

ФРГ достаточно быстро восстановила свой экономический потенциал, а после объединения с ГДР (сентябрь 1990 г.) стала крупнейшей экономикой в Европе и лидером Европейского союза. Учитывая вес объединённой Германии в Евросоюзе и НАТО, она безусловно имеет все возможности оказывать определяющее влияние на политику ЕС. Сегодня Германия снова на «подъёме»...

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## RESEARCH PROJECT «UKRAINIAN FAMINE OF 1932–33: HISTORIOGRAPHY, HISTORICAL MEMORY AND HISTORICAL POLICY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE»

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**About the research.** The processes of formation of the modern historiographical space objects are of professional interest to various sciences and research teams. At the same time, the experience of the last years reveals that the main trend in the development of social sciences seems to be the increased recognition of their active role in the life of a modern society. Socially – acceptable knowledge is not only a fact of social consciousness, but also of activity-related factor in social development.

One of the tragic episodes of modern history was the Soviet famine of 1932-33. According to modern estimates, as a result of the famine, about 7 million people died on the territory of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. The historiography of this tragedy is extremely extensive. However, the scientific and public assessment of famine in the historical memory and historical policy of Central and Eastern Europe is not just different. It has become one of the most important factors in the formation of public self-consciousness in the new independent states and a factor of interstate relations in the post-Soviet and European space.

In the proposed project, we will analyze how the historiography of the Soviet and Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 affects the historical memory and historical policy of Central and Eastern Europe.

Models of interaction history, memory and society, developed by Michel Foucault, Paul Ricoeur, John Tosh, Pierre Nora, find their extensive use in social studies and the humanities, and more persistently invade the area of traditional historiography. However, the complex developments in this area are not so many, and their local nature does not allow to enter the deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the changes taking place in modern historiographical practice.

Proposed project is supposed to explore the modern scientific historiography, historical memory and historical policy of Central and Eastern Europe on the history of Ukrainian famine in context of Soviet famine of 1932-33. Ongoing studies will help to assess the achieved level of the historiography, highlight major publications, concepts, scientific directions. Also, it is extremely important to note the controversial historical, political and social positions in Eastern and Central Europe, try to determine the prospects for assessing the Soviet and Ukrainian famines.

**Originality of the project.** The conditions of modern methodological pluralism provide choice of an integrated multi-disciplinary approach as a concrete methodology of historical research. This allows to incorporate theoretical ideas and techniques of other fields of scientific knowledge into the study of historical processes. Today the situation in science is such that it is necessary to hear different voices, to be able let in the "other" in your discourse. As regards the advancement of the "state-of-the-art" of research in this field, the study of Soviet and Ukrainian famine in

historiography, historical memory and historical policy of Central and Eastern Europe will enable to connect the historical, political, anthropological, psychological, and cultural components. Each of them played a role in a particular segment of the discipline development, and in the formation of a collective historical memory. We use the principle of the "look at the past", which was developed in the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, philosophical hermeneutics Philipp Heinrich Dilthey and Hans-Georg Gadamer, "understanding sociology" of Max Weber, "The Annals" historical school.

Special attention will be paid to the "new imperial history", which allows to describe the historical dynamics of Stalinism more accurately than is possible through previously used methodology. Considering the Stalinist state and society as a variant of the empire, the researchers were able to give new aspects of the study of national, religious, political and social components. The proposed project is aimed at the selection of modern historiographical trends showing the factors of continuity of the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and modern Russia. Analysis of the Stalinist empire building today is of particular significance for Central and Eastern Europe.

**Importance of the project.** The Ukrainian famine (1932–33), or *Holodomor* (Ukrainian literally "death by starvation"), was one of the largest national catastrophes in the modern history of the Ukrainian nation. The neologism *Holodomor* is given in the modern dictionary of the Ukrainian language as "artificial hunger, organised in vast scale by the criminal regime against the country's population". The *Holodomor genocide question* consists of the attempts to determine whether the *Holodomor*, a 1933 man-made famine that killed about 4 million people in Ukraine, was an ethnic genocide or an unintended result of the "Soviet regime's re-direction of already drought-reduced grain supplies to attain economic and political goals. The debate among historians is ongoing and there is no international consensus among scholars or governments on whether the Soviet policies that caused the famine fall under the legal definition of genocide.

In 2006 Ukraine's parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, passed a law recognizing the 1932–33 *Holodomor* as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. In 2010 Kyiv's Court of Appeal recognized the leaders of the totalitarian Bolshevik regime as those guilty of 'genocide against the Ukrainian national group in 1932-33 through the artificial creation of living conditions intended for its partial physical destruction.'

The Russian Federation accepts historic information about the *Holodomor* but rejects the argument that it was ethnic genocide by pointing out the fact that millions of non-Ukrainian Soviet citizens also died because of the famine. In 2008 a statement was voted by the Russian parliament stating there was no evidence that the 1933 famine was an act of genocide specifically against the Ukrainian people. The resolution adopted by Russia's lower house of parliament, the State Duma, condemned the Soviet regime's "disregard for the lives of people in the attainment of economic and political goals", along with "any attempts to revive totalitarian regimes that disregard the rights and lives of citizens in former Soviet states." yet stated that "there is no historic evidence that the famine was organized on ethnic grounds."

The project will pay special attention to the problems of Historical Memory and Historical Policy. Will be discussed the interactions of scientific historiography and mass historical consciousness in contemporary Eastern and Central Europe. The data of sociological surveys show the gap between scientific research and citizens' everyday understanding of Stalinist time in Eastern Europe. Under the conditions of the sharp escalation of the situation in Eastern Europe and on the borders of Central Europe, propaganda of Stalin's methods of empire building, authoritarianism and dictatorship, the historical justification for violence is intensified. The subject of project will a historical studies and studies of collective memory of Stalinism, the European "places of memory", their historical, social and cultural functions, the state historical policy in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Transfer of knowledge** will be carried out on the basis of the experience gained Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica (UMB) and Belarusian State University (BSU) in the implementation of a number of joint projects carried out since 2008: «The Main Paradigms of the Central and East European Studies: Towards Theory Exploration»; «The Phenomenon of Post-Communism: Communist legacy and Contemporary Challenges as the Factors of the Development of East-European and Post-Soviet Countries (1989-2009)»; «Contemporary European Historiography of Stalinism: Traditions and New Research Strategies for Central and Eastern Europe»/

**Impact of the project.** Several countries and international organizations made public statements addressing the *Holodomor* and recognizing it as a tragedy. Some went further to recognize it as genocide, or a crime against humanity. In the framework of international organizations, resolution recognizing *Holodomor* as genocide was adopted by the Baltic Assembly. The following countries have recognized the *Holodomor* as an act of genocide: Albania, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Ukraine, United States, (and twenty-two individual states), Vatican City.

A number of international organizations adopted resolutions recognizing *Holodomor* as tragedy or crime against humanity but did not use the word "genocide": European Parliament, General Assembly of the United Nations, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture,

The Slovak Republic is among the countries that have recognized the *Holodomor* as a criminal act of the Stalinist regime: Argentina, Chile, Czech Republic, Spain, Slovakia.

Slovakia is an example of the country with very specific and elaborated way of transition with the successful results quite different from those of the post-soviet republics. The soviet and communist studies are on a very good level in Slovakia and consulting with the Slovak colleagues can advance and expand research topic. Historical policy of

Slovakia reflected in historical and historiographical studies, will be very useful and influential for the Belarusian historical community and the whole Belarusian society.

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