

financial situation of social insurance in Ukraine in the first half of 1923/1924 year]. Kharkov: Yzdanye Hlavnoho upravlenyia sotsyalnoho strakhovanyia NKT USSR, 1924.

23. Sharpatyi, V. H. (2006). *Sotsialne zabezpechennia v URSR (20 – 30-ti roky XX st.) [Social support in the UkrSSR (1920–1930th)]*. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr.

УДК 94(477):341.485]”1933-1952”

THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF RESEARCH FAMINE IN UKRAINE: PECULIARITIES OF SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Gudz Viktor

The communist authority concealed the fact of the artificial famine of 1932–1933 and banned its investigation until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Because the truth about this terrible event first extended studied only in the countries of the «free world». The aim of the presented paper – study to analyze the features of the Holodomor in Ukraine in the first twenty years after the tragedy. Subject reviewed on the basis of the whole complex of historical sources available, taking into account the latest achievements of world historical science. The features of the formation of scientific discourse on the history of the famine of 1932–1933 in the first historiographic stage clarified and its chronological limits exacted. The process increment amount of historical sources and the development of scientific knowledge on the history of hunger observed. We concluded that the source base on the history of famine during this period was limited chiefly memories of eyewitnesses of the disaster Ukrainian village and abroad periodicals materials. However, in the first twenty years of studying the history of the Great Famine, were thorough analytical work that laid the conceptual basis for further research topics. Emphasized that the vast array of publications on topics in 1933–1952 requires further analysis of sources and historiographical reflection.

Keywords: *historiography stage, Holodomor in Ukraine, source, scientific publications.*

The Holodomor (Ukrainian: Голодомор) was a man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 that killed an officially estimated 7 million people (other estimates range as low as 5 million). It was part of the wider Soviet famine of 1932–33, which affected the major grain-producing areas of the country but in Ukraine it

had its own characteristics. According to Odesa Maksym Gorky State Scientific Library together with the Institute of the History of Ukraine and Australian Foundation of Ukrainian studies, that published a bibliography rating of proceedings of the famine in 1932–1933, according to the similar guide, edited in Uzhhorod in 2004, as well as according to Professor Yaroslav Kalakura's estimations, during 1932–2007 over 13 000 documental collections, collective and individual monographs, dissertations, scientific and newspaper articles, materials of international, all-Ukrainian and regional scientific conferences, school appliances, publicistic works, eyewitnesses' memoirs and articles of Ukrainian studies have been published in Ukraine and in the world. Among them about 5 000 proceedings are scientific or of popular science character. Some more proceedings were published in 2007–2009, when on the Ukrainian President's initiative a wide campaign in renewing a historical memory of the greatest millennial national tragedy was developed.

Thus, none of the events of world history has, of lately three decades, caused such an attentive interest as the famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine – or Famishment – according to James Mace. This case dictates a necessity of historiographic interpretation of the famishment problem as a historical phenomenon, that is a complex analysis of scientific achievements and present-day state of its investigation in the whole and some separate issues including a beginning of a scientific research of this catastrophe.

The first ground attempts of systematization and analysis of home and foreign proceedings on this subject were made by such famous historians as J. Mace [35], V. Saveliev [21], V. Marochko [13], Y. Kalakura [7]. General historiographic tendencies in historical science, some directions and results of these important subject researches are traced in them, but these articles as well as the proceedings, written by L. Grynevych [33], V. Guds [5], V. Kalinichenko and Y. Yatsenko [8], K. Nazarova [14], P. Yashchuk [27] and other historians, do not exhaust the scope and depth of the problems, dictated by the present-day social and scientific reality. This is also admitted by Heorhiy Kasianov [9], an author of a special monograph on the subject, who, however, as well as most other researches, pays attention to achievements and losses of modern historiography.

Taking into consideration the integral function and professional tasks of historiography, we make it our aim in this published work to analyse proceedings on the history of famishment in Ukraine on the first historiographic stage for more complete finding out a genesis and development of the subject research, researchers' achievements of further scientific investigations.

In Yaroslav Kalakura's opinion, the principal criteria of historiographic periodization are an emergence of high-quality new approaches to investigating causes

and scales or their new interpretation and evaluation, weighty enrichment of source basis, application of more perfect research methods and creation of generalizes works on this base [7]. Taking into account these criteria in acquiring some knowledge of the famishment in 1932–1933 as the greatest crime concerning humanity, three periods, each of them, besides common features, has its peculiarities, are at least traced.

The first historiographic stage, in our opinion, includes the 1933–1952. Its peculiarity consisted in the fact that, in spite of all the attempts of the Stalin regime to hide the crime, the world community learnt about it and blamed its Communist organizers and ideologists and the destroying system constructed by them. It is symbolic that the initial and final boundaries of this period coincide with some significant political events in world and Ukrainian history: the completion of mass and violent collectivization of agriculture, stopping of Ukrainization policy and committing suicide by some of its prominent leaders, beginning of mass repressions among the Ukrainian intellectuals, establishing of the one-person regime of Stalin in the USSR and of Hitler in Germany, formation of the League of Nations. On the other hand, just in 1953, the year of the 20th anniversary of the tragedy, Y. Stalin, the main steersman of the famishment, and L. Beria, one of the leaders of the repressive regime, passed away. The 20th congress of the CPSU (1956) blamed the personality cult of Stalin and declared some of his crimes, making easier the access for some Soviet archives, and Ukrainian scientific centres crossed over the ocean from Europe at that time. The mentioned factors favoured the increase in the high-quality researches on the subject matter in the e following historiographic periods.

According to V. L. Saveliev's impartial statement, the priority in carrying out scientific problems of the famine in 1932–1933 in Ukraine belongs to representatives of foreign historiography [21, 25]. At the same time, the first historical sources about the artificial famishment were numerous evidences of eyewitnesses who managed to cross over the Zbruch.

On the eve of the league of nations sitting in 1933 and some months after that periodicals in Halychyna, in the countries of central and Western Europe actively informed the population and politicians about the famine in Ukraine. The newspapers «Dilo», «Svoboda», «Tryzub», «Meta», «Novyi Chas», «Hurtoimosia» published about 150 articles at that time [11, 125]. In them for the first time the circumstances of the catastrophe of the Ukrainian village, the problem of escaping peasants, finding themselves in Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Austria, the resistance movement of Ukrainian peasants, cases of cannibalism were witnessed, recognition of the famine by Stalin was proved by facts, Postyshev's role in the arrangement of the famine was pointed out, the political reasons of the tragedy were determined [25].

In the anonymous article with the expressive title «The Ukrainian nation is being destroyed. Let us defend ourselves!» published in «Nova Zoria», a Lviv newspaper, we read: «The eastern side of the Zbruch looks like a real war line behind which our nation is being destroyed to the root» [15]. Just in 1933, according to the titles and contents of the articles, written by O. Shulgyn, S. Rusova, O. Naryzhnyi and other emigrants, evidences of the famine losses of about 10 million victims as well as interpretations of its artificial origin and Bilshovyk policy of genocide appeared [3, 94–103].

Besides mass media and diplomatic channels, the reports on the famine in Ukraine came to the West through Ukrainian emigrants who received letters from their relatives. Some appeals were published in the mentioned collections of diplomatic documents and in separate proceedings of Ukrainian Catholics' messages to state institutions of the West [35]. In the message of the Ukrainian National Council in Canada to R. Macdonald, the Prime-Minister of Great Britain, there are lines characteristic of the famine does not lie in a poor harvest, it consists in brutal policy of Moscow leaders, who taking into consideration that the crop must be exported and the budget must be balanced, take ruthlessly the last crumbs from peasants ...» [6, 77].

On the 27th of September, 1933 O. Y. Shulgyn, a representative of the Ukrainian People's Republic and a historian, addressed to Mr. Water, the head of the 14th Assembly of the league of nations, demanding the establishing of an international committee in investigating the famishment results and temporary stop of exporting bread from the USSR. «Hundreds of thousands, millions of men, women and children cruelly suffer from this disaster and die in large numbers, – stressed O. Shulgyn. – Our rich country is threatened with genocide, because every village becomes empty or dies, since it is left by peasants who have come out to earn their bread» [26, 209]. Just then the representatives of the Ukrainian Public Committee of Ukraine's Salvation (UPCUS) obtained the consideration of the famishment issue at the closed sitting of the League of the Nations. Nevertheless, through the Great Powers position the matter was confined to hearings and passed to the International Red Cross. In M. Rudnytska's opinion, a representative of the UPCUS, «the Ukrainian community, living beyond the Moscow power, lost the battle for the truth of the Great Famine then» [20, 32].

The first portent of the scientific comprehension of the drama event by Ukrainian emigrants became S. Korbut's brochure «Ukraine in fire» (1936), in which on the basis of documental evidences, the famine geography was enlightened, and its ordered character was simply spoken of [11].

But, as V. Marochko stresses, in the plane of scientific and ideological comprehension Ukrainian political emigration during the 1932–1933 famishment was less active than the fifties Ukrainian history science in the Diaspora had mainly been filled with the problems of the Hetmanness period, the Revolution and liberation movement, but the social and economic history problems, the collectivization and famine problems through the lack of historical sources were unconsidered as a rule.

Meanwhile, the world knew about the 1932–1933 famishment due to its witnesses as well as journalist, diplomats, political and public figures of the western countries. Mass media news had still appeared there by 1933. The newspapers «Manchester Guardian», «New York Times», «New York Herald Tribune», «Daily Telegraph», «Figaro», «New Züricher Zeitung», «Stampa» and others systematically informed about the unprecedented in history famine in Ukraine and Kuban from their correspondents in Moscow, their proper officials and Ukrainian political emigration appeals.

Thus, Evald Ammende, the general Secretary of the League of Nations Nationalities Congress, the Honorary Secretary of Interconfessional and International Committee in aiding the starving regions of Russia, informed the public of the difficult state of hungry people in Ukraine in «The Times», a conservative London newspaper [28]. In 1935 his book about the famine in Ukraine was published. It was reprinted in English in 1936 [29]. It made a positive influence on the further studies of the catastrophic situation, having been formed in the Ukrainian village in 1933.

M. Muggeridge, a famous reporter of «Manchester Gardian» in his article and book, using the evidences of the famine eyewitnesses, told his readers the truth about the hard times in Ukraine and northern Caucasus, for which he lost his post of a Moscow correspondent [37]. In the same journal were published honest message about famine by famous British (Welsh) journalist G. Jones [34]. Gareth Jones, who was also a personal assistant to former Prime Minister David Lloyd George, the first among foreign journalists publicly denounced Stalin's policy organization of the hunger in Ukrainian villages. Some information on the famine in Ukraine and its results are represented in the works written by S. Wells and V. Gantt. The authors remark the artificial character of the famine.

Correspondents S. Bertillan and P. Berand in July-August, 1933, wrote about the famine in Ukraine on the pages of French central newspapers [30]. In 1933 only in English-language, French-language and German-language newspapers of Europe over 60 articles about the famine in the USSR were published in all.

Arthur Koestler, after his visits of starving Ukraine, told about the genocide, seen by him, and, making a protest against Soviet Communists' actions, left the Communist Party [22].

One of the most weighty evaluations of the large-scale disaster of that time belongs to William Chamberlin, a Moscow reporter of English newspapers. Mr. Chamberlin exposed his impressions of the visits of Ukraine and Northern Caucasus in 1933 in his special book. The author told about the obstacles for journalists who wished to visit the famine zone enclosing, to his mind, the areas with the population of about 60 million inhabitants. He thinks that tragedy was of artificial character and evaluates the number of people, died of hunger, in no less than 3–4 million [31].

Some foreign journalists like, for example, W. Duranty («New York Times») did not officially admit the pact of the famine. Yet, in the private conversation with the directors of the great Britain Embassy Mr. Duranty stated that the population of Ukraine because of the famine reduced by 4–5 million, and the total number of the famine victims was about 10 million [40, 310].

Sergio Gradenigo, an Italian royal consul, who was in Ukraine for a long time, considered the famine purposeful genocide of the Ukrainian people. «The Ukrainian problem should probably be closed down within some months with the sacrifice from 10 to 15 million persons», this diplomat suppose [4, 38]. He gives a lot of horrible details of difficult life conditions of the urban population, of the terror unleashed against the peasantry, of their attitude towards the authorities. The American F. Tavdul, Mykola Skrypnyk's old friend, after visiting Ukraine, in the newspaper «New York American» gives the number of the people, died of hunger, in Ukraine and in Northern Caucasus (according to V. Balytskyi's and M. Skrypnyk's assessment): over 8 million inhabitants [38].

The postwar foreign famine historiography was enriched by Pac klen's «A White Book» published in Munich in 1948, where a file of official Soviet documents and evidences of the eyewitnesses, who managed to escape from the USSR, is used. In this work, the imperialistic character of the Moscow Centre policy on national republics was reasonably exposed, planning the starvation of millions of Ukrainian peasants by the Communist authorities was proved [17]. Besides the new books written by W. Chamberlin and A. Koestler [32], the postwar foreign famine historiography was enlarged by the works mainly written by emigrants from Ukraine. Memoirs of eyewitnesses of the tragedy and scientific works, based on them, were issued. Among them there are some English-language editions – «The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book», a two-volume book edited by S. Pidgainy, the eyewitness O. Woropay's evidence «The Ninth Circle», a collection devoted to the 55th anniversary of the tragedy whose title interprets the Communist Famishment as a genocide, as well as an author research by F. Pigido-Pravoberezhny [39]. A number of special proceedings on the famine and repressions in the thirties were published in Ukrainian, where the artificial character of the famishment is mentioned [24].

Thus, I. Rozhin and V. Rozhin, the authors of the article in the Canadian periodical «Novi Dny», stressed: «The cause of the famine was, the factor that is still unparalleled in history, the power itself» [19, 10].

In the first postwar years emigrants promulgated new details of the famine eyewitnesses, especially about horrors of famishing in some regions of Ukrainian SSR and Kuban in 1932–1933, about the facts of cannibalism and corpse-eating among the maddening peasantry, about the Communist power’s mockery of dying Ukrainian villages and Cossack settlements [1].

In the published works there are some data which confirm the selective character of the famishment, aimed at Ukrainian enclaves beyond the administrative borders of the republic. K. Omelianovych, an eyewitness of the events, wrote: «Throughout Starobilsk District, from Rubizhne to Milove, from Urazove to Luhansk, like all over Ukraine, there were dead bodies instead of the former working people» [16]. O. Case specified that in 1932–1933 «in Starobilsk District almost all the villages died to a man expect those where migrants from the Moscow State lived, namely Astrakhanka, Vorobiovka, Kazanka and others» [10]. On the whole, according to the reports of fugitives from Ukraine, an impression is made that Moscow attempted through genocide to replace Ukrainian populousness by Russian population. The migration committee in Moscow settled Russians on a mass scale in died out villages in Kharkiv, Poltava, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Luhansk regions and other areas.

However, according to the evidences of eyewitnesses of the events, people, sometimes driven into despair, rose against detestable plunderers. Those, who survived, in spite of the terror of the authorities, met the migrants in hospitably. V. Petrivskyi recollects, that in Kharkiv Region Ukrainians derailed trains with new owners (near Merefа), burnt farmsteads, littered wells and here and there, like in Yakymivka District, forced them to return to Russia [18].

Besides publicistic materials and evidences of eyewitnesses of the famine, that exposed horrible facts of this genocide, hidden in every possible way in the USSR and kept silent in the world, foreign historiography, in the first place, of the emigrant group, was enriched with analytical and generalized works of scientific character in the postwar years. Their authors focused their thoughts on studying the causes, character and results of the tragedy.

Thus, in September, 1951 Pavlo Maliar was one of the first in Europe who proved his arguments of considering and preparing the Ukrainian genocide by the Kremlin. His article was published in the periodical «Ukrainski Visti», issued in Neu Ulm [12]. He pointed out to the point-blank overrated grain-collection plan for Ukraine; to the introduction of the punishment for collecting cars of wheat, even

after gathering the harvest. According to the «Law on five spikes», to the armed guard of grain storehouses, moreover, as never before, with dogs; to taking away even baked bread from people in 1932–1933; to absence of the famine in Russian ethnographic areas, etc. The researcher's conclusion is categorical: «The famine, an overall terror and total people-killing in Ukraine, was just organized in order to destroy the Ukrainian nation and to nip the Ukrainian strength in the bud» [12].

A significant contribution to the elaboration of Dmytro Solovei, a Ukrainian Canadian and native of Poltava Region. At first, in 1952 in his book “Following the paths to Golgotha” he introduced numerous reminiscences of the famine witnesses in Ukrainian SSR to scientific circulation [22]. One of the first serious scientific historic and historiographic researches of the tragedy of Ukraine in 1932–1933, carried out over the ocean, was his work «Golgotha of Ukraine», the 15th and the 16th chapters of which are devoted to the events of the famine and confiscation of rich farmers' property. It was published in Canada on the 20th anniversary of the famine. The author came to a conclusion that «... the famine of 1932–1933 was planned prepared and carried out in perfectly satisfactory natural conditions and the main purpose of its realization (like the savage methods of confiscating rich farmers' property before) was terror and revenge to the disobedient Ukrainian people ...» [23, 179–180].

D. Solovei's book summed up the achievements of the first stage in investigating the subject matter and, according to the level of scientific analysis and general conclusions which determined a nationally directed character of the famine in Ukraine, commenced the next historiographic period.

Firstly, the initial chronological stage in researching the Ukrainian famishment problem, covering 1933–1952, can be distinguished. This stage is stipulated for specific political conditions of the activity of Ukrainian scholars in emigration and western journalists who visited the USSR and for the initial level of historiographic comprehension of the problem. Just on this stage the source and historiographic basis in researching the famine (1932–1933), kept silent in the Soviet Union, is laid.

Secondly, the peculiarity of this stage consists in the fact that the public chiefly obtains reminiscences of some witnesses of the famine – fugitives from Great Ukraine – and published works in periodicals, written by the reporters who visited the USSR during the famine. Consequently, the published works about the famine on this stage are mainly notable for their polemic character and politization that is explained by their authorship (they are often witnesses of the events), by chronological proximity of the tragedy, by lack of documental sources owing to inaccessibility to Soviet archives. Furthermore, publicistic works of anti-Soviet (anti-Russian) trend were after available group needs (on the base of which a new topos of

identity was being formed) rather than they tried to determine the objective truth. The formation of new identity was in progress being based on the idea of primordial struggle of Ukrainian people for keeping their originality, typical of M. Hrushevsky's school. The status of the main enemy, attached to the Soviet power, was kept under observation in parallel with it.

Thirdly, historic themes of the famine were chiefly developed within the framework of publicistic discourse of Ukrainian diaspora. At this period no deep analytical works on the subject were published by western historiography were, in particular, concentration on history of the USSR, prejudice against «Ukrainian nationalism», etc. The denial of the famine by the Soviet Union and the policy of ignoring the tragedy by the governments of leading western countries, interested in the USSR as an ally in the struggle against nazism and fascism, worried to death.

Concerning meaningful filling, the famine in 1932–1933 was recognized as a crime of the Soviet power, but there were no attempts to interpret it as an act of genocide. A similar situation was also observed in national historiography, which, in the conditions of ignoring the famishment, was doing the first stage of its formation in the forties and the fifties. Vasyl Marochko stressed that the famine in 1932–1933 was presented in the general historic context and was not considered a genocide phenomenon in solid monographic researches by M. Fedan, N. Polonska-Vasylenko and M. Prokop [13].

Just on this background various victual plots, symbolizing destroying the Ukrainian nationalism constituents, began to develop. The conclusions on the artificial and directed character of the 1932–1933 famishment in Ukraine in the course of the imperial national policy of the Communist party (R. Packlen, P. Maliar) and as revenge to the peasantry for collectivization resistance (D. Solovey) became the principal achievement of the subject researchers at the initial stage of its studying. Some researchers, for the first time, drew attention to the peculiarity of the party's food policy in Ukraine and in Kuban in comparison with other regions of the USSR, which gave them the reason to assert the genocide against Ukrainian population (P. Maliar, R. Omelianovych, O. Case).

Finally, the political climate change after Stalin's death, gradual enlargement of the source base and some scientific achievements at the first stage of the subject studies caused the appearance of a new quality of scientific analysis and synthesis in comprehending the events in 1932–1933 for the following years.

Thus milestone in 1953 – the year of the 20th anniversary of the Holodomor – was largely a landmark in the study of events in the Ukrainian village during Soviet «great change» and spread of the truth about the political causes and terrible consequences of hunger. The source base on the history of the great Soviet famine

greatly increased access to scientific – primarily due to the two-volume edition of "Dirty deed Kremlin White Paper" (R. Packlen) – and works by O. Woropay, S. Pidgainy, M. Verbytsky etc. Second, the number of papers published in professional scholars of the «free world» (K. Manning, J. Steward, R. Packlen) in which subjects famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine began to turn scientific fact.

Third, the study appeared with a scientific nature, where, along with description of the facts of the Holodomor, carried out an analysis of its causes and nature (P. Maliar, D. Solovey, I. Dubynets, V. Kravchenko, K. Manning) demographic effects (S. Sosnovy, V. Hryshko, D. Solovey), biological and psychological factors (I. Rozhin and V. Rozhin, M. Mischenko, F. Pihido-Pravoberezhnyy) of children (S. Pidgainy, F. Pihido-Pravoberezhny, D. Solovey), Ukraine and circumstances blockade silence hungry horrors (S. Pidgainy, D. Solovey, D. Shaldiy, M. Didenko) determining the perpetrators of terror by famine (V. Mudry, S. Pidgainy, F. Pihido-Pravoberezhny, I. Maystrenko) and others.

Thus, although in 1953 the number of publications on the famine in comparison with 1933, when there was an avalanche of correspondence and the testimony of witnesses, decreased in four of their range (43 publications) exceed the performance of any other year in the previous 20th anniversary, and General – celebrated on the order of a higher level of study.

Until 1973 interest in the topic of the Great Famine in the qualitative and quantitative dimensions do not exceed the level of 1953, which also suggests the period of the 20th anniversary of the tragedy characteristic of the new phase of the researching subject. We consider that the vast array of publications on topics in 1933–1952 requires further analysis of sources and historiographical reflection.

Анотація

Комуністична влада замовчувала факт штучного голоду 1932–1933 рр. і забороняла його дослідження аж до розпаду Радянського Союзу. Отже, правда про цю жахливу подію спершу поширювалася та вивчалася тільки у «вільному світі». Мета представленої статті – проаналізувати особливості дослідження історії Голодомору в Україні у перше двадцятиріччя після цієї трагедії. Тема розглянута на основі всього комплексу доступних історичних джерел із врахуванням новітніх досягнень світової історичної науки. Визначено особливості формування наукового дискурсу з історії голоду 1932–1933 рр. на першому історіографічному етапі та уточнено його хронологічні межі. Простежено процес прироцнення обсягу історичних джерел і розвитку наукових знань з історії голоду. Зроблено висновок про те, що джерельна база з історії Голодомору у вказаний період обмежувалася переважно спогадами очевидців

катастрофи українського села та матеріалами періодичних видань зарубіжних країн. Разом з тим, уже в перше двадцятиріччя вивчення історії Великого голоду з'явилися ґрунтовні аналітичні праці, які заклали концептуальні основи подальшого дослідження теми. Наголошено, що величезний масив публікацій з теми у 1933–1952 рр. потребує подальшого джерелознавчого аналізу та історіографічного осмислення.

Ключові слова: історіографічний етап, Голодомор в Україні, джерела, наукові публікації.

Анотація

Коммунистическая власть замалчивала факт искусственного голода 1932–1933 гг. и запретила его исследования вплоть до распада Советского Союза. Следовательно, правда об этом ужасном событии сначала распространялась и изучалась только в «свободном мире». Цель представленной статьи – проанализировать особенности исследования истории Голодомора в Украине в первое двадцатилетие после этой трагедии. Тема рассмотрена на основе всего комплекса доступных исторических источников с учетом новейших достижений мировой исторической науки. Определены особенности формирования научного дискурса по истории голода 1932–1933 гг. на первом историографическом этапе и уточнены его хронологические рамки. Прослежены процесс прироста объема исторических источников и развития научных знаний по истории голода. Сделан вывод о том, что ключевая база по истории Голодомора в указанный период ограничивалась преимущественно воспоминаниями очевидцев катастрофы украинского села и материалами периодических изданий зарубежных стран. Вместе с тем, уже в первое двадцатилетие изучения истории Великого голода появились глубокие аналитические работы, которые заложили концептуальные основы дальнейшего исследования темы. Отмечено, что огромный массив публикаций по теме в 1933–1952 гг. требует дальнейшего источниковедческого анализа и историографического осмысления.

Ключевые слова: историографический этап, Голодомор в Украине, источники, научные публикации.

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

1. Б. К. 1930–1933 роки на Тарашанщині / Б. К. // Новий шлях. – 1948. – Ч. 64; Литвинский А. Сила правды / А. Литвинский // Новое русское слово. – 1949. – С. 3; Славутич Яр. П'ять людоїдів і сто родин, засланих на Сибір (1933-й рік у межах однієї сільради) / Яр Славутич // Наш вік. – 1949. – Ч. 18–19; Документи про советське народовбивство // Народна воля. – 1950. – Ч. 10.

2. Галій М. Організований голод в Україні 1932–1933 / Микола Галій. – Чикаго; Нью-Йорк, 1968. – 40 с.
3. Голодомор в Україні 1932–1933 рр.: Бібліографічний покажчик. – Одеса–Львів: Вид. М. Коць, 2001. – 656 с.
4. Граденіго С. Звіт Консула Італії в Харкові від 31 серпня 1933 р. // Куліш А. Книга пам'яті українців / А. Ф. Куліш. – Вид. 3, доп. – Харків: Прогрес-світа, 2000. – 59 с.
5. Гудзь В. Причини та характер голоду-геноциду в УРСР 1932–1933 років у зарубіжній історіографії ХХ століття / Віктор Гудзь // *Nad Wisla I Dniemrem. Polska i Ukraina w przestrzeni europejskiej – przeszlosc i terazniejszosc. Seria: Systemy Miedzynarodowe I Globalny Rozwoj / Над Дніпром і Віслою. Україна і Польща в європейському вимірі – минуле і сучасність. Серія: Історія, Міжнародні системи та глобальний розвиток.* – № 2–3. – Київ–Торунь, 2003–2004. – С. 365–380.
6. Золоті ворота. Часопис для українців за кордоном. – К., 1993. – Вип. 4.
7. Калакура Я. Українознавчий погляд на голодомор 1932–1933 років як геноцид українського народу / Ярослав Калакура. – URL: <http://www.ualogos.kiev.ua/fulltext.html?id=1209>
8. Калініченко В. Історіографія голодомору 1932–1933 років в Україні / В. Калініченко, С. Яценко // *Голод-геноцид 1933 року в Україні: історико-політологічний аналіз соціально-демографічних та морально-психологічних наслідків.* – К., Нью-Йорк, 2000. – С. 15–26.
9. Касьянов Г. *Danse macabre: голод 1932–1933 років у політиці, масовій свідомості та історіографії (1980-ті – початок 2000-х) /* Георгій Касьянов; Ін-т історії України НАН України. – К.: Наш час, 2010. – 271 с.
10. Кейс О. По сторінках російської преси / О. Кейс // *Свобода.* – 1952. – Ч. 47.
11. Корбут С. Україна в огні. На основі документів / С. Корбут. – Львів, 1936. – 32 с.
12. Маляр П. Голод на Україні в 1932–33 рр. / Павло Маляр // *Українські вісті.* – 1951. – Ч. 74.
13. Марочко В. І. Концептуальні підвалини західноєвропейської та російської історіографії голодомору 1932–1933 рр. в Україні / В. І. Марочко // *Український історичний журнал.* – 2003. – № 3. – С. 125–144.
14. Назарова К. В. Концепція Голоду-геноциду як феномен інтелектуальної культури української діаспори (1960–1980-х рр.) / К. В. Назарова // *Історичний збірник Мелітопольського державного педагогічного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького.* Вип. 1. – Мелітополь: Вид. МДПУ ім. Б. Хмельницького, 2013. – С. 82–91.

15. Нищать українську націю. Боронімося! // Нова зоря. – 1933. – 25 травня.
16. Омелянович К. Справжня мета організації Старобільської округи 1933 р. / К. Омелянович // Свобода. – 1951. – Ч. 164.
17. Паклен Р. «Біла книга»: Національна і соціальна політика Советів на службі московського імперіалізму. На основі автентичних урядових советських документів / Р. Паклен. – Мюнхен: Укр. політик, 1948. – 220 с.
18. Петрівський В. Рожеві окуляри й тверда дійсність / Володимир Петрівський // Свобода. – 1952. – Ч. 119.
19. Розгін І. Голод в Україні як біологічне і соціальне явище / І. Розгін, В. Розгін // Нові дні. – Торонто. – 1953. – Ч. 41, червень.
20. Рудницька М. Боротьба за правду про великий голод / М. Рудницька // Статті. Листи. Документи. – Львів: Вид-во «Місіонер», 1998. – 844 с.
21. Савельєв В. Л. Трагедія українського народу у висвітленні зарубіжної історіографії / В. Л. Савельєв // Голод 1932–1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів / кер. кол. упоряд. Р. Я. Пиріг. – К.: Політвидав України, 1990. – С. 85–108.
22. Соловей Д. Артур Кестлер про голод на Україні в 1932–1933 рр. // Дмитро Соловей. Стежками на Голготу. – Скрантон, 1952. – Ч. I. – С. 52–54.
23. Соловей Д. Голгота України. Московсько-окупаційний терор в УРСР між першою й другою світовою війною / Дмитро Соловей. – Дрогобич: Відродження, 1993. – 288 с. (Репринт).
24. Сосновий С. Правда про голод на Україні в 1932–33 рр. / С. Сосновий // Українські вісті. – 1950. – Ч. 10, 11; Вербицький М. Найбільший злочин Кремля: Створений советською Москвою штучний голод в Україні 1932–33 рр. / М. Вербицький. – Лондон: ДОБРУС, 1952. – 112 с.; Осьмачка Т. План по двору / Тодось Осьмачка. – Торонто, 1951; Правобережний Ф. (Пігідо Ф.). 8,000,000: 1933-й рік на Україні / Ф. Правобережний. – Вінніпег, 1951.
25. Тризуб. – 1933. – Ч. 2–3, 41, 48; Діло. – 1932. – 29 грудня; 1933. – 12 лютого, 21 травня, 16 жовтня; Новий час. – 1933. – 28 серпня, 19 жовтня.
26. Шульгин О. Без території. Ідеологія та чин Уряду УНР. на чужині / Олександр Шульгин. – Париж, 1934. – 352 с.
27. Яшук П. Маловивчені аспекти геноциду голодомору в Україні / П. Яшук // Голод-геноцид 1933 року в Україні: історико-політологічний аналіз соціально-демографічних та морально-психологічних наслідків. – К., Нью-Йорк, 2000. – С. 217–234.
28. Ammende Evald. Famine in Russia / Evald Ammende // Times. – 1933. – 12 June.
29. Ammende E. Muss Russland Hungern? Menschen und Volkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion / E. Ammende. – Wein, 1935.

30. Berand P. La Famine en Ukraine / P. Berand // *Le Temps*. – 1933. – 22 Juill; Bertillon Suzanne. L'effroyable Detresse des Popylations de L'Ukraine / Suzanne Bertillon // *Le Matin*. – 1933. – 29 Aout.

31. Chamberlin William. Russia's Yron Age / William Chamberlin. – Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1934. – 400 p.; Визвольний шлях. – 1988. – Кн. 10 (487). – С. 1 257.

32. Chamberlin William. The Ukraine. A Submerged Nation / William Chamberlin. – New York, 1944; Koestler Arthur. The Yogi and the Commissar / Arthur Koestler. – New York: The Macmillan company, 1945. – 247 p.

33. Grynevych L. The Present State of Ukrainian Historiography on the Holodomor and Prospects for Its Development / L. Grynevych // *Harriman Review*. – 2008. – Vol. 16, No. 2. – P. 10–20.

34. Jones Gareth. Famine in Russia / Gareth Jones // *Manchester Guardian*. – 1933. – 30 Mar.; Jones Gareth. The Peasants in Russia: Exhausted Supplies / Gareth Jones // *Manchester Guardian*. – 1933. – 8 May.

35. Krawchuk A. Protesting the Famine: The Statement of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in 1933 / A. Krawchuk // *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. – Winter, 1983.

36. Mace James. The Politics of Famine: American Government and Press Responses to the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933 / James Mace // *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. – 1988, April.

37. Muggeridge Malcolm. The Soviet and the Peasantry: an Observer's Notes. II: Hunger in the Ukraine / Malcolm Muggeridge // *Manchester Guardian*. – 1933. – 27 Mar. – P. 9–10; Muggeridge Malcolm. The Soviet's War on the Peasants / Malcolm Muggeridge // *Fortnightly Review*. – 1933. – Vol. 39. – P. 558–564.

38. *New York American*. – 1935. – 18–19 Aug.

39. Pigido-Pravoberezhny F. The Stalin Famine / F. Pigido-Pravoberezhny. – London, 1953; *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book*. (ed. S. Pidgainy). – Toronto. – 1953, 1955; Woropay Olexa. *The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933* / Olexa Woropay. – Cambridge, MA., 1953, 1983; *Genocide in the USSR: Studies in Group Destruction*. – Munich, 1958.

40. United States. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933: Report to Congress. – Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1988. – 524 p.

References

1. B. K. (1948). 1930–1933 roky na Tarashchanshchyni [1930–1933 years on *Taraschanshchyni*]. *Novyy shlyakh*, CH. 64; Lytvynskyy A. *Syla pravdy [Power Pravda]* / *Novoe russkoe slovo*; Slavutych Yar. (1949). *P"yat' lyudoyidiv i sto*

rodyn, zaslanykh na Sybir (1933-y rik u mezhakh odniyeyi sil'rady) [*Five hundred cannibals and families exiled to Siberia (1933 year within a village council)*]. Nash vik, 18–19; Dokumenty pro sovyet-s'ke narodovbyvstvo (1950). [*Documents on Soviet murder of people*]. Narodna volya, 10.

2. Haliy, M. (1968). Orhanizovanyy holod v Ukraini 1932–1933 [*Organized famine in Ukraine 1932–1933*]. Chykhah; N'yu-York.

3. Holodomor v Ukraini 1932–1933 rr.: Bibliorafichnyy pokazhchyk (2001) [*Holodomor in Ukraine 1932–1933: Bibliographic Index*]. Odesa–L'viv: Vyd. M. Kots'.

4. Hradenih, S. (2000) Zvit Konsula Italiyi v Kharkovi vid 31 serpnya 1933 r. [*S. Gradenigo report Consul of Italy in Kyiv on August 31, 1933*]. Kulish, A. Knyha pam'yati ukrayintiv, Vyd. 3, dop., Kharkiv: Prosvita.

5. Gudz', V. (2003–2004). Prychyny ta kharakter holodu-henotsydu v URSS 1932–1933 rokov u zarubizhniy istoriohrafii XX stolittya [*The causes and nature of the famine-genocide in the USSR in 1932–1933 in foreign historiography of the twentieth century*]. Nad Wisla I Dniprem. Polska i Ukraina w przestrzeni europejskiej – przeszlosc i terazniejszosc. Seria: Systemy Miedzynarodowe I Globalny Rozwoj / Nad Dniprom I Visloyu. Ukraina i Pol'shcha v yevropeys'komu vymiri – mynule i suchasnist'. Seriya: Istoriya, Mizhnarodni systemy ta hlobal'nyy rozvytok. Kyiv–Torun, 2–3, 365–380.

6. Zoloti vorota. Chasopys dlya ukrayintiv za kordonom (1993) [*Golden Gate. Magazine for Ukrainian abroad*]. K., vyp. 4.

7. Kalakura, Y. (2008). Ukrayinoznavchyy pohlyad na holodomor 1932–1933 rokov yak henotsyd ukrayins'koho narodu [*Ukrainian view on the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as a genocide of the Ukrainian people*]. URL: <http://www.ualogos.kiev.ua/fulltext.html?id=1209>

8. Kalinichenko V. Yatsenko Ye. (2000). Istoriografia holodomoru 1932–1933 rokov v Ukraini [*Historiography of the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine*]. Holod-henotsyd 1933 roku v Ukraini: istoryko-politolozhichnyy analiz sotsial'no-demohrafichnykh ta moral'no-psykholohichnykh naslidkiv. K.; N'yu-York, 15–26.

9. Kas'yanov, H. (2010). Danse macabre: holod 1932–1933 rokov u politytsi, masoviy svidomosti ta istoriohrafii (1980-ti – pochatok 2000-kh) [*Danse macabre: the famine of 1932–1933 in politics, mass consciousness and historiography (1980 – early 2000s)*]. In-t istoriyi Ukrayiny NAN Ukrayiny. K.: Nash chas.

10. Keys O. (1952). Po storinkakh rosiys'koyi presy [For Russian press]. Svoboda, 47.

11. Korbut S. (1936). Ukraina v ohni. Na osnovi dokumentiv [*Ukraine in the fire. Based on the documents*]. L'viv: Desheva knyzhka: Dvotyzhnevyyk, 19–20.

12. Malyar, P. (1951). Holod na Ukraini v 1932–33 rr. [*The famine in Ukraine in 1932–33*]. Ukrayins'ki visti, 74.
13. Marochko, V. I. (2003). Kontseptual'ni pidvalyny zakhidnoyevropeys'koyi ta rosiys'koyi istoriografii holodomoru 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraini [*Conceptual foundations of Western and Russian historiography of the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine*] Ukrayins'kyy istorychnyy zhurnal, 3, 125–144.
14. Nazarova, K. V. (2013). Kontseptsiya Holodu-henotsydu yak fenomen intelektual'noyi kul'tury ukrayins'koyi diaspory (1960–1980-kh rr.) [*The concept of the Famine-genocide as a phenomenon of the intellectual culture of the Ukrainian Diaspora (1960-1980's.)*]. Istorychnyy zbirnyk Melitopol's'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho. Melitopol': Vyd. MDPU im. B.Khmel'nyts'koho, 1, 82–91.
15. Nyshchat' ukrayins'ku natsiyu. Boronimosya! (1933). [*The destruction of the Ukrainian nation. Do defense!*]. Nova zorya, 25 travnya.
16. Omelyanovych K. (1951). Spravzhnya meta orh anizatsiyi Starobil's'koyi okruhy 1933 r. [*Real purpose of the organization Starobilsk districts 1933*]. Svoboda, 164.
17. Paklen, R. (1948). «Bila knyha»: Natsional'na i sotsial'na polityka Sovyativ na sluzhbi moskovs'koho imperializmu. Na osnovi avtentychnykh uradyovykh sovyet-s'kykh dokumentiv [*«White Book»: National and social policy of the Soviets in the service of the Moscow imperialism. On the basis of authentic Soviet government documents*]. Myunkhen: Ukr. polityk.
18. Petrivs'kyy, V. (1952). Rozhevi okulyary y tverda diysnist' [*Pink glasses and hard reality*]. Svoboda, 119.
19. Rozhin I., Rozhin V. (1953) Holod v Ukraini yak biolohichne i sotsial'ne yavyshe [*The famine in Ukraine as biological and social phenomenon*]. Novi dni. Toronto, 41, cherven'.
20. Rudnyts'ka, M. (1998). Borot'ba za pravdu pro velykyy holod [*The fight for the truth about the great famine*]. Stati. Lysty. Dokumenty. L'viv: Vyd-vo «Misioner».
21. Savel'yev, V. L. (1990). Trahediya ukrayins'koho narodu u vysvitleni zarubizhnoyi istoriografii [*The tragedy of the Ukrainian people in the covering of foreign historiography*]. Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraini: ochyma istorykiv, movoyu dokumentiv (ker. kol. uporyad. R. Ya. Pyrih). K.: Polityvdav Ukrainy, 85–108.
22. Solovey, D. (1952). Artur Kestler pro holod na Ukraini v 1932–1933 rr. [*Arthur Koestler about the famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933*]. Stezhkamy na Holohotu. – Skrenton, I, 52–54.

23. Solovey, D. (1993). Holhota Ukrayiny. Moskovs'ko-okupatsiynny teror v URSR mizh pershoyu y druhoyu svitovoyu viynoyu [*Golgotha of Ukraine. Moscow-occupation terror in the USSR between the first and second world war*]. Drohobych: Vidrozhennya. (Reprint 1953).

24. Sosnovyy, S. (1950). Pravda pro holod na Ukrayini v 1932–33 rr. [*Truth about the famine in Ukraine in 1932–33*]. Ukrayins'ki visti, 10, 11; Verbyts'kyy, M. (1952). Naybil'shyy zlochyn Kremlya: Stvorenyy sovyet-s'koyu Moskovoyu shtuchnyy holod v Ukrayini 1932–33 rr. [*The greatest crime of the Kremlin: Moscow created the Soviet man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932–33*]. London: DOBRUS; Os'machka T. (1951). Plan po dvoru [*The plan for the yard*]. Toronto; Pravoberezhnyy, F. (Pihido F.). (1951). [8,000,000: 1933-y rik na Ukrayini 8,000,000: 1933 year in Ukraine]. Vinnipeh.

25. Tryzub. (1933). [*Trident*]. 2–3, 41, 48; Dilo. (1932) [*Matter*]. 29 hrudnya; Dilo. (1933). [*Matter*], 12 lyutoho, 21 travnya, 16 zhovtnya; Novyy chas. (1933) [*New time*]. 28 serpnya, 19 zhovtnya.

26. Shul'hyn, O. (1934). Bez terytoriyi. Ideolohiya ta chyn Uryadu U.N.R. na chuzhyni [*Without territory. Ideology and the work of the Government UPR in exile*]. Paryzh.

27. Yashchuk, P. (2000). Malovyvcheni aspekty henotsydu holodomoru v Ukrayini [*Lesser known aspects of the Holodomor's genocide in Ukraine*]. Holodhenotsyd 1933 roku v Ukrayini: istoryko-politolohichnyy analiz sotsial'no-demohrafichnykh ta moral'no-psykholohichnykh naslidkiv. K.; N'yu-York, 217–234.

28. Ammende, E. (1933). Famine in Russia. Times, 12 June.

29. Ammende, E. (1935). Muss Rusland Hungern? Menschen und Volkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion. Wein.

30. Berand, P. (1933). La Famine en Ukraine. Le Temps, 22 Juill; Bertillon, S. (1933). L'effroyable Detresse des Popylations de L'Ukraine. Le Matin. 29 Aout.

31. Chamberlin, W. (1934). Russia's Yron Age. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

32. Chamberlin, W. (1944). The Ukraine. A Submerged Nation. New York; Arthur, K. (1945). The Yogi and the Commissar. New York: The Macmillan company.

33. Grynevych, L. (2008). The Present State of Ukrainian Historiography on the Holodomor and Prospects for Its Development. Harriman Review, 16, 2, 10–20.

34. Jones G. (1933). Famine in Russia. Manchester Guardian, 30 Mar.; Jones, G. (1933). The Peasants in Russia: Exhausted Supplies. Manchester Guardian, 8 May.

35. Krawchuk, A. (1983). Protesting the Famine: The Statement of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in 1933. Journal of Ukrainian Studies, Winter.

36. Mace J. (1988). The Politics of Famine: American Government and Press Responses to the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933. Holocaust and Genocide Studies, April.

37. Muggeridge, M. (1933). The Soviet and the Peasantry: an Observer's Notes. II: Hunger in the Ukraine. *Manchester Guardian*, 27 Mar., 9–10; Muggeridge, M. (1933). The Soviet's War on the Peasants. *Fortnightly Review*, 39, 558–564.

38. *New York American* (1935), 18–19 Aug.

39. Pigiido-Pravoberezhny, F. (1953). *The Stalin Famine*. London; *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book*. (ed. S. Pidgainy) (1953, 1955). Toronto; Woropay, O. *The Ninth Circle: In Commemoration of the Victims of the Famine of 1933* (1953, 1983). Cambridge, MA; *Genocide in the USSR: Studies in Group Destruction* (1958). Munich.

40. United States. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932–1933: Report to Congress* (1988). Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office.