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Tomasz Stryjek *The Famine of 1932-1933 in the Ukrainian Historiography and the Construction of the Modern Foundational Myth of Ukraine*

The author analyses the contemporary narrative of the Great Famine of 1932-1933 (Holodomor) in Ukraine in two contexts: the policy towards the state's memory after 1991 and academic historiography. The first part of the article points to the fact that the Great Famine has become a modern foundational myth of Ukraine. The myth is compared with the myth of Sweden, which also relates to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history and the fight to ensure food self-sufficiency of the nation. However, the messages of these myths turn out to be different. While in Sweden it expresses the society's successful fight for the fruits of the earth, in Ukraine it has remarkably martyrological connotations – from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, the neighbouring nations and states have been playing the roles of perpetrators of poverty and misery of the Ukrainian people. The second part of this paper is devoted to the analysis of differences in the interpretations of the Great Famine made by two contemporary Ukrainian historians: Stanisław Kulczycki and Heorhiy Kasyanov. The former has eventually come to the conclusion that the Great Famine was caused by the genocidal policy of the Soviet authorities towards Ukrainians as a civic nation (2008). On the other hand, Kasyanov claims that the Great Famine was triggered unintentionally by the state authorities. In his opinion, it resulted from the chaos of forced collectivization policy, and then was used by Moscow to break the emancipatory aspirations of the Ukrainian elite. While the author admits that the second of these interpretations is more relevant, he does not fully agree with Kasyanov's postulates regarding the way of presenting the disaster to the public. The "antropologization" of the narrative would be convincing for academic historians, but others would find it hard to understand. According to the author, the Great Famine was the second largest disaster caused by man in the history of Europe, next to the extermination of Soviet prisoners of war and the population of the occupied territories of Eastern Europe by the Third Reich. As such, it marks the history of Ukraine in a special way. The author agrees with Kasyanov's criticism of presenting Holodomor as the genocide of the Ukrainian people carried out by Russians.

Paulina Codogni *Hunger Protests as Non-violent Struggle Tactics*

The article discusses the phenomenon of hunger strikes which are considered to be an example of strategies and tactics of nonviolent struggle. The resistance is based on a conscious refusal to eat food which causes the political matter against which the protest is directed to become an existential matter. Everyday actions, such as eating, take on a different meaning. The same happens with the meaning of the act of political contestation. On the one hand what can be seen is the embodiment of politics and on the other the politicization of the body. The article also showcases a number of historical and contemporary examples of hunger strikes and tries to find the answer whether hunger strikes are an effective method of political resistance.

Joanna Szymoniczek *Humanitarian Activity: Aid or Industry?*

Helping is a natural human inclination, associated with a feeling of compassion and readiness to provide support as well as demonstration of empathy and solidarity. This inclination is born in man especially in the face of tragic disasters which, due to the wide media coverage, can mobilize the international community to take such measures. Still, the motivation to provide assistance is not always lofty. International aid is mainly provided to victims of the so-called sudden onset crises, i.e. catastrophes that occurred suddenly and unexpectedly, and their size is shocking. First of all, we help victims of spectacular, tragic events, because the media constantly report on them so that they become “attractive”. This gives rise to a question of humanitarian generosity. This article attempts to analyse the motivations that may guide international donors in their humanitarian activities.

Keywords: humanitarian aid, disaster, catastrophe, armed conflict, epidemics, development aid, development cooperation, The Good Humanitarian Donorship (GHD) principles

Wojciech Wierzejski *The Madness of Overproduction. The Industrial Model of Food Animal Production: Criticism and Alternative*

This article presents the system of industrial food animal production (IFAP) in the USA. There is a trend in animal agriculture to conduct fewer financial operations and to have more animals raised on each farm and fewer corporations controlling most aspects of the supply chain – from breeding through feed production to slaughter and the marketing of meat, milk and eggs. Much of the burden of producing animal products in the industrialized system is externalized in public health and natural environment, and it also generates considerable social costs. The model, however, has been followed in many other countries and continues to be replicated around the world. Is there an alternative?

Keywords: agriculture, industrial agriculture, food, healthy food, hunger

Błażej Popławski *Fair trade – The Hard-to-Find Partnership*

The aim of this article is to describe and evaluate fair trade – a form of development assistance and trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. Fair trade contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to and securing the rights of marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. Fair trade focuses in particular on commodities or products which are typically exported from developing countries to developed countries such as coffee, cocoa, sugar, tea, bananas, honey, cotton, wine, fresh fruit or flowers. The genesis of fair trade (the United Nations Conference on Aid and Development held in 1968 embraces the “Trade not Aid” concept, bringing fair trade into development policies), its main assumptions (for example: fair trading practices; ensuring no child labour and forced labour; payment of a fair

price; respect for the environment; non-discrimination, gender equity and freedom of association) and controversies related to the implementation of the system are presented.

Keywords: fair trade, development assistance, Global South, free market, liberalism, conscious consumption

Rafał Wonicki *A Comparison of Liberal and Republican Political Culture in a Democratic State*

The main purpose of this article is to compare the liberal and republican understanding of the role of political culture. The reconstruction of the liberal and republican elements of the political sphere demonstrates how these theories present the role of citizenship, government and democracy, thus revealing differences in the concepts of political culture. Firstly, the liberal concept of political culture is described as a practice that allows citizens to fulfil their individual interests. Liberal political culture helps to integrate people in the institutional framework, thus enabling them to realize their individual preferences without the state's pressure to choose one particular model of a good life. Secondly, the republican model of political culture is analysed. It stresses citizens' engagement in the public sphere and the role of positive freedom, based on an active search for common good and the cultivation of common practices supporting the state's paternalistic techniques of integration. This type of culture allows citizens to achieve common moral development. In conclusion, it is argued that in the age of galloping globalization, these two normative models do not fit perfectly well into the Western social and political landscape because today we live in communities which embrace both the liberal and republican elements of political culture. Thus, it is demonstrated that there is some space for compromise between these two approaches, i.e. liberal republican culture.

Keywords: liberalism, republicanism, political culture, democratic state

Paweł Kaczorowski *Herman Heller's Doctrine of the State. Selected Issues*

This article contains a summary of selected theses of the theory of the state developed by Hermann Heller, who was one of the leading representatives of the so-called Weimar Theory of the State. State theorists of the Weimar era formed an independent, formally unrelated group of scientists who had often opposing views, but were united by a common effort to conduct even philosophical investigation of the nature of the state, the European, continental state, as well as its internal *ratio* and mission. In addition to Hermann Heller, this group included Carl Schmitt, Rudolf Smend, Erich Kaufmann and Heinrich Triepel. They asked questions which are absent in today's science, such as: "What is a state?", "What kind of being is it and what is its nature?". The answers determine many issues, including our perception of the durability and strength of the state, our understanding of its structure and development, the relation between the state and the individual and the relation between politics and history, etc. No settlement of this basic issue is not only simple negligence, but – as can be judged – it stems from today's tacit assumption that the state is not a being, but only an artificial human construct, a combination of elements and a set of institutions. Heller perceives the state substantially: as particular organization of social affairs; organization of

specific areas of public life: economy, law and public opinion. These were created in the modern era and have been specific to Europe from the sixteenth century to modern times. The matter of these areas is transformed into a state order by sovereign authorities. Therefore, their policies and their law have their concrete object whose reality they face, and they need to demonstrate that they are capable of organizing this reality. The ethos of the state and at the same time the legitimacy of its power require that elementary principles of justice are ensured, or at least injustice is eliminated from social life.

Keywords: state, sovereignty, society, bourgeois society, authority, legitimacy, law, constitution, economy, public opinion.

Michał Graban Conservatism and Mainstream Postmodernity: Mutual relations and Dependencies

The article uses the example of the issue of instrumental reason and enlightened idea of progress to show the similarity between the conservative doctrine and the postmodern thought. It discusses the pessimistic, or even apocalyptic nature of both of these world views as well as their nostalgia for the past. The article also analyzes basic differences in the way the two world views perceive the “metaphysics of presence”. Without denying the importance of these differences, it was proved that the thesis of the "death of God" articulated by postmodernists is not a strong value judgment and only shows the trends of thought in the contemporary world. Moreover, both world views are characterized as longing for the lost “metaphysics of presence”, which shows the possibility of their mutual synthesis, which in turn can be defined as postmodern conservatism.

Key words: conservatism, postmodernism, instrumental reason, progress, pessimism, metaphysics of presence.