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THE IMPACT OF THE HOLODOMOR OF 1932-1933 ON PERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

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ВПЛИВ ГОЛОДОМОРУ 1932-1933 РОКІВ НА ОСОБИСТІ ВІДНОСИНИ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ СУСПІЛЬСТВІ

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The Holodomor of 1932-1933 is one of the most tragic pages in modern history of Ukraine. This tragedy had terrible consequences and led to the death of millions of Ukrainians. To date, there are quite a large number of writings devoted to this catastrophic event. At the same time, there are no writings that would set the task of highlighting the impact of the Holodomor on personal relations in Ukrainian society.

The article deals with the process of the Holodomor impact on personal relations in Ukraine based on literature, media materials and archive documents. The author came to the conclusion that the Holodomor had a significant impact on personal relations in Ukrainian society and, above all, on its rural segment, which constituted its absolute majority. The Holodomor also significantly changed personal contacts in urban communities. Sincerity in relationships diminished, traditional cordiality significantly degraded, in many cases it was replaced by cynicism and rudeness. The degree of honesty in personal relationships also decreased dramatically. Stealing, which was unusual occurrence in Ukrainian rural regions before the Holodomor, became commonplace. This resulted in distrust in personal relations. Traditional honesty of the Ukrainian village was destroyed by the Holodomor, or rather, by the regime that gave birth to it. Personal relations in the family also changed. Mother-child relations became characterized by hitherto unheard of insincerity. The distrust caused by the terrible famine showed up also in relations between adult children and parents. Confidence in neighbors decreased and hence also the level of personal relations. Collectivization and the Holodomor paralyzed the strength of the Ukrainian rural community, which was the guardian of personal relations in the countryside. This could not but affect development of the society as a whole. The Ukrainian intelligentsia tried to preserve the age-old traditions of its ancestors, but it was under constant pressure from the regime, which from time to time turned into cruel repressions.

Keywords: *Holodomor; power; personal relations; national character.*

Introduction. Personal relations in society depend on many factors. These are age-old traditions, national character, political regime, wars, revolutions, economic

development, religion, etc. Among these factors we can name a famine, which raged three times in Ukraine in the 20th century. The level of negative consequences for the society was different in each case. The most terrible consequences were due to the famine of 1932-1933, called the Holodomor. Historians have still been arguing how many people the Holodomor killed, but none of the experts doubts that this number reaches millions of victims. That is, historians agree that it was a terrible phenomenon. There are many papers dedicated to the Holodomor study, among them we can distinguish works by S. Kulchytskyi and V. Marochko [1]. These papers based on numerous documents and memoirs highlight the picture of terror by the famine and the consequences of this phenomenon. At the same time, the authors did not set a priority task to highlight the impact of the Holodomor on personal relations in the Ukrainian society. It also applies to papers of other researchers studying the Holodomor. The author of this article sets such a task within the scope of the given work and will try to highlight what impact the Holodomor had on personal relations of the Ukrainians.

Presentation of the research basic material.

First of all, it should be noted that any significant phenomenon has its impact on the society both in a short-term perspective, which eventually loses its power, and in a long-term perspective, which lasts for a long time and changes national character. In one of his short stories, a talented American writer D. London described how hungry people who had been in a deserted place constantly tried to hide food after returning to the society where there was plenty of it. Although there was no threat to be left without food. It can be argued that it was a temporary phenomenon that passed soon, but the attitude of these people towards food seemed to have changed for their entire lives and had an impact on their characters. This is a long-term impact. The writer M. Kolosov, who spent the first twenty years of his life (1923-1943) in Ukrainian Avdiivka near Donetsk, de-

scribed the similar impact of the famine with autobiographical authenticity. He said that his relatives began to dry rusks and put them into a large bag after the famine of 1921. The second time they began to dry rusks after the Holodomor. But even during safe years from the point of view of food availability, they did not stop doing this [2, p. 107-114]. This is evidenced by the teacher of History M. Burlieieva, who still remembers a metal barrel of wheat that her parents hid in the attic in Zhytomyr oblast after the Holodomor in case of a new famine. She believes that the fear of this experience haunted the witnesses of the tragedy to the end of their lives [3, p. 13].

A person who has experienced a famine, changes his/her views not only on food. If we take into account that millions have passed through the Holodomor, seen numerous deaths from hunger alongside them, this could not help affecting their character, and hence national character. Changes in national character are not specifically recorded in documents, but they can be traced in some nuances of these documents. At the same time, in memoirs of eyewitnesses, there are many facts that show people's character and make it possible to follow its evolution. National character, as it has been mentioned before, is an important factor in personal relations. Certainly, it is subjected to changes, but its deep-seated traits change very slowly. One of my colleagues told me about such a case of teaching the History of Ukraine. During the seminar the teacher read a description of a Zaporozhian Cossack's behaviour made more than a hundred years ago by a well-known historian D. Yavornytskyi, namely, «a real Cossack always looked somehow gloomy, sullenly, met strangers unfriendly at first, answered questions very reluctantly, but later became a little softer, his face became more friendly during the conversation, bright and piercing eyes were lit up by fire...» [4, p. 173]. During the discussion, students came to the conclusion that these features were very similar to the modern Ukrainians'. Obviously, some basics of national character are slowly subjected to changes, which makes personal relations in the society more or less stable. However, social cataclysms cannot but leave their imprints on personal relations. The Holodomor was a cataclysm. It became a consequence of transformations in the society, which the Bolsheviks started, and, first of all, the so-called collectivization, which was a distortion of the idea of agricultural cooperation. None of the experts will deny that the cooperative agriculture is much more efficient than small, uncooperative, at least because it can use modern technology. But still, the main factor in the production success is people. They need to be motivated and, first of all, financially. If there is no such interest, people will not work devotedly. However, the collective farming essentially revived serfdom, when the state, as once a landowner, determined the peasant's share, but a landowner had to take care of his peasants all their lives. The state did not guarantee this. In fact, the state promised some income to peasants, which generally was very small. Therefore, it was not surprising that the labour

productivity was very low in collective farms. It was several times lower than the labour productivity in agriculture of western countries. The Soviet statistics had to recognize that fact as well. The question arose how the Bolsheviks succeeded in imposing their will on the absolute majority of the population - the peasantry - under such conditions. Then the Bolsheviks skilfully used their tactics of engaging allies. They were lumpenized peasants and a great part of the youth. The lumpens were attracted by material benefits, the youth - by successful propaganda of happy future. It is known that in the village there have always been the rich and the poor. The village community was focused on the rich. They were envied and copied. It is a human's nature. The Bolsheviks decided to split the peasant community. According to their plan, personal relations between the rich and the poor should have become openly hostile. To achieve this purpose, the whole propaganda apparatus of the party-state was involved. Those who read newspapers of the late 1920s - early 1930s, knew that there was no article or report from the village in which the kulaks were not condemned in the most brutal tones. That propaganda campaign was effective. If earlier less wealthy peasants' attitude to their wealthy countrymen had been respectful and even humble, then with the beginning of the process of dekulakization the situation began to change dramatically. That was a fact from the life of a village in central Ukraine, described in the essay by the correspondent of the Republican newspaper «Communist» in January 1930. The process of dekulakization began. Local activists came to the peasant's house and read the resolution of the village council, which ended with the words, «Everything in the house and in the yard is ours, the state's, and you are immediately thrown out with your whole family to the four winds... Right now... And never set your kulak foot here anymore. Kulak Bilokon frowns, «Well, we've reached the point. Shall we go cadging?...» «And it's your business now», Odarka (activist) answers. «You've never taken care of us». She lists all the sins of the kulak. Bilokon is the actual head of the church, constantly turns women against collectivization, a dozen heads of cattle had passed through his hands, which has recently been killed mercilessly. He might have been planning to run away... It is interesting to see how the kulak goods will be distributed. There are various gossips. Some people sympathize, the kulak henchmen intentionally play on heartstrings, «shed» tears. Some old man whispers, «My God, what they're doing! Taking everything and driving them out to the four winds... How can this poor man live now?...» Aman drops a phrase, «Let them rob. They will end up in a bad way...» Another man in ragged boots cries, «That's right, now it's their end, the blood-suckers». It is heard in the crowd, «It should have been more ... It seems there are still some things in the attic. Was it that much? What about a tribal bull... Where did he get it? And a good bekeshka, a new black coat...» [5]. Even based on the essay published in the Bolshevik newspaper, it is clear that not all the peasants support the policy of dekulakization that cast a bone among

people. But «men in ragged boots» are satisfied. Their personal attitude to the countryman offended by the authorities is unequivocal – hatred. Thus, a stratum of allies in the village was formed. But the point was that some of the «men in ragged boots» could later become kulak henchmen, since they could not be kulaks at all. They also felt hatred of some villagers. That is, hatred became the cornerstone of personal relations. It turned out that anyone could have been declared an enemy of the people, and that led to caution in personal relations, which undoubtedly was imprinted on these relations. Perhaps it was less relevant to ordinary people, but people with some experience in public life made conclusions from the existing realities. Even then, that social stratum became confident that frankness in personal communication might end up in a bad way. It should be said that exile of hundreds of thousands of hard-working people from the village as a result of dekulakization could not but affect not only the productivity of agriculture, but also personal relations of the peasants. If in the second half of the 1920s the Ukrainian village had been known as wealthy according to eyewitnesses, and personal relations had been human, then the beginning of collectivization and dekulakization was a turning point.

A famous sculptor I. Honchar recalled how in 1927 he travelled on foot in the present Cherkasy oblast. «People willingly answered my questions, invited me to their houses, treated with everything best. In Ukraine, at least in our land, the traveller was the dearest guest, and that guest was always treated with the best food, even different delicacies were given for his way» [6, p. 34]. A personal translator of J. Stalin V. Berezhkov, recalling those years, wrote, «In every village on a hot summer day, in any case in Ukraine, one could knock on any house, ask for a drink, and you were given a jar of cold milk, a piece of brown homemade bread, and even a piece of fat or a piece of cut comb honey. They treated «with all heart», sincerely, and refused to take money ... And in that land, where everything breathed in extraordinary wealth, two years of violent collectivization led to a terrible famine that took millions of lives» [7, p. 67].

The collectivization and the famine that became the Holodomor dramatically changed the relations of people in the village. The new economic policy (NEP) made it possible for a significant number of peasants to become wealthy, but in the late 1920s - early 1930s, forced collectivization made them virtually slaves. On the other hand, there were some of those people who had actively established the Soviet power, but remained poor in the years of the NEP. It embittered them, imprinted on personal relations in the village. D. Goychenko, who directly participated in bread requisition of the Ukrainian peasants at the beginning of the 1930s, suggested that the stratum was a solid support in bread requisition, «They were all extremely poor, offended, angry and ready for any business» [8, p. 169]. This is a portrait of one of them, «Then Horobets appeared. He was wearing a threadbare jacket without even a shirt. One leg was in a torn boot crossed over by

a rope, and the other one – in the same galoshe. The head was decorated with an old red cap, which was boldly askew. Horobets had a brave look and twisted his lush moustache from time to time. He might be forty years old judging by his appearance. As he said, his family consisted of seven people, who were cold and hungry, because the collective farm did not provide fuel; therefore, the family does not leave the house for days, and warms up each other. Horobets said he hoped that the collective farm would be better, but it turned out to be very bad». When the representative of the authorities asked if Horobets was ready to help them (it meant to take bread from peasants), he answered, «I am always ready to help, but I also should not be forgotten, as it was before, because I had fought, shed blood and now I live in such poverty. The Soviet authorities must be ashamed of me, but no one hears me, neither sees, nor wants to know». Similar activists «just burned with a desire to report more of such information (where peasants hide bread), obviously, first of all, waiting for a reward» [8, p. 167, 169]. During bread requisition, personal relations between peasants changed dramatically. The notion of decency in relations between people was distorted by the authorities' pressure. So, during bread requisition, one of the activists told the authorized district committee, «I am in a collective farm, where I haven't received any grain for my work. I have two pounds of barley and ready to give it, like everything else, and I'll give it away right now, but do you know where my bread is from? I borrowed it, or rather, that Macohon, who has bread hidden, gave it to me. I don't know what you are going to do with him, but it's a very good and honest person. He isn't very wealthy, we can say that he is a typical average peasant, but he has already given the state more than two hundred pounds, and besides, I know a dozen collective farmers, which he simply pitied and gave a sack of grain for their children... Giving bread, he told everyone, «If you have, you will give it back, and if no – forget about it». Here (among the gathered activists), except for me, there are two others who received bread from him». The one of the two named said, «Speak for yourself. Did he give it to you and to me because of his poverty? He gave what he had in abundance. You don't know what he had in his mind. He may have decided, «Instead of giving it to the state for free, I will better give it to the poor, who can then protect me», but, under the guise of this help to the poor, he decided to hide other bread, and when they are going to take his bread now, he answers, «I've given it to the poor». Such a good-doer! I would tear him to bits». The representative of the district committee generally supported that point of view, but made some clarifications of the authorities, «Nobody knows what real intentions Makohon has. If he had not hidden bread, there would not have been any talk of him. I fully understand a friend who is sorry for his benefactor, but we are political people and we are facing a great public task – it's a fight for bread ... So, should we think if we had to dekulakize even our own father to collect the needed amount of grain?... I renounced my father and my whole

family for the sake of communism... My father has cursed me for this. As you see, I didn't have mercy for my own father... It is possible not to feel any hatred and even sympathize with a person, but when the interests of the state demand, then it is necessary to sacrifice him». This justification of sacrificing their benefactors was accepted by activists with great pleasure [8, p. 172-173]. So, with the help of propaganda and material gain for a part of the village community, the authorities created an atmosphere of mutual hatred in the village. On this basis, personal relations were formed in the early 1930s. Certainly, not everyone welcomed that foundation. In the Ukrainian village there were age-old traditions of personal relations, based on mutual courtesy, tolerance, respect for the elderly, etc. In the village from time immemorial, people kindly greeted each other and taught their children to do so. A child greeted all friends and strangers on the street. I. Honchar, being a young man in the 1920s and coming to Kyiv from his native village, wondered why not all the passers-by responded to his greeting, which he addressed to every man [6, p. 34]. It was violation of the rules of personal communication for him. However, collectivization and the Holodomor made adjustments. A well-known dissident of the Soviet period General P. G. Hryhorenko recalled how he arrived in his native village in the south of Ukraine at the end of 1931 and saw «deserted streets of the village. Several people who I met passed me by indifferently, without even responding to my greeting (a completely impossible incident for the former Ukrainian village)» [9]. It was a direct result of the village ruin. The Holodomor of next 1932 distorted personal relations among people even more. It happened not only in the village. The talented Ukrainian poet V. Sosiura, referring to 1932-1933, wrote that starving peasants came to him in Kharkiv at the writer's house «Slovo», «And the half-dead eyes of the sufferers of my people looked in my tear-filled soul with a severe reproach, and their torment terribly deepened in it to explode with a hypomanic fire in 1934». Due to such communication, the poet had a nervous breakdown, which reflected in his personal communication with others [10, p. 256, 262]. It was quite possible to admit that it led to nervous breakdowns of many people and reflected on their personal communication in future.

The Holodomor greatly intensified cynicism in personal relations. This was the case for all the population strata: from artistic intelligentsia to ordinary collective farmers. When, for example, half-starved writers stood in a queue for lunch in the dining room on the ground floor of a multi-storey building, the wife of one of the successful writers said with «ridiculous superiority» from the first floor, «And we give such dinner to our puppies». V. Sosiura, who recorded that fact, writes, «I hated her for that phrase, and when she was repressed, I thought, «Yes, that kulak deserved it!» [10, p. 256]. That is, malevolence, which never left personal relations, was intensified under the impact of the Holodomor. Cynicism gained unprecedented scope in personal relations. Thus, in Kyiv oblast during the Holodomor,

unindifferent people began to help the young man who was dying on the road from hunger. A young man in the uniform came up to them and with a contemptuous smile said, «Why are you tinkering with him? You won't save everybody. He'll die in half an hour». The young man was the deputy head of the MTS political department on party-mass work [8, p. 229]. A local activist in Vinnytsia village of Stepanivka liked to sing «The International» - «Arise, ye workers from your slumber...». When the villagers found him on the road, dying from hunger, they shouted not without sarcasm, «Hey, Matviy! Arise ye worker...» [11, p. 290]. Matviy could not get up. Similar personal relations were generated by the atmosphere created by the authorities with the help of hatred and the Holodomor.

The age-old traditions in relations of parents and children, close relatives were destroyed. Children threw away their old parents from the house in order not to feed them. Sometimes they even killed them. One of the Ukrainian peasants said that her adult son told his parents, «If you can't get anything, go away, I can hardly look at my family». Then father, who was in the collective farm, decided to ask its head - his nephew - for help, but his nephew drove him out. When the old did not leave the house, son strangled his father at night and drove his mother away. Mother tried to justify her son, «We used to live quite friendly. But the man (son) was simply in despair. God knows, maybe, he could not bear his father's suffering, who was also in boils, and he decided to put an end to his suffering, and then he could have strangled me as well. But I would have been happy. Why do I live in the world?... Here many people killed their parents. But there were those who killed their children. But it was done not because of evil, but because it was unbearably difficult to look at sufferings of their relatives» [8, p. 246-247]. We can only guess how people who have killed their parents will communicate in future. There were a lot of such people during the Holodomor. No one gathered statistics and it is impossible to find it out precisely now.

The documents and testimonies of survivors of 1932-1933 indicate that cannibalism was rather widespread. It is possible to provide numerous facts of cannibalism given in memoirs. It was «in many places» like P. Shelest wrote [12, p. 65], «there was massive cannibalism», I. Maystrenko recalled [13, p. 253]. If I. Maystrenko may be accused of hating that authorities and thus exaggerating, then P. Shelest occupied one of the highest places in the power hierarchy, and in this case it was hard to accuse him. The fact that this phenomenon has reflected on personal relations of people not in the best way is doubtless. A person carrying such a burden in his/her soul cannot be in normal relations with others. A man who does not have a burden in his/her soul after cannibalism is terrible for society. There were obviously such people. They also did not make positive changes in personal communication.

New signs of destruction of communication traditions appeared even in the most trusting relations of a small child and his mother. A little boy in Luhansk oblast

was suffering from hunger, and once his friend offered him to steal a medallion hanging under icons at his home for a half a loaf of bread. The boy did it after some hesitation. He was growing and his body needed food. Then, as an adult, he realized that under the hood of the medallion there was a photo of his grandmother in her youth, which was very dear to his mother. The boy was Mykola Rudenko. He became a famous public figure, philosopher, poet. His conscience was torturing him for that act during his whole life [14]. It is possible to admit that other children who had committed similar actions were also tortured by conscience, which could not but affect their personal communication. We could admit that some of them were not tortured at all and it also affected their personal relations with people. In any case, the Holodomor had a great impact on interrelations of people in this sense as well.

In the Ukrainian village, where theft used to be a rare phenomenon, it became widespread. As D. Hoychenko emphasized, «When people were facing starvation, they began to fight for life with all the available means, without regarding the interests of neighbours or relatives, and, moreover, strangers. Theft has become a mass phenomenon. Neither cow, nor sheep, nor pig could spend even one night in a shed. Therefore, those who managed to keep some cattle, including cows, kept it in the house where they lived. It was from Kyiv to Chyhyryn and from Uman to the Dnipro. And so it was all over Ukraine...» [8, p. 248]. In addition, there was a situation in which a thief being in prison had more chances to survive than a farmer who had been robbed by him. Thieves daily received three hundred grams of bread and some kind of brewery in jail, but the authorities did not guarantee anything to villagers [13, p. 254]. It was during those years when the fundamentals of the strongly negative attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry towards theft were destroyed. Certainly, theft was not welcomed, but taking into account the circumstances, it was justified in some cases. Theft of the collective farm property did not usually cause condemnation of peasants. A writer of the Soviet era V. Smyrnov gave a picture of the peasants' life of Ukrainian Polissia after collectivization and the Holodomor. He described how those who carried grain taken from the collective farm field in their pockets or bosom to their starving families were caught, «And except for those who are from the district, there is a neighbour-friend in the ambush. You cannot get rid of him; he has been bearing malice for a long time, maybe since the collectivization or even the land distribution. The village has long been in mutual distrust and discord, it even seems that somebody wants people to be hostile to each other. Such a discord, fear that doesn't let people live...» [15, p. 5]. V. Smyrnov was completely loyal to that-time authorities. It was proved by his works, and therefore he did not «blacken» the reality. Before the Holodomor, any theft was usually considered to be dishonour in the Ukrainian village.

It should be noted that the Holodomor increased the factor of hypocrisy in relations among people. Espe-

cially among those who held a more or less important place in public life. That conversation took place in Kyiv during the Holodomor. People came out of the cinema and, as it usually happened, they shared the impressions of the film. A young woman said, «What is the meaning of these beautifully made pictures, if in reality there is severe famine?» In front of her, the Red Army commander walked arm-in-arm with a woman. He stopped and asked harshly, «Where have you seen the famine?» The woman was not confused and asked the counter question, «Don't you see? And what are these people crawling through the streets and dying under your feet? There are more of them than the population in Kyiv» «Let it be known to you», the commander instructed, «that these are idlers and saboteurs who want to do with the collective farms the same as kulaks you saw in the cinema were trying to do. I do not advise you to use some kulak provocative gossips about supposedly existing famine. Only vicious enemies of the people can imagine that there may be a famine in our country, and thanks to such talks I can send you to one place that is right for you» [8, p. 271-272]. It was impossible to admit that the commander of the Red Army did not know about the famine. It was known to everyone. One thing remains – it is hypocrisy. It was generated by the fear of losing a post, place in the society and even getting into prison.

A notable factor in the transformation of personal relations was the mass migration of peasants to cities. It began due to the policy of industrialization. Surely, the conditions were difficult at factories and building, but when the collectivization and the Holodomor caused by it began, then, as R. Conquest wrote, «The recruitment of manpower for industry has stopped being a problem, but another one has emerged - how to prevent depopulation of the village» [11, p. 190]. Urban culture is different from the rural one everywhere. Ukraine was no exception. Generally poorly-qualified peasants, having come to the city as manpower, tried to adjust to the requirements of urban culture. Taking into account the fact that at industrial enterprises the dominant language was Russian, identified with urban culture, and since 1933, the «Ukrainization» began to fade dramatically, then peasants, trying to fit into urban culture, began to speak Russian. It was, certainly, surzhyk, but it was a very noticeable change in personal communication. Though that factor related to the process of industrialization, first of all, but the Holodomor also had a significant impact on it by driving masses of peasants to the city, depriving them from their ability to rely on the traditions of the Ukrainian culture, the bastion of which the village had been for centuries. As the Holodomor practically destroyed the Ukrainian classical peasantry, it gave the authorities an opportunity to openly oppose the «Ukrainization». If before collectivization a peasant had felt as a full owner in his native village, then, having come to the city to live from hand to mouth, he felt his inferiority and behaved respectively.

One cannot avoid mentioning increase in brutality in personal relations, which had begun long before the

Holodomor, but the latter greatly aggravated that phenomenon, because in the fight for survival, animal instincts begin to dominate over a human-being that generate cynicism and rudeness. Friendliness was perceived as a manifestation of weakness. No wonder the language included the concept of «strong language». Such «strong language» could only be used by a strong, brutal person. Who wanted to be weak in the brutal world?

One can not omit the fact that the Holodomor also affected personal relations among the authorities. Those people in power who could not accept the fact that their people die and frankly opposed the robbery of peasants were subjected to repressions. Others adopted the policy of destroying people as a matter of course for attainment of utopian ideas. So, personal communication in their circle was such as if nothing terrible had happened. In December 1932, in a personal letter to Stalin, the leader of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, S. Kosior wrote, «Increased grain collecting can be achieved by a significant increase and improvement of work despite the great difficulties» [16, p. 21]. It was easy-written when the famine led to mass deaths. It was a rebirth of the Middle Age traditions, when the provincial leader, reporting on the state of affairs in his possessions, did not talk about negative phenomena, so as not to annoy the ruler.

Conclusions. Thus, it can be stated that the Holodomor had a significant impact on personal relations in the Ukrainian society and, above all, on its rural part, which constituted an absolute majority of the nation's population. But the Holodomor made significant changes in personal communication in urban communities. Sincerity in personal relations decreased, traditional friendliness greatly degraded, in many cases it was replaced by cynicism and rudeness. When the Ukrainian cities were filled by the crowds of hungry peasants, city policemen, who were not very rich as well, could not treat them kindly. However, a friendly attitude without material assistance would have seemed to be more like humiliation. The level of honesty in personal relations also decreased dramatically. Theft that used to be a rare phenomenon before the Holodomor in the Ukrainian village became a common thing. It led to distrust in personal relations. Traditional honesty of the Ukrainian village was broken by the Holodomor, or rather, by the power that gave birth to it. The authorities cynically robbed the peasants, pushing them to rob their neighbour's. The authorities cansocan I. Personal relations in the family were also changed. Unprecedented insincerity appeared in mother-child relations, when the child was forced to secretly steal from his home. Distrust caused by the terrible famine was manifested in relations of adult children and their parents. The level of trust in neighbours decreased, and hence the level of their personal relations. The collectivization and the Holodomor paralyzed the power of the Ukrainian rural community, which was guarding the personal relations in the village. This could not but affect development of the society as a whole. The Ukrainian intelligentsia tried to preserve the traditions of its ancestors, and it was under constant pressure of the authorities, which turned in-

to cruel repression from time to time. But this is a topic for the other study.

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Сергієнко С. Ю. Вплив Голодомору 1932-1933 років на особисті відносини в українському суспільстві.

На основі літератури, матеріалів засобів масової інформації та архівних документів розглянуто процес впливу Голодомору на особисті відносини в Україні. Наведені чисельні факти такого впливу. Зокрема, зосереджено увагу на впровадженні владою атмосфери ненависті в сільській громаді за допомогою пропаганди і матеріальних заохочень. Зроблено обґрунтований висновок, що Голодомор значно спотворив особисті взаємини людей і це позначилося на розвитку суспільства. Запропонований напрям подальшого дослідження проблеми.

Ключові слова: Голодомор; влада; особисті відносини; національний характер.

Сергієнко С. Ю. Влияние Голодомора 1932-1933 годов на личные отношения в украинском обществе.

На основе литературы, материалов средств массовой информации и архивных документов рассмотрен процесс влияния Голодомора на личные отношения в Украине. Приведены многочисленные факты такого влияния. В частности, сосредоточено внимание на внедрении властью атмосферы ненависти среди сельского населения с помощью пропаганды и материальных поощрений. Сделан обоснованный вывод, что Голодомор значительно искажил личные взаимоотношения людей и это сказалось на развитии общества. Предложено направление дальнейшего исследования проблемы.

Ключевые слова: Голодомор; власть; личные отношения; национальный характер.

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