



# ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ЛИСТІВ ДО РЕДАКЦІЇ «MANCHESTER GUARDIAN»: РАДЯНСЬКА ПРОПАГАНДА ПРОТИ ДОСТОВІРНОГО ВИСВІТЛЕННЯ ГОЛОДОМОРУ 1932–1933 РР.

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# АКТУАЛЬНІСТЬ ТЕМИ

У 1933 році газета **“Manchester Guardian”** стала важливим англomовним джерелом інформації про голод в Україні. У час, коли СРСР заперечував факт Голодомору, ця газета публікувала матеріали, які показували реальні умови життя українських селян.

Особливу цінність мають не лише журналістські тексти, а й листи читачів – як очевидців, так і пропагандистів. Їх аналіз дозволяє глибше зрозуміти інформаційне протистояння довкола Голодомору.



# ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ І СОЦІАЛЬНИЙ КОНТЕКСТ



У 1930-х роках частина західної інтелігенції симпатизувала Радянському Союзу, сприймаючи його як експеримент соціальної справедливості. СРСР активно використовував цю підтримку, формуючи позитивний імідж за кордоном. На цьому тлі “Manchester Guardian” стала майже винятковим прикладом газети, що наважилася протистояти офіційній радянській версії, публікуючи матеріали про голод, репресії та реальні настрої серед українських селян.

# FAMINE RULES RUSSIA

## The 5-year Plan Has Killed the Bread Supply

By GARETH JONES

Mr. Jones is one of Mr. Lloyd George's private secretaries. He has just returned from an extensive tour on foot in Soviet Russia. He speaks Russian fluently—and here is the terrible story the peasants told him.



MR. GARETH JONES.

A FEW days ago I stood in a worker's cottage outside Moscow. A father and a son, the father a Russian skilled worker in a Moscow factory, and the son a member of the Young Communist League, stood glaring at one another. The father, trembling with excitement, lost control of himself and shouted at his Communist son: "It's terrible now. We workers are starving. Look at Chelyabinsk, where I once worked. Disease there is carrying away numbers of us workers and the little food there is uneatable. That is what you have done to our Mother Russia." The son cried back: "But look at the giants of industry which we have built. Look at the new tractor works. Look at the Dniepostroy. That construction has been worth suffering for." "Construction indeed!" was the father's reply. "What's the use of construction when you have destroyed all that's best in Russia?" What that worker said at least 96 per cent. of the people of Russia are thinking. There has been construction, but, in the act of building, all that was best in Russia has disappeared. The main result of the Five Year Plan has been the tragic ruin of Russian agriculture. This ruin I saw in its grim reality. I tramped through a number of villages in the snow of March. I saw children with swollen bellies. I slept in peasants' huts, sometimes nine of us in one room. I talked to every peasant I met, and the general conclusion I draw is that the present state of Russian agriculture is already catastrophic but that in a year's time its condition will have worsened tenfold.

What did the peasants say? There was one cry which resounded everywhere I went, and that was: "There is no bread." The other sentence, which was the leitmotif of my Russian visit, was: "All are swollen." Even within a few miles of Moscow there is no bread left. As I was going through the countryside in that district I chatted to several women who were trudging with empty sacks towards Moscow. They all said: "It is terrible. We have no bread. We have to go all the way to Moscow to get bread and then they will only give us four pounds, which costs three roubles (six shillings nominally). How can a poor man live?" "Have you potatoes?" I asked. Every peasant I asked nodded negatively with sadness. "What about your cows?" was my next question. To the Russian peasant the cow means wealth, food and happiness. It is almost the centre-point upon which his life gravitates. "The cattle have nearly all died. How can we feed the cattle when we have only fodder to eat ourselves?" "And your horses?" was the question I asked in every village I visited. The horse is now a question of life and death, for without a horse how can one plough? And if one cannot plough, how can one sow for the next harvest? And if one cannot sow for the next harvest, then death is the only prospect in the future. The reply spelled doom for most of the villages. The peasants said: "Most of our horses have died and we have so little fodder that the remaining ones are scraggy and ill."

If it is grave now and if millions are dying in the villages, as they are, for I did not visit a single village where many had not died, what will it be like in a month's time? The potatoes left are being counted one by one, but in so many homes the potatoes have long run out. The beet, once used as cattle fodder, may run out in many huts before the new food comes in June, July and August, and many have not even beet.

The situation is graver than in 1921, as all peasants stated emphatically. In that year there was famine in several great regions, but in most parts the peasants could live. It was a localised famine, which had many millions of victims, especially along the Volga. But to-day the famine is everywhere, in the formerly rich Ukraine, in West Russia, in Central Asia, in North Caucasus—everywhere.

What of the towns? Moscow as yet does not look so stricken, and no one staying in Moscow would have an inkling of what is going on in the countryside, unless he could talk to the peasants who have come hundreds and hundreds of miles to the capital to look for bread. The people in Moscow look warmly clad, and many of the skilled workers, who have their warm meal every day at the factory, are well fed. Some of those who earn very good salaries, or who have special privileges, look even well dressed, but the vast majority of the unskilled workers are feeling the pinch.

I talked to a worker who was "uling a heavy wooden trunk. "It is terrible now," he said. "I get two pounds of bread a day and it is rotten bread. I get no meat, no eggs, no butter. Before the war I used to get a lot of meat and it was cheap. But I haven't had meat for a year. Eggs were only a kopeck each before the war, but now they are a great luxury. I get a little soup, but it is not enough to live on."

And now a new dread visits the Russian worker. That is unemployment. In the last few months very many thousands have been dismissed from factories in many parts of the Soviet Union. I asked one unemployed man what happened to him. He replied: "We are treated like cattle. We are told to get away, and we get no bread card. How can I live? I used to get a pound of bread a day for all my family, but now there is no bread card. I have to leave the city and make my way out into the countryside where there is also no bread."

The Five Year Plan has built many fine factories. But it is bread that makes factory wheels go round, and the Five Year Plan has destroyed the bread-supplier of Russia.

# ІНФОРМАЦІЙНА БОРОТЬБА НА СТОРІНКАХ ГАЗЕТИ

- Протягом 1933 року на шпальтах Manchester Guardian розгорнулася справжня полеміка. Одні листи надсилали очевидці голоду, інші — прихильники СРСР.
- Перші наводили докази катастрофічного стану в селах, зростаючої смертності, нестачі їжі.
- Другі — звинувачували газету в "антирадянській пропаганді", стверджували, що колективізація дала позитивні результати, а "голод" — вигадка ворогів.



As a Liberal and a pacifist, I wish that something could be done to relieve the suffering of the peasants in Russia, which, according to foreign observers and to the peasants themselves, is worse than in 1921. Already efforts are being made to succour many of the German colonists, whose letters to their fellow-countrymen are tragic. These letters, some of which I have seen, contain such passages as the following:—"We have not had for one and a half weeks anything except salt and water in our stomachs, and our family consists of nine souls." From the Volga district we read: "I went out to seek him and I wanted to feed him, but I could not find him. One cannot get lost on the road. It is marked by human bodies. . . . There is nobody left among all our friends who has anything left. . . . Your brother's four children died of hunger." The Evangelical Church in Germany is helping, and those who wish to assist are advised to write to the committee, "Bruder in Not" ("Brothers in Need"), Berlin N24, Monbijouplatz 1. . .

## ПРИКЛАДИ ЧИТАЦЬКИХ ЛИСТІВ

- З одного боку — лист, в якому розповсюджувалась радянська пропаганда: *"Я проїхала сотні миль, спілкувалася із селянами, купувала їжу на станціях. Ніякого голоду не бачила"*.
- З іншого — правдиві свідчення: *"Ми вже півтора тижня їмо лише сіль і п'ємо воду. Багато хто помер"*.
- Такі контрастні голоси створювали гостру дискусію, яка відображала боротьбу за істину у публічному просторі.

## Moscow and Sabotage

The "Moscow Daily News," in its article of April 13 offers the following reply to recent articles in the "Manchester Guardian" from a correspondent in Russia:—

This correspondent sets out to discover things for himself in the North Caucasus and the Ukraine. Now why did he choose the North Caucasus? Was it just an unlucky choice? No, that is hardly likely. During the last month or two of 1932 almost all of the Soviet press, central and local, carried stories about the difficulties and the sabotage in the harvesting and storing in certain areas of the North Caucasus. It was no secret. In this region the harvest was the slowest in the whole Union; reports were inaccurate and storing was away behind plan. All this showed that skilful saboteurs were doing their best to ruin agriculture in the North Caucasus.

The "Guardian" correspondent chose this lagging region to make his observations. He found in a little village in the Kuban district that "there had been no bread at all in the place for three months." Everyone was "ravenous" yet there were chickens, sausage, fragments of cheese, and poor potatoes being sold in the market!

But facts from the mouths of those who organised plunderings, sabotage, and hoarding in North Caucasus and the Ukraine give the deathblow to the "Guardian" correspondent's suggestions of "Governmental sabotage."

## СТРАТЕГІЯ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ПРОПАГАНДИ

- Радянська влада намагалася пояснити проблеми сільського господарства саботажем з боку "куркулів". У пресі поширювалися тези про успішну колективізацію та підйом економіки.
- Водночас тих, хто повідомляв про голод, звинувачували в упередженості. Один із листувачів до Guardian свідчив, що журналіст обрав "найбільш відсталий регіон" і "спотворив інформацію". Це типові пропагандистські прийоми, що відволікали увагу від реальних трагедій.



## СВІДЧЕННЯ ОЧЕВИДЦІВ І ЖУРНАЛІСТІВ

- Окрім листів, важливу роль у висвітленні Голодомору відігравали репортажі іноземних журналістів.
- **Гарет Джонс**, зокрема, писав про спорожнілі села, виснажених людей, слова *"немає хліба"*, які повторювалися повсюди. Такі свідчення ставали контраргументом до радянської пропаганди й допомагали сформувати у західного читача реалістичне уявлення про ситуацію в Україні.

# ДИСКУСІЯ У ЛИСТАХ ДО РЕДАКЦІЇ

- Зіставлення читачівських листів показує глибокий розкол у сприйнятті подій. Одні наголошували на штучності голоду, жорсткій політиці хлібозаготівель, конфіскації зерна.
- Інші — навпаки, запевняли, що ситуація в Україні *"не така вже й погана"*, а розмови про відсутність продовольства — це *західна пропаганда*. Така дискусія свідчить про спроби СРСР контролювати навіть іноземний інформаційний простір.

## AGRICULTURE IN RUSSIA

### Breakdown Denied

*To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.*

Sir,—Your correspondent recently in the U.S.S.R. has made a number of assertions about the state of agriculture and the peasantry. Perhaps we may be permitted the following observations:—

I. The Soviet press in general, and the reports of the Collective Farmers' Congress and Central Committee Plenum in particular, have been full for six months past of local material showing mismanagement and breakdowns in agriculture, as well as the successes attending upon businesslike management. The main reports at the congress, in particular, were built up of such material. Comparison with "the proceedings of a provincial debating society" is worse than a travesty. It is a pity your correspondent



# ВИСНОВКИ

- Зі збільшенням кількості свідчень про голод, радянська сторона активізувала інформаційну протидію.
- Газета “Manchester Guardian” стала платформою не лише для розкриття трагедії Голодомору, а й ареною боротьби за правду.
- Аналіз цієї полеміки дозволяє побачити механізми радянської пропаганди, її аргументи й методи. Тема залишається важливою для подальших досліджень з історії інформаційних воєн і геноциду.