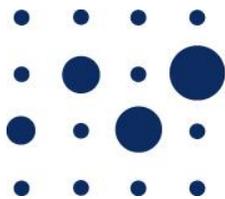




UNIVERSITÄT  
HEIDELBERG  
ZUKUNFT  
SEIT 1386

Trilateral Historical Research Project

# Violence against Civilians on the Eastern Front of World War II



Volkswagen**Stiftung**

## Contact

General information

[http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/sog/forschung/aktuelle\\_forschung.html](http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zegk/sog/forschung/aktuelle_forschung.html)

Contact Person Russian Side

**Liudmila Novikova**

Email [lnovikova@hse.ru](mailto:lnovikova@hse.ru)

Contact Person Ukrainian Side

**Valeryi Vasiliev**

Email [valerii2001@ukr.net](mailto:valerii2001@ukr.net)

Phone +38 0442950771

Project coordination and Contact Person German Side

**Wolfgang Schneider**

Email [wolfgang.schneider@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:wolfgang.schneider@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de)

Phone 06221/54-2730

Adress

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg,

Historisches Seminar

Grabengasse 3-5; D-69117 Heidelberg

Postfach 105760; D-69047 Heidelberg

## About the Project

The project focuses on the crimes against civilians in the occupied and liberated territories of the Soviet Union, particular in Russia and Ukraine, during World War II. It involves scholars of Soviet History and World War II from the University of Heidelberg, the Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia), and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kiev, Ukraine). Next to seven experienced researchers also five Ph.D. candidates from the three countries are involved.

The study dwells upon recent developments in the historiography that include burgeoning studies of the local practices of German occupation, including the Holocaust in the East, and growing interest in the repressive actions of the Soviet regime during the war, as well as wartime Stalinism. The project emphasizes six major areas: 1) the study of experiences of civilians under specific German occupation regimes and the study of violence as particular method of rule; 2) a focus on local contexts of violence and correlation with the ideology and politics, including the decentralized violence of partisan units and different nationalist formations; 3) study of the Holocaust in conjunction with other major forms of violence; 4) study of violence in the Soviet home front areas as reaction to the German invasion; 5) study of violence as part of liberation practices by the Red Army and re-Sovietization; 6) study of local cultures of violence. The local contexts are analyzed within the framework the Nazi war of annihilation in the East and repressive policies of wartime Stalinism. The researchers utilize materials from newly opened Ukrainian former KGB archives, some of that are accessible for the first time since the fall of the Soviet Union.

Besides furthering a purely scholarly agenda, the project aims to bring groups of scholars of World War II and Stalinism from Russia, Ukraine and Germany into close interaction. This will strengthen cross-border cooperation and further a scholarly dialogue on a topic that remains highly politicized in post-Soviet space. The scholars involved want to prove the possibility of international scientific cooperation amidst the political turmoil and military conflict over Ukraine.

## About the Program

The project is funded by the Volkswagenstiftung within the framework of the program **“Trilateral Partnerships – Cooperation Projects between Scholars and Scientists from Ukraine, Russia and Germany”**. This program provides funding to researchers from all disciplines, i.e. natural, life and engineering sciences as well as humanities and social sciences.

The program aims to strengthen cross-border cooperation between scholars, scientists, and academic institutions from Germany, Russia and Ukraine. All partners cooperate on equal terms in this project.

Between 1992 and 2007, the Volkswagen Foundation already supported cooperative projects between German and Eastern European / Russian scientists and scholars in a wide range of disciplines. As a reaction to the recent events in Ukraine, the Foundation decided to initiate a specific offer for trilateral scientific cooperation between the Eastern European conflicting parties and Germany.

Within this framework, our project “Violence against Civilians on the Eastern Front of World War II” is funded by Volkswagen foundation for the years 2016–2023.

Additional information about the program

<https://www.volkswagenstiftung.de/en/funding/trilateral-partnerships-%E2%80%93-cooperation-projects-between-scholars-and-scientists-from-ukraine-russia-and-germany>

Additional information about the Volkswagen Foundation

<https://www.volkswagenstiftung.de/en.html>

## Participants

| Senior Researchers       |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| <b>Oleg Budnitskii</b>   | Russia  |
| <b>Oleg Khlevniuk</b>    | Russia  |
| <b>Liudmila Novikova</b> | Russia  |
| <b>Tanja Penter</b>      | Germany |
| <b>Roman Podkur</b>      | Ukraine |
| <b>Valeryi Vasiliev</b>  | Ukraine |

| Junior Researchers        |         |
|---------------------------|---------|
| <b>Serhii Hula</b>        | Ukraine |
| <b>Andrii Khoptiar</b>    | Ukraine |
| <b>Artem Latyshev</b>     | Russia  |
| <b>Olena Lysenko</b>      | Ukraine |
| <b>Irina Makhalova</b>    | Russia  |
| <b>Wolfgang Schneider</b> | Germany |

## Publications prepared within the project as of August 2020:

Boryak, Gennadyi; Budnitskii, Oleg; Khlevniuk, Oleg; Kogut, Aleksandr; Novikova, Liudmila; Penter, Tanja; Podkur, Roman; Schneider, Wolfgang; Vasylyev, Valeryi (2019), Violence Against the Civilian Population in Ukraine. Documents of German and Soviet Secret Services, 1941-1945 (<http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014212>).

Budnitskii, Oleg, The Great Terror of 1941: Toward a History of Wartime Stalinist Criminal Justice, in: *Kritika – Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol. 20 (3) 2019, pp. 447-480.

Gula, Sergey, The fight of the KNVD-NKGB against 'anti-Soviet elements' in the Vinnytsia region, 1944-1945, in: *From the Archives of VUCK-GPU-NKVD-KGB*, Vol. 49 (1) 2018, pp. 149-208 (in Ukrainian).

Khlevniuk, Oleg, Deserters of the labor front. The limits of violence in the Soviet military economy, in: *Kritika – Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol. 20 (3) 2019, pp. 481-504.

Novikova, Liudmila, Criminalized Liaisons: Soviet Women and Allied Sailors in Wartime Arkhangel'sk, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 55(4) 2020, pp. 745–763.

Penter, Tanja, Vergessene Opfer von Mord und Missbrauch: Behindertenmorde unter deutscher Besatzungsherrschaft in der Ukraine (1941-1943) und ihre juristische Aufarbeitung in der Sowjetunion, in: *Journal of Modern European History* 3 (2019), p. 354-376.

Podkur, Roman, Secret service documents regarding violence against the civilian population, 1941-1945. A documentary analysis (in Ukrainian), in: Boryak, Gennadyi et al. (2019), Violence Against the Civilian Population in Ukraine. Documents of German and Soviet Secret Services, 1941-1945 (<http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014212>).

Schneider, Wolfgang (2019), From the ghetto to the Gulag, from the ghetto to Israel: Soviet collaboration trials against the Shargorod ghetto's Jewish Council, *Journal of Modern European History* 17 (1), pp. 83-97.

V. Vasylyev, T. Gapienko, O. Lysenko, R. Podkur (eds.), Violence against civilians. Chernihiv region. Documents of state security bodies. 1941-1943, Kyiv, 2019. - 538 pp. (in Ukrainian) (<http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014838>).

Vasylyev, Valeryi: Perpetrators, victims, bystanders. Analytical problems in the historiography of the Second World War in Ukraine (in Ukrainian), in: Boryak, Gennadyi et al. (2019), Violence Against the Civilian Population in Ukraine. Documents of German and Soviet Secret Services, 1941-1945 (<http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014212>).

## Oleg Budnitskii

Professor of History

Oleg Budnitskii serves as editor-in-chief of the Archive of Jewish History, and is on the editorial board of *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, *Rossiiskaia Istoriiia* and *East European Jewish Affairs*. He is the recipient of various honors and awards, including an Ina Levine Invitational Fellowship from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, a Skirball Fellowship from the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Oxford University, a Fulbright Visiting Scholarship in the Department of History at Stanford University, a grant from the MacArthur Foundation, an IREX Visiting Scholar Fellowship at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.



### **Studies and academic degrees:**

1998: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Russian History, Moscow.

1989: Candidate of Historical Sciences (Ph. D. in History), Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of History of the USSR, Moscow.

1976: Diploma in History and English (M.A.), Rostov State Pedagogical Institute.

### **Positions held:**

2010 to present – Professor, Faculty of Humanities / School of History, and Director, Center for the History and Sociology of WWII, National Research University - Higher School of Economics

1998 - 2013 - Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

1995 – 1998 - Professor, Head of the Department of Russian History, Rostov State Pedagogical University

1992-1994 – Research Fellow, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and Professor, Department of History, Jewish University in Moscow

1988 - 1992 - Senior Lecturer, then Associate Professor of History, Rostov State Pedagogical University

1982-1988 – Lecturer, Rostov State Pedagogical Institute

## Contact

Email [obudnitskiy@hse.ru](mailto:obudnitskiy@hse.ru)

## Publications

*Russko-evreiskii Berlin (1920–1941)* (Russian-Jewish Berlin, 1920–41, co-author - Aleksandra Polian) (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe obozrenie, 2013), 496 p.

*Den'gi russkoi emigratsii: Kolchakovskoe zoloto. 1918–1957* (Money of the Russian Emigration: Kolchak's Gold) (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008), 512 p.

*Rossiiskie evrei mezhdy krasnymi i belymi (1917–1920)* (Russian Jews between the Reds and the Whites, 1917–1920) (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2005), 552 p. English translation: *Russian Jews between the Reds and the Whites, 1917–1920* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 508 p.

*Terrorizm v rossiiskom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii: ideologiya, etika, psikhologiya* (Terrorism in the Russian Liberation Movement: Ideology, Ethics, Psychology) (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2000, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 2016), 399 p.

*Odessa: Zhizn' v okkupatsii, 1941–1944* (Odessa: Life under Occupation, 1941–1944) (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2013), 231 p. (editor)

“Svershilos'. Prishli nemtsy!” Ideinyi kollaboratsionizm v SSSR v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (“It's Over. The Germans Have Arrived!” Ideological Collaboration in the USSR during World War II) (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2012, 2nd. edn. 2014), 325 p. (editor)

“Too Much Poles for the Soviets, Too Much Jews for the Poles: Polish Jews in the USSR, 1939–1945,” *Ab Imperio* 4 (2015), 213–236.

“The Great Patriotic War and Soviet Society: Defeatism, 1941–42,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 15 (4) (2014), 767–798.

“Men and Women in the Red Army (1941–1945),” *Cahiers du monde russe* 52/2-3 (2011), 405–422.

“The Intelligentsia Meets the Enemy: Educated Soviet Officers in Defeated Germany, 1945,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10 (3) (Summer 2009), 629–682.

“The Great Terror of 1941: Toward a History of Wartime Stalinist Criminal Justice,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 20, 3 (Summer 2019): 447–80.

Repressii protiv veruiushchikh nakanune i vo vremia Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1939–1945 gg. // *Rossiiskaia istoriia*. 2019. № 3. S. 100–124.

## **Stalin's repressive machinery during the initial stage of the war**

Oleg Budnitskii's research focuses on the functioning of Stalin's repressive machinery during the initial stage of the war with Nazi Germany, 1941-42. The traditional method for "disciplining" society and the army was repression. Judging from the available sources, repression periodically reached the levels of 1937. The reaction of Stalin and company to the outbreak of the war was predictable: yet another "purge" of the country.

In Moscow, on the first day of the war (no later than seven in the morning!) a list was prepared containing 1,077 individuals to be placed under immediate arrest. At five o'clock on the evening of 22 June 1941 "according to information obtained by government agents... the active removal of counterrevolutionary elements" was already underway. On the very same day, one thousand prisoners were transferred from the NKVD prisons in Moscow oblast in order to make room for the new arrivals.

A wave of preemptive repression swept the entire country, carrying away "suspicious elements" in regions located thousands of miles from the theater of war. A report made by the court in Molotov (Perm') oblast during the second half of 1941 claimed: "During peacetime, there was much more tolerance towards the freedom of people for whom we only have partial evidence of criminal activity. During wartime, the freedom of these elements cannot be tolerated. They have been arrested and tried." From June to December of 1941, the Kirov regional court ordered the execution of 346 out of 716 people, or about 48.3% of those held for crimes against the state. During the last quarter of 1941, the courts of the RSFSR sentenced 41.5% of those charged with crimes against the state to death. NKVD reports from the second half of 1941 reveal new categories of criminals: "arrested and convicted were cowards and alarmists, deserters and soldiers with self-inflicted wounds, defeatists and disseminators of provocative rumors." According to my calculations, the number of people convicted of "counterrevolutionary crimes" in the RSFSR during the second half of 1941 was 1.5 times higher than it was during the first half of the year. The percentage of those sentenced to death was 11.5 times higher.

This research is based mainly on the new materials derived from the various Russian archives.

## Oleg Khlevniuk

Oleg Khlevniuk is leading research fellow at the International Center for the History and Sociology of World War II and its Consequences and Professor of History at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow.



He authored numerous books on the history of Stalinism and Soviet Union that were translated in many languages. He also prepared documentary publications including correspondence of Soviet leaders, minutes of Politburo meetings and history of the GULAG. He has been involved in a number of collaborative international projects, and he is also member of the editorial boards of the journals *Rossiiskaia Istoriiia* (Russian History), *Cahiers du Monde russe*, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, and *Slavonica*.

### Contact

Email [okhlevniuk@hse.ru](mailto:okhlevniuk@hse.ru)

---

## Publications

1937: Сталин, НКВД и советское общество. М.: Республика, 1992.

Сталин и Орджоникидзе. Конфликты в Политбюро в 30-е годы. М.: Россия молодая, 1993.

*Revised English edition: In Stalin's Shadow. The Career of "Sergo" Ordzhonikidze. New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.*

Политбюро. Механизмы политической власти в 1930-е годы. М.: РОССПЭН, 1996.

*Revised French edition: Le cercle du Kremlin. Staline et le Bureau politique dans les années 30: les jeux du pouvoir. Paris: Seuil, 1996.*

*Extended German edition: Das Politburo. Mechanismus der politischen Macht in der Sowjetunion der dreißiger Jahre. Hamburg: Hamburg Edition, 1998.*

Stalin e la Societa Sovietica Negli Anni del Terrore. Perugia: Guerra. 1997.

*Revised Japanese edition: Terror in the 1930s: Stalin, NKVD, Soviet Society. Tokyo. Iwanami Shoten, 1997.*

Cold Peace. Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. (with Yoram Gorlizki)

The History of the GULAG. 1930-1941. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2004.

*Italian edition: Storia del Gulag. Dalla collectivizzazione al Grande terrore. Giulio Einaudi editore, 2006.*

*Czech edition: Historie Gulagu. Od kolektivizace do «velkeho teroru». Praha. BB Art, 2008.*

Master of the House. Stalin and His Inner Circle. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Хозяин. Сталин и утверждение сталинской диктатуры. М.: РОССПЭН, 2010.

«Сталин. Жизнь одного вождя» (Москва, Корпус, 2015).

*English edition: «Stalin: New Biography of a Dictator» (Yale University Press, 2016)*

*German edition: Stalin Eine Biographie. München, Siedler Verlag, 2016*

*Available also in Dutch, Italian, Polish, Czech and Estonian editions.*

Substate Dictatorship. Networks, Loyalty, and Institutional Change in the Soviet Union. Yale University Press, 2020. (with Yoram Gorlizki)

Oleg Khlevniuk's research project

## **The War and economic violence. Institutions and methods of forced labor and income extraction**

Economic violence is an integral part of wars. It takes on various forms such as forced labor, or the seizure of citizens' material incomes and properties by requisitions and taxes. During the Second World War, the scope of economic violence greatly expanded and this violence was characterized by extraordinary cruelty, especially in the territories occupied by the Nazis in Europe and the USSR.

At the same time, the population of the rear regions of the USSR was also subjected to economic violence and various forms of economic discrimination.

The objectives of the project are:

- to investigate the system of forced labor, labor mobilization and extractions of incomes in the USSR during the war as part of the problem of violence against the civilian population;
- to consider the main institutions and formal methods of the forced labor and extraordinary taxations;
- to investigate informal practices of economic violence.

## Liudmila Novikova

Liudmila Novikova is Associate Professor of History and Deputy Director of the International Center for the History and Sociology of World War II and Its Consequences at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics in Moscow. She received her higher education and PhD (candidacy degree) in History from Lomonosov Moscow State University. Before joining the Higher School of Economics in 2013, she taught history at Moscow State University and spent a year as Visiting Scholar at the University of Notre Dame, USA. She has published widely on the history of World War I, the Russian Revolution and the Civil War, in particular focusing on local contexts of revolution, counter-revolution and revolutionary violence. She has authored a book on the anti-Bolshevik movement in North Russia during the Civil War. She has also co-edited volumes on the history of the Russian revolution in regional perspective and on the USSR during World War II, as well as a documentary collection of Harvard Project interviews. Currently, she is working on her new book-length project on the social and cultural history of the Soviet home-front city of Arkhangel'sk during World War II.



## Contact

Email [lnovikova@hse.ru](mailto:lnovikova@hse.ru)

---

## Publications

*Garvardskii proekt: rassekrechennye svidetel'stva o Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine (Harvard Interview Project: Declassified Accounts of the Great Patriotic War)* (Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2018, in Russian) (co-editor with Oleg Budnitskii).

*Russia's Home Front in War and Revolution, 1914-22. Book 1: Russia's Revolution in Regional Perspective* (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2015, co-editor, with Sarah Badcock and Aaron Retish).

*SSSR vo Vtoroi Mirovoi Voine: Okkupatsiia. Kholokost. Stalinism (The Soviet Union in World War II: Occupation. Holocaust. Stalinism)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2013, in Russian) (co-editor, with Oleg Budnitskii).

*Provintsial'naia "kontr-revoliutsiia": Beloe dvizhenie i grazhdanskaia voina na Russkom Severe (Provincial "counter-revolution": White movement and Civil War in the Russian North)*. (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2011).

Italian edition: *La "controrivoluzione" in provincia. Movimento bianco e Guerra civile nella Russia del nord, 1917-1920* (Rome: Viella, 2015).

Revised English edition: *An Anti-Bolshevik Alternative: The White Movement and the Civil War in the Russian North* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018).

“Red Patriots against White Patriots: Contesting Patriotism in the Civil War in North Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 71 (2019). No. 2: 183-202.

“The Russian Revolution from a Provincial Perspective,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* Vol. 16 (2015). No. 4: 769-785.

“Horizontenerweiterung: Zur Historiography der Russischen Revolution”, in *Osteuropa* 67, 6-8 (2017): 295-304.

“Zemstvo, State, and Peasants in Arkhangel’sk Province, 1917-20,” in *Russia’s Home Front in War and Revolution, 1914-22*. Book 1: *Russia’s Revolution in Regional Perspective* (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2015), 87-108.

“Kontinuum der Gewalt: Der Norden Russlands 1914–1920”, in *Osteuropa* 64, 2-4 (2014): 157-170.

“Russia’s Red Revolutionary and White Terror, 1917–1921: a Provincial Perspective,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 65, 9 (2013): 1755-1770.

“Il grano e le armi. Rivoluzione, “controrivoluzione” e guerra civile popolare nella Russia del Nord, 1917-1920,” *Rivista storica italiana* CXXIV, 2 (2012): 734-763.

“Northerners into Whites: popular participation in the counter-revolution in Arkhangel'sk province, summer-autumn 1918,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, 2 (2008): 277-293.

“Criminalized Liaisons: Soviet Women and Allied Sailors in Wartime Arkhangel’sk”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 55, 4 (2020): 745-763.

---

[Liudmila Novikova 's research project](#)

## **Soviet Wartime Violence in a Provincial Context**

Liudmila Novikova’s research focuses on various forms of violence against civilians in the wartime Soviet Union on the example of the northern Russian city of Arkhangel’sk. Violence and coercion remained a central element of the Soviet system during the war. Although Arkhangel’sk was a home-front city, as German armies never threatened it directly, it witnessed massive violence of the Stalinist regime against various population groups. After the war started, the city experienced a wave of repressions against “unreliable elements,” violent labor mobilizations, harsh conditions of wartime famine, and subsequent waves of repressions against Soviet citizens (mostly women) who had close personal contacts with Allied personnel, who delivered war supplies to the city through the Lend-Lease program.

My study of these various violent practices, on the one hand, reveals an essential arbitrariness of the Soviet repressions and a crucial role of local authorities and local circumstances in defining the victims of persecution. For example, Soviet acquaintances of the Allied sailors in Arkhangel’sk were persecuted more harshly than those Soviet women who maintained close personal relationships with German soldiers elsewhere. Arkhangel’sk party and Soviet leadership equaled close contacts

with the Allies with treason, and thus recklessly persecuted local female friends of the Western Allies. In a sense, wartime conditions made Stalinist persecutions even more violent and arbitrary.

On the other hand, after the massive violence of the 1930s, many coercive practices during the war were not regarded as particularly harsh by the local population, and were sometimes even backed by genuine popular enthusiasm. For example, the project explores children's food expedition to Novaja Zemlia Archipelago in summer 1942. Over 180 schoolchildren, mostly aged 14 to 15, spent over two months on the Arctic Archipelago collecting eggs of wild birds and hunting birds to provide additional food supply to the hungry city of Arkhangel'sk. The story of this expedition, first of all, demonstrates the total scope of labor mobilization in the wartime USSR when even school children were mobilized to help the country's war effort and were sent on a dangerous mission to an uninhabited Arctic archipelago. Second, it reveals that the huge numbers of the mobilized did not aid to the efficiency of the mobilization campaigns, as the results of the expedition fell far behind the initial expectations. While children suffered from harsh living conditions and dysentery, these sacrifices were largely unnecessary as the expedition procured only negligible amount of food. But this example also demonstrates that mobilization campaigns could be backed by genuine popular enthusiasm. Many youth in Arkhangel'sk actually wanted to go to Novaja Zemlia to help the country's war effort, to get food for themselves, to travel and see new places, and to join the Soviet effort in conquering the Arctic nature, just as the "papanintsy" had tried to do a few years before.

Taken together, this project captures the complex relationships between violence, coercion and volunteering in the wartime USSR. It also reveals that wartime coercion should be analyzed in the context of the Soviet experience of the 1930s. Many Soviet repressive practices of the war period borrowed from those of the 1930. The Soviet population, too, perceived the deprivations and extreme violence of the state during the war through the lens of the harsh experiences of the 1930s. Ultimately, analyzing various violent and coercive practices, this project reveals how they both contributed in certain ways to the Soviet victory in the war, but also significantly raised the cost of this victory.

## Tanja Penter

Since 2013, Tanja Penter is Professor of Eastern European History at Heidelberg University's Institute of History. She is a member of both the German-Russian, as well as the German-Ukrainian Historical Commissions and a member of the advisory board of the German Historical Institute Moscow. A detailed curriculum vitae can be found [here](#).



### Contact

Email [tanja.penter@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:tanja.penter@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de)

---

### Publications

Odessa 1917. Revolution an der Peripherie, Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas Bd. 32, Köln 2000.

Kohle für Stalin und Hitler. Leben und Arbeiten im Donbass 1929-1953, Essen 2010.

„Instrumentalisiert, verdrängt, ignoriert. Der Holodomor im Bewusstsein der Deutschen“, in: *Osteuropa* 70. Jg., 3-4 (2020), p. 193-214. (with Guido Hausmann)

Wehrmacht Soldiers in the Perception of the Population of the Occupied Donbass (Based on the Analysis of Oral History Interviews)“, in: *SKHID* N° 6 (158) (2018), p. 15-23. (in Ukrainian, with Dmytro Tytarenko)

Soviet Nuclear Technoscience. Topography of the field and new avenues of research, in: *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, Vol. 60, H. 2-3 (2019), p. 257-280. (with Stefan Guth, Klaus Gestwa and Julia Richers)

Vergessene Opfer von Mord und Missbrauch: Behindertenmorde unter deutscher Besatzungsherrschaft in der Ukraine (1941-1943) und ihre juristische Aufarbeitung in der Sowjetunion, in: *Journal of Modern European History* Vol. 17, H. 3 (2019), p. 353-376.

Rebuilding the Donbass. The Impact of Nazi-Occupation on Workers, Engineers and the Economic Development of the Post-War Soviet Union in Late Stalinism, in: Stefan Berger / Marcel Boldorf (Eds.): *Social Movements and the Change of Economic Elites in Europe after 1945*, Basingstoke 2018, p. 137-154.

Compensation for Nazi forced labour in post-Soviet Russia and Belarus, in: C. Goschler (ed.): *Compensation in Practice*, New York, Oxford 2017, p. 211-238.

Späte Entschädigung für die Opfer einer kalkulierten Vernichtungsstrategie. Offene Forschungsfragen zum Umgang mit sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen in den besetzten Gebieten, in: *Zeitgeschichte online* (November 2015).

Tanja Penter's research project

## **The murder of disabled and ill people in occupied Ukraine under Nazi rule (1941-1944)**

In the framework of the national-socialist Euthanasia program around 250,000 mentally ill and disabled people were murdered within the German Reich between 1940 and 1945. Roughly 70,000 of them were murdered by gas, whereas the rest were either murdered by lethal injection or died as a result of neglect and hunger. Jewish patients and disabled persons, who were dually stigmatized, first fell victim to the NS 'Euthanasia.' Research has pointed to a correlation between the NS-Euthanasia program and the murder of the European Jews: The former represents a background experience for a number of the perpetrators of the Shoah.

While the euthanasia murders on Reich territory today can be considered well researched, this does not apply equally to the occupied Soviet territories. The number of victims here exceeds several tens of thousands. In the memory cultures of the successor states of the Soviet Union, this group of victims is almost absent. Recently opened Soviet files from the archives of the Ukrainian secret service make it possible for the first time to investigate these NS crimes in more detail. On the basis of several case studies, the project examines the murder of sick and disabled people in Ukraine under German occupation and the judicial processing of these crimes in the post-war period.

## Roman Podkur

**R**oman Podkur senior Research Fellow, Institute of History of Ukraine National Academy of Science of Ukraine, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Ph.D. in History), executive secretary of the Main Editorial Board of the scientific and documentary series of books "Rehabilitated by history". He was Senior Research Fellow at State archive Vinnitsa's region, Lector, Department of History, Vinnitsa's Pedagogical University. Participated in international projects (Stanford university) about everyday life Vinnytsia region in the period of Nazi occupation, the activities of the political leadership 1938-1989. (Indiana university, Stanford university)



---

## Publications

Chernihiv region during the Nazi occupation. Co-editor O.Kovalenko, R.Podkur, O.Lysenko. Chernigov, 2013. – 494 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Access to documents of the Soviet secret police: the conflict of "personal information" and "research // History of Ukraine: Little-known names, facts. – K., 2011. – Vol. 37. – P.31 –44. (in Ukrainian)

R. Pokur, V.Chentcov. Documents of the State Security USSR 1920 - 1930-s: the source analysis. Ternopol, 2010. – 372 p. (in Russian)

V.Vasylyev, R.Podkur, S.Gal'chak, D.Baiyrau, A.Vaiyner, eds. Zhizn' v okkupatsii. Vinnitskaia oblast'. 1941-1944. Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2010. – 856 p. (in Russian)

Reaction officers of the State Security to stop the "Great Terror" (November 1938 - 1939)// From the archives VUChK – GPU – NKVD – KGB. – 2009. – № 2 (33). – P. 136 – 167. (in Ukrainian).

Violence against the civilian population of Ukraine. Documents of special services. 1941-1944 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, N. Kashevarova, O. Lysenko, M. Panova, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2018. - 752 pp. (in Ukrainian, open access version: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014212>)

Violence against civilians. Chernihiv region. Documents of state security bodies. 1941-1943 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, T. Gapienko, O. Lysenko, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2019. - 538 pp. (in Ukrainian, open access version: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014838>).

---

Roman Podkur's research project

## Edited volumes of archival documents

In the current project Roman Podkur prepares for publication documents on violence against the civilian population in 1941-1945, conducts a source study of documents of the Soviet special services that are used in the project.

## Valeryi Vasyliev

### Current employment:

Institute of History of Ukraine National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Hrushevskoho Street, 4. Ap. 211.

01001 Kyiv, Ukraine



### Professional experience:

2010-2017 - Head of Centre of Historical and Encyclopedic Research, Institute of History of Ukraine, Doctor of History

### Contact

Email [valerii2001@ukr.net](mailto:valerii2001@ukr.net)

Phone +38 0442950771

---

## Publications

Valeryi Vasiliev. Politychne kerivnytstvo USSR and Ukr.SSR: dynamica vidnocyn "center-subcentre" vlady (1917-1938). - K .: Institute of History of Ukraine, 2014.

In collaboration:

Vidlynnyya Velykogo Terroru. Zbirnyk documentiv u tr'okh tomakh. T.1. Partyini zbory ta operatyvni narady spivrobnykiv upravlin' NKVS URSR (lystopad 1938 – lystopad 1939 rr.). – K., Vydavets' V. Zakharenko, 2017.

Zhizn' v okkupatsii. Vynnytskaya oblast'. 1941-1944. - M .: ROSSPEN, 2010.

Polytyheskoe rukovodstvo Ukrainy. 1938-1989. - M .: ROSSPEN, 2006.

Articles:

"The Holodomor through the eyes of the Soviet Ukrainian Leadership, 1950-1980", in: After the Holodomor: the enduring impact of the great famine on Ukraine / ed. A. Graziosi, L. A. Hajda, and H. Hryn. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 251-265.

"Sovnarkhozy in Ukraine (1957-1965)," in: Khrushchev in Kremlin. London, Basingstoke, 2011. C. 126-145.

"The Great Terror in the Ukraine, 1936-38," in: Stalin's Terror Revisited / eds. by Melanie Illic. - Hampshire, 2006, p. 140-162.

"Terra incognita: Les interpretations actuelles de histoire de l'Ukraine," in: Dans La Conctruction Nationale / edite par. Wladimir Berelowitch and Lubor Jilek.Vol. XLIV / 2, Fevrier 2005.

"Zwischen Politisierung und Historisierung Der Holodomor in der ukrainischen Historiographie," in: Osteuropa. 54. Jg., 12/2004, S.3, p. 165-182.

"The Ukrainian Politburo, 1934-1937.," In: The Nature of Stalin's Dictatorship: the Politburo, 1924-1953. - Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 168-199.

Violence against the civilian population of Ukraine. Documents of special services. 1941-1944 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, N. Kashevarova, O. Lysenko, M. Panova, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2018. - 752 pp. (in Ukrainian, open access version: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014212>)

Violence against civilians. Chernihiv region. Documents of state security bodies. 1941-1943 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, T. Gapienko, O. Lysenko, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2019. - 538 pp. (in Ukrainian, open access version: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014838>).

---

Valeryi Vasylyev 's research project

### **Edited volumes of archival documents**

In this project, Vasilyev identifies and studies archival documents that are kept in central and regional state archives, as well as in the sectors of archival support of the Security Service of Ukraine. The archival research is being carried out in Zaporizhzhya, Sumy and Rivne regions. A series of edited volumes containing documents on the violence of the Nazis and their allies against civilians in these regions during the German-Soviet war are being prepared for publication, as well as a documentary publication on Soviet violence in Ukraine in 1941–1945.

## Serhii Hula

**B**orn in 1991. Serhii Hula completed his postgraduate studies at the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2018 and receive his PhD in 2019 for his research on "The functioning of Soviet state security bodies in Podolia (1928-1938)". Since 2019 he is deputy head of the municipal "CENTER FOR VINNYTSIA HISTORY". Serhii Gula also served as a legal counsel for the Vinnytsia Trade and Economic College between 2013 and 2019. He currently teaches introductory seminars in History at the same institution. Since 2016, he participates in the project "Violence against Civilian Victims on the Eastern Front of World War II".



## Contact

[08sergoula@ukr.net](mailto:08sergoula@ukr.net)

---

## Publications

The struggle of the NKVD-NKDB ranks of the UkrSSR with anti-Soviet elements in the Vinnytsia's region (1944–1945) / *From archives of VUChK–GPU–NKVD–KGB*. 1 (49). 2018. P.149–208. [in Ukrainian].

Organizational structure of the soviet state security bodies in Podillia (1928–1938) / *Virtus: Scientific Journal*. September. 26. 2018. P. 196–201. [in Ukrainian].

Socio-psychological portrait of the soviet state security bodies officer in Podillia (1920-1930) / *East European Scientific Journal*. 10 (38). 2018. Volume 3. P. 4–12. [in Ukrainian].

The GPU authorities of USSR and Soviet party structures in the implementation of the second «military-communist assault» on Podillia (1928-1930) / *Naukovi zapysky Vinnytskoho derjavnogo pedahohitshnoho universytetu imeni Mykhaila Kotsubynskoho. Seria: Istoria*. 25. 2017. P. 197–203. [in Ukrainian].

The responsibility of employees of Vinnytsia region NKVD for offenses: dynamics and statistics (1935-1938) / *Kraieznavstvo*. 3/4 (100/101). 2017. P. 265-280. [in Ukrainian].

Current trends and problems of historiography activities of Soviet state security organs on the territory of Podolia region (1928-1938) / *From archives of VUChK–GPU–NKVD–KGB*. 2 (43). 2014. P. 504–531. [in Ukrainian].

## Andrii Khoptiar

Phd (2015)

**A**ndrii Khoptiar is a historian based in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine. He received his PhD in History in 2015 from the National Ivan Ohienko University in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Since 2015, he is head researcher of the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum-Reserve.



Since 2018, he is Senior Lecturer in Economics at the Faculty of Economics, Kamianets-Podilskyi National University.

Khoptiar's research focusses on genocide studies, his wider research interests include Modern European History, Genocide Studies, Ukrainian History and the Holocaust. Between September and December, 2019, Andrii Khoptiar was a research program fellow at the Yahad-In Unum Holocaust research center in Saint-Ouen, Paris, France.

### Contact

[divine.nocturnal@gmail.com](mailto:divine.nocturnal@gmail.com)

---

### Publications

«Dialnist Partii sotsialistiv-revoliutsioneriv u Pravoberezhnii Ukraini v 1896-1907 rr.», Kamianets-Podilskyi: PP Zvoleiko D.H., 2016. (In Ukrainian).

«Operatyvni narady ta partiini zbory spivrobotnykiv upravlinnia NKVS URSS po Kamianets-Podilskii oblasti yak dzherelo vyvchennia «velykoho teroru» ta «beriiivskoi vidlyhy» (kinets 1938 – pochatok 1939 rr.)», in: Visnyk Derzhavnogo arkhivu Khmelnytskoi oblasti «Podilska starovyna», 2019, № 1(4) (In Ukrainian).

«Epizody Holokostu na Khmelnychchyni ta yikh znachennia dlia rozvytku suchasnoho memorialnoho turyzmu», Materialy XII Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii «Problemy, priorityety ta perspektyvy sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku v XXI stolitti», in: Kamianets-Podilskyi: Kamianets-Podilskyi natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Ohienka, 2019, p. 176-185. (In Ukrainian);

«Utvorennia ta rozvytok viiskovoho mistechka na zaliznychnii stantsii Yarmolyntsi (1930-1940 rr.)», in: Naukovi pratsi Kamianets-Podilskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Ivana Ohienka: Istorychni nauky. Kamianets-Podilskyi: Kamianets-Podilskyi natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Ohienka, 2020, p. 387-396. (In Ukrainian);

«Holokost na Yarmolynechchyni u 1941-1942 rr. Peredumovy, khid, naslidky», in: Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovo praktychnoi konferentsii «Arkhivistyka: teoriia, metodyka, praktyka», Kamianets-Podilskyi: Kamianets-Podilskyi natsionalnyi universytet imeni Ivana Ohienka, 2019, p.141-149. (In Ukrainian);

«Holocaust and methods of extermination of the Jewish population in the Khmelnytskyi oblast in 1941-1943», in: East European Historical Bulletin. (In English) (In progress of publication)

«Holokost u Kamianets-Podilskii oblasti: khronolohiia, mekhanizmy ta metody vynyshchennia yevreiskoho naseleattia (lypen 1941-sichen 1943 rr.)», in: Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, № 3, 2020. (In Ukrainian) (In progress of publication).

---

Andrii Khoptiar's research project

### **Holocaust in Kamianets-Podilskyi oblast: chronology, mechanisms and methods of extermination of the Jewish population**

The project focuses on some aspects of Holocaust history in a particular region of Ukraine – Kamianets-Podilskyi (now – Khmelnytskyi) oblast in 1941-1943. The author of the investigation is using a significant amount of published and still unpublished materials while preparing this study. General information on the Holocaust in the region is contained in the documents of the «Extraordinary State Commission for the Detection and Investigation of the Atrocities of German-fascist Invaders and Their Associates», concentrated in the funds of the State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF). A large body of documentary material (in particular, criminal cases and indictments against Holocaust executors from a number of local collaborators) is stored in the funds of the Khmelnytskyi Sectoral Archive of the Special service of Ukraine (SBU) as well as the State Historical Archives of the Khmelnytskyi region. One of the defining complex set of sources used in this article, a group of narrative sources and eyewitness-survivors of the Holocaust are from the Research Center «Yahad - in Unum» (France).

## Artem Latyshev

PhD (2017)

**B**orn in 1991. Since 2008 – student of the historical department of the Moscow state university, chair of Russian contemporary history. In 2013 defended his diploma thesis “The Red Army servicemen’s special checkup system by the state security bodies in 1941-1945”. Scientific adviser – PhD N. Petrov. In 2013-2016 – post-graduate student, dissertation topic: “Checkup of the Red Army servicemen’s, returning from captivity and encirclement, 1941-1945”. Scientific adviser – Doctor of Science, professor O. Khlevniuk. Received a PhD degree in Moscow state university in 2017.



Currently senior researcher at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, the International Centre for the History and Sociology of World War II and Its Consequences.

Artem Latyshev’s research interests encompass different topics in the social history of the Soviet period. He continues to study Soviet POWs, NKVD filtration camps and Soviet state security bodies.

### Contact

[artfarrus2@yandex.ru](mailto:artfarrus2@yandex.ru)

[alatyshev@hse.ru](mailto:alatyshev@hse.ru)

---

### Publications

Latyshev A.V. Zabytyye uchastniki voyny: perspektivy izucheniya otdel'nykh shturmovykh ofiterskikh batal'onov // Historia Provinciae – Zhurnal regional'noy istorii. 2020. T. 4. № 2. S. 471–502.

Latyshev A. V. «Schastliv tot, kto ne popal syuda»: nastroyeniya i povedeniye voyennosluzhashchikh Krasnoy armii v fil'tratsionnykh lageryakh NKVD, 1942-1945 gg. // Rossiyskaya istoriya. 2019. № 5. S. 59-74.

Latyshev A. V. Otnosheniye sotrudnikov NKVD i rabotnikov promyshlennosti k uznikam fil'tratsionnykh lagerey, 1942-1945 gg. // Noveyshaya istoriya Rossii. 2019. T. 9. № 3. S. 595-608.

Latyshev A. V. Rabota fil'tratsionnykh lagerey NKVD v 1942 g.: vliyaniye ekonomicheskikh faktorov i vedomstvennykh interesov // Voprosy istorii. 2019. № 2. S. 36-48.

Latyshev A. V. Sistema proverki voyennosluzhashchikh Krasnoy armii, vernuvshikhsya iz plena i okruzheniya. 1941–1945 gg. Dissertatsiya na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. M., 2017. (rukopis')

Latyshev A. V. Kadrovyy vopros v spetsial'nykh (proverochno-fil'tratsionnykh) lageryakh NKVD i ego vliyaniye na rabotu kontrrazvedki po proverke voyennosluzhashchikh Krasnoy armii (1942-1945). // Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 8: Istoriya. 2017. № 1. S. 98-109.

Latyshev A. V. Fil'tratsiya: sud'ba sovetskikh soldat i ofitserov posle plena // ZHivaya istoriya. 2017. № 4 (22). S. 32-37.

Latyshev A. V. Voyna i sud'by: obshchiye konteksty i chastnyye syuzhety // Rossiyskaya istoriya. 2015. № 1. S. 206-210.

Latyshev A. V. Proverochno-fil'tratsionnyye lagerya NKVD SSSR: kadry, vedomstvennyye interesy i proverka voyennosluzhashchikh Krasnoy Armii (1941–1945) // Vestnik CHelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. 2015. № 6. S. 72-77.

Latyshev A. V. Rabota politotdelov v proverochno-fil'tratsionnykh (spetsial'nykh) lageryakh NKVD (yanvar' 1942 – may 1945 goda) // Vestnik Moskovskogo gorodskogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta. Seriya: Istoricheskiye nauki. 2015. № 3. S. 55-61.

Latyshev A. V. Set' proverochno-fil'tratsionnykh lagerey NKVD SSSR v 1942–1945 gg. // Klio. 2014. № 9. S. 48-52.

## Artem Latyshev's research project

### **The Red Army servicemen's special checkup system by the state security bodies in 1941-1945**

The author's subject of research are soviet territories freed from enemy occupation. The main goal is to present a liberation as a long-time and complicated process, because an arrival of the Red army only starts a recession of violence. During the liberation and shortly after it civilians faced with new problems, connected with the beginning of they (re)integration into the soviet wartime society.

The author investigates peoples' moods after the Red army arrival. Common sense often was a joy and relief, but also, as archival materials show, the people could have felt a fear of a possibility of an enemy return. Also a part of them had a huge self-identification crisis.

Other dangers for civilians were linked with the army as a neighbor: forced evictions, requisitions and other forms of violence, both officially sanctioned and unlawfully provided by individual servicemen. The research concentrates on the so-called core soviet/Russians territories, where national and cultural factors couldn't have played a huge role. So, it's reveals another «morale» excuses for unofficial acts of violence against freed population.

Also the author researches people's moods shortly after an ending of communications with the army: attitude to a religion and church, a communist party, future of a socialism, collective farms. It is important to compare they beliefs and hopes on social changes with peoples' positions on the same issues in a soviet rear. So, it will be more clear how the enemy occupation (and also the soviet liberation) have changed the civilians' minds.

Another aim of this research is to show a role of soviet propaganda in the process of the reintegration freed civilians into the soviet society. It reproduced the image of death desert, where a few people could have survived, so, on the one hand, for the army the sense of the war became the liberation of these survivors, but on the other hand, the army's prejudices against the less harmed regions and they residents have been predetermined. At the same time a propaganda on the occupied territories tried to convince people of all ages and genders to fight against enemy literally with the bare hands. After the liberation it led people to the sense of guilty, made them an easy object of a future ideological manipulations.

The last part of this research connects with the harsher form of political reintegration of common peoples, who, from the authorities' point of view, weren't traitors. Since November 1943 civilians were also directed to the network of so-called special/filtration NKVD camps was created at the end of 1942 for soviet servicemen freed from enemy captivity or encirclement during the Red Army offensive. For our understanding of the wartime reintegration it's important to reveal a logic and ideological of this process.

## Olena Lysenko

PhD

Olena Lysenko is a junior research staff member at the Department for the Study of State Terror of the Soviet Period at the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Institute of Ukrainian History. Lysenko received her higher education at the Taras Shevchenko Pedagogical University in Chernihiv and completed her PhD at the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Institute of Ukrainian History. She co-edited the documentary volume "Rehabilitated by History. Chernihiv region". Furthermore, Lysenko also co-edited the collected volumes "Partisans' Glory – Chernihiv region.", dedicated to the study of the region's partisan movement, and "Chernihiv region under Nazi occupation, 1941–1943.", a complementary volume exploring the functioning of the Nazi occupation regime in this region.



### Contact

[dane51@ukr.net](mailto:dane51@ukr.net)

---

### Olena Lysenko's research project

#### **Burned villages in the Chernihiv region**

Within the framework of the project, Olena Lysenko studies Nazi occupation politics in the Chernihiv region which were aimed at eliminating civilians. Lysenko examines the participation both of occupation organs, as well as local armed formations in the extermination of those deemed "racial" and ideological enemies of the Third Reich. Specifically, Lysenko studies the motives and causes that led to the burning of villages and the destruction of their inhabitants, as well as the personalities of the perpetrators in these punitive operations..

## Publications

Violence against civilians. Chernihiv region. Documents of state security bodies. 1941-1943 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, T. Gapienko, O. Lysenko, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2019. - 538 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Violence against the civilian population of Ukraine. Documents of special services. 1941-1944 / Co-editor: V. Vasiliev, N. Kashevarova, O. Lysenko, M. Panova, R. Podkur. - Kyiv, 2018. - 752 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Chernihiv region during the Nazi occupation. Co-editor: O.Kovalenko, R.Podkur, O.Lysenko. Chernigov, 2013. – 494 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Burned villages and settlements of Chernihiv region in 1941–1943: crimes against civilians. Co-editor: S.Butko, O. Lysenko. Chernigov, 2013. – 224 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Guerrilla glory. Chernihiv region / Co-editor: O. Kovalenko, O Lysenko, I. Tsymbalenko. Chernigov, 2011. – 498 pp. (in Ukrainian).

Enemies or witnesses: punishment of UNKVD officers in Chernihiv region after the end of the Great Terror // From the archives of the VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB. - 2019. - № 1 (51). - P. 194-219. (in Ukrainian)

The activity of Komsomol members as an element of state terror during the collectivization of agriculture // From the archives of the VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB. - 2018. - № 1 (49). - P. 119-148/ (in Ukrainian)

Rural activists of Chernihiv region (late 1920-1930s pp.): Typology of behavior // From the archives of VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB. - 2013. - № 1. - P. 255–284. (in Ukrainian)

Information and analytical documents of the bodies of the DPU of the USSR as a source of studying the activities of rural activists in the conditions of continuous collectivization (late 1920s - early 1930s) // From the archives of the VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB. - 2010. - № 1 (34). - P. 336–358. (in Ukrainian)

## Irina Makhalova

PhD-candidate

Irina Makhalova is a PhD candidate at the Higher School of Economics (Russia, Moscow). Her dissertation is devoted to the collaboration in the Crimea during the Second World War. Irina obtained her BA at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia) in 2014 with the dissertation on the Soviet propaganda during the Second World War. Then she moved to Germany where she had been working on the MA dissertation during 2 years at the Humboldt University (Berlin).



Irina is currently working at the International Center for History and Sociology of the Second World War and Its Consequences as a junior research fellow. She has been involved in different Center's projects on the social history of the Second World War. During last three years she participated in various international workshops (in Russia, Germany, Israel, Poland and Hungary) on the history of the Holocaust and memory about the Second World War.

Irina received grants from European and Russian institutions for conducting research for her dissertation: Deutsches Historisches Institut (Moscow), European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (Munich), Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), Oxford Russian Fund.

Her main research interests are social history of the Second World war; history of the Holocaust in the USSR, as well as in the Eastern Europe in general; memory about totalitarian regimes and their crimes.

### Contact

Email [iamakhalova@gmail.com](mailto:iamakhalova@gmail.com)

---

## Publications

### Articles

Rote Armee, in: Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur, Band 5 (Akademieprojekt im Simon-Dubnow- Institut), Verlag J. B. Metzler: Stuttgart/Weimar 2015, pp. 258-262.

Features of the Holocaust in the Crimea and the North Caucasus, in: Rossiiskaya istoriya, №5, 2017, pp. 192-198.

History of the Napoleonic Wars in propaganda of the main belligerent powers during the Second World War, in: Novaya i noveishaya istoriya, №5, 2017, pp. 215-225.

"Collaboration in the occupied Soviet territories: historiography of recent years", *Rossiyskaya istoriya*, no. 3 (2019): 141-149.

"Heroes or Perpetrators? How Soviet Collaborators received Red Army Medals", *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 32, no. 2 (2019): 280-288.

"Aggregate Treason: A Quantitative Analysis of Collaborator Trials in Soviet Ukraine and Crimea", *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 46, no. 1 (2019): 30-54. (with Seth Bernstein)

Irina Makhalova's research project

## **Collaboration in the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes in Crimea (1941-1944)**

In frameworks of the project Irina is working on the question about violence toward civilian population in the Crimea during the Nazi occupation (1941-1944). One of the most controversial issue, related to this topic, is participation of collaborators in persecution and extermination of the Jewish population in the Crimea. For a long time, the Holocaust on the occupied Soviet territories has been remaining unexplored topic, because of inaccessibility of sources (the Russian archives remained closed until 1990s) and unwillingness of the Soviet government to distinguish the Jews as a special victim group of the Second World War. Until today, this topic is hard to investigate, and historians are obliged to gather small pieces of information from different archives.

On the peninsula, between 35 000 and 40 000 Jews were killed during the Second World War. Some monographs devoted to the history of the Crimea in this period regard the process of extermination and concentrate more on the activity of the Einsatzgruppe D, as well as on a special role of the Wehrmacht's soldiers. Others consider exceptionally the collaborators among Crimean Tatars. Until today, the collaborators recruited from Russian and Ukrainian population have been overlooked by historians. In contrast to Ukraine and Belorussia where collaborators also assisted the Nazi occupants implementing different kinds of work, the Muslim factor plaid a crucial role in the Nazi occupation policy in the Crimea. Moreover, one of the Crimea's features was presence on the peninsula of three different Jewish groups: Ashkenazi, Karaimy and Krymchaki. They were treated differently by the occupants, and the role of local population in their identification remains still unknown.

The collaborators supported the Nazi regime not only in solving the "Jewish question" but also in creating hard conditions for another groups of civilians (partisans, former communists, people suspected in helping partisans). They also helped to recruit Ostarbeiter for forced labor in Germany and worked as a guard in the biggest concentration camp in the Crimea "Krasnyi". Forms of violence used by collaborators will be examined as well.

How did the collaborators of different nationalities behave toward the civilian population during the Nazi occupation? What was the difference between policy on Crimean rural and urban areas with regard to the Jews? Did the collaborators share antisemitism while persecuting the Jews? Did they help by recognition of the special Jewish groups? These and other questions are raised in Irina's research in frameworks of the project.

## Wolfgang Schneider

PhD-candidate (since 2016).

**G**raduated from the University of Heidelberg in 2016 (History/Slavonic Studies).

10/2015-06/2016 Research project for the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma: “Recovering the names of the Roma killed in the “liquidation” of the Romani family camp in Auschwitz”

Since 06/2016: PhD-candidate and research assistant for the trilateral research project “Violence Against Civilian Victims on the Eastern Front of World War II”. Academic advisor: Prof. Dr. Tanja Penter. Working title of the PhD-Dissertation: “From Gray Zones to Red Courts – Soviet Collaboration Trials of Jewish Council Members and Ghetto Policemen from Transnistria.”

2017–2018 Edith Milman Fellow, at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (December 2017 through July 2018)

2018 Young scholars grant awarded by the Moshe Mirilashvili Center for Research on the Holocaust in the Soviet Union (Yad Vashem, Israel)

### Contact

Email [wolfgang.schneider@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:wolfgang.schneider@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de)



---

### Publications

“From the Ghetto to the Gulag, from the Ghetto to Israel – Soviet collaboration trials against the Shargorod ghetto’s Jewish Council”, in: *Journal of Modern European History* 1/17 (2019), p. 83–97. (<https://doi.org/10.1177/1611894418820266>)

Wolfgang Schneider's research project

## **From Gray Zones to Red Courts – Soviet Collaboration Trials of Jewish Council Members and Ghetto Policemen from Transnistria**

The research project “From Gray Zones to Red Courts” examines Soviet trials of Jewish Council members of Transnistrian ghettos charged with collaboration. Analyzing sociopolitical implications of these trials, the project primarily draws on recently declassified Soviet secret services’ investigation and trial documents as well as memoirs and oral history interviews. Taking on a perspective “from above” as well as one “from below”, the judicial proceedings are conceptualized as a “locus for interaction” between Soviet state and Holocaust survivors, who constituted the majority of witnesses. For survivors, the trials offered an opportunity to voice demands for justice and retribution and to try to come to terms with the recent past. Here, the project also asks about the influence of social conflicts in the ghetto upon witnesses’ perceptions of defendants. The Jewish Councils in Transnistria were mainly recruited from among the deportees from Romania, while the local Ukrainian Jews were excluded from such positions. This led to a partial “nationalization” of the structural opposition between Jewish Councils and ghetto inhabitants, which is echoed in witness’ testimonies. The investigation and trial records thus offer unique insights into survivors’ perceptions of the role of Jewish Councils and their experiences during the Holocaust from the immediate post-liberation period.

The Soviet judiciary met survivors’ demands and perceptions “from below” with its own agenda. The trials allowed the Soviet authorities to prosecute political enemies, such as some rather “bourgeois” defendants, who had been educated Jewish community leaders in Romania. Furthermore, the trials enabled the judiciary to present Soviet rule as legitimate legal rule by adhering to a “demonstrative lawfulness”. Both approaches aimed at facilitating the re-Sovietization of reconquered territories. Branding defendants’ behavior as “treason to the Soviet Motherland”, authorities also established an official version of what had happened in the ghetto, which constituted a judicial form of “politics of history”. The trials examined in the project were held primarily in the Ukrainian and Moldovan Soviet Republics between 1944 and 1951, a transitional period between liberation and the “black years” of late-Stalinist anti-Semitic campaigns. The project thus focusses on an unstudied aspect of Soviet-Jewish relations during this period.