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## **DETERMINING THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF THE HOLODOMOR GENOCIDE OF 1932-1933 IN UKRAINE**

The article analyzes the state of counting the casualties of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. In particular, there are testimonies of German and Italian diplomats of the time, who received confidential information from Soviet officials, which formed the basis of the established diaspora statement about the casualties: "from 7 to 10 million". It is noted that during Gorbachev's Perestroika in the USSR, Moscow was forced to recognize the Holodomor in Ukraine and allowed to write about the loss of 3.5 million people. Modern Ukrainian demographers, who work for foreign grants, continue to support this figure with some clarifications. At the same time, the primary documents of the Ukrainian archives, thanks to the historical and statistical method, make it possible to establish the minimum number of casualties during the Holodomor-genocide of 1932-1933 at 7,117.6 thousand people, because the information has been perceived on the population of the UkrSSR as of early 1932 (32,680 thousand people) and those born in 1932-1933, which allows us to establish the presence of inhabitants of the city and village as of January 1, 1934 using updated materials of the All-Union Census of 1937 and human growth in 1934-1936 – only 26,815.8 thousand. And it should have been 33,853.5 thousand people. And the use of historical-statistical method of calculation allows to reach the figure of 9.5 million in the UkrSSR. This is provided that the dead hungry Ukrainian peasants in Russia and Belarus, where they went for bread, and were shot by Soviet border guards or drowned in the Zbruch and the Dniester due to their inability to swim are counted; when the number of workers brought from the Soviet republics in 1932-1936 to the socialist new buildings of the UkrSSR, who were counted as its inhabitants during the All-Union census of 1937, etc., are established.

Of particular importance for establishing the probability of these losses is the reconstruction of the correspondence of the occupancy of the first grades of Ukrainian schools in 1932-1939 with the number of births in 1924-1931. Thus, in the Orativ, Tarashchansky, and Pereyaslavsky districts of the then Kyiv Region, after 1933, half or even less of 8-year-old children were admitted to school. The same picture was observed in all areas of the current Poltava Region. As in all primary schools in the Petrykivka district of the Dnipropetrovsk Region, where almost half of last year's students of 1st-3rd grades, who continued their education from September 1, 1933, were not admitted – 1,883.

This comprehensive approach to the study has made it possible to establish the loss of children, which was not less than 4 million, and the total losses in the UkrSSR, using the historical and legal method, – more than 9 million people. More than 1 million losses of Ukrainians outside the UkrSSR should be added to these victims, which is a total of more than 10 million.

**Keywords:** *Holodomor genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-1933; historical-statistical calculations and demographic calculations of real losses.*

### **Introduction**

With the recognition of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as genocide of the Ukrainian people, the attention of researchers to determining the number of casualties of this national tragedy has increased. Therefore, **the purpose of the article** is to analyze published studies on this subject and, having evaluated the original documents from the former secret archives, as well as eyewitness accounts, to propose new approaches to determining the number of casualties, taking into account the full range of sources and new methods of scientific research available to scientists.

**The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism. In addition to the historical-system

method, critical analysis of sources, problem-chronological, typological methods have been used, as well as synthesis and generalization. The author proposes the use of historical-statistical method, when the analysis of available documents on population in different periods allows to obtain the necessary data by arithmetic calculation, which determines the minimum casualties. In addition, given the deliberate destruction of the main array of statistical documents of the prewar period by the Bolshevik authorities, the author proposes to apply the historical-demographic method of calculating all victims of the Holodomor genocide of 1932-1933 through a comparative analysis of fullness of primary school in 1932-1939, in

particular, of the first grades, with the number of births in the respective years.

### Results and discussion

The problem of casualties during the Holodomor genocide in Ukraine in 1932-1933 arose at that time, primarily in the reports of foreign diplomats accredited to the USSR. For example, the Consulate General of Germany in Kharkov reported on December 11, 1933: "It is known from reliable sources that, according to official estimates, seven million victims do not represent a great loss, but this means that a quarter of the peasantry was destroyed, which is a terrible number even compared to the victims of World War II" (*Holodomor v Ukrayini*, 2008: 161).

And Schiller, an employee of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union, added: "In my opinion, the above figure of 10 million victims of famine is not an exaggeration" (*Holodomor v Ukrayini*, 2008: 130).

These figures were constantly used by the Ukrainian diaspora when it began to honor the victims of the Holodomor. For example, on August 2, 1953, a demonstration was held in Manchester, Great Britain, under the slogan "We blame Moscow for the deaths of seven million Ukrainians killed by the famine of 1933".<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that in the USSR, any mention of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was forbidden, so there were no figures concerning its victims. Only with the beginning of Gorbachev's Perestroika it was allowed to write about it, presenting it as a tragedy of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Thus, the director of the Central State Archives of the USSR V. Tsaplin writes that the high mortality rate in 1933 is directly related to Ukraine, because "according to the UkrSSR data, the number of deaths was 2.9 million people, i.e. more than half of those who starved to death in the USSR, meanwhile, when the population of Ukraine is only one-fifth of the population of the USSR" (*Tsaplin*, 1989: 180).

At the same time, this author notes that 3.8 million people were not registered in the civil registry during this period (*Ibid*: 178). Apparently, therefore, in those years in the Central Department of National Accounting of the State Plan of the USSR "two calculations of natural population increase were purposefully carried out: one for the press, the other for official use" (*Ibid*).

As for Ukrainian researchers, even in 1988 they protested against the meetings of the International Commission of Jurists, which considered this issue in Brussels and New York, trying to prove that "there was no famine", and already at the time of independence they, as "the most prepared", began to acknowledge this tragedy, repenting for their Soviet improvidence. The championship here was held by Professor Stanislaw Kulczycki, who constantly repeated the figure of 3,238,000 people allowed since communist times, which he considered to be a direct loss from the 1933 famine. In addition, he added 144 thousand losses in 1932 (*Kulchytskyy*, 1991: 355, 356).

Later, associating itself with modern Ukrainian demographers, he moved to their position on the loss of 3.9 million and persistently promoted this figure in the submission to the UN, because it allegedly helped the world to recognize the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as genocide. At the same time, his argument, as well as that of

our demographers, seems rather strange: since the number of losses of 3.9 million is already known in the world, let us accept it completely. Moreover, as is said, even the factual basis of publications by well-known foreign authors "was formed in collaboration with Ukrainian scholars and Ukrainian culture scientists of the United States and Canada" (*Serhiychuk*, 2020: 491).

Modern foreign researchers, as a rule, repeat the arguments of S. Kulchytsky. In fact, only one of them tries to declare the figure of 3.8 million deaths by referring to the postulates of demographic science. In particular, Oleg Volovyna, an employee of the Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, published his article "Terror by famine: how to scientifically justify the number of victims?" (*Volovyna*, 2018).

It was O. Volovyna who created the Ukrainian-American group, which, working on foreign grants organized by him, tried to establish this figure as the final number of victims of the Holodomor genocide of 1932-1933. Members of this group, in particular, state: "Between 1932 and 1933, about 8.7 million deaths in the USSR were caused by famine. Almost 98% of these casualties were in the three Soviet republics: Ukraine (3.9 million), Russia (3.3 million) and Kazakhstan (1.3 million). If we calculate the relative losses, i.e. losses per thousand of population, Ukraine is second after Kazakhstan. Hunger losses account for 22% of the total population of Kazakhstan, 17% in Ukraine, 3% in Russia and less than 2% in other republics of the former USSR" (*Levchuk et al*, 2015: 87).

Unfortunately, these authors do not show the sequence of their calculations, and the sharp decline in the population of Ukraine is explained mainly by its intensive migration outside the UkrSSR, which is not confirmed by available documents. Thus, the mechanical movement of the population of the Kharkiv Region outside the UkrSSR in 1932-1936 has the following results (Table 1):

**Table 1. – Population movement of the Kharkiv Region outside the UkrSSR in 1932-1936<sup>2</sup>**

Migration area	Arrived / departed			
	1932	1934	1935	1936
The RSFSR	92485 / 73206	71880/ 57053	75102/ 70715	101727/ 79157
The BSSR	2705/ 2216	1921/ 1717	2778/ 2685	2720/ 2388
The Azerbaijan SSR	899/ 792	599/ 616	1321/ 855	1381/ 1516
The Armenian SSR	95/ 60	152/ 141	372/ 269	489/ 393
The Georgian SSR	1155/ 926	1281/ 1030	1613/ 1191	1609/ 1349
The Uzbek SSR	443/ 369	435/ 312	582/ 463	639/ 630
The Tajik SSR	75/ 61	97/ 37	176/ 79	146/ 102
The Turkmen SSR	189/ 926 <sup>3</sup>	112/ 138	322/ 177	441/ 284

<sup>2</sup> State Archives of Kharkiv Region. Fund P-5231. File 2. List 2. Page I. 5, 5 (rev.); File 10. List I. Page 1-1 (rev.); File 18. List I. Page 7, 7 (rev); File 27. List I. Page 7, 7 (rev).

<sup>3</sup> It is, obviously, about return of a part of the so-called "bais" which were sent to the southern areas of the USSR for introduction of cotton.

<sup>1</sup> Ukrainski visti (Novyi Ulm). 1953. 22 zhovtnia (Ukrainian News (New Ulm). 1953. October 22).

It should be added that Ukrainian peasants who rushed to the city to get a job in order to save their families from starvation were not taken into account, because labor would be sought on the sidelines. For example, on January 8, 1932, Khudokormov, a member of the People's Commissariat for Labour, reported to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR that in 1932, an additional 600,000 people were needed to provide industry and construction with labor, including 130,000 for the Donbass mines. For the latter, it was planned to recruit 44,000 from the UkrSSR and 64,000 from the RSFSR.<sup>4</sup>

The need for 130 thousand skilled workers was planned to be covered by economic training of 70 thousand, as well as by recruiting 20 thousand from the regions of the UkrSSR and 40 thousand – from the RSFSR.<sup>5</sup>

The recruitment plan for the "Stalinugol" for March-May 1932 provided for: 6,575, including 2,375 from the UkrSSR, 800 from the Central Committee, 2,500 from Tatarstan, and 900 from the BSSR.<sup>6</sup>

The tradition of importing labor from outside the UkrSSR gained special development with the beginning of the Holodomor. According to the documents, "the most stable were the groups recruited from the Western Region and the Tatarstan Republic... In terms of the implementation of the plan, Ukraine was the last".<sup>7</sup>

On this occasion, on January 23, 1932, Kosior was informed: "Now we are witnessing the following picture: old miners from Belarus and the Central Black Earth Region, who have settled in the village in recent years, untie the "anchor" with all their belongings, families and matchmakers and move to Donbass, and seem to settle in Donbass seriously and permanently".<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, this was noted and on April 10, 1932, members and candidates for members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U considered a note on the need "to replenish the loss in the labor force, make a new recruitment of labor for the Donbass in the amount of 20 thousand people. Of these, 10 thousand should be recruited within Ukraine, and the remaining 10 thousand – within the RSFSR, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) should be asked for this".<sup>9</sup>

This tendency – to recruit anything outside the UkrSSR – was supported at the grass-roots level. Thus, the leaders of the Chemical Plant named after H.I. Petrovsky, which in August 1932 lacked 2,795 workers, asked the higher authorities to "to allocate other areas in Ukraine, obliging regional organizations to ensure the let people from collective farms, and to raise a question before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the People's Commissariat for Labor on the allocation of areas in the RSFSR and the Byelorussian SSR for an organized recruitment of labor force".<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, such a phenomenon as the self-flow of labor became widespread, including from outside the

UkrSSR, and at other large enterprises. For example, in the first eight months of 1932, 7,849 workers came to the construction of "Azovstal" due to self-flow, and only 3,002 were recruited.<sup>11</sup>

Recruitment of labor from outside the UkrSSR was in the first place and the participants in a special meeting on "streamlining the case of recruiting workers for the coal industry of Donbass" at the Donetsk Regional Committee of the CP(b)U in January 1933, which invited "representatives of NKTrud USSR and Ukrainian SSR, Glavtop, coal trusts of Donbass and their representatives from regions, representatives of regional committee of TsCO, Belarus, Tatarstan, Kyiv region, Vinnytsia..."<sup>12</sup>

Local "Moscow watchers" were instructed to take the initiative in this regard. Thus, on August 4, 1933, Khazanov, secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk regional committee, asked Kaganovich and Kosior to "allocate additional limits on the import of skilled and unskilled labor from other regions and republics of the Union in the amount of up to 36,000 people (preferably from the Tatar, Bashkir and Belarusian republics)".<sup>13</sup>

And on July 24, 1933, the bureau of the Regional Committee decided: "Considering that the intraregional labor resources cannot cover all the needs of factories and new buildings in the region, to ask the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry to provide the factories and new buildings of our region, and primarily the factories of Petrovsky and Dzerzhinsky, with labor from other regions and territories of the Union, in order for the People's Commissariat for Labor to attach Tatarstan and Bashkiria for recruitment and allocate additional limits for qualified and unqualified labor force".<sup>14</sup>

On September 25, 1933, the same secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party, Khazanov, informing Kaganovich and Postyshev that up to 25,000 recruited collective farmers from the Middle Volga were working on the region's construction sites, asked to be allowed to "use the money they earned to buy grain in an organized manner during the period of permission for free trade of grain".<sup>15</sup>

Three weeks later, the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee asked Kaganovich to allow "allocating additional limits on the import of labor of 36,000 people into the region, preferably from the Tatar, Bashkir and Belarusian republics".<sup>16</sup> And on November 3, 1933, the bureau considered the issue of preparation for the acceptance of the recruited labor force by factories on the Middle Volga. Concerns were expressed that Dniprokombinat had not mastered the recruitment orders for 12,000 workers in this Russian region, the plants named after Dzerzhinsky and Petrovsky, the Dzerzhinskibud trust – for 2,000 each, the "Ruda" trust and Kryvbasbud – for 4,000 each. Nikopolbud (order for 1,000 workers), Kryvyi Rih-Coke-Chemical Installation (1,000), and Zaporizhia-Coco-

<sup>4</sup> The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine. Fund 539. Desc. 10. File 73. Page 24.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Page 25.

<sup>6</sup> The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine. Fund 1. Desc.20. File 5315. Page 16.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. File 5588. Page 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Page 9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. File 5313. Page 84.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. File 5326. Page 8, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. File 5599. Page 5.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. File 6237. Page 33.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. File 6241. Page 31.

<sup>14</sup> State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region. Fund P-19. Desc. 1. File 525. Page 49 (rev).

<sup>15</sup> The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine. Fund 1. Desc. 20. File 6243. Page 71.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. File 6241. Page 33.

Chemical Construction (2000) also unsatisfactorily mastered additional funds in the Samara Region.<sup>17</sup>

This issue, apparently, was under control in the Kremlin, because on July 5, 1932, Stalin's assistant Bazhanov telegraphed Kosior to "mobilize 25,000 people in August, 29,000 people in September (in Tatarstan, Black Earth, Belarus, Ukraine and the Western Regions)".<sup>18</sup>

Thus, people tried to obey the orders of Moscow locally in the Russian hinterland. For example, the secretary of the regional committee of the Central Black Earth Region Malinov telegraphed to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Terekhov: "Influence the coal trusts of Ukraine to immediately transfer money to the authorized person of Voronezh Glavtop to send recruited workers, stop".<sup>19</sup>

Of course, such "tips" from Russia immediately prompted the leaders of Ukraine's industrial enterprises to take active action: in December 1932, the "Stalinugol" sent 516 recruiters, of whom only 40 were from Ukraine.<sup>20</sup>

The following fact is also eloquent: in October 1932, 859 people were hired at the "Kadyvivuhilya" trust mine, of which only 123 were from the UkrSSR.<sup>21</sup>

It is undeniable that in order to determine the casualties during the Holodomor genocide, it is necessary to know two indicators: the population of the UkrSSR as of January 1, 1932 and in 1934. In our opinion, in this situation it is necessary to take as a basis the then census of the population as of January 1, 1932, as we have indicators of the presence of inhabitants of both the village and the city at that date. In each of the 8 handbooks on basic statistical and economic indicators of the economy of the districts of the respective oblasts and the Autonomous MSSR issued in Kharkiv by the Department of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, the first section "Territory and Population" is accompanied by a special explanatory notes for the tables: "Information on the territory and population was compiled as of January 1, 1932 on the basis of the materials of the Central Administrative-Territorial Commission at the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, which were received from the district executive committees" (*Dovidnyk z osnovnykh statystychno-ekonomichnykh pokaznykiv...*, 1933: 5).

In general, the population of the USSR at that time, according to them, numbered 32,680.7 thousand people: urban population – 7,127.7 thousand, rural population – 25,553.0 thousand.<sup>22</sup>

As for the data on January 1, 1934, it can be calculated on the basis of existing documents: if we add to the official population of 32,600.7 thousand people of the UkrSSR as of January 1, 1932 1,212.7 thousand births in these two years, then on January there should have been 1, 1934 33,853.5 thousand.

How do we determine the real number? The official data of the All-Union Census of 1937, which the Bolshevik authorities published only in 1990, showed the num-

ber of inhabitants of the UkrSSR at 28,383.0 thousand. At the same time, the recalculation of the district census results showed that this figure was overestimated by at least 532 thousand people. That is, in fact it turned out to be **27,854.9 thousand**. If we deduct the increase for 1934-1936 (1934 – 88.2 thousand people, 1935 – 417.2 thousand, 1936 – 533.7 thousand – only 1,039.1 thousand) from this figure, then as of January 1, 1934 we have only **26,815.8 thousand** inhabitants. And deducting this figure from the real as of January 1, 1934 – **33,853.5 thousand**, we obtain the total number of deaths in 1932-1933: **7,117.6 thousand** people.

And this is not about possible natural population losses in 1932-1933. After all, it is not known whether Jews counted their losses during the Holocaust separately as natural and violent. At least, I do not know of a part of the 6 million victims, what they consider as the ultrahigh mortality that our demographers introduced to calculate the losses of Ukrainians in 1932-1933. And a well-known expert in this matter, Andriy Kozyttskyi from Lviv, clearly points out that "the term "ultrahigh mortality" is categorically used neither in relation to the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide and the genocide of Gypsies, nor in the scientific community of any country, among politicians, publicists or public figures" (*Quoted in: Serhiychuk, 2021: URL*).

However, in order to establish a specific figure by carefully examining all the circumstances of this tragedy, in our opinion, it is necessary to continue a purposeful search that will add many unaccounted victims to this minimum number. And it is not only about those who died of starvation on Ukrainian chernozem, but also about the victims of the Holodomor.

This refers to thousands of hungry Ukrainian peasants who tried to reach Poland and Romania through the swamps of Polissya, the Zbruch and the Dniester, but were shot by Soviet border guards, or did not reach the rescue shore, where they hoped to get the desired bread. Why in some regions it was forbidden to write about children who died before 1 year at a registry office? And why did they stop drawing up death certificates there after March 1933? (*Kovalenko, Manyak, 1991: 49-50*).

And are the deaths of all those children who were put into orphanages, but did not wait for help, because no one opened the door for the crying baby, taken into account? It is even frightening to remind of another underestimation of the victims of the Holodomor – unknown children-beggars who got lost in the search for foodstuff, who were lured by cannibals and killed. And there were beggars from distant villages who died just on the road – who recorded the death of an unknown person? Naturally, no one identified or counted the number of dead on the roads, the corpses of which were taken away by wild dogs...

And it also happened when the deceased was taken to the cellar and thrown in the trash, or whole families, like brothers Ivan and Franko Kuryativ from the village of Denyski in the current Zhytomyr Region, were dumped in a well, which was covered with earth.

No one counted the graves that were dug in the gardens, where the whole family died, as it was in Piskivka near Krasnograd, in the Kharkiv Region. In this extinct village, no one knew about those who died in their houses until the spring, until people from Krasnograd came to

<sup>17</sup> State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region. Fund П-19. Desc. 1. File 529. Page 123 (rev.)

<sup>18</sup> The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine. Fund 1. Desc. 20. File 5315. Page 91.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Page 105.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Page 120.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Page 42, 43.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Page 8.

work in the spring. Only then, the already unrecognizable people were buried... (Kovalenko, Manyak, 1991: 320, 343, 535, 84, 313, 507, 508).

As the guard of the Krasnograd city cemetery testified, "this was happening to us then! Half the people died. And these villages that are behind Berestova (the river in Krasnograd) – if at least one living soul remained in them... Chumak fails to transport them, and we fail to dig holes. And people cannot stay alive as they came: in leather jackets, belted, with revolvers. They pull from the pantry, sweep from the attic, and snatch from the cellar. Potatoes, beets, beans, dried pears – all is swept. I don't even talk about bread. The snow hasn't fallen yet, and people are already starving...

A pit could not be dug in winter, so Chumak took people to Berestova on a precipice. These were the ones who fell in the middle of the street. And how many were on the roadside, in the weeds! As the earth had steamed, there was nothing to breathe..." (Kovalenko, Manyak, 1991: 507).

It was similar in other regions of Ukraine. For example, here is what P. Sviridov from Novorozsosh of the Novoposkovsky District of the current Luhansk Region testified: "Didn't have time to dig holes. Then it was not possible to dig a grave at all... People were buried as possible. They simply could not reach the cemetery. More were buried in gardens, yards, cellars. People died everywhere. From there they were taken and without shouting they immediately were buried in a hole somewhere and covered with earth. I remember my sister being buried in the cellar and my mother in the garden. Nobody asked about anyone – neither the authorities nor relatives. Everyone was waiting for nothing but death".<sup>23</sup>

On September 29, 1973, Vasyl Horbachuk, a teacher at the Slavic Pedagogical Institute, told a migrant to the Donbass from the Belgorod Region: "The neighboring village of Bogdanovka, what gardens were there! – completely starved to death in the 33rd. My wife and I went to visit relatives in May. It was terrible: there were dead men in gardens, as it happened, small children, there was no one to bury. The first ones were thrown into the pit, and then fell where death occurred. There was no one to bury, none of the relatives survived..." (Horbachuk, 2010: 6).

And is not it the most important thing: who calculated how many workers from Russia and other Soviet republics were brought to Ukrainian cities? After all, in the 1937 census, which showed a decrease in the population of the UkrSSR compared to 1926, they actually took the place of those whom Ukraine lost during this period, including those born before 1932.

And how to take into account the Ukrainians who died in the North, who according to the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) of March 8, 1933 were to be taken from prisons in the UkrSSR to ODPUs special camps in the amount of 40 thousand people, "regardless of physical condition and age"? (Holodomor 1932 – 1933 rokiv v Ukrayini, 2007: 737).

Where should we put the victims of the category of "criminals" who were driven to build canals, where they, exhausted by hunger and overwork, died quickly? Or so-called kulaks, expelled for non-fulfillment of unbearable grain supplies, whose children began to die en masse in the harsh North? (Kovalenko, Manyak, 1991: 423).

Should they be classified as the organized relocation to the "new buildings" of socialism? Putting their heads in the taiga, are they already Russia's casualties? Is not this Ukraine's loss from the Holodomor? Should they be classified as unorganized migrants? No! These are the casualties caused by the Holodomor, that should be included in the register of the Ukrainian nation!

We cannot distance ourselves from the losses of those Ukrainians who declared their national identity outside the UkrSSR – only in the Russian Federation, according to the 1926 census, there were about 7 million of them. And in 1937 this figure decreased to 3,087,022, although it is clear that Ukrainians continued to be born in all areas of their settlement outside the UkrSSR during this historical period. Where then did they disappear?

One of the Russian government statisticians, Kurman, testified directly: "A number of special field visits showed that in Ukraine, the Azov-Black Sea region, the Saratov and Stalingrad regions, the Kursk and Voronezh regions, there were a significant number of deaths not recorded in the registry offices..." (Tsaplin, 1989: 178).

But it was in these regions of Russia at that time that Ukrainians declared themselves en masse, as evidenced by the All-Union Census of 1926. And we still do not have specific data on the losses from starvation of Ukrainians in the Kuban, Central Black Earth Region, the Volga Region (especially the Lower Volga Region, where Stalin extended the ban on bread at the request of the local regional party in February 1933), Kazakhstan.

How many of them died of starvation, and how many people refused to call themselves and their children Ukrainians under the influence of his horrors and repressions for belonging to Ukrainians?

The number of Ukrainians increased only in places of exile: in Karelia by 30 times (from 700 to 22 thousand), in the Krasnoyarsk Krai – by 3.5 times (respectively 15 thousand and 52 thousand), in Novosibirsk – by 2, 5 times (60 and 141 thousand), in the Chelyabinsk Region – more than by 5 times (12 and 73 thousand), in Chita – from 7 to 38 thousand. And in Sverdlovsk in 1926, Ukrainians were not even recorded in the census, and in 1937 – they numbered 53 thousand (Zhiromskaya, 2001: 85).

The fact that the losses of Ukrainians could indeed reach more than 10 million, as foreign diplomats emphasized, is confirmed by a careful study of the occupancy of primary grades, especially the first grades, of then Ukrainian school. In particular, the following circumstance draws special attention: if in the 1930-1931 school year 1,102,843 students came to the first grade, then the same number with a small decrease (up to 2%) was to study in the 1931-1932 school year in the 2nd grade, in 1932-1933 – in the 3rd, and in 1933-1934 – in the 4th. However, according to the directory "Education in Ukraine", only 674,311 students studied in the 4th grade at that time, and not at least 1 million. Thus the loss of first-graders in 1930, and fourth-graders in 1934 amounted to more than 325 thousand!

Another inconsistency of Soviet statistics after the Holodomor was as follows: if 1,162,852 children were born in the UkrSSR in 1924, then, taking into account natural losses, in 1932, 1 million students were to come to the first grade. This number was supposed to go to the 2nd grade in the 1933-1934 school year, but only 798,305 came. That is, there was more than 200,000 shortages of

<sup>23</sup> Peremoga (Novoposkov). 1993. September 17.

another age group of children, if we take into account even the statistics of the Bolshevik government, which has already sinned by its distortions.

And the problem with the occupancy of school classrooms really worsened in the fall of 1933. Ivanyuk, the former director of a junior secondary school in the Poltava Region, testified that out of 225 students, only 109 children came to classes on September 1, 1932, in the spring of 1933.<sup>24</sup>

Approximately the same indicators of a shortage of schoolchildren were in September 1933 in the Petrykiv district of Dnipropetrovsk region. The comparative table of the number of students only in primary schools in this area according to the updated data looks like this (Table 2).

**Table 2. – Comparative table of the number of primary school students in Petrykivka District of Dnipropetrovsk Region**

Years	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	Total
1932	1737	1275	1126	1121	5259
1933	1254	867	695	693	3509

In this area, as can be seen from the table, on September 1, 1933, there were 1,750 fewer students in primary school than a year before.<sup>25</sup>

But the numbers are even more staggering when it comes to those who continued their studies in 1933, moving from the 1st to the 2nd grade, from the 2nd to the 3rd, and from the 3rd to the 4th, respectively. Only in 3 grades, already 1,883 appear to be missing. And this is taking into account the fact that we do not know how many children had to come to the 1st grade in 1933 and how many fourth-graders of the 1932 enrollment survived as of June 30, 1933.

Problems also arose with the occupancy of the primary grades of the suburban Dnipropetrovsk Region, where many parents worked at the city's industrial enterprises, thus receiving a stable food supply, which was a lifeline for the family. If, for example, on September 1, 1932, 12,834 children came to these groups, then on June 30, 1933, that is, at the end of the school year, only 11,214 remained. The difference in the numbers of students was 1,620. And they could not all go to study in the city schools of Dnipropetrovsk, because the primary grades there had decreased by 833 students from September 1, 1932 to June 30, 1933.<sup>26</sup>

In some districts of the then Kyiv Region (now Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kirovohrad and Cherkasy) documents on enrollment in the 1st grade in 1931 have been preserved, which made it possible to compare it with the number of those who came to the same schools in the fourth grade in 1934-1935 school year. Unfortunately, the relevant documents have survived only in some areas, although they give an idea of the picture of the loss of first-graders in 1931 (Table 3).

**Table 3. – Comparative table of the number of students enrolled in 1931 in some districts of Kyiv Region (data for September 1934)<sup>27</sup>**

Name of the District	1931 (1st grade)	1934 (4th grade)
Boryspil	2250	1590
Vasylkivsky	2859	1699
Volodarsky	1607	1018
Yemilchynsky	2688	1610
Zvenigorodsky	1913	1395
Luhynsky	1780	837
Makarivsky	1958	1230
Malinsky	3136	1705
Plyskivsky	2118	1296
Rzhyschivsky	2249	1348
Radomyshl	2192	1180
Fastivsky	2682	1641

The same was observed in the coming years. Thus, in the Orativ District, which now belongs to the Vinnytsia Region, we see such a picture with the occupancy of primary grade in the 1935-1936 school year, especially eight-year-olds, who were born in 1927 and came to primary (p), junior secondary (js) and secondary (s) schools (\* – incomplete data). Approximately the same number of children were born in 1924, who then came to 1st grade in 1932 at the age of 8. But by the end of this school year, not all of them had survived, because as of June 10, 1933, the picture was completely bleak (Table 4).

We should also take into account that the peak of deaths then was attained in late June – early July. And no one counted how many students died before September 1. For example, in Stadnytsia (now part of the Kyiv Region) in April 1933, only 7 children under 14 years of age were officially recorded, in May – 21, in June – 18, in July – 34, and in August – 5. The document on report of the Medov Junior Secondary School for the 1932-1933 school year draws attention: only 8 eight-year-old children were able to live to June 10, 1933, although in 1924 there were 105 of them born in this village. A similar picture was in Lopatyntsi and Khmelova, where only three of yesterday's first-graders stayed alive at that date.<sup>28</sup> Probably, a few natives of 1924 were in high school.

We have the opportunity to compare the consequences of admitting children to the first grade in the next year. Thus, in the Tarashchansky District of the Kyiv Region as of September 15, 1936, the situation was as follows (Table 5).

The calculations of the State Planning Committee of the UkrSSR of September 15, 1931 were in deep contradiction with the actual number of children who were to come to the first grade on September 1, 1938 throughout Ukraine. The last, born in 1930 (then 1,022,952 babies were born), should have been at least 780 thousand, as was supposed seven years before<sup>29</sup>, and according to the statistical department of the People's Commissariat of

<sup>24</sup> Ukrainski visti (Novyi Ulm). 1953. 22 zhovtnia (Ukrainian News (New Ulm). 1953. October 22).

<sup>25</sup> State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region. Fund P-19. Desc. 1. File 483. Page 154.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Fund 439. Desc 1. File 12. Page 141.

<sup>27</sup> The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine. Fund 166. Desc. 11. File356; State Archives of Kyiv Region. Fund P-144. Desc. 1. File 1765.

<sup>28</sup> State Archives of Kyiv Region. Fund 5634. Desc.1. File D. 1275, 1276.

<sup>29</sup> The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine. Fund 166. Desc. 10. File 1038. Page 4

**Table 4. – Comparative table of first-graders of Orativ District in 1932-1933 school year to the number of births in 1924, as well as births in 1927, enrolled in the first grade in September 1935.<sup>30</sup>**

Name of the school	Born in 1924	Came to 1st grade in September 1932	Remained as of June 10, 1933	Including 8-year-old	Born in 1927	Came to 1st grade in September 1935	Including 8-year-old
Orativska js	120	90	71	50	139	81	79
Orativska p		13	12	10		10	10
Orativetska js	42*	53	30	27	43	20	17
Orativetska p		35	27	27			
Zhyvotivska js	-	83	78	66	91	45	39
Starozhyvotivska js	-	93	71	61	-	71	63
Novozhyvotivska js	-	71	49	38	-	34	30
Osichanska js	97	85	61	52	84	27	26
Yushkovetska js	104	70	49	-	-	117	-
Yakymivska js	20*	56	43	26	44*	87	79
Medivska js	105	80	66	8	84	52	43
Lopatynska js	-	47	39	3	39	37	36
Frontivska js	77	42	42	22	-	45	42
Chahivska js	38*	85	75	58	67	42	40
Sologubivska js	42*	78	69	37	103	58	54
Klyukivska js	-	141	79	33	-	72	61
Balabanivska js		95	80	52		64	60
Balabanivska p	203	Without 1st grade	-	-	178	12	12
V. Rostivska js	79	76	67	67	-	45	40
Zarudyanska hs	47*	57	40	30	74	48	44
Pidvysochanska hs	85	81	71	34	105	41	36
Mervynska p	20*	40	33	30	-	30	25
Rozhychanska p	59	48	27	27	59	15	12
Bugaivska p	-	37	38	19	37	27	25
Kazymyriivska p	-	25	21	15	-	24	
Honoratska p	-	69	35	28	42	39	27
Kalenivska p	-	40	30	14	18	29	25
Khmelivska p	-	43	37	3	-	28	23
Stupchanska p	-	12	9	8	-	27	27
Sabarivska p	-	70	52	10	70	54	50
M. Rostivska p	-	32	27	18	43	26	22

**Table 5. – Table of occupancy of first grades in Tarashchansky District of Kyiv region as of September 15, 1936<sup>31</sup>**

Name of the school	Born in 1928	Came to 1st grade In 1936	Including 8-year-old
Potochanska p	40	36	22
Stanyshivska p	54	20	15
Lisovytska p2		27	24
Lisovytska p3	193	14	14
Lisovytska js		58	29
Kryvianska p	40	30	20
Chervonoziarska p	51	23	20
Makovetska p		17	17
Krasiuchanska p	-		-
Antonivska p	-	16	15
Kosiakivska p	94	31	24
Bovkunska p	40	30	24
Krutohorbska p	75	40	37
M. Berezianska p	42	36	21
Rizhetska p		31	29
Rizhetska js	147	36	30
Ulashivska p	40	29	29
Luchanska p	208	64	56
Luchanska s		68	35

<sup>30</sup> State Archives Of Vinnytsia Region. Fund P-6129. Desc. 13. File 105, 106, 107; State Archives of Kyiv Region. Fund P-144. Desc. 1. File 1880. Page 1 – 31; File 1688. Page 1 – 32.

<sup>31</sup> State Archives of Kyiv Region. Fund P-5634. Desc. 1. File 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024; Fund P-144. Desc. 1. File 2060. Page 1 – 5; File 2066. Page 11 – 45.

Continuation of table 5

Name of the school	Born in 1928	Came to 1st grade In 1936	Including 8-year-old
V. Berezianska js	165	83	52
Kyslivska js	65	48	18
Kivshovatska js	203	87	63
Kivshovatska s		42	42
Petrivska js	137	56	50
Ploshchanska s	78	54	41
Tarashchanska s1		39	36
Tarashchanska s2	323	51	34
Tarashchanska p6		31	31
Zatonska s	234	97	82
Chernynska js	98	48	33
Severynivska js	136	62	44
Dubivska s	54	49	46
V. Vovnianska	118	46	25
Yasynivska js	-	36	30
Volodymyrivska js	42	31	27
Kyrdanska js	69	42	34
Lukianivska js	80	46	39
Stepkivska js	61	38	34
Veselokutska js	70	61	48

Education of the UkrSSR, it turned out that there were 494,173 in the city and village, including 51 thousand from Dnipropetrovsk Region, data from which were not found in the report.<sup>32</sup>

This analysis (97 percent of the existing schools were developed) suggests that at least 287,000 of those born in 1930 did not live to see September 1, 1938. If we proceed from the calculations of the State Plan on the occupancy of 1st-4th grades in 1938, then this figure should have been 3,302,287 students, and then only 1,971,658 could study. The difference is 1,330,629 on average for the age group of 332,657 children!

A similar situation was with the age group of 12-14 years, which at the beginning of 1933, according to the UNGO of the UkrSSR, amounted to 2,518.1 thousand children. Professor M. Ptukha then attributed 2,331.4 people to this group.<sup>33</sup> According to the calculations of the State Plan, it was to consist of 2,230,733 children in 1938, and it turned out that there were only 1,414,551 of them – 816,182 less! On average for one year, the number of losses was 272,060.

And together, these two age groups alone could lose at least more than 2 million children, given that 3 percent of schools are not included in the data.

And how will it look if we add the deaths of those born in 1931-1933? According to the surviving documents, there were many of them. For example, in the villages of Tarashchansky District of Kyiv Region, the losses of this age group reached 10 percent. In Ukraine, this number of losses can be estimated at several hundred thousand children, because a similar picture is found in the 1939-1940 school year in the Pereyaslav District of Kyiv Region (Table 6).

A similar situation developed in many other schools of the UkrSSR, as evidenced by documents found in the funds of the State Archives of Poltava Region, in particular, the fullness of primary grades since September 1, 1940, when the natives of 1932 first began studying. They turned out to be at least a third less than in the previous year, when the natives of 1931 came to school (Table 7).

Table 6. – Table of occupancy of first grades in Pereyaslav district of Kyiv Region in 1939-1940 school year<sup>34</sup>

Name of the school	Born in 1931	Came to 1st grade in 1939	Including 8-year-old
Andrushy js	35	18	11
Babachykha p	31	23	10
V. Karatul	-	140	61
Vypovzky js	54	14	12
Vinentsi js	72	29	25
Vovchkiv js	60	36	32
Voskresinka p	36	19	11
Viunyshche js	49	21	19
Haishyn js	63	40	38
Hlanyshiv js	51	37	22
Horodyshche p	35	11	10
Hryhorivka js	-	32	28
Demiantsi js	85	35	30
Denysy js	82	45	42

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Fund 2. Desc. 7. File 159. Page 179.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Fund 166. Desc. 10. File 1029. Page 50.

<sup>34</sup> State Archives of Kyiv Region. Fund 144. Desc. 1. File 2463. Page 1 – 52.

Name of the school	Born in 1931	Came to 1st grade in 1939	Including 8-year-old
Divychky js	48	52	45
Yerkovtsi s	100	76	59
Zarubentsi js	-	35	21
Zasupoivka js	48	38	28
Karan js	64	14	10
Kovalyn js	64	40	30
Kozyntsi js	40	29	14
Kozliv js	126	38	31
Komarivka js	51	24	22
Kuliabivka js	62	30	26
Letsky js	52	27	24
Mazinky js	33	35	33
M. Karatun p	-	30	20
Panfily js	70	57	40
Pereiaslav-1s		49	41
Pereiaslav-2s	210	95	32
Pereiaslav-3js		29	29
Pidvarky js	117		77
Pidsinne p	36	22	20
Polozhai p	37	2	2
Polohy-Chobitky p	230	9	7
Polohy-Verhuny js	123	35	30
Polohy-Yaneny js	188	22	22
Polohy-Yaneny js		54	27
Pomokli s	179	68	59
Prystantsiina js	-	37	35
Prystromy s	90	62	53
Somkova Dolyna p	29	19	17
Sosnova s	97	51	47
Stovpiahy js	46	31	28
Strokova s	75	29	27
Studenyyky s	89	59	51
Tashan js	60	30	23
Traktomyriv js	-	26	20
Kharkivtsi js	26	28	24
Khotsky s	109	61	54
Tsybli js	87	21	16
Shevchenkiv khut p	-	24	24

Table 7. – Comparative table of the number of children born in 1931-1932 who became first-graders of some villages of Poltava Region in 1939 and 1940 (Serhiychuk, 2018: 335)

Name of settlement, district	Born in 1931	Came to 1st grade in 1939	Born in 1932	Came to 1st grade in 1940
1. Abramovka of Mashivs'kyi district	83	31	78	52
2. Velyka Krucha of Pyriatyn district	48	26	32	20
3. Voronky of Chornukhyn district	63*	67	99	47
4. Zhdany of Chornukhyn district	188	36	97	32
5. Zarichchia of Pyriatyn district	24	22	32	8
6. Zasullya of Lohvvytsya district	78	46	44	20
7. Iskivtsi of Lohvvytsya district	104	49	85	37
8. Kaplytsi of Pyriatyn district	31	22	38	19
9. Keibalivka of Pyriatyn district	27	12	39	4
10. Majorshyna of Pyriatyn district	71	54	48	28
11. Malutyntsi of Pyriatyn district	82	43	43	22
12. Okip of Lubny district	47	23	57	23
13. Pyriatyn	555	177	469	141
14. Prylipka of Kozelshchyna district	52	30	58*	9
15. Sencha of Lohvvytsya district	133	57	95	47
16. Skorobagatky of Lohvvytsya district	64	33	41	22
17. Sliporid-Ivanivka of Pyriatyn district	57	27	24	21
18. Sukhonosivka of Chornukhyn district	61	22	62	22
19. Tarandents of Lubny district	69	30	38	28
20. Tarasivka of Pyriatyn district	65	37	44	27
21. Usivka of Pyriatyn district	34	23	34	16
22. Kharkiv residents of Pyriatyn district	4*	31	50	37
23. Khorishki of Lubny district	65	39	44	21
24. Chasnykivka of Lohvvytsya district	70	27	40	20
25. Sheky of Lubny district	31	23	23	8
26. Yatsyny of Pyriatyn district	69	38	28	14

The sharp decrease in the contingent of first-graders in schools of Poltava Region during these years is clearly indicated by the All-Union Census of 1939, especially natives of 1933, who had to begin studying in autumn 1941 – compared to those born in 1930 (that is, already somewhat strengthened in the three years since birth) they were almost three times less in the region (Table 8).

**Table 8. – Contingent of first-graders in schools of Poltava Region in the distribution “City / Village”<sup>35</sup>**

	City	Village	Total
1938 – 1939	6.145	39.860	46.005
1939 – 1940	4.705	29.519	34.224
1940 – 1941	3.736	17.715	21.451
1941 – 1942	2.862	14.141	17.003

As of December 30, 1940, there were 665,755 elementary school students in the 1st and 4th grades of schools in the eastern regions, 1,117,556 elementary school students and 840,038 middle school students, and a total of 2,623,349 students.<sup>36</sup> This is more than a million less than in the fall of 1932.

If we agree with the opinion of some demographers that the loss of children in 1932-1933 accounted for about a third of all victims of the Holodomor (our analysis of available evidence of death in 1933 in some villages gives a slightly higher figure: 38 percent), and they reach, as noted above, at least 4 million, it is easy to calculate the total amount of irreversible losses.

### Conclusions

An analysis of the available statistics gives grounds to state the numbers of already established direct population losses of Holodomor genocide – at least 7 million people. At the same time, there were a lot more casualties of the Holodomor genocide. After all, according to calculations made through the occupancy of primary grades, only the loss of children amounted to at least 4 million since 1932. In total, there were more than 9 million victims in the UkrSSR. If we take into account the deaths of Ukrainians from the Holodomor outside its borders, it was more than 10 million casualties. This result is achieved through his-

torical and legal research, which involves assessing the integrity of the scientist through investigative actions in accordance with the requirements of criminal procedure law.

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## **ВСТАНОВЛЕННЯ КІЛЬКОСТІ ЖЕРТВ ГОЛОДОМОРУ-ГЕНОЦИДУ 1932 – 1933 РОКІВ В УКРАЇНІ**

У статті проаналізовано стан підрахунку жертв Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні. Зокрема наводяться свідчення тогочасних німецьких та італійських дипломатів, які одержували конфіденційну інформацію від радянських урядовців, яка і лягла в основу усталеного в діаспорі виразу про втрати: «від 7 до 10 мільйонів». Наголошується, що в ході горбачовської перебудови в СРСР Москва змушена була визнати Голодомор в Україні й дозволила писати про втрати від нього в кількості 3,5 мільйона осіб.

<sup>35</sup> State Archives of Poltava Region. Fund P-3938. Desc. 1. File 319. Page 14.

<sup>36</sup> The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine. Fund 318. Desc. 1. File 1370. Page 4 – 6.

Цю цифру продовжують обстоювати з деякими уточненнями й сучасні українські демографи, котрі працюють на закордонні гранти. У той же час первинні документи українських архівів завдяки історико-статистичному методу дають можливість встановити мінімальну кількість втрат під час Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років у 7.117,6 тисячі осіб, бо збереглися дані про кількість населення УСРР станом на початок 1932 року в кількості 32,680 тисяч осіб і про народжених у 1932 – 1933 роках, що дає можливість, використовуючи уточнені матеріали Всесоюзного перепису 1937 року й людський приріст у 1934 – 1936 роках, встановити наявність мешканців міста й села станом на 1 січня 1934 року – лише 26.815,8 тисячі. А мало бути – 33.853,5 тисячі. А використання історико-статистичного методу розрахунків дозволяє вийти і на показник 9,5 мільйона в УСРР. Це за умови, коли будуть пораховані померлі голодні українські селяни в Росії та Білорусі, куди вони пішли за хлібом, і розстріляні радянськими прикордонниками чи потоплені в Збручі й Дністрі через невміння плавати; коли буде встановлено кількість завезених у 1932 – 1936 роках заробітчан з радянських республік на соціалістичні новобудови УСРР, яких під час Всесоюзного перепису 1937 року порахують як її мешканців тощо.

Особливе значення для встановлення вірогідності цих втрат має реконструкція відповідності наповнення перших класів українських шкіл у 1932 – 1939 роках з кількістю народжених у 1924 – 1931 роках. Так, у Оратівському, Таращанському й Переяславському районах тодішньої Київської області після 1933 року до них прийняли поло-вину, а то й менше дітей 8-річного віку, які тоді йшли до школи. Така ж картина і по всіх районах нинішньої Полтавської області. Як і в усіх початкових школах Петриківського району Дніпропетровської області, де з минулорічних учнів 1-3 класів, хто продовжив навчання з 1 вересня 1933 року, не дорахувалися 1.883 – майже половини.

Саме такий комплексний підхід дослідження дає можливість встановити втрати дітей мінімум до 4 мільйонів, а загальні по УСРР з використанням історико-правового методу – понад 9 мільйонів осіб. До цих жертв необхідно додати і понад 1 мільйон втрат українців поза межами УСРР, що становить у цілому понад 10 мільйонів.

*Ключові слова:* Голодомор-геноцид українців у 1932-1933 роках; історико-статистичні підрахунки і демографічні розрахунки реальних втрат.

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