the sanitary conditions of children's institutions; the turnover among medical personnel in rural areas; the use of food substitutes to feed the starving population; poisoning and diseases caused by the consumption of unsuitable plant and animal food substitutes; aid for the starving from public health agencies.

The second Ukrainian site, titled "Uroky istorii: Holodomor 1932–33 rr." (The Lessons of History: the Famine-Genocide of 1932–33) was created in August 2003 by the "Ukraine 3000" Foundation.²⁵ The authors of the new site have announced the beginning of a large-scale publication that will include testimonies of famine witnesses, which are being collected by Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv students with the help of an original questionnaire composed by Professor Valentyna Borysenko, and also documents from Ukrainian archives and diplomatic reports.

Among the non-Ukrainian sites, special attention should be paid to a website that is rich in content and contains more resources than any other—"Holodomor v Ukraïni 1933 r." (Famine-Genocide in Ukraine in 1933), created by the Famine Genocide Commemorative Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (Toronto branch) between 1998 and 2002.²⁶ Oddly enough, however, it contains only a limited number of documents: two British diplomatic reports; an item already widely available on the Internet—the resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and of the CC CP(b)U dated December 6, 1932, on blacklisting villages that "maliciously sabotage the collection of grain"; five fragments of memoirs about the Famine; the full text of Pavlo Makohon's well-known memoir; and, finally, two texts from the testimony of eyewitnesses before the Ukraine Famine Commission in Washington, D.C., on October 8, 1986. In the summer of 2003, photo documents from the newspaper *Chicago American* from 1935 were posted on the website for a brief time, but were later removed, apparently owing to uncertainty about whether they were actual photos of the 1933 Ukraine Famine.

Eyewitness accounts from the second volume of *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book* have recently been put on the website "*The Ukrainian*

²⁵ "Ukraine 3000" Foundation, "Uroky istorii: Holodomor 1932–33," <http://golodomor.org.ua/>.

²⁶ Famine Genocide Commemorative Committee, Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Toronto Branch, "Famine-Genocide in Ukraine 1932–1933," <http://www.faminegenocide.com/>.

Weekly pro Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni” (*The Ukrainian Weekly on the Great Famine 1932–1933 in Ukraine*).²⁷

A short overview of an oral history collection is provided on the site of the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre (UCRDC Archival Collection).²⁸ The collection consists of approximately eight hundred audio and video interviews in English and Ukrainian, including audio records of testimonies by Famine-Genocide witnesses recorded between 1981 and 1988 and published by the United States Congress Commission on the Ukraine Famine.

The United States Library of Congress has published, on its website, part of an internet exhibit of documents from the Russian archives. Among them is the document mentioned above, the Resolution of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of December 1932. The website of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Minnesota also includes a copy of the Resolution of 1932.²⁹

Finally, excerpts from Welsh journalist Gareth Jones’s diary relating to the Famine in Soviet Ukraine during March 1933 have also been published on the internet (facsimile and transcription), along with his newspaper articles.³⁰

Therefore, the more than modest collection of source publications on the Internet may be said to comprise the following: a single document (and even that—a copy) from the Russian archives, some two dozen testimonies, memoirs, and diary entries, and several overviews of sources. That is the sum total. One of the reasons for internet “source poverty” is the cost-free access to archival documents that it allows, which makes it impossible for the owners of source materials to protect copyright on the Web. This problem is made manifest on the website of the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre, which includes a price list for providing copies of documents. On the eve of the seventieth anniversary of the Famine, the State

²⁷ Ukrainian National Association, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, [Great Famine Section], http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/Great_Famine/index.shtml.

²⁸ Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre, [see esp. sections “Archives,” “Documentaries,” “Publications,” and “Projects”], <http://www.interlog.com/~ucrdc/>.

²⁹ Library of Congress Exhibitions “Revelations from the Russian Archives: Ukrainian Famine,” [see “Memorandum on the Grain Problem” and “Translation of Memorandum”], <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/ukra.html>; Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Links and Bibliography, “Ukraine Famine and Genocide: 1929–1935,” http://www.chgs.umn.edu/Links__Bibliography/Links/U_-_V/u_-_v.html.

³⁰ For more information on the Welsh investigative journalist, see the website entitled “Gareth Richard Vaughan Jones, Hero of Ukraine (1905–1935),” <http://colley.co.uk/garethjones/>.

Archives of Ukraine created a special source section on its website, where the following items appeared: (1) the conditions of the period of the late 1920s–early 1930s: a presentation of the “visual interior” of collectivization and the Famine-Genocide through official photo documents from the collection of the H. S. Pshenychnyi Central State Motion Picture, Photograph, and Sound Archive of Ukraine (TsDKFFA), with the option of downloading an unlimited number of high-quality images; (2) a bibliography of published Famine sources, overviews of sources, and catalogs of archival documents on the topic; (3) an annotated list of Internet resources, as well as annotation of the latest source publications. This part of the site is also available on the compact disc recently issued by the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine.³¹

In conclusion, it should be noted that one of the most effective and promising formats for making archival resources widely available, including the Famine topic, is publishing in microform. In 2002 the State Archives of Ukraine began joint projects with the leading publisher of archival collections, the U.S. company Primary Source Microform.³² All those who are interested may now acquire the first collection on the Famine: documents from the former Party archive (Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine [TsDAHO], formerly the Archive of the CC CPU). Finally, I would like to note the generous, longstanding support of the Ukrainian Studies Fund for numerous publishing and Internet projects aimed at the broad exposure and dissemination of Ukraine’s archival resources.

³¹ Archives of Ukraine, “Famine in Ukraine 1932–1933: Official Photo Documents, Source Publications; Bibliography, Surveys, Internet Resources,” <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/index.php>. Also available as a CD under the same name; see list of CDs published by the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine, <http://www.archives.gov.ua/Publicat/CD/index.php>.

³² See *Holodomor: Famine in Ukraine, 1932–1933, from the Central State Archive of Popular Organizations*, Kiev (Woodbridge, Conn.: Primary Source Microform, 2004), 158 reels. Microfilm collection of documents from the Central State Archive of Public Organizations in Ukraine (Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukraïny, TsDAHO), fond 1, “Central Committee of the Communist Party,” opys 1, 6, 16, and 20; and fond 7, “Central Committee of the Lenin Youth Communist League of Ukraine,” opys 1.