

Голодомор 1932 – 1933 рр.

The Holodomor 1932 – 1932

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HOLODOMOR OF 1932-1933: THE FINAL OF THE PEASANT REVOLUTION

Abstract. *The aim is to consider the Holodomor of 1932-1933, taking into account the events of the Peasant revolution of 1902-1933 in Ukraine.*

The scientific novelty of the publication lies in the explanation of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as a tool for the physical and spiritual destruction of another for the Soviet authorities - the Ukrainian peasant-ideoman, an active subject of the peasant revolution of 1902-1933 in Ukraine.

Conclusions. *In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Soviet totalitarianism, implementing agrarian policy in the Ukrainian countryside, forming a new type of Soviet peasant, represented a peasant counter-revolution. Its goal was clear and understandable - not only the physical, but also the spiritual and cultural destruction of the Ukrainian peasant-ideoman, formed at the beginning of the 20th century.*

In the late 1920s – early 1930s, Soviet totalitarianism, applying taxes, grain procurement, artificially provoking the Holodomor of 1932-1933, forming a new type of Soviet peasant, represented a peasant counter-revolution. Its goal was clear and understandable – not only the physical, but also the spiritual and cultural destruction of the Ukrainian peasant-ideoman, formed at the beginning of the 20th century. The Holodomor of 1932-1933 wiped out the Ukrainian peasants-ideomans, the traditional Ukrainian peasant culture. It caused serious damage to Ukrainian identity.

Key words: *peasant, Holodomor, totalitarianism, peasant-ideomaniac.*

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ГОЛОДОМОР 1932 – 1933 РР.: ФІНАЛ СЕЛЯНСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ

Анотація. Мета – розглянути Голодомор 1932 – 1933 рр. із урахуванням подій Селянської революції 1902 – 1933 рр. в Україні.

Наукова новизна публікації полягає в поясненні Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. як інструменту реалізації фізичного і духовного нищення іншого для радянської влади – українського селянина-ідеомана, активного суб'єкта Селянської революції 1902 – 1933 рр. в Україні.

Висновки. Наприкінці 1920-х – на початку 1930-х рр. радянський тоталітаризм, реалізуючи аграрну політику в українському селі, формує новий тип радянського селянина, представляв собою селянську контрреволюцію. Її мета була чітка і зрозуміла – не лише фізичне, а і духовно-культурне знищення українського селянина-ідеомана, сформованого на початку ХХ ст.

Голодомор 1932 – 1933 рр. винищив українських селян-ідеоманів, традиційну українську селянську культуру. Ним було завдано серйозної шкоди українській ідентичності.

Ключові слова: селянин, Голодомор, тоталітаризм, селянин-ідеоман.

Problem statement. The first third of the 20th century in the history of Ukraine – a relatively short, but extremely rich period of time with historical events. Such, in particular, were the World War I, the fall of the Romanov empire under the influence of the February events of 1917, the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921, the announcement of a new economic policy, the repressive policy of Stalin's totalitarianism, the Holodomor of 1932-1933, etc. Their professional research is relevant and socially significant. In our opinion, the more time distances contemporaries from those events, the more important it is not to forget and academic understanding of that time, the formation of an adequate policy of national memory, which would be a tool for uniting the nation in its ideas about the common past.

Research analysis. First of all, academic study of the history of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 has not lost its relevance, it is scientifically and socially significant, avoiding speculation both on this topic and around it, honouring the victims of this tragedy, the memory of the innocent victims. We are impressed by the sociolinguist Sh. Linde's scientific reflections on the fact that the reverse side of memory loss is an equal and opposite fear

that memory reproduces practices that would be better to forget. Considering this, the scientist justifies the opinion that too much memory is the same problem as too much forgetting¹. And in this context, what is important, we believe, is a reasonable balance between these extremes: excessive forgetting and excessive memory.

According to the results of the scientific analysis of domestic² and foreign scientists³, the theme of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 is one of the most studied scientific problems in world historiography and includes more than 20,000 studies⁴. At the same time, not all aspects of this multifaceted scientific problem have been fully and evenly studied. First of all, the methodological principles of understanding this tragedy need further development.

The authors of the article **aim** to consider the Holodomor of 1932-1933, taking into account the events of the peasant revolution of 1902-1933 in Ukraine.

The statement of the basic material. The unfolding of the peasant revolution of 1902-1933 in Ukraine, the content of the concept is objectively presented in the works of Ukrainian researchers^{5,6,7,8,9,10,11}. With this in mind, let's consider the main content of the second sub-

1 Menkouski V., Šmigel' M., Dubinka-Hushcha L. "THE HUNGER GAMES": Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 in History, Historiography and Historical policy. Banská Bystrica, 2020. P. 139.

2 Харченко А. Сучасна українська історіографія Голодомору: студії та дослідники. *Історіографічні дослідження в Україні*. 2017. Вип. 27. С. 187-219.

3 Menkouski V., Šmigel' M., Dubinka-Hushcha L. "THE HUNGER GAMES": Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 in History, Historiography and Historical policy. Banská Bystrica, 2020. 270 p.

4 Ibid. P. 138.

5 Фареній І. Про правомірність концепції «Великої селянської революції» В.П. Данилова. *Український селянин*. 2014. Вип. 14. С. 162-166.

6 Pasichna Yu. Agrarianism: a new concept of understanding the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921. *Український селянин*. 2021. Вип. 25. С. 79-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31651/2413-8142-2021-25-Pasichna>

7 Кононенко Ю., Корновенко С. Селянська революція 1902 – ? рр. *Український селянин*. 2016. Вип. 16. С. 73-78.

8 Корновенко С. Селянська революція в Україні початку ХХ ст.: хронологія і внутрішня періодизація. *Український селянин*. 2017. Вип. 17. С. 48-56.

9 Корновенко С. Суб'єктний складник аграрного питання як одна з передумов Української революції 1917-1921 рр. *Український історичний журнал*. 2017. №4. С. 83-95.

10 Ковальова Н. Селяни, поміщики і держава: конфлікти інтересів. «Аграрна революція» в Україні 1902-1922 рр. Дніпропетровськ : Ліра, 2016. 368 с.

11 Донік О., Опря Б., Федьков О. Політичні партії та селянство в українських губерніях Російської імперії наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст.: соціоментальні й інституційні чинники взаємодії. *Український історичний журнал*. 2021. № 2. С. 42-61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2021.02.029>

period of the third stage of the Peasant Revolution¹², which coincided in time with the «great break» in the countryside. This will allow a new understanding of the essence and meaning of many phenomena of the agrarian history of Ukraine at that time, in particular the Holodomor of 1932-1933.

The Ukrainian countryside and peasantry for the Bolsheviks/Soviet authorities in the first third of the 20th century was a source of food, human resources in the construction of communism, etc. In fact, it was understood as a tool for establishing and later strengthening Soviet power, achieving the bright communist goal. Only in this sense was it important for them. In itself, the peasantry doctrinally did not fit into the concept of the Soviet model of the state. In particular, in his speech on February 12, 1929, Y. Stalin highly praised the state inherited from V. Lenin. He declared that «there has never been a state in the history of nations as large and powerful in terms of its strength and scope as the proletarian dictatorship». With the perspective of the development of such a state, the Secretary General described the death of the state under communism in an original way in his interpretation: «... a completely unseen strengthening of the functions of the state in the person of the grassroots proletariat». In another speech, the party leader was even more frank: «The death of the state in our country is preceded by a period of higher development of state power (dictatorship of the proletariat), which is the most powerful and powerful power of all state powers that have existed so far». J. Stalin proved that only a strong state – the personification of the «grassroots proletariat» – can complete the task of building communism¹³. As evidenced by the above analysis and the content of other speeches and works of the General Secretary, the peasantry was not recognized as the basic basis of the proletarian dictatorship.

Such an approach in the relations between the authorities and the peasantry could not but be conflict-prone, given at least the fact that the peasantry numerically dominated the structure of Ukrainian society. It is common knowledge that 82% of Ukrainians at that time were peasants. In the then Dnieper Ukraine alone, out of a total population of 30 million, 25 million were peasants.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the peasantry resisted the Soviet government and the state: from covert to open armed resistance. It did not put up with another communalization of the countryside. According to the observations of A. Graziosi, the second phase (1928-1933) of the peasant war against the Bolsheviks continued¹⁴. In our opinion, this was a manifestation of the peasant revolution. The peasant-Soviet confrontation was large-scale and fierce. A. Besanson, comparing it

with the period of the revolution of 1917-1921, aptly remarked: «... in terms of its scope and danger for the Bolshevik government, the peasant war was more massive and national than a civil war»¹⁵. According to data provided by V. Tylishchak, the peasant revolt against the agrarian policy of the Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian countryside at the end of the 1920s spread exponentially. In 1927, there were 173 «terrorist attacks» in the terminology of the time, in 11 months of 1928 – 351, in 1929 – 1,437, in 1930 – 4,000¹⁶. Peasant partisan units continued to operate in some regions of Ukraine. The anti-Soviet peasant resistance movement gained particular momentum in Eastern Volhynia and Podilia. As of the second half of March 1930, peasant riots covered the territory of the 16th okruhas of the border zone of the Ukrainian SSR. According to B. Patrilyak's observations, the rebel peasants of these territories managed to take control of some district centres¹⁷.

In contrast to the ideas of the Bolsheviks, as well as to their predecessors – the tsarist government officials, the peasantry, as illustrated above, was not a passive subject of history. A careful analysis of the evolution of the Ukrainian peasantry in the second half of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century allows us to talk about the appearance of qualitatively new features in the peasant environment, primarily in the Dnieper region, about the transformation of the peasantry into an active subject of socio-political processes and socio-economic transformations of the given period. Using the terminology of Western historiography¹⁸, we believe that this new type is the type of peasant-ideoman. Sharing the opinions of R. Conquest, A. Alvarez, E. Hofer, the peasant-ideoman is a peasant excited by ideas. The ideological field of the peasant-ideoman is the dominant «Idea of the Land». It was realized and understood as «the only Hope». So, a new peasant appeared on the front stage of the history of Ukraine – a peasant of the revolutionary era with revolutionary slogans – an active subject of the history of the first third of the 20th century.

The appearance of such a subject, combined with other reasons, led to the peasant revolution, which began with the revolt of the peasants of the Poltava and Kharkiv provinces in 1902, which ended, we believe, in 1932-1933.

The end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s is particularly tragic in the agrarian history of Ukraine. The implementation of the Soviet agrarian policy was primarily tragic for the Ukrainian peasantry. The agrarian policy of the Soviet government in the Ukrainian countryside at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s was, by its essence, another stage of the socio-economic, socio-political, cultural

12 Корновенко С. Селянська революція в Україні початку ХХ ст.: хронологія і внутрішня періодизація. *Український селянин*. 2017. Вип. 17. С. 48-56.

13 Кульчицький С. Сталінська «революція згори». *Проблеми історії України: факти, судження, пошуки*. 2013. №22. С. 111.

14 Грациози А. Великая крестьянская война в СССР. Большевики и крестьяне. 1917 – 1933. Москва : РОССПЭН; Фонд Первого Президента России Б. Н. Ельцина, 2008. С. 5.

15 Безансон А. Війна більшовиків проти селян. *Всесвіт*. 1993. №9–10. С. 129.

16 Тилишчак В. Селянські повстання і Голодомор. Як українське село чинило спротив колективізації. URL: https://antikor.com.ua/articles/138356-seljansjki_povstannja

17 Патриляк Б. Сталін як Путін. Голодомор – реакція на мільйонний селянський «майдан» початку 1930-х. URL: http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2014/11/19/145925/view_print

18 Конквест Р. Роздуми над сплюндрованим сторіччям. Київ: Основи, 2003. 371 с.

communist assault on the countryside with its inherent radical, repressive and punitive methods of implementation, «socialist front». Its point was aimed at the destruction of the Ukrainian peasant-ideoman of 1902 – the beginning of the 1930s and those gains that the peasantry received during the previous stages of the peasant revolution. In fact, 1929-1933 became the final chord of the peasant revolution.

Under the influence of the Soviet agrarian policy in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR in the late 1920s - early 1930s, a new figure is formed in the countryside, different from the previous one, which, with state support, confidently supplants the peasant-ideoman of 1902 – early 1930s. Socialism, according to the Soviet leaders, was supposed to form another, higher type of man. Starting from 1923-1924, in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, a purposeful strategy was formed, subordinated to the overarching idea – the upbringing of a new human. The First All-Union Congress on the Study of Human Behaviour (1930) was a unique result of the search for ways to create a «superhuman». Its participants declared that the new socialist society needed new people; the creation of a new human from old human material was declared impossible; the socialist reconstruction of human became a priority task of Soviet science¹⁹.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the collective farm and state farm peasant became a new figure in the agrarian history of Soviet Ukraine²⁰. Compared to the previous type, this was a qualitatively different peasant, formed in the new Soviet ideological and intellectual field. The «idea of the land» was perceived by them in a qualitatively different way, their consciousness reflected other priorities. First of all, it is devotion to the goals of the party, identification with the new proletarian public, forgetting one's past²¹. Soviet Marxists considered peasants as raw material for the creation of a new mechanism. If it was difficult for V. Lenin to determine the final place of the peasants in the dictatorship of the proletariat, then Y. Stalin went much further in this regard. He unequivocally emphasized that the creation of «real peasants» is possible by attracting the latter to the party. Coercion was considered a permissible means of re-educating the peasantry, creating a «new rural human», «a new psychology of the working peasantry»²².

The city defeated the countryside, the Bolsheviks defeated the peasants. In the Ukrainian countryside in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the elements of commodity-money relations were destroyed, and an administrative-command system of managing the collective farm and state farm peasantry was introduced. The policy of disarmament is the policy of the actual destruction of the peasant-owner, the peasant-ideoman of 1902 – the beginning of the 1930s. The establishment

of total state control over the peasantry led to its de-subjectivization, transformation into a completely state-dependent one. In this context, transformation attracts attention and the legal status of the Ukrainian peasantry in the early 1930s. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the de facto and de jure content of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of April 9, 1933 «Temporary Rules of Procedure in Collective Farms» significantly limited the rights of peasants. In particular, one of the natural human rights is the right to movement. They were forbidden to leave the villages. In addition, the state refused to issue passports to peasants. Considering these and other facts, we share the well-founded position of Ukrainian scientists (in particular, V. Marochko), who equate this legal status of the Ukrainian collective farm peasantry with serfdom.

The establishment of the state farm-collective system, the establishment of collective farm-state farm ownership of land, the state policy of grain procurement, fiscal policy, the Holodomor of 1932–1933 were the instruments of suppressing the peasant revolution, destroying the peasant-ideoman, an active subject of Ukrainian history. In our opinion, in addition to the facts known in historiography, the Stalinist revolution in from above the countryside had another reason. If for the peasants-ideomans of 1902 – the beginning of the 1930s the «Idea» was the «Idea of the Land», then for the Bolsheviks, as well as other antagonists of the 1917-1921 revolution, the «Idea» was the «Idea of Power». Land was a tool for achieving power. No symbiosis occurred. Having received the «Land», the peasants did not know what to do with the «Power». Having received «Power», the Bolsheviks did not know what to do with «Land». Peasants-ideomans of 1902 – the beginning of the 1930s turned out to be superfluous in the proletarian state, and therefore doomed to be exterminated by it.

The conclusions. Thus, in fact, in the late 1920s – early 1930s, Soviet totalitarianism, applying taxes, grain procurement, artificially provoking the Holodomor of 1932-1933, forming a new type of Soviet peasant, represented a peasant counter-revolution. Its goal was clear and understandable – not only the physical, but also the spiritual and cultural destruction of the Ukrainian peasant-ideoman, formed at the beginning of the 20th century. The Holodomor of 1932-1933 wiped out the Ukrainian peasants-ideomans, the traditional Ukrainian peasant culture. It caused serious damage to Ukrainian identity.

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20 Білан С. Соціально-економічний та національно-культурний злам українського селянства (1929 – 1939 рр.): автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня доктора. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 історія України. Київ, 2014. 40 с.; Захарченко М. Особливості соціокультурного життя українського села у 1920–1929 рр.: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 історія України. Черкаси, 2012. 20 с.

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22 Ibid. С. 357.

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