

## A b s t r a c t s

Egbert Jahn

### Comparing the Holodomor: on the phenomenology of mass extermination

The unique extermination of millions of people by means of a deliberately instigated famine, which took place in 1932-33, was an event on a similar scale to the mass murder of Jews by the Nazis. However, the motivations were quite different: they included the calculation that the famine would serve to secure Soviet rule, considerations related to the politics of social class, questions of linguistic and cultural policy, national interests, and other factors.

Gerhard Simon

### The Holodomor as a weapon: Stalinism, hunger, and Ukrainian nationalism

The famine in Ukraine, which was organized by the political leadership, was an instrument employed to consolidate Stalinism. The debate about whether it was directed against the peasantry or the Ukrainians is therefore irrelevant. Stalin took the view that the crisis in agriculture caused by forced collectivization had made the crisis of loyalty in Ukraine evident. He was afraid he would "lose Ukraine". Hunger was therefore used as a weapon against the Ukrainian villages, where the resistance to collectivization and grain requisitioning was charged with national sentiments. At the same time, the Ukrainian national communists and the Ukrainian intelligentsia were subjected to a wave of purges and repression that was at that time unprecedented, and many of them were physically liquidated. However, Ukrainian national consciousness could not be permanently destroyed.

Stanislav Kul'chytsky

### Terror as a method: the 1933 famine-genocide in Ukraine

The famine in the Ukrainian countryside was not a natural disaster: it was caused by the excessive grain requisitioning of the Soviet regime. In addition, from the autumn of 1932 onwards all stocks of food in the villages of Ukraine and in the

Kuban region, where the population was predominantly Ukrainian, were confiscated. In this way, the population was deliberately exposed to famine. Terror through hunger was a punishment for resistance to collectivization. The Stalin leadership saw hunger as a way of forcing the peasants to join the kolkhozes, destroying a mentality shaped by private property, and bringing about the political subjugation of the Ukrainians. The thrust of the famine-terror was therefore social and national, and it should be treated as genocide.

**Ricarda Vulpius**

**“Get rid of islands of autonomy”:**

**the Holodomor and the persecution of the church**

The Soviet regime treated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church more harshly than any of the USSR's other churches. The national church's organization managed to evade complete state control, and the church was part of the fabric of Ukrainian peasant life and seen as a link between Ukraine and emigres living in Poland. This strengthened the suspicion that the church would play a leading role in peasant opposition to collectivization. Both the persecution of the church in 1930 and the Holodomor of 1932-33 were part of a campaign directed against the last remaining islands of societal autonomy in Ukraine, which were closely linked with one another.

**Nikolaus Katzer**

**Bread and rule:**

**the famine in the RSFSR**

This article places the famine in the RSFSR in the context of the state grain supply crisis that began in 1927, collectivization, and “dekulakization”, and examines the fundamental question of the relationship between the bread supply and rule in the years following the October Revolution. Approaches taken from research on regional history are the point of departure, and problems relating to the number of victims and demography are also addressed. On the basis of the available source material, the article reconstructs some examples of typical courses of events and of models used to interpret the civil war situation at the beginning of the 1930s. This is done principally from the perspectives of villagers and of functionaries of the party or security organs. In conclusion, research hypotheses are discussed against the background of findings taken from studies of regional history.

Rudolf A. Mark

## The famine in Kazakhstan: historiographical reappraisals

The famine was one of the great blanks in the Soviet historiography of Kazakhstan. After the state's independence, the famine became an object of historical research – though still as a national project undertaken at the behest of the state. For some time the famine continued to be explained as an “accident” or a “breach of Leninist principles”. As the Soviet period recedes into the past, the famine is now increasingly being interpreted as a consequence of the violent policy of leveling and disciplining pursued by the Stalinist system, which is understood to have been totalitarian. As is the case in Ukraine, Kazakh historians and demographers are now discussing questions relating to the number of victims, the scale of the famine, and the effects of events coded as either a catastrophe or a tragedy. However, this debate is not at the centre of academic discourse.

Yurii Shapoval

## Lies and silence: suppressing the memory of the famine

This article examines the methods by which the communist regime tried to suppress the truth about the famine of the early 1930s. Neither propaganda nor official Soviet statistics acknowledged the existence of the famine; they spoke of “missing deaths”. But the political leaderships of both the USSR and the UkrSSR were well informed about what was happening. Systematic research on the tragic famine became possible for the first time under Gorbachev's policy of glasnost'. The full extent of the famine has become clear as a result of the recent opening of the archives.

Wilfried Jilge

## The Holodomor and the nation: the famine in the Ukrainian view of history

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the 1932-33 famine was, up until the end of 1987, one of the blank spots in Soviet history. The lifting of the taboo on any discussion of the famine, which followed the 1986 Chernobyl reactor disaster, contributed to the deligitimation of the Soviet system. This article examines the significance of the Holodomor for the development of a national Ukrainian view of history and for ways of dealing with the totalitarian past, and analyzes the function of the famine in Ukraine's policy towards history.

Valerii Vasil'ev

## Between politicization and historicization: the Holodomor in Ukrainian historiography

During the last 20 years, the 1932-33 famine has been a focal point of scholarly and political debate. The impetus leading to reflection on the Holodomor was provided by a commission of enquiry set up by the US Congress, and this contributed to a new self-understanding on the part of Ukrainian society. There was a close relationship between academic investigation of the scale of the catastrophe, its causes, and the motives that led to it, and the demand for the dissolution of the USSR and the question of a new social order in Ukraine. Ukrainian and international historians have done detailed work on the political, economic, and social aspects of the mass extermination, and have posed in new ways the questions of guilt, international recognition of the Holodomor as genocide, and expiation.

Rolf Göbner

## Burnt souls: the Holodomor in Ukrainian literature

Ulas Samchuk's *Mariia* and Vasyl' Barka's *Zhovtyi kniaz'* are the most important Ukrainian novels dealing with the famine. This article concentrates on aspects of these two prose works of relevance to literary history and literary studies. The novels are partly documentary and partly imaginative works. Both of them treat the 1932-33 Holodomor as a genocide perpetrated against the Ukrainian people and as a national disaster.

Dmytro Zlepko

## "Everything is wonderful": the Holodomor as seen by contemporaries

The Soviet leadership did everything it could to prevent news of the famine getting out. Nevertheless, the most important facts about the Holodomor did reach the outside world: some diplomats and foreign correspondents reported the famine in Ukraine and the deaths of millions of people. The Soviet Union placed all obstacles at its disposal in the path of attempts to provide international help, and there was in any case only a small-scale response to calls for assistance. Other journalists covered up the truth. Edouard Herriot, a former French prime minister, allowed himself to be used as a tool of Soviet propaganda.