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**THE VOICE OF TRUTH ABOUT THE HOLODOMOR-GENOCIDE
OF 1932 – 1933 IN UKRAINE. MATERIALS FROM “THE AMERICA”
NEWSPAPER EDITION, 1932**

Abstract. The purpose of the article. The authors of the article **aim at** gaining new knowledge on the subject matter, content, and genre representation of the publications published in the 1932 “The America” newspaper concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. **The scientific novelty** is that the subject matter, content, and genre representation of the publications published in the 1932 America magazine concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine have become the subject of special scientific focus for the first time. **Conclusions.** One of the historical sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States – “The America” newspaper. It played a powerful role in informing the world about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. In the information war of that time, it also fulfilled the mission of deconstructing Soviet and pro-Soviet ideologies that denied and/or distorted and manipulated information about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. In 19 issues of

“The America” newspaper from August 30 till December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the newspaper, the public could learn about the objective picture of the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such diverse materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; diverse materials that contain a story, “news,” and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. They present a holistic and unbiased picture of the famine reality of 1932 in Ukraine. For example, the following issues are covered: executions of starving peasants; punishment of peasants for forced theft; massive fleeing of peasants from villages; food crisis and starvation of peasants; content, implementation and consequences of the implementation of Soviet legislation; reasons for collectivization; causes and artificial nature of the famine; the essence of the Bolshevik regime and its attitude towards peasants; reasons for artificial deviant behaviour of peasants; repressions in the USSR, purging of the party ranks; import of grain by the USSR from abroad; forms of peasant resistance, etc.

Key words: Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine, “The America” newspaper, peasant resistance, forced famine, collectivization.

ГОЛОС ПРАВДИ ПРО ГОЛОДОМОР-ГЕНОЦИД 1932 – 1933 РР. В УКРАЇНІ: МАТЕРІАЛИ ГАЗЕТИ “АМЕРИКА” 1932 Р.

Анотація. Мета статті. Автори статті ставлять за **мету** отримати нові знання з тематики, змісту, жанрового представництва публікацій, розміщених у часописі “Америка” за 1932 рік, що стосуються Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що означена тематика вперше стала предметом спеціальної наукової уваги. **Висновки.** Одним із історичних джерел голосу правди про Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років в Україні є українська діаспорна преса США – газета “Америка”. Вона відіграла потужну роль в інформуванні світу щодо Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні. У тогочасній інформаційній війні виконала й місію деконструкції радянських та прорадянських ідеологем, які заперечували чи/або перекручували інформацію про Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років в Україні та маніпулювали нею. У 19 числах газети “Америка” за 30 серпня – 27 грудня 1932 року оприлюднено 31 публікацію різножанрових матеріалів про “голодову трагедію” в Україні. Громадськість про об’єктивну картину Голодомору-геноциду 1932 – 1933 років в Україні у часописі могла дізнатися з таких різножанрових матеріалів, як: телеграми; аналітика; інформації; свідчення очевидців; роздуми; критика; оповіді; листи; “звідомлення”; інтерв’ю; різножанрові матеріали, що в одному вміщують оповідь, “вісти”, аналітику. Всі вони україномовні. У них відображено цілісну та незаангажовану картину “голодової” реальності 1932 року в Україні. Наприклад, розкрито такі питання, як: розстріли голодних селян; покарання селян за вимушені крадіжки; масові втечі селян із сіл; продовольча криза і голодування селян; зміст, виконання і наслідки від виконання радянського законодавства; причини колективізації; причини і штучний характер голоду; сутність більшовицького режиму і його ставлення до селян; причини штучної девіантної поведінки селян; репресії в СРСР, чистка партійних лав; імпорт зерна СРСР з-за кордону; форми селянського спротиву тощо.

Ключові слова: Голодомор-геноцид 1932 – 1933 років. в Україні, газета “Америка”, спротив селян, штучний голод, колективізація.

Problem Statement. One of the most tragic pages in the history of the Ukrainian people of the first third of the 20th century is the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933. By it, the Soviet leadership exterminated the generation of the Ukrainian peasantry that had formed as an active subject of history in the era of liberation struggle and national state-building. Stalin's totalitarianism viewed it as a real threat to communist ideology and its existence.

In the information space of the time, the state-party leadership and the Soviet special services launched a large-scale special operation aimed at silencing, non-recognition, ignoring, and distorting the “famine” with the terminology of the time.

Despite all the disinformation efforts of the Soviet leadership and special services in the 1930s, objective reports about the real state of affairs with the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine penetrated the West. The world knew about the real, not mythical, “horrors and terrors” of 1932 – 1933 in “Greater Ukraine”. An important role in publicizing the real situation in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933, in informing the world about the Holodomor-genocide, was played by the Ukrainian-language media, particularly on the North American continent.

Review of Research and Publications. Issues related to the topic we have declared are presented in modern historiography. For example, in the studies by E. Pavlovsky (Pavlovsky, 2016, p. 225), V. Viatrovych (Viatrovych, 2012), A. Kozytskyi (Kozytskyi, 2023), H. Tereshchuk (Tereshchuk, 2024), V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 2011, pp. 63 – 88), T. Boryak (Boryak, 2023, pp. 63–73), V. Hubarets (Hubarets, 2005), O. Kovalchuk (Kovalchuk, 2008, p. 382), and the others.

At the same time, in the modern Ukrainian narrative, there are no special studies on the reflection of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 on the pages of “The America” newspaper. For example, O. Kovalchuk drew attention to the fact that the 2001 bibliographic index “The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine”, in addition to publications in the journal “Svoboda”, does not contain information about publications from other journals in the United States and Canada. According to V. Hubarets, “the bulk of Ukrainian ethnic periodicals from overseas are still not readily available” (Hubarets, 2005). In view of this, our research is relevant.

The Purpose of the Article. The authors of the article aim at gaining new knowledge on the subject matter, content, and genre representation of publications published in the 1932 “The America” newspaper concerning the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine.

Research Results. One of the sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press. First of all, we are talking about the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States, “The America” newspaper.

The Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies interprets “The America” newspaper as the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper in the United States (Philadelphia), the first issue of which was published in 1912, as the organ of the Union of Ukrainian Catholics “Providence”. Initially it was a daily publication, in 1918 – 1950 it was published three times a week, and since 1950 it had been a diary. “Edited since 1914 by Frs. Myron Zalitch, Aptin Tsurkovsky, Dr. Osyp Nazaruk, Volodymyr Lototsky, Dr. Lengyntsevsky, Bohdan Katamay, Dr. Hryhoriy Luzhnytsky, and Yevhen Zyblykevych. Published in our own publishing house” (Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva, 1955, p. 41).

According to H. Savchuk's more precise information, in 1926 – 1927 the editorial board of “The America” newspaper was headed by O. Nazaruk, and after him, until July 1943, by Volodymyr-Bohdan Lototskyi (Savchuk).

The publication positioned itself as the “Ukrainian Periodical. The governmental organ of Providence”. It was published on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Published by the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America (*America*, 1932) or as “A periodical for the Ukrainian people and an organ of the Providence Society. It is published on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. The address of the editorial office is in Philadelphia” (*America*, 1933).

According to the authors' calculations, in 19 issues of “The America” newspaper for August 30 – December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the magazine, the public could learn

about the objective picture of the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such various genres of materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; various genres of materials that contain story, “news”, and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. For example, about the shootings of hungry peasants, the punishment of peasants for forced theft, mass escapes of peasants from villages, the food crisis and starvation of peasants in 1932 was discussed on the pages of “The America” newspaper from August 30 till October 6, 1932. In No. 100 for August 30, the newspaper's editorial office reported: “... the Bolsheviks shot five peasants in Ukraine for taking a little grain from a “kolkhoz” (collective farm)”. The fact that the editorial office used the term “theft” in quotation marks indicates that these were not illegal actions by the peasants in their classical understanding. Their crime was of a forced nature, caused by the need for biological survival of an individual. The editorial office is on the side of the peasants, sympathizing with their grief: “The peasants “steal” because of the terrible famine” (Bolshevyky rozstriliuiut, 1932, p. 1). In another publication on the same topic, for September 8, 1932, it is stated: “In three days in the Soviet Union, another 50 people were sentenced to death and 20 people were shot. ... All those convicted and executed for stealing various articles of food” (Moskva rozstriliuiue, 1932, p. 1).

The newspaper also draws attention to the unjustified repressive nature of the authorities' actions towards the hungry peasants. The use of the term “authority” in quotation marks indicates the totalitarian regime's inconsistency with the classical understanding of the term “authority” and its anti-people nature. Our judgments are confirmed by the text published in Issue No. 100 of August 30. The editorial staff of “The America” newspaper emphasized that instead of providing Ukrainian peasants suffering from hunger with the necessary food aid, “the communist “authorities” responded with executions, in order to use brutal punishments to deter the hungry from encroaching on the fields that belonged to them before the forcible creation of “collective farms” (Bolshevyky rozstriliuiut, 1932, p. 1).

An impartial analysis of another publication, placed in the same issue of the newspaper, under the eloquent title “Punishment for the Theft in the Soviet Union” testifies that the actions of the totalitarian regime were not aimed at helping the Ukrainian peasants who urgently needed it, but were of a repressive and punitive nature in relation to people driven to despair by famine. In particular, it was said that “the Bolshevik press in moscow announced a decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, which threatens the theft of goods during transport with the death penalty or imprisonment for at least 10 years or confiscation of property” (Kara za kradizh v Sovetskim Soiuzi, 1932, p. 2).

Thus, the soviet regulatory and legal framework legally determined and fixed the methods and terms of punishment of innocent Ukrainian peasants – victims of Stalin's policy in the countryside, primarily the grain procurement campaign. On the nature and essence of the latter, the editorial board of “The America” newspaper wrote on September 3, 1932: “the annual collections (loots) of grain in Ukraine were excessive” (Ukraina vidmovliaietsia, 1932, p. 1).

The same issue of the newspaper also discussed mismanagement and the lack of an appropriate infrastructure that would ensure the repair of agricultural machinery. The result was that “the percentage of broken tractors in Ukraine is high even in industrial centers like Odesa, where 30% are broken, and in Katerynoslav 20%. Also, around the Ukrainian capital, Kharkiv, there is not even 10% of the necessary cleaned seeds for distribution” (Ukraina vidmovliaietsia, 1932, p. 1).

The stalinists' disdain for the Ukrainian peasantry, the targeted policy of its extermination, and excessive grain procurement in 1931 caused, according to materials No. 102 of the newspaper, a shortage of food, and consequently famine and mass migration of the population. The publication in this issue noted that “due to the famine in Soviet Ukraine, people are fleeing en masse to the factory cities of central Russia and the Urals, hoping to get food there. As a result of this migration of the population, the railways are overflowing with displaced people. Thousands of people are besieging the stations. Entire families are fleeing, leaving their little belongings to chance. In the crowded carriages, some are afraid to take out a piece of bread in front of others, lest it be snatched away. Fights often break out. People are also starving in the villages. The authorities have taken that year's harvest. ... The situation in soviet Ukraine is worsening. There are riots and attacks, as happened in Vinnytsia ...” (Na radianskii Ukraini, 1932, p. 1). According to the editorial office, “more than 100 hungry peasants from Ukraine” arrived in moscow every day (Amerykantsi vidvidaly holoduyuchy Kyiv, 1932, p. 1).

The real pictures of the hungry everyday life in Kyiv and its environs, and the shock a group of Americans received from what they saw, were discussed in the publication “AMERICANS VISITED STARVING KYIV”. This was information from Ralph W. Barnes, a correspondent for “The Herald Tribune” accredited in Moscow. From the stories of the US citizens, we learn “about the terrible events from the famine area in Kyiv and its environs. On the streets of Kyiv, they saw children with inscriptions on their backs that their parents had abandoned them because of hunger. In another place they met hungry people in Kyiv who were collecting waste from the garbage and feeding on it. The Americans also visited villages in Kyiv region that people had abandoned and had gone to look for a piece of bread in the city” (Amerykantsi vidvidaly holoduyuchy Kyiv, 1932, p. 1).

The moral and psychological atmosphere of horror and baseness in the Land of the Soviets during the Holodomor-genocide, the psychology of the murderers – the executioners of innocently convicted people, was reflected in the material for September 8, 1932. The most shameful thing, which the editorial board wrote about, was that the shootings of hungry peasants “became such commonplace events of everyday life in the Soviet Union that Moscow calmly sends telegraphic reports about it almost daily abroad, all over the world. Just as calmly as about the weather, congresses, fire or some invention. It is clear that in Moscow and in the Muscovite soul in general, murder for a piece of bread is a completely natural thing. Nothing extraordinary. The matter, they say, is quite clear and self-evident. But in the world of cultured people, not ‘katsaps’, such events are viewed somewhat differently. In cultured people, a person's life is worth a little more than a two-kopeck loaf of bread or a cup of skimmed milk.” (Rozstriliuiut liudyi za artykuly pozhyvy, 1932, p. 2).

In edition #107 of “The America” newspaper for September 17, 1932, a reprint from the Lviv newspaper “Business” was published, the author of which is M. Danko. He qualifies the Holodomor as “the planned, obvious destruction of the Ukrainian people” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). He provides specific arguments in support of his opinion and the planned nature of the famine that took place in Ukraine in 1932: “most of Ukraine suffered a terrible famine in the spring and summer of this year, which completely disorganized the agriculture of the grain-delivering country of the Soviet Union” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). Among them, the contributor singled out the following: 1) “the means by which the Bolsheviks squeezed grain from the “collective farms” already in the fall of last year ...”; 2) “... the Moscow masters not only do not care about the existence of their Ukrainian slaves, but on the contrary: they try first

of all to break their resistance with hunger”; 3) for the Soviet totalitarianism, the Ukrainian peasantry is a class enemy, and the Soviet agrarian policy of the 1930s is “the Bolshevik campaign against the “class enemy” in the “collectivized” economy in Ukraine...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

M. Danko, as the fourth argument of his judgments, identified another tool of the Holodomor, which was actively used by the totalitarian system – information pressure from the authorities on the peasantry. In the interpretation of the author of the post, “coercion”. He wrote about this: “All spring and summer, “The Izvestia” published in Moscow, and then the entire Soviet press, waged a frenzied campaign against the Ukrainian countryside, in comparison with which the pogrom agitation of the tsarist Black Hundreds against foreigners was child’s play...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2). Such an anti-peasant information campaign by the authorities had clear results – “persecution”.

The fifth piece of evidence in M. Danko’s system of evidence regarding the Holodomor as a genocide – specially organized by the authorities was information about the excessive exploitation of the Ukrainian peasantry. He stated that something unheard of in the history of the exploitation of slave labour is now being done in Ukraine...” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

The sixth argument was the author’s long-standing strategy of the Muscovite region in relation to Ukraine. According to it, according to M. Danko, “the Ukrainian independence movement has always been and is the greatest obstacle to the development of Moscow imperialism, and the exploitation of Ukraine by Muscovy is the material basis of Muscovy imperialism. Therefore, the modern development of Soviet imperialism with the independence of the Ukrainian state can never be reconciled under any circumstances. The idea of a Ukrainian-Muscovy federative imperialism is completely unrealistic. To think that Muscovy can renounce Ukraine in order to share with it domination over the Asian expanses means not only the lack of knowing the greediness of the essence of national imperialism. The natural development of Ukrainian-Muscovy relations goes in exactly the opposite direction. Muscovy not only does not intend to share power over other colonies with Ukraine, but on the contrary: it is trying by all means to weaken the Ukrainian colony” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

According to M. Danko, the consequence of such a deliberate strategy of the totalitarian system was the destruction of the “Ukrainian people”. It manifested itself, firstly, in the artificial starvation of peasants, which began in 1932; secondly, in the deformation of moral and ethical imperatives in people driven to despair by hunger, in forced illegal actions that were not really such, since it was a matter of basic biological survival: “under the threat of execution and slow death in exile, as indicated in the latest charges about the protection of ‘state property,’ Ukrainian peasants ‘steal’ their grain at night, secretly cut off ears of grain and grind empty straw against their eyes, take grain from the field in the vessel in which they bring food, in their pockets and halters, steal it from trains and warehouses, and wherever they can” (Danko, 1932, p. 2).

In an editorial entitled “The Greatest Crime”, published in the October 1 edition of America, the famine in the Ukrainian SSR in 1932 was defined as “the greatest crime in the history of peoples and nations-the present destruction of the peasantry in the Soviet Union” (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2). The explanation of this definition is original. It is based on the axiom that the peasantry as the foundation of the Ukrainian nation is interconnected with its success. “The peasantry is the basic class of every nation. It has kept the nation alive, healthy and capable of fighting and created strength, tradition and character for the future. Whenever a nation exists today, alive, healthy, and capable, it owes it only to the peasantry.

Without the village, “there is no nation”, the editorial board wrote frankly (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2). In view of this, the Ukrainian peasantry is a danger to the totalitarian system, as it is the source of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, according to the editorial board, “the peasants in the Soviet Union are now as if condemned to death, to mass death” (Naibilshyi zlochyn, 1932, p. 2).

The forms of peasant resistance to the repressive Soviet grain procurement campaign, which was openly predatory in nature, were discussed in another article published on the pages of issue 103 of the America magazine. The editorial reported on two types of fraud. The first was double-entry bookkeeping. In this way, collective farm management tried to “hide the true state of the harvest”. This was done in order to indicate “ten times less than the amount of harvest. Collectives divide the rest of the harvest among their members” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4). The second was “mass protests and explicit actions against the arable collectives” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4).

The totalitarian authorities, as the editorial board reported, branded the peasant resistance as a bugbear, spreading disinformation in the Soviet press that “the boyish counterrevolution in Ukraine is clearly rearing its head”. Accordingly, the reaction of the totalitarian system was ruthless. Trials became an instrument of its realization: “The number of trials is so large that the prosecutor's office and judiciary staff cannot cope. Judicial reprisals... take place one after another at an accelerated pace. Every day, an average of 80 sentences are issued, and most of them are death sentences. Judges who dare to issue a lenient sentence are subjected to reprisals by the authorities” (Zahnalysia, 1932, p. 4).

The editorial staff also informed readers about the forms of the “defensive struggle” of the Ukrainian village “against Bolshevik captivity” in Issue #115 of October 6, 1932:

- 1) “numerous arsons in the countryside”;
- 2) secret threshing of grain;
- 3) “theft of grain” (Oboronna borotba sela proty bolshevytskoi nevoli, 1932, p. 1).

Based on the analysis of the above materials, a holistic picture of peasant resistance is formed. It clearly dissonates with the materials of the Soviet press of the time, reproducing its objective causes and the inadequate reaction of the totalitarian government.

The October 25th edition of ‘The America’ newspaper published an article titled “A LETTER FROM UKRAINE”. The latter is dated June 1932. Based on the results of the linguistic analysis of the text of the letter, its author is a woman. This opinion is confirmed by the beginning of the letter: “Forgive me for having the courage to write to you...” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2). In the letter, the eyewitness recreates the situation that took place in Ukraine in 1932 in Kyiv region. She emphasized that Kyiv region was starving, and there was a lack of food in the countryside. According to the text, the peasants of Kyiv region had not had any bread since February 1932: “We have not had bread since the month of February and all the time until Easter we were eating potatoes and husks and everything we could find. ... We are experiencing the horrors of the famine and are waiting for a change. We are tired of waiting. People go to work on Sundays to get a pound of bread and hot water with peas. Yesterday they gave us borscht with oil. So you can hear the workers screaming when it rains. There is no work in the field, but they want to eat, but they don't give them anything, and there is nothing at home. Crying and gnashing of teeth” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

The daily diet of the villagers did not fully provide the body with the necessary calories: “The food is very poor: one pound of bread in the morning, and in the evening, soup with peas, with 50 grams of peas floating in a full bowl, and for lunch, borscht without potatoes,

with 50 grams of worker peas or beans and greens floating in a full bowl” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

Under such terrible conditions, peasant parents tried and took care of their children. In the “Letter...” there is also mentioned about the peasants' survival strategies: “Whoever did not eat his pound of bread in the morning when he got it, dines on borsch with bread, but more often dines without bread. Because not everyone here eats their bread in the morning, but waits until the second morning. Then he gets a second pound of bread, and another man or woman does not taste the bread, but carries his ration home and gets fat or thin from hunger, because he has a family of 5 to 6 people at home, not able to work, and only those who work get the ration” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

The famine of 1932 was the main reason why, in order to survive, hungry people violated traditional values established in the peasant world. As a result, as the letter said, “a strong theft broke out. Everyone steals day and night, whoever has a horse, a cow, or a pig, chickens, they take them to the hut for the night so that they don’t steal. But it also happened that they were chopped down with an axe in order to rob. All the vegetables are destroyed. They tear everything up day and night; potatoes, onions, garlic, and potatoes with a bush are pulled out as young ones, although there is nothing to tear off, they tear up the planted old ones” (Lyst z Ukrainy, 1932, p. 2).

One of the sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932–1933. In Ukraine, there were impressions of eyewitnesses who were in the USSR during the tragedy, returned to the USA and published their testimonies on the pages of American newspapers. In the magazine “The America” newspaper on November 29, 1932, articles by Dr. Toton and Walter Duranty were published. They said that “there is a terrible famine in the Soviet Union. As it was last year, so is the rest of us. Ukraine, rich in grain, was starving the worst. Entire villages were dying out, or were setting off on a journey in search of bread. This winter, an even worse famine catastrophe is promised in Russia and Ukraine. The Bolsheviks are “feeding” the people with the “five-year plan” and empty promises that things will be better someday” (Rosiia vymyraie, 1932, p. 2). In their opinion, “reality says that 100 million people are doomed to starvation this winter. The world is again wondering whether people will survive that famine. The peoples in Soviet captivity have already endured and endured so much that the world is ready to believe in a new improbability. They say that people in the Soviet Union no longer live, but only survive. As if they are hopelessly awaiting the end, a sad mass death (Rosiia vymyraie, 1932, p. 2).

In 1932 publications, other issues of “The America” newspaper were similar in content to those mentioned above. In terms of information and themes, they all covered the following issues:

1. the executions of hungry peasants;
2. the punishment of peasants for forced theft;
3. the massive escapes of peasants from villages;
4. the food crisis and starvation of peasants;
5. the content, implementation and consequences of the implementation of Soviet legislation;
6. the reasons for collectivization;
7. the causes and artificial nature of the famine;
8. the essence of the Bolshevik regime and its attitude to the peasants;
9. the causes of forced deviant behaviour of peasants;

10. the repressions in the USSR, purging of party ranks;
11. the import of grain from abroad;
12. the forms of peasant resistance, etc.

Conclusions. Thus, one of the historical sources of the voice of truth about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine is the Ukrainian diaspora press in the United States, “The America” newspaper. It played a powerful role in informing the world about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932–1933 in Ukraine. In the information war of that time, it also fulfilled the mission of deconstructing the Soviet and pro-Soviet ideologies that denied and/or distorted and manipulated information about the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine.

In 19 issues of “The America” newspaper for the period of August 30, 1932 – December 27, 1932, 31 publications of various genres of materials about the “famine tragedy” in Ukraine were published. In the newspaper, the public could learn about the objective picture of the Holodomor-Genocide of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine from such diverse materials as: telegrams; analytics; information; eyewitness accounts; reflections; criticism; stories; letters; “reports”; interviews; diverse materials that contain a story, “news,” and analytics in one. All of them are in Ukrainian. They present a holistic and unbiased picture of the “famine” reality of 1932 in Ukraine.

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