

HISTORICAL SCIENCES

"BOLSHEVISM" - "PUTINISM": THE TOTALITARIAN TRADITION OF ORGANISING THE HOLODOMOR

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Abstract

The reason for the article was an investigation by human rights defenders of the international alliance Global Rights Compliance in 2023, who collected evidence of Russia's planning of famine in Ukraine as a method of warfare. The author decided to compare Russia's current actions with the organisation by the Moscow Bolsheviks of the first artificial famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine. The international community should know what the people expect if Russia succeeds in seizing the territory of Ukraine and understand that Putin will not stop, but will continue to seize new territories, as Stalin did in his time.

Keywords: empire, organisation of artificial famine, war, occupation, Bolsheviks, Russia, genocide, heredity.

Introduction

Russia, proclaiming itself the successor to the Soviet Union, began to create for its own population and post-Soviet countries the image of "economic stability" of Brezhnev's stagnation and "glasnost" of Gorbachev's perestroika, and for the Western world the image of a supporter of democratic values and a reliable partner. In fact, modern Russia has become the heir to the Bolshevik-Leninist and Stalinist terror, with the destruction of dissent, colossal lies and the enslavement of other peoples. It appropriated all the achievements of the USSR: the victory in World War II ("grandfathers of war"), the construction of industrial enterprises, etc. and completely levelled the bloody consequences of the dictatorial and terrorist form of government, the occupation of Ukraine, the Baltic States and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe with the transformation of the occupied territories into a huge camp. It is obvious that both the Soviet dictators of the first half of the twentieth century and their successors of the early twenty-first century relied on the support of a large part of their own population through regular brainwashing with comprehensive propaganda. No wonder, in the first half of 2022 alone, after the start of the large-scale invasion of Ukraine, Roskomnadzor reported 144,835 "appeals" from citizens, including even close relatives' denunciations of each other [14], and in 2023, Voice of America newspaper reported on the revival of Soviet traditions in modern Russia and the recreation of the atmosphere of fear inherent in the Soviet Union [23]. And strange as it may seem, this situation is completely satisfactory for the bulk of the "deep" Russian people, since "the population of today's Russia has the same behavioral patterns as the population of the Soviet Union. Putin has provided Russians with the same old algorithm of self-identification - and they have gladly accepted it. They have given up their freedom in exchange for relative economic stability, and the quality of this stability does not matter to them" [17].

The successor to the USSR, modern Russia, is just as zealous as its predecessor in its attempts to militarily seize Ukraine, lying about "brotherly love", and in the occupied territories, organizing genocide and creating artificial famines. And "there is something symbolic in the fact that on the eve of the next anniversary of the Holodomor-Genocide, it became known about the search for evidence of Russian President Vladimir Putin's involvement in creating conditions for the deliberate famine in Ukraine on the eve of the 'great invasion'" [19]. That is why it is extremely important not only to understand what Russia is today, but also to convey this evidence to both Ukrainians and the international community. Today, the democratic world must unite to defeat a totalitarian regime that has enormous human and other resource potential aimed only at expanding its own empire and destroying any freedom. After all, unpunished evil will return again and again, collecting its bloody victims.

Literature Review

Considering the Bolshevik policy of organizing the artificial famine of 1921-1923 and attempts to repeat it by the modern Russian authorities in 2022-2023 in Ukraine, we will conditionally divide the research, archival sources, and documents into two blocks.

The first includes sources from state archives: Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Central Executive Committee of Ukraine) and Central State Archives of Foreign Archival Ukrainian (TsDAZU), statistical directories and reports of the Central Commission for Combating Famine and its Consequences [31; 32; 24; 27; 7] of the early 1920s, which contain information not only about the reduction of crop areas, drought, the number of starving people and mortality, but also about the deliberate "failure to notice" the famine and the criminal decisions of the Soviet government to ban the dissemination of information, increase taxes in favour of Russia, cannibalistic methods of food confiscation, sale of

grain abroad and various bans on the distribution of foreign charitable aid to Ukraine, etc. Important sources are also the publications of Soviet magazines of the time, in which, despite their ideological bias, we can see the real fear of the party leadership of losing power due to the spread of the insurgency [16]. At the same time, we have foreign accounts of looting and criminal actions of the authorities during the famine of 1921-1923 in Ukraine [5; 6].

The second block directly relates to contemporary domestic and foreign publications, the authors of which sounded the alarm about the possibility of a global food crisis before 24 February 2022 and stated that world food prices could rise in the event of an invasion of Ukraine [1] and about Russia's "record" grain exports [18; 10]. With the start of the large-scale attack, it became increasingly clear that the terrorist country was preparing a famine in Ukraine. In particular, Euronews reported on the theft of grain, and the BBC wrote about the consequences for the world and Ukraine of Russia's refusal to accept the grain deal [26]. Finally, at the end of 2023, the Independent published evidence provided by human rights activists from the Global Rights Compliance international alliance about Russia's preparations to steal grain stocks and plan a deliberate famine [3]. Confirmation of the organisation of the famine was also reflected in a statement by a US diplomat at the UN about the destruction of Ukrainian grain by Russia, which could have fed 15 million people for a month [25].

Important evidence of the criminal policy of the Russian authorities, such as the suppression of civil liberties, repression and political assassinations, the destruction of the independent judiciary, intimidation and persecution of the public, can be found in the Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) No. 2463 of 2022 [2]. It should be noted that the Resolution concerned the Russian people. What then can we say about the occupied territories, which, according to the Russian leadership, must be "returned" at any cost, like other territories of the USSR and the "socialist camp" [20]. And the first such territory, according to the Bolshevik principle, was Ukraine, and a genocidal programme was even published against the population [8]. At the same time, events continue to develop rapidly, and there is no doubt that Ukraine will regain its freedom and independence this time, and that the criminals will be punished at the new Nuremberg.

The **methodology** is based on the use of problematic, chronological, analytical and comparative principles that allowed to identify the ways and methods of imposing the Bolshevik and "Russian world" through the genocide of the Ukrainian people.

Main Research Material

Ukraine has always been seen by the Russian political elite as an unfortunate historical "misunderstanding". Immediately after the declaration of Ukraine's independence, on 26 August 1991, Boris Yeltsin's press secretary, P. Voshchanov, stated the official position that "the RSFSR reserves the right to raise the issue of revising the borders", and for the next president, Vladimir Putin, the collapse of the USSR was "the greatest

geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century". And just like the Leninist-Stalinist leadership, Russia's current political elite has begun to create the idea that Russia is surrounded by "enemies" in order to seize natural resources. For example, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Volodymyr Horbulin noted that "the leadership believes that the Russian Federation must regain control over the lost territories of the USSR and the 'socialist camp' at any cost. The key task is the capture of Ukraine, which should dramatically increase Russia's demographic, political, economic, military and other resources." And the capture of Kyiv has become a vital interest of Russia [20]. At the same time, just like the Soviet "leaders" of the past, the current Russian dictator constantly manipulates concepts and proclaims outright lies, "exalting" the power and greatness of the Soviet heritage. For example, back in 2014, after the annexation of Crimea and the attack on Ukraine's Donbas region, Russia claimed that it was an "internal conflict" and that its own troops were not involved. Well, the Bolsheviks did the same when, when asked by the head of the UPR government V. Chekhovsky why the Red Army attacked Ukraine without declaring war (December 1918), the RSFSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. Chicherin stated that it was a struggle between the Directory and the independent Soviet government of Ukraine [15, p. 219], and that there were no Russian troops ("we are not there").

However, it was not possible to stop the "Bolshevik evil" in the early 1920s, which had catastrophic consequences for the Ukrainian people. The Bolsheviks plundered Ukraine and at the same time built a "new" Soviet society, physically exterminating anyone who had a different opinion from the Bolshevik leaders. At the same time, the "new" Soviet person was fostered to hate dissenters, accompanied by a sense of the "power" of their own state and the fear of other countries before it. Modern Russians also have a "pleasant feeling that the whole world is afraid of Russia". This is one of the important reasons for supporting Putin's totalitarian regime. Like Lenin and Stalin, Putin's power is also based on a cult of personality. "His leadership style combines the images and models of an Eastern monarch and a tribal leader. There is nothing European about him. His actions remind us of Muammar Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein," says military psychologist, expert in the field of information and psychological operations and counterintelligence protection Oleh Pokalchuk [17]. And while the vast majority of Russians are completely satisfied with a totalitarian regime that gives them a sense of pride in the illusory power of their own state, for enslaved peoples this means war crimes, repression and terror. And for Ukraine, it also means famines and, finally, the organisation of genocide.

The Bolsheviks organised the first famine in 1921-1923, and despite all the manipulations about drought and the "grave consequences of the First World War and the Civil War", it could have been avoided. Many European countries experienced devastation after the First World War, albeit on a much smaller scale, as the Emergency Commission (ChK)/State Political Directorate (DPU) (to be succeeded by the KGB) and other

security forces of the Moscow-Bolshevik government did not reap their "bloody harvest" through the Red Terror. And the drought affected not only Ukraine but also the North Caucasus and the Volga region. To save the latter, all the forces of Soviet and public organisations were immediately thrown into action, state and foreign charitable aid was organised, and church property was confiscated. Instead, the drought in the southern, eastern, and partially central regions, which accounted for 48% of the entire territory of Ukraine, was "overlooked" by the Moscow leadership, and its puppet government, the Central Committee of the CP(B)U, rejected in autumn 1921, to please Moscow, the resolution of the Ukrainian Economic Council to survey the lean provinces for "purely political reasons - not to create panic" [32, p.10]. Moreover, even with the drought, Ukraine had food reserves to avoid famine. So, let's move on to the real reasons for the first famine in Ukraine, not the ones manipulated by Russian propaganda.

First, two years of the Bolsheviks' so-called economic "management" completely exhausted food supplies: as a result of the policy of "war communism", the sown area decreased by one third, the yields fell by 35-40% [24, pp. 122-123, 148; 29, p. 88; 27, p. 31], and the requisition of horses for the army and massive plagues, which the peasants deliberately supported to avoid them, catastrophically reduced the number of horses.

Secondly, the situation did not change with the introduction of NEP (New Economic Policy) in the spring of 1921, as the basis for the food tax was Russian statistics - 633 million roubles (according to the RSFSR Central Statistical Office), against the real figure of 276.6 million roubles (according to the Central Statistical Office of Ukraine) [24, p. 131; 7, p. 78] (although there was also an intermediate figure of 400 million roubles [4, p. 103]). Of course, Moscow had the final say. As a result, the tax alone was overestimated three times. To this was added the constant increase in tax rates to save the starving people of the Volga region, the maintenance of the Red Army and other extortions, which in fact meant starvation for Ukrainians. And in 1922, when there was no longer a drought in Russia, another 22.5 million poods of food were exported from Ukraine (more than 9 million poods to the RSFSR and 13.5 million poods for export [27, p. 29; 32, p. 26]), although the famine in Ukraine continued.

Thus, the question arises: why did the Russian Bolsheviks decide to create the first artificial famine in Ukraine? And how can we call the people who, knowing full well that hundreds of thousands of people were dying of starvation, not only did not reduce huge taxes, but additionally increased them, obliging them to regularly provide food to 1.108 thousand people in the RSFSR [11, p.29]? Why did the so-called Ukrainian authorities, and in fact Moscow's henchmen, despite the demand of the world-famous Norwegian philanthropist and Nobel laureate (1922) F. Nansen to organise aid to the Ukrainian SSR, not raise the issue of Ukraine in order "not to divert attention from the Volga region" [6,

p. 45; 31, p. 66]? How did it happen that in December 1921 the head of the RSFSR NKVD did not allow foreign charitable aid, in particular from the American Relief Administration, to be distributed in the Ukrainian SSR? (The agreement with the ARA was possible only because 80% of the individual parcels sent from America were intended for Ukrainians. However, the Moscow authorities forced these funds to be directed exclusively to the Volga region [32, p. 9]). And in 1922, when the northern provinces of Russia emerged from the food crisis, the Bolshevik leadership began to curtail domestic aid and declared to the world that "the famine was over" and the country was resuming bread exports, despite the fact that the population in the southern regions of Ukraine continued to die of starvation.

The answers to these questions are obvious. For a totalitarian empire, there is nothing more terrible than freedom. It only needs the resources of conquered countries and loyal slaves. And it is very good at creating them by organizing genocide and manipulating minds. The Bolshevik leaders hated everything Ukrainian, because how else can we explain the inhuman methods of food siphoning? The People's Commissariat of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, the GPU, cavalry units of the Red Army, barrier detachments, the collective responsibility of the population for the implementation of grain deliveries, mutual responsibility - everything was thrown at taking the last of the food from people. And then there were the *mankurts*^{*} - committees of poor peasants (*komnesami*), consisting of lumpen, who were given the right to appropriate from 10 to 25% [13, p. 140] of the loot. In case of any resistance or even agitation against the so-called "food tax", not only an individual, but entire villages could be declared "enemies of the Soviet regime" and sentenced to imprisonment or execution. So it is quite obvious that the hateful totalitarian government took everything from Ukrainians and left them to die.

In addition to hatred of Ukraine, there was also fear. Fear of losing the loot (the personal lives of Bolshevik leaders could not be called poor; they lived in the palaces of their former owners, had millions in foreign banks, etc.), fear of losing power. Conscious Ukrainians did not want a "Moscow-Communist paradise". They gathered in insurgent groups and armies and put up fierce resistance to the occupiers and their proxies, realising that the Bolshevik slogans were a complete lie. The rebel movement became so widespread that it even penetrated the ranks of the Red Army, blocked the work of state economic bodies, industrial enterprises, and transport [16, p. 15]. The situation was critical for the occupation authorities. In particular, the Council of Labour and Defence, headed by V. Lenin, pointed out that the elimination of "banditry" was a matter of life and death for Soviet Ukraine [12, p. 24]. And since repression was not effective enough, it was decided to destroy Ukrainians by starvation. Hunger weakens, instils fear and obedience at the genetic level.

The successor to Russian Bolshevism of the early 1920s, modern Russian "Putinism" of the early 2020s

^{*}Mankurts are unthinking slaves. The word has become the reference to people who have lost touch with their ethnic

homeland, who have forgotten their kinship /<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mankurt>.

is proving to be a "worthy" representative of the previous cannibals. It is unable to develop its own territories, build an efficient economy or offer prosperity to its citizens. The only thing it is capable of doing is seizing other people's territories, committing genocide and stealing, stealing, stealing - from culture and history to industrial plants and bread, accompanying it all with a continuous lie. The situation when Russia "boasted" of stolen enterprises from Donetsk and Luhansk regions after 2014 is still fresh in our minds. And when Russia launched a large-scale invasion of a peace-loving country in 2022, it accused all Ukrainians of fascism and Nazism, although the so-called "Nazism" is only the European aspirations of Ukrainians and their desire to be a member of the EU, which, from the point of view of modern Russian ideologues, is a sign of racial superiority (Nazism) [8]. Russia also constantly appeals to international organisations to lift sanctions against it, calls on the International Court of Justice to recognise the lack of jurisdiction over genocide charges under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and, according to the US magazine BBC, even wants to return to the UN Human Rights Council, promising to find "adequate solutions to human rights issues" [21]. Although in 2022, PACE (Resolution 2463) clearly stated that even in its own country (meaning the Russian Federation) "the authorities have carried out a large-scale suppression of civil liberties based on intimidation and open persecution, with the aim of provoking a state of terror among the general public for political purposes. Democratic figures have been repressed or killed, the opposition party system has been destroyed, the judiciary is not independent, and many media outlets and civil society organisations have been ... closed" [2]. It is not surprising that, with such an attitude towards its own citizens, the murder of civilians, medieval torture and other war crimes, as well as attempts to organise another mass famine, have become commonplace in the occupied territories of Ukraine.

Even before the large-scale invasion, in January 2022, The Washington Post warned of the possibility of a global food crisis in the event of a large-scale invasion of Ukraine. "Food prices could rise around the world, increasing the risk of social unrest far beyond Eastern Europe" [1]. And UkrAgroConsult stated that from 11 to 14 February 2022, 867 thousand tonnes of grain were shipped from Ukrainian sea terminals, including 170 thousand tonnes of wheat, 54 thousand tonnes of barley, and 643 thousand tonnes of corn [18]. Moreover, the grain was exported despite the fact that Russia announced the closure of shipping zones in the Black and Azov Seas for military exercises and de facto imposed a naval blockade of the region [10]. Preparations for the famine were in full swing.

On 24 February 2022, when Russian tanks invaded Ukraine, one of the primary tasks for the Russian army was to seize Ukrainian grain storage facilities and "less than a week after the invasion and at the peak of it [Russia] was exporting 12,000 tonnes of grain a day from all the occupied territories". In particular, Catriona Murdoch, partner at Global Rights Compliance, in an interview with The Independent, stated:

"Russia has not only taken a multifaceted approach, besieging civilians and destroying critical infrastructure, but has also pre-planned the seizure and looting of agricultural products as part of an insidious plan. Moscow provoked a global food crisis and attacked Ukraine's agricultural sector as a tactic of war" [3]. It has targeted some of the largest grain-growing regions - Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions - to steal as much food as possible. "An important goal of the Russian occupiers was the stocks of Ukrainian grain, there was a plan to steal food on an unprecedented scale," Radio Liberty wrote [18], citing evidence (November 2023) from human rights defenders from the international alliance Global Rights Compliance. As a result, about one and a half million tonnes of grain stored in the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine, which were intended for baking bread and seed stocks, are under threat of theft. At the same time, "grain is being stolen not only from Ukraine, but also from foreign consumers, which threatens the world's food security," said Taras Vysotsky, Deputy Minister of Economy and Agriculture of Ukraine. As a result, about 1.7 billion people may soon face hunger and poverty [26].

Nothing has changed in a hundred years, nor has the constant blackmail of the international community and the desire to get rich off people's grief. So let's compare 1921-1923 with 2022-2023. In May 1922, despite the massive death toll from starvation, on Moscow's orders, Ukrainian Soviet puppets sent a letter signed by the head of the Ukrainian SSR government, Kh.H. Rakovsky, to the British mission in Warsaw, which stated that the breakdown of the trade agreement between England and Russia would result in the loss of the already well-established economic ties between Ukraine and England, strengthened by the export of Ukrainian bread to English ports [9]. At the same time, all the loot could not even be physically transported: hundreds of thousands of poods of food became rotten and died. For example, in Pervomaisk, 3 carriages of lard were buried, and this happened everywhere. Barricades were also set up, taking away the last crumbs [5, p. 52, 55-56]. As a result, 13.5 million poods of lard were stolen from Ukraine and exported for export alone in 1922-1923.

Investigating the situation on the eve of the large-scale invasion of 2022, human rights activists from the Global Rights Compliance international alliance found that a Russian defence contractor began purchasing grain trucks and three new 170-metre-long bulk carriers in December 2021, which, according to GRC experts, indicates advance plans to plunder Ukrainian food resources "on an unprecedented scale" [3]. And in the summer of 2023, the terrorist country, using blackmail, announced its "withdrawal" from the grain agreement, which allowed it to export Ukrainian grain from Black Sea ports until it fulfilled "the agreed part of the Black Sea agreements concerning Russia" [22]. It is also noteworthy that, according to Robert A. Wood, Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Russia has destroyed 300 tonnes of Ukrainian grain, which could have fed 15 million people for a month. Moreover, by capturing a larger share of the world's grain markets at the expense of Ukraine,

Russia has begun to threaten access to food in other parts of the world [25].

One hundred years have passed, and the terrorist country has not changed, but the world has. And if in the 20s of the twentieth century totalitarian evil was not punished, in the 20s of the twenty-first century it must be. It is not without reason that GRC human rights experts have stated that Russia was actively preparing to steal grain stocks and starve the Ukrainian population, and evidence of a "highly coordinated level of pre-planning" will be provided to the International Criminal Court, and GRC hopes that this will lead to the first international prosecution of Putin for the war crime of starvation as a method of warfare" [3].

Finally, it is worth listening to the words of Larysa Yakubova, an expert on the history of Ukraine in the 20s and 30s of the twentieth century at the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine: "Rashism is even a light word for the terrible fatal process we are in the middle of now. We are talking about the latest version of "Russian fascism" ... the evolution of which has developed into Putinism, that is, modern (Russian) fascism-totalitarianism" [30].

Conclusions

Thus, today's Russia is a continuation of the totalitarian and misanthropic empire created by the Bolsheviks in the 1920s. Only the name and, to some extent, the form have changed, but not the essence. And for a totalitarian empire, there is nothing more terrible than freedom. It only needs the resources of conquered countries and loyal slaves. And it has learned well how to create them through lies, manipulation of consciousness and organisation of genocide for those who have a different point of view. Just like the Bolshevik leaders of old, today's Russian "leader" hates everything Ukrainian. The "Putinism" of the early 2020s proves that he is unable to build an effective economy on his own territory or offer prosperity to his citizens. The only thing he is capable of is seizing other people's lands and committing genocide on them. It is not surprising that in the occupied territories of Ukraine in 2022-2023, the murder of civilians, medieval torture and other war crimes became commonplace.

The subjugation of the population of the occupied territories through the organisation of famine is also a hereditary practice of modern Russia. The siege of civilians, destruction of critical infrastructure, blackmail of the international community, the desire to get rich on people's grief and the pre-planned seizure and looting of agricultural products, creation of famine reserves - all these technologies were already used by the Moscow Bolshevik regime in the early 20s of the twentieth century, and modern racists are only using the previously created a programme of genocide.

But the main thing is that unpunished evil always returns. Conscious Ukrainians are well aware of this and defend freedom and independence with their own blood. They know that the military aggression, like the Red Terror and the famine of 1921-1923, will be followed by new terror, new repressions and a new, more terrible Gulag, the genocide of 1932-1933, the famine of 1946-1947, murder and blood.

It is important for the international community to realise that Russia will not stop. It may change its name and form, but it will not become a legal democratic country. It will always be arming and aggressing against other states, and if it is not stopped now, Russian tanks may enter the territory of EU member states, as it happened many times before in the form of the Soviet-Finnish war or after 1945. Finally, when talking about the Second World War, modern Russia, instead of "never again", keeps repeating "we can do it again", although not only Hitler but also Stalin should be equally responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War.

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