

Gli usi della fame Le carestie politiche nel XX secolo

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Incontri col docente: su appuntamento

Ora: Martedì 15-17 a partire dal 12 marzo e fino al 7 maggio (più due sedute per discutere i papers a settembre)

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Presentazione

L'uso della fame per raggiungere obiettivi politico-militari ci accompagna da sempre. Tuttavia, anche se la carestia irlandese e le pratiche coloniali rappresentano importanti antecedenti, ci sono differenze cruciali tra l'uso fattone nel passato e le straordinarie carestie politiche del XX secolo.

Un semplice elenco, per quanto incompleto, è sufficiente a far capire l'importanza del fenomeno. Carestie causate dalla politica e/o dall'ideologia si sono verificate in tempo di pace in Kazakistan (1931-32, circa 1,5 milioni di vittime); Ucraina (1932-33, circa 3,5 milioni); Cina (1958-62, oltre 25 milioni); e Etiopia (1983-85, circa 0,4 milioni). La fame è stata anche utilizzata in modi nuovi nelle guerre e nei genocidi del XX secolo e il nesso guerra-carestia politica è stato presente nei conflitti successivi alla decolonizzazione, ad esempio nel Biafra. Tutto questo in un secolo in cui il cibo è stato sempre in teoria disponibile e mai sono mancati i mezzi per trasportarlo.

Eppure, a parte qualche rudimentale eccezione, non esistono studi sistematici e comparativi sulle carestie causate da scelte politiche e sull'uso della fame nel XX secolo per far arrendere un nemico, per "dare una lezione" a un gruppo sociale, nazionale o religioso, o per sottomettere o distruggere un "popolo" o una cultura. Nel suo classico studio del 1981, ad esempio, Sen non ha nemmeno preso in considerazione il fenomeno.

L'argomento richiede quindi uno studio globale, comparativo e transnazionale fondato su un trattamento approfondito delle specifiche carestie politiche. Ciò richiede l'analisi delle loro cause, inclusa l'ideologia, la costruzione dello Stato e le guerre; delle loro conseguenze a breve, medio e lungo termine; dei comportamenti delle vittime e dei responsabili, degli abitanti delle città e delle campagne.

Come la conoscenza delle carestie sovietiche e cinesi ha cambiato in modo sostanziale l'immagine dello stalinismo e del maoismo, un concetto sofisticato di "carestie politiche", eventualmente articolato in diversi sottoinsiemi, potrebbe cambiare in modo significativo la nostra comprensione e percezione del XX secolo, oltre ad aprire nuovi percorsi di ricerca.

Fattori che concorrono al voto finale:

1. Presenza regolare: 15 per cento;
2. Partecipazione alle discussioni nei seminari e conoscenza delle letture consigliate: 25 per cento;
3. Presentazioni in classe: 20 per cento;
4. Esame finale (eventualmente con discussione di un paper su un tema concordato col Professor Graziosi entro la fine di aprile, 3,000-4,000 parole): 40 per cento.

NB: Le letture consigliate saranno, se possibile, rese disponibili su google drive o dropbo

SESSIONI

I. *La presenza e il ruolo delle carestie politiche e la loro “scoperta”* (Aula 3, 12 marzo 2024: 15-17)

- Introduzione e organizzazione
- Breve presentazione del docente
- Breve presentazione del corso
- Organizzazione del corso
- Presentazioni dei partecipanti
- *Domande e risposte*

- Schizzo generale e retroterra del fenomeno
- L'evoluzione degli studi
- La grande ondata di costruzione statale del XIX-XX secolo
- Progetti trasformativi, Violenza categoriale di massa e genocidi
- Natura, ruolo e tipologia delle carestie politiche (dell'uso politico della fame)
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. A. Graziosi, *Political Famines: Years of Discoveries. The Accumulation of Knowledge since the 1980s*, unpublished paper, 2017

E inoltre

2. S. Devereux, *Theories of Famine*, New York: Harvester, 1993, capitoli 1-7, pp. 1-100.

oppure

3. D. Marcus, “Famine Crimes in International Law,” *American Journal of International Law*, 2 (2003), pp. 245-81;
4. de Waal, *Mass Starvation. The History and Future of Famine*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018. Capitolo 4. “A Short History of Modern Famines”, pp. 53-81.

II. Dalla grande carestia irlandese alla Prima guerra mondiale (Aula 3, 19 marzo 2024: 15-17)

- Le ultime carestie europee “tradizionali”
- La carestia irlandese e la sua eredità
- Carestie coloniali
- Legge internazione e uso della fame
- La strategia del blocco durante la Prima guerra mondiale
- La fame nel genocidio armeno e il caso siriano
- La guerra civile in nell'ex impero russo, 1914-1922: fame come controinsurrezione, fame e requisizioni
- Herbert Hoover e le prime grandi operazioni di aiuti umanitari
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. P. Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985. Capitolo 5. “Famine and Starvation”, pp. 124-51;
2. D. Burner, *Herbert Hoover. A Public Life*, New York: Knopf, 1979, capitoli 5-7 (Belgium, “Food Will Win the War,” Hunger), pp. 72-137;
3. 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, pp. 237-54.

oppure

1. M.G. McGowan, “The Famine Plot Revisited: A Reassessment of the Great Irish Famine as Genocide,” *Genocide Studies International* (special issue), 1 (2017), pp. 87-104;
2. A. Graziosi, *La grande guerra contadina in Urss, 1918-1933*, Roma: Officina libraria, 2022, pp. 41-65;
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, pp. 229-258;
4. G.N. Shirinian, “Starvation and Its Political Use in the Armenian Genocide,” *Genocide Studies International*, 11, 1 (2017), pp. 3-37.

III. Le grandi carestie sovietiche, I (Aula 3, 26 marzo 2024: 15-17)

- L'ideologia della rivoluzione dall'alto
- Dekulakizzazione e collettivizzazione: la rovina dell'agricoltura
- La carestia generale sovietica, 1930-33
- Razionamento, carne e fame in Kazakhstan, 1931-32
- La crisi del 1932
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. “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);
2. A. Graziosi, *La grande guerra contadina in Urss, 1918-1933*, Roma: Officina libraria, 2022, pp. 74-95;

3. A. Graziosi, *The Uses of Hunger. Stalin's Solution of the Peasant and the National Question in Soviet Ukraine, 1932-1933*, in D. Curran, L. Luciuk, A. Newby (eds.), *Famines in European Economic History*, London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 223-60;
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N. Pianciola, *Sacrificing the Qazaqs: The Stalinist Hierarchy of Consumption and the Great Famine of 1931-33 in Kazakhstan*, "Journal of Central Asian History", 1 (2022), pp. 225-272.

IV. *Le grandi carestie sovietiche, 2* (Aula 3, 26 marzo 2024: 15-17)

- L'*Holodomor*, 1932-1933
- Vittoria nelle campagne e nuova servitù contadina
- La fame nel GULag
- L'impatto e l'eredità delle carestie
- L'uso politico delle carestie negli stati post-sovietici
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. A. Graziosi, "The Kazakh Famine, the Holodomor, and the Soviet Famines of 1930-1933: Starvation and National Un-building in the Soviet Union," in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 126-144;
2. *Lettere da Kharkov* (selezione) in A. Graziosi, *La grande guerra contadina in Urss, 1918-1933*, Roma: Officina libraria, 2022, pp. 131 sgg

Oppure

- V. Shalamov, *I racconti della Kolyma*, Torino: Einaudi, 1999 (almeno due a scelta)
3. Iu. Shapoval, *The Ukrainian Language under Totalitarianism and Total War*, in M. Flier e A. Graziosi, *The Battle for Ukrainian. A Comparative perspective*, Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2017, pp. 215-256

Oppure

- H. Yefimenko, *The Kremlin's Nationality Policy in Ukraine after the Holodomor of 1932-33*, in A. Graziosi, L. Hajda, H. Hryn, *After the Holodomor*, Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 69-98;
4. J. Richter, *Famine, Memory, and Politics in the Post-Soviet Space*, "Nationalities Papers", 3 (2020), pp. 476-491.

V. *Guerra e dopoguerra, 1939-1948* (Aula 3, 16 aprile 2024: 15-17)

- Lo *Hungerplan* nazista e la morte per fame dei POWs sovietici
- La fame e la Shoah (ghetti e lager)
- Le carestie in Asia
- L'affamamento a Norinberga
- Le carestie sovietiche del 1946-47
- Lemkin, la convenzione ONU sul genocidio e la carestia in Ucraina
- Il diritto al cibo
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. K.C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005. Capitoli 4-7, pp. 89-186;
 2. M. Ellman, *The 1947 Soviet famine and the entitlement approach to famines*, "Cambridge Journal of Economics", 24 (2000), pp. 603-630;
- oppure**
- G. Huff, *Causes and Consequences of the Great Vietnam Famine, 1944-45*, "The Economic History Review", 1 (2019): 286-316.

oppure

1. C. Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Capitolo 9. "Hunger policies and mass murder", pp. 215-60;
2. R. Lemkin, *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine [1953?]*, "In memoriam: Raphael Lemkin, 1900-1959", "Holodomor Studies", 1 (2009), pp. 1-8,
http://history.org.ua/LiberUA/HolSt1_2009/HolSt1_2009.pdf;

oppure

J. Mukherjee, *Hungry Bengal. War, Famine and the End of Empire*, London: Hurst, 2015, Introduzione e conclusioni.

VI. Carestie comuniste in Asia (Aula 3, 23 aprile 2024: 15-17)

- Il Grande Balzo in Avanti di Mao
- La conferenza di Lushan
- Le conseguenze della carestia
- La fame in Cambogia
- Penuria e gerarchizzazione in Nord Corea
- *Domande e risposte*

Lecture:

1. L. Bianco, *La Récidive. Révolution russe, Révolution chinoise*, Paris: Gallimard, 2014. 5. *Famines*, pp.181-239;
2. A. Graziosi, "Political Famines in the USSR and China. A Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3 (2017), pp. 42-103;
3. J. Tiner and S. Rice, "To live and let die: Food, famine, and administrative violence in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975-1979," *Political Geography*, 52 (2016), pp. 47-56.

oppure

1. F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*, London: Bloomsbury, 2011. Capitoli 7-13, pp. 47-104;
2. R. Collins, *Marked for Life: Songbun, North Korea's Social Classification System*,
https://www.hrnk.org/uploads/pdfs/HRNK_Songbun_Web.pdf.

oppure

1. B. Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, capitoli 5-6, pp. 159-250;
2. S. Haggard, *Famine in North Korea*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Part I. "Perspectives on the Famine", pp. 20-78.

VII. Carestie in Africa e la concettualizzazione del crimine di affamamento (Aula 3, 30 aprile 2024: 15-17)

- Decolonizzazione, costruzione statale e uso della fame
- Il blocco del Biafra
- Carestie in Etiopia
- Carestie politiche e aiuti internazionali
- Il crimine di affamamento
- Genocidio e carestie politiche
- *Domande e risposte*

Letture:

1. A. de Waal, *Mass Starvation. The History and Future of Famine*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018. Capitoli 1-2: 5-35, 6, pp. 94-112 e 7-8, pp. 113-54;
2. L. Heerten e D. Moses, *The Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970: Postcolonial Conflicts and the Question of Genocide*, "Journal of Genocide Research", 2-3 (2014), pp. 169-203;

oppure

3. A. de Waal, *Famine Crimes. Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997, capitoli 5-9, pp. 86-203;
4. G. Dawit Wolde, *Red Tears: War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1989. Capitoli 2, pp. 55-68 e 8-10, pp. 253-308.

VIII. Discussione generale: Genocidio, Violenza categoriale di massa, carestie politiche (Aula studio -nota il cambiamento, 7 maggio 2024: 15-17)

- Precedenti del concetto di genocidio
- Lemkin e il genocidio
- La convenzione delle Nazioni Unite del 1948
- I ripensamenti di Lemkin
- Il genocidio è la Shoah
- La svolta degli anni '90
- Tutto è genocidio?
- Storici e politica: come uscirne

Letture:

1. A. Graziosi e F. Sysyn, "Genocide: The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept," in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 3-21;
2. D. Irvin-Erickson, *The "Lemkin Turn" in Ukrainian Studies: Genocide, Peoples, Nations, and Empire*, in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 145-173;
3. S. Straus, *The Limits of a Genocide Lens and Possible Alternatives*, in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 222-256.

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1. A. Graziosi, *“È un genocidio!”. Ma cos'è un genocidio*, “Il Foglio”, 27/11/2023
2. R.G. Suny, *Frames and Narratives: How the Fates of the Ottoman Armenians, Stalin-Era Ukrainians and Kazakhs Illuminate the Concept of Genocide*, in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 87-106;
3. A. Weiss-Wendt, *Somebody Else's Crime: The Drafting of the Genocide Convention as a Cold War Battle, 1946–1948*, in *Genocide. The Power and Problems of a Legal and Ethical-Political Concept*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 22-43.

IX. *Presentazione e discussione dei paper* –Settembre 2024 (data da stabilire)

X. *Presentazione e discussione dei paper* –Settembre 2024 (data da stabilire)

Bibliografia essenziale

[Vedi anche 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, disponibile online 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;
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6. J. Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine*, New York: The Free Press, 1996;
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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. S. Cameron, *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan*, Cornell University Press 2018;
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13. L. Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food*, New York: Penguin Press, 2012;
14. R. Collins, *Marked for Life: Songbun, North Korea's Social Classification System*, Washington, DC: The Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2012;
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17. 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;
18. D. Dalrymple, "The Soviet Famine of 1932-34," *Soviet Studies*, 3 (1964): 250-84 and 4 (1965): 471-74;
19. R.W. Davies and S.G. Weathcroft, *The Years of Hunger: Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004;
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21. G. Dawit Wolde, *Red Tears: War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1989;
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 40. M. Gould, *The Biafran War. The Struggle for Modern Nigeria*, London: Tauris, 2013;
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