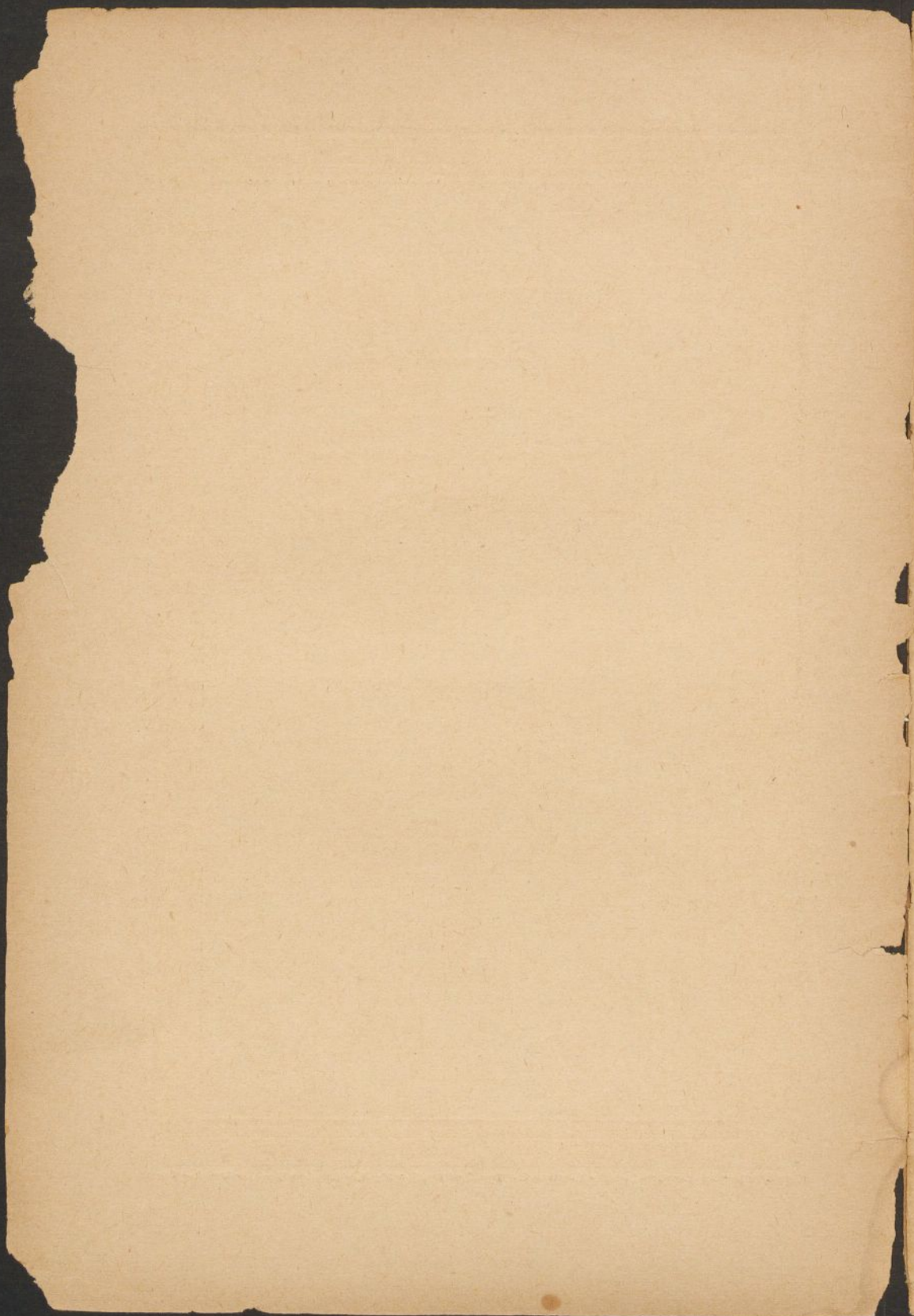


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THE FAMINE  
IN THE  
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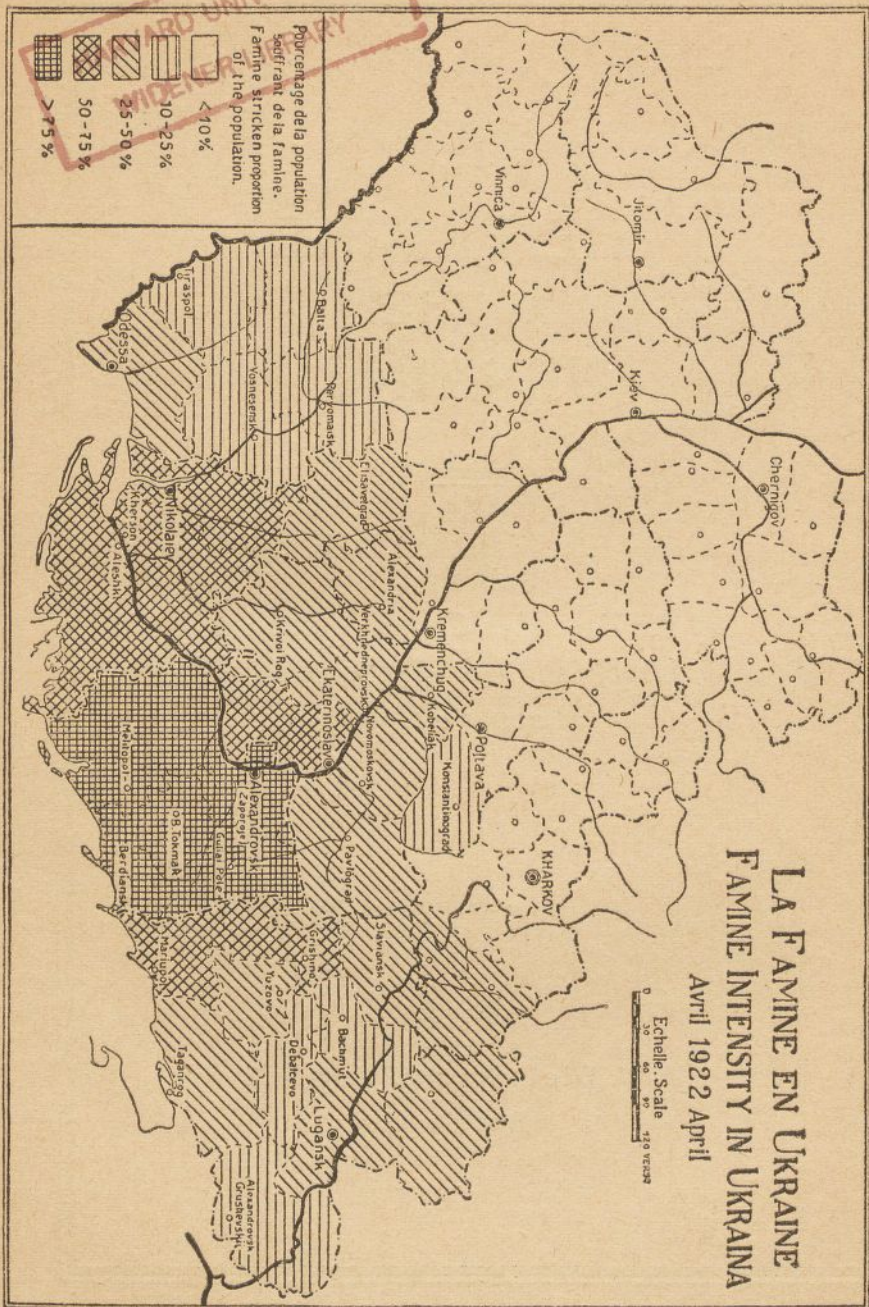
THE FAMINE  
IN THE  
UKRAINE



Published  
by the Executive Committee of the  
Ukrainian Social Democratic  
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1923

J. H. W. Dietz Nachf. G. m. b. H.  
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## Part I.

### Introduction.

The documents gathered together here concern the modest attempts of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party to draw the attention of the working classes in all countries to the terrible conditions in which, in connection with the incredible famine in the Ukraine, the working masses of this country have to live under the Russian Bolshevist occupation.\*) Divided up between Russia, Poland and Rumania the Ukrainian countries are passing through terrible years of suffering, of political and national oppression, and are confronted with a positive attempt of their enemies to exterminate them body and soul.

The failure of the crops in the Ukraine in the year 1921 did not prevent the Russian Bolshevists from taking the last supplies of corn from the Ukrainian population. The consequence of this was to increase the terrible gravity of the famine in the Ukraine. Millions of Ukrainian workers and peasants have already fallen a prey to the catastrophe caused by the famine, and are dying off rapidly. The occupation regime in Moscow was bent on preventing foreign relief reaching the Ukraine. The Russian Bolshevist Government drew the whole attention of the foreign Relief Organizations, including the Labour organizations as well, to the Russian Volga region. Thus, Hoover's organization (A. R. A.) in Russia was, in the year 1921, already feeding  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million adults,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million children, 15 000 students, etc. and spent for these purposes over 59 million dollars. This powerful organization did not extend its activities to the Ukraine until May 1922.

The International Relief Committee for Russia (Dr. Nansen's mission) provided from the middle of June 1922, in Russia, for 926 719 adults and children, and in the Ukraine for only 100 800 persons, that is, one-ninth of the number in Russia. (See: *La Famine russe et L'Oeuvre du Comité International de secours à la Russie*. Geneva, 20. July, 1922. page 67.) In the meantime, the number of those suffering from starvation in the Ukraine has, already in the winter 1921—1922, exceeded one-third of the total number of all persons suffering from starvation in the Soviet Republic. They total almost 9 500 000. (Compare: *Comité International de secours à la Russie*, Information No. 14. Geneva, 17. February, 1922.)

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\*) With regard to the occupation policy of the Russian Bolshevists in the Ukraine, compare Pamphlet: I. Mazepa: "Bolshevism and the Russian Occupation of the Ukraine". Berlin 1923. J. H. W. Dietz.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International, during the summer of 1922, provided for 90 000 famine-stricken persons in the Volga district of Russia. In view of the lack of means it had to give up the idea of bringing relief to the famine-stricken population of the Ukraine. The following figures testify to this inequality of distribution of the foodstuffs arriving from abroad between the famine-stricken population of Russia and the Ukraine. Up to the 31. July, 1922, the International Relief Committee had sent 45 542 tons of goods to the various provinces of Russia. In the same period the starving population of the Ukraine had received in all 3088 tons, that is, fifteen times less than Russia. (Notes sur la situation dans la zone de famine etc. Geneva, 30. August, 1922, page 17.)

Only the egoistic reluctance of the present rulers of Soviet Russia to share fairly the foodstuffs, sent from abroad, with the starving population of the Ukraine can explain why the world is not properly informed by the Soviet Government with regard to the situation in the Ukraine. In reality, the Soviet Government is agitating throughout the world for relief action to aid the starving population in Russia. But when it concerns the famine in the Ukraine, the Russian occupation authorities attempt to *conceal it*. — As to the extent of the famine in the Ukraine the outside world was not informed by the "Government" of the Moscow agent in the Ukraine, Rakovski, but by the foreigners who were staying in the Ukraine in the year 1922. (Practically exhaustive material dealing with the famine in the Ukraine was first published on 30. April, 1922 by Captain Quisling in Geneva.)

The Russian Bolshevists have good reasons for keeping the famine in the Ukraine secret. *Up to the outbreak of War this country was Europe's "granary", a reservoir of food supplies, and had never known a famine.* Before the War the Ukraine was the most important exporting district of the former Russian Empire. With regard to the export trade of the Ukraine the Moscow Bolshevists have themselves written as follows: "practically all the wheat, rye, barley, flour and spirits, as well as many other commodities, which were annually exported from Czarist Russia came from the Ukraine". ("The Communist International" No. 12, 1920, Petersburg.) *"The Russian export of grain" before the war was in reality the Ukrainian export.*

The Moscow Bolshevists, who boast of their extreme internationalism, have affected a national egoism in their policy of plundering the famine-stricken Ukrainians, and have perpetrated a great crime upon the Ukrainian working masses — a crime still being enacted, and which has not its like in the whole history of mankind. For example, we produce here an authentic statement made by the Bolshevik press itself, concerning the policy of military requisitions

pursued by the Russian occupation army in the famine-stricken provinces of the Ukraine.

"Elisavetgrad, 18. December. In order to exert pressure on those who refuse to pay the tax in kind ("Prodnalog") two special sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal were organised for dealing with Relief matters. In the district four sessions had taken up activities, and were divided into twelve groups." ("The Communist", 21. December, 1921, Kharkov.)

These "Revolutionary Tribunals" of the Russian occupation army gave orders for the starving population of the Ukraine to be fired on because of their failure to deliver up the tax in kind. This happened as far back as February 1922 when 32 % of the population in the district of Elisavetgrad were hunger-stricken. (Quisling: La famine en Ukraine. Geneva, page 11.)

According to the "Visty" of Kharkov, 21. December 1921, the gouvernement of Nikolaiev had, as far back as December of that year, calculated the number of the famine-stricken, in three districts alone, to be 400 000. This did not prevent the "Revolutionary Tribunals" from exporting 1 400 000 puds\*) of grain from the gouvernement of Nikolaiev into Russia. Moreover they set about collecting, "a further 4 500 000 puds through the tax in kind and 600 000 puds through the flour tax by the application of extraordinary measures". ("Communist", of 23. December 1921, Kharkov.)

The Government of the "People's Commissioners" has absolutely no regard for the sufferings of the Ukrainian workers and peasants who are being starved to death. But still worse, in every way they prevent the northern parts of the Ukraine, where the harvest was good, from coming to the help of the southern Ukrainian provinces, where the famine is raging. *A blockade has been proclaimed over the famine-stricken southern Ukraine.* The population of the famine-stricken Ukrainian gouvernements is allowed neither to buy corn in the northern parts of the Ukraine nor to obtain it by barter. The blockade commanders of the Russian occupation army ("Sagraditelnyie Otriady") have closed all the routes along which it would be possible to bring grain into the famine-stricken districts of the Ukraine. Should any unfortunate person make the attempt to cross the "frontier" in order to get food for his starving children, they take everything away from him. This has been devised in order to uphold Russia's claim to the whole harvest of the northern Ukraine. As the result of this harsh policy of the Russian occupation authorities, of this policy of plundering the starving Ukrainian population for the sake of Russia, to whom in any case the disproportionately greater part of the foreign relief has been apportioned, famine is still raging

\*) 1 pud is 16.38 kg.

in the Ukraine, a famine which "*will continue to rage in 1923 if sufficient relief is not sent*". (See: Jean de Lubersac, expert économique du Dr. Nansen. Un voyage d'enquête économique en Ukraine. Geneva, 4. July, 1922.)

The Russian Soviet Government has made capital out of the foreign relief and has exported the entire grain supply of the Ukraine in the year 1921/1922. In this way they succeeded in saving the Volga region which is nationally akin to them. In the Volga region — according to the official figures of the Soviet Government — 75 % of all the famine-stricken population have been rescued. (See: "Nakanune" No. 40, Berlin, 1922.) As far as the Ukraine is concerned, foreigners, whose objectivity cannot in the least be doubted, testify that *many Ukrainian towns have lost 85 % of their inhabitants*. (Jean de Lubersac: Un voyage d'enquête en Ukraine.)

Of the 26 million inhabitants of that part of the Ukraine that is under the Russian occupation, 7 % are Jews. The Jewish population of the Ukraine is almost totally concentrated in the towns. Captain Quisling's report confirms that the *condition of the Jews in the famine-stricken towns of the Ukraine "is far worse than that of the other fractions of the population."* (See: La famine en Ukraine. Geneva 1922. Page 22.)

The position of the rural population of the Ukraine is still worse. The representative of Dr. Nansen's relief organization in Odessa, M. Hahn, declares that "the famine has assumed its worst forms in the villages". (Comité International de secours à la Russie. Information No. 26. Geneva, 20. July, 1922.)

The Ukraine was and remains the object of an extreme economic exploitation on the *part of Russia*. The Ukrainian working and peasant masses are resisting this state of affairs in the present Revolution. Uninterruptedly, and in various forms, they are carrying on an extremely obstinate fight against the Russian occupation by claiming the right to set up an independent democratic Republic.

The conscious starvation of the Ukraine by the Russian occupation regime is a fact of political importance. *The hunger-policy of the Russian Bolsheviks in the Ukraine is determined by the endeavour to weaken the political activity of the Ukrainian masses in their struggle against the occupation* — even though it may mean *the extermination of a portion of the Ukrainian population*. It is palpable that the political and national terror raging in the Ukraine cannot attain its ends from the very fact that the Russian occupation is obliged to make use of the "hunger-rack" against the entire Ukrainian nation.

The southern Ukrainian gouvernements, in which enormous stretches of steppe-land were lying uncultivated in the autumn of



1921 and the spring of 1922, have, in 1922, again experienced a failure of the crops.

With regard to the fields in the Ukraine lying fallow in the year 1922, we only need look up the statistics published by the Bolshevists themselves to get an idea of the appalling decay of the agricultural industry in the Ukraine. Whilst the amount of land under cultivation in Russia (inclusive of the Volga region) has increased between Autumn 1921 and 1922 by 26 %, the colonial policy pursued by the Russian Occupation has brought it about that at present there is 45 % less land under cultivation in the Ukraine. (See: The Moscow "Pravda" No. 291. 23. December 1922.) In this way the reconstruction of the agricultural industry in Russia is taking place at the expense of the starving and exploited population of the Ukraine.

At the same time, after the famine had been overcome in Russia, and the Soviet authorities had even dissolved the Commission for the distribution of relief among the famine-stricken ("Pomgol"), the Conference of the Representatives of the famine-stricken Ukrainian governments, held in Kharkov in September 1922, certified that the condition of the five famine-stricken governments of the Ukraine is very grave. An improvement in the coming year cannot be hoped for". ("Nakanune" No. 138, 20. September 1922.)

As a matter of fact, according to the figures of the Soviet statistical organ, the number of famine-stricken areas in the Ukraine in the autumn of 1922 was set down at 21. The gouvernement Zaporoje was acknowledged to be one hundred per cent — that is entirely — famine stricken. In the Donetz district 47.7 % of the arable land suffered under the bad harvest. In the gouvernement Ekaterinoslav 82 %, Nikolaiev 75 %, Odessa 65 %. *At the present moment (beginning of February 1923) the number of famine-stricken in the Ukraine amounts to 6 million; of these 2 million are starving and homeless children.* (See: "The Communist", Kharkov, 7. January 1923.) This number is bound to increase in the course of the winter and spring if immediate relief does not arrive. And yet this precarious position of the famine-stricken population of the Ukraine does not prevent the Russian occupation from carrying on, to a greater degree, their organised plunder of the Ukraine. The tax in kind imposed upon the Ukraine by the occupation amounted in 1922 to 95 000 000 puds, of which 80 653 000 puds had been paid up by 20. November 1922. ("Bednota", Moscow, 19. December 1922.)

In a decree issued in the autumn of 1922 the „Ukrainian“ Government of Rakovski declared that the districts most severely hit by the famine were freed from the tax in kind. But the reality gave the lie to this declaration. Not a single one of the famine-stricken governments of the Ukraine, including the gouvernement Zaporoje, was exempted from this tax in the year 1922. In its

policy of annihilation and plunder carried on against the Ukrainian people the Russian occupation-regime exceeded all bounds. Reports on the exemption of the starving areas of the Ukraine from the tax in kind were spread broadcast by the Bolsheviks in foreign countries. In the newspapers, on the other hand, published by the branches of the Russian Bolshevik party in the Ukraine, we find the following choicy bits: "In the gouvernement Zaporoje the tax in kind has yielded the best results in the district Zaporoje. The district Berdiansk and Melitopol are in arrears. However, laterly there has been a change for the better. The attitude of the peasants towards the payment of the tax in kind is entirely satisfactory (sic!); in many places the payment of the tax in kind was accompanied with demonstrations in favour of the Soviet Government." ("Visty", 9. September, 1922, Kharkov.) That is a mixture of cynicism, mockery, rascality and cruelty without comparison. On the basis of the reports of the Bolshevik press one is asked to believe that the entire hundred per cent of the hunger-stricken population of Zaporoje where cannibalism is a daily occurrence — that this dying population will give up with acclamation its last suplies to an occupation army that is literally robbing the living and the dead!

As regards the other gouvernements of the Ukraine, the famine-stricken gouvernement of Odessa, to take an instance, was compelled to deliver up to the unscrupulous occupation army before the 1. September 1922 a tax in kind amounting to 2 282 000 puds ("Visty", 9. September 1922. Kharkov).\*) These millions of puds of grain taken from the mouth of the starving Ukrainian workers and peasants are sent, as in the year 1921, to Moscow.

The soviet press reports that in the Ukraine a special levy is being raised over and above the standard tax in kind: "According to the documentary figures published by the commissariat for supplies the special levy of two pounds of each pud of tax in kind has brought in 3 593 000 puds; according to the figures of the Tax Campaign about 97 % of the total amount of corn that comes under the tax in kind was gathered in by the 10. January 1923. . . . *The hunger-stricken gouvernements have been 100 per cent in the fulfilment of their obligations with regard to the tax in kind*". ("The Communist", Kharkov, 18. January 1923.)

Even to this day famine-stricken Ukraine has to supply food to the Russian Volga region.

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\*) This happened at a time when the bolshevist authorities of the Odessa gouvernement themselves established that the deficit for the inhabitants of the gouvernement, after the 1922 harvest had been brought in, amounted to 20 million puds. (See: Secretariat of Dr. Nansen. Information No. 32. Geneva, November 1922. Page 7.)

Thus we read in the official organ of the Soviet Authorities, the Moscow "Izvestia" of 25. January 1923, in a report of the proceedings of the Central Committee for combating the consequences of the famine: "On a motion of the gouvernement of Samara two districts of this gouvernement — Pugachov and Melekes — are recognised as being severely hit by the famine. In view of the expressed wish of the Ukraine (read: of the Russian communists in power in the Ukraine. Authors) to render assistance to the Volga region, it is resolved to request the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee to transfer the provisioning of the gouvernement Samara to the Ukraine."

As a matter of fact the Kharkov "Communist" (18. January 1923) reported that the Ukraine is pledged "to render assistance to the gouvernement of Samara to the extent of a corn delivery of between 60 000 and 100 000 puds".

The condition of the famine-stricken Ukrainian population, as well as the state of the agricultural industry, is, even in the Bolshevik press, characterised as being "much worse than in the previous year, in view of the great lack of grain and of live stock. In connection with the bad harvest a panic-like fear among the peasantry must be reported. . . . The peasants are liquidating their farms and are emigrating to fertile districts as workers". ("Visty", 8. September 1922. No. 200. Kharkov.) On the other hand, the position of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Russian occupation army in the Ukraine has improved *at the cost of the pillaged Ukrainian working masses*. On this point Rakovski declares: "The prospects of provisioning the state consumers, that is, in the first place, the army, are much better this year than in the previous year". ("Visty". Ibid.)

But that is not all. Whilst the foreign organizations which are carrying out the relief action for the famine-stricken people of the Ukraine, describe the condition of the Ukrainian population as hopeless, unless foreign relief should arrive\*), the Russian occupation army "considers it possible to export in the course of this year up to 5 000 000 puds of grain". ("Visty", No. 201, 9. September 1922, Kharkov.) These export plans were developed in the press of Mr. Rakovski, whilst at the same time his "Government" officially established that *already in August 1922 the deficit in the Ukraine had exceeded 35 000 000 puds* (See: Secretariat du Dr. Nansen. Information No. 32. Geneva, November 1922.)

The Russian occupation authorities are already putting into practice their intention of exporting the grain taken away by coercion

\*) Comité International de secours à la Russie. Information No. 26. Ukraine. Page 55. Geneva 1922.

from the Ukrainian population. For instance, we read in the Moscow "Pravda" — the central organ of the Russian Communist Party:

"The "Khleboprodukt" (Clearing House for grain export) is making a start with the export of 2 million puds of grain by way of Odessa and 1 million puds by way of Novorossisk. The export grain is of the best quality." (See: "Pravda", 27. December 1922.)

In order to grasp the full extent of this ruthless business deal of the Russian „internationalists“, we reproduce the statement of the representative of Nansen's Relief Organisation in Odessa. A whole month before the beginning of the export of grain from the Ukraine Nansen's representative telegraphed to Western Europe that, of the 10 public kitchens for feeding the starving working class children of the suburbs of Odessa „9 have had to close because of a lack of food supplies“. (See *ibid.*)

In an interview of the special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" in Kharkov, Mrs. Ella Anker, with Mrs. Rakovski, the latter is stated to have burst into tears (!) on referring to the famine in the Ukraine: "Tell the truth exactly as you see it," pleaded Mrs. Rakovski. "We are doing our best (!) to help them all, but we cannot do more with the means at our disposal." (See: The Manchester Guardian Weekly. 19. January 1923.)

Thus it is that under the cloak of the Communist doctrine the new Soviet bourgeoisie is being enriched with the grain of the starving masses of the Ukraine. Thus we see how Russian chauvinism is flourishing and by means of incendiaryism, hunger and the sword is taking revenge on the Ukrainian masses, because these have obstinately continued to defend the independence of their country.

The West Ukrainian provinces that are under the Polish and Rumanian occupation (East Galicia, Volhynia, the Bukovina, and others) have no possibility of rendering assistance to their starving fellow-countrymen in Greater Ukraine, as they are prevented from doing so by the occupation authorities. For instance, the Polish occupation administration in East Galicia prevented the Ukrainian population from collecting money and gifts in kind for the suffering provinces in East Ukraine. There were cases where the corn that had been collected was confiscated and prohibited from being exported.

The result of the oppression of the Ukraine by the alien occupation is that this country, so richly endowed by nature, and with an energetic, diligent, and culture-loving people, will be for years to come completely undermined in its economic and cultural life. Through the famine and epidemics raging in the Ukraine the elementary foundation of national life, as well as the physical energy and health of the population, will be destroyed.

At the present moment the oppressors of the Ukrainian people are regarding the famine-catastrophe as a means to assure them-

selves, for a considerable time to come, of their supremacy over the Ukrainian countries. The barren steppes of the fertile Ukrainian black earth are the trump card in the hands of Soviet diplomacy. The diplomatic "successes" of the Russian Soviet Government are attained primarily at the sacrifice of the life of the starving working people of the Ukraine. The deceptive statements of Litvinof in the Hague in the summer of 1922 regarding the "results of the harvest" in the Soviet Republics and the possibility of exporting grain from the 1922 harvest to Western Europe, have done great harm to the foreign relief cause. Several foreign organizations in view of Litvinof's statements, have commenced to restrict their relief action in the Ukraine, which, even as it was, came late, owing to the Russian occupation administration.

The direct result has been, as Dr. Nansen's commission reported on 7. September 1922, that 250 provisioning centres in the Ukraine have been closed down on account of the insufficient supply of food-stuffs, whereby 96 000 sufferers have been left to their fate. The Soviet diplomats are inviting international capital and alien colonizers into the Ukraine, to the depopulated shores of the Black and Asov Seas. On the other hand, the ruling classes of Poland and Rumania are hoping to attain their ends by taking advantage of the debilitation of the Ukrainian national organism. These ends are the colonization and denationalization of the West Ukrainian regions. The whole Ukrainian working class and the entire democracy of the Ukraine are raising their voices in protest against this policy which will be fraught with such dire consequences for the Ukrainian people. The proletariat of the Ukraine and the whole of the Ukrainian people are demanding no privileges or special rights — the demand is only for justice and freedom.

The whole of the civilized world, and more particularly the working class of all countries, will, in its own interests, have to come to the rescue of the famine-stricken, plundered, dying population of the Ukraine.

Lemberg, in February 1923.

### *Part II.*

## Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party to the Socialist Organizations of the World.

Regarding the famine in Russia and the Ukraine.

A terrible misfortune has visited wide stretches of Russia and the Ukraine. Approximately 700 000 square kilometers have been severely hit by the bad harvest. The starving population is fleeing

in masses, blindly on the search for bread. Inevitably, famine brings in its train all kinds of epidemics, each with its toll of thousands. The Soviet Government is appealing to the capitalist states of the world and to the Socialist proletariat of all countries for help for the starving masses in their dire distress.

Inspired by humanitarian feelings, the workers of Europe and America are collecting money to help the peoples suffering the agony of a death from starvation. The bourgeois reaction, on its part, is taking advantage of the present state of the famine catastrophe in order to replace the terrorist regime of the Bolsheviks by the dictatorship of the White Generals.

Most difficult of all is the position of the Socialist proletariat. It rightly estimates the increasing danger arising out of the Reaction but, at the same time, is unable to close its eyes to the fact that the methods and principles of the Bolshevik dictatorship are furthering the development of the monarchist Reaction in Eastern Europe. It can be proven, moreover, that in addition to the meteorological causes (great drought) there are also *reasons of a social-political nature*. Though one may say of the former, they are independent of man's will, and therefore can not be foreseen, still, the other reasons, the social-political ones, will have to be recognized as being of no less importance when it comes to explaining the origin of this misfortune that has befallen Russia and the Ukraine.

The Bolshevik party, according to the words of its leader, Lenin, is undertaking an "experiment in Revolution", in the Communist Revolution, under the conditions imposed by a backward economy, put altogether out of gear by a big war, and by the cultural and political as well as the social and economic immaturity of the masses for the acceptance and development of the Socialist form of economy.

The Communist experiment carried out by the Bolsheviks was in contradiction to the development of the productive forces of the country, and was an obstacle in the way of this development. The Bolsheviks, wishing to change the structure of society by a mere sleight of hand, proclaimed the civil war which ruined the agricultural industry of the Soviet Republic, destroyed all the supplies of the past years, decreased the acreage under cultivation and helplessly delivered up the rural population to the danger of starvation.

Independent of meteorological conditions, the famine has been a common phenomenon since the revolution, especially among the urban population, and was brought about by a lack of seed and a general backwardness in the agricultural industry. *The failure of the crops in this year only serves to emphasize the absolute contradiction between the Bolshevik policy and economy.*

For these reasons the Ukrainian Social Democracy considers it as its moral and political duty to express itself on the problem of combating the causes that lead to famine. It will not suffice for the world proletariat to come to the rescue of the workers of the Soviet Republic; the masses, whose numbers run into millions, cannot continue to live upon the alms of the peoples of the world.

We believe, not that dictatorial social-political conditions, but entirely different ones will lay a foundation for the rebirth of the entire national economy in Russia and the Ukraine, and that only thereby can the famine crisis be overcome. The Bolsheviks themselves already recognize the necessity of pursuing a new course in the reconstruction of the economic system — they are making generous concessions to foreign capitalists. But although the Bolshevik Government is economically surrendering to big capital, it by no means intends to work in harmony with the Socialist parties, and is continuing to exercise a terroristic dictatorship of the minority over the majority of the proletariat and the peasantry.

We are decisive opponents of a capitalistic intervention in Eastern Europe, but all the more urgently we appeal to the proletariat of the whole world to take immediate action for the inauguration of a democratic regime in Eastern Europe.

The Socialist organizations the whole world over will have to focus their special attention on the situation in the Ukraine, where, in connection with the famine, extraordinarily threatening conditions prevail.

The bad harvest has severely hit the southern districts of the Ukraine. The incessant struggle of the Ukrainian peasants and workers against the occupation tyranny of the Russian Bolsheviks made it possible for greater stocks of grain to be warehoused in the Ukraine than in Russia, but *all the grain, all the stocks, have been taken away in this year and the previous one on the grounds of requisition*, and the population of southern Ukraine, especially the town people, are flocking in great numbers to the north and west of the Ukraine.

In addition to this migration of the Ukrainian population, there is a wave of refugees from Russia who are entering the Ukraine in order to find food. It is a regular migration of the peoples. Consequent on the famine a terrible enmity is developing between the Russian emigrants and the original Ukrainian inhabitants.

The Russian Government intends to export to Russia the harvest of the northern and western Ukraine, using force to take away from the Ukrainian peasants and workers the grain that would probably suffice for them, if it were properly distributed.

The Ukraine is faced with a terrible new outbreak of an elementary struggle, in which the population will endeavour to defend itself

and its economic system from annihilation by the Russian "Red" occupation army and the emigrants from Russia.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party declares that the labour of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian harvest cannot satisfy the needs of the starving millions of Russia and at the same time, of those districts in the Ukraine that have been hit by the bad harvest, let the requisitions and taxes of the Russian Government be what they may. Consequently, assistance from abroad for the famine-stricken people has become absolutely necessary. But the Socialist proletariat will have to come to the assistance of the famine-stricken of Russia and the Ukraine, and in *view of the critical national relationship, it will have to demand the formation, for the purpose of systematic distribution and control, of special relief committees for the famine-stricken of Russia and the Ukraine.*

In order to energetically combat the famine, as well as in the interest of the development of the proletariat and of the Ukrainian democracy, we demand that the Russian Government immediately withdraws its army of occupation from the Ukraine and restore to the Ukrainian people the right to set up its own democratic sovereignty.

The Socialist proletariat of the whole world must pass its decisive judgment on this matter and lend the suffering population of Russia and the Ukraine fraternal assistance.

Lemberg, 18. August 1921.

*In the Name of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party*

I. Mazepa      P. Fedenko

### *Part III.*

## Letter of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party to the Socialist and Labour Organizations of the World.

Dear Comrades!

The incredible famine in the Ukraine has been caused, not by the failure of the crops alone, but in a greater degree by the complete ruin of the national economy as a consequence of purely political actions, as a consequence of the policy of the Russian Bolshevik occupation army in the Ukraine.

*The condition of the famine-stricken in the Ukraine is more terrible than it is in the Volga region.* The representative of the "A. R. A.", Mr. Hutchinson, who travelled through the gouvernement Zaporoje (the southern portion of the former gouvernement of Ekaterinoslav and the northern portion of Tauride) declared that the



"catastrophe in the Volga region in no way approaches what has happened here". ("Izvestia" Kremenchug, 7. January 1922.)

Nansen's representative in the Ukraine, Quisling, telegraphed to Geneva from Alexandrovsk on 22. February 1922:

*"Eight million souls are starving in the south of the Ukraine. 2½ millions of them have absolutely nothing to eat. A further 2½ millions are feeding themselves on substitutes, such as hay, dried plants, etc., but are not getting any normal meals; three millions have some supplies, but in such small quantities, that they will soon be reckoned in the first and second categories. It may be said, that before the end of April, 7 million souls will come under these two categories.*

"About 700 000 little children, who have been brought into municipal asylums, do not receive more than one-fifth of the normal portion. Child mortality is tremendous. It reaches 50 %.

"In Zaporozje one million souls are literally starving. 60% are children. Cannibalism is spreading. *Ten thousand people die in Zaporozje daily. All the cattle and the horses have been devoured.*"

With a total of 8 to 9 million famine-stricken in the Ukraine and of 18 to 20 million in the Volga region, the Ukraine should have to have a third of the relief sent to combat starvation. But from the beginning the Russian Bolshevists showed no special interest in the fight against the famine in the Ukraine. The Volga region which was in the clutches of the famine became immediately the object of their intense attention and they sent relief at once. The Ukraine was considered by the Bolshevists to *be a colony* whose interests should be sacrificed to the interests of the Russian body politic. Here they pursued a *special* policy. Instead of sending relief, *they imposed the tax in kind even in the famine-stricken districts of the Ukraine*, the amounts thus obtained being practically all sent out of the Ukraine. Throughout the entire territory of the Ukraine a grain tax of 61 million puds (about a million tons) was collected up to 13. January 1922. Moreover, the Ukraine made a contribution of 400 waggons (6500 tons) to the famine-stricken. But the whole contribution was exported to the Volga region. Of the 61 million puds tax in kind, during three months (November to January) only 112 waggons (1850 tons) were left for the two famine-stricken gouvernements in the Ukraine, Zaporozje and Ekaterinoslav, which have a population of 5 million. The Donetsk district (coal mining district) received nothing. ("Visty", Kharkov, 18. February, and 4. March, 1922.)

What unfortunate consequences were bound to result from such a "proletarian" distribution policy, can be seen from the following resolution which was drawn up by the Communist Executive Committee in the Donetsk gouvernement in the beginning of January 1922:

"The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is requested to declare the Donetz district, in the same degree as the Volga region, to be a famine-stricken one, with all the consequences resulting therefrom." ("Bulletin of the Central Relief Committee for the Famine-Stricken at the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee of Soviets". Kharkov, No. 5-6, 1922.)

There can be no doubt that the *starving southern portions of the Ukraine have not received the same relief as the Volga region*. They are also receiving none of those supplies that are arriving from abroad through the ports of the Black and Asov Seas. All that comes to the Ukrainian ports is transported across the Ukraine to the north. Nansen's representatives, up to the end of April, used the relief arriving at the Black Sea ports mainly for supplying the Volga region. The condition of the famine-stricken in the Ukraine was made more precarious by the fact that the masses of the people adopted an attitude of *absolute distrust* towards the occupation authorities sent by the Russian Bolsheviks. An Ukrainian democratic regime in the Ukraine would not only provide for its own famine areas but would also lend considerable voluntary assistance to the Russian Volga region as well.

In that the Moscow Soviet Government is carrying out its imperialistic policy in the "border provinces" of the former Czarist Empire, it is really acting *not only against the interests of the Ukrainian people but also against those of the masses of the Russian people*.

In consequence of this policy the condition of the famine-stricken in the Ukraine is a desperate one, and it is becoming ever more so. At the same time as the Moscow "Pravda" emphasizes the fact that „the situation in the Volga region has fundamentally improved, and the worst has already been overcome“, the Bolshevik press has to acknowledge that *“if sufficient help does not arrive right quickly, the half of the famine-stricken in the Ukraine will be condemned to death.”* ("Help the Famine-Stricken", Kharkov, 4. April, 1922.). The danger is all the greater, in view of the fact that the harvest prospects in Southern Ukraine, as the same press testifies, are much worse this year than in the previous year. It is an established fact that such centres as Odessa, Nikolaiev, Cherson, and other Ukrainian towns are dying out. In January and February of this year, 1922, there were in Odessa, 327 birth against 4926 deaths. ("Ukrainian Red Cross", Kiev, 23. April, 1922.)\*)

\*) The representatives of Nansen's organisation in Odessa give the birth figures for the first three months of 1922 as 634 and the number of deaths for the half of the same year as 37 713. The birth figures for the months of May and June 1922 do not appear in the table. (See: Secrétariat du Dr. Nansen. Information No. 32. Geneva, November 1922.)

In an appeal to all the Socialist organizations of the world, the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party raises its voice in stern protest against this inhuman policy of the Russian Communists in the Ukraine, who, even in the matter of relief for the famine-stricken act the role of *relentless tyrants* and by their imperialist policy fulfil the „national“ task of the Russian bourgeoisie, endanger the achievements of the Ukrainian revolution and physically ruin the Ukraine nation.

In the name of the famine-stricken population of the Ukraine, the Ukrainian working class puts forward the definite demand that the existing international relief organizations for the famine-stricken, as well as the Moscow Soviet Government, *should bring about a just apportionment of the food supplies among the famine-stricken areas of Russia and of the Ukraine.*

The Ukrainian working class feels certain that the Socialist organizations in all countries will understand the present terrible condition of the Ukrainian people and will do everything in order to carry through the necessary measures for the protection of the interests of the dying population of the Ukraine.

Lemberg, 17. May, 1922.

*For the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian  
Social Democratic Labour Party*

I. Mazepa

*Part IV.*

**Report of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party  
on the International Socialist Conference in London.  
(17. June, 1922.)**

Dear Comrades!

For three years the Ukraine has been under the occupation authorities set up by the Russian Bolsheviks, but the regime of the Russian occupation has never before created such a terrible situation as that in which the Ukraine at present finds itself. The Utopian economic policy and the wolfish exploitation of the Ukraine by the Russian occupation authorities, as well as the civil and national war which they provoked, have absolutely ruined the agricultural industry. These were the things that prepared the ground for the famine which is visiting the southern portions of the Ukraine. *We here declare as a categorical fact that the causes of the present famine catastrophe in the Ukraine lie not alone in the unfavourable meteorological conditions, but chiefly in the whole policy of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine.*

With reference to the consequences of their economic system in the Ukraine, the Bolsheviks themselves officially declared as far back as January 1921: "On the agricultural industry (in the Ukraine) ceasing to be an industry depending on the market, it gradually became an industry producing only for its own consumption. The non-cultivation of the land took on the character, not of an accidental, but of an organic phenomenon rooted in the *ruin of the national industry*. Being a self-supporting industry, it (the agricultural industry) is not incorporated in the national industry as a whole . . . and deteriorates until it reaches the stage typified in the *decaying small-scale industry producing exclusively for its own consumption*." („Collection of Reports for the People's Commissaries", Kharkov, 1921.)

No wonder that Europe's „granary", the Ukraine, that used to export annually over 5½ million tons of corn to Western Europe, has now become a wilderness. Suffering most severely from the famine are the three southern gouvernements (Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Tauride), which supplied 77% of the total grain export of the Ukraine. The wealthiest part of the Ukraine is literally dying out. Official confirmation has been given to the facts of cannibalism and mass-suicide that have resulted from the torture of famine. Thousands of workers and peasants are dying. Towns and villages are becoming desolate. Epidemics are destroying the debilitated population.

We find exact data and full statistics, dealing with the famine in the Ukraine, in the recently published report of Nansen's representative in the Ukraine, Captain Quisling („La famine en Ukraine", Geneva, 30. April, 1922.).

In his telegram to Nansen of 13. April, 1922, cited in this report, Quisling declares: "*At the present moment 5 million souls have nothing to eat. More than 10 000 is the daily toll of the famine . . . In Zaporozje the famine is raging so terribly that our representative has seen villages where 7 to 10 % of the inhabitants fall a prey to the famine in the course of one day. Even in those villages where the famine has not made itself so severely felt, cannibalism and necrophagy is increasing in a terrible fashion. In short, the famine is taking on such dimensions, and the relief is so inadequate, that the starving population is losing all hope and dying out . . .*"

With reference to the individual famine-stricken districts of the Ukraine, Quisling states in his report:

"Without doubt Zaporozje is most severely visited by the famine. No one, who has not seen it, can have any idea of what is now happening in the villages of Zaporozje. . . The country side is parched, without trees or plants, almost entirely black. The straw of the roofs is being used to nourish men and animals. People relate that they first ate up all dogs, cats, crows, that they could catch and then took to the starving cattle, to boot-leather and furniture

wood. You hear accounts and find evidence of necrophagy and cannibalism. You speak with people who have devoured their children, their brothers and sisters. You see skeleton-like human forms lying in the peasants' huts, dying, or waiting without hope to be rescued by death . . . Usually no one takes the trouble, or no one has sufficient energy, to bury the dead."

"Kherson" — the report goes on to state — "is probably the town suffering most severely from the famine; it is the town condemned to death unless assistance arrives. That such things could be possible as are happening here" — adds Quisling — "in a relatively big European town situated on the coast of an open sea is a disgrace to apathetic Europe, and it does not put in a good light those persons who are supposed to be saving the situation in the Ukraine." (page 21.)\*

Quisling quotes the statement of the German colonists of the district of Mariupol (formerly, gouvernement Ekaterinoslav), in which it is established that the number of famine-stricken among the German population of this district amounted to 79 % as far back as December 1921. "The number of famine-stricken" — the statement declares — "is daily on the increase. About 50 % of them are wandering aimlessly about and very soon will not be able to go any further; their faces and limbs are swollen, they are already condemned to death. *The measure of misfortune here surpasses all that can be seen throughout the famine-stricken Volga areas.*"

According to the figures quoted by Quisling, the 1921 harvest in the whole of the Ukraine produced only 35 % of the normal yield. "One may predict with mathematical exactitude", declares Quisling, "that the famine will break out in the Ukraine in October 1921, that it will become worse with each day, and after a few months have practically the whole population in its clutches."

What have the occupation authorities in the Ukraine done to alleviate the grave situation of the starving Ukrainian workers and peasants? Nothing. They have not only lent no assistance, but have prevented, in every way possible, the Ukrainians from taking the initiative and combating the famine themselves. From all the Ukrainian gouvernements, including the famine-stricken ones, the corn tax, amounting to a total of over 60 000 000 puds, was collected and exported to Russia. Quisling states in his report that "the requisitions of the products among the peasantry, as ordered by

\*) Since Captain Quisling wrote his report there has been no improvement in the famine-stricken parts of Kherson, Dr. Haigh, member of the commission sent to the infested districts by the League of Nations has asserted in his report of *September* 1922, that Kherson "will shortly be destined to die". (See: Secrétariat du Dr. Nansen. Information No. 32. Geneva, November 1922. Page 9.)

the old economic system of the Soviets, *have assumed a specially harsh character in the Ukraine*, and that the collection of the tax in kind, as ordered by the new economic system, introduced in the Ukraine in 1921/1922, *has taken a long time in consequence of the famine.*"

The whole attention of the Russian Bolsheviks in the Ukraine is devoted to the Volga region. According to Quisling's figures, over 30 million puds of grain were exported from the Ukraine to Russia, and exported mainly to relieve the starving Volga area. "At the beginning of this year", it is stated in Quisling's report, "one could have seen in the famine-stricken districts of the gouvernement Nikolaiev such proclamations as: "Workers of Nikolaiev! Come to the assistance of the famine stricken of the Volga region!" This happened at a time — the report remarks — when this gouvernement had its own 7 000 000 sufferers, that is, about one half of the population."

No wonder the occupation authorities did not supply the Ukrainian population with seed corn: The supplies for provisioning and for the seed (the bought and the presented) which were imported from Western Europe into the Ukrainian Black Sea ports, were transported across the Ukraine into Russia. In the Ukraine, the sowing period has already passed. The Ukrainian population has been given no seed for sowing, *and as a consequence there is danger of the famine becoming still worse in the coming year.*

The ruthless economic exploitation and the frightful national terror have all along been inextricably bound up with the rule of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. The so-called „Independent Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic“ is a baseless fiction. *The Ukraine is occupied by the Russian Red Army.*

According to their own figures, the Bolshevik "Red" Army in the Ukraine is composed of 85 % *Russians* and only 8 % Ukrainians ("Collection of Reports of the People's Commissaries", Kharkov, 1921). All the administrative posts in the Ukraine are occupied by non-Ukrainian elements. The Bolshevik authorities in the Ukraine disregard the interests of Ukrainian education and of Ukrainian culture in general. The entire economic policy of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine is concerned exclusively with the ruthless exportation of all the material properties from the Ukraine. Not only food stuffs are exported from the Ukraine. The occupation authorities in the Ukraine have carried off to Russia, factories and railways, the most important means of production, as well as supplies of raw material, machines, metal and implements etc.

*Relentless war* is being waged against everything that stands in the way of the unlimited supremacy of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. As a rule, the Ukrainians who are mobilised for the "Red" Army

are made to serve their time outside the Ukrainian frontier, chiefly in the northern provinces of Russia. In order to overcome the opposition of the *Ukrainian working classes*, which have often come out in protest against the exportation from the Ukraine of the means of production, the Bolsheviks use the policy of sacking whole masses of Ukrainian workmen and filling their positions with more "pliable" elements ordered from Russia. This happened, for instance, in the arsenal in Kiev in the summer of 1921, and the same thing is happening incessantly with the railway men of the Ukraine.

The Bolshevik policy is, in the worst sense of the word, a policy of occupation and conquest. In Russia the Bolshevik dictatorship is a *national power*, peculiar to itself. It does not oppose the national-cultural interests of the Russian masses. In the Ukraine the Bolshevik power was, right from the beginning, an alien one. It was purely *occupationary*. With equal fury it oppressed, and is oppressing, the Ukrainian working classes and the peasantry in economic as well as in national-political and cultural respects. Among the toll of victims to the terror, introduced by the occupation authorities, are not only politically active persons, but also many who are active in the domain of Ukrainian culture and science. The "Sotzialisticheski Vestnik", the organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks), has established that the ideal of an independent Ukraine is gaining acceptance among the broad masses of the people, as a consequence of the policy of the Bolsheviks "with its centralism, with its attempts to exterminate the anti-Communist Ukrainian educated classes in the rural districts, as well as in the towns, with its destruction of all *national organization*". (No. 20. Berlin, 1921.) The same organ reports on "the incredible shootings and deportations (to Russia) of Ukrainian cultural leaders." (No. 21. 1921.)

Particularly grave is the situation of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic organizations under the regime of the Bolshevik occupation. The Bolshevik dictatorship has made use of the most oppressive means of persecution in combating the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party because it recognizes that this is the party which, in the present revolution has the active backing of the revolutionary proletarian masses. The members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDLP) are persecuted in the prisons, and punished with death *merely because they belong to the party*. The member of the Executive Committee of the USDLP, Peter Benzia, was tortured for eleven months in the Soviet prisons in the years 1920/1921. In Ekaterinoslav in the years 1920—1921 more than two hundred workers, who were members of the USDLP, were condemned to death by the Denikin and Bolshevik terror. In the autumn of 1921 thirteen members of the USDLP were shot

in Odessa merely on the ground of belonging to the party. In the same year in Ekaterinoslav comrade Philipp Shchukin, editor of various party organs and a member of the Ekaterinoslav Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party, was shot because he belonged to the party. Under these circumstances, in the teeth of outrageous persecutions and of terror on the part of the occupation authorities, the activity of the USDLP is illegal and strictly conspiratorial.

Simultaneously with the export of material properties from the Ukraine, including means of production, the Russian Bolsheviks are carrying on an *imperialistic terror*. There is not one Ukrainian party, not even the Communist, that recognizes the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic as being a national Ukrainian Government. All Ukrainian parties, including the Ukrainian Communists, have taken part in the armed resistance to the Government set up by Moscow's agent, Rakovski.

The Russian Bolsheviks consider the Ukraine as a colony which may be exploited at will, and to its complete ruin, for the sake of the Moscow Soviet Government. This is clearly proven by the existing „famine-policy“ in the Ukraine. For instance, the official Soviet organ in Kharkov wrote in 1921: “In consideration of the findings of the Relief Commission for the Famine-Stricken, in which the Ukrainian governments are not acknowledged as being famine-stricken, the Council of People's Commissaries (in Kharkov) has taken up negotiations with the President of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee for the purpose of submitting a corresponding protest, and recognition of Saporozhe and the districts of the governments of Donetz, Ekaterinoslav, and Odessa, as being famine-stricken areas.” (“Visty”, Nr. 247.)

In the same year the representative of the so-called „Ukrainian Soviet Government“, Manuilski, declared in the course of the conference of the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine (a section of the Russian Communist Party in the Ukraine): “Unfortunately, our Russian comrades are, up to the present moment, under the impression that the Ukraine is a country where everything can be had in plenty, but the fact is, unless heroic measures are immediately taken, the year 1922 will find us Ukrainians with our own Volga area.”

There can be no doubt that the occupation authorities set up by the Russian Communists have, by their criminal inactivity in the matter of relief of the Ukrainian famine-stricken, *intentionally allowed the Ukraine to starve*.

That is the shameful revenge the occupation authorities are taking on the Ukrainian workers and peasants, because during the revolution, the *Russian Bolshevik Army was driven out of the*



*Ukraine on several occasions.* In consequence of the entire policy of the Russian occupation authorities, the Ukraine is passing through a famine crisis graver than that of the Volga area and the other famine-stricken districts of Russia.

The Socialist proletariat of the world dare not remain indifferent.

1. We demand the *immediate dispatch of an International Socialist Commission to the Ukraine* for the purpose of collecting first-hand information on the desperate conditions of the Ukrainian population. We appeal to the proletarian fellow-organizations for help for the workers and peasants of the Ukraine, who, in consequence of the drought and the evil regime of occupation, are exposed to a terrible economic crisis.

2. We demand of the proletarian organizations of the world the public condemnation of a policy of terrorism, of the oppression, on nationalist grounds, and the *persecution of the socialists in the Ukraine*. We demand the condemnation of the egoistic policy of the Russian nationalists, who are trying, under the cloak of the III. International to take *political advantage of the terrible misery of the Ukrainian people*.

3. We demand the liberation of Ukrainian territory from the Russian army of occupation, as well as the liberation of Eastern Galicia and other West Ukrainian countries from the Polish and Rumanian Occupation.

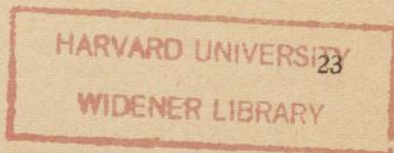
In the interest of a successful struggle for socialism we demand that the Ukrainian working and peasant masses be given back their right to decide their own fate — — to shape their own future *in the free, independent democratic Ukrainian Republic*.

4. We demand for the suppressed peoples of Eastern Europe the realisation of the democratic right to national self-determination.

Lemberg, 9. June 1922.

*For the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Social Democratic  
Labour Party*

I. Mazepa      P. Fedenko



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