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1.02 Pregledni naučni rad/Review scientific article

UDK/UDC: 94:355.4(477:470+571)"1921/1923" (093)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2023.6.9.69>

**THE FIRST FAMINE IN UKRAINE WAS ORGANIZED BY
THE COMMUNIST REGIME OF RUSSIA IN 1921-1923:
TO THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTIMS
OF THE TRAGEDY**

Abstract: *The article presents a comprehensive analysis of the Ukrainian famine of 1921-1923, challenging the widely held view that it was a tragic consequence of the civil war, as claimed by Lenin. Instead, the authors argue that the famine was a deliberate result of the Russian Bolsheviks' establishment of a social system reminiscent of feudal Russia. Drawing on the insights of Russian philosopher A. Zinoviev in his seminal work "Communism as Reality," the authors shed light on the underlying causes and motivations behind this man-made disaster. During the brutal war of aggression, the Moscow Bolshevik regime employed various means of mass physical, political, and economic terror to suppress the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people. One of the most insidious tactics was the imposition of a food dictatorship and the orchestration of the famine itself between 1921 and 1923. This deliberate policy was designed to crush any resistance and consolidate Bolshevik rule over Ukrainian lands. The famine served a dual purpose for the Moscow regime. On the one hand, it ensured a steady supply of vital resources such as food, coal,*

and metals from Ukraine to sustain the famine-stricken central regions of Russia, the North Caucasus, and Crimea. On the other hand, it enabled the Bolsheviks to establish their power on Ukrainian soil by subjugating and exploiting the population through the terror of famine. The consequences of this policy were catastrophic and far-reaching. The Ukrainian famine resulted in the destruction of the country's most productive agricultural resources, severely impairing the country's ability to feed its own population. In addition, a significant number of children, the future of the Ukrainian nation, died of starvation. Entire villages were devastated, and the subsequent influx of people from the Russian territories changed the ethnic composition of the affected regions, exacerbating the process of Russification. This demographic transformation further eroded Ukrainian cultural distinctiveness, including its scientific, educational, literary, and artistic sectors. The loss of cultural heritage and the erosion of national identity created long-lasting socio-psychological problems that continue to hinder the revival of Ukrainian statehood and its progress toward integration into the European community. The authors contend that the threat to the preservation of the Ukrainian nation and the restoration of an independent, united, and democratic Ukrainian state extends beyond the immediate Russian aggression. These acts of aggression include support for Transnistria, the wars with Chechnya and Georgia, the annexation of Crimea, the conflict in the Donbass, and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022. The authors argue that severely punishing Russia for its actions is essential to preventing the recurrence of such atrocities in the future. The responsibility to confront the aggressor does not lie with Ukraine alone; it requires the collective efforts of the international community. The article calls for a united front among nations and international organizations to hold Russia and other perpetrators accountable for their actions. It emphasizes the importance of implementing robust legal mechanisms, such as international tribunals, to punish those responsible for crimes against humanity, ensuring that they face the full force of justice. Moreover, the call for a united front extends beyond Russia, recognizing that crimes against humanity are not confined to a single nation or region. It highlights the necessity of addressing and preventing such atrocities on a global scale, emphasizing the shared responsibility of all nations to protect human rights and uphold international law.

Key words: *Peasants of Ukraine, famine, Russian communist regime, war of aggression, mass terror, food dictatorship, Holodomor, war in Ukraine*

PRVU GLAD U UKRAJINI ORGANIZOVAO JE KOMUNISTIČKI REŽIM RUSIJE 1921-1923: NA 100. GODIŠNJICU ŽRTAVA TRAGEDIJE

Apstrakt: *Članak predstavlja opsežnu analizu gladi u Ukrajini 1921-1923, dovodeći u pitanje uvriježeno mišljenje da je ona bila tragična posljedica*

građanskog rata, kako je tvrdio Lenjin. Umjesto toga, autori tvrde da je glad bila namjerna posljedica ruskih boljševika koji su uspostavili društveni sistem koji podsjeća na feudalnu Rusiju. Oslanjajući se na uvide ruskog filozofa A. Zinovjeva u njegovom temeljnom djelu „Komunizam kao stvarnost“, autori su rasvijetlili temeljne uzroke i motive iza ove katastrofe koju je uzrokovao čovjek. Tokom brutalnog napadačkog rata, moskovski boljševički režim koristio je različita sredstva masovnog fizičkog, političkog i ekonomskog terora za suzbijanje nacionalno-oslobodilačkog pokreta ukrajinskog naroda. Jedna od najpodmuklijih taktika bilo je nametanje prehrambene diktature i dirigiranje same gladi između 1921. i 1923. Ova namjerna politika bila je osmišljena da slomi svaki otpor i učvrsti boljševičku vlast nad ukrajinskim zemljama. Moskovskom režimu glad je imala dvostruku svrhu. S jedne strane, osigurao je stalnu opskrbu vitalnih resursa kao što su hrana, ugljen i metali iz Ukrajine za održavanje središnjih regija Rusije, Sjevernog Kavkaza i Krima pogođenih glađu. S druge strane, omogućio je boljševicima da uspostave svoju vlast na ukrajinskom tlu pokoravanjem i iskorištavanjem stanovništva terorom gladi. Posljedice te politike bile su katastrofalne i dalekosežne. Ukrajinska glad rezultirala je uništenjem najproduktivnijih poljoprivrednih resursa zemlje, ozbiljno narušavajući sposobnost zemlje da prehrani svoje stanovništvo. Osim toga, značajan broj djece, budućnosti ukrajinske nacije, umrlo je od gladi. Cijela su sela bila razorena, a kasniji priliv ljudi s ruskim teritorija promijenio je etnički sastav pogođenih regija, pogoršavajući proces rusifikacije. Ova demografska transformacija dodatno je nagrizla ukrajinsku kulturnu posebnost, uključujući njezin znanstveni, obrazovni, književni i umjetnički sektor. Gubitak kulturnog naslijeđa i erozija nacionalnog identiteta stvorili su dugotrajne socio-psihološke probleme koji i dalje koče oživljavanje ukrajinske državnosti i njezin napredak prema integraciji u europsku zajednicu. Autori tvrde da se prijetnja očuvanju ukrajinske nacije i obnovi neovisne, ujedinjene i demokratske ukrajinske države proteže izvan neposredne ruske agresije. Ti činovi agresije uključuju potporu Pridnjestrovlju, ratove s Čečenijom i Gruzijom, aneksiju Krima, sukob u Donbasu i potpunu invaziju na Ukrajinu 2022. Autori tvrde da je strogo kažnjavanje Rusije za njezine postupke ključno, kako bi se spriječilo ponavljanje ovakvih zločina u budućnosti. Odgovornost za suočavanje s agresorom ne leži samo na Ukrajini, zahtijeva kolektivne napore međunarodne zajednice. Članak poziva na ujedinjenu frontu između naroda i međunarodnih organizacija kako bi Rusiju i druge počinitelje pozvali na odgovornost za svoje postupke. Naglašava važnost provedbe čvrstih pravnih mehanizama, poput međunarodnih sudova, za kažnjavanje odgovornih za zločine protiv čovječnosti, osiguravajući da se suoče s punom snagom pravde. Štoviše, poziv na ujedinjenu frontu proteže se izvan Rusije, priznajući da zločini protiv čovječnosti nisu ograničeni na jednu naciju ili regiju. Naglašava nužnost rješavanja i sprječavanja takvih zločina na globalnoj razini, naglašavajući zajedničku odgovornost svih nacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava i poštivanje međunarodnog prava.

Ključne riječi: *Seljaci Ukrajine, glad, ruski komunistički režim, agresija, masovni teror, prehrambena diktatura, Holodomor, rat u Ukrajini.*

Introduction

The relevance of the study is due to several factors. First, in 2022, Russia launched an aggressive attack on Ukraine, thereby disregarding any norms of international law and establishing itself as a terrorist state and aggressor. In addition, the act of aggression is accompanied by a clear genocide of the Ukrainian people. For example, mass killings of civilians; destruction of civilian critical infrastructure; shelling of residential areas; abduction and forced transfer of Ukrainian minors to Russia, etc. All this points to a planned genocide of the Ukrainian people. This is confirmed by the recognition of Russian President Putin as a war criminal by the International Criminal Court and the issuance of an arrest warrant for him. Since history is cyclical, it is very important to study such cases of genocide in order to understand how to counteract them and prevent them in the future.

Second, we believe that it is important to talk about this in the world, not only in the context of Ukraine, but also in general, in order to prevent the recurrence of such acts. Bringing such important information to the international community can protect future generations from terrible tragedies. The famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine is a part of world history. Studying it is important not only for Ukrainians but also for anyone interested in human history.

Third, it is important to study the famine in the context of historical consciousness. Studying this helps us understand how modern Ukraine, its history and culture were formed. Such research topics allow us to better understand the past and determine the future of the country.

Fourth, the relevance of the article is revealed through the need to study, analyze, and understand political processes, socio-economic consequences, and their interaction. Thus, the famine of 1921-1923 was largely caused by political decisions and actions, especially the policy of *war communism* of the Soviet government. Studying this period helps us understand the impact of politics on people's lives. In addition, the famine of 1921-1923 had long-term social and economic consequences. Studying this period helps us to understand how large-scale crises affect the socioeconomic development of a country and how long their consequences can last.

Finally, fifth, it is important to remember the victims of terrible tragedies and to maintain the truth. Millions of people suffered from the famine in Ukraine during this period. Studying this tragedy is an important expression of respect for the memory of the victims and understanding of the hardships they faced. Studying such tragedies can foster empathy and humanity in people, teaching us to value life and to be careful with resources.

So, of course, the importance of studying the 1921-1923 famine is important both in the context of remembering past historical events and in view of the current situation in Ukraine and the world.

The idea of Marx's proletarian revolution was embodied by the Russian Bolsheviks, led by his student and follower Lenin. Instead, the former despised the proletariat, and the latter, by this definition of social groups, also meant the poorest peasants and all those who would help the Bolsheviks overthrow the autocracy, create chaos, seize power by terror and repression because there were hired workers in the empire, especially in the suburbs few and not all supported them. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party, especially Lenin and Trotsky, believed that seizing power and holding on to terror and war was not enough, particularly in Ukraine, where the peasantry and other sections of the population did not support them in the elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in late December 1917 votes.

The Russian communist regime, having seized Ukrainian lands in the late 1920s in a brutal war with the national liberation forces of the UPR, realized that it would be impossible to impose power, to carry out a *permanent revolution* in the world without Ukraine's human, raw material, food resources and production capacity. The history of the Holodomor organized by the Russian communist regime in Ukraine in 1921-23 has not been adequately covered and objectively covered today. Soviet historiography unconditionally defended and justified the policy of the Bolshevik government of Russia, led by Lenin and the puppet CP (b) U, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, and the Soviet People's Commissar of the USSR, which made up 95% of the population.

In 1921-23, the leading leaders of the Bolshevik government of the USSR, G. Petrovsky and M. Skrypnyk reported to the Moscow central government about the famine in the southern provinces and asked for the allocation of part of the international aid for the starving, which they were denied. They superficially and from the standpoint of communist ideology and the practice of building the so-called socialism covered in a small volume of works, which were later banned by censorship.¹ Instead, the real reality of the situation of the starving population of Ukraine was shown by the representative in Ukraine and Crimea of the head of the International Organization for Aid to the Starving in Soviet Russia Dr F. Nansen, a famous Norwegian military and politician Captain V. Quisling. During 1921-1923, in his telegrams, reports and reports, he collected statistical data on the number of starving people and their mortality, on the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Moscow authorities, which organized and contributed to the spread of hunger in the republic.²

¹ Movchan, O.M, The famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 10, 1990, 38-45.

² *The Year of Fight Against Hunger 1921-1922 Through the delegates of the VII All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets to all working people of Ukraine (1922)*. Report of the Central Commission for Combating the Effects of Famine at the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee.

The documentary material of V. Quisling was widely reflected in the publications of the Ukrainian press in Canada.³ His testimony about the famine in Ukraine provoked by the policy of the Russian Bolshevik government was confirmed in the works of that time by V. Arnautov,⁴ V. Kogan and B. Favre,⁵ I. Gerasimovych.⁶ Ukrainian historical science only from the second half of the 80s of the twentieth century, gradually freed from the communist concept and dogma in the study of the causes and consequences of the famine of 1921-1923. Researchers O. Movchan,^{1, 7, 8} O. Veselova,⁹ S. Kulchytsky,⁷ R. Serbin,^{3, 10} I. Samylenko,¹¹ M. Shityuk,¹² P. Brytsky,¹³ V. Sergiychuk,¹⁴ R. Krutsyk¹⁵ and others quite objectively, according to the available source base, revealed the true causes of the tragedy of the Ukrainian people, in particular military intervention, mass political and economic terror of the Russian communist regime aimed at suppressing the insurgent movement of peasants, looting their agricultural products and its resistance to providing international assistance to the starving in Ukraine.

A valuable source of research is published documents and materials on the pages of collections and periodicals in Ukraine and abroad about the policy of enslavement of the Ukrainian people by the Russian Bolshevik regime, means of war of aggression, mass terror and the famine.^{1, 3, 16, 17, 18} The elaborated resolutions and directives of the RCP (B) and the People's Commissar of the RSFSR and the decisions of the punitive bodies of the communist regime, the works of their leaders, including Lenin, scientific historical research and

³ Serbin, R, *The famine of 1921-1923 and the Ukrainian press in Canada*. Toronto: Ukrainian-Canadian Research and Documentation Center, 1995.

⁴ Arnautov, V.A, *Hunger and children in Ukraine*. Kharkiv: NKP, 1922, 49.

⁵ Kogan, V. & Favre, B, *Surveys of the starving provinces of Ukraine*. Kharkiv: Naukova dumka, 1922, 73.

⁶ Gherasymovych, I, *Famine in Ukraine*. Berlin: Ukrainsjke slovo, 1922.

⁷ Kulchytsky, S.V., & Movchan, O.M, *Unknown pages of the famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine*. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1993, 70.

⁸ Movchan, O.M, Famine 1921-1923 years in Ukraine. In *Holodomor 1932-1933 years in Ukraine. causes and inheritances*. Kyiv: International Science Conference, Sunday 9-10th 1993, 1993.

⁹ Veselova, O.M, Marochko, V.I, & Movchan, O.M, *Gholodomory in Ukraine 1921-1923, 1932-1933, 1946-1947: Crimes against the people*. New York: Published by M.P. Kocj, 2000.

¹⁰ Serbin, R. (1992). *Famine 1921-1923 i Ukrainian press in Canada*. Kyiv-Toronto: Dzherela News of the History of Ukraine, 1992.

¹¹ Samiilenko I, *Social Politics of Hunger Genocide in Ukraine*. Kyiv: Prosvita, 1998.

¹² Shityuk, M.M, *Mykolaiiv region in the famine of 1921-1923*. Mykolaiv: Shamrai, 2008.

¹³ Brytsky, P.P, *Gholodomor in Soviet Ukraine*. Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi National University, 2013.

¹⁴ Sergiychuk, V.I, *How we were starved*. Kyiv: Our Format, 2006, 392.

¹⁵ Krutsyk, R, *People's War. Guide to the exhibition*. Kyiv: Ukrainian Publishing Union, 2011.

¹⁶ Dukelskiy, S, *ChK in Ukraine*. Edmonton: Chalidze Publications, 1988, 140.

¹⁷ Documents of the tragic history of Ukraine 1917-1927 (1999). Retrieved from: <https://lib.memo.ru/book/2533>.

¹⁸ Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, Workers 'and Peasants' Government of Ukraine. *Collection of laws and orders of the workers 'and peasants' government of Ukraine*. Kharkiv: Proletar, 19131, 771.

periodicals provided a sufficient source basis for the tasks. The methodological basis is a system of general scientific principles and special methods that contributed to obtaining objective and reliable results. The principle of objectivity helped to get rid of the positivist deification of sources, to carry out their analytical and critical evaluation, selection and classification, to avoid the use of their own ideological and ideological considerations, including the role of the Russian Bolshevik leader Lenin - ideologue and organizer of the Holodomor of 1921-1923.

The principle of historicism contributed to the study of the preconditions, causes and consequences of the communist regime of the RSFSR on the UPR, in particular its peasants, to reveal the ideological, political and organizational principles of its planting on Ukrainian territory in their sequence and structural unity. We were guided by the principles of scientific and systematics in the analysis of historical sources, in particular the verification of information, its relationship with the acquired knowledge, reflecting the actual processes and events of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for the revival of statehood. Based on the problem-chronological method, we managed to consistently consider the main stages of the war of aggression of the Bolshevik regime of Russia against Ukraine, in particular its forms, means and methods, the main of which were the intervention of regular troops and punitive units of the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage (hereinafter referred as ExC) and their systematic replenishment by Russians terror, repression, food dictatorship, accompanied by the total robbery of peasants and the organization of the Holodomor.

The historical-legal method was used to reveal a gross violation of international law by the RSFSR SNK and interference in the internal affairs of the UPR, in particular: denunciation of the Brest Peace Treaty, seizure of its territory by the Russian Red Army, whose troops were called the so-called Ukrainian Front; creation by the occupation regime of puppet governments of the USSR, VUTSVK, VUNK, military-revolutionary committees, mainly of the Russian Bolsheviks and subordinated directly to the relevant bodies of Moscow power; dissemination and implementation in Ukraine of directives, orders, resolutions, instructions of the Bolshevik regime, in particular on the formation of occupation authorities in Russia, punitive detachments of the ExC, replenishment for regular troops of the occupiers who fought the Ukrainian national liberation movement; the creation of special forces, *revolutionary and extraordinary troikas*, which, under threat of death, helped the occupiers to plunder the peasants and carried out the massacre of those who did not support the Moscow authorities.

The brutality of the invaders knew no bounds. They shot, repressed disobedient peasants, confiscated property, and burned their farms and even entire villages without investigation or trial. The application of the analytical-critical method helped to reveal the essence of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology - the ideology of social racism, which manifested itself in the

technology of deception, false promises, slogans, deliberate distortion of facts and, consequently, the extermination of Ukrainian peasants and intellectuals. For the critical analysis and synthesis of program orders, resolutions, orders of the Russian communist government and other authorities on Ukraine, based on Lenin's ideas and directives, the formal-logical apparatus of operating systems by the basic laws of logic was used. The use of statistical methods made it possible to critically review the established conclusions and assessments in the historiography of the problem, in particular on the causes, organizers and consequences of the Holodomor in Ukraine, to provide documentary material on the number of Russian occupation authorities, including Red Army troops, punitive and food detachments products, the destruction of peasants and the number of victims of the tragedy. The conceptual foundations of the work are based on the latest research on the history of Ukraine, source studies, political science, sociology, history and theory of state and law.

Causes and beginnings of the famine

The ideologue and organizer of the famine in Ukraine was the leader of the Russian Bolsheviks, Lenin, who, following Marx, called the peasants *reactionary* and their lives *idiocy*, calling people extremely difficult and useful social work mentally retarded and politically indifferent, a bulwark of absolutism, petty-bourgeois owners and speculators, staunch enemies of the proletariat and the socialist revolution. *No tyrant in the world has so characterized the peasantry of his country. If the peasants did not give bread for free, he ordered them to be severely punished, shot, taken hostage - members of their families, villagers and destroyed in case of non-compliance with taxes and taxes, burn villages and farms, "fight them even more severely than with Kolnyk and D.* As for the lack of bread and famine resulting from his policies, he replied: *I did not know the need of life, and bread for me is a by-product of writing, but the effects of famine create a progressive phenomenon - the birth of the industrial proletariat - the graveyard of the bourgeois system.* Including the enterprising

peasantry.^{19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31} So thought, declared and acted *a man who never physically worked, was not employed, did not know agriculture, factory environment and production master of the political cruelty of foolishness and cannibalistic cruelty.*³²

The leader of the Russian Bolsheviks *international political adventurer, criminal of age* (The Russian Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, with the financial support of Kaiser's Germany, were captured in October 1917 power in Russia believed that the main means of its maintenance should be violence), *unquestioning obedience... and... obedience of the masses to the united will of the Soviet leader, dictator...*,³³ the introduction of strict daily accounting and control of the confiscated wealth of capitalists, looted from the peasants of raw materials and food, all that they produced and workers, to put the whole population in material and property, and especially grain, dependence on power, which will be all distribute it at your discretion.

In early December 1917, the government of Bolshevik Russia declared war on the Ukrainian People's Republic to return Ukraine to the Soviet empire planned by Lenin, which was accompanied by mass terror and looting of the Ukrainian population until the expulsion of the occupiers by German troops and the Central Council of the UPR. With the proclamation of April 29, 1918. The All-Ukrainian Agricultural Congress created the Ukrainian state under the leadership of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi. he prepared on May 8-9, and the Russian SNC approved the *Basic Provisions of the Decree on the Food Dictatorship and On Mobilizing Workers to Fight Hunger*".

The brutal policy of *military communism* of the Russian Bolsheviks in Ukraine led to the massive deployment of the anti-communist peasant movement in the spring and summer of 1919. In addition to hundreds of peasant insurgent detachments, the struggle against the Moscow invaders was started by the troops of Atamans N. Makhno and N. Grigoriev, who defeated them and the Denikin regime seized power. At the end of the year, following Denikin's retreating White Guard army, the RSFSR Red Army of 1,200,000 soldiers and officers, and

¹⁹ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works In 55 Volumes*. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁰ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 6. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²¹ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 9. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²² Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 10. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²³ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 23. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁴ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 28. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁵ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 29. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁶ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 36. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁷ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 37. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁸ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 38. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

²⁹ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 40. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

³⁰ Lenin V.I, *Complete Works*. Vol. 43. Moscow: Political literature publishing, 1975.

³¹ Lenin V.I, *Unknown documents. 1891-1922*. Moscow: Political Encyclopedia, 1999, 671

³² Fedotov, G.P, *The fate and sins of Russia*. Vol. 1. - Saint Petrburg: Sofia, 1991.

³³ Syadristy, N.S, *Communo-mraxism: the devil's trap for slaves*. Kyiv: Granma Firm, 2016.

thousands of ExC detachments began seizing Ukrainian lands for the third time, using the most brutal, brutal system, according to Kh. Rakovsky. In the spring of 1920, the Bolshevik regime intensified mass terror by plundering peasants, and in particular the political differentiation of the countryside based on the principle of wealth, committees of poor peasants who were to help the occupiers to win the final victory in a ruthless war with the insurgent movement of peasants.

Instead, having met with mass resistance from the peasants, the Central Committee of the RCP (B) tried to weaken the insurgent movement using political demagoguery and populism, in particular by adopting a special resolution on Soviet power in Ukraine declaring that the Ukrainian people would decide whether to merge Ukraine with Russia to leave Ukraine as an independent and sovereign republic²⁹, as well as the priority of equalization of land, full voluntariness in the creation of collective farms. However, this was not done. The Russian Bolsheviks, having established a communist regime for the third time in the early 1920s, decided to curb the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainians by starvation. They are reinforcing the food dictatorship in the form of an incredible 160 million poods of food. During the year, a 30,000-strong labour army led by Stalin and a regular army consisting of 18 infantry brigades (107 battalions), 1 cavalry division (5 regiments) and 6 batteries (24 guns) under the command of M. Frunze suppressed the mass insurgent movement of Ukrainian peasants. , terror and violence took away from farmers up to 30 types of various agricultural products: 60 million poods of grain, 500 thousand poods of oilseeds, about 1 million poods of meat and lard, 2.4 million poods of fodder.² In response, the peasantry intensified its struggle against the Russian occupiers. In July of this year, up to 250 insurgent detachments operated in Ukraine³⁴ to suppress which the Moscow communist regime formed in addition to the Great Russians in Moscow, Petrograd and more than 20 provincial cities of Russia 8 punitive battalions and 27 companies subordinated to the ExC. The analysis of these facts gives us reason to state that the cause of the famine of 1921-1923 was not the civil war, but a deliberate policy of Russia aimed at suppressing the peasant uprising and subjugating the Ukrainian people.¹⁵

In 1920, when the population of Ukraine was already starving, for resistance to the Russian occupiers, about 30 thousand mostly peasants were imprisoned in 18 concentration camps on Ukrainian territory.³⁴ Summing up the struggle against the Ukrainian national liberation movement at the end of the year, Trotsky declared that Soviet power in Ukraine had been established and *maintained only by force of Moscow, the Great Russian Communists, and the Red Army*. The national composition of the Bolshevik army consisted of Great Russians - 85%, Ukrainians 9% (mobilized mostly forcibly - P.Ch), Poles, Belarusians, Jews, Germans and others - 6%.¹⁵

³⁴ Androschuk, O.V, Baran, V.K, Blanutsa, A.V, Bunyatyan, K.P, Vashchuk, D.P, & Smoliiy, V.A, *History of the Ukrainian peasantry*. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 2006, 631.

Mass peasant uprisings against the communist regime of the RSFSR and famine in Ukraine, the Volga region and the North Caucasus forced the Bolsheviks to decide on March 15, 1921, at the X Congress of the RCP (B) to replace the food tax with natural taxes. 5 southern provinces (Donetsk, Zaporizhia, Katerynoslav, Mykolaiv, Odesa) and in some districts of Poltava, Kremenchuk and Kharkiv provinces were to hand over 117 million poods. grain of 350 million poods. harvested (35% of the normal harvest) this year and 50 million poods debt prodoper from the harvest of 1920.¹⁰ More than 99 million poods. grain products were confiscated.¹⁸

Systems and punitive detachments used in 1921-1923 as a means of condemning genocide

The farms of Ukrainian peasants were abandoned by the Great War of 1914-1918, destroyed by the wars of aggression of the Russian White Guard and Communist troops against the Ukrainian People's Republic, and could not and did not want to pay such a tax. To suppress the insurgent movement in Moscow, numerous staff of ExC leaders were formed and sent to Ukraine, which formed the basis of the central and provincial bodies of the All-Ukrainian Emergency Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Official Crimes (VUNK). It had 34,000 official staff alone. In addition, there were thousands of secret and thousands of special forces, which fought relentlessly against the Ukrainian national liberation movement and in particular the peasantry.³⁵

Lenin, having such a large system of punitive organs, on July 8, 1921, sent to the Central Committee of the RCP and CP (b) In the directive on the mandatory daily delivery to Russia of at least 74 wagons of bread, taking all measures.²⁷ The communist regime, despite the drought in the southern provinces and the starvation of the population, decided receive as much grain as possible. They laid siege to the villages and farms of the peasants, who resisted the occupation policy of the authorities and forced the peasants to pay food tax not only by meat, but also grain and animals, straw, money. The authorities, despite the mass mortality in the southern provinces, took 60 million poods from the peasants of Ukraine. No less than 13.5 million poods of Ukrainian grain was sold to foreign countries, while the shortage of bread in barren provinces amounted to more than 20 million poods.⁸ The authorities forbade the starving to buy grain in the productive northern and central provinces of Ukraine, which they did during the lean years. Trade-in bread was also prohibited at fairs before the implementation of the advance tax.¹⁰ The non-recognition of hunger in Ukraine and the prohibition on providing international assistance to the starving caused mass mortality in the south of Ukraine, and later in other provinces.

³⁵ Chentsov, V.V, Political repression in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s. Ternopil: Zbruch, 2000.

Consequences and outcomes of the famine

Captain W. Quisling, a representative of the International Organization for Aid to the Hungry in Soviet Russia, reported in a telegram dated February 22, 1922, to its head, Dr F. Nansen, that 8 million people were starving in the southern provinces, 10,000 of whom died of starvation every day. As of March 1, in Ukraine and Crimea, according to his data, 78% of the population was starving in Zaporizhia province, Mykolaiv province – 50%, Katerynoslav province – 40%, Donetsk province – 22%, Odesa province – 18%. In Odessa, 2 to 3 thousand people died every day. At least 3 million people died of starvation in these provinces, more than half of them children. In the lands of N. Makhno's small homeland, Zaporizhia, 1,100,000 people out of a population of 1,288,000 were starving, and the regime took 600,000 bread poods from them and sent to the Volga region.²

In Zaporizhzhia, Quisling reported, the land was burned and stripped of trees and plants. The peasants ate all the dogs, cats, crows, even dead cattle, leather from the harness. They eat straw from the roofs of houses, their children, the corpses of the dead. In the houses lie the skeletons of the dead and those who are waiting for death, not hoping for salvation. Heaps of corpses lie because there is no one to bury them. Among them are many children, all naked, withered. In the Kherson region, they were buried in deep pits, holding their feet and throwing one after another. There are no such funerals anywhere in the world, except outside the communist federation. Even in German villages, the number of starving people reached 90%, there were cases of cannibalism. By the spring of 1922, the Russian had exported 3,385,000 poods of food from the Zaporizhia province. It was there that the most terrible famine was.³

The terrible situation of the inhabitants of Odessa and the peasants of the province was described by a member of the delegation of Italian communists Lucetti in a congressional report delivering food collected in Italy to the starving: *dogs for grabbing meat or other food, little girls who gave themselves to sailors on the port street - not for money, but for a piece of bread, a lot of corpses in morgues waiting for weeks for burial. Our delegation walked 30 km. deep into the land, when they returned, they all tore their hair on their heads: they saw corpses baked on fire and prepared for food.*³

In a 1922 memorandum to Lenin, the head of the SNC of the USSR, H. Rakovsky, also cited statistics revealing the criminal food dictatorship of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine and that the famine in its southern provinces was not the result of a crop failure but a *manifestation of criminal negligence*. Robbed property of the church as well as 19 million rubles. The gold sent by the Central Committee of the RCP (B)³⁶ during 1922 to the communist parties of more than 30 states to prepare for a world proletarian revolution, including the United

³⁶ Twelfth Congress of the RCP (b). (1923). Verbatim report. Retrieved from: <http://militera.lib.ru/docs/da/s12/index.html>.

States, Europe, India, China, Korea, and Japan, was not used to help the starving Russia and Ukraine. The leaders of the revolution, who had astronomical sums of *savings* in American and European banks, in particular Lenin - 75 million Swiss francs, Ganetsky - 60 million, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Dzerzhinsky - 80 million, and Uritsky - 85 million dollars,⁹ and not a single cent was spent to save them from starvation.

The General Delegate of the Ukrainian Red Cross in Western Europe, Dr I. Kholodny, reported that at the beginning of 1922, out of 11,200,000 children in Ukraine, there were more than 750,000 orphans and semi-orphans. Epidemics of dysentery, typhus, cholera, smallpox raged on its territory, and infant mortality reached 70%.³ Many children fell victim to cannibals, including family members. Human meat was traded at fairs recognized by the leaders of the USSR. In 5 south-eastern provinces, 50% of the starving population died of starvation.⁵

In 1923, the famine was still raging in Ukraine, and the Russian SNC decided on a single agricultural tax, no less burdensome than the previous ones. Stalin sharply criticized the activities of the government of H. Rakovsky in ensuring the supply of bread to Russia and for export, as well as in conducting national policy. The famine of 1921-23 in Ukraine, organized by the Russian Bolshevik government, became one of the decisive means of liquidating the UPR, planting the communist regime, and as a result of the starvation of 3 to 5 million Ukrainians.

The relationship between the famine of 1921-1923 and the Holodomor of 1932-1933. Recognizing the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people

When we consider the famine of 1921-1923, we cannot help but recall the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. It was the first of three major famines to hit Ukraine during Soviet rule, and a precursor to the more widely recognized genocide of the Holodomor of 1932-1933. Although the main topic of the article concerns the famine of 1921-1923 and its relationship to contemporary events, it is still appropriate to mention the Holodomor of 1932-1933. We are talking about it because the famine of 1921-1923 somehow showed the Soviet authorities that by preventing people from satisfying basic needs, such as food, they do not think about rebellion and uprisings. Thus, the famine of 1921-1923 extinguished the fire of rebellion among the Ukrainian peasantry. Therefore, 10 years later, the Soviet authorities used the same mechanism to assert their power and deliberately destroy the Ukrainian people. Therefore, in the larger context of the genocidal practices of the Russian authorities in Ukraine, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 cannot be ignored.

In addition, both famines occurred during Soviet rule and were linked to the radical agricultural policies of the period and the attempts to suppress the will of Ukrainians. Studying the two famines together can help us understand how

these policies evolved over time. Although both famines had different immediate causes and circumstances, they both had catastrophic consequences for the Ukrainian population. Looking at these events together can help identify patterns and connections between them.

These two tragic events represent the two major famines in the history of Ukraine under the Soviet government. Although these two events are located in different time periods, they share aspects that demonstrate the interconnectedness between them. Both famines occurred during the Soviet period and were directly or indirectly linked to political decisions made in Moscow. In both cases, the Soviet authorities used harsh methods to achieve their goals. Ukraine was ruled by the Soviet Union during the famine of 1921-1923 and the Holodomor of 1932-1933. Political decisions made by the Soviet government were key factors that led to these tragedies.

The famine of 1921-1923 was a consequence of the policy of *war communism* that was used to conquer the territory of Ukraine. The policy included the confiscation of grain and other foodstuffs from peasants to supply cities and the Red Army. This led to mass starvation among the rural population. In turn, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was a consequence of the radical collectivization policy pursued by the Soviet government under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. This policy included the forced merger of individual farms into collective farms (kolhosps). In the context of strict repressive controls and high plans, grain was confiscated, which led to massive famine in Ukraine.

In both cases, the Soviet authorities focused on achieving their political and economic goals, regardless of the human cost. In addition, it used this policy to suppress any protests among the population. This emphasizes the importance of understanding the political context of both famines.

Both famines had catastrophic consequences for the population. During the Holodomors, the rural population suffered the most. It is estimated that millions of people died of starvation during this period, and many of the survivors suffered from diseases caused by malnutrition. In both cases, in addition to the immediate death toll from starvation, it is important to consider the long-term social consequences. This includes the spread of disease, reduced labor productivity, demographic changes due to lower birth rates and higher mortality rates, and psychological trauma passed down from generation to generation.

The Soviet authorities actively tried to conceal the facts of the 1921-1923 and 1932-1933 famines from the internal and external world. During the famine of 1921-1923, the Soviet government initially denied its existence and refused international assistance. However, when the situation became critical, they allowed international organizations to introduce food aid. Regarding the Holodomor of 1932-1933, the Soviet government made considerable efforts to conceal its existence. They banned the mention of the famine in the press, and refuted reports that appeared in foreign media. They have also refused international aid, claiming that no famine exists. These attempts to hide the truth

about the famines resulted in both of them being poorly known and recognized internationally for many years.

The Holodomor in Ukraine was a social and humanitarian catastrophe of global proportions. In addition to the physical murder of millions of people, the crime of genocide resulted in the destruction of the traditional Ukrainian way of life. The famine became a weapon of mass biological destruction of Ukrainians, disrupted the genetic pool of the people for decades, and led to moral and psychological changes in the minds of Ukrainians. Traditional culture and folk customs were deformed. The Holodomor completely changed the usual order of farming in the countryside. For decades, Ukrainian peasants were reduced to the position of disenfranchised collective farmers, deprived of passports and pensions.

The psychological consequences of the Holodomor were feelings of guilt and shame. People felt guilty for not being able to save their relatives, ashamed of the immoral acts they committed to survive.³⁷ Therefore, historical research and memory of these events are important for the proper assessment and recognition of these tragedies.

As a result of the long silence, the world has only recently begun to talk about these tragedies. In 1985-88, a U.S. Congressional Commission investigated the famine in Ukraine. In its conclusions, it emphasized that *Joseph Stalin and his entourage committed an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people in 1932-33*. The commission's findings paved the way for the international recognition of the Holodomor as genocide. In subsequent years, the Holodomor was condemned as a crime of genocide by the parliaments of Estonia, Australia, Canada, Hungary, Lithuania, Georgia, Poland, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, Latvia, Portugal, and the United States. In addition, in a number of countries, decisions to condemn the crime of genocide were made at the regional and municipal levels. An important element of the recognition of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933 as genocide of the Ukrainian people at the international level is its recognition within such international organizations as the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the OSCE, the UN Human Rights Council, the UN, etc.

Ukraine recognized the Holodomor as genocide and enshrined it in its legislation. For example, according to Article 1 of the Law of Ukraine *On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine*, 2006, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine is a genocide of the Ukrainian people.³⁸ In addition, on November 16, 2022, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a Resolution on the Appeal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the Parliaments of the World on Recognizing the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as Genocide of the Ukrainian People. It states that *This will be an important signal to all forces in the world that may resort to new*

³⁷ Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933. (2020). Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Retrieved from: <https://austria.mfa.gov.ua/spivrobitnictvo/golodomor-v-ukrayini-1932-1933-rokiv>.

³⁸ On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine (2006): *Law of Ukraine*, No. 376-V. Retrieved from: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/376-16#Text>.

*genocidal actions and a significant contribution to ensuring a peaceful and secure future for future generations.*³⁹ As of April 2023, the Holodomor was officially recognized as genocide of the Ukrainian people by 27 countries.

For Ukrainians, the international recognition of the Holodomor is evidence of the establishment of historical justice in assessing the crime against humanity committed against the Ukrainian people and a demonstration of condemnation of the actions of the totalitarian regime that killed millions of people in Ukraine and undermined the national spirit of Ukrainians.³⁷

Unlike the Holodomor of 1932-1933, the events of 1921-1923 are not recognized by the international community as genocide of the Ukrainian people. This is due to a number of reasons, including the fact that this famine was part of a broader famine that affected many regions of the Soviet Union, including Russia and Kazakhstan, and was caused by a combination of civil war, economic chaos, and surrounding climatic conditions. However, this does not diminish the tragedy of those events and their impact on Ukrainian society and history. It only emphasizes the importance of researching and understanding these events.

Thus, based on the above, it can be stated that the Soviet government tried several times to suppress Ukrainians who sought independence and destroy the Ukrainian people. Despite the silence and attempts to rewrite history by the Soviet authorities, today the whole world knows about it and supports Ukraine. However, it is worth noting that the fact that Ukraine was part of the USSR for a long time had a negative impact on its development. Ukraine has always been important for Russia in terms of geopolitics because of its geographical location, large size, and economic importance. Ukraine is an important transit corridor for Russian gas to Europe, and has important industrial regions and agricultural land.

Since Ukraine's independence in 1991, Ukrainian society and the political elite have demonstrated a desire to move in the direction of the European Union and NATO. This has been resisted by Russia, which sees it as a threat to its geopolitical interests. The Revolution of Dignity of 2013-2014, which led to the resignation of pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich, was a significant moment in relations between the two countries.

In 2014, Russia annexed parts of Ukraine's territories, and in 2022, it launched a full-scale war. Relations between Ukraine and Russia are also complicated by issues of national identity, language, and culture. Russia, for example, has long claimed to be the *protector* of the Russified parts of the Ukrainian population. These factors became especially important during the 2014 crisis. Thus, the war between Ukraine and Russia can be viewed as the result of contradictions that arose from historical ties, geopolitical interests, political transformations, and national identity. In the next section, we will look

³⁹ On the Appeal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the Parliaments of the World on the Recognition of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as Genocide of the Ukrainian People (2022): Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 8199. Retrieved from: <https://www.rada.gov.ua/news/razom/230343.html>.

at how the events of 1921-1923 are related to the current military conflict in Ukraine.

The modern practice of applying the policy of genocide by Russia

Based on the analysis, it can be argued that the use of mass genocide against Ukraine has been used by Russia for decades. The current war has much more in common with the famine of 1921-1923 than it seems at first glance. It, like the famine created by the Soviet government, is aimed at overthrowing the Ukrainian resistance and seizing territories. At present, it is legitimate to call Russia a terrorist state, as it is recognized as such at the international level. For example, the Council of Europe has proposed the establishment of a tribunal to investigate and prosecute the crime of aggression committed by *the political and military leadership of the Russian Federation*.⁴⁰ In November 2022, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly recognized the Russian Federation as a terrorist state and called on the international community to *take collective action to establish an international tribunal to prosecute the crime of aggression committed by Russia during its war against Ukraine*.⁴¹ At the same time, the European Commission stated that the EU would work to establish a special criminal tribunal to investigate and prosecute the crime of Russian aggression, and the European Parliament called Russia a terrorist state.⁴²

In addition, the following countries have already supported the idea of establishing a tribunal for Russia: Canada, the United Kingdom, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Poland, Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and France.

In addition, on March 17, 2023, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Russian President Vladimir Putin and Russian Children's Ombudsman Maria Lvova-Belova. They are accused of the war crime of forcibly transferring children from the occupied territories of Ukraine to the Russian Federation.⁴³

An act of genocide is one of the above actions or a combination of them aimed at the total or partial destruction of a certain group. Therefore, the most

⁴⁰ PACE calls for an ad hoc international criminal tribunal to hold to account perpetrators of the crime of aggression against Ukraine (2022). Retrieved from: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/pace-calls-for-an-ad-hoc-international-criminal-tribunal-to-investigate-war-crimes-in-ukraine>.

⁴¹ Resolution 479, NATO Post-Madrid Summit: Fit for Purpose in the New Strategic Era. (2022). Retrieved from: <https://www.nato-pa.int/download-file?filename=/sites/default/files/2022-11/RESOLUTION%20479%20-%20%20NATO%20POST%20MADRID%20.pdf>.

⁴² Fiedler T. (2022). EU proposes setting up specialized court to try Russian war crimes. Politico. Retrieved from: <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-ursula-von-der-leyen-propose-set-up-court-russia-war-crime-ukraine/>.

⁴³ Shepeleva, A. (2023). ICC issues arrest warrant for Putin for deportation of children. *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dw.com/uk/mks-vidav-orderi-na-arest-putina-ta-lvovoibelovoi-za-deportaciju-ditej/a-65029635>.

important and difficult thing in determining the qualification of a crime as an act of genocide is the sufficiency and admissibility of evidence of intent to destroy. International justice sets a high threshold for proving this crime of crimes. But at least the International Criminal Court has jurisdiction to investigate this category of crimes.

In his speech on the night of February 24 (the beginning of the war), 2022, in which he *justified* the attack on Ukraine, Putin called Ukraine *the historical territory of Russia*. And he called *denazification* one of the reasons for the war. In fact, according to the statements of high-ranking Russian officials, it is about expanding Russia's borders and annexing part of Ukraine's territory. The public statements of politicians boil down to one thing: Russia is getting back what is its, as a restoration of historical justice. Moreover, in the minds of Putin and the Russian leadership, a *Nazi* is someone who identifies as a Ukrainian, and therefore *denazification* is actually aimed at destroying the Ukrainian nation, killing those who disagree with the Kremlin's imperial policy.

Prior to the full-scale invasion, the Russian president expressed the view that modern Ukraine was *artificially* created in Soviet times. He regularly rejects the concept of a separate Ukrainian nation. Even long before the military aggression began, at the NATO summit in Bucharest in 2008, Putin questioned the existence of Ukrainian sovereignty. He also openly stated that Russia has its own goals in Ukraine, especially in the southern part of the country, where, according to him, the majority of the population is Russian.

Thus, according to Article 3 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, such actions are qualified as *direct and public incitement to genocide* and are subject to criminal punishment.⁴⁴ This international document, which has been ratified by the Russian Federation, in its Article 4 defines the criminal prosecution of individuals guilty of genocide, including for calls, regardless of their official status and positions. At the same time, Russia itself, as a state that has undertaken to prevent and punish genocide under Article 1 of the Convention, may be responsible for this crime. The International Court of Justice is already considering this case at the request of Ukraine.

The mass destruction of cultural heritage and religious buildings, as well as the theft of national treasures, continues. According to UNESCO, more than 150 cultural sites in Ukraine have been partially or completely destroyed.⁴⁵

Also under investigation are the facts of mass murder of civilians who were tortured beforehand; the use of prohibited munitions, including phosphorus

⁴⁴ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1951). Retrieved from: https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocities-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf.

⁴⁵ Ohrenchuk, A. (2022). The Kremlin's intentions: why Russia's war against Ukraine is a genocide of the Ukrainian people. Radio Svoboda. Retrieved from: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/rosiya-henotsyd-proty-ukrayintsiv-dokazy/31928332.html>.

and cluster bombs; deliberate rocket attacks on cities and civilian infrastructure; sexual crimes; deportation; export of grain and destruction of food security conditions. I would like to focus on the latter in particular, as it is of key importance in the context of this article. Russia is not only stealing Ukrainian grain, putting Ukraine on the brink of famine, but also bans its exports to African countries, which could also provoke famine in those areas that are already vulnerable. Thus, we can state that Russia continues its policy of mass starvation both in Ukraine and abroad, just as the Soviet government did a hundred years ago. That is why the historical context of the genocide of the Ukrainian people and the creation of the famine is important and should be researched and communicated to the world. Russia will never stop its policy of genocide and mass extermination of Ukrainians. Therefore, global unity is needed to stop the aggressor and to realize the real danger that Russia poses to Ukraine and the world.

The war between Russia and Ukraine has enormous civilizational implications, as it has become one of the most open and protracted wars in Europe in recent decades. It has had many negative consequences for the entire region.

Over the years, Russia has completely ignored any actions of the international community aimed at restoring peace and security, including binding court decisions.

We believe that it is precisely because of the lack of punishment and permissiveness that Russia is currently waging an insidious and illegal war against Ukraine. As our analysis above shows, if Russia is not stopped now, its military aggression, undermining of national foundations and terrorist acts will spread to the whole of Europe. That is why collective measures against Russia, primarily military, must be taken now.

Summary

The famine of 1921-1923 was not a awful result of the civil war, as Lenin claimed, but the result of the Russian Bolsheviks building a century-old social system similar to that of feudal Russia, as the Russian philosopher A. Zinoviev argued in Communism as Reality.

During the war of aggression, mass physical, political and economic terror in the form of a food dictatorship and the organization of the famine in 1921-1923, the Moscow Bolshevik regime suppressed the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people and established its power on its lands. By enslaving and plundering Ukraine by the terror of famine, he secured the supply of food, coal, metal, and other raw materials to the starving central regions of Russia, the North Caucasus, and the Crimea, which helped complete the establishment of his power there. The famine destroyed the most productive human resources of agriculture, wiped out a significant number of children - the

future Ukrainian people, devastated villages, which were immediately inhabited by people from Russian territories, which led to changes in ethnic composition and increased Russification, including the population of south-eastern regions. The famine in Ukraine caused not only the destruction of agriculture, industry, transport but also the destruction of Ukrainian culture, including scientific, pedagogical, literary and artistic personnel, which led to the rupture of historical memory and the erosion of national identity and strengthening the process of Russification of Ukrainians, to the socio-psychological problems that still hinder the revival of our statehood, its progress towards the European community.

The threat to the preservation of the Ukrainian nation and the revival of an independent, united, democratic Ukrainian state is not only the Russian peace but also any connivance with Russia's illegal actions. Russia has not received any proper punishment for its actions, the organization of famine, repression and the destruction of any manifestations of national identity during the years when the USSR existed. As a result of its sense of impunity, Russia continues to commit crimes against humanity today. Since the collapse of the USSR, Russia has committed a number of acts of aggression, interfered in the internal affairs of independent states, and generally threatened the security of the entire region. Russia's crimes include: support for Transnistria; the war with Chechnya; the war with Georgia; and finally, the annexation of Crimea, the outbreak of the war in Donbas, and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022. If Russia were to be punished for its actions, it would be possible to stop the spread of aggression on the continent. Therefore, we believe that it is not only Ukraine that should confront the aggressor. The international community should make every effort to severely punish the heir to the three Holodomors of Ukrainians in the twentieth century, the Russian Federation, and other organizers of crimes against humanity in the world. It is also necessary to stop Russia and punish it for all its acts of aggression after 1991 in order to prevent such repetitions in the future.

Thus, we believe that the famine of 1921-1923, which was caused by the Soviet authorities of that time, was aimed at stopping the resistance of Ukrainian peasants and establishing their domination. A logical continuation of the policy of genocide of the Ukrainian people was the Holodomor of 1932-1933, which is now recognized by a number of countries as a deliberate genocide of the Ukrainian people.

Russia is still pursuing its policy of genocide in the war with Ukraine. This once again proves that Russia is not ready to give up its geopolitical ambitions for Ukraine and still seeks to seize its territory and break the Ukrainian resistance. But just as Russia failed to do so over the past century, it will not succeed now. Ukraine has received tremendous support and assistance from around the world and is confronting the aggressor, protecting the peace of Europe. Therefore, we need to remember everything that Russia has done in the past to prevent it from happening again. If the world had actively talked about the genocide of Ukrainians by their neighbor and taken collective action to

overthrow the Russian regime in time, Ukrainians would not be dying in the war with the terrorist country today.

The international community now realizes the threat posed by Russia. Russia has been recognized as a terrorist state. But for a deeper understanding of the fact that the policy of genocide has been a conscious policy of Russia for hundreds of years, historical research of the crimes of the past is very important.

Zaključak

Glad 1921-1923. nije bila strašna posljedica građanskog rata, kako je tvrdio Lenjin, već rezultat toga što su ruski boljševici izgradili stoljetni društveni sistem sličan onom feudalne Rusije, kako je tvrdio ruski filozof A. Zinovjev u Komunističkom Manifestu.

Tokom napadačkog rata, masovnog fizičkog, političkog i gospodarskog terora u obliku prehrambene diktature i organiziranja gladi 1921-1923, moskovski boljševički režim ugušio je narodnooslobodilački pokret ukrajinskog naroda i uspostavio svoju vlast na njegovim zemljama. Porobljavajući i pljačkajući Ukrajinu terorom gladi, osigurao je opskrbu hranom, ugljenom, metalom i drugim sirovinama izgladnjelih središnjih regija Rusije, Sjevernog Kavkaza i Krima, što je pomoglo dovršetku uspostave njegove vlasti tamo. Glad je uništila najproduktivnije ljudske resurse poljoprivrede, zbrisala znatan broj djece - budućeg ukrajinskog naroda, opustošila sela, koja su odmah naseljena stanovništvom s ruskih teritorija, što je dovelo do promjena u nacionalnom sastavu i povećane rusifikacije, uključujući stanovništvo jugoistočnih krajeva. Glad u Ukrajini uzrokovala je ne samo uništenje poljoprivrede, industrije, prometa nego i uništavanje ukrajinske kulture, uključujući znanstveno, pedagoško, književno i umjetničko osoblje, što je dovelo do loma povijesnog pamćenja i erozije nacionalnog identiteta i jačanja procesa rusifikacije Ukrajinaca, do socio-psiholoških problema koji još uvijek koče oživljavanje naše državnosti, njezin napredak prema europskoj zajednici.

Prijetnja očuvanju ukrajinske nacije i oživljavanju neovisne, ujedinjene, demokratske ukrajinske države nije samo ruski mir, već i svako dogovaranje s nezakonitim djelovanjem Rusije. Rusija nije dobila nikakvu odgovarajuću kaznu za svoje postupke, organiziranje gladi, represiju i uništavanje bilo kakvih manifestacija nacionalnog identiteta tijekom godina postojanja SSSR-a. Kao rezultat svog osjećaja nekažnjivosti, Rusija i danas nastavlja činiti zločine protiv čovječnosti. Od raspada SSSR-a Rusija je počinila niz agresija, miješala se u unutarnje stvari neovisnih država i općenito ugrozila sigurnost cijele regije. Zločini Rusije uključuju: potporu Transnistriji; rat s Čečenijom; rat s Gruzijom; i konačno, aneksija Krima, izbijanje rata u Donbasu i potpuna invazija na Ukrajinu 2022. Kad bi Rusija bila kažnjena za svoje postupke, bilo bi moguće zaustaviti širenje agresije na kontinentu. Stoga smatramo da se ne treba samo Ukrajina suprotstaviti agresoru. Međunarodna zajednica treba uložiti

maksimalne napore da najstrože kazni nasljednika tri holodomora Ukrajinaca u dvadesetom stoljeću, Rusku Federaciju i druge organizatore zločina protiv čovječnosti u svijetu. Također je potrebno zaustaviti Rusiju i kazniti je za sve njezine agresije nakon 1991. godine kako bi se spriječilo da se takve vrste ponove u budućnosti.

Dakle, smatramo da je glad 1921-1923, koju su uzrokovale tadašnje sovjetske vlasti, imala za cilj zaustaviti otpor ukrajinskih seljaka i uspostaviti njihovu dominaciju. Logičan nastavak politike genocida nad ukrajinskim narodom bio je Holodomor 1932-1933, koji danas niz zemalja priznaje kao namjerni genocid nad ukrajinskim narodom.

Rusija i dalje vodi svoju politiku genocida u ratu s Ukrajinom. Ovo još jednom dokazuje da Rusija nije spremna odustati od svojih geopolitičkih ambicija prema Ukrajini te i dalje nastoji zauzeti njezin teritorij i slomiti ukrajinski otpor. Ali kao što Rusija nije uspjela u tome tijekom prošlog stoljeća, neće uspjeti ni sada. Ukrajina je dobila ogromnu potporu i pomoć iz cijelog svijeta i suočava se s agresorom, štiteći mir u Europi. Stoga se moramo prisjetiti svega što je Rusija učinila u prošlosti da se to više ne ponovi. Da je svijet aktivno govorio o genocidu nad Ukrajinčima od strane susjeda i poduzeo kolektivnu akciju za rušenje ruskog režima na vrijeme, Ukrajinci danas ne bi ginuli u ratu s terorističkom zemljom.

Međunarodna zajednica sada shvaća prijetnju koju predstavlja Rusija. Rusija je priznata kao teroristička država. Ali za dublje razumijevanje činjenice da je politika genocida bila svjesna politika Rusije već stotinama godina, historijsko istraživanje zločina iz prošlosti vrlo je važno.

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