

A UNITED FRONT: THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN UKRAINE

by

David Hunt

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Approved by:

Dr. Steve Sabol

Dr. Jill Massino

Dr. Aaron Shapiro

ABSTRACT

DAVID HUNT. A UNITED FRONT: THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
IN UKRAINE (Under the direction of DR. STEVE SABOL)

The United States has been involved in humanitarian assistance missions since the late nineteenth century. However, Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration (ARA) was the first organization that combined the abilities of several smaller organizations to form a united front in saving the starving people of Europe after the First World War. While the ARA operated in dozens of countries, its mission in Ukraine provides an interesting case study. The First World War decimated most of Europe but Ukraine had also undergone major shifts in politics, as well as social changes that made the ARA's mission there even more harrowing.

This thesis traces the growth of American humanitarian assistance missions beginning in the 1860s with Clara Barton, until the conclusion of the ARA's work in Ukraine. In order to do this effectively, the third chapter provides sufficient background on the situation in Ukraine leading up to the famine of 1921. Also included is a prospective interpretive plan for an exhibit about the ARA that could be located at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University.

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DEDICATION

For Katie

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The World Health Organization defines humanitarian assistance as “Aid that seeks, to save lives and alleviate suffering of a crisis affected population.”¹ Wealthier nations often render humanitarian assistance in an attempt to better the conditions of populations of less economically stable countries, or countries that have undergone war or famine. The United States has a long history of providing humanitarian assistance, both foreign and domestic. Historians examine several different facets of humanitarian assistance, often referring to them by different terms such as “philanthropy,” or “charity.” There is debate over when and how the United States developed into one of the most powerful agents of humanitarian assistance. Part of this debate centers around different types of humanitarian assistance. The American Red Cross provided medical supplies and treatment to foreign populations, whereas groups such as the American Friends Society focused more on famine relief and clothing operations. The first organization to combine all aspects of humanitarian assistance on a large scale was The American Relief Administration (ARA), founded in 1919 under the direction of the head of the United States Food Administration, Herbert Hoover.

The American Relief Administration administered humanitarian assistance throughout Europe. In Ukraine, the ARA had one of the largest impacts. Ukraine suffered tremendously during the Russian Revolution, the First World War, and during the country’s struggle for independence from the Bolsheviks, Poles and Germans. In most European nations, the ARA was able to work without any special treaties or agreements. A separate agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States sanctioned ARA

¹ <http://www.who.int/hac/about/reliefweb-aug2008.pdf>

work in Ukraine due to the severity of the famine. By studying the ARA's work in Ukraine, it is possible to understand how and why the ARA became the first and largest major American humanitarian assistance organization.

When I began graduate school my original idea for a thesis centered on the fight for Ukrainian Independence between 1917 and 1922. I discussed this idea with several professors including my primary advisor. One major problem with this project is my inability to travel to Ukraine to study primary sources that would be necessary in creating a persuasive argument. Instead, I reached a compromise. My advisor informed me that scholars published several works about the famine in Ukraine in the 1930s, but comparatively few historians analyzed the famine there in the 1920s. This led me to study the American Relief Administration work in Eastern Europe. I found that most of these texts mentioned Ukraine, but the focus was usually on other regions. The Hoover Institute Archives at Stanford University house most of the sources about the ARA's involvement in Ukraine. Travel to Stanford was much more feasible than a trip to Ukraine, so this path for my thesis was much more reasonable.

I was lucky to find a wealth of information at Stanford that helped solidify my argument that the ARA was America's first major international humanitarian assistance mission. Using primary sources from the Hoover Institute I was able to construct a case study of the ARA's work in Ukraine. For readers to understand that role, significant background information was necessary. The second and third chapters of this thesis analyze the growth of American relief efforts, and describe why Ukraine was so desperately in need of humanitarian assistance. These chapters set the stage for the fourth chapter, which examines the ARA's intervention in Ukraine.

1.1 Historiography of American Relief

The historiography surrounding American relief expanded significantly during the last sixty years. In his work *American Philanthropy*, Robert Bremner traced “a narrative of some of the major trends in American philanthropy, broadly defined, set against the main developments in American social history.”² Bremner argued that the first American philanthropists were the Native Americans who greeted Christopher Columbus, discussing their generosity and kindness to a foreign group. He analyzed how the American people grew in their ability and desire to provide humanitarian assistance in each period of American history. He included an example from the American Revolution, when Anthony Benezet pushed for the education of African American slaves in the face of rampant prejudices to demonstrate early foundations of American values of philanthropy.³ He also examined the growth of various American groups with different philanthropic focuses, like the American Red Cross, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the American Relief Administration.⁴ By discussing the role each of the groups played on the growth of the American humanitarian assistance movement, Bremner allowed his readers to understand the development of American philanthropic ideals.

Bremner concluded that humanitarian assistance should not be an “endless, soul-satisfying almsgiving but sensible efforts to help people become independent and prepared to work out their own destinies.”⁵ Bremner argued for the necessity and importance of philanthropy and humanitarian assistance to afflicted foreign and domestic

² Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 3.

³ Anthony Benezet was a French-born abolitionist. He formed for the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage.

⁴ Bremner, 117.

⁵ Ibid, 186.

populations because it was a means to “pull oneself-up by ones bootstraps.” Modern readers may attribute Bremner’s interpretation to the book’s publication date of 1960. At this time, Americans maintained the idea that capitalism, an economic system that requires personal ability to overcome adversity, was superior to communism practiced in the Soviet Union. In addition, the book included no footnotes or endnotes, although the author provided a suggested readings section for each chapter. The lack of evidence in his work hindered the believability of some of Bremner’s claims. Therefore, Bremner’s work, while incredibly informative about historical precedents of American humanitarian assistance, has aged poorly as a scholarly historical text.

Unlike Bremner’s broad focus on humanitarian assistance, Ann Marie Wilson’s article “In the Name of God, Civilization, and Humanity: The United States and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s,” focused on a specific instance of American foreign aid. Her main argument was that Americans who provided aid to the Armenians “believed they were defending ‘Christian civilization’ from a ‘barbarous’ other.”⁶ She detailed the small instances of American humanitarian aid, like during the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s and during the Irish famine of the 1840s. She argued that support for these relief efforts came largely from small groups of private donors, who had connections to those suffering. She contrasted this with the outpouring of support from various sectors of the American population for the Armenians in the 1890s, as well as the role the federal government played, cooperating with the American Red Cross to help the Armenian people. Throughout her essay, Wilson analyzed the differences between the Armenian nationalist immigrants to the United States, and the American religious figures

⁶ Ann Marie Wilson, “In the name of God, Civilization and Humanity: The United States and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s,” *Le Mouvement social*, No. 227 (Apr. – Jun. 2009,) 29.

who organized mission trips to Armenia. Both groups sought to help struggling Armenians but they had very different end goals. The nationalists wanted total political autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, whereas the religious activists wanted to help struggling civilians in Armenia and promote Christianity. Christian activists successfully mobilized Americans to send aid to Armenia. Despite this, together the Christian activists and the Armenian nationalists organized a large humanitarian aid operation. She concluded that the effective American mission to Armenia influenced future American policies and argued that “ When the United States decided to go to war against Spain in 1898, supporters of the war effort framed intervention in Cuba as a humanitarian project, and they explicitly used the lessons of Armenia to justify that claim.”⁷ By placing American humanitarian assistance in Armenia in the historical context of American relief efforts, Wilson informed her readers about the growth of large-scale relief projects.

A large number of Wilson’s sources are from American archives in Boston and New York as well as some contemporary newspapers, even an article from the Raleigh News and Observer “The Armenians and Our Duty” from December 1, 1894. Both of these forms of primary sources are useful given that she investigated the growth of American humanitarian aid missions through public opinion. One source that is not present in Wilson’s work is Armenians themselves. Although this article is about American humanitarian intervention in Armenia, it would be beneficial for the reader to hear from those who were suffering. Due to the conflicts that ravaged Armenia between the 1890s and today, these sources would be difficult to uncover since many were destroyed.

⁷ Wilson, 43.

Foster Rhea Dulles' *The American Red Cross: A History*, discussed medical aid to foreign nations and domestic operations. Dulles argued "the record of the American Red Cross is one of far-reaching and significant humanitarian service both at home and abroad."⁸ He supported his argument by analyzing the growth of the American Red Cross from its inception in 1881 to the book's publishing in 1950. He also examined the role he believed the American Red Cross would play in the future of humanitarian assistance. The author utilized examples of the Red Cross' influence from each of the conflicts where Americans provided aid including the Spanish American War, the First and Second World Wars, as well as other international conflicts in which the United States Military was not actively involved. The amount of information presented in Dulles' work is exhaustive but there are no footnotes or endnotes, only a brief bibliographic notes section. The primary sources included are helpful, because a large number of them are personal accounts by American Red Cross Workers. The lack of citations is detrimental to the author's argument. An inquisitive reader cannot confirm the large numbers of statistics and figures included in the work. Despite this, the overall narrative of the book displayed a clear progression in the growth of American humanitarian assistance through the American Red Cross.

In contrast to Foster Dulles' macro history of the American Red Cross, Kevin Rozario analyzed the impact modern culture had on American humanitarian and philanthropic ideals in his article "'Delicious Horrors': Mass Culture, the Red Cross, and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism." Rozario acknowledged American support for humanitarian assistance missions increased in the early twentieth century. He

⁸ Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Red Cross: A History* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 2.

attributed this to the public's consumption of horrible pictures and stories from the front lines. The author's main argument in "Delicious Horrors" is that "modern 'humanitarianism' is in fact a *creation* of sensationalistic mass culture."⁹ Rozario described the sensationalistic mass culture as one that enjoyed seeing the devastation wrought by conflict. This enjoyment persuaded the public to become more involved with humanitarian assistance out of curiosity. The author traced the trajectory of publicizing tragedy, including examples of photographs of starving children, and dying babies, citing this as a cause for desensitization. The constant presence in media of these images caused the American public to be less surprised at their harshness. He argued that Red Cross workers sought to make people's suffering "interesting," "exciting," and "entertaining" to encourage donations.¹⁰ Rozario explained that early nineteenth century literature instilled the belief that Americans should help less fortunate people.¹¹ He also pointed out differences between foreign relief organizations and American relief organizations. The author contrasted the Japanese Red Cross and the American Red Cross by pointing out that the Japanese used far less horrifying images than the Americans, but were still successful in fundraising. "Delicious Horrors" added to the historiography surrounding American humanitarian assistance by providing historians a unique argument about how and why Americans became more involved in funding foreign aid.

In his essay "Charity Stamps and Famine Relief in China in the 1920s: The American Connection," William Moskoff investigated the same period as Rozario, but he examined a much more concise topic. Moskoff wrote about two American humanitarian

⁹ Kevin Rozario, "'Delicious Horrors': Mass Culture, the Red Cross, and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 55, (Sep., 2003), 420.

¹⁰ Rozario, 421.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 425.

assistance groups dedicated to help starving Chinese civilians. These groups, the American Committee for the China Famine Relief Fund, and the China International Famine Relief Commission, were both private groups, but their success varied. The author acknowledged that the China International Famine Relief Commission was dedicated to long term stability for the citizens of Northern China, while the American Committee for the China Relief Fund sought achievement of more temporary goals. Moskoff explained that the China International Famine Relief Commission sold stamps to American citizens to raise funds to feed starving Chinese. By June 1921, the CIFRC sold more than four million dollars' worth of stamps, but it was an ineffective tool and soon American wearied of providing financial assistance.¹²

Moskoff's essay was more of an economic history than a social history. He included numerous figures and images of stamps, and sought to answer his research questions through numbers. This is effective in showing readers how the American Committee for the China Famine Relief Fund, and the China International Famine Relief Commission, were both heavily involved in humanitarian assistance, but it lacked substantive answers to why the programs were not entirely successful. This work added to the historiography of American humanitarian assistance by examining the operation of two lesser-known relief American relief organizations.

Like China, Europe faced incredible difficulties in feeding and clothing its citizens in the late 1910s. In 1914, Herbert Hoover helped form the Committee for the Relief of Belgium, which helped the beleaguered citizens of Belgium, who were under German occupation. When the War ended 1918, Hoover formed the American Relief

¹² William Moskoff, "Charity Stamps and Famine Relief in China in the 1920s: The American Connection," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 18, No.3/4 (2011), 323.

Administration. Tibor Glant discussed the earliest work of the ARA in his essay “Herbert Hoover and Hungary, 1918-1923.” Glant argued that historians had unfairly judged Hoover and his mission and that historians overlooked American humanitarian assistance in Hungary.¹³ He investigated Hoover and the ARA’s role in Hungary, as well as addressed the misconception that Hoover was only involved in humanitarian assistance for personal gain stating Hoover “wanted to ‘end all wars’ and was willing to work for that some sixteen hours a day.”¹⁴ Throughout the essay, Glant asserted that Hoover was a much more complex character than just the anti-communist political leader imperialist revisionist historians claimed. He also argued that Hoover was not a flawless political leader. Glant’s essay was an excellent addition to the historiography of American humanitarian assistance because there is limited scholarship about the ARA in Hungary.

1.2 Historiography of Ukraine

Interestingly, historians largely ceased writing about the Ukrainian independence movement in the 1910s in the 1970s. In 1977, Taras Hunczak argued that two of the main causes of the Ukrainian failure to maintain its independence from the Soviet Union, were deep internal divisions and how unprepared Ukraine’s government was to rule a sovereign country in his work *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. Hunczak postulated that if western nations wholeheartedly supported an independent Ukraine, and refused to support the Soviet Union or Poland, Ukraine would have maintained its independence.

¹³ Tibor Glant, “Herbert Hoover and Hungary, 1918-1923,” *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)* Vol. 8, No. (Fall, 2002): 97.

¹⁴ Glant, 104.

In his work, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine; the Second Campaign, 1918-1919*, written in 1963, Arthur Adams described interactions both political and military between Ukrainian and Russian Bolsheviks. Adams focused on various reasons the Bolsheviks were unable to maintain control particularly in Western Ukraine. These included conflicts between Bolsheviks and Ukrainian nationalists as well as against White Russian armies. He also analyzed the difficulties faced by the Bolsheviks when fighting Nestor Makno's anarchist army, which had previously aligned with the Bolsheviks before beginning its own campaign for control of southern Ukraine.

This work contained several passages regarding foreign military intervention in Ukraine during 1917-1918. Most notably, the work gave a detailed description of both French intervention in Crimea and Odessa, as well as American and British influence in northern Russia. This influence deflected large military support from the Bolsheviks in southern and western Ukraine.

Richard Sakwa's monograph, *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* was one of the most recent works published about the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Sakwa focused the events in 2014 that led to the Russian annexation of Crimea, and war in Eastern Ukraine. For the purposes of my research, this work is necessary to understand how foreign governments, in particular the United States, have dealt with conflict in Ukraine in the last several years. It also informed readers that the current response to the Ukrainian crisis differs from the response by the ARA the early twentieth century. In addition, because this is such a recent work, it provides more information on the country of Ukraine itself, which differs greatly from the information presented by Hunczak and

Plohii¹⁵ in earlier works regarding the Ukrainian government's opinions on foreign aid both humanitarian and military.

Due to events in Ukraine over the past four years, and a conflict that continues to escalate, scholarship about foreign aid to Ukraine has grown. Most of the work written about Ukraine in the early 1920s discussed the reasons behind the famine; more than how foreign nations reacted to the famine. For example, Kazuo Nakai's article "Soviet Agricultural Policies in the Ukraine in the 1921-1922 Famine" argued that Soviet governmental policies caused the famine, while other works discussed how Hoover and the ARA assisted the Volga region in Russia, instead of Ukraine. Three major secondary sources have been published that deal directly with the American relief efforts in the Soviet Union between 1919 and 1923. The most recent work published on the topic of the ARA's role in Eastern Europe is Bertrand Patenaude's *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921-1922*. Patenaude predominantly analyzed the famine in the Volga provinces of Russia. The work recounted the stories of numerous ARA workers as well as Russian citizens and policy makers. Benjamin Weissman argued that while the Soviet Union and the United States had very different end goals, they both benefited from the work of the ARA in his book *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia: 1921-1923*. Weissman briefly examined the ARA's work in Ukraine. The author provided valuable information like statistics of exports from Ukraine to the Soviet Union. The third work, *Reconstructing Russia* by Leo Bacino focused on the ARA's efforts in Siberia. He provided an extensive

¹⁵ Plohii authored several works on Ukrainian history including *Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past*, University of Toronto Press (2008) and *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*, University of Toronto Press, (2005).

history of the period leading up to the famine, detailing Soviet and American policies in Siberia. Bacino also examined United States military operations in Siberia. None of these works emphasized ARA relief efforts in Ukraine as being different from earlier American aid missions.

1.3 Primary Sources

To understand the importance of the ARA as the first large-scale, American led, international relief effort, one needs to examine primary source documents. I had the opportunity to travel to the Hoover Institute Archives at Stanford University for four days during the summer of 2016. I was investigated several primary sources that demonstrated the enormity of the American Relief Administration's efforts in Ukraine.

There are two major sources that I utilized in my arguments regarding the ARA in Ukraine. The first, the Russian Operation Records of the ARA, is a massive collection of documents regarding all ARA actions in Russia, Ukraine, and other Soviet States. It included repatriation records, statistics on medical supplies and food distribution as well as documents from all subsidiary groups that operated under the ARA, like the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Red Cross, and the Mennonite relief missions.

The second source is the Gibbes Lykes papers. Gibbes Lykes was a United States Army Captain, as well as an ARA official. The collection includes statistics, graphs, and other visual representations of the relief situation in Ukraine. These documents helped me demonstrate the momentous efforts put into helping the Ukrainian people by the ARA, as

well as provided hard evidence that the actions of the ARA were more substantial than any previous American relief efforts.

Several other contemporary articles added insight into the situation that led to the ARA's involvement in Ukraine in the early twentieth century. Basil Paneyko published "The Conditions of Ukrainian Independence" in *The Slavonic Review* in 1923. It included valuable insight into contemporary perceptions of Ukrainian rights to independence by a Ukrainian national. This article is valuable to my research because Paneyko argued that Ukrainian independence hinged greatly on the actions of foreign countries including humanitarian assistance. He argued that alliances between Russia and Germany as well as other western nations forced Ukraine into a subservient position. Although the work displays a significant amount of bias, it provided useful facts for my research regarding foreign intervention in Ukraine and demonstrated the perspective of a contemporary Ukrainian.

Another contemporary document that shed light on the United States' policies in Ukraine is President Woodrow Wilson's "Proclamation 1359—Ukrainian Relief Day," signed March 16, 1917. Congressman James Hamill of New Jersey urged Woodrow Wilson to take action in assisting the struggling Ukrainian population. Wilson made this proclamation two years prior to the advent of the American Relief Administration. Therefore, the American Red Cross handled all inquiries by the public interested in sending aid to Ukraine.

Through the analysis of the historiography, and primary source documents it is clear the ARA played an important role in Ukraine, that culminated to its emergence as America's largest humanitarian assistance organization.

CHAPTER 2: THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN RELIEF

The American Relief Administration was the first, large-scale humanitarian assistance mission organized by activists in conjunction with the United States government. Americans had been involved in smaller, more localized humanitarian efforts for almost fifty years. Yet the beginnings of American humanitarian assistance did not come without resistance. Claude Bontemps clarified that every modern humanitarian assistance group fulfilled a three-fold mission comprise of these objectives:

1. Humanitarian organizations are created in order to defend special interests and to oppose governments.
2. They can also be created to realize missions that governments do not want to carry out themselves, whether it be diplomatic or social, national or international.
3. They can be created to carry out tasks that governments cannot or will not organize, but which they will be able to take over one day.¹⁶

These three guidelines are the fundamental building blocks for aid organizations today. While groups such as the International Red Cross, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Program (WFP) may be overlooked by today's society as having always been facets of human decency and philanthropy, these organizations were not born out of a vacuum.

2.1 The American Red Cross

In the late nineteenth century, the United States Government was openly opposed to involvement in foreign conflicts and foreign humanitarian aid. Secretary of State

¹⁶ Patrick Aeberhard, "A Historical Survey of Humanitarian Action," *Health and Human Rights* 2, (1996): 31. doi:10.2307/4065234.

William Seward, who served after the American Civil War, was a stalwart proponent of the United States' non-intervention policy. In 1863, diplomats and politicians formed the International Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland with the goal of creating "a permanent relief agency for humanitarian aid in times of war." The following year, the Geneva Convention formed in order to create "a government treaty recognizing the neutrality of the agency and allowing it to provide aid in a war zone."¹⁷ In 1866, the Geneva Convention requested the United States join the Organization but the United States declined under the direction of Seward. However, Dr. Henry Bellows founded the American Association for the Relief of Battlefields, with the desire to align the group with the efforts of the International Red Cross. The Association collapsed in 1872 without the support of the United States government or the Geneva Convention. Therefore, the United States remained without any formal humanitarian aid group.¹⁸

Just when it seemed the United States' isolationist policies would prevent the creation of a national relief agency, Clara Barton, a battlefield nurse during the American Civil War became involved in the movement. Barton was well connected to members of the International Red Cross in Geneva. She contacted one of these members, Dr. Appia, who informed her that an American relief agency was unlikely to succeed if the United States did not join the Geneva Convention. Barton's new mission was to convince the United States government that the country would benefit from joining the Convention. She argued in a pamphlet published in 1878, *The Red Cross of the Geneva Convention* that:

¹⁷ Henry Dunant, *A Memory of Solferino* (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross; Reprint edition, 1986).

¹⁸ Dulles, 11.

“Although we in the United States may fondly hope to be seldom visited by the calamities of war, yet the misfortunes of other nations with which we are on terms of amity appeal to our sympathies; our southern coasts are periodically visited by the scourge of yellow fever; the valleys of the Mississippi are subject to destructive inundations; the plains of the West are devastated by insects and drought, and our cities and country are swept by consuming fires. In all such cases, to gather and dispense the profuse liberality of our people, without waste of time or material, requires the wisdom that comes of experience and permanent organization.”¹⁹

When James Garfield replaced Rutherford Hayes as president of the United States, Barton seized the opportunity to appeal to a president who was more amiable to her desire for the creation of a national relief agency. In May 1881, Barton succeeded in ratifying a constitution for the American Association of the Red Cross. This new group would be affiliated with the International Red Cross, and had five major goals:

1. Adoption by the United States Government of the Geneva Treaty.
2. Official recognition of the new society by the United States Government.
3. Organization of national relief to mitigate the sufferings caused by war, pestilence, famine and other calamities.
4. The collection and diffusion of information pertinent to such activities.
5. Co-operation with similar national societies accepted by the International Committee in Geneva.²⁰

Unfortunately for Barton and other proponents of the American Red Cross, President Garfield was assassinated in 1881. Garfield’s assassination threw a wrench into proceedings on whether the United States would sign of the Geneva Convention. Luckily, Garfield’s successor, Chester Arthur supported Barton’s movement and signed the Geneva Treaty March 1, 1882.²¹ The American Red Cross provided medical aid in about 21 domestic disasters during the first several years of its existence. In 1905, the American Red Cross shifted its mission and began providing medical assistance to other nations where natural disasters occurred. The organization participated in about fifty foreign

¹⁹ Dulles, 13, 14.

²⁰ Dulles, 15.

²¹ Dulles, 17.

operations, with total expenditures of almost \$5,000,000.²² These operations ranged from earthquakes in Costa Rica to a flood in Serbia.

Different emergencies in various countries caused the Red Cross to face a myriad of unique issues. For example, the Chinese government asked the American Red Cross to aid citizens suffering from river flooding. Armed conflicts within China and lack of a Chinese relief agency with the ability to help its own population prevented the American Red Cross from effectively providing aid. On the other hand, after an earthquake in Italy in 1908, the American Red Cross orchestrated an effort to build homes for victims of the earthquake and provide medical aid. This effort was in large part successful, due to the ability of the American Red Cross to utilize the Italian Red Cross as a mediator in operations on the ground. The American Red Cross also sent contractors to Italy to help build homes and distribute supplies. These actions were unique, because the American Red Cross previously relied on local agencies to do the more hands-on labor, and simply shipped money and materiel to affected areas.

The American Red Cross continued the trend of sending large numbers of personnel to assist the sick and wounded in Mexico during the Mexican Revolution from 1911-1917. Problems arose when conflict interrupted communication and transportation lines. These forays into large scale humanitarian aid by the American Red Cross indicated that an organization with a broader purpose, as well as a more diverse pool of resources would be necessary to fully assist a suffering nation recover from catastrophe.

²² Dulles, 120.

2.2 The Committee for the Relief of Belgium

The First World War created a humanitarian disaster previously unknown to the world. The conflict devastated Belgium and Northern France in particular. German U-Boat activities and a British blockade of northern Europe that disrupted shipping cut off supplies from both countries. Supplies were unable to reach these regions by land because of the inconsistent front lines that stretched hundreds of miles between the English Channel and Southern France.

The first attempt at feeding the starving Belgian population began almost as soon as the First World War erupted. In September 1914, negotiations between Spanish, American, British, and German officials took place, in an attempt to agree on how to feed starving Belgian civilians. In October, Herbert Hoover, then head of the United States Food Administration, called another meeting. Together with Hoover, American Engineers Colonel John Lucy, John Beaver White, Millard Shaler, Hugh Gibson and Ben S. Allen formed the “American Commission For Relief in Belgium,” later shortened to “The Committee for Relief in Belgium,” (CRB) due to its composition of diplomats from throughout Europe.²³ This organization had six major goals:

1. To build up the organization for purchase and overseas shipments of Supplies
 2. To secure adequate agreements from the Germans to protect imported and native supplies in Belgium and immunity of attack on our ships en-route
 3. To Secure adequate agreements with the Allies for passage of our supplies through the blockade and liberty of action of charter ships
 4. To organize the charity of the world
 5. To obtain financial support from the Allies and possibly from the Germans
 6. To build up organization of the Belgians for adequate distribution²⁴
- Diplomats from Great Britain and the United States constituted the largest

segment of the Committee for the Relief of Belgium. The United States remained a

²³ Herbert Hoover, *An American Epic : The Relief of Belgium and Northern France 1914-1930* (Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1959), 3.

²⁴ Hoover, 15.

neutral nation for the first three years of the CRB's operation. The United States provided the largest amount of food and clothing to the operation, adding up to a total of \$34, 521, 026.99. Great Britain's contribution of \$16,641,034.85 followed. Finally, contributions given by other allied nations in Latin America and elsewhere totaled \$1,128,773.67.²⁵

2.3 The Beginning of the ARA

It was apparent to Herbert Hoover that the United States would be an integral player in rebuilding Europe in November 1918. Even though German troops were retreating and victory seemed imminent, destruction of Belgium and France continued. Hoover learned that the German army was burning property and destroying coal mines during their retreat.²⁶ In a letter to President Woodrow Wilson on November 2, 1918, Hoover wrote that he was worried that even after hostilities had ended, that the people of Belgium would suffer tremendously due to the destructive actions of the German Army.²⁷ Hoover also acknowledged the surrendering Central Powers would face hardships and it was necessary to assist their starving populations. The CRB ceased transportation of goods to Belgium on April 30, 1919. However, realizing the necessity of continuing assistance to Europe, Hoover sought another solution.

The authority of the United States Treasury to make loans to Europe to fund the war, as well as use of \$100,000,000 in Congressional appropriations for supplies ended when the belligerents signed Treaty of Versailles in 1919.²⁸ While this official

²⁵ Hoover, 31.

²⁶ Herbert Hoover, *An American Epic: I, Introduction, the Relief of Belgium and Northern France*, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959,) 387.

²⁷ "Letter from Herbert Hoover to Woodrow Wilson," November 2, 1918.

²⁸ Hoover, III, 236.

government mission ceased to provide supplies to a decimated Europe, Hoover argued, “great charitable agencies-such as the American Red Cross, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Near East Relief Committee, and the American Friends Society were determined to continue their beneficent services.”²⁹ However, he noted that none of these societies working independently could fulfill all of the needs of a struggling European population. A diverse network of suppliers funded the ARA. All official American relief agencies had a surplus of 17,585 tons of food, medical supplies, and clothing that amounted to \$6,625,051 after the treaty of Versailles. The ARA assumed control of these supplies for distribution. Other contributors included the Young Men’s and Young Women’s Christian Associations and the American Council for the Relief of European Children (ACREC). “Food drafts” sold through American banks also raised money. Through food drafts, an American purchaser could send between ten and fifty dollars to friends or family in Europe. The total amount of food drafts sold was \$24,302,916. Finally, some of the countries the ARA operated in provided supplies and cash to assist their operations. Poland donated the most supplies valued at \$7,659,375, while Germany donated \$18,010,219 in cash. Hoover does not note in his memoirs if Germany’s donation was voluntary, or if it was a part of their debt after the Versailles Treaty. However, the vast majority of funds raised by the ARA were for Bolshevik Russia, and Ukraine, which added up to \$40,213,563.00.³⁰

The diversity of sources funding ARA blurred the line in determining whether the ARA was a public or private institution. . The United States Institute of Peace defined an NGO as, “A private, self-governing, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing an

²⁹ Hoover, III, 243.

³⁰ Hoover , III, 249-252.

objective or objectives such as alleviating human suffering; promoting education, health care, economic development, environmental protection, human rights, and conflict resolution; and encouraging the establishment of democratic institutions and civil society.”³¹ The ARA was not a nongovernmental organization (NGO) because it received funding directly from the United States Government and government officials served in the ARA apparatus. However, the ARA was not a fully public organization either because it received funds from private donors in the forms of food drafts and contributions from groups such as the YMCA and the ACREC.

Hoover’s original focus at the end of the war was to feed starving European children. In a letter to President Wilson in June of 1919, Hoover noted that “ it appeared at the time, and has since been demonstrated, that the furnishing of rough staples to large massed populations under the difficulties of distribution in weak governments was more or less a hit or miss as to whether the children, especially of the poor, would survive.” Hoover understood that Europe needed a large humanitarian assistance apparatus in the turmoil following the end of the war, to provide supplies to starving children. Hoover outlined a new organization that could incorporate all non-governmental American humanitarian assistance organizations in that same letter. Hoover received a very brief response from President Wilson: “I entirely approve the proposal you make here.”³²

With President Wilson’s support, Hoover requested the provisions taken from the national security and defense funds transition from the Food Administration, to the new American Relief Administration. The United States government approved this action in

³¹ “Nongovernmental Organization (NGO),” accessed May 2, 2018, <https://www.usip.org/glossary/nongovernmental-organization-ngo>.

³² “Letter from President Woodrow Wilson to Herbert Hoover,” June, 1919.

late June 1919. On July 7, 1919, Hoover called for a meeting in New York (Hoover was currently in Paris) where members of the former CRB, as well as representatives of other non-governmental aid organizations would formulate a plan for the ARA. The response from Hoover's colleagues was swift, and on July 12, 1919, the ARA registered as a non-profit corporation, with Hoover as chairman.

In 1919, Hoover estimated that the ARA would only need to facilitate humanitarian assistance in Europe, until the harvest of 1920 and largely focus on aid to children. However, conditions in Europe especially from Poland eastward, were worse than he expected and the ARA continued its operations until 1923, and had to administer aid to both adults and children.³³

³³ Hoover, III, 248.

CHAPTER 3: THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE 1914-1921

To understand the devastation in Ukraine wrought by famine in the early 1920s, one must study the situation there in the early years of the twentieth century. Two major events helped necessitate the intervention of the ARA in Ukraine. The first was the failure of the Ukrainian Independence movement, and the second was the occupation of Ukraine by the Central Powers. While these events took place throughout Eastern Europe, and involved different parties, they are all intertwined with the story of the ARA in Ukraine. Several forces outside of Ukraine affected the outcome of these crises leaving the Ukrainian Soviet government unable to feed its population during the famine leading to the intervention of the American Relief Administration.

3.1 The Push for Ukrainian Independence

The name “Ukraine” derived from the Slavic word for borderlands. Throughout their history, the Ukrainian people have been subjects of the Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and several other foreign empires. At various points, Ukrainians fought for their independence from these foreign governments were unsuccessful. However, for a short period during the early twentieth century, Ukrainians succeeded in gaining their independence. Ukrainian land had been a prized possession of each empire that held dominion over it because of its vast quantities of resources as well as its strategic position in east-central Europe.

Ukraine had always been a primary supplier of wheat to other eastern European nations, and with industrialization, the coal found in eastern Ukraine became increasingly important. Ukraine served as a buffer zone against Russian and Finnish incursion when it

was controlled by the Poles, as well as a natural defensive barrier against western European invaders when the country was part of the Russian empire. Ukraine strived so ardently for her independence in the early twentieth century because of its constant use as a pawn in the success of other nations. Although Ukrainians fought tenaciously for autonomy from foreign governments, the early successes and eventual failure of the Ukrainian independence movement, hinged on the role foreign governments played. The success of an independent, democratic Ukraine free from communist influence interested the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. In some cases, these western governments supplied funding and even troops to influence the outcome of the Ukrainian struggle for independence. On the other hand, inaction or disagreements from foreign governments hindered the Ukrainian cause. While western governments tried to help the Ukrainians achieve independence, they were more concerned with continuing the war against the Central Powers, and protecting their own interests and less with an independent Ukraine. When western nations realized their assistance to Ukraine was no longer beneficial to their own national interests, they left Ukraine to fend for itself, leading to its eventual collapse and famine.

3.2 The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Collapse of the Rada

The territory of Ukraine changed hands between different European empires throughout the First World War. The collapse of the Romanov monarchy in Russia led to a surge in nationalism throughout Eastern Europe, which was perhaps most pronounced in Ukraine due to Ukraine's constant occupation by other empires.

Ukrainian citizens formed the Ukrainian People's Republic in Kyiv a month after the collapse of the monarchy. This new government established a "Central Rada" or

council, which took the responsibility to govern the new autonomous Ukrainian Republic. A new body called the All-Ukrainian National Congress comprised of people from all social backgrounds and regions of the republic formed after the creation of the Rada.³⁴ The new republic had close connections with the Russian Provisional Government, and a large segment of the population was adamant about remaining a part of the new Russian democracy as an autonomous Ukrainian entity. After a failed offensive coordinated by the new Russian Prime minister Alexander Kerensky in summer 1917 against the Central Powers, public opinion began to shift away from the new Russian Republic and more towards a separate Ukrainian Republic. After the October Revolution and the collapse of the provisional government in Russia, the Bolsheviks did not intend to lose control of the vast expanse of Ukrainian land and resources. A devastating conflict between Bolsheviks in Russia and Ukrainian patriots of different strains erupted, influenced by domestic and international empires of Western Europe and the United States.

³⁴ Taras Hunczak, *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977), 6.



Fig 1. Map of Ukrainian Territory, 1917-1919.

The treaty of Brest- Litovsk, signed March 3, 1918 was the agreement that signaled the end of formal conflict between the new Bolshevik Russia and the Central Powers. German and Austro- Hungarian troops occupied Ukraine in accordance with a separate agreement signed at Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and the newly created democratic government of Ukraine. Bolshevik troops were still present in large numbers throughout Ukraine. The Germans pushed the Bolsheviks back to the border of the Russian Soviet Republic, and the Germans occupied the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv March 1, 1918. The Ukrainian Rada remained in place until April 1918.

Conflict ravaged the Ukrainian territory occupied by the Germans and Austria-Hungary. The German military reporter Collin Ross wrote a report on the conditions of

Ukraine in March 1918 following the beginning of the occupation by the Central Powers. He noted, “when German forces entered Ukraine they found absolute chaos...There was no central government... and the country was divided into areas not larger than one city or even a small village.”³⁵ This chaos demonstrated the lack of power the Ukrainian or Bolshevik governments held over the Ukrainian population prior to the arrival of the Germans.

The Germans and Austro-Hungarians focused on securing the Ukrainian grain supplies for their use as a food source for the western front by March of 1918. The new Ukrainian Socialist government stripped the landlords of their property in an attempt to eradicate private property and promote communal ownership of property. This policy created massive conflict throughout the country. Ross stated in his report that “infrequently one came across neighboring villages surrounded by trenches and fighting each other for the land of the former landlords.” The Germans struggled to acquire supplies because of the Ukrainian peasants’ reluctance to share food amongst themselves. The commander of the German occupation of Ukraine, General von Eichorn, made a proclamation to the Ukrainian peasants with the intent of easing the ability of the German military to seize food supplies April 6, 1918. The proclamation included rules that prevented peasants from withholding food from the occupying army, and demanded that peasants return all farming supplies to their previous owners.³⁶

These rules removed the regulations that abolished landlord rights set in place by the independent Ukrainian government after the treaty at Brest-Litovsk. These

³⁵ “O polezhenii del na Ukraine,” A.R.R., I, 288-292. 1918.

³⁶ . James Bunyan, “General Eichorn’s Order to the Ukrainian Peasants,” *Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia, April- December 1918: Documents and Materials* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936), 6.

regulations were meant to settle disputes between peasants, and facilitate food acquisition by the Central Powers' occupying troops. The Ukrainian Rada did not sanction this proclamation, and that body appealed to Berlin in order to have the newly enforced laws removed. This was to no avail and the German occupying government sought another solution to its supply issues, as well as a way to put down increasing nationalist Ukrainian peasant revolts.

The German solution came in the form of a coup d'état by General Paul Skoropadsky in April.³⁷ Skoropadsky was a wealthy farmer who served as Czar Nicolas II aide de camp during World War One. General Groener, Chief of Staff of the German Army of Occupation, and Skoropadsky signed an agreement April 24, 1918. This agreement included nine tenets. These included the dissolution of land committees, the destruction of the central Rada, re-establishment of private property, but most impactful for the impending humanitarian crisis, "the Central powers are to be compensated for their military aid to the Ukraine."³⁸ This crippling addition to the agreement helped fuel the deficit in supplies and funds the Ukrainian government could have utilized during the famine.

The Ukrainian Rada in Kyiv learned of the agreement between Skoropadsky and the Central Powers April 25, 1918. The Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs Liubinsky postulated that the order was a "result of propaganda against us," and that in the treaty signed at Brest-Litovsk "the Germans definitely promised not to interfere in our domestic

³⁷ Arthur Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine; the Second Campaign, 1918-1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 8.

³⁸ Bunyan, 6.

affairs... but they find it too difficult to understand our internal situation.”³⁹ On April 26, 1918, the Rada dismissed von Eichorn’s “Order to the Ukrainian Peasants,” and refused to accept German policy decisions. General Eichorn declared martial law in the city of Kyiv after hearing of the Rada’s disapproval.⁴⁰

The situation for the democratic socialist government of Ukraine and hopes for true Ukrainian independence worsened in late April 1918. On April 26, Germans disarmed Ukrainian soldiers.⁴¹ This interaction signaled a shift in Germany’s support away from the government that they signed a treaty with at Brest-Litovsk, because the Ukrainian soldiers had not been in combat against the Germans. At the April 28, 1918 session of the Rada, Volodymyr Vinnichenko outlined the only hopes for the survival of an independent Ukrainian government:

“The reason for our tragedy is not by any means the fact the Germans are here. They saved us from the Bolsheviks. The reason for our tragedy is the fact that, though economically the Ukraine and Germany are friendly, yet socially they are hostile. Furthermore, the non-Ukrainian democracy still continues to dream of a united and undivided Russia. The Germans wished to obtain the support of the circles that formerly favored the Allies. Our own forces are weak and our principal hope is the socialist movement in the west.”⁴²

This proclamation was similar to Liubinsky’s point that the Germans did not fully understand the social situation in Ukraine, and therefore could not effectively administer support there. German troops burst into the Rada’s chambers and arrested its leaders shortly after Vinnechenko’s speech. The following day, Skoropadsky and several Cossack groups surrounded the Rada, machineguns in hand. This signaled the end of the independent Ukrainian Rada, and began the transition to a German military backed

³⁹ *Svoboda Rossii*, No. 16, April 30, 1918, 2.

⁴⁰ *Svoboda Rossii*, No. 19, May 4, 1918, 2.

⁴¹ Bunyan, 9.

⁴² *Svoboda Rossii*, No. 20, May 9, 1918, 5.

Ukrainian dictatorship. The Rada may not have been the most efficient governing body, but its collapse led to massive destabilization and caused Ukraine to suffer greatly in the upcoming famine.

3.3 Hetman Skoropadsky's Regime

A meeting of the Congress of Landowners took place in Kyiv after the dissolution of the Rada. This group was comprised of landowners and peasants from the Ukrainian regions of Poltava, Ekaterinoslav and Kyiv. The congress called for the formation of a new government with the approval of the German occupiers. On April 29, 1918, the congress introduced General of the Guard, Pavlo Skoropadsky as "Hetman Skoropadsky." He made a speech to the congress and prayed to God that he would be able to save Ukraine from further bloodshed and famine.⁴³ Hetman was a term used by Ukrainian Cossacks to describe a tribal leader or King but had not been bestowed upon anyone in centuries. The following day, Skoropadsky gave a public speech that included his declaration of his acceptance of the title of "Hetman of the Ukraine." He discussed his disappointment with the previous democratic government, stating, "The former government of Ukraine proved incompetent. Disorder and anarchy reigned throughout the country and economic disorganization and unemployment are steadily on the increase, with the result that the once prosperous Ukraine is now threatened by the approaching phantom of starvation."⁴⁴ The German occupation forces fully supported Skoropadsky's seizure of power. The change in regime shifted responsibility for acquiring Central Powers military food resources from the German command to Skoropadsky's regime. As Hetman, Skoropadsky gained full dictatorial power. He

⁴³ Bunyan, 15.

⁴⁴ "Proclamation of Hetman Skoropadsky," *Pravda*, No. 88, May 9, 1918. 3.

appointed the prime minister, as well as all of his cabinet members without input from any other officials. He was also in command of all of the Ukrainian military forces including the national Army and Navy.⁴⁵ Skoropadsky's role as dictator, and the upheaval that followed, would be one of the major factors that led to the famine in the early 1920s and necessitated the intervention of the ARA in Ukraine.

Backlash against the Hetmanate was swift amongst the peasant population of Ukraine. The All-Ukrainian peasant congress held a session immediately following Hetman Skoropadsky's speech. The congress rejected the seizure of power by Skoropadsky, declared that they would not return their land to the landlords and wished for the Rada to be reinstated as the supreme power in Ukraine. The Congress of the Party of People's Freedom, led by Hetman Skoropadsky, responded, "the fall of the Ukrainian Rada was doubtless accelerated by the Rada's inability to fulfill the obligations of providing food which were imposed on the Ukraine by the commercial treaty with Germany."⁴⁶ Skoropadsky's congress wanted to shift the blame of Ukraine's impending food crisis away from the landlords to the Rada in an attempt to ease tensions with the peasants. However, this only incensed the peasants to argue with both the Germans who imposed the unfair commercial treaty as well as Skoropadsky's regime for going along with it.

By early June of 1918, peasant uprisings against the Hetmanate were taking place throughout Ukraine. Armed bands of peasants assumed the title of "Forest Brothers" in the regions of Kyiv, Chernigov, Ekaterinoslav and Kharkiv.⁴⁷ These groups attacked both

⁴⁵ Bunyan, 17.

⁴⁶ *Svoboda Rossii*, No. 26, May 16, 1918, 2.

⁴⁷ *Svoboda Rossii*, No. 19, May 4, 1918, 3.

German and Ukrainian national army troops. They refused to return farm implements they had taken from the landlords in early 1918. As the displeasure amongst peasants surrounding the Skoropadsky regime grew, “Forest Brother” bands became more organized and aggressive. On June 13, 1918, one band occupied the village of Boguslav near Kyiv. They ransacked homes and disarmed the local militia, which supported the Hetmanate. However, the German and Ukrainian national armies were ruthless in their attempts to break up these revolts. In most cases the Germans were able to quell the revolts but often destroyed entire villages in the process. By destroying so many lives and so much property, the government of Ukraine left many of its peasants unable to deal with the impending famine.



Fig 2. Hetman Skoropadsky and German General von Hindenburg, 1918 ⁴⁸

⁴⁸ “Hetman Skoropadsky and German General von Hindenburg, 1918 ,” accessed April 20, 2018, <https://alchetron.com/Pavlo-Skoropadsky>.

The German and Ukrainian Hetmanate armies were relatively successful in putting down peasant uprisings throughout Ukraine. However, a hero amongst peasants soon rose to power in southern Ukraine. Nestor Makhno began organizing peasants in southern Ukraine in March 1918 in response to the occupation of the country by the Central Powers. Makhno came of age in extreme poverty in the Ekaterinoslav province of Ukraine. He aligned himself with anarchist parties of southern Russia, also known as the “Black Guards” because they fought under the black flag of anarchy. Makhno began in March 1918 when he conducted raids on landlords’ estates and railroad stations, returning “stolen property” to his peasant soldiers.⁴⁹ Support for Makhno’s movement grew rapidly in southern Ukraine where the Skoropadsky was unpopular. By the summer of 1918, Makhno began openly attacking German and Austrian troops in Ukraine. The German commander in Kyiv became enraged at Makhno’s actions, and sent a detachment to end the revolts. Makhno was defeated and captured. However, he escaped imprisonment and returned to his rabble rousing. In a testament to Makhno’s brutality and character, a man named Gerasiminko who was involved with Makhno’s campaign provided this story that took place five days after Makhno’s escape from captivity, “Makhno slaughtered a detachment of Austrians... and forced a few capture officers, including the commander of the detachment, to play cards with him. The game continued for two days, after which the officers were shot.”⁵⁰ Nestor Makhno’s popularity among Ukrainian peasants stemmed from his defiance of the unpopular Hetmanate, as well as his brutality toward the unpopular German and Austrian occupiers and landlords. Occupying

⁴⁹ K.V. Gerasimenko, *Istori i Sovremenik*, III, 151-154.

⁵⁰ Gerasimenko, 153.

forces were never able to contain Makhno's actions. Between April and June 1918, Makhno conducted 118 raids. In July, the situation in Ukraine would shift drastically.

In the summer of 1918, the Soviet Union sent a delegation to Ukraine. This delegation recognized the independent Ukrainian state, and established Ukrainian consulates in Moscow and Petrograd. The Ukrainian anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser postulated that this move by the Bolsheviks was merely propaganda in order to promote their government so that when the Germans left, Ukrainians would be more amiable to the Soviet Union.⁵¹ However, on July 30, 1918, Russian Socialist-Revolutionist Boris Donskoi assassinated Field Marshal Eichorn in Kyiv. In prison, Donskoi stated, "The Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Left condemned Eichorn to death because he... strangled the Ukrainian Revolution and took the land away from the peasants."⁵² This assassination, coupled with the assassination of Count Mirbach, German ambassador to Moscow, prompted reprisal killings by the Germans and Ukrainian Hetmanate armies.

In November 1918, after the defeat of the Central Powers on the western front, German and Austrian Troops withdrew from Ukraine. This severely weakened Skoropadsky's power and he quickly moved to align with the Bolsheviks in Russia. He dismissed all members of his cabinet who desired Ukrainian independence, and stated that Ukraine was an integral part of Russia.⁵³ Ukrainian nationalists and former members of the Rada quickly overthrew Skoropadsky after he lost the backing of the Central Powers. These politicians established the Ukrainian People's Republic and Directory on

⁵¹ Alexander Goldenweiser, "Iz Kievskish vospaminanii," in *A.R.R.*, VI, 217-230.

⁵² Bunyan, 28.

⁵³ *Severnaya Kommuna*, No 155, November 16, 1918.

December 25, 1918.⁵⁴ The Directory reversed all previous laws under the Hetmanate regarding land in a resolution. The resolution also denounced the ruling class that had made up a majority of the government during Skoropadsky's reign, and banned them from representing the people of Ukraine by holding political office. Despite the proclamations that the directory would empower the Ukrainian people, unrest was still present throughout the country. In an effort to reclaim Ukraine as part of Russia, the new Bolshevik Government instituted a separate Ukrainian Government in the eastern city of Kharkiv. From Kharkiv, the Bolsheviks waged a campaign against the republican state in Kyiv. Ultimately, the Bolsheviks in Russia sent an army to destroy the independent Ukrainian government. Without international assistance, Kyiv fell to the Bolsheviks February 5, 1919. What followed was the establishment of The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic that would remain in some form until 1991.

3.4 Interference by Other Nations in Ukraine

France was the first nation that officially recognized the democratic Ukrainian state as a sovereign country. This posed an issue for the Central Powers, who saw the negative aspects of a Ukrainian nation in opposition to the new Soviet Union. For example, because France recognized Ukraine as a nation, the Central Powers, namely Austria Hungary, perceived Ukraine as a threat to the newly proposed peace between Bolshevik Russia and the Central Powers. 1918 was first year of Independence for Ukraine, and would be the last until 1991. After the Central Powers' defeat, the Soviet

⁵⁴ Bunyan , 29.

Union asserted control over Ukraine. A small French invasion took place in Crimea, but Bolshevik partisans defended their territory in Sevastopol and Odessa.⁵⁵

Several western nations saw the implications of Ukraine becoming a part of the Soviet Union as a hazard to the safety of their own countries. For example, England and France were in favor of a buffer zone against the Bolsheviks that ran from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.⁵⁶ In addition, the necessity of keeping the eastern front open against the Central Powers was pivotal for the success of the allies. Both Great Britain and France allied with groups of Russians, Ukrainians, and Romanians, who wanted to continue the war against the Central Powers. The Ukrainian Rada entered a partnership with the “an autonomous Czechoslovak Army” later the Czechoslovak Legion, which was to fall under the command of the French army as an independent Allied armed force.⁵⁷ The Allied high command announced that any group in Eastern Europe that wished to continue the war against the Central Powers would receive military support from the Allies.⁵⁸ Other members of the Czechoslovak Legion were hesitant to intervene in a conflict that was becoming less about defeating the Central Powers, and more about Ukrainian Independence. In an act of desperation to prevent the spread of Bolshevism, the Ukrainian Rada signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers. After the Germans and Austrians began to occupy Ukraine, the Czechoslovak Corps escaped to Russia.⁵⁹ The French military did establish a recruiting and supply office in Kiev, but the Allies were unable to provide enough military support to prevent the Bolsheviks from

⁵⁵ Hunczak, 120

⁵⁶ Hunczak, 330.

⁵⁷ George F. Kennan, "The Czechoslovak Legion." *The Russian Review* 16, no. 4 (1957): 5. doi:10.2307/125745.

⁵⁸ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia* (3 vols; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-32), Vol 1, 330-31.

⁵⁹ Kennan, 6.

overrunning Kyiv.⁶⁰ The inability of Western nations to sufficiently supply military aid to the Ukrainians, caused the Rada to falter, and it was rendered powerless against the ensuing occupation by Germany and later, the Bolsheviks.

In August of 1918, during a debate over a vote of credit to further fund the British war effort, British Parliament began to discuss the fate of an independent Ukraine. Several members of parliament described the horrible atrocities going on in Ukraine and Romania at the hands of the occupying Germans. John Dillon, an MP from Dublin, Ireland himself a major proponent of Irish nationalism and home rule, mentioned the British mission to spread propaganda “on behalf of the British Government” in Russia and Ukraine, was not sufficiently funded or conducted with sufficient knowledge of Eastern European culture.⁶¹ He emphasized the importance of deeper knowledge of the Ukrainian people the British Government tried to assist. He also indicated that neither the British, nor the Germans, were able to influence the outcome in Ukraine the way they wanted. He went on to fault his own government for forcing Alexander Kerensky, the Russian provisional leader after the abdication of the Romanov family, to pursue an offensive against the Central Powers. This offensive ended in failure and the Bolsheviks took power in Russia. All of these claims sum up Mr. Dillon’s belief that Great Britain did not know enough about the situation in Ukraine to involve the British government in affairs there. This speech was an appeal by Mr. Dillon to curtail British involvement in Ukraine due to lack of information about Ukraine’s culture. While one could conclude that Mr. Dillon was alone in his idea that Ukraine should be left to fight on its own, it was

⁶⁰ Adams, 7.

⁶¹ Statement by Bonard Law, January 1, 1918, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, Vol. 109, cols. 767-768.

known throughout western governments that Ukraine would be cut off from Allied assistance due to its alliance with Germany, and that Germany was at fault should Ukraine be absorbed into the Soviet Union. In June 1918, Member of Parliament Arthur Balfour acknowledged, “It may, perhaps, be sufficient to say that since that region (Ukraine) became completely subservient to Germany it has received no assistance from the Allies.”⁶² Finally, in 1919, after the German occupation of Ukraine ended, Great Britain neglected to include Ukraine in a conference of allied Eastern European nations that included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, the Caucasian Republics, and representatives of General Denikin.⁶³ Eventually, Great Britain settled on supporting General Denikin and his monarchist, anti-Bolshevik campaigns instead of pursuing Ukrainian independence.⁶⁴ After Ukraine ceased to be a viable buffer zone against the Soviet Union, the British government did not care about the fight for Ukrainian independence.

The departure of German occupation forces and the collapse of the Hetmanate government they supported left Ukraine in the state of a massive power vacuum. In southern Ukraine, French and Greek soldiers supported Ukrainian independence troops in an attempt to prevent the Bolshevik takeover of large cities like Odessa. Most Ukrainians resented the French and Greek troops, and Bolsheviks seized power in southern Ukraine.⁶⁵ Because of their failure in southern Ukraine, the French supported the new Polish government. The vacuum created by the collapse of the Central Powers allowed western Ukrainians to establish their own independent state known as the West Ukrainian

⁶² *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, June 17, 1918, vol. 107. Col. 26

⁶³ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, November 20, 1919, vol.121, col.1110.

⁶⁴ Hunczak, 343.

⁶⁵ Hunczak, 340.

People's Republic in November 1918. The new government claimed possession of land that belonged to Poland including the city of Lviv. After a drawn-out conflict, the Polish army was able to reclaim their former territory, including Lviv.⁶⁶ However, they would not have been able to do so without military assistance from France. The Polish "Blue Army" trained in France, and transferred back to Poland with the purpose of halting Bolshevik aggression in Eastern Europe. The Polish government utilized this army against the Western Ukrainian State against orders from France.⁶⁷ While France denounced the use of French trained troops for that purpose, they supported the territorial gains Poland made against Ukraine, symbolizing their disinterest in an independent Ukrainian nation.

The cause for Ukrainian independence took a different shape in the United States. In the late nineteenth century, a large Ukrainian diaspora formed throughout the United States and Canada. When the news of conflict in Ukraine reached Ukrainians in the United States, there was an outpouring of financial support. Following the collapse of the Russian monarchy and the ensuing famine in Ukraine, President Woodrow Wilson declared April 21, 1917 "Ukrainian Relief Day."⁶⁸ The United States government saw the conflict there as a humanitarian disaster, as well as a legitimate claim to national sovereignty partially due to the country's large Ukrainian diaspora. Congressman James A. Hamill of New Jersey sought an audience with President Woodrow Wilson prior to the Paris peace talks in attempt to persuade him of Ukraine's right to independence. He was

⁶⁶ Also known as Lemberg.

⁶⁷ Richard Watt. *Bitter Glory: Poland and Its Fate, 1918 to 1939*. (New York: Simon and Schuster), 1979.

⁶⁸ Woodrow Wilson: "Proclamation 1359—Ukrainian Relief Day," March 16, 1917. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=24409>.

unable to do this, but his efforts continued in the United States. Hamill's most successful venture in supporting Ukrainian independence involved raising funds for hunger relief in Ukraine.⁶⁹ Neither the United States nor Western European efforts to assist Ukraine were successful, until the intervention of the ARA.

Ukraine's status as a borderland has existed for centuries. In 1917 and 1918, Ukraine put forth its strongest effort to gain independence from its international neighbors who imposed their will on the country for hundreds of years. That effort was stifled by internal divisions, but more importantly because of external intervention. Western European powers sought to support an independent Ukraine only when it best suited their needs. The United States similarly neglected Ukrainian desires for independence because of its perceived lack of importance, when it provided money but no official military intervention. If the western powers had more wholeheartedly supported an independent, democratic Ukraine, the structure of European politics and conflict could have been drastically different in the twentieth century and perhaps the ARA would have not played such a major role assisting Soviet Ukraine.

⁶⁹ Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2002), 60.

CHAPTER 4: THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN UKRAINE

The decimation of Western Europe during the First World War, Belgium in particular, contributed to a massive crisis resulting in shortages of food, medical supplies and clothing. This was a rallying cry for the American people to provide humanitarian assistance. Europe faced a long and slow rebuilding process following the end of World War One. However, the ongoing conflicts in Eastern Europe spurred by the Russian Revolution, and nationalist independence movements proved a more complicated matter for private aid organizations and the United States Government. The revolution and civil war in Russia led to even more shortages.

Maxim Gorky, the famous Russian writer, pleaded with all “honest European and American People” to send food and medicine to his starving country in July 1921.⁷⁰ However, Herbert Hoover imposed several requirements that the new Soviet government had to meet before providing American aid. First, the Soviet government must admit it needed help. Hoover saw this as necessary because he did not want the perception to form among Americans that he was organizing aid to a country that did not need help for personal or political gain. Second, the Soviet Union must continue to do its best to feed its own population while receiving American help. Finally, Soviet authorities must sanction movement in and out of the country by American aid workers.⁷¹ The Soviet Government quickly met these demands, indicating their country’s dire situation.

Initially, the Soviets did not want Americans to set up aid stations in large cities. Cities like Petrograd and Moscow held significance for the Communists as revolutionary

⁷⁰ Benjamin Weissman, "Herbert Hoover's "Treaty" with Soviet Russia: August 20, 1921." *Slavic Review* 28, no. 2 (1969): 276.

⁷¹ Weismann, 277.

places, and the presence of foreign aid workers would cast a negative light on the Party's role there. However, the Soviets quickly abandoned this plan because the famine devastated the cities, and they desperately needed help. At the beginning of negotiations discussing humanitarian relief to the Soviet Union in Riga, Lenin was incredibly hostile to Hoover and the ARA's Director for European Relief, Walter Brown, calling the Americans "insolent liars."⁷² As negotiations for relief continued, the Soviets successfully resisted some of the American demands. For example, Soviet diplomats argued they had never provided famine relief to rural populations. Therefore, they could not begin to do so simply to comply with Hoover's demand that they provide supplementary rations in addition to those provided by the ARA. The Soviets also insisted that a mix of Americans and Soviet citizens staff the regional offices for famine relief, so that Americans did not have total control of operations.⁷³

After much deliberation, the United States Government and the new Soviet Government signed an agreement in 1921 in Riga. This agreement allowed ARA to supply food anywhere in Russia, as it deemed necessary.⁷⁴ Despite this, the treaty did not specifically mention the territory of Ukraine in the Riga agreement, and there was confusion on whether or not the United States had permission to send aid there. Ukraine had been the location of significant turmoil in the decades leading up to the First World War, which included occupation by the Poles, Germans, Russians, as well as a war between Ukrainian and Polish independence fighters. Ukraine pushed for its own independent government in the late 1910s, but failed due to conflict with outside powers

⁷² Ibid, 282.

⁷³ Ibid. 283

⁷⁴ Bertrand Patenaude, *The Big Show In Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 96.

including Poland and the Soviet Union who viewed Ukraine as a part of their nations. Poor crop turnouts and constant exports by the Soviet Government of the small amount of crops Ukrainian farmers did produce led to Ukraine becoming one of the hardest hit famine regions in Eastern Europe. The ARA had already sent officers, many of whom had served in that Administration in Western Europe, to start an office in Russia by 1919.⁷⁵ They orchestrated relief efforts throughout Russian famine regions, particularly along the Volga River and in Siberia. While in Western Europe, most of the ARA's efforts focused on food distribution in large part provided directly by the United States Government; in Ukraine the ARA attempted to assist hundreds of American citizens living in Ukraine return to the United States, distribute medical supplies, and feed a starving territory.

In 1921, the ARA noted that workers delivered almost 40 percent of all American food relief to regions in Ukraine. This caused confusion in the upper echelons of the ARA, given that at the time, neither the ARA nor the Soviet government considered Ukraine to be suffering from famine.⁷⁶ The official famine zone was only in the Russian Soviet Republic. The meeting between two ARA Officials and Mykola Skripnik, the Bolshevik Chief Commissar in Kharkov, Ukraine, in November 1921, evidenced this confusion. In this meeting, Skripnik argued that the Soviet Union considered Soviet Ukraine a political equal to Russia, and therefore was not in need of aid from the United States.⁷⁷ On the other hand, ARA officials deemed it necessary that Americans send aid there after an American investigation of regions in southern Ukraine found conditions of starvation amongst the population. (Fig. 3). To do this, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic,

⁷⁵ Ibid, 50.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 96.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 97.

and the ARA made an agreement. The Ukrainian party made it clear that “whereas the Ukrainian Soviet Republic declares itself not a party nor obligated by the agreement referred to above (the Riga Agreement, 1921),” they would extend all of the rights and privileges given to the ARA in Russia to operate in Ukraine. Interestingly, the Ukrainian party emphasized that while some food assistance was needed in Ukraine, most of the American food should be “pledged wholly to the relief of the famine situation in the Volga Valley (Russia), to bring some assistance, particularly medical, to the people of Ukraine.”⁷⁸ This agreement opened the doors for the expansion of the ARA’s responsibilities in Ukraine.



Fig. 3: Map of Areas affected by Famine as constructed by the ARA.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ “Agreement between the American Relief Administration Ukrainian Soviet Republic, American Relief Administration,” Russian Operation Records, Box 133, Folder 3, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁷⁹ “Map of Areas affected by Famine,” Gibbes Lykes Papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

4.1 Parties Involved

The monumental task of feeding millions of starving people in Ukraine required cooperation between various groups in the United States. In 1922, these groups collectively fed around 2 million people, or ten percent of the starving population in Ukraine. (Fig. 4)⁸⁰ Because of the need to combine the efforts of different organizations, Herbert Hoover and President Warren Harding sought to create a “united front” to combat the famine in Eastern Europe. Hoover’s idea was that “for the sake of security and efficiency and in the name of patriotism, all American relief be administered through the ARA under the auspices of its 1921 Riga Agreement.”⁸¹ Hoover created the European Relief Council in 1920 with the objective of assisting the citizens of the Soviet Union to accomplish this goal. There were ten American relief agencies included in the European Relief Council. According to historian Bertrande Patenaude, all of those agencies were almost entirely absorbed into the ARA except the Quaker American Friends Services Committee and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. (JDC)⁸² Hoover’s desire to control most of the relief efforts in the Soviet Union stemmed from a fear that the Soviet government may attempt to pit the different agencies against one another, in order to sow political discord. The solution to this problem was a directive to the Secretary of State of the United States to only issue passports to ARA employees.⁸³ A private group had never undertaken the consolidation of so many separate relief organizations under one umbrella.

⁸⁰ “Report of Child and Adult Feeding in the Ukraine 1922,” Gibbes Lykes papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁸¹ Patenaude, 140.

⁸² Ibid, 47.

⁸³ Ibid, 47.

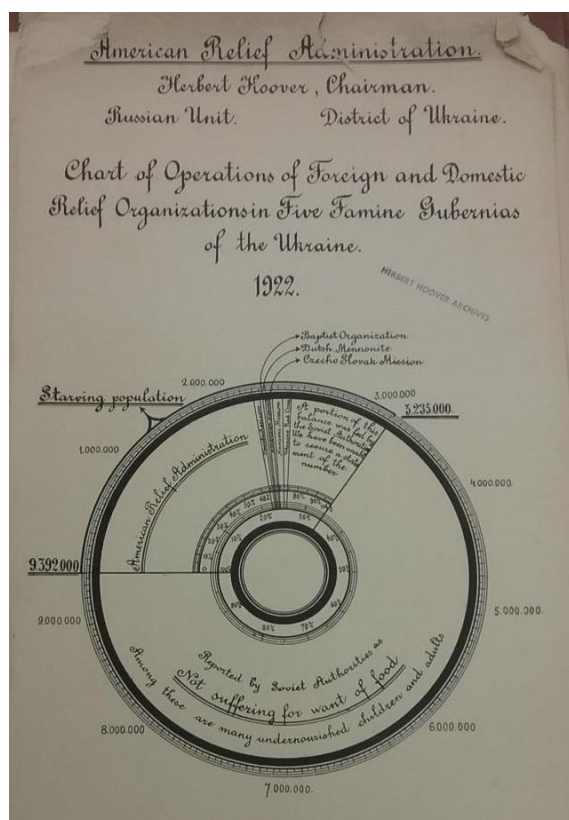


Fig. 4: Distribution of Aid Dispersed by various groups under the auspices of the ARA.

Interestingly, this does not include and of the statistics from the American Red Cross.⁸⁴

One of the largest organizations aligned with the ARA in feeding Ukrainian citizens was the Jewish JDC. Two existing relief committees, the Reformed American Jewish Relief Committee, and the Orthodox Central Relief Committee combined to form the JDC in 1914. The combined group's goal was to assist Jews in Eastern Europe and the Middle East suffering from famine. Initially, the most pressing issue addressed by the JDC was the starvation of Jews in Palestine, which was a part of the Ottoman Empire. The United States ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau Sr. traveled to Palestine and witnessed the destitution faced by Jews living in the area. He sent a

⁸⁴ "Graph displaying Distribution of Aid Dispersed by various groups under the auspices of the ARA," Gibbes Lykes Papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

telegram to Jacob Schiff, a prominent Jewish philanthropist in New York, who lobbied the Jewish committee to raise funds for the beleaguered people. Private donors raised funds to send food aid to Jews in Palestine. The First World War and the Russian Revolution particularly affected the Jews in Eastern Europe as a marginalized segment of the population. Therefore, the JDC shifted its efforts to focus on the Jews suffering in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia.⁸⁵

The Jewish population in Ukraine was in a particularly difficult position during the Russian Civil War. The widespread antisemitism of Russian and Ukrainian peasants led to pogroms, including the murder of thousands of Jews in Kyiv in 1919. Neither the Bolsheviks nor Denikin's White Army, who supported the return of the Tsar to power in Russia were protective of the Ukrainian Jews. Therefore, the Jewish community was unable to collaborate effectively with either of the two warring factions. The violence against Jews also hindered their food production, worsening famine conditions in Jewish communities. In 1920, the JDC sent four Americans to Ukraine to conduct an investigation of the famine. Harry Fisher, Israel Friedlander, Max Pine and Maurice Pass traveled to Ukraine in order to "discover, if possible, what was happening in the Ukraine, and what, if anything, the Joint could do in that lost land."⁸⁶ It became clear that entrance to Ukraine would be difficult for the members of the JDC investigation team because of Poland's recent invasion. Two of the agents, Harry Fisher and Max Pine, were able to travel to Kyiv and begin their work helping the Ukrainian population. However, bandits killed Dr. Friedlander and a colleague from the JDC, Rabbi Bernard Cantor, soon after

⁸⁵ "American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and Refugee Aid," The Holocaust Encyclopedia, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005367>, November 16, 2017.

⁸⁶ Herbert Agar, *The Saving Remnant* (New York, 1960), 26.

their arrival in Poland, marking the first recorded deaths of American relief workers in Eastern Europe during the Russian Civil War.⁸⁷ Because of the investigation by this small group of Americans, the JDC became the second largest group to send aid and operate in Ukraine, after the ARA.

The actions of the JDC were popular among the Jewish diaspora in the United States. In an article published in *The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger* in 1922 editors publicized works done by the JDC and ARA in Ukraine. This article included a message of thanks from the Jewish Religious Society of Kyiv for the food aid provided by the ARA and JDC.⁸⁸ The editors also included a statement from Colonel William Grove that much of the success of the famine relief efforts was due to the work of the JDC.⁸⁹

Various Quaker organizations had worked in Europe providing relief efforts since as early as 1916. The majority of these groups were from the United States or Great Britain and they initially played a limited role in humanitarian aid. The largest American Quaker group was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The AFSC began working with Herbert Hoover's ARA in Russia and Ukraine in 1919. The first major endeavor they undertook was to free a small group of American prisoners held by the Russians in exchange for food aid. However, this plan failed and Hoover became disillusioned with the AFSC due to their lack of pressure on the Russian government to feed the American prisoners. As the ARA mission in Ukraine expanded, discord between Hoover and the AFSC grew as well. The AFSC had become popular in the left-leaning

⁸⁷ Michael Miller, "The Ukraine Commission of the Joint Distribution Committee, 1920, with Insight from the Judge Harry Fisher Papers," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 49, (Winter, 1987): 55.

⁸⁸ "From the Four Corners." *The American Hebrew (1922-1922)*, October 6, 1922.

⁸⁹ Colonel Grove was an ARA district supervisor.

American media as a beacon for hope in starving Eastern Europe. It followed that Hoover's ARA came under more scrutiny, and the relationship between the AFSC and the ARA soon soured.⁹⁰ In late 1922, the ARA released the AFSC from their control, and instead collaborated with the British Quaker organization working in the Volga region of Russia. This relationship strained as the ARA workers complained of inefficiency on the part of the Britons. While the AFSC did not work with the ARA for an extended period, they did play an important role in setting precedents in Ukraine for the ARA to follow. For example, the ARA adopted the food distribution methods utilized by the AFSC after those two groups ceased their partnership.⁹¹

Following the end of the First World War, the Baptist World Alliance held a conference in London in 1920. Attendees from most western countries were present. Their goal was to discuss relief efforts and mission work all over the world, but focused on the war ravaged nations of Europe. Different Baptist organizations divided the humanitarian assistance work. The Baptist World Alliance tasked the Southern Baptist convention with sending missionaries and aid to Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and Russia with the goal of "distribution of responsibility for lending assistance to the Baptist bodies in various parts of Europe in the conduct of their work."⁹² This meant that the Southern Baptist Convention was entirely responsible for assisting all Baptist citizens of those countries. The body responsible for all Baptist relief efforts in the United States was the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Initially, like the ARA, American Baptists focused their relief efforts on saving starving people in the Volga region. However, after

⁹⁰ Patenaude, 140.

⁹¹ Ibid, 141.

⁹² Donald E. Smith ed. *The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading and Research vol. II* (Springfield: C.A. Nichols Publishing Company, 1922), 870.

the ARA investigation of 1921 concluded that massive starvation was taking place in Ukraine, the Evangelical Christian Union deemed it necessary to send relief to Baptists suffering there. The Evangelical Christian Union, which affiliated with the Baptist Foreign Mission Society, noted that there were ninety-one Baptist communities in Ukraine in desperate need of famine relief.⁹³ Similar to the JDC, the overwhelming majority of the funds secured by the Baptist Foreign Mission Society were collected from American donors who were members of Baptist churches and organizations. One of the largest of these groups was the Eastern Union of Russian and Ukrainian Evangelical Christian-Baptists, headed by I.V. Neprash. The overall total of Baptist relief organizational money given to Russia by 1924 added up to about \$600,000. This included food, clothing and medical supplies.⁹⁴

One noticeable difference between the religiously supported aid groups and the ARA is their target recipients. While the ARA sought to feed, clothe and medicate any type of struggling people in Ukraine, the others primarily focused on their own groups. The JDC sought to help Jews, the AFSC focused on Quakers, and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society dealt primarily with Baptists. However, it is important to note that despite disagreements between the ARA and various religious relief groups, consistent communication between groups and their similar overall objectives helped achieve enough cooperation to assist a sizeable portion of the struggling population of Ukraine.

While the ARA did receive funding from the United States government to spend on food, clothing and medical supplies, they also relied heavily on support from the

⁹³ Mary Raber, *Ministries of Compassion: Among Russian Evangelicals 1905-1929* (Eugene, Pickwick Publications, 2016), 157.

⁹⁴ Raber, 159.

American population to send money to purchase supplies. A form provided by the ARA gave Americans the option of choosing to send aid. Family members who lived in the United States that had relatives suffering in Eastern Europe filled out this form by writing in the names or groups of people they wanted to assist (Fig.5). This strategy indicated the similarities between the ARA and the religious relief organizations' methods for appealing to the American people in order to help the struggling population of Eastern Europe. In addition, both groups helped American citizens assist certain people, whether of the same religion, family members or friends.

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
RUSSIAN STARVEE RELIEF COMMITTEE
42 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

APPLICATION FORM
форма заявления

Instructions for Providing Food for Persons in Russia
Инструкции по Обнаблению Пищевыми Продуктами Лиц, Проживающих в России

Fill out this blank and mail it to above address with New Draft, Money Order or Certified Check Payable to
Заполните этот лист и отправьте его по вышеуказанному адресу вместе с денежным переводом, денежным поручением

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
AMЕРИКАНСКАЯ АДМИНИСТРАЦИЯ ПОМОЩИ

I ENCLOSE HEREWITH THE SUM OF \$ _____ (Here enter the Total amount of your Food Remittance, which may be for \$10, \$20, \$30, \$40, \$50, \$60, \$70, \$80, \$90, \$100, \$150, \$200, \$250, \$300, \$350, \$400, \$450, \$500, \$550, \$600, \$650, \$700, \$750, \$800, \$850, \$900, \$950, \$1000, \$1050, \$1100, \$1150, \$1200, \$1250, \$1300, \$1350, \$1400, \$1450, \$1500, \$1550, \$1600, \$1650, \$1700, \$1750, \$1800, \$1850, \$1900, \$1950, \$2000, \$2050, \$2100, \$2150, \$2200, \$2250, \$2300, \$2350, \$2400, \$2450, \$2500, \$2550, \$2600, \$2650, \$2700, \$2750, \$2800, \$2850, \$2900, \$2950, \$3000, \$3050, \$3100, \$3150, \$3200, \$3250, \$3300, \$3350, \$3400, \$3450, \$3500, \$3550, \$3600, \$3650, \$3700, \$3750, \$3800, \$3850, \$3900, \$3950, \$4000, \$4050, \$4100, \$4150, \$4200, \$4250, \$4300, \$4350, \$4400, \$4450, \$4500, \$4550, \$4600, \$4650, \$4700, \$4750, \$4800, \$4850, \$4900, \$4950, \$5000, \$5050, \$5100, \$5150, \$5200, \$5250, \$5300, \$5350, 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Fig. 5: Application to send food to specific person in Russia or Ukraine. The ARA wrote this form in both English and Russian, indicating the likelihood of the sender to have also emigrated from Eastern Europe.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ “Application to send food to Russia or Ukraine,” Russian Operation Records, Box 234, Folder 10, Hoover Institution Archives.

4.2 Food Distribution

Ukraine's European neighbors knew that Ukraine had an ability to produce massive amounts of grain that were exported throughout Europe. Various nations exploited this ability and sought to occupy Ukraine in order to secure grain resources. In late 1918, Germany occupied Ukraine and used Ukraine's grain to supply their army on the Western front. In 1919, the Poles used those resources during their struggle for independence. These examples explain why the Soviet Ukrainian government was so hesitant to accept foreign food aid at the beginning of the 1920s as evidenced by Mykola Skrypnyk's defiance in meeting with ARA officials. Another reason may have been that Ukraine's rural farming population dwarfed the urban population. According to ARA records, in 1922 Ukraine's rural population numbered 21,067,000 people, while those living in cities only numbered 4,794,000.⁹⁶ Poor crops more adversely affected the rural population. Also of note is the percentage of ethnic Ukrainians living in rural areas vastly outnumbered those living in cities. Eighty six percent of the rural population was of Ukrainian ethnicity while only thirty two percent of the urban population was of Ukrainian descent.⁹⁷ Given the previous struggles for national independence, the large population of rural ethnic Ukrainians likely was unfavorably disposed to foreign assistance in a facet of national pride such as food production created by their history as Europe's largest producer of grain, despite their desperate situation.

One of the most difficult aspects of feeding Ukrainians affected by famine was determining who needed assistance most. ARA officials had to rely in large part on

⁹⁶ "Report of Child and Adult Feeding in Ukraine, 1922," Gibbes Lykes Papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

information given to them by Ukrainian and Russian Soviet officials. Even after the addendum to the Riga agreement that allowed the ARA to operate in Ukraine, the Soviet government only designated certain regions as “famine gubernias” or famine districts that could receive American assistance. It was possible that the new Soviet Government did not want to weaken their appearance to the United States by admitting that a larger area of their territory was undergoing famine. An ARA report from 1922 states that 9,392,000 people lived in the famine gubernias of Ukraine. Of those, the Soviet Government in Moscow designated 3,235,000 as “starving.” The remaining population was “reported by the Soviet authorities as “Not suffering for want of food.”⁹⁸ That report also concluded that the Soviet government fed a portion of the starving population, but the report provided no statistics of the actual number of citizens the Soviets helped. The ARA headquarters for the Ukraine Region was located in Odessa, one of the five famine gubernias established in 1922. The other gubernias, Nikolaev, Zaporizhya, Ekatarinoslav, and Donetsk comprised the entire southern region of Ukraine. The hardest hit gubernia was Zaporizhya, with a startling seventy four percent of the population suffering from starvation.⁹⁹

Helping the population of Ukraine required strict organization and efficient communications between ARA officials and their counterparts in the Soviet Government. The need for workers who spoke both English and Russian was paramount to the success of the ARA’s mission. The ARA could only send small amounts of American workers to different regions in Eastern Europe, so it employed local workers in ARA offices.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Disputes between Soviet authorities and American Relief officers about where to employ these local workers became a major issue.

Thomas Barringer, ARA supervisor of one of the famine gubernias in Ekaterinoslav, Ukraine, struggled to find competent local workers to support ARA operations in the region. When he was able to find satisfactory workers, the local Soviet authorities did not always agree with their placement within the ARA apparatus. For example, in a letter addressed to the ARA district Supervisor in Kharkov, Ukraine, Barringer complained that Soviets removed one of his most competent workers, Mr. T.T. Lastovets, from his position at the ARA. The Ekaterinoslav Gubisplokom, or governing committee of the region, asked that Mr. Lastovets return to his position at the telegraph office. Mr. Barringer asserts that Mr. Lasovets had been working for the ARA for three months and that the telegraph office had not suffered due to his absence. Barringer complained that this oversight by the Ekaterinoslav Gubispolkom “breaks the spirit of article 3 of the Ukraine agreement.”¹⁰⁰ He was referring to the agreement signed between the ARA and the Ukrainian Soviet Government in 1922 stating “that in securing Ukrainian and other local personnel the ARA shall have complete freedom as to selection and the Ukrainian Authorities will on request assist the ARA in securing same.”¹⁰¹ This example of confusion between the ARA and local Ukrainian government officials is indicative of the difficulties faced by both groups in correctly utilizing the local workforce.

¹⁰⁰ “Letter from Thomas C. Barringer to District Supervisor, Kharkov,” Russian Operations Records, Box 138, Folder 1, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹⁰¹ “Agreement between the American Relief Administration Ukrainian Soviet Republic, American Relief Administration,” Russian Operation Records, Box 133, Folder 3, Hoover Institution Archives.

Shortages of food and medical supplies caused large segments of the local Ukrainian population to be unfit for work. This led to the struggle to maintain a local workforce as an efficient arm of the ARA's operations in Ukraine. The solution to this shortage was often overworking the few individuals who were fit enough to carry out administrative as well as labor intensive tasks. In some cases, the ARA was lucky enough to find replacements for overworked individuals. George Harrington, Thomas Barringer's replacement in Ekaterinoslav, inherited a department that included many such workers. Barringer's colleagues in the ARA knew him for his "self-denial" and "humanly feelings," but that did not mean that his local employees had not been overworked.¹⁰² One such employee, Mr. Revva, was working as an inspector and a member of the ARA committee in Apostolovo, a small city near Ekaterinoslav. Upon his arrival as District Supervisor, George Harrington immediately released Mr. Revva of his duties as inspector out of fear that Revva would "neglect either the committee work for the inspection or to neglect inspection work" because he was overworked.¹⁰³ Harrington appointed another local man, Mr. Terlesky to the position of inspector. However, Harrington gave no indication of Mr. Terlesky's qualifications to Mr. Revva in his communication. Therefore, it is difficult to assess why Harrington chose Mr. Terlesky instead of the many other Ukrainians in need of employment.

In Alexandrovsk, kitchen workers faced the task of feeding children while they were also suffering from starvation. The workers complained to their American supervisors that they were not receiving sufficient rations. In response, the ARA district supervisor in Alexandrovsk, J.W. Spratt and Col. Grove, commissioner of the ARA in

¹⁰² Patenaude 361.

¹⁰³ "Letter from George Harrington to Mr. Revva," Russian Operation Records, Box 138, Folder 1, Hoover Institution Archives.

Ukraine, agreed to feed the same meals served to children to kitchen workers.

Compromises like these were necessary to maintain the structure of the local work force, and in turn were necessary for the success of the ARA.¹⁰⁴

Another issue faced by the ARA was the relationship between local workers and the communities they served. The ARA recruited civilians to work in ARA kitchens, medical supply centers, and administrative offices, all of which served the areas where the workers' families and friends resided. In January 1923, a local ARA official alerted George Harrington that several kitchens in the city of Aleksandrovsk were issuing food to children to take to their families' homes. Harrington argued that this was "distinctly in violation of our rules," and that "if any kitchen persists in issuing the food to homes you (the head of the ARA committee in Alexandrovsk) will at once dismiss the kitchen manager who violates the rule, and if the kitchen still insists in doing so, you will refuse to issue further rations to it."¹⁰⁵ This letter indicated that local workers were sympathetic to the children they were feeding and to their families, possibly because the starving people were their neighbors or friends. In addition, it indicated the lack of sympathy by the Russian Soviet government for Ukraine's starving population because they ordered the ARA not to allow the distribution from kitchens directly to the homes of the people they served. The Soviets did this because they did not want the situation in Ukrainian homes to appear even worse than it already did to international observers. Harrington confessed his desire to help the Ukrainian children that could not come to the kitchens

¹⁰⁴ "Letter from J.W. Spratt to A.S. Serada, Secretary of the Alexandrovsk Gubispolkom," Russian Operation Records, Box 156, Folder 4, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹⁰⁵ "Letter from George Harrington to ARA Committee Aelxandrovsk," Russian Operation Records, Box 136, Folder 4, Hoover Institution Archives.

but lamented that his “orders from Moscow” prevented him from allowing this practice to continue.

Although the local Ukrainian adult work force was important for the efficiency of the ARA, the ARA placed a special emphasis on feeding children. According to the “ARA News Record” from July 22, 1922, the ARA and the Joint Distribution Committee sought to feed 800,000 children and 400,000 adults in Ukraine.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, ARA officials often had to decide whether to feed children or adults due to lack of supplies. In September 1922, Col. Grove, commissioner of the ARA in Ukraine, went on a tour to inspect the famine gubernias. Initially he was pleased that most Ukrainians seemed to have at least some food to eat. Nevertheless, he noted, “adult feeding has now been suspended for a week everywhere and for two or three weeks in most places and there is already beginning to be observed a change for the worse.”¹⁰⁷ ARA officials in Moscow made the decision to stop adult feeding as a reaction to the impending winter season. Grove believed many children would die of starvation if the kitchens did not give them some of the food required for adults. Grove also emphasized the need to feed more children in the rural districts of Ukraine prior to the arrival of winter. Grove made the decision to feed more children in the countryside because travel from rural areas to the food distribution kitchens, which were located primarily in cities, was more hazardous for children in the winter.

Even though children in rural areas may have faced geographical barriers to obtaining food, children in cities faced shortages in other ways. An ARA historical report

¹⁰⁶ “Food for Child and Adult Feeding: Gift of the American People,” Russian Operation Records, Box 133, Folder 7, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹⁰⁷ “Letter from Col. Grove to ARA Director, Moscow,” Russian Operation Records, Box 133, Folder 7, Hoover Institution Archives.

published in 1923 asserts that of the three and a half million children living in Ukraine, 500,000 died of starvation and epidemics in the winter of 1921/22. In addition, that report lists 400,000 children as homeless, most of whom inhabited the Odessa gubernia. Various ARA officials presented options of how to deal with Ukraine's starving urban children. Col. Grove suggested buying shoes, stockings and coats for the children, noting how desperate the need for winter clothing was "especially in the cities."¹⁰⁸ Other suggestions were provided in ARA Historical Division's overview of the situation in Ukraine including "extension of the system of children 'collector asylum' so that every town should have no less than one collector," and strangely "organization of a children's movement of forms of children's social life (children's theatres, sportive organizations of the 'young Spartacus type')"¹⁰⁹ Documentation of these social reforms as means of relief did not appear in any other sources.

Various groups in Ukraine petitioned the ARA for food aid. Ukrainians of all backgrounds and professions sent pleas for assistance, demonstrating the extent of the famine. In a letter from March 22, 1922, the director of the Novo- Alexandria University of Agriculture and Forestry in Kharkov, Ukraine pleaded through communication channels set up by the ARA with several professors in the United States to send them food, linen and clothes. The Ukrainian professor asked the Americans to spread the word of their struggle to their colleagues in order to procure further assistance.¹¹⁰ Interestingly, some of the personal requests for aid by Ukrainians appealed to the camaraderie of

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ "Destitution of Children in Ukraine," Russian Operation Records, Box 133, Folder 8, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹⁰ "Letter from A. Allov, Professor of Forestry, Novo-Alexandria University of Agriculture, Kharkov, Ukraine, March 22, 1922." Russian Operation Records, Box 234, Folder 10, Hoover Institution Archives.

certain professions, a trait more common in the Soviet Union than in the United States.

For example, workers at an electrical power station in Odessa, Ukraine sent a letter to the employees of electric power stations in the United States requesting aid under the auspices of “corporate solidarity,” be delivered by the ARA.¹¹¹ (Fig. 6)

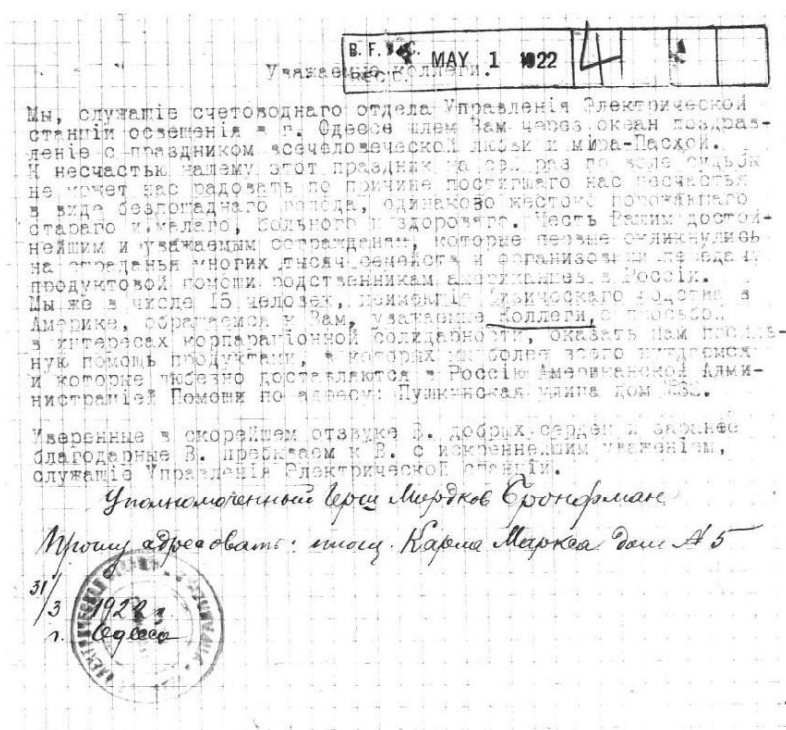


Fig 6: Copy of a letter sent from electric power station workers in Odessa, Ukraine, to electrical workers in the United States.¹¹²

Between 1921 and 1923, the ARA coordinated the JDC, the AFSC the Baptist mission, and managed to feed millions of starving Ukrainians. No other American relief organization previously achieved success on this scale. In Western Europe, the ARA also

¹¹¹ “Request for Aid by Electrical Station workers in Odessa,” Russia Operational Records, Box 234, Folder 10, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹² “Request for Aid by Electrical Station workers in Odessa,” Russia Operational Records, Box 234, Folder 10, Hoover Institution Archives.

fed millions of people; however, there they dealt with a local government that shared similar values and political systems. In Ukraine, the ARA and its subsidiary organizations worked around the red tape put in place by the Soviet government in order to achieve their goals.

4.3 Medical Aid

According to the agreement between the ARA and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in 1921, one of the main forms of aid needed in Ukraine was the distribution of medical supplies. Patenaude argued that the ARA was not accustomed to administering medical supplies and that the American Red Cross would handle the job of medical and sanitary aid. However, the American Red Cross was one of the agencies included in the European Relief Council. The Ukrainian government argued that medical aid was their most desperate need. Organizations in Ukraine that were under the influence of the ARA, but operated with autonomy handled the role of distributing medical supplies. For example, the *New York Times* reported that the ARA had sent \$4,500,000 worth of medical supplies to Russia and the Ukraine. However, funding for those medical supplies came from two separate sources. \$3,000,000 came from the American Red Cross, while the ARA received the remaining \$1,500,000 from a \$4,000,000 appropriation of government surplus stocks that the United States Congress made possible.¹¹³

By 1922, the ARA estimated that it had already provided \$500,000 worth of medical supplies in Ukraine and Belarus, and planned to “allocate additional supplies to the value of at least \$1,000,000.” The JDC acknowledged that the medical relief program

¹¹³ “\$4,500,000 Medical Supplies Sent to Russia,” *New York Times* (New York, NY), April 12, 1922.

was already quite extensive and included steps to improve hospitals, inoculation and sanitation. One of the tenets of the agreement between the JDC and the ARA was that the ARA must make public the role the JDC played in medical relief efforts. According to the agreement, the JDC saw this as a way to foster “better relations between elements of the Russian people.”¹¹⁴

While the ARA and JDC were attempting to improve relations with the local populations in Eastern Europe, a controversy was brewing in the United States. On September 19, 1920, Donald Day on the *Chicago Tribune* reported that Soviet Official in Riga claimed the Ukraine sent a fully equipped medical unit to Turkey to aid the Turks against Greek expansion.¹¹⁵ After the First World War, the British government had promised Greece territory in the former Ottoman Empire. Turkish nationalists resisted, resulting in a conflict. The implication that the Ukrainians were shipping medical supplies provided by the United States to aid another country caused ARA officials to become disconcerted. The United States government and American citizens funded the medical supplies, therefore, their misuse cast an incredibly negative light on the work the ARA was doing in Ukraine. In addition, given that Ukraine had emphasized their need for medical supplies in their agreement with the ARA, the shipment of those supplies to assist a foreign war effort was troubling for the ARA and American citizens.

Eight days after the publication of Day’s article, the director of the ARA in Russia William Haskell penned a letter to K.I. Lander, the Representative Plenipotentiary in the Russia. Haskell writes in reference to the *Chicago Tribune* Article, “reports such as this

¹¹⁴ “Agreement Regarding Operations in The Ukraine and White Russia Between the Joint Distribution Committee and the American Relief Administration,” Russian Operation Records, Box 473, Folder 3, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹⁵ Day, Donald “A.R.A. Assists Ukraine; Ukraine Assists Turks,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 1920.

one to the effect that the Ukrainian Government is rendering assistance outside of its territory, while at the same time, the ARA is carrying out relief operations in the Ukraine, with the clear inference that the ARA supplies are being sent abroad by the Ukrainian Government, are certain to cause much unfavorable criticism of our relief work by Americans at home.”¹¹⁶ Lander’s response assured Haskell that the Ukrainian Soviet Government was in no way involved with the Turks, nor were they exporting any medical supplies. This controversy is evidence of the United States displeasure with ARA efforts in Europe by some groups of the America population.

While the ARA was the main organization in charge of humanitarian relief in Ukraine, the American Red Cross played a major role in sending medical supplies to that country. The cooperation between the ARA and the American Red Cross demonstrates the unique nature of American relief efforts in Ukraine, given that such large-scale medical relief had never been undertaken by any American organization.

4.4 Repatriation of American Citizens

By 1922, the famine situation in Ukraine had grown desperate as millions of people were starving. The ARA faced a unique challenge when Ukrainians wished to leave their country and come to the United States. The United States had long been a haven for European refugees who faced famine in their own counties. In the nineteenth century, large numbers of Irish immigrants flooded into the United States due to food shortages. Numbers of German and Italian immigrants also swelled during the nineteenth century. The difference between these western European waves of immigration, and

¹¹⁶ “Letter from Haskell to K.I. Lander,” Russian Operations Records, Box 133 Folder 8, Hoover Institution Archives.

those taking place through the ARA was the disposition of the home nation. In Western Europe, the governments realized that emigration out of their countries would lessen the need for food, while the new Soviet government did not want to its population to hemorrhage to an ideologically different nation like the United States. In his history of the ARA's liaison office with the Soviet Government, John A. Lehrs points out that it was incredibly difficult to accomplish anything productive in relation to repatriation of citizens. For example, he concludes that the Soviet government "was yet in a stage of revolutionary construction and which, in reality, represented but a vast number of more or less disjointed governmental institutions whose rights and duties were constantly altered by still greater number of decrees regulations special laws, etc."¹¹⁷ The ARA dealt with immigration from Ukraine in several different forms, from attempted marriages to letters of appeal from Americans living in Ukraine. The Soviet Government heavily scrutinized all of these operations.

The Soviet government was very hesitant to allow its citizens to immigrate to the United States. A mass emigration from the Soviet Union would indicate the failure of the Bolsheviks new system. The Brown- Litvinoff agreement, signed on October 11, 1921, allowed ARA officials in Eastern Europe to act as representatives of the United States Department of State in matters pertaining to visas, citizenship and passports. Lehrs asserts that immediately after the Brown-Litvitoff agreement, applications for American visas and passports poured into the ARA offices in Moscow from all over the Soviet Union.¹¹⁸ Several of these applications came from Ukrainian Jews who had immigrated to the United States and became citizens through naturalization, whose wives remained in

¹¹⁷ "History of the Liaison Division," Russian Operation Records, Box 52, Folder 4, 3, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 8.

Ukraine. Others came from people living in Russia or Ukraine who claimed to have American citizenship through other means, such as being born in the United States, or through naturalization.

The number of people applying for American visas and claiming American citizenship swelled so much that on May 10, 1922, the Soviet Government imposed strict rules on how people residing in the Soviet Union could depart that country. Mr. Lehrs describes this strenuous process in his history of the liaison department.

“Applicants now were required to file a petition in the form of a questionnaire with the State Political Department called in abbreviated Russian the ‘G.P.U.’ (formerly the Cheka), accompanied by documents establishing their identity and in cases of foreigners- proof of their foreign citizenship. Russian subjects, in addition, had to subject written guarantees from two members of the Communist Party vouching for the loyalty of the applicant to the Soviet Government and for his immediate return to Russia on the demand of the government. These petitions were filled with the G.P.U. office of the Gubernia in which the applicant had his legal residence. If the petition was approved, the G.P.U. issued the applicant a certificate stating that there were no objections on the part of the G.P.U. for the departure of the applicant.”

It was evident by the regulations enforced by the Soviet Government that the Soviets viewed immigration to the United States as harmful to the revolutionary goals set by Lenin and the Communist party.

One of the earliest methods of escaping famine stricken Ukraine was to marry an American citizen thus acquiring American citizenship and affording legal entrance into the United States. In a letter to director of the ARA in Russia, Col. Haskell, the American Vice Counselor in Moscow Charles Heisler commented that as of September 22, 1922, “no alien women acquires American citizenship by marrying an American citizen.”¹¹⁹ The prohibition of immigration to the United States through marriage by the Soviet

¹¹⁹ “Letter from Charles Heisler to Col. Haskell,” Russian Operation records, Box 52, Folder 4 Hoover Institution Archives.

Government is further evidence of the desire of Lenin's cabinet to curtail the negative image portrayed by the mass exodus of Soviet citizens due to the famine.

Despite all of the attempts by the Soviets to prevent their citizens from fleeing the famine, the ARA still succeeded in repatriating many American citizens who resided in Russia and Ukraine. In July 1923, Lehrs informed Mr. C.J.C. Quinn, Haskell's replacement as director of the ARA in Moscow, that the ARA had "handled 376 cases representing 798 persons". The ARA repatriated 459 of those 798 persons. 34 had claims that were rejected, and the ARA did not locate 14 persons.¹²⁰ The ARA rejected those claims for multiple reasons. These included lack of evidence of the person's American citizenship, or more likely, reluctance by the Soviet government to allow residents of the Soviet Union to leave, due to the negative light they would cast on the Soviet's ability to feed its own population.

District supervisors of famine gubernias throughout the Soviet Union handled many of the cases of repatriation. For example, Thomas Barringer, the District Supervisor for the Ekaterinoslav region of Ukraine sent a letter to the ARA office in Moscow on October 17, 1922. This letter discusses the need of Jack Kaplan, an American boy in "a most destitute position," living in Ekaterinoslav, to return to the United States. Barringer confirmed the receipt of the boy's American birth certificate and requested transport for the boy to return to the United States to live with his father.¹²¹ The manner of Jack Kaplan's return to the United States seemed to be the most common of the successful repatriations.

¹²⁰ "Letter from Mr. Lehrs to Mr. Quinn," Russian Operation Records, Box 52, Folder 5, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹²¹ "Letter from Thomas Barringer to ARA Office Moscow," Russian Operation Records, Box 52, Folder 4, Hoover Institution Archives.

The unique aspect of repatriation of American citizens from the famine ridden Soviet Union is one that has largely gone untouched by historians. Despite this, it is one of the facets that make the ARA's mission in Ukraine so unique. Previously, no American relief agency had attempted to return so many American citizens to their home, nor had they been so successful in negotiating those citizens' returns with such a hostile government, as was the case in the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Herbert Hoover argued in the introduction to his work *An American Epic* “that never before has a nation undertaken such burdens, consciously and collectively, that human life, and even civilization must be preserved.”¹²² He referred to the actions of all American humanitarian assistance organizations as part of these burdens. He also argued that actions of Americans saved over one billion lives. While the exact number of people saved by the ARA in Ukraine is incalculable, it is reasonable to conclude that it is in the hundreds of thousands.

Study of the ARA mission in Ukraine provided an interesting lens to view the first major American humanitarian relief effort by a private organization. The ARA was able to coordinate different organizations like the JDC, the Red Cross, the Baptist Mission, and the AFSC into a cohesive unit. This conglomerate of organizations helped feed millions, administer medical aid, and repatriate American citizens on an unprecedented scale. By investigating the ARA’s role in Ukraine, historians can better understand the growth of American relief agencies like USAID and the Peace Corps, as well and see a clear trajectory in the way American humanitarian efforts have evolved in the past one hundred years.

Without understanding the philanthropic origins of the ARA, their work in Ukraine would be far less effective. The ARA did not form out of a vacuum. This thesis traced the growth of American humanitarian assistance efforts from their beginnings with Clara Barton through the ARA’s work in Ukraine. Organizations like the Red Cross, and the Committee for the Relief of Belgium helped form the groundwork for a massive

¹²² Hoover, I, ix.

institution like the ARA. Herbert Hoover learned lessons from these groups and utilized them to build a solid foundation for the ARA. He understood that these groups could not assist nations undergoing humanitarian disasters alone, and that the United States needed a larger assistance apparatus. Hoover and his colleagues formed the ARA based on these lessons, and through that organization, he finalized America's role as one of the world's leading nations to provide humanitarian assistance for the rest of the twentieth century.

The ARA operated in dozens of countries across war torn Europe after World War One. However, the mission to Ukraine provided challenges that only a large organization like the ARA could overcome. Like other European nations, Ukraine suffered a famine due to poor crop turnout. Unlike in Western Europe, Ukraine was a site of continued armed conflict and political discord in the years after World War One. Various nations sought to exploit Ukraine's resources, while political factions struggled to control the country, which worsened the situation there. This thesis analyzed the situation in Ukraine leading up to the ARA's involvement there in order to understand the ARA's role there.

The myriad of activities taking place in Ukraine after the First World War make that country an excellent case study for the effectiveness of the ARA. Other large humanitarian assistance groups like the American Red Cross, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, or the American Friends Service Committee could have provided help to the Ukrainian people, but they were far more effective working as a "united front" under the direction of Hoover's ARA. The ARA was better able to coordinate supply movements and distribution compared to smaller, individual organizations. This was due in part to Hoover and his colleagues experience in

international affairs, and their ability to negotiate effectively with foreign governments. The special agreement between the ARA and the Ukrainian Soviet government demonstrates this ability.

This case study of the effectiveness of the ARA as the first large-scale American international humanitarian assistance mission examines three major operations in Ukraine. These include food distribution, medical supply distribution and repatriation of American citizens. Each of these tasks was divided amongst smaller aid groups, but the ARA controlled the overall mission. The ARA faced many issues when dealing with the Bolsheviks in Ukraine as discussed in chapter four, but the organization still had an incredible impact on the country. The ARA saved hundreds of thousands of lives in Ukraine because of its efficient organization, and its ability to coordinate the activities of different aid organizations while operating in a hostile political environment.

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APPENDIX A: PUBLIC HISTORY PROJECT: AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION EXHIBIT AT THE HOOVER INSTITUTE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Project Summary

The following interpretive plan will describe a prospective exhibit about the American Relief Administration (ARA) for the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. The exhibit will trace the history of American relief efforts, beginning with the American Red Cross, and ending with modern American humanitarian assistance missions. The goal of this exhibit is to provide a public space where visitors can learn about the history of the ARA, and its role as the first large scale, international humanitarian assistance group in the United States. The exhibit will cover three major aspects of the ARA's work in Europe; food distribution, medical supply distribution, and immigration and repatriation of American citizens. In order to make this topic relevant to modern visitors, the exhibit will also demonstrate the ARA's role in the growth of the field of international humanitarian aid in the United States. The "Exhibits Pavilion" next to the Hoover tower on the campus of Stanford University would house the exhibit. The exhibit would fit well in the scheme of the Hoover Institute and would help contextualize other exhibits that have been housed there including: "A Century of Change: China 1911-2011," "A Revolutionary Idea: Hoover Making History since 1919," "Shattered Peace: The Road to World War II," "Hostage of Eternity: Boris Pasternak, 1890-1960," and "Creating an Islamic Republic: Iranian Collections from the Hoover Library and Archives."

Historical Overview

In the late nineteenth century, the United States Government was openly opposed to involvement in foreign conflicts and foreign humanitarian aid. Secretary of State William Seward, who served after the American Civil War, was a stalwart proponent of the United States' non-intervention policy. In 1863 the International Red Cross was formed in Geneva Switzerland with the goal of creating "a permanent relief agency for humanitarian aid in times of war." The following year, the Geneva Convention formed in order to create "government treaty recognizing the neutrality of the agency and allowing it to provide aid in a war zone." In 1866, members of the convention requested the United States join the Convention but the United States declined under the direction of Seward. However, Dr. Henry Bellows founded the American Association for the Relief of Battlefields, with the desire to align the group with the efforts of the International Red Cross. But without the United States being party to the Geneva Convention, the Association collapsed in 1872, leaving the United States without any formal humanitarian aid group.

Just when it seemed the United States' isolationist policies would prevent the creation of a national relief agency, Clara Barton, a battlefield nurse during the American

Civil War became involved in the movement. Barton was well connected to members of the International Red Cross in Geneva. She contacted one of these members, Dr. Appia, who informed her that without the United States joining the Geneva Commission, an American relief agency was unlikely to succeed. Barton's new mission was to convince the United States government that joining the Geneva Convention would benefit the country both domestically and abroad.

When James Garfield replaced Rutherford Hayes as president of the United States, Barton seized the opportunity to appeal to a president who was more amiable to her desire for the creation of a national relief agency. In May of 1881, Barton succeeded in ratifying a constitution for the American Association of the Red Cross. This new group affiliated with the International Red Cross.

Different emergencies in various countries caused the Red Cross to face a myriad of separate issues. For example, the Chinese government asked the American Red Cross to aid citizens suffering from river flooding. Armed conflicts within China, and lack of a Chinese relief agency with the ability to help its own population prevented the American Red Cross from effectively providing aid. On the other hand, after an earthquake in Italy in 1908, the American Red Cross orchestrated an effort to not only build homes for victims of the earthquake, but also provide medical aid. This effort was in large part successful, due to the ability of the American Red Cross to utilize the Italian Red Cross as a mediator in operations on the ground. The American Red Cross also sent contractors to Italy to help build homes and distribute supplies. This was unique, because previously the American Red Cross had usually relied on local agencies to do the more hands-on labor, and simply shipped money and materiel to affected areas.

The Red Cross continued this trend of sending large numbers of personnel to assist the sick and wounded in Mexico between 1911 and 1917. Problems arose when the communication and transportation lines were constantly interrupted. This foray into large scale humanitarian aid by the American Red Cross indicated that an organization with a broader purpose, as well as a more diverse pool of resources would be necessary to fully assist a suffering nation recover from catastrophe.

The First World War created a humanitarian disaster previously unknown to the world. The conflict devastated Belgium and Northern France in particular. Both countries were cut off from supplies from the sea due to German U-Boat activities, and a British blockade of northern Europe that disrupted shipping. In addition, supplies were unable to reach these regions by land because of the inconsistent front lines that stretched hundreds of miles between the English Channel and Southern France.

The first attempt at feeding the starving Belgian population began almost as soon as the First World War erupted. In September 1914, negotiations between Spanish, American, British, and German officials took place, in an attempt to reach an agreement on how to feed starving Belgian civilians. In October, Herbert Hoover, then head of the United States Food Administration, called another meeting. American Engineers Colonel John Lucy, John Beaver White, Millard Shaler, Hugh Gibson and Ben S. Allen were all present, and together with Hoover they formed the "American commission For Relief in Belgium," later shortened to "The Committee for Relief in Belgium," due to its

composition of diplomats from throughout Europe. This organization had six major goals:

1. To build up the organization for purchase and overseas shipments of Supplies
2. To secure adequate agreements from the Germans to protect imported and native supplies in Belgium and immunity of attack on our ships en-route
3. To Secure adequate agreements with the Allies for passage of our supplies through the blockade and liberty of action of charter ships
4. To organize the charity of the world
5. To obtain financial support from the Allies and possibly from the Germans
6. To build up organization of the Belgians for adequate distribution

The Committee for the Relief of Belgium was comprised mostly of diplomats from Great Britain and the United States. The United States remained a neutral nation for the first three years of the CRB's operation. Also, the United States provided the largest amount of food and clothing to the operation, adding up to a total of \$34, 521,026.99. This was followed by Great Britain's contribution of \$16,641,034. 85 and finally by contributions given by other allied nations in Latin America and elsewhere totaling \$1,128,773.67.

Following the success of the CRB in Western Europe, the collapse of empires in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, led to incredible shortages of food, and medical supplies in those countries. The Herbert Hoover used experience he had garnered running the CRB to found the American Relief Administration. The ARA was created in 1919 with an original budget of 100 million dollars set aside by the United States government. This was followed by another several million dollars collected from donations given by American citizens. Through the course of its work the ARA performed humanitarian assistance missions in twenty three countries. The major actions the ARA was involved in took place in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and the newly formed Soviet Union. The ARA was comprised of several different subsidiary groups including the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, The American Friends Society, the Mennonites, the American Red Cross, and others. The ARA operated in Europe until 1922, and in the Soviet Union until 1923.

The scale on which the ARA performed humanitarian assistance had never previously been undertaken by any American aid group. Following the actions of the ARA the United States continued on a path of utilizing humanitarian aid as a political tool. During the Second World War, the United States adopted the Lend-lease program which sent supplies to Great Britain and the Soviet Union to assist in their conflict with Nazi Germany. Also, the United States was a part of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation program which provided assistance to displaced persons throughout Europe and Asia.

After the Second World War, the United States utilized humanitarian aid as a tool to prevent the spread of communism. The European Recovery Program and the Truman doctrine served as reminders that the United States supported the democratic governments of Western Europe against the expansion of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. In 1961, the United States Agency for International development (USAID) was founded. This group focused on international humanitarian assistance without the use of military power. USAID took many of the lessons provided by the ARA's experience like

organizing multiple groups under their control to perform different tasks in humanitarian assistance. USAID remains one of the most powerful and influential humanitarian assistance groups in the world.

Exhibit Goals

The goal of the American Relief Administration Exhibit is to educate visitors to the Hoover Institute about the ARA's role as the United States' first major, large scale, international humanitarian assistance mission. Given that the Hoover Institute is the home of the ARA's depository of records, it would be beneficial for visitors to attend an exhibit where the actions of the ARA could be viewed in a more accessible way, compared to sifting through microfilm and folders in the archives. The exhibit will provide information on three major actions taken by the American Relief Administration after the First World War in Europe, food distribution, medical assistance, and repatriation of American citizens and immigrants.

Main Ideas of the Exhibit

Central Theme

The American Relief Administration was the first major, large-scale humanitarian assistance effort organized by the United States.

Interpretive Themes

Early American Relief: The American Relief Administration was the first major, large-scale humanitarian assistance mission organized by members of the United States Government. However, Americans had been involved in smaller, more localized humanitarian efforts for almost fifty years. Groups like the American Red Cross, and the Committee for the Relief of Belgium helped spur the birth of the ARA.

Sub Theme 1: The American Red Cross was formed as a response to American's growing desire to fulfill their philanthropic duties, like their European counterparts

Sub Theme 2: The Committee for the Relief of Belgium, founded by Herbert Hoover, was the direct predecessor to the ARA

Food Distribution: The ARA was responsible for shipping millions of tons of food to Europe after the end of the First World War to support famine in about 45 different nations

Sub Theme 1: Food distribution stations were set up in major cities and rural areas

Sub Theme 2: Originally, food distribution was limited to children, but the extent of the famine caused the ARA to allow distribution to adults as well

Medical Supplies: The American Red Cross, operating under the auspices of the ARA, sent medical supplies all over Europe after the First World War

Sub Theme 1: Initially, medical supplies were bound exclusively to nations undergoing armed conflict.

Sub Theme 2: The American Red Cross and ARA often partnered with the local Red Cross branches in the nations they were serving.

Repatriation of Citizens: The ARA assisted Americans stranded in countries undergoing famine.

Sub Theme 1: Americans sent letters to ARA offices giving the locations of family members to be returned to the United States.

Sub Theme 2: ARA officials in Europe utilized local persons to help them locate Americans in their districts.

Modern American Relief Efforts: The ARA was the basis for the growth of the American Humanitarian assistance field

Sub-Theme 1: Most modern aid agencies follow operational precedents set by the ARA, including funding from government and private sources.

Sub-Theme 2: The United States is currently the largest provider of Humanitarian Aid in the world.

Interpretive Approach & Staffing Needs

In order for visitors to better understand the role the ARA played as America's First major international humanitarian assistance mission, as well as the part the ARA played in growing the field of humanitarian aid in the United States, several methods must be utilized. Visual, aural, and tactile methods will highlight information to visitors. Also, staffing of these facets of the exhibit need to be addressed.

Visual Interfacing:

Timeline and Labels

To understand the ARA's role, the exhibit will present a timeline of events to visitors will be upon entrance to the exhibit. The timeline will portray a chronological stream of events relating to the ARA, and American Relief Efforts. (See Appendix 6) Throughout the exhibit, labels will present applicable information for consumption by visitors. The labels will follow strict guidelines that address each of the interpretive themes of the exhibit including early American Relief, food distribution, medical supply distribution repatriation of citizens and modern American relief efforts.

Photographs

The gruesome nature of famine provides an opportunity to utilize photography to capture the engagement of visitors. While it is uncomfortable to view the victims of famine, the shocking nature of photographs of these people will emphasize the horrific conditions they suffered, as well as the massive scale of the catastrophe the ARA was working to remedy. Therefore, exhibit labels will contain applicable and appropriate photographs taken from the Hoover Institute Archives that correspond to the topic of the label (See Appendix 7). In addition, it is important to include historical maps of the ARA's operations. American visitors to the exhibit may not have a clear understanding of European geography; therefore, it is necessary to include maps to improve comprehension of the ARA's work.

Handouts

A handout will be available to visitors upon entrance to the exhibit. This handout will include a map of the exhibit layout so that visitors can follow the layout, progressing from each interpretive theme in a coherent fashion. The handout will also include references for each of the exhibits where visitors could delve deeper into an aspect of the ARA or humanitarian aid they find interesting. These would include secondary sources, as well as documents that can be accessed in the Hoover institute archives.

Aural Interfacing

In some sections of the exhibit, recordings of oral histories can be heard over a speaker system. These histories can be drawn from ARA interviews of aid workers who operated in various places in Europe. In addition, there may be oral histories of American Red Cross employees, working under the direction of the ARA, that were conducted by the Works progress administration. These recordings would fit well in the exhibit section discussing medical aid distribution. Oral histories would help visitors connect with the exhibit better, because it allows them to hear people's stories from the source, instead of having to read everything from a label.

Tactile Interfacing

Diorama

The exhibit will include a diorama of areas the ARA was involved with in Europe. This will take the form of a 3-D model with light up displays. Corresponding buttons will be pressed to light up certain areas on the map. Under each button, a brief description will explain the ARA's actions in the selected area.

Thought Board

A board will be set up at the end of the exhibit that poses questions for visitors in order to gauge what they learned from the exhibit, as well as how their opinions on humanitarian aid may have changed. Some of the questions may include "What were some of the most important ways the ARA helped Europe?" and "Would you want to work for a humanitarian aid mission, and why?"

Staffing Needs

The exhibit would require a relatively small staff on site during operating hours. If the exhibit is housed at the Hoover Institute Archives building, then a reception desk would not be necessary since there is already one organic to the building. However, one or two roaming interpreters throughout the exhibit would be beneficial to assist with question visitors may ask. These could be graduate interns from Stanford University, or other part-time employees. Interpreters with intimate knowledge of the ARA, as well as with the information housed at the Hoover Institute would best suit the exhibit's needs, because they would be able to inform visitors with the most up to date information regarding the exhibit's topics. Employees of the Hoover Institute's Exhibit Pavilion would perform maintenance of the exhibit.

Educational Programming for the Exhibit

Unlike a large number of museums that have a very broad demographic they are trying to educate, the Hoover Institutes main audience is based in professional educators, researchers and college students. While this presents different challenges to exhibit designers working with the Hoover Institute, it also allows for different possibilities in educational programming that may not be available in other museums.

The programs audiences will be retired adults, college students and researchers as they are the most frequent visitors of the Hoover Institute and the archives housed there. The adult program will feature a Three-month speaker series that focuses on the history of American humanitarian assistance missions and the American Relief Administration. There are also interpretive materials available for the general visitor to create a more complete experience, as well as assist the target audience grow their knowledge of the topic.

American Relief Administration Educational Programs

1. Adult Programs
 - a. Three Month Speaker Series – Perspectives on American Relief
 - i. See Appendix 1
2. College Student Programs
 - a. Primary Source Research Methods
 - i. See Appendix 2
 - b. University Level Course Tie-ins
 - i. See Appendix 3
3. Interpretive Resources
 - a. Primary Source Interpretation
 - i. See Appendix 4
 - b. Reading list for instructors
 - i. See Appendix 5

Digital Media Plan for the Exhibit

The Hoover Institute maintains a robust social media presence. The Hoover Institute would integrate the ARA exhibit their existing platforms. The Institute's Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/HooverInstStanford/>) posts information on upcoming events several times per day. I hope that the ARA exhibit would be a feature of several of these posts. The Institute also maintains an Instagram account. This account focuses on events at the Institute, especially guest speakers. This focus would tie in nicely with the ARA exhibit's speaker series.

Appendix B: Three-Month Speaker Series: Perspectives on American Relief

MONTH 1

Dr. Bertrande Patenaude- Lecture on his work *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*

Dr. Patenaude is a Research Fellow at Stanford University and recipient of the Rita Ricardo-Campbell and W. Glenn Campbell Uncommon Book Award for his work *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*. This work describes the mission of the American Relief Administration in the early days of the Soviet Union. Dr. Patenaude is a subject matter expert on early American humanitarian relief efforts and his lecture would offer insight into the United States' first major humanitarian international assistance mission.

MONTH 2

Linda Polman –The Crisis Caravan: What’s Wrong with Humanitarian Aid

Linda Polman is a Dutch journalist who has covered Humanitarian Crises in Africa and the Middle East. Her lecture will focus on potential problems with humanitarian aid; including media portrayal of humanitarian crises and the inefficiency of certain aid organizations. Her talk will surely spark a meaningful discussion regarding the role of humanitarian aid groups, especially since her arguments are in direct contradiction to many of the scholars that have utilized the Hoover Institute’s archives in their work.

MONTH 3

Dr. Julia Irwin – Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation’s Humanitarian Awakening

Dr. Julia Irwin is an Associate Professor at the University of South Florida. She holds a Ph.D from Yale university. Her work *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation’s Humanitarian Awakening* focuses on how the American Red Cross grew as an organization following its founding by Clara Barton. She also analyzes the Red Cross’ role in American Society’s growing support of international humanitarian assistance missions

Appendix C: Primary Source Research Methods

Primary Source Research Methods is an optional seminar that will take place on a once per month basis. The focus will be providing college students and other beginning scholars (possibly high school students) an opportunity to learn more about primary source research.

Appendix D: University Level Course Tie-ins

There are several courses offered at the graduate and undergraduate levels at Stanford University that teach material similar to what is being covered in this exhibit. The following courses could potentially visit the exhibit as a supplement to their regular class schedule:

- **Anthropology 237: The Politics of Humanitarianism**

What does it mean to want to help, to organize humanitarian aid, in times of crisis? At first glance, the impulse to help issue generis a good one. Helping is surely preferable to indifference and inaction. This does not mean that humanitarian interventions entail no ethical or political stakes or that they are beyond engaged critique. This course examines the history of humanitarian sensibilities and the emergence of organized action in the cause of humanity. In the early years of humanitarian intervention, political neutrality was a key principle; it has now come under ever greater analytical and political scrutiny. We will examine the reasons for the politicization and militarization of aid -- be it humanitarian aid in natural disasters or political crises; development programs in the impoverished south or peace-keeping. We will end with a critical exploration of the concept of human rights, humanity, and personhood. The overall methodological aim of the course is to demonstrate what insights an ethnographic approach to the politics, ethics, and aesthetics of humanitarianism can offer.

- **History 201C: The U.S., U.N. Peacekeeping, and Humanitarian War**

The involvement of U.S. and the UN in major wars and international interventions since the 1991 Gulf War. The UN Charter's provisions on the use of force, the origins and evolution of peacekeeping, the reasons for the breakthrough to peacemaking and peace enforcement in the 90s, and the ongoing debates over the legality and wisdom of humanitarian intervention. Case studies include Croatia and Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo, East Timor, and Afghanistan.

- **International Policy Studies 210: The Politics of International Humanitarian Action**

The relationship between humanitarianism and politics in international responses to civil conflicts and forced displacement. Focus is on policy dilemmas and choices, and the consequences of action or inaction. Case studies include northern Iraq (Kurdistan), Bosnia, Rwanda, Kosovo, and Darfur.

- **Pediatrics 225: Humanitarian Aid and Politics**

Open to medical students, graduate students, and undergraduate students. Examines the moral dilemmas and political realities that complicate the delivery of humanitarian aid, especially when undertaken by the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Emphasis is on what humanitarians call "complex humanitarian emergencies": crises often characterized by famine and/or epidemic disease and typically the result of war and/or civil war. Provides background into the history of humanitarian aid, though focus is on the post-Cold War era, up to the recent crises in Libya and Syria.

- **THINK 27: Human Rights and Humanitarianism**

Why do certain governments and citizens feel obliged to ease the suffering of distant people in need? How did the humanitarian sensibilities and human rights discourses that now define global politics come into being? In this course, you will consider how

contemporary ethical motivations for human rights and humanitarianism have developed. We will investigate the emergence and transformation of these ideas through the study of key historical events in the modern world slavery and its abolition, colonialism, the World Wars, apartheid, decolonization, and the Cold War. We will then consider how this longer history has influenced the ways activists, NGOs, and governments today draw attention to global crises and abuses. Our ultimate objective is to gain an understanding of how the language and ideals of human rights and humanitarianism emerged from the context of liberalism, capitalism, and imperialism.¹²³

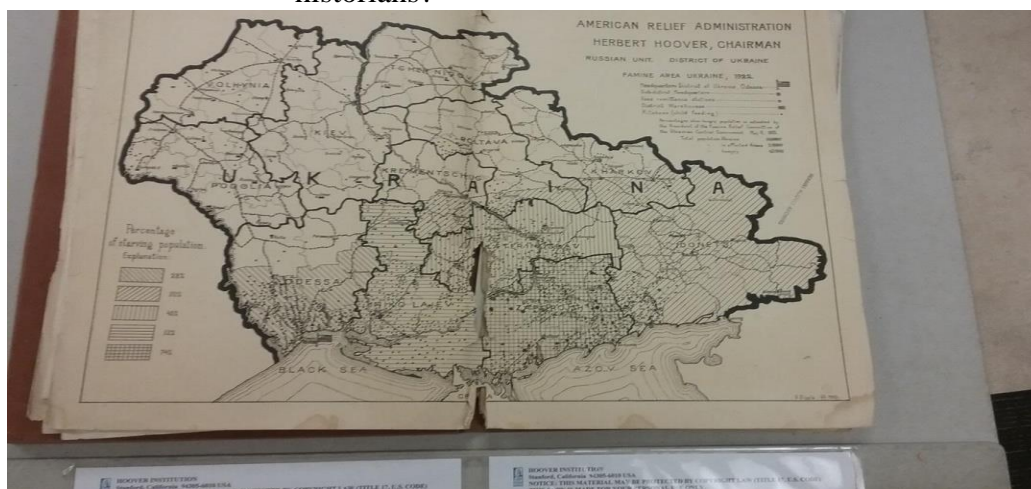
¹²³ “Course Bulletin,” <https://explorecourses.stanford.edu/>

APPENDIX E: PRIMARY SOURCE INTERPRETATION

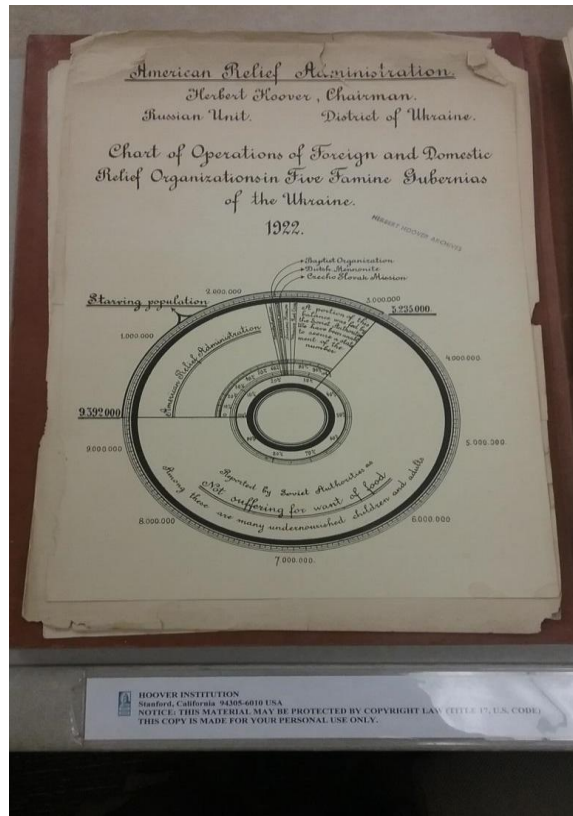
These are examples of Primary Source documents that scholars could use in their research.

Questions could include:

1. How can scholars utilize each of these documents to make an argument?
2. What kind of biases may be present in these documents?
3. If a document is in a foreign language, what other resources might one utilize?
4. Why are primary source documents important to historians?



Map of Areas affected by Famine as constructed by the ARA.



Distribution of Aid Dispersed by various groups under the auspices of the ARA.

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
Russian Food Distribution Department
Foreign Food Distribution Department
40 BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY

APPLICATION FORM
FOR FOOD DELIVERY

Instructions for Providing Food for Persons in Russia
Инструкции по Снабжению Пищевыми Продуктами Лиц, Проживающих в России

Fill out this blank and mail it to above address with New York Draft, Money Order or Certified Check Payable to the order of the American Relief Administration, 40 Broadway, New York City, N.Y. 10004.

1. ENCLOSE HERewith THIS SUM OF \$..... (Here enter the Total amount of your Food Requirement, which may be for five, ten, twenty, or any other multiple of five.)

2. Fill out the following information:

FOR FOOD TO BE DELIVERED TO:
НА ПИЩЕВЫЕ ПРОДУКТЫ, С ДОСТАВКОЙ:

Name: Enter here the name, address and amount of residence in last two households. If you wish to send supplies to more than one household enter the additional names, addresses and amount of each residence on back of this form.

ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ: Укажите здесь имя, адрес и сумму пропитания каждой семьи. Если вы хотите послать продукты нескольким семьям, укажите дополнительные семьи, адреса и сумму пропитания каждой из семей на обратной стороне.

State first and last family name in full, and whether Mr., Mrs., or Miss.
Укажите полное имя и фамилию, также пол, отчество и звание.

(Print in Russian) (Print in English) (Print in Russian) (Print in English)

M. First name Family name First name Family name
Last name Name Name Name

Full address—
Полный адрес:
(Street)
(City)
(Country)
(Province or State)
(Telephone)

The American Relief Administration will endeavor to deliver to the beneficiary above named an amount of food from the following in other commodities:
Американская Администрация будет стараться доставить указанному получателю указанное количество продуктов из следующего в других товарах:

Wheat, Corn, Flour, Ham, Canned Meat, Beans, Sugar, Tea, etc.
Пшеница, Ячмень, Мука, Макароны, Консервы, Сахар, Чай, и т.д.

Note: Each food will have a defined value equivalent to three-quarters of the total amount, a value understood that the remaining amount will be used as a contribution to the Administration towards free issue of food in Russia.
Замечание: Каждый продукт будет иметь определенную стоимость, равную три четверти общей суммы продуктов. Остаток этой суммы будет использован Администрацией на закупку продовольствия для России.

If, at the end of 30 days, the total American Relief Administration Warehouse in Russia is unable to issue the beneficiary's food, it will notify the New York Headquarters, and the original order will be returned to the beneficiary.
Если в течение 30 дней общий склад продовольствия Американской Администрации в России не сможет выдать продукты, она уведомит Нью-Йоркский Центр, и оригинальный заказ будет возвращен получателю.

Wherever practicable the Administration will endeavor to make delivery of such food over the routes of its warehouses.
Везде, где это возможно, Администрация будет стараться доставить продукты по маршрутам своих складов.

To receive supplies at these warehouses, the Administration will endeavor to arrange delivery through the local post office.
Для получения товаров в этих складах, Администрация будет стараться организовать доставку через местную почтовую службу.

If it is not possible to receive supplies at these warehouses, the Administration will endeavor to arrange delivery through the local post office or other agency for delivery.
Если невозможно получить товары в этих складах, Администрация будет стараться организовать доставку через местную почтовую службу или другую организацию.

In such cases, the Administration will endeavor to arrange delivery through the local post office or other agency for delivery.
В таких случаях, Администрация будет стараться организовать доставку через местную почтовую службу или другую организацию.

Application to send food to specific person in Russia or Ukraine.

[illegible]

Участковий варті Марков Євдоким
Місцю, адресовано: місту Карна Маркова 201 А 5

31/3
1.

The above is an affidavit for U.S.A. and
jurisdiction, not at the office of 15, complex 7
Central electric power station 20000, by a
Bromberg, to similar institution in Washington
Request is signed by him only and his address
given. The rubber stamp of the
Central Electric and
of the

Copy of a letter sent from electric power station workers in Odessa, Ukraine, to electrical workers in the United States

APPENDIX F: READING LIST

This is a reading list that can be utilized by instructors wishing to provide their students with background on the History of humanitarian aid . The works range from monographs on the American Relief Administration, to scholarly articles that discuss other American humanitarian relief efforts.

- Benjamin Weissman, *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia: 1921-1923*, (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford: 1974),
- Bertrand Patenaude, *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921-1922*
- Frank Surface and Raymond Bland, *American food in the world war and reconstruction period; operations of the organizations under the direction of Herbert Hoover, 1914 to 1924.*
- Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960)
- Ann Marie Wilson, "In the name of God, Civilization and Humanity: The United States and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s," *Le Mouvement social*, No. 227 (Apr. – Jun. 2009)
- Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Red Cross: A History*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.)
- Kevin Rozario, "'Delicious Horrors': Mass Culture, the Red Cross, and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sep., 2003)
- William Moskoff, "Charity Stamps and Famine Relief in China in the 1920s: The American Connection," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 18, No. 3/4 (2011)
- Tibor Glant, "Herbert Hoover and Hungary, 1918-1923." *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)* Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall, 2002)
- The American Relief Administration. A Summary of the Work of the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund: Danzig Port Mission, 1919-1922, 1923.
- Irwin, Julia F, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

APPENDIX G: TIMELINE

This is a timeline of events that involve the growth of American Humanitarian Assistance Missions:

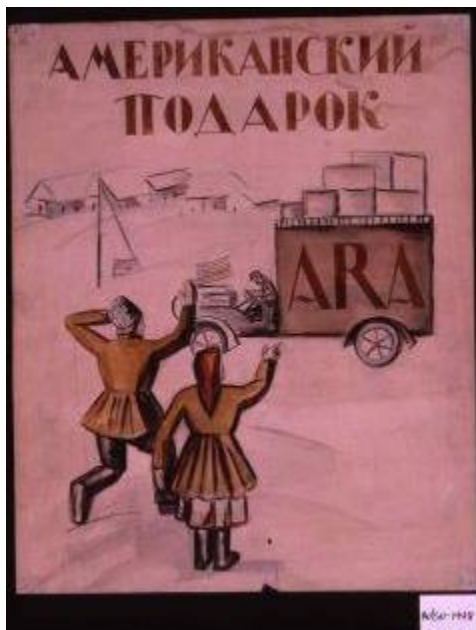
- 1863- The International Red Cross formed in Geneva Switzerland with the goals of creating “a permanent relief agency for humanitarian aid in times of war.”
- 1866- The United States was asked to join the Convention but declined under the direction of Secretary of State William Seward.
- 1866- Dr. Henry Bellows founded the American Association for the Relief of Battlefields, with the desire to align the group with the efforts of the International Red Cross.
- 1872- The American Association for the Relief of Battlefield collapses due to lack of involvement with international Red Cross
- 1878- Clara Barton publishes *The Red Cross of the Geneva Convention* in which she argued that the it was necessary for the United States to have a domestic humanitarian assistance agency.
- 1881- Clara Barton succeeded in ratifying a constitution for the American Association of the Red Cross. This new group would affiliate with the International Red Cross.
- 1882- United States Government signs Geneva Treaty, formally aligning American Red Cross with International Red Cross.
- 1882- 1905- The American Red Cross provided medical aid in about 21 domestic disasters.
- 1905- The American Red Cross began providing medical assistance to other nations which underwent natural disasters.
- 1905-1917- The American Red Cross participated in about fifty foreign operations, with total expenditures of almost \$5,000,000.¹²⁴
- 1914- Herbert Hoover helped found the Committee for the Relief of Belgium. This group accounted for \$34, 521,026.99 worth of food assistance to Western Europe.
- 1919- The Committee for the Relief of Belgium ceases operations in Europe.
- 1919- Herbert Hoover helped found the American Relief Administration.
- 1922- American Relief Administration ceases Operations in Western Europe
- 1923- American Relief Administration ceases Operations in the Soviet Union

¹²⁴ Dulles, 120.

- 1941- United States began the Lend-Lease Program, which sent supplies to Great Britain and the Soviet Union to assist in their conflict with Nazi Germany.
- 1943- United States becomes a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation program, which assisted displaced persons throughout Europe and Asia.
- 1947- United States sends \$300 million dollars to Greece in attempt to help the country rebuild after the Second World War
- 1948- President Harry Truman introduces the European Recovery Program or the Marshall Plan to assist Western European nations recover from the trauma of the Second World War.
- 1951- The European Recovery program ceases operation in Western Europe.
- 1961- President John F. Kennedy helped create the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which group focused on international humanitarian assistance without the use of military power.

APENDIX H: PHOTOGRAPHS/POSTERS

These photographs and posters will be included in the ARA exhibit. Each of these examples come from the Hoover Institution Archives.



“American Presents” Hand painted Ukrainian Poster.¹²⁵



Ukrainian announcement that food distributed in this kitchen is gift of the American people through ARA under the leadership of Herbert Hoover.¹²⁶

¹²⁵“ Amerikanskii podarok. ARA, 1921/1923,” Poster collection, Hoover Institution Archives, <https://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/23005>

¹²⁶“ Pishcha vydavaemaia v etoi kukhne ...1921/1923,” Poster collection, Hoover Institution Archives, <https://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/24210>



Line at food remittance station in Southern Ukraine.¹²⁷



Starving Ukrainian Child.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Gibbes Lykes Papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

APPENDIX I: BUDGET

ITEM	PRICE
Timeline Graphic	\$800
Modular Reader Rails (2) ¹²⁹	\$2900
Photograph Panels (2) ¹³⁰	\$1200
Double Sided Exhibit Pods (2) ¹³¹	\$5,100
Light-Up Diorama ¹³²	\$2,500
Handouts (1000) ¹³³	\$202.13
Stipend for Speakers (3)	\$1,500
Travel for Speakers (3)	\$5,000
Lodging for Speakers (3)	\$2,500
“Sound Dome” for Recordings of ARA workers (3) ¹³⁴	\$2,000
TOTAL	23,702.13

¹²⁸ Gibbes Lykes Papers, Box 2, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹²⁹ <http://www.artdisplay.com/museumrailsystem.htm#.Wt4clS7wbcs>

¹³⁰ <http://www.blairinc.com/services/index.html>

¹³¹ https://www.pod-exhibition-systems.co.uk/portable-displays/folding-panel-kits/display-boards/mightyboard-exhibitor-system-_display-board-kit-d

¹³² http://www.lifeinscale.net/mm_portfolio.asp#mus

¹³³ https://www.uprinting.com/brochure-printing.html?attr3=143&attr1=147&attr7=153&attr4=165&attr5=169&attr400=68456&attr6=199&product_id=4&image_id=&h1=500%20pcs%20Tri-Fold%20Brochure%20Printing%20-%20Cheap%20Brochures%20on%20Paper%20Gloss&iv=__iv_p_1_a_194359761_g_45778254477_c_218012470227_k__m__w_pla-295206970976_n_g_d_c_v__l__t_r_lo2_x_pla_y_336948_f_online_o_7290_z_US_i_en_j_295206970976_s_e_h_9009991_ii__vi__&gclid=CjwKCAjwiPbWBRBtEiwAJakcpMS9yXyfdVrajTlpzc4s1sp99h4OuwL0O2X5CVdG7whUglHlDlgnAxoC0uAQAvD_BwE

¹³⁴ <http://www.browninnovations.com/sound-dome-directional-speakers/>