



# WORLD WAR II, NAZI CRIMES, AND THE HOLOCAUST IN THE SOVIET UNION

International Conference

**December 7–9, 2012**

National Research University  
Higher School of Economics  
Myasnitskaya 20  
Moscow, Russia

# International Conference World War II, Nazi Crimes, and the Holocaust in the Soviet Union

December 7–9, 2012  
Moscow, Russia

This conference on World War II and the Holocaust on Soviet territory comes at an important juncture in the field. In the past decade, research on three topics—the Holocaust in the East, the Nazi occupation of Soviet territories, and wartime Stalinism—has developed rapidly, yet often in isolation. This conference brings together the latest international scholarship in these areas from the humanities and social sciences in order to forge new analytical perspectives and future avenues of research that crosscut these fields.

**Cover:** Soviet villagers deliver loaves of bread by boat to partisans living in the marshes around Pinsk, Belarus, 1943. *Courtesy of Mikhaïl Trakbman.* **Right:** The entrance to the ghetto of Minsk, a barbed-wire gate, opening onto a street filled with people, 1941. *US Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.*

## ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

Oleg Budnitskii, Professor, Department of Political History, and Director, International Center for the History and Sociology of World War II and Its Consequences, National Research University “Higher School of Economics”

Michael David-Fox, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgetown University

Catherine Gousseff, Researcher, Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien, et centre-européen, École des hautes études en sciences sociales

Randall Hansen, Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Political Science, Acting Director, Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Munk Centre, University of Toronto

Krista Hegburg, Program Officer, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Alexandr Kamenskii, Dean of the Department of History, National Research University “Higher School of Economics”

Jeffrey Kopstein, Director, Centre for Jewish Studies, and Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto

Nathalie Moine, Researcher, Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien, et centre-européen, École des hautes études en sciences sociales

Paul A. Shapiro, Director, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



## Friday, December 7

10 A.M.

### WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

Welcome by University Officials

Paul A. Shapiro, Director, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, United States

Oleg Budnitskii, Director, International Center for the History and Sociology of World War II and Its Consequences, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia

11:15 A.M.

### COFFEE BREAK

11:30 A.M.

### PLENARY SESSION

**Moderator: Michael David-Fox, Associate Professor, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, United States**

The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: The Context and the Challenge  
Paul A. Shapiro

The Great Patriotic War and Soviet Society  
Oleg Budnitskii

The "European Civil War" and the Soviet Union, 1941–45  
Aviel Roshwald, Professor, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, United States

1 P.M.

### LUNCH

2 P.M.

### PANEL I: METAMORPHOSES OF MEMORY

**Moderator: Irina Savelieva, Director, Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia**

When Stalin Lost His Head: World War II and Memory Wars in Contemporary Ukraine  
Serhii Plokhii, Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History, Department of History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States

Soviet Jewish Memory of the War and the Holocaust: Variations and Modifications  
Galina Zelenina, Associate Professor and Senior Research Fellow, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia

The Kliachkivs'kyi Cult in Volhynia: The Invention of a Ukrainian National Hero  
Per Rudling, Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of History, Lund University, Lund, Sweden

4 P.M.

### COFFEE BREAK

4:30 P.M.

### PANEL 2: GENDER RELATIONS AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

**Moderator: Amandine Regamey, Director, Centre d'études franco-russes de Moscou, Moscow, Russia**

Sexual Violence as "Weapon of War"? Enforced Nakedness, Sexual Torture, and Rape by German Soldiers during the War of Annihilation, 1941–45  
Regina Mühlhäuser, Working Group "War & Gender," Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Hamburg, Germany

Women, Violence, and the Ukrainian Nationalist Insurgency during World War II  
Olana Petrenko, PhD Candidate, Department of History, Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany

Jewish Youth in Nazi Ghettos in Belorussia: How Age and Gender Mattered

Anika Walke, Postdoctoral Fellow, International and Area Studies, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, United States

6:40 P.M.

Lives of the Great Patriotic War: Oral History Video Presentation

Julie Reines Chervinsky, Director, Blavatnik Archive Foundation, New York, New York, United States

7:30 P.M.

### RECEPTION

**Saturday, December 8**

**9 A.M.**

**PANEL 3: EXPERIENCES IN INVESTIGATING WAR CRIMES**

**Moderator: Kirsten Goetze, State Counselor, Ministry of Justice, Baden-Württemberg State, Germany**

The Holocaust in the Eyes of Soviet Non-Jewish Military Personnel during World War II: Were the Victims Just Citizens or Jews?  
Arkadi Zeltser, Director, Center for Research on the History of Soviet Jews during the Holocaust, International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, Israel

The Osveia Tragedies: A Case Study of Mass Violence against Jewish and Non-Jewish Populations in Occupied Belarus  
Juliette Denis, PhD Candidate, Institut d'histoire du temps présent, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, Paris, France  
Nathalie Moine, Researcher, Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien, et centre-européen, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, France

Stalinist Justice as a Site of Memory: Anti-Jewish Violence in Kyiv's Podil District in September 1941 through the Prism of Soviet Investigative Documents  
Oleksandr Melnyk, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

The Fields of Berezovka: Crimes and Abuses against Jews Investigated in the War Criminal Trial of 1949  
Andrei Muraru, Executive President, The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile, Iași, Romania

**PANEL 4: REFLECTIONS OF THE WAR EXPERIENCE IN LITERATURE**

**Moderator: Elena Penskaya, Dean, Faculty of Philology, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia**

The Politics of Forgetting in Soviet Literary Works on World War II as the Result of Interaction between Author and Censorship  
Ilya Kukulin, Associate Professor, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia

Cranes as a Symbol of Memory of the War in the Soviet Union in the Mid-1950s and '60s: The First Attempts at Working with Trauma  
Maria Maiofis, Associate Professor and Researcher, Humanities Research Center, Russian State Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Moscow, Russia

Cossack Valor as an Element of Soviet (Post-) Wartime Jewish Identity: Does a Jew Who Has Mounted a Horse Cease to Be a Jew?  
Gennady Estraiikh, Associate Professor of Yiddish Studies, Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies, New York University, New York, New York, United States

**11 A.M.**

**COFFEE BREAK**

**11:15 A.M.**

**PANEL 5: WAR AND CINEMA**

**Moderator: Sergei Kapterev, Senior Research Fellow, Research Institute of Film Art, Moscow, Russia**

Brutal Realism and Female Bodies  
Oksana Bulgakova, Professor, Department of Film Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Mainz, Germany

"At Six O'clock in the Evening after the War": Memory and the Expectation of Peace in Wartime Soviet Cinema  
Valérie Pozner, Researcher, Atelier de recherche sur l'intermédialité et les arts du spectacle, Paris, France

Another War behind the War? Soviet Attempts to Capture the Film Market of the Allied States, 1942–45  
Vanessa Voisin, Deputy Director, Centre d'études franco-russes de Moscou, Moscow, Russia

**PANEL 6: THE GENOCIDE OF ROMA IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

**Moderator: Krista Hegburg, Program Officer, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, United States**

Memory of the Holocaust of Roma in Contemporary Ukraine: Mass Graves and the Politics of Commemoration  
Andrej Kotljarchuk, University Lecturer, School for Gender and Historical Studies, Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden

The Genocide of Roma in Reichskommissariat Ukraine and Distrikt Galizien in the Testimonies of Survivors in the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive  
Piotr Wawrzeniuk, Senior Lecturer, School of Gender, Culture and History, Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden

**PANEL 6: THE GENOCIDE OF ROMA IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION CONTINUED**

The Nazi Persecution of Soviet “Gypsies” in the Militarily Administered Parts of Army Group North, 1941–44  
Martin Holler, PhD Candidate, Department of History, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

Representations of the Genocide of Roma  
David Gaunt, Professor, Centre for Baltic and East European Studies, Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden

**1:15 P.M.**

**LUNCH**

**2:15 P.M.**

**PANEL 7: COMPLICITY AND COLLABORATION WITH GERMAN OCCUPIERS**  
Moderator: Sergei Kudryashov, German Historical Institute Moscow, Moscow, Russia

From Collaboration to Perpetration: On the Ways Some Local Residents of South Ukraine Became Perpetrators of Crimes against Humanity  
Vladimir Solonari, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida, United States

The Nazi Occupation of Belarus, 1941–1944: Issues of Cooperation, Resistance, and the Holocaust  
Olga Baranova, Adjunct Professor, Gonzaga University in Florence and Florence University of the Arts, Florence, Italy

A Political Mission? The Pskov Orthodox Mission and German Rule in the German-Occupied Leningrad Province  
Johannes Enstad, PhD Candidate, Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

A “Double Persecution”? Postwar Soviet POWs’ Accounts of Incarceration and Collaboration  
David Rich, Senior Historian, US Department of Justice, Washington, DC, United States

**PANEL 8: EVERYDAY LIFE ON THE SOVIET HOME FRONT**  
Moderator: Nikolaus Katzer, Director, German Historical Institute Moscow, Moscow, Russia

Antisemitism on the Soviet Home Front  
Oleg Leibovich, Lead Researcher, Laboratory for the Study of Soviet Everyday Life, National Research University “Higher School of Economics,” Perm, Russia

Long Way Home: The Unknown Soldiers of the Soviet Labor Front  
Anna Kimerling, Lead Researcher and Project Manager, Laboratory for the Study of Soviet Everyday Life, National Research University “Higher School of Economics,” Perm, Russia

On a Journey from a Soviet Citizen to a Jewish Refugee: The Jewish Perceptions of the First Months of the Great Patriotic War  
Anna Shternshis, Al and Malka Green Associate Professor in Yiddish Studies, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

Real Fake German Spies: Social Practice in Molotov City 1941  
Alexander Kazankov, Associate Professor, Perm State Agricultural Academy, Perm, Russia

**4:15 P.M.**

**COFFEE BREAK**

**4:30 P.M.**

**PANEL 9: SOLDIERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR (POWS) IN DOCUMENTARY AND NARRATIVE SOURCES**  
Moderator: Catherine Gousseff, Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien, et centre-européen, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, France

Soviet POWs in Nazi Calculations during Operation Barbarossa on the Territory of Ukraine: Ideology, Improvisation, Contradictions  
Oleksandr Marinchenko, PhD Candidate, Department of History, Oles Gonchar University, Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine

Liberated Conscripts, Civilian Labor, and Preparation for the Battle of Kursk  
Daniel Giblin, PhD Candidate, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC

Nazi Concentration Camps in the Occupied Territory of Ukraine  
Stanislav Aristov, Head of the Department of Humanities and Natural Sciences, Moscow Regional Institute for the Humanities, Podolsk, Russia

Not a Stranger’s Tragedy: Memories of Soviet Prisoners of War from the Kyiv Encirclement about the Destruction of the Jews  
Tat’iana Pastushenko, Research Associate, Institute of History of Ukraine, Department of History of Ukraine during World War II, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine

## **PANEL 10: ROUNDTABLE ON NEW SOURCES**

**Moderator: Gennady Estraiikh**

Records of the International Tracing Service Archives

Paul A. Shapiro, Director, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC

Testimonies in the Yahad-In Unum Collections

Andrej Umansky, Associate Researcher, Yahad-In Unum, Paris, France

Archival Documents on Occupants' Crimes in the USSR and Collaboration in World War II (Based on the Materials of the Central Archives of the Federal Security Services of Russia)

Vasily Khristoforov, Head, Directorate of Registration and Archives, Federal Security Services of the Russian Federation, Moscow, Russia

Materials on the History of Wartime Stalinism in the Collections of the Russian State Archive of Social-Political History

Andrei Sorokin, Director, Russian State Archive of Social-Political History, Moscow, Russia

**Sunday, December 9**

**9 A.M.**

## **PANEL 11: STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES OF RESISTANCE**

**Moderator: Serhii Plokhii**

Jewish Partisans in Belorussia and Ukraine: Context, Conflict, and Comparison

Zvi Gitelman, Preston R. Tisch Professor of Judaic Studies, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States

The Everyday Life Experience of Children during German Occupation of the North Caucasus in World War II

Irina Rebrova, Associate Professor of History and Social Communication, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kuban State Technological University, Krasnodar, Russia

"Kugel-prisoners" and the "Mühlviertler Hasenjagd": The Mass Escape of Soviet POWs from Mauthausen

Matthias Kaltenbrunner, Research Assistant, Center of Modern and Contemporary History, Austrian Academy of Science, Vienna, Austria

Soviet Warlords: Partisan Rule under German Occupation, 1941–44

Masha Cerovic, PhD Candidate, Université Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, Paris, France

## **PANEL 12: INTERACTIONS OF VICTIMS, KILLERS, AND WITNESSES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

**Moderator: Mikhail Boitsov, Professor, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Moscow, Russia**

Bringing the Soviet Population into the Story: Civilian Attitudes toward Jews during the Holocaust in Transnistria

Diana Dumitru, Associate Professor, World History Department, Moldova State Pedagogical University, Chisinau, Moldova

Punitive Brigades in Occupied Leningrad Oblast

Steven Maddox, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, United States

Photographing Atrocities

Justyna Majewska, PhD Candidate, Graduate School for Social Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Personal Holocausts: Germans, Jews, and Non-Jews in the Soviet Union, 1941–44

Waitman Beorn, Louis and Frances Blumkin Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies and Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska, United States

**11 A.M.**

## **COFFEE BREAK**

**11:15 A.M.**

## **PANEL 13: FEEDING THE FRONT AND THE REAR: FOOD AND THE SOVIET WAR EFFORT DURING WORLD WAR II**

**Moderator: Elena Zubkova, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Academy of Sciences, Moscow**

Starvation Mortality in Home-Front Industrial Regions during World War II

Donald Filtzer, Professor of Russian History, School of Law and Social Sciences, University of East London, London, United Kingdom

Not by Bread Alone: Food, Workers, and the State on the Home Front

Wendy Goldman, Professor, Department of History, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States

The State's Pot and the Soldier's Spoon: Payok as a Social Contract

Brandon Schechter, PhD Candidate, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, California, United States

A Blockade Cookbook

Sergei Iarov, Lead Researcher, Saint Petersburg Institute of the History of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia

**PANEL 14: EVACUATION: IDENTITIES IN CHANGE**

**Moderator: Gennady Kostyrchenko, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Academy of Sciences, Moscow**

*Gan Eden or Gebennom?: Polish Jewish Refugees Reflect on Life in the USSR on the Brink of War*

Eliyana Adler, Visiting Researcher, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, United States

*Evacuated, Deported, Wounded: A Study of Images of Outsiders and the Everyday Life of the Soviet Home Front*

Aleksandr Chashchukhin, Senior Researcher, Laboratory of the Study of Soviet Everyday Life, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Perm, Russia

*Communities of Nomenclature on the Soviet Home Front: Social Adaptation to Life during World War II*

Vladislav Shabalin, Senior Researcher, Laboratory of the Study of Soviet Everyday Life, National Research University "Higher School of Economics," Perm, Russia

*Culture Victorious: Evacuated Cultural Institutions, the Intelligentsia, and Mobilization during World War II*

Erina Megowan, PhD Candidate, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, United States

**1:15 P.M.**

**LUNCH**

**2:15 P.M.**

**PANEL 15: ATROCITIES AND LAW IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

**Moderator: Aviel Roshwald**

*The War on the Eastern Front: Food, Starvation, and Genocide*

Gesine Gerhard, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, United States

*The Jewish Police as Executive Body in the Vilna Ghetto during World War II*

Svenja Bethke, PhD Candidate, Department of History, Hamburg University, Hamburg, Germany

*The USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945: New Findings on Camps and Ghettos in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union*

Martin Dean, Applied Research Scholar, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, United States

*Anatomy of an Atrocity: German Soldiers and the "Pacification" of Lida in the Holocaust's "First Hour"*

David W. Wildermuth, Assistant Professor, Department of Modern Languages, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, United States

**PANEL 16: THE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II AND THE HOLOCAUST IN SCHOLARLY JOURNALS AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE**

**Moderator: Oleg Budnitskii**

Krista Hegburg, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*

Michael David-Fox, Executive Editor, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*

Irina Prokhorova, Editor-in-Chief, *New Literary Observer*

**EXCURSION TBA**

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