

Andrea Graziosi, Professor of History

The Uses of Hunger. Political Famines in the 20th Century

PhD Program *Global History and Governance*
2018-2019

Place: tba

Time: Tuesday, 15:00-17:00

Office hours: by appointment

Office place: tba

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The use of hunger to achieve political/military aims has always been with us. Yet, even though the Irish famine and colonial practices provided important antecedents, there are crucial differences between that use and the 20th century extraordinary “political famines.” An incomplete list suffices to stress the point: politics- and/or ideology-caused famines took place in peacetime in Kazakhstan (1931-32, 1.5 m victims); Ukraine (1932-33, 3.5 m); China (1958-62, 25+ m); Ethiopia (1983-85, 0.4 m); and North Korea (1994-98, 0.5+ m). Hunger was also used in new ways in 20th-century wars and genocides, and the war-political famine nexus has been significant in the conflicts following decolonization, for instance in Biafra. All this in a century in which there always was available food, and the means to transport it. Yet, with but a few rudimentary exceptions, there are no systematic and comparative studies of famines caused by political choices, and of the use of starvation in the 20th century to make an enemy surrender, to “teach” a social, national or religious group a “lesson,” or to subjugate or destroy a “people” or a culture. In his 1981 classic, for instance, Sen did not even consider the phenomenon.

The topic thus calls for a global, comparative, and transnational study, and the in-depth treatment of specific political famines. This requires analyzing their causes, including ideology, state-building and wars; their short, medium and long-term consequences; and the behaviors of victims and perpetrators, urban and rural dwellers.

As knowledge of the Soviet and Chinese famines substantially altered the image of Stalinism and Maoism, a sophisticated concept of “Political famines,” possibly articulated in different subsets, could significantly change our understanding and perception of the 20th century, besides opening up new paths of research.

Course requirements in view of the final grade:

1. Regular attendance -10 per cent.
2. Participation in discussions based on suggested readings -30 per cent.
3. A final essay on a specific topic to be agreed with Professor Graziosi by the end of November, 20-25 pages (8 to 10,000 words) -60 per cent.

Course website: will be posted as soon as there will be one

SESSIONS

I. Introduction & organization; *The Irish Famine and its Legacy* –November 6, 2018

- A few words about the instructor
- Presentation of the course
- Organization of the course (a) –presentations of participants
- General overview of the problem
- Ancien régime famines
- The last traditional European famines
- The Irish famine and its legacy

Readings:

1. This Seminar's Syllabus;
2. A. Graziosi, "Political Famines: Years of Discoveries. The Accumulation of Knowledge since the 1980s," unpublished paper, 2017;
3. A. de Waal, *Mass Starvation. The History and Future of Famine*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018. Chapter 4. "A Short History of Modern Famines:" 53-81;
4. P. Gray, "Was the Great Irish Famine a Colonial Famine?" Paper presented at the conference *Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective*, Kyiv, 5-7 June 2017;
5. M.G. McGowan, "The Famine Plot Revisited: A Reassessment of the Great Irish Famine as Genocide," *Genocide Studies International* (special issue), 1 (2017): 87-104.

II. WWI and its Aftermath –November 13, 2018

- Organization of the course (b) –assignment of papers to participants
- Colonial famines
- International law and the uses of hunger
- WWI and the blockades
- The Armenian and the Syrian case
- Civil war in Russia, 1914-1922: hunger as counterinsurgency, requisitions and hunger
- Hoover and the first massive international aid operation

Readings:

1. P. Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985. Chapter 1. "The Loss of Innocence:" 1-26 and 5. "Famine and Starvation:" 124-51;
2. G.N. Shirinian, "Starvation and Its Political Use in the Armenian Genocide," *Genocide Studies International*, 11, 1 (2017): 3-37;
3. L. Schatkowski-Schilcher, "The famine of 1915-1918 in Greater Syria," J.P. Spagnolo, (ed.), *Problems of the modern Middle East in historical perspective*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993: 229-258;
4. A. Graziosi, *The Great Soviet Peasant War. Bolsheviks and Peasants, 1918-1934*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1996. *Act I*. 1918-22;
5. B.M. Patenaude, "American Famine Relief to Soviet Russia and Anti-Bolshevism, 1921-23," in G. Hausmann and D. Neutatz, eds., *Hungersnöte in Russland und in der Sowjetunion, 1891-1947*, Essen: Klartext, 2017: 237-54.

III. *The Great Soviet famines*—November 20, 2018

- Dekulakization and collectivization: The disruption of agriculture
- Rationing and the Kazakh Famine
- The pan-Soviet famine, 1930-33
- The 1932 crisis and the *Holodomor*
- Victory in the countryside
- Hunger in the GULag
- The famines' legacies

Readings:

1. A. Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*, New York: Doubleday, 2017. "Introduction: The Ukrainian Question"; "The Holodomor in History and Memory" and "Epilogue: The Ukrainian Question Reconsidered": 1-10, 320-360;
2. A. Graziosi, "The Soviet 1931-33 Famines and the Ukrainian Holodomor: Is a New Interpretation Possible, What Would Its Consequences Be?" [*Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2005] in H. Hryn (ed.), *Hunger by Design: The Great Ukrainian Famine and Its Soviet Context*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2009: 1-19;
3. N. Pianciola, "Sacrificing the Kazakhs: The Stalinist Hierarchy of Consumption and the Great Famine in Kazakhstan of 1931-33," in T. Uyama (ed.), *Thirty Years of Crisis: Empire, Violence, and Ideology in Eurasia from the First to the Second World War* (Sapporo: Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, forthcoming);
4. "Roundtable on Soviet Famines," *Contemporary European History*, 27, 3 (2018): 432-81, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/contemporary-european-history/issue/9A5C80F9C9EEBEA7C7CCE0D6F7582A6D> (free access).

IV. *WWII and its aftermath*—November 27, 2018

- The Nazi Hunger Plan and the starvation of Soviet POWs
- The Shoah and hunger in the Nazi lagers
- Starvation at Nuremberg
- The 1946-47 Soviet famines
- Lemkin, the Genocide Convention and the Ukrainian Famine
- The Right to Food

Readings:

1. G. Gerhard, "Food and Genocide: Nazi Agrarian Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union," *Contemporary European History*, 1 (2009): 45-65;
2. C. Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Chapter 9. "Hunger policies and mass murder:" 215-60;
3. R. Lemkin, "Soviet Genocide in Ukraine" [1953?], "In memoriam: Raphael Lemkin, 1900-1959," *Holodomor Studies*, 1 (2009): 1-8, http://history.org.ua/LiberUA/HolSt1_2009/HolSt1_2009.pdf;
4. D.A. Filter, review of V.F. Zima, *Golod v SSSR, 1946-1947 godov*, in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 2000, Vol.1 (3): 603-610.

V. *The Asian Communist Famines* –December 4, 2018

- Mao's Great Leap Forward
- Lushan and the catastrophe
- The famine's consequences
- Famine in Cambodia
- Famine in North Korea

Readings:

1. L. Bianco, *La Récidive. Révolution russe, Révolution chinoise*, Paris: Gallimard, 2014. 5. *Famines*: 181-239;
2. F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*, London: Bloomsbury, 2011. Chapters 7-13: 47-104;
3. A. Graziosi, "Political Famines in the USSR and China. A Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3 (2017): 42-103;
4. S. Haggard, *Famine in North Korea*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Part I. "Perspectives on the Famine";
5. J. Tiner and S. Rice, "To live and let die: Food, famine, and administrative violence in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975-1979," *Political Geography*, 52 (May 2016): 47-56.

VI. *Africa and the Conceptualization of Famine Crimes* –December 11, 2018

- Decolonization, State Building and the use of Hunger
- The Biafra Blockade
- Famines in Ethiopia
- Political Famines and International Aid
- Famine crimes
- Genocide and Political Famines

Readings:

1. A. de Waal, *Mass Starvation. The History and Future of Famine*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018. Chapters 1-2: 5-35, 6: 94-112 and 7-8: 113-54;
2. D. Marcus, "Famine Crimes in International Law," *American Journal of International Law*, 2 (2003): 245-81;
3. L. Heerten and D. Moses, "The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970: Postcolonial Conflicts and the Question of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research*, special issue, 2-3 (2014): 169-203;
4. G. Dawit Wolde, *Red Tears: War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1989. Chapters 2: 55-68; and 8-10: 253-308.

VII. *Papers' Presentation & Discussion* –February 12, 2019

VIII. *Papers' Presentation & Discussion* –February 13, 2019

Essential Bibliography

[see also A. Graziosi, *Selected Bibliography of Socialist Famines in the Twentieth Century*, in A. Graziosi and F. Sysyn (eds.), *Communism and Hunger. The Soviet, Kazakh, Ukrainian and Chinese Famines in Comparative Perspective*, Edmonton: CIUS, 2016: 153-166, available on line at <https://www.ewjus.com/index.php/ewjus/article/view/222/90>]

1. C. Achebe, *There was a Country. A Personal History of Biafra*, London: Penguin, 2012;
2. A. Adamovich, D. Granin, *Leningrad under Siege. First-hand Accounts of the Ordeal* [*Blokadnaia Kniga*, 1979], Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007;
3. M. Alamgir, *Famine in South Asia: Political Economy of Mass Starvation*, Cambridge, Mass.: Oelgeschlaer, Gunn & Hain, 1980;
4. A. Applebaum, *Gulag. A History*, New York: Doubleday, 2003;
5. A. Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*, New York: Doubleday, 2017;
6. J. Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine*, New York: The Free Press, 1996;
7. K.C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair. Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2004;
8. L. Bianco, *La Récidive. Révolution russe, Révolution chinoise*, Paris: Gallimard, 2014;
9. D. Bojko (ed.), *Holodomor: The Great Famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933 (Poland and Ukraine in the 1930s-1940s: Unknown Documents from the Archives of the Secret Services)*, Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, 2009;
10. S. Bose, "Starvation amidst Plenty: The Making of Famine in Bengal, Honan, and Tonkin, 1942-44," *Modern Asian Studies*, 4 (1990): 699-727;
11. L. Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food*, New York: Penguin Press, 2012;
12. R. Collins, *Marked for Life: Songbun, North Korea's Social Classification System*, Washington, DC: The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2012;
13. Commission on the Ukrainian Famine, *Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1932-33. Report to Congress, Appendix*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1988 (J. Mace, ed.);
14. R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986;
15. D. Curran, L. Luciuk, A. Newby (eds.), *Famines in European Economic History. The Last Great European Famines Reconsidered*, London: Routledge, 2015, particularly A. Graziosi, "The Uses of Hunger: Stalin's Solution of the Peasant and National Questions in Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933:" 223-60;
16. D. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-34," *Soviet Studies*, 3 (1964): 250-84 and 4 (1965): 471-74;
17. R.W. Davies and S.G. Weathcroft, *The Years of Hunger: Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004;
18. R.W. Davies, O. Khlevniuk et al. (eds.), *The Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence, 1931-1936*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003;
19. G. Dawit Wolde, *Red Tears: War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1989;
20. F. de Bonneville, *La Mort du Biafra*, Paris: Solar, 1968;
21. A. de Waal, *Famine Crimes. Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997;
22. A. de Waal, *Mass Starvation. The History and Future of Famine*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018;
23. S. Devereux, *Theories of Famines*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993;
24. F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*, London: Bloomsbury, 2011;

25. M. Dolot, *Execution by Hunger*, New York: Norton, 1985;
26. J-L. Domenach, *Chine. L'Archipel oublié*, Paris: Fayard, 1992;
27. B.M. Dung, "Japan's Role in the Vietnamese Starvation of 1944-45," *Modern Asian Studies*, 3 (1995): 573-618;
28. M. Ellman, "The 1947 Soviet famine and the entitlement approach to famines," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 24 (2000): 603-30;
29. M. Ellman, "Stalin and the Soviet famine of 1932 – 33 Revisited," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.59, 4 (2007): 663-693;
30. A. Ferrara, N. Pianciola, *L'età delle migrazioni forzate: esodi e deportazioni in Europa, 1853-1953*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012;
31. H.H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923. The Operations of the American Relief Administration*, New York: MacMillan, 1927;
32. N. Ganson, *The Soviet Famine of 1946-47 in Global and Historical Perspective*, New York: Palgrave, 2009;
33. A. Garnaut, "The Geography of the Great Leap Famine," *Modern China*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2014): 315-348;
34. G. Gerhard, "Food and Genocide: Nazi Agrarian Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union," *Contemporary European History*, 1 (2009): 45-65;
35. G. Gerhard, *Nazi Hunger Politics: A History of Food in the Third Reich*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015;
36. C. Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016;
37. W.Z. Goldman, D. Filtzer (eds.), *Hunger and Food Provisioning in the Soviet Union during World War II*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015;
38. M. Gould, *The Biafran War. The Struggle for Modern Nigeria*, London: Tauris, 2013;
39. P. Gray, *The Irish Famine*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1995;
40. P. Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society 1843-1850*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999;
41. P. Gray, *Was the Great Irish Famine a Colonial Famine?* Paper presented at the conference "Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective," Kyiv, 5-7 June 2017;
42. P. Gray, "The Great Famine, 1845-1850," in *Cambridge History of Ireland*, vol. 3, 1730-1880, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2018: 639-665.
43. A. Graziosi (ed.), *Lettere da Kharkov: la carestia in Ucraina e nel Caucaso del Nord nei rapporti dei diplomatici italiani*, Torino: Einaudi, 1991 [*Cahiers du monde russe*, 1989; Kyiv: Folio, 2007; Lausanne: Noir sur Blanc, 2013];
44. A. Graziosi, *The Great Soviet Peasant War: Bolsheviks and Peasants, 1918-1933*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1996;
45. A. Graziosi, L. Hajda, H. Hryn (eds.), *After the Holodomor. The Enduring Impact of the Great Famine in Ukraine*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2013;
46. A. Graziosi and F. Sysyn (eds.), *Communism and Hunger. The Soviet, Kazakh, Ukrainian and Chinese Famines in Comparative Perspective*, Edmonton: CIUS, 2016;
47. A. Graziosi, "Political Famines in the USSR and China. A Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3 (2017): 42-103;
48. P.R. Greenough, *Property and Misery in Modern Bengal: The Famine of 1943-1944*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982;
49. G. Gunn, "The Great Vietnamese Famine of 1944-45 Revisited," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 4 (2011);
50. S. Haggard, *Famine in North Korea*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007;

51. The Hamburg Institute for Social Research, *The German Army and Genocide: Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews, and other Civilians in the East, 1939-1944*, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999;
52. L. Heerten and D. Moses (eds.), "The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970: Postcolonial Conflicts and the Question of Genocide," special issue of the *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2-3 (2014);
53. V. Hionidou, *Famine and Death in Occupied Greece, 1941-1944*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006;
54. H. Hryn (ed.), *Hunger by Design: The Great Ukrainian Famine and Its Soviet Context*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2009, particularly A. Graziosi, "The Soviet 1931-33 Famines and the Ukrainian Holodomor: Is a New Interpretation Possible, What Would Its Consequences Be?" [*Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2005]: 1-19;
55. M. Jones, *Leningrad: State of Siege*, New York: Basic Books, 2008;
56. O.V. Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag. From Dekulakization to the Great Terror*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004;
57. B. Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996;
58. B. Klid and A.J. Motyl (eds.), *The Holodomor Reader. A Sourcebook*, Toronto: CIUS Press, 2012;
59. L. Kopelev, *The Education of a True Believer*, New York: Harper and Row, 1980;
60. V. Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom*, New York: Scribner's, 1946;
61. R. Lemkin, "Soviet Genocide in Ukraine" [1953?], in "In memoriam: Raphael Lemkin, 1900-1959," *Holodomor Studies*, 1 (2009): 1-8
[http://history.org.ua/LiberUA/HolSt1_2009/HolSt1_2009.pdf];
62. P. Levi, *I sommersi e i salvati*, Torino: Einaudi, 1986;
63. P. Levi, *Se questo è un uomo*, Torino: F. De Silva, 1947;
64. W. Li and D.T. Yang, "The Great Leap Forward: Anatomy of a Central Planning Disaster," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 113, No. 4 (2005): 840-877;
65. Z. Li, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1994;
66. E. Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, New York: Harcourt, 1937;
67. K.E. Manning and F. Wemheuer (eds.), *Eating Bitterness. New Perspectives on China's Great Leap Forward and Famine*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011;
68. D. Marcus, "Famine Crimes in International Law," *American Journal of International Law*, 2 (2003): 245-81;
69. D.G. Marr, *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997;
70. T. Martin, *An Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001;
71. M.G. McGowan, *The Famine Plot Revisited: A Reassessment of the Great Irish Famine as Genocide*, "Genocide Studies International" (special issue), 1 (2017): 87-104;
72. Zh. Medvedev, *Soviet Agriculture*, New York: Norton, 1987;
73. F. Meslé and J. Vallin, *Mortalité et causes de décès en Ukraine au XXe siècle*, Paris: INED, 2003;
74. J. Meierhenrich, *Genocide. A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014;
75. M. Middell and F. Wemheuer (eds.), *Hunger and Scarcity under State-Socialism*, Leipzig: Leipziger Univesitätsverlag, 2012;
76. J. Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland Perhaps* [1882], Delhi: Facsimile Publisher, 2015;
77. J. Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved. A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800-1850*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1983;
78. J. Mukherjee, *Hungry Bengal. War, Famine and the End of Empire*, London: Hurst, 2015;

79. N. Naimark, *Stalin's Genocides*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010 (see also the *Perspectives* on the book in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2012): 155–169);
80. C. Ó Gráda, *The Great Irish Famine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 [1989];
81. C. Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy and Memory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999;
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83. C. Ó Gráda, *Eating People is Wrong, and other Essays on Famine, its Past, and its Future*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015;
84. E.A. Osokina, *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927-1941*, Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2001;
85. B. Patenaude, *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002;
86. A. Peri, *The War Within: Diaries from the Siege of Leningrad*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017;
87. N. Pianciola, "Famine in the Steppe. The Collectivization of agriculture and the Kazak herdsmen, 1928-34," *Cahiers du monde russe*, 1-2 (2004): 137-192;
88. N. Pianciola, "Sacrificing the Kazakhs: The Stalinist Hierarchy of Consumption and the Great Famine in Kazakhstan of 1931-33," in T. Uyama (ed.), *Thirty Years of Crisis: Empire, Violence, and Ideology in Eurasia from the First to the Second World War* (Sapporo: Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, forthcoming);
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90. S. Plokhii (ed.), MAPA, *Digital Atlas of Ukraine*, "The Great Famine Project," <http://gis.huri.harvard.edu/historical-atlas/the-great-famine/famine-web-map.html> [accessed on April 1, 2017];
91. "Roundtable on Soviet Famines," *Contemporary European History*, 27, 3 (2018): 432-81, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/contemporary-european-history/issue/9A5C80F9C9EEBEA7C7CCE0D6F7582A6D>;
92. J. Sarkin-Hughes, *Germany's Genocide of the Herero*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 2011;
93. A. Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982;
94. A. Sen and J. Drèze, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995;
95. V.T. Shalamov, *Kolyma Tales*, New York: Norton, 1980;
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98. G.N. Shirinian, "Starvation and Its Political Use in the Armenian Genocide," *Genocide Studies International*, 11, 1 (2017): 3-37;
99. G. Simenon, "Peuples qui ont faim [1934]," in *Mes Apprentissages. Reportages 1931-1946*, Paris: Omnibus 2001: 854-954.
100. E. Snow, *The Other Side of the River. Red China Today*, New York: Random House, 1962;
101. T. Snyder, *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, New York: Basic Books, 2010;
102. P. Sorokin, *Hunger as a Factor in Human Affairs*, Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975 [Spb, 1922];
103. F.E. Sysyn, H.C. Theriault, "Starvation and Genocide," special issue of *Genocide Studies International*, 1 (2017);

104. J.E. Thompson, *American Policy and African Famine. The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1966-1970*, New York: Greenwood, 1990;
105. A. Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993;
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107. Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book*, vol. 2, *The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33*, Detroit: DOBRUS, 1955;
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111. A. Weinreb, *Modern Hungers. Food and Power in Twentieth-Century Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017;
112. F. Wemheuer, *Famine Politics in Maoist China and in the Soviet Union*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014;
113. N. Werth, *Cannibal Island. Death in a Siberian Gulag*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007;
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116. X. Zhou, *The Great Famine in China, 1958-1962. A Documentary History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012;
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