

FAMINE  
IN  
UKRAINE

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

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F A M I N E  
IN  
U K R A I N E

NEW YORK CITY  
1934

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# A

## 73rd CONGRESS 2nd SESSION · H. RES. 399

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### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES May 28, 1934

Mr. FISH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

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### RESOLUTION

Whereas several millions of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the constituent part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, died of starvation during the years of 1932 and 1933; and

Whereas the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although being fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within its borders, nevertheless failed to take relief measure designed to check the famine or to alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political, cultural, and national rights; and

Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of states other than the United States, oppressed or persecuted by their own governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such invasions of human rights and liberties: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its sympathy for all those who have suffered from the great famine in Ukraine which has brought misery, affliction, and death to millions of peaceful and law-abiding Ukrainians; be it further

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its earnest hope that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will speedily alter its policy in respect to the famine in Ukraine, take active steps to alleviate the terrible consequences arising from this famine, and undo so far as may be possible the injustices to the Ukrainian people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its sincerest hope that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Government will place no obstacles in the way of American citizens seeking to send aid in form of money, foodstuffs, and necessities to the famine-stricken regions of Ukraine.

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**B****FAMINE IN UKRAINE****MEMORANDUM**

of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States

During the course of the conversations held in Washington, D. C., last December between our distinguished President and Commissar Maxim Litvinoff—the representative of that conglomeration of heterogeneous alien nationalities commonly known as Soviet Russia—a number of memorandums were received by the State Department concerning that which is considered one of the greatest evils of the post-war period, namely, the oppression and exploitation of submerged nationalities, as classically exemplified by Soviet Russia's ruthless treatment of its enslaved subject nationality—Ukraine.

One such memorandum, which can serve as an example of the others, was dispatched by the United Ukrainian Organizations of Greater New York to the President of the United States accusing the Soviet Government of the following:

(1) Of continuing on even a greater scale the policy of former Tsarist Russia in combatting the natural movement of the Ukrainian nation to set up its own free and independent state;

(2) Of destroying all traces of Ukrainian culture and preventing the Ukrainian learned class from pursuing its studies and researches unmolested;

(3) Of ruining the Ukrainian Church;

(4) Of forcibly shifting millions of the Ukrainian population from its native habitat in order to artificially populate the vacated areas with alien peoples;

(5) Of deliberately starving millions of its Ukrainian subjects in order to suppress the Ukrainian aspirations for freedom and the Ukrainian opposition to the Soviet system and policies;

(6) Of hiring through the medium of its Communistic bodies in America of common thugs for the purpose of breaking up the Ukrainian anti-Soviet demonstrations staged to present the Ukrainian cause before the American public.

All of the above charges were substantiated by facts as reported in the leading press of the world.

Subsequently, this memorandum was used as a basis of a pamphlet prepared by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, which, through the medium of the League's branches throughout the country, was brought to the attention of prominent figures in the American life. One of these recipients was the Honorable Herman P. Koplemann, Congressman from the First Congressional District of Connecticut, who upon receiving the pamphlet immediately mailed the same to Mr. Litvinoff in Moscow. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Koplemann received the following answer, dated January 3, 1934:

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and thank you for drawing my attention to the Ukrainian pamphlet. There is any amount of such pamphlets full of lies circulated by counter-revolutionary organizations abroad, who specialize in the work of this kind. There is nothing left for them to do but to spread false information or to forge documents.

"However, I am instructing Mr. Skvirsky in Washington to supply you with data on the real situation in the Ukraine.

"Yours sincerely,

"M. LITVINOFF."

In the early part of February Mr. Koplemann received the following letter from the Embassy in Washington, of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, dated February 3rd:

"My dear Representative Koplemann:

"Commissar Litvinoff has forwarded to me your inquiry in regard to a pamphlet ostensibly published by the "Ukrainian National Women's League of America." In effect these anonymous ladies (I use the word anonymous because no name nor address is given in the pamphlet) accuse the Soviet Government of deliberately killing off the population of the Ukraine.

"The idea is wholly grotesque. The population of the Ukraine is somewhat over 30,000,000. During the period of the first Five-

Year Plan, concluded a year ago, the population increased at the rate of 2 per cent per year. The death rate was the lowest of that of any of the seven constituent Republics composing the Soviet Union, and was about 35 per cent lower than the pre-war death rate of Tsarist days. The death rate in the larger Ukrainian cities is the lowest among the cities of the Soviet Union. More than three times as many children are in school today in Ukraine as in 1913. The Ukrainian language is used in the schools as well as Russian, and in the literature and the theatre. It was banned in the Tsarist days. So much for the general charge.

"Fortunately we can check up on one or two specific things mentioned in the pamphlet. They show that the authors were not particularly scrupulous about facts.

"1. The pamphlet states that in the N. Y. Times of August 24, 1933, Duranty stated that three to four million persons in the Ukraine died the same year. Duranty, writing from Moscow on that date, actually stated that from information he had received he estimated that owing to the poor harvest of 1932 possibly three million persons died during 1932, not in Ukraine alone but in Ukraine, North Caucasus and lower Volga region together, an area roughly triple the size of the Ukraine. The pamphlet does not add that in the Times, September 13, writing from Rostov-on-Don in the course of a personal inspection trip through these sections, Duranty stated that his estimate of July 24, before he had made his personal inspection, was exaggerated. He said that the poor harvest of 1932 had made for difficult conditions in certain sections, but there had been no famine. Writing from Kharkov, capitol of Ukraine, Sept. 10, 1933, on the conditions of that year, he said:

"The writer has just completed a 200 mile trip through the heart of the Ukraine and can say positively that the harvest is splendid and all talk of famine now is ridiculous.' The A. P. correspondent made a similar first hand report."

The letter then proceeds to disqualify the report of Frederic T. Birchall appearing in the New York Times of August 25, 1933, in which that correspondent states that three or four million people starved to death in Ukraine—by saying that Mr. Birchall was not in Ukraine but used as a basis for his article information received from persons who came from Ukraine. The letter then concludes as follows:

"3. The pamphlet quotes "The Ukrainian Daily Dilo" published in Lemberg "in the western part of the Ukraine" as authority for the statement that six million Ukrainians had starved to death. Here apparently we have a newspaper published in the Ukraine itself apparently admitting this horrible fact. Unfortunately, however,

the pamphlet is a little bit misleading. Lemberg, as you can readily see from any standard atlas, is not in Ukraine at all, but in Poland. The "Dilo" is not a Ukrainian publication. It is an organ issued by an emigre group in Poland by former feudal landlords of the Ukraine, now living abroad. The question is whether one should credit this emigre source or credit the two American newspaper men, representing respectively the N. Y. Times and the Associated Press, who made a personal inspection of the territory in question.

"Sincerely yours,

"B. SKVIRSKY,  
Counsellor of the Embassy."

The letters of Mr. Litvinoff and Mr. Skvirsky must necessarily be considered as official documents of the Soviet Government. They summarily and in some detail deny the existence of any hunger in Ukraine, brand as lies all news concerning it, and designate all such memorandums and pamphlets as those mentioned above as anti-revolutionary propaganda. No attempt is made to answer the other charges of the indictment as made in the United Ukrainian Organizations' memorandum, although in the very opening of his letter Mr. Skvirsky glorifies the cultural work of the Soviet authorities among the Ukrainian population.

It would be needless to emphasize here that neither the anti-Soviet pamphlets nor any explanations on the part of the Soviet Government as to the existing conditions in Ukraine would be necessary if there were any means at hand of verifying the many reports which emanate from Ukraine. And one of the principal reasons for the inability to get a true, clear picture of the situation in Ukraine is that the Soviet Government not only does not allow any independent and impartial group of people enter its borders for the purpose of investigating the truth of these charges, but the Soviet Government also refuses to permit even journalists of European and American papers to enter Ukraine. Hence there arises the necessity of seeking some other reliable means of verifying the truth of the horrible news of the terrible conditions in Ukraine under the Soviets which somehow manages to filter through the rigid Soviet censorship.

The tenor of the two letters of Messrs Litvinoff and Skvirsky as quoted above lead one to suppose that Ukraine under Soviet Russia is a paradise for the Ukrainian people, and that only some bourgeois anti-revolutionary elements have nothing else to do but to stir up trouble and combat the Soviets with all the nefarious means at their disposal, especially by disseminating "lies" about the innocent and benevolent Soviet Government.

Let us see if such is the case. Are the Ukrainians really treated exceptionally well, or are they oppressed and exploited in the most cruel manner possible, and if so, for what reasons?

Taking both letters from their official sources as a measure of the truthfulness of Soviet statements concerning the Ukrainian nation and its movement for independence, we wish to call the reader's attention to the statement made in Skvirsky's letter concerning the Ukrainian newspaper "Dilo" of Lwiw (Lemberg), capital of Western Ukraine.

The letter avers that "Dilo" is not a Ukrainian publication, but only "an organ issued by the emigre group in Poland by former feudal landlords of Ukraine." And to add weight to this statement the letter even states that Lwiw is not within the boundaries of the Ukrainian nation.

Both statements are not only deliberately untruthful, but ridiculous as well.

For, to take the second assertion first. When, in March 1922, the Soviet Government concluded the Riga treaty with Poland by means of which the greater portion of Western Ukraine, known also as Eastern Galicia, was allotted to Poland, the Soviet Government was a most active defender of the Ukrainian province, on the ground that it belonged to Ukraine. When, therefore, Mr. Skvirsky asserts that Lwiw is not in Ukraine he is deliberately prevaricating, and his statement has as much weight as if he had said that Kiev is not in Ukraine.

Now, coming to the matter of the Ukrainian newspaper, "Dilo." This Ukrainian daily has been in existence for the past 55 years, and was founded by a group of Ukrainian patriots at the time when the word "Bolsheviki" was not even known. "Dilo" is the leading Ukrainian democratic newspaper in Western Ukraine, and at no time has it been supported or subsidized by any group of "feudal landlords." As a matter of fact the "Dilo" has continually waged an unremitting battle against these so-called "feudal landlords."

We herewith solemnly declare, that if "Dilo" is not a Ukrainian newspaper then there is no Ukrainian nation, no Ukrainian race nor movement for independence at all.

A transient remark only, before passing further, on the assertion made in Mr. Skvirsky's letter that there are more Ukrainian children in the Soviet schools now than there ever were in the Tsarist days.

Although glorying in the number of Ukrainian school children in the Soviet schools, Mr. Skvirsky neglects to explain what type of education these children receive.

It is a well known fact that education in Soviet Russia has been devoted chiefly to the Communist credo. This has been even enunciated by leading Soviet officials. For example, Commissar of Education Shumaky was quoted in an article entitled "Education in Ukraine," which appeared in the February 7, 1925 issue of the "School and Society," as saying "that politics must be the cornerstone in the upbringing of children." It is needless to point out that the word "politics" refers to Communistic propaganda which the Soviet authorities seek to instill in the innocent minds of school children in Soviet Ukraine.

To what lengths this system of teaching in Soviet Ukraine has led, is clearly demonstrated in a recent dispatch of Harold Denny, Moscow correspondent of the N. Y. Times (April 3, 1934 issue), which says:

"A student of Ukraine wrote, complaining of the shocking ignorance of ordinary subjects among his university colleagues. He told of cases where students in technical courses did not know where the river Nile and Mississippi flowed and half believed Sahara was the capital of Australia.

"Komsomol Pravda, organ of Communist Youth, in an editorial ...said that hundreds of such letters had been written."

And finally, in regards to Mr. Skvirsky's statement that the Ukrainian language is used in the schools as well as Russian, and in literature and the theatre—leading one to suppose that the Soviets are fostering Ukrainian culture.

Allow us to quote an excerpt from the London "Saturday Review" (Jan. 18, 1930) which contained an article entitled "The Persecution of Ukrainian Culture," dealing with the trial of a few Ukrainian intellectual leaders, on charges of high treason. The article brings out that—

"The real reason for bringing a charge against Jefremov, Czechiwaky and the others is the desire to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia by getting rid of its chief representatives.

"The Soviet policy in Ukraine, carried on since 1923 and called Ukrainization, aimed at obtaining a hold on the national culture of Ukraine and changing it into a culture of the working classes dependent on Moscow. After five years this policy failed entirely. The Ukrainian intelligentsia themselves made use of Ukrainization in all branches of life for its own purposes, deepening the Ukrainian national culture and winning the ideological fight with the Communists by their strong resistance. Realizing its failure, Bolshevism has taken to its alternative weapons—terrorism and

provocation. By these means it seeks to kill the creative efforts of Ukrainian culture."

Today the Soviets openly and avowedly seek to destroy the last vestiges of Ukrainian culture in Soviet Ukraine.

Now let us proceed to the question of the famine in Ukraine.

First of all we are faced with the natural query,—Is there any sane and reasonable man in the entire world who would dare flout in the face of the Soviet Government groundless, false accusations of the deliberate starving of a whole race? Obviously, the answer is no!

## I

It was most natural that when the Ukrainian people living outside the Soviet boundaries received authenticated reports of the shocking conditions prevailing in Ukraine under the Soviets wherein millions of the population of that unfortunate country had died a horrible death from actual starvation—it was most natural for them to take steps to aid their famine-stricken kinsman, and to take active steps to present these terrible conditions before the eyes of the world.

One of the first of such steps was taken by the Ukrainians of Western Ukraine under Poland.

Alarmed by the letters from their relatives across the border in Soviet Ukraine, by well-authenticated dispatches of foreign correspondents, descriptions by actual eye-witnesses, and from reports drawn from official Soviet sources and statistics (notwithstanding their greatly minimizing character) the Ukrainians of Western Ukraine, through their representatives in the various central national societies, formed on July 14, 1933, in the city of L'viv, capital of Western Ukraine, a Civic Relief Committee For Starving Soviet Ukraine. Similar bodies were set up in other provinces of Western Ukraine which are under Roumania and Czechoslovakia, as well as among the Ukrainian emigrants in France, Germany, America, and Canada. Appeals for cooperation and aid were drawn and sent to the Ukrainians throughout the entire world, including a rough half-million or so of them in the Far East.

On July 24, 1933, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishops of Western Ukraine issued an Appeal on behalf of the starving population of Soviet Ukraine, excerpts of which read as follows:

"Ukraine is in the clutches of death. Her population is dying of starvation. Built upon injustice, fraud, godlessness and unrighteousness, the present regime has brought this formerly rich country to complete ruin...

"In the face of these crimes, human nature revolts. Unable to give your dying brethren any help, we appeal to all of you to do all you can...

"Before the whole world we raise a mighty protest against the persecution of the little ones, the poor, the weak and innocent.

"The blood of workmen who, starving, toiled the rich black soil of Ukraine, cries for revenge to heaven and the voice of the hungry reapers reaches our Almighty God."

A spontaneous mass movement of Ukrainians throughout the entire world sprang up as news piled upon news of the raging famine in Ukraine. Meetings protesting against the Soviet Government's policy, which directly led to the famine, began to be held in practically every Ukrainian community where such meetings could be held. These protest meetings increased in number and intensity when it became apparent that the famine was a deliberate Soviet measure designed to act as a punitive action against the Ukrainian population for its failure to support the Soviet policies, and also as an act designed to quell once and for all the ever-rising Ukrainian aspirations and strivings for liberty.

In several of the larger American cities such as Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Syracuse, Ambridge, American citizens of Ukrainian descent staged great mass demonstrations against the Soviet misrule in Ukraine. A number of leading Ukrainian national organizations dispatched memorandums to the United States Government at Washington, D. C.

The Ukrainians of Canada, numbering over a half a million, also took an active part in the world-wide Ukrainian protest against the Soviet misrule in Ukraine.

## II

In August, 1933, the Vienna Cardinal, Dr. Theodore Innitzer, moved by various news reports and letters received from the famine-stricken areas, and other news reaching Vienna, issued an appeal to the whole civilized world on behalf of the starving Ukraine and other parts of Soviet Russia, and also called an International Conference for the Relief of the Starving Population of Russia, which conference was held in Vienna in December 16 and 17th, 1933.

## III

The General Secretary of the Congress of European Minorities, Dr. Ewald Amende, made a thorough investigation of the reports emanating from Soviet Ukraine and published his findings in moving words in the Vienna press, in August 1933. And when the Minor-

ities Congress convened on September 16—19, 1933, in Bern, Switzerland, the question of saving Ukraine under the Soviets from starvation was the principal issue at its sessions. The Congress, after declaring that "it is the policy of red Russian imperialism to destroy the physical existence of the Ukrainian nation according to some pre-conceived plan," passed a resolution supporting the action of Cardinal Innitzer as well as other similar relief international movements on behalf of the starving population in Soviet Russia.

#### IV

At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva, September 29, 1933, its president, the premier of Norway, Mr. Movinkel raised the question of aiding the starving Ukrainian population of Ukraine, and the Council decided to refer the matter to the attention of the International Red Cross in Geneva.

#### V

It would be a sheer physical impossibility to enumerate even a small part of the European and American newspaper reports describing the horrible conditions in Ukraine. We will limit ourselves, therefore, to only a few of these reports, as an example of the rest.

The *Montreal Daily Herald* of April 25, 1933, in an article entitled "Thousands Cry for Bread in One Busy Ukrainian City" says, "In the station waiting room three hundred of the homeless boys were herded to be taken away... They are homeless children of hunger, most of them turned out of their homes to fend for themselves because the peasants have no bread."

From a letter published in the *Detroit News*, September 2, 1933, we read:

"Our dear native Ukraine is now sad and gloomy, and the life there is hungry and naked... In our village there is complete starvation... We ate up all that could be eaten—cattle, dogs and cats... the people fall like flies in autumn."

*Le Matin* in Paris on August 30, 1933, published the story of two Americans, natives of Ukraine, returning from a visit of the country of their birth, in such terms that the whole French liberal press was moved to investigate the conditions in Soviet Ukraine.

The *New York Times* of August 29, 1933, reprinted this same story as sent in by its Paris correspondent. It quoted the "two American citizens" as saying that,

"when they arrived in Kiev they said they were horror stricken by the appearance of the people. Everybody, they said, seemed to

be suffering from swollen legs and seemed to be crippled...they found, too, that food and money that they had sent to relatives never had been delivered during the past year."

The *Manchester Guardian*, of September 13, 1933, printed the report of a fugitive from Soviet Ukraine, who stated that the famine had started in 1932, when the Soviet Government had taken away from the peasants all of the grain.

Richard Wraga in the January 20th, 1934 issue of the Polish paper "Bund Miodych" of Warsaw, reports that 12,000,000 of the population of Soviet Ukraine died of starvation, and that 3,000,000 have been deported. This is the latest and most startling account originating in Poland, the closest neighbor and friend of Soviet Russia.

H. Lang in an article entitled "What I saw and Heard in the Villages of Ukraine," which appeared in December 27th, 1933, issue of the Yiddish New York "Forwaerts," gives a vivid description of the devastated Ukrainian villages ravaged by the famine and the Soviet policy of extermination, and says that all singing among the Ukrainians has ceased and that the beautiful Ukrainian costumes have disappeared. A mute silence reigns now over the now half-depopulated Ukraine. He also corroborates the news that no newspaper correspondents are allowed to visit Ukraine.

Carveth Wells, world traveller and author, in his book "Kapoot" (Robert McBride and Company, New York, 1933), describing his journey through Ukraine, says:

"The extraordinary thing was that the farther we penetrated into Ukraine, which used to be the "Granary of Russia," the less food there was and the more starvation to be seen on every side. Hour after hour the train passed through country that looked very much like North Dakota or Saskatchewan except that it was covered with weeds as far as the eye could see.

"Farm houses were in ruin everywhere, roofs gone, fences broken down, wagons without wheels, farming implements lying about in every stage of "kapootness" while wretched-looking peasants with rags tied around their feet were to be seen wandering about aimlessly and watching the train go by without a smile on their faces...None of us knew what tragedies had been enacted here as a result of trying to force the people to join the collectivized farms... From the train windows, children could be seen eating grass."

At one place at 4:30 A. M. they had to change trains. An excerpt from Mrs. Well's diary describes the following scenes:

"We arrived at the station. My God! what a sight! I shall never forget it. Poverty, filth, disease and hunger everywhere. Women in rags and tatters are lying about in the dust and dirt half asleep with emaciated little babies sucking their empty breasts. I can see one poor woman with four small children. She is nursing all three children while she herself is chewing on a small cucumber. There are pieces of old watermelon rinds on the ground about her. I see a little girl who looks about ten years old to judge from her skinny little body but her face looks like that of a woman thirty years old. She is taking care of a tiny baby whose face is purple with cold. Even I am cold at this hour of the morning. I smiled at the child but she didn't smile back; I'm wondering if she has ever learned to smile."

From these fragmentary reports there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the existence of a terrible famine in Ukraine under the Soviet oppressive misrule. The only question which is not quite cleared up as yet is the extent of this terrible disaster. And yet, the Government of Soviet Russia, in the face all this overwhelming evidence, has the audacity not only to deny all the reports as well as the declarations of world famous personages and international organizations, including the Council of the League of Nations, but it refuses even to permit the slightest bit of relief to be sent to the starving population from abroad.

In conclusion we wish to call the reader's attention to a most striking description of the conditions in Soviet Ukraine and other starving provinces in the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics, which was published in the London "Answers" of February 24, and March 3, 1934, by Mr. Whiting Williams in his article "My Journey Through Famine-Stricken Russia."

"Mr. Williams," says the editor of the "Answers,"—"the first man to travel across the hungry Russian Ukraine since the famine conditions returned in the spring of 1933, is an experienced business man and journalist—and author of many books on working class conditions.

"Before going to look at Soviet Russia's cities and countryside, he had worked as a journeyman labourer in American mines and factories, as a miner in South Wales, and a steel worker in Germany, the Saar Territory, and France. He had, therefore, first-hand knowledge of the conditions of the workers in Europe and in America, when, in 1928, he went to Russia for the first time. Now he has returned to that land in order to discover for himself the truth about the "hunger stories" printed in the world's newspapers during the past year—and in this issue of the Answers he sets down,

faithfully and without any exaggeration, the amazing record of what he saw and heard in that country."

And this record is as follows:

**"MY JOURNEY THROUGH FAMINE-STRICKEN RUSSIA"**

("Answers"—February 24, 1934)

**Famine!**

"In a far-off Chinese mission, a doctor, weary of an unavailing fight with death, whispers the word—and the whisper grows into a shout that echoes round the world. And presently the relief ships are racing across the oceans, carrying grain and rice to the coolies whose harvest has failed.

**Famine!**

It is Nature's challenge to man—and man meets it always in the twentieth century with the proud pledge: "They shall not starve!" There are many things about which the nations bicker, but let one of them be facing this gaunt horror of hunger, no matter how it has been brought about, and the rest will show that "the brotherhood of man" is no idle phrase but a living reality.

Here, indeed, is the truest internationalism earth has ever known—an internationalism based, not on fine words or theories, but on the hearts of men and women who have children of their own, and cannot bear the thought of little ones starving in any corner of the world.

**Millions Dead And Dying**

Yet, in spite of all this, during the last twelve months, in one European country, millions of people have died of starvation. They are still dying like flies to-day. Dying in a land which was formerly one of the richest of all the peasant states, after what has been officially described as "the biggest wheat crop for fifty years."

You think it incredible, fantastic? So did I, when the first murmurs of the catastrophe reached me.

"Only the strong will see the next summer's sun," said the chambermaid in a Soviet hotel in which I stayed at the beginning of the tour which took me through the length and breadth of the Russian Ukraine. I laughed at her.

Travelling by rail to Kharkov, the capitol of this great agricultural and industrial province, I talked in German to an engineer who was in the same coach.

"You know that starvation has been killing off people here by the millions?" he said. He was quite matter-of-fact, almost casual about it, as if he had been saying: "You know we have had a fine summer?"

#### Famine's Final Seal

"Nonsense," I said. "The thing's crazy! If there were anything like that happening, the whole world would be ringing with it and organising relief."

He shrugged his shoulders.

"Well, let's ask the conductor," I said. He was passing through the coach just then.

"My own daughter died of hunger just three months ago to-day," he said simply, when we put the question to him.

Even then I could hardly believe that there had been anything beyond, perhaps, a few isolated deaths in remote villages. But as I went through the country, and particularly in the Donetz Basin, I found that the engineer had not lied.

Everywhere men and women were thinking of one thing, and one thing only—bread. Would they get enough of it to keep them alive throughout the winter? They had only too much reason to ask the question, to look with dread to the future, for they had seen so many neighbors, friends, and relatives die of starvation already.

"It has been worse than the famine of 'twenty-one'" I was told on every hand. And I knew that the Russian famine of 1921 had claimed 5,000,000 victims.

But I am not reporting merely what I have heard. Once I was off the beaten track which the tourists follow I saw with my own eyes the victims of famine. Men and women who were literally dying of hunger in the gutter.

Have you ever seen a human being in the last stages of starvation? If you have done so once, you can never mistake the signs. The swollen faces and ankles which follow the breakdown of the body's normal functioning set the final seal of famine upon the emaciation of long-continued want.

#### "Wild Children's" Fight For Life

They sat there in the streets, their eyes glazed with despair and privation, begging as I have never seen anyone beg before. Their little cups appealed for kopecks, but they themselves were too weak to speak, or even to raise a hand or eye to attract charity.

"With good luck I hope to get through the coming winter," a Donetz railway laborer told me. But in my village, just over that hill, I have often seen my neighbors lying dead in the streets. I've counted twenty-five of them in one morning—sometimes more."

All the time he was speaking he was looking around furtively to make sure that no one was within earshot. It may be possible to survive the famine, but no one in Russia to-day can hope to escape the OGPU once its spies are on his track.

Dead people in the streets! I found it difficult to believe. At last I mentioned it to a young woman who had given me information on other subjects.

"They make one last effort to get outside," she exclaimed, "in the hope of finding or being given a crumb of bread. And then they are too weak and just drop."

A day or so later I saw an old man lying in the road on the outskirts of one of the steel towns. I have sufficient medical knowledge to know that there was nothing which I, or anyone else, could do for him.

But the worst memory I have brought out of Russia is the children. There was one youngster I saw in Kharkov. Half-naked, he had sunk, exhausted, on the carriage-way, with the kerbstone as a pillow, and his pipe-stem legs sprawled out, regardless of danger from passing wheels.

Another—a boy of eight or nine—was sitting among the debris of a street market, picking broken eggshells out of the dirt and examining them with heartbreaking minuteness in the hope of finding a scrap of food still sticking to them. His shrunken cheeks were covered with an unhealthy whitish down that made me think of those fungoid growths that sprout in the darkness out of dying trees.

I saw him again in the same place the next day— motionless now with his head sunk between his knees in a piteous abandonment.

While eating in a restaurant in the same town I saw a girl of twelve run up the steps towards a veranda table from which a customer had just risen. For a moment she hesitated; shrank back as if in fear as she saw the man look at her. Finally, reassured by his expression, she darted boldly forward, gathered the scraps he had left on his plate in her fingers, then turned and ran down the steps with her prize.

For all the world she was like a wild bird driven by a hard winter to a town garden. There was the same suspicion, the same holding back, and the same momentary boldness followed by head-

long fight. Something, also, perhaps, of the same grace and beauty. I shall never see her again, but I cherish the hope that she will survive.

There are hordes of those wild children in all the towns. They live—and die—like wild animals.

Where do they come from? I made inquiries about them, and learned that last winter, when food supplies began to fail, large numbers of peasants left their villages and came into towns with their families, hoping that there they might get a chance to work—and eat.

There was neither work nor bread for them, and under a new regulation that required every adult in the towns to show papers to prove his right to be there, they were driven back to their foodless villages.

They believed they were returning to certain starvation. So they left the children behind. In the villages, they said, the little ones would inevitably die—in the towns, their chance of life might be slender, but it was at least a chance.

Something like 18,000 children were abandoned in this manner—abandoned because that was the only way in which their parents could help them—in Kharkov alone.

These bands of wild children are not a new phenomenon in Russia. In the early days of the Revolution they were found even in Moscow itself. Then they disappeared—we were told that they had been rounded up and placed in homes, where they would be cared for and educated and made into good citizens.

I saw some of the wild children of this winter being rounded up. A horse-drawn wagon lumbered along the street, with two or three policemen marching beside it. When they saw one of the little Ishmaels the police gave chase. If the youngster was caught, he was placed among the others already in the wagon, and the procession moved on again.

### Tragedy in the Siding.

Once, when the wagon stopped and a chase was in progress, two of the lads previously captured saw their chance, scrambled to the ground, and made off as hard as they could into a maze of narrow alley-ways.

I felt rather sorry for these youngsters, running back to the hardship and hunger of their life in the gutter, when, as I thought, they would have been fed and clad and educated in the institution to which they were being taken. But when I mentioned this to a Russian acquaintance he just stared at me.

At first I could not believe what he told me. Then I spoke to a number of other people. They all said the same thing.

These children were not sent to homes. Bread was too scarce. They were put into railway wagons and unloaded out in the open country—too far out for it to be possible to walk back to town.

And once, at least, three wagons filled with youngsters were shunted into a siding and forgotten for three days. When, at the end of that time, someone found them, not one of the children remained alive.

I don't pretend, of course, that this was a typical case. But what chance have children dumped out in the open country? There may be a village within walking distance, but when they reach it conditions there are probably as bad as in the places to which their parents refused to take them back, because they knew they couldn't get food for them.

#### What Tourists Don't See.

Here is what a British agricultural expert reported to his principals in London after travelling hundreds of miles through the farmlands of the North Caucasus:

"In whole districts the extinction of the population through famine is in full swing. In some villages I visited the population is now almost extinct. In others about half the population has died off. In the villages I visited the number of deaths varied between twenty and thirty a day. There are still villages in which death from famine is not so frequent. But famine in some degree reigns everywhere in the regions I have visited."

The man who wrote that had no thought of his report, or any part of it, ever being published. He was writing simply and solely for the information of his principals. He had no political axe to grind.

Neither, for that matter, have I. I have been just as much impressed as any of the tourists, who are so carefully and efficiently conducted, with Communist guides and interpreters always at their elbow, through Russia's show places, with the great new factories, the giant "palaces of culture," the palatial workers' clubs and hospitals. And I pay willing tribute to what the Soviet have achieved in the way of "liquidating" illiteracy.

But I have seen the darker side of the Russian experiment—the side which the conducted tourist is never allowed to glimpse. I have talked, without an interpreter, to people whom the tourist would never even meet; have penetrated to towns and villages of which he has never heard. And I know that factories and machin-

ery, clubs, and schoolbooks, and cinemas are no substitutes for bread, and consider it more important that I should tell the truth as I have seen it than that I should leave the door open for my return to Russia at some future date.

### Driven to Cannibalism.

What this British expert found in the Caucasus I saw wherever I went in the Ukraine, and my observations were confirmed by a thousand conversations. Here, typical of many others, is a story told me by a foreign representative who has spent five years in Russia:

"A group of Young Communists went out to visit a village where a population of a thousand had been reduced to a mere hundred. In one house they found five people lying in one room—two of them dead, three still alive, but very weak. They asked the neighbours why the corpses hadn't been buried.

"'Why bother?' was the reply. 'The other three—and a few others—will go shortly, and one big grave is easier to dig.'

"One member of the group was so shocked by this and by the other things he had seen and heard that he shot himself when he got back to the town."

There is another development more horrible than any which I have yet described—so horrible that I dare only touch upon it. I first heard of it while talking to a person whom I knew to be absolutely reliable.

"A relative of mine," he said, "was arrested for a minor offense, and met in prison a woman who had been convicted of killing and eating her little boy.

"'We couldn't both live,' she said, 'and he was the weaker one. So weak that, whatever happened, he couldn't possibly have lived two days longer. So I thought it was better for one of us to keep going.'"

A day or two later I saw in a Russian newspaper an account of a man's trial. He was accused of killing a number of people and selling their flesh in the market. Then I made inquiries and found that in the Ukraine just now cannibalism has become a commonplace.

"There were so many cases in the famine of 1921 that the courts were still trying them in 1925 and 1926," I was told. "And, of course, it is happening again now. It is bound to."

### Doctors Daren't Tell.

In all Russia, how many victims—how many millions of victims—has the famine already claimed? I can't pretend to say. There are no statistics. Officially, no one dies of hunger in the land of the Soviets. The doctors are Government employees, and they dare not report any death as caused by starvation. "Weak heart" or "exposure" is the favorite formula.

All the people in a position to judge with whom I have talked, however, including engineers and experts whose work takes them all over the country, are unanimous in saying that famine conditions have been more widespread during the last twelve months than they were in the hunger years of 1921. Then, too, there was organized foreign famine relief, which saved unnumbered lives. This time there has been no such helping hand.

It is also significant that, even among Russians who are not starving, food is the one all-absorbing topic of conversation, and that the only argument about the famine is whether the death-roll amounts to fifteen millions or only ten!

That, admittedly, does not mean that even the lower figure is a safe one to accept. But there seems only too much reason to believe that the number of those who have died of starvation is well in excess of the five millions who perished in the famine of twenty-one.

Of course, the conducted tourists won't believe it. They saw for themselves—what they were meant to see. I was shown a letter written by a woman in Yalta to a friend in Kiev.

"Last Tuesday we hardly knew Yalta," it ran. "As you know, we had a terrible number of starving people. I have thirty of them daily at my door, and try to give a morsel to all them so that none will drop down and die before my eyes. But last Tuesday all these were missing—and our traffic policemen blossomed out in new white uniforms. We couldn't make out why—until, about eleven o'clock, we saw that some hundreds of strangers from abroad were paying us a visit."

### Where the "Sack" Means Starvation.

In the towns the workers—that is, those who have jobs—are getting enough, just enough, to keep them alive. In the last five years after making full allowance for the much-advertised right of the Soviet employee to buy at privilege prices, real wages have been reduced by seventy-five per cent, and many workers can only afford to eat once a day.

That is while the job lasts. But dismissal may follow a very minor offence, such as being five minutes late for work in the morning. And once a man is discharged, not only does his income stop, but his food card is withdrawn, which means that he can only buy bread at the top price, and he is turned out of his home.

And after that? Sooner or later famine will claim another victim."

In the March 3rd issue of the "Answers", Mr. Williams concludes his observations, as follows:

#### "WHY RUSSIA IS HUNGRY!"

"Why is it that Russia, formerly one of the granaries of the world, is now in the grip of famine?

As I passed through the country, making the appalling discoveries which I described in my first article, I asked myself this question, and discussed it with many of the people whom I met.

One thing struck me forcibly. Whereas, in the old days, Russian fatalism would almost certainly have ascribed this catastrophe to "the will of God," no one seemed to think of giving that answer to-day.

Not because the Communists have succeeded in their avowed aim of stamping out religion—there was ample evidence that they haven't—but because it was obvious to everyone that the scarcity was due not so much to any failure in the crop as to the way in which it had been dealt with.

Last autumn's wheat crop was, indeed, described to me as the biggest for fifty years, yet I found that this fact did not decrease in the slightest Russia's fears of another winter of starvation.

This was due to two facts—failure to harvest the whole of the crop, and doubt as to the destination of what grain was actually gathered.

#### Grain Left to Rot.

Failure to harvest the crop? It seems incredible in a country where millions had been dying for want of bread. But I saw with my own eyes, in the fertile farmlands of Soviet Ukraine, field after field covered with ungarnered grain, that had been allowed to rot where it had grown and ripened and been cut.

There were districts where it was possible to travel for a whole day between these fields of blackening wheat, seeing only here and there a tiny oasis where the harvest had been got safely in.

"It's because so many farmers starved or were shipped away last spring," was one answer which I got repeatedly, when I inquired about this mysterious waste.

Yet to replace the peasants who were no longer available, millions of city workers were transferred from desk and factory to work in the fields. And work they did—every man and woman of them—for fourteen hours a day until they cracked under the strain.

I was told of one case where, out of a hundred city workers who were drafted to a certain farm for the harvest, only seventy returned alive. And there were countless instances in which members of the harvest brigades were in bed for weeks, seriously ill, as a result of their labours in the fields.

It was not altogether the unaccustomed work which was responsible for this. If they had been properly fed most of them could have stood up to it. But they were expected to perform this arduous toil on a diet which consisted mainly of cabbage soup. Bread was as scarce in the midst of that abundant crop as it was everywhere else in Russia.

Again it seems inconceivable. But the same rule applied to those "volunteers"—technically, at least, they were volunteers—from the cities as had always been enforced with the peasants. Not one cupful of grain had to be kept back or used by the harvesters under pain of death. All must be delivered to the Government granaries, situated, perhaps, ten or twenty miles away.

#### **Eating the Farm Horses.**

And not one ounce of it could be returned to the farms until all the harvest was in, and the central authorities in Moscow had decided what percentage of it was to be retained and what portion might be allowed to go back.

It must be remembered that many, at least, of the volunteers and peasants were already weak as the result of prolonged privation, and the city workers were unskilled and clumsy. When the starvation regime continued over the harvest, it was no wonder none of them was capable of doing a good day's work.

Even when, despite all this, the grain was cut and piled into shocks on the fields, it was often impossible to transport it to the Government centres. Many of the peasants' horses had been killed when their owners were forced into collective farms; others were eaten later on, when the food shortage became more acute. The few which remained were as gaunt and emaciated as the villagers themselves, and quite unfit for heavy work.

At first it was thought that this would not matter. There would be motor transport from the cities. But when it arrived it was found, in the great majority of cases, to be quite inadequate. So the cut grain blackened and rotted in the shocks.

Yet so good was the crop, it may be that, in spite of this appalling waste, the actual deliveries to the granaries were better than those of the previous year. Even those who mentioned this possibility, however, were doubtful if that would mean any real improvement in this year's bread supply.

There is an ironic reason for this. Under the Second Five Year Plan, which is to make Russia a land flowing with milk and honey—and manufactured goods—new machinery is required, and must be bought from abroad. But to buy machinery money—or credit—is necessary, so exports must be maintained. And prices remain low, which keeps down the value of the goods which the Soviets send overseas.

#### Wanted for the War Chest.

So many Russians, I found, were asking the question: Would the authorities be able to sell a sufficient quantity of other commodities for their purpose, or would they be forced to send abroad part of the precious grain so urgently required at home?

"But surely," I said to one of my informants, "surely they wouldn't try to export wheat when lives are in the balance?"

He shrugged his shoulders.

"Machines are more important than men," he said. "Even if we don't export any of it, I expect that there will be some of it wanted for the War Chest."

He went on to explain that the situation in the far East was so grave that the Government had no choice but to build up reserves of food and essential stores for use in the event of emergency.

#### "Work Or Starve!"

"Soldiers must be fed," he said, "and the peasants are sullen. It would be no use appealing to them to grow more food. Instead, they'd probably be more difficult to deal with. At present it's only the Red Army that keeps them at work and gets in the crops for the State granaries. Every soldier at the Front would be one less to keep them at it."

I gathered from other remarks this man made that he believed that a considerable portion of the wheat crop of 1932 was put aside in this way, and that this was the real cause of last year's famine. He was an intelligent, educated person, and he discussed the whole business in a curious, detached way, as if nothing really mattered.

From other sources I heard whispers of a still stranger and more dreadful possibility—that some of the leaders of Russian Communism to-day might regard the continuance of the famine over this winter as being quite useful, because it would drive home to peasants and factory hands alike the grim but essential lesson: "Work or starve!"

Personally, I find it difficult to believe this—it is too inhuman!—but I know that one British agricultural expert, who has travelled widely in Russia, and knows the psychology of its rulers, has suggested quite seriously that the famine may be starvation "according to plan."

### No Time for Politics.

Russia, he says, has been on short commons for years; but if a certain proportion of the hungry population were allowed to die off, there would probably be no difficulty in growing sufficient food for the rest. And he seems to think it quite possible that the central economic planning of the Soviet is now being applied to the ghastly task of equalising by this dreadful means the demand for food with the supply.

It is only right to add that other competent observers, to whom I have repeated this theory, are quite convinced that it is wrong.

"At the same time," remarked one of them, "there is much to be said, from the Soviet authorities' point of view, for keeping the population on short commons.

"If food is scarce, everybody is devoting all his energy to getting it. No trouble is too great, no period of waiting too long, if only there is food at the end of it. The result is that no one has any time or energy left for politics.

"And that, of course, is very convenient for the Communists. They are only a small minority of the population, and, as they themselves must know quite well, even Terrorism wouldn't keep them in power if once a mass movement against them got going.

"But there is no chance of such a mass movement—people are too busy trying to get enough food to keep on living from day to day. So, however much they may dislike the government, they don't combine against it!"

Perhaps the most plausible of all the explanations I received, however, came from a foreign engineer with whom I talked.

"The Russians are doubtless building up reserves in readiness for a possible war," said this expert. "But the real trouble is that their planning has started from the wrong end. They've sacrificed agriculture to manufactures, and been so busy putting up the

world's biggest factories that they've let the world's biggest wheat-fields go to rack and ruin."

There is a good deal of truth in that. And the application of Communist theories to agriculture has certainly been disastrous. All over Russia the Soviets have tried to stamp out the kulaks, or rich peasants.

#### Collective Farms a Failure.

They weren't really very rich, these kulaks, but they were the best farmers in the villages—and usually the hardest workers. When they were dispossessed and driven into exile, the standard of farming, never particularly high, fell alarmingly. And the much-advertised collective farms have done nothing to raise it.

I have told in these articles what I have seen and heard in Russia. I have given you the explanations that have been given to me. What is not explained—what, I believe, the civilized world will say cannot be explained—is why no effort has been made to relieve the famine-stricken millions; why the Soviet Government has kept all news of their plight from a world whose willingness to help no one can doubt."

(Another article of Mr. Williams appeared in the December, 1933 issue of the *Nation's Business*, organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D. C.)

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If, however, in spite of all this overwhelming evidence showing conclusively the existence of a terrible famine in Ukraine the Soviet government still denies the existence of the famine in Ukraine, then there is still a remedy, as suggested by the sixth convention of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States held in New York City on November 3rd, 1933, which passed a resolution to the effect:

"That an investigation be made of the policy of the Russian Soviet Socialist Government towards the Ukrainians and other subjugated nationalities of Soviet Russia, and that an impartial commission be sent to Soviet Russia to verify the truth of the reports emanating from it about the starvation of the Ukrainian population in Ukraine, and its causes."

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**C****William Henry Chamberlin, the Moscow correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, reports on famine in Ukraine**

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**FAMINE PROVES POTENT WEAPON IN SOVIET POLICY**

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**More Than 4,000,000 Peasants Are Found to Have Perished in 1933 When State Forced Collective Farming on Them**

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**'Russia—Without Benefit of Censor'**

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(After ten years as staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor in Russia, Mr. Chamberlin has left Moscow to become the Monitor's chief correspondent in the Far East.)

"The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless."

This was how President Kalinin, in a speech delivered early last summer, referred to the food situation in Ukraina and the North Caucasus. When the prohibition on travel by foreign correspondents in the rural districts was relaxed in the autumn, I had an opportunity to find out what this "ruthless school" had meant in concrete practice.

I shall never forget a scene which I witnessed in a Ukrainian village named Zhuke, which lies some 15 miles to the north of Poltava. The president of the local collective farm and a state agronomer, or agricultural expert, were accompanying me on visits to a number of peasant houses. So long as my companions chose the houses to be visited I found myself invariably meeting local Communists or *udarniki* (shock brigade workers), with pictures of Lenin, Stalin and Kalinin on the walls and a fairly contented tale of their experiences.

I suddenly picked out a house at random and went into it with my companions. It was a typical Ukrainian peasant hut, with thatched roof, earth floor, benches running around the walls, an oven and a rickety-looking bed as the chief articles of furniture. The sole occupant was a girl of 15, huddled up on the bench. She answered a few simple questions briefly, in a flat dull voice.

### The Price of Liberty

"Where is your mother?"

"She died of hunger last winter."

"Have you any brothers or sisters?"

"I had four. They all died, too."

"When?"

"Last winter and spring."

"And your father?"

"He is working in the fields."

"Does he belong to the collective farm?"

"No, he is an individual peasant."

So here was one man—his name was Savchenko—whose passive stubbornness defied even Kalinin's "ruthless school," who refused to go into a collective farm, even after almost all the members of his family had perished.

My companions, the president of the collective farm and the state agronomer, had nothing to say. Smooth-tongued officials in Moscow might assure inquiring visitors that there had been no famine, only little food difficulties here and there, due to the wicked machinations of the kulaks. Here on the spot in Zhuke, as in a dozen other Ukrainian and North Caucasian villages which I visited, the evidence of large-scale famine was so overwhelming, was so unanimously confirmed by the peasants that the most "hard-boiled" local officials could say nothing in denial.

### Everywhere a Tale of Famine

Some idea of the scope of the famine, the very existence of which was stubbornly and not unsuccessfully concealed from the outside world by the Soviet authorities, may be gauged from the fact that in three widely separated regions of Ukraine and the North Caucasus which I visited—Poltava and Byelaya Tserkov and Kropotkin in the North Caucasus—mortality, according to the estimates of such responsible local authorities as Soviet and collective farm presidents, ranged around 10 per cent. Among individual peasants and in villages far away from the railroad it was often much higher.

I crossed Ukraine from the southeast to the northwest by train, and at every station where I made inquiries the peasants told the same story of major famine during the winter and spring of 1932-1933.

If one considers that the population of Ukraine is about 35,000,000, and that of the North Caucasus about 10,000,000, and that credible reports of similar famine came from parts of the country which I did not visit, some regions of the Middle and Lower Volga and Kazakstan, in Central Asia, it would seem highly probable

that between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 people over and above the normal mortality rate, lost their lives from hunger and related causes. This is in reality behind the innocuous phrases, tolerated by the Soviet censorship, about food stringency, strained food situation, etc.

What lay behind this major human catastrophe? It was very definitely not a result of any natural disaster, such as exceptional drought or flood, because it was the general testimony of the peasants that the harvest of 1932, although not satisfactory, would have left them enough for nourishment, if the state had not swooped down on them with heavy requisitions.

Hidden stocks of grain which the despairing peasants had buried in the ground were dug up and confiscated; where resistance to the state measures was specially strong, as in some stanitsas, or Cossack towns, in the Western Kuban, whole communities were driven from their homes and exiled en masse, to the frozen wastes of Siberia.

#### State Had Its "Squeeze"

Unquestionably, the poor harvest of 1932 was attributable in some degree to the apathy and discouragement of the peasants, subjected, as they were at that time, to constant requisitions, at inequitable fixed prices—the state was practically compelled, by the necessity for raising capital for its grandiose, new industrial enterprises, to squeeze out of the peasants a good deal more than it could give them in return—of their grain and other produce by the authorities, and driven against their will into an unfamiliar and distasteful system.

The Communists saw in this apathy and discouragement, sabotage and counter-revolution and, with the ruthlessness peculiar to self-righteous idealists, they decided to let the famine run its course with the idea that it would teach the peasants a lesson.

Relief was doled out to the collective farms, but on an inadequate scale and so late that many lives had already been lost. The individual peasants were left to shift for themselves; and the much higher mortality rate among the individual peasants proved a most potent argument in favor of joining collective farms.

#### War Is War, But—

The Soviet Government, along with the other powers which adhered to the Kellogg pact, has renounced war as an instrument of national policy. But there are no humanitarian restrictions in the ruthless class war which, in the name of Socialism, it has been waging on a considerable part of its own peasant population; and it has employed famine as an instrument of national policy on an unprecedented scale and in an unprecedented way.

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At the moment it looks as if the famine method may have succeeded in finally breaking down the peasant resistance to collectivization. In 1921 the peasants were strong enough, acting no less effectively because they had no conscious union or organization, to force the government to give up its requisitioning and to introduce the "Nep," or New Economic Policy, with its security of individual farming and freedom of private trade, by withholding their grain and bringing the towns close to starvation.

Now the tide of revolution has rolled beyond the "Nep" stage, and in 1933 the Soviet Government, quite conscious of what it was doing, was strong enough to wring out of the peasants enough foodstuffs to provide at least minimum rations for the towns and to turn the starvation weapon against the peasants themselves.

(The Christian Science Monitor,  
Boston, May 29, 1934.)

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## FREE OF THE CENSOR

(Editorial)

William Henry Chamberlin, the very competent correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor at Moscow, represented his newspaper in Russia for the past ten years. Unlike most correspondents in Moscow, he speaks Russian fluently. His wife is a Russian. He has travelled far and wide in the Soviet republic, and is considered the best informed of any American correspondent.

Mr. Chamberlin is now free of Soviet censorship. As he has been transferred to the Far East, he need no longer consider the effect of his despatches on the rulers of Russia.

In one of his first uncensored articles he declares that more than 4,000,000 peasants died of starvation in Ukraine and the North Caucasus during the winter of 1932—1933.

He visited many parts of these districts, and he found the same story—10 to 25 per cent of the population in towns and villages wiped out.

Mr. Chamberlin makes the amazing assertion that the Soviet officials deliberately allowed millions to starve to death to "teach the peasants a lesson" and force them into the co-operative farms.

Some communities that showed a resistance to co-operative farming were driven by force from their homes and exiled en masse to the frozen wastes of Siberia.

Heavy requisitions of food for the cities or export often left entire villages with not enough food to sustain life, and the inhabitants perished.

Mr. Chamberlin points out, that this is the first instance on record of a civilized nation actually resorting to famine as a deliberate instrument of national policy, dooming millions to death to break down resistance to government edicts.

Mr. Chamberlin's story is a ghastly one. Why it should be delayed a year can be readily understood by anyone who knows the rigid restrictions on correspondents in Russia.

But now that some of them, like Mr. Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons of the United Press, and some veteran English correspondents, are leaving Russia and are free to print the truth as they saw it during their long service in Russia, we are getting facts instead of Soviet propaganda.

(The Boston Post, May 31, 1934).

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