HUNGER FOR TRUTH
Illuminating the Hidden History of the Holodomor

Symposium Commemorating the Ukrainian Genocide of 1932-1933
California State University, Fresno
Henry Madden Library

OCTOBER 5 – 6, 2017
This haunting statue of a young girl clutching a handful of wheat stalks stands in the middle of the alley leading to the Memorial in Commemoration of the Victims of the Holodomor in Kyiv, Ukraine. The statue is dedicated to the most vulnerable victims of the Ukrainian famine-genocide – children. The statue, as part of the memorial complex, was conceptualized and designed by the Ukrainian folk artist Anatoliy Haydamaka and architect Yurii Kovalyov for the 75th commemorative year.

Wheat is the symbol of life, prosperity, spiritual wealth. It is the grain which, for centuries, has been associated with our nation’s livelihood. During the 1932-1933, however, it became a weapon of the genocide orchestrated to destroy the very fabric of that nation. On August 7, 1932, Joseph Stalin authored a law with a sentence of ten years of imprisonment or death for the misappropriation of collective farm property. This law led to mass arrests and executions. Even children caught picking handfuls of grain from collective farm fields were convicted. It became known as the law of “Five Ears of Grain.” While serving as a reminder of the devastation characterized by the law, the wheat symbolizes the Ukrainian nation’s determination to live and prosper; the nation’s future.
Thursday, October 5

Opening of the Symposium
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
2:00 – 3:00 p.m.

Invocation: Rev. Gregory Zubacz, Ukrainian Catholic Mission Church in Fresno

Sung Epic Poems
Performed by Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk, Merited Artist of Ukraine
“Дума про 33 рік” (A ballad about the year 1933) (6 minutes)
“Ой, сум та сум по Україні” (Oh, sorrow all over Ukraine) (3 minutes)

Poetry Reading
Translated and read in Ukrainian and English by George Wyhinny

Welcome and Opening Remarks
Master of Ceremonies: Dr. Victoria A. Malko, Coordinator, Holodomor Symposium
Dr. Michelle DenBeste, Interim Dean, College of Social Sciences
Honorable Jim N. Patterson, Jr., Member of California Legislative Assembly
Honorable Sergiy Aloshyn, Consul General of Ukraine in San Francisco
Dr. Oleh Weres, Public Member, U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine
Luba Jowa, President, Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California
Luba Keske, on behalf of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America

Poster Exhibit “History Lessons: The Holodomor of 1932-1933”
Presented by the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America

Book Display: Collection on the Holodomor
Contribution of Chris Langer, Public Services Librarian
Dr. Lubow Jowa, President, Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California
Olia Starow, Los Angeles County Public Libraries

Reception (Hors d’Oeuvres will be served)

Lecture
Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, Professor of Political Geography
Department of Political Science
Royal Military College of Canada
Kingston, Ontario, Canada
“Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine”
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
3:30 – 5:00 p.m.

Coffee Break
Lecture

Dr. Oleh Wolowyna, Research Fellow
Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
“Regional Dynamics of Holodomor Losses in Ukraine and Comparative Analysis with 1932-1934 Famine Losses in Russia”
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
5:15 – 6:45 p.m.

Friday, October 6

Lecture

Dr. Volodymyr Serhiychuk, Professor of History
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
“Holodomor of 1932-1933 as Ukrainian Genocide: Legal Definition, the Number of Victims”
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
9:00 – 10:15 a.m.

Coffee Break

Documentary Film

Discussant: Dr. Oleh Weres, Public Member
U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine
“Genocide Revealed”
Produced, directed and edited by Yurij Luhovy
Member of the Academy of Canadian Film and Television
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Song in Memory of the Victims of the Holodomor
Performed by Maria Tscherepenko, mezzo-soprano
“Свіча” (Candle) (3 minutes)

Master Class

Valentina Kuryliw, Director of Education
Holodomor Research and Education Consortium
Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
University of Alberta, Toronto, Canada
“Teaching the Holodomor in the 21st Century: Teaching Critical and Historical Thinking Skills”
Henry Madden Library Center for Faculty Excellence (Room 2134)
10:45 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Lunch
**Keynote Lecture**

Dr. Douglas Irvin-Erickson, Assistant Professor
Director, Genocide Prevention Program
George Mason University

“Remembering the Holodomor: Lemkin’s Words, and Other Lessons for Peace”
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
1:00 – 2:30 p.m.

**Demonstration**

Dr. Gennadi Poberezhny, Research Associate and Chief Cartographer
MAPA: Mapping the Holodomor Electronic Demographic Atlas Project
Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University

“Mapping the Great Famine: The Holodomor Atlas Project at Harvard”
Henry Madden Library (Room 2206)
2:45 – 4:15 p.m.

**Motion Picture**

Introduction: Dr. Mary Husain, Director, CineCulture Film Series

“Bitter Harvest”
Post-screening discussion with the film director and producer George Mendeluk
Leon S. and Pete P. Peters Education Center Auditorium
(inside Student Recreation Center)
5:30 – 8:00 p.m.

**Minute of Silence**

**Song about the Holodomor**

Performed by Ivanna Taratula-Filipenko, mezzo-soprano

“Весна 33-го” (Spring of 1933) (3 minutes)

**Closing of the Symposium**
GUEST SPEAKERS

Assemblyman Jim N. Patterson, Jr. represents the 23rd Assembly District which covers portions of Fresno and Tulare counties. He served as the Mayor of Fresno from 1993-2001. After eight years of focused leadership, Jim left the City of Fresno with a $20 million general fund surplus, a AAA credit rating, over a billion dollars of new business approvals that created thousands of new jobs, and a reborn reputation for achievement that the National Civic League recognized when it designated Fresno an All-America City in 2000. Jim spent most of his professional career as a businessman and broadcast executive owning and operating radio stations in California and Idaho. Jim and his wife Sharon have lived in Fresno for most of their lives, raising three children, and now four grandchildren in the Central Valley.

Honorable Sergij Aloshyn, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the First Class, has served as Consul General of Ukraine in San Francisco since 2010. He studied philology and later law at Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv, Ukraine. Prior to his current appointment, he worked in Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of South Africa (1995-2000) and Greece (2001-2005). Throughout his professional career, he has headed a number of Ukrainian delegations, negotiating on consular and legal issues; participated in numerous international conferences and forums in the sphere of migration.

Dr. Oleh Weres holds a Bachelor of Science in Chemistry and a Ph.D. in Physical Chemistry from University of Chicago (1972). At Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory (1974-1988) he did basic and applied research on chemical problems related to geothermal energy. While doing business at Sonoma Research Company (1988-2008) he did contract research work and consulting related to the Selenium problem in San Joaquin Valley, corrosion problems in nuclear power plants, defense against chemical weapons, and treatment of pesticide wastes, developing an electrochemical water purification process that is now being further developed for sewage treatment by Caltech.

Presently employed by ChemTreat in Reno, NV, he is the technical support and R&D person assisting the corporate unit, called PowerChem Technology, which provides water treatment chemicals and services to the geothermal power industry and also assists with Canadian oil sands, mining, agriculture and other industries.

In the Ukrainian community of San Francisco, he served on the Parish Board at St. Michael’s Ukrainian Orthodox Church, later as its president for two years (1980s-1990s) and President of the Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council, Northern California Branch (1980s); and Public Member on the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine (1983-1988). The Commission consisted of two U.S. Senators, four U.S. Representatives, three representatives of the Executive Branch, and six Public Members representing the Ukrainian-American community. Dr. Oleh Weres, then living in the San Francisco Bay Area and active in community organizations, was appointed a Public Member at the suggestion of Senator Dennis DeConcini (D) of Arizona.
Dr. Lubow Jowa is the daughter of Ukrainian emigrants who survived the Soviet oppression and the Holodomor. She grew up in the Ukrainian community of New York. Aspiring for a career in science, she has a Master of Science degree in Biochemistry from George Washington University and a doctorate in Toxicology from Rutgers University. She has worked as a toxicologist for the states of New Jersey and California. She is now retired. Currently she is the president of the Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California, an organization she has been involved in for nearly two decades.

While a graduate student, she joined and later became a board member of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, which focused on helping Ukrainian dissidents under Soviet oppression. Moreover, the organization initiated the idea and worked for the establishment of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. Promoting recognition and disseminating knowledge about the Holodomor and other injustices done to Ukrainians is a lifelong passion for her.

Luba Poniatyszyn Keske was born in Western Ukraine at the height of World War II to a family of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army officer. Luba, her older sister and their parents were forced to flee their homeland in 1944. Making their way west, they were captured by Axis soldiers and put into a concentration camp in Hungary. As the tide was turning against the Germans and in the confusion of retreat, the family was able to escape as they were being transferred by trucks towards an unknown destination. Free again, but enduring danger and hunger, the family finally reached a safe haven in Bavaria and were placed in a Displaced Persons’ Camp in Berchtesgaden. In 1949, thanks to a sponsor, the Poniatyszyn family emigrated to America.

Ms. Keske came to Hollywood in 1964 to pursue a career in the Motion Picture Industry. She was hired by MGM/UA as a Legal Assistant, eventually creating the Business Affairs Administration department, and worked her way up to a successful career as Senior Vice President of the department which spanned 48 years.

As in the Motion Picture Industry, Luba has been a leader in the Ukrainian Community and her Ukrainian Catholic Church for almost sixty years. She has received numerous awards and accolades not only from the Consul General of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States, but also from various organizations in the U.S. and Ukraine for her ceaseless efforts in the field of humanitarian aid, work with Ukrainian-American youth, promoting Ukrainian art, music, education of Ukrainian history, and especially the Holodomor of 1932-1933, to name a few. Ms. Keske was honored to be named the first “Ukrainian Woman of the Year” by the Ukrainian Art Center for her contribution to the cultural and social life of the Ukrainian Community, with commendations from the Mayor of Los Angeles, Country Board or Supervisors and the Los Angeles City Council.

Segueing to the creative side, Luba is CEO of LSK Entertainment, LLC and is active as writer and producer. She is Associate Producer of the soon to be released motion picture “Julia Blue” shot entirely in Ukraine, and has written two Ukrainian-themed projects which are currently in active development which she hopes to produce next year.
**Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk** is a professor of political geography at the Royal Military College of Canada. The author and editor of 30 books dealing with modern Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian Diaspora he has also had over 300 of his opinion editorials published in every major Canadian newspaper. Dr. Luciuk has taught at the University of Toronto, the University of British Columbia, and Queen’s University and overseas at the University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa) and Bogazici University (Turkey). A founding member of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, he has been at the forefront of several major campaigns having to do with human rights issues, including securing symbolic redress for Canada’s first national interment operations, championing the revocation of Walter Duranty’s Pulitzer Prize for the latter’s duplicitous reporting about the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine (the Holodomor) and recalling Corporal Filip Konowal, a Ukrainian Canadian soldier who won a Victoria Cross for his valor at the Battle of Hill 70, near Lens, France, in 1917. Dr. Luciuk has served as a Member of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada and of the Parole Board of Canada and has been the recipient of many academic awards and distinctions over the course of his career.

**Dr. Oleh Wolowyna** is a demographer and sociologist, Fellow at the Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill, and Director of the Center for Demographic and Socio-Economic Research of Ukrainians in the United States at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York. He received his Ph.D. in demography from Brown University. Dr. Wolowyna has held teaching and research positions at the University of Western Ontario, Canada, and University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. He also worked as a senior policy analyst at the North Carolina Research Triangle Institute and was a two-time Fulbright scholar to Ukraine.

Dr. Wolowyna’s two areas of research are demography of Ukraine and demography and sociology of Ukrainians in the United States. He has been coordinating a research project on the demographic characteristics and consequences of the 1932-1933 Famine in the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine and Russia, in collaboration with the Institute of Demography and Social Research of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (publications can be accessed at http://www.inform-decisions.com/holodomor). As Director of the Center for Demographic and Socio-Economic Research of Ukrainians in the United States, he has been supervising work on an extensive database on Ukrainians in the United States (http://www.inform-decisions.com/stat/). He is currently working on an Atlas of Ukrainians in the United States.

**Dr. Volodymyr Serhiychuk** is professor of history at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Over several decades of his prolific academic career, in addition to numerous polemic articles in scholarly and popular journals, professor Serhiychuk has published more than fifty monographs on the history of Ukraine. These include the history of the Cossack state, the Germans and Jews in Ukraine, ethnic minorities and the borders of Ukraine, pogroms in Ukraine during 1914-1920, the history of OUN/UPA, the history of Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, the history of western Ukraine and deportations of Poles, the Ukrainian Crimea, the Ukrainian-Turkish relations, the spread of the Ukrainian Diaspora around the world, on the contributions Ukrainians have made to the development of world science and culture, as well as biographies of key political and military leaders. His book, *Holodomor 1932-1933 rokiv iak henotsyd ukrainstva* (The Holodomor of 1932-1933 as genocide against Ukrainians), was published in 2016.
Valentina Kuryliw is a retired teacher, a history specialist, and former department head of history and social studies for the Toronto District School Board, with over 35 years of teaching experience. Presently, she is the Director of Education at the Holodomor Research and Education Consortium in Toronto, affiliated with the University of Alberta. She developed and taught additional qualification courses for history teachers in Ukraine for sixteen summers, emphasizing critical and historical thinking skills, and the use of interactive methods. She spearheaded efforts to include the teaching of the Ukrainian genocide into school curricula across Canada in her capacity as Chair of the National Holodomor Education Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

Kuryliw authored two books, one on teaching methodologies in history Metodyka wykładannya istorii (2003 and 2008) for Ukraine; the other titled The Holodomor in Ukraine, the Genocidal Famine 1932-1933, Learning Activities for Teachers and Students to be published in 2017. Her recent project was the creation of the lesson, “The Historian’s Craft” for the Holodomor Mobile Classroom, traveling RV and a project of the Canada-Ukraine Foundation in which she has fused her interactive lesson with 21st-century technology to create what educator Mark Melnyk stated is “one of the coolest, most immersive learning experiences we have been fortunate to share with our students.” Kuryliw continues to conduct workshops, give presentations and serves as consultant to various educational projects, often making guest appearances in Canadian educational institutions. In May 2017, Kuryliw organized the Holodomor Education Conference: “Education—Awareness—Action” for educators from across North America, held at the Canadian Museum of Human Rights in Winnipeg, Canada. In 2013, Kuryliw received the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Award and the Shevchenko Award for Education from the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. In 2015, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation selected her as one of 150 Canadians who exemplify Canadian values for the 150th Anniversary of Canada. She is currently a consultant on the development of a new course on the Holodomor for Ukraine’s Ministry of Education.

Dr. Douglas Irvin-Erickson has worked in the field of genocide studies and atrocity prevention in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Cambodia, Myanmar, Ukraine, and Argentina. He is the author of books, chapters, and articles on genocide, religion and violence, human security, international criminal law, and political theory. His current research includes a book on the life and works of Raphael Lemkin, the originator of the word “genocide” who authored the UN Genocide Convention (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017). Irvin-Erickson also serves as Editor of Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal, the official publication of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. He holds a Ph.D. in Global Affairs from Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and an M.A. in English Literature.

Dr. Gennadi Poberezny was a chief cartographer and a liaison officer for the MAPA: Mapping the Holodomor Electronic Demographic Atlas project and a Research Associate at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. He is also collaborating on two other famine-related research projects: co-editing a volume of proceedings of a conference marking the 80th anniversary of the Great Famine, and co-authoring a book on the Holodomor and policies of genocide in Soviet Ukraine. His research interests include the history of the Crimea during and after World War II, transitional societies of Eastern Europe, particularly focusing on administrative reforms and accommodation of regionalism. He holds graduate degrees in sustainable systems, geography, political science and global affairs, and has taught courses on political and cultural geography of international relations, comparative politics of post-Soviet and post-colonial transitional societies, imperialism and nationalism. He is an alumnus of Rutgers University.
George Mendeluk is a German-born Canadian film director, television director and writer of Ukrainian descent. Mendeluk is directing the upcoming epic romantic-drama film “Bitter Harvest.” This romantic drama is set in Soviet Ukraine in the early 1930s. Based on true historical events, the film conveys the untold story of the Holodomor, the genocidal famine engineered by Stalin. It’s a tale of love, honor, rebellion and survival at a time when farmers in Ukraine were forced to adjust to the horrifying social engineering in the Soviet Union. The film has been nominated for a prestigious Political Film Society Award in all four categories for Democracy, Exposé, Human Rights, and Peace.

Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk, born in Lviv, Ukraine, is the first professional bandurist* to have been featured as a soloist with an American Symphony orchestra. Prior to settling in the United States, she has performed extensively with Bandura Trio under her direction in Ukraine, Poland, Germany, Spain, Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Since 1989 with her husband, Yury Oliynyk, she has performed in many lecture recitals presenting Ukrainian music, culture, and history at colleges, universities, museums, and libraries. Ola received her bachelor’s degree at the Lysenko Conservatory in Lviv and master’s degree at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine. Her repertoire includes works of Ukrainian as well as international composers. She recorded three of Y. Oliynyk’s concertos for bandura and symphony orchestra. This was a first historic recording featuring the bandura with a symphony orchestra on CD. Subsequently, she was awarded a medal and the title of Merited Artist of Ukraine.

In Sacramento, California, she organized the Bandura Ensemble at the Ukrainian Heritage School as well as the Ukrainian String Ensemble. She also organized festivals of Ukrainian classical and folk music.

*The bandura is a Ukrainian stringed instrument of the lute family. It has over fifty strings, including short auxiliary strings along the body. The modern bandura evolved from an instrument that appeared in the 16th century. Traditionally, the bandura was played by a kobzar or minstrel, often a Cossack who had been blinded in captivity. The kobzar’s repertoire consisted primarily of the duma, a type of folk ballad about Cossack exploits. The duma was an epic song built around historical events and embedded with religious and moralistic elements. Although many dumy themes deal with military action in some form, they impart a moral message in which one should conduct oneself properly in the relationships with the family, the community, and the church.

Ivanna Taratula-Filipenko, a Ukrainian mezzo-soprano, has been recognized as a versatile artist with a repertoire ranging from classical operas to contemporary work. Ms. Taratula-Filipenko earned her Master’s degree in Music and Music Education and Vocal Performance from Mykola Lysenko National Music Academy in Lviv, Ukraine. Since 1991, she has appeared in leading roles with various opera companies in Ukraine, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Bulgaria, and the United States. She is also an active member of the Ukrainian community in San Francisco and Sacramento. Ivanna has distinguished herself in a career devoted to both vocal performance and music education. She is a voice and piano instructor at her music academy, Julivanna Music Studio, Professor of Music at Los Medanos College in California, and an active member of the Music Teachers Association of California (MTAC).
Maria Tscherepenko, a mezzo-soprano, was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where she studied piano and ballet at the Paderewski Conservatory of Music. In 1964, she and her family immigrated to San Francisco, California. Maria graduated with a Bachelor of Music, in performance, from Notre Dame de Namur University and continued her studies at San Jose State University and Golden Gate University in performance, choral conducting and arts management. Throughout her career she has been cast as a soloist, dancer, conductor, and producer. She served as general manager for the Pacific Philharmonic Orchestra. For twenty-five years, Ms. Tscherepenko was the leading soloist with Congregation Beth Israel Judea in San Francisco.

Her professional credits include starring roles as Anita in West Side Story, the Mother Abbess in Sound of Music, and many different roles in Carmen, Cavalleria Rusticana, The Magic Flute, and Hansel and Gretel. Throughout the years she was guest soloist with symphonies, concerts, festivals and has received numerous awards.

During her professional years she never lost sight of her Ukrainian roots and today she continues her role as an artist and producer by organizing events for the Ukrainian community in the San Francisco Bay Area with the goal of presenting the Ukrainian culture to our American friends. In 2000, in order to usher the new millennium, under the auspices of the Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council, Northern California Branch, she resurrected the Ukrainian Day celebration in Golden Gate Park, an old tradition dating back to 1964. To celebrate the Ukrainian Independence Day on August 24, she oversaw the production of the program in conjunction with the historic 135-year-old Golden Gate Park Band, America’s oldest professional concert band.

Other endeavors of Ms. Tscherepenko include program development for the annual celebration (over fifty years) of Ukraine’s poet laureate, Taras Shevchenko, and for the Father Agapius Honcharenko Committee. This committee has been established for the development and preservation of the momentous California Registered Historical Landmark No. 1025 “UKRAINIA” in Garin Regional Park, a great achievement for all Ukrainians. Every year, she organizes a Holodomor commemoration event at the San Francisco Public Library to educate American public about the unknown Ukrainian genocide of 1932-1933. She is the associate director of St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church’s choir and founder and co-director of the Trembita Ukrainian Choir of the Greater San Francisco Bay Area. Slava Ukraini! Glory to Ukraine!

George Wyhinny is originally from the suburbs of Chicago. His formal acting training began at the National High School Institute Theatre Arts Division at Northwestern University (also known as Cherubs). He received conservatory acting training from the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. Upon return to the United States, George attended Stanford University where he completed his Bachelor of Arts with Honors, majoring in Drama with a minor in English. He wrote, produced, and performed in his undergraduate thesis titled “Secrets of the Forest,” a thirteen-character one-man play about Ukraine in the late 30s and early 40s. Performing at the Hollywood Bowl, Carnegie Hall, in off-Broadway plays, on TV and in film, and as far away as China, George has appeared in Les Miserables, Crazy for You, Romeo and Juliet, Company, and Twelfth Night, to name a few of his favorite productions.
EVENT TITLES AND SYNOPSISES

Thursday, October 5, 2:00 - 7:00 p.m. and Friday, October 6, 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. (HML Room 2206)

Poster Exhibit “History Lessons: The Holodomor of 1932-1933”

This traveling exhibition features thirty-four posters prepared as part of the program “History Lessons: The Holodomor of 1932-1933.” The program was sponsored by the Ukraine 3000 International Charitable Foundation headed by Kateryna Yushchenko. The posters were designed by Tetyana Zhuravska and Olha Vashchevska. Primary documents, photos, eyewitness accounts, and other materials from the following organizations were used in the exhibition: The H. Pshenychny Ukrainian Central State Cinema, Photo, and Sound Archive, The Ivan Honchar Museum – Ukrainian Centre for Folk Culture, and The State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. The collection of posters has been displayed throughout the capitals of the world during the 75th Anniversary of the Holodomor, and recently in Washington, D.C., when the Holodomor Memorial was unveiled in November 2015.

Thursday, October 5, 3:30 – 5:00 p.m. (HML Room 2206)

“Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine”

Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, Professor of Political Geography, Department of Political Science, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario

In a reflection on the contemporary status of Holodomor studies I will address the following questions: What do we know today about the Holodomor that we did not know a quarter of a century ago? How does the Holodomor compare to other historical famines? What is the argument for recognizing the Holodomor as an act of genocide? Why did we not learn more about the Holodomor decades earlier and who were the major players complicit in suppressing the evidence about what happened? What research initiatives might still be considered as critical to establishing the nature and scale of the Holodomor? Why should any of the answers to these questions be considered relevant in the 21st century?

Thursday, October 5, 5:15 – 6:45 p.m. (HML Room 2206)

“Regional Dynamics of Holodomor Losses in Ukraine and Comparative Analysis with 1932-1934 Famine Losses in Russia”

Dr. Oleh Wolowyna, Research Fellow, Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

A more detailed analysis of Holodomor losses for urban and rural areas at national and oblast levels and by year shows a complex dynamics and unexpected results: a) urban areas were also affected by the Holodomor, but the dynamics were different than in rural areas; b) highest losses were not in grain growing regions, as expected, but in the central oblasts of Kyiv and Kharkiv; c) the pattern and level of losses was very different in 1932 and 1933, about 90% of losses occurred in 1933 and most of them during the first half of 1933; d) a detailed analysis of 1933 losses provides strong arguments for Holodomor as genocide; e) a comparison of regional losses in Ukraine and Russia documents very different effects of the Famine in each country. These detailed analyses shed new light on the Holodomor, and help us better understand the why and how of the consequences of this tragic event.
Friday, October 6, 9:00 – 10:15 a.m. (HML Room 2206)

“The Holodomor of 1932-1933 as Genocide against Ukrainians: Legal Definition, the Number of Victims”

Dr. Volodymyr Serhiychuk, Professor of History, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

The topic of this lecture comes from Dr. Volodymyr Serhiychuk’s new book about the Ukrainian famine-genocide of 1932-1933. By examining new archival evidence, Dr. Serhiychuk reopens the hotly debated issue of the number of millions who perished during that fateful year and the demographic losses due to exile, deportation, starvation, and the killing of Ukrainian politicians, intellectuals, clergy, and peasants by the Soviet authorities. The author believes that the materials from the Ukrainian archives give grounds to estimate the number of victims of this tragedy of at least seven million people. Presented in Ukrainian with English translation.

Friday, October 6, 10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. (HML Room 2206)

“Genocide Revealed,” documentary film, produced, directed and edited by Yuriy Luhovy

Discussant: Dr. Oleh Veres, Public Member of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine

“Genocide Revealed” exposes Moscow’s policy of genocide against the Ukrainian nation. This historical feature documentary focuses on the 1932-1933 man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine engineered by Stalin’s regime against the rural population, and the accompanied decimation of the national elite and destruction of Ukraine’s historical past. It reveals one of the greatest human tragedies of the twentieth century. More than four million starved to death during one year and nearly ten million perished during the subsequent decade. Directed by award-winning Montreal filmmaker, Yuriy Luhovy, member of the Academy of Canadian Film and Television, this documentary is based on testimonies of survivors, commentaries by historians and writers, declassified archival documents, and rare historical footage to affirm the Holodomor as genocide. Winner of twelve U.S. and international awards, including Best Historical Film and Best Documentary at Connecticut’s own Litchfield Hills Film Festival 2011.

Friday, October 6, 10:45 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.
(HML Center for Faculty Excellence, Room 2134)

“Teaching the Holodomor in the 21st Century: Teaching Critical and Historical Thinking Skills”

Valentina Kuryliw, Director of Education, Holodomor Research and Education Consortium, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Toronto, Canada

This master class is designed for teachers, community college instructors and university faculty interested in issues of human rights, social justice, democracy, and genocides of the 20th century. Valentina Kuryliw will tell her family’s story of surviving the Holodomor—the genocidal famine in Ukraine perpetrated by Soviet authorities in 1932-1933—and engage participants in critical thinking about the topic while analyzing primary sources and creating narratives about the Holodomor. Working in groups, they will examine government documents, witness testimonials, newspaper articles, photographs, letters, and quotations of contemporaries and scholars. They will analyze the assigned materials and create narratives about what each source reveals about the Holodomor. The participants will explore documents that have largely been overlooked by mainstream educational institutions and textbook companies. They will present their findings at the end of the class and receive a packet of teaching materials as a gift.
As we commemorate the Holodomor, it is important to keep in mind the different ways historical memory is used. In one sense, we remember in order to honor the lives of the tragically dead. In another sense, which is summed up by the slogan of “Never Again,” we have a moral duty to remember the atrocities of the past so we can prevent such atrocities in the future. Memory is also highly political. We remember certain atrocities, not others, in certain situations, because the memory of the events can be used to help achieve political objectives today. This is the case in the “memory wars” over the Holodomor, where recognition by NATO governments of the famine as genocide accompanied Ukrainian attempts to join the EU and the alliance. The Russian government joined these “memory wars” and alleged genocides being committed by Ukrainians. Wrapped up in all of this are important lessons for how we should proceed in our attempts to commemorate genocide, and the Holodomor as genocide, if we want our commemoration and memorialization to be monuments for peace. This lecture argues that there are several principles that are necessary to follow. For one, we must avoid commemorations that place collective blame for the atrocities on other groups. This is important so that we do not repeat the essentialization and group-blame that underscores all genocides. Secondly, our commemorations and memorials must be built on a philosophy of peace and not focus only on the tragically dead. And thirdly, our commemorations and memorials must be strategic in their efforts, with a clear theory of action-for-peace, so they can be monuments for peace—to serve as both as a warning of the dangers of intolerance and hatred, and a lesson for the how to live in tolerance and acceptance.

Dr. Gennadi Poberezny, Research Associate and Chief Cartographer, MAPA: Mapping the Holodomor Electronic Demographic Atlas Project, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University

The presenter will introduce the Great Famine project, a core part of the MAPA: Digital Atlas of Ukraine at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. He will demonstrate major interactive features of the Holodomor Atlas, focusing on the new findings that came to light in the process of its making. The presenter will also examine the concept of the Holodomor itself to the extent relevant to the conceptualization of the Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 that took lives of about four million dwellers of Ukraine and still remains one of the most debated topics of the twentieth-century Ukrainian and Soviet history. The Atlas presents geographic data on the demographic losses of 1932-1934, ethnic composition and administrative division of Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, country’s ecological zoning, as well as Soviet government policies and their results, including levels of collectivization of the agriculture, grain procurement plans, and data on their fulfillment. The interactive web map allows not only to conduct spatial analysis of historical data and to compare the demographic, economic, environmental, and political indicators in relation to a given administrative unit but also helps to formulate new questions and stimulate new research on the history of the Great Famine.
Friday, October 6, 5:30 – 8:00 p.m.
(Leon S. and Pete P. Peters Education Center Auditorium)

Motion Picture “Bitter Harvest”

“Bitter Harvest” is a romantic-drama set in Soviet Ukraine in the early 1930s. Based on true historical events, the film conveys the untold story of the Holodomor, the genocidal famine engineered by Stalin. It’s a tale of love, honor, rebellion and survival at a time when farmers in Ukraine were forced to adjust to the horrifying social engineering in the Soviet Union. The film has been nominated for a prestigious Political Film Society Award in all four categories for Democracy, Exposé, Human Rights, and Peace.

Post-screening discussion with the film director and producer George Mendeluk
More than eighty years ago the Ukrainian people became victims of a crime of unimaginable horror. Usually referred to in the West as the Great Famine or the Terror Famine, it is known to Ukrainians as the Holodomor (from holod meaning “hunger” and mority meaning “to exterminate” or “to starve to death”). The Great Famine of 1932-1933 took place principally in Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the lower Volga. Soviet census data reveal that between 1926 and 1939 the Ukrainian population lost several million people as a result of both increased mortality and a decreased birth rate. The loss – variously estimated at between five and fifteen million – includes an undetermined number of deaths from starvation that evidently runs in the millions. This is corroborated by Soviet figures showing that grain procurements increased while harvests declined, resulting in a food supply insufficient to sustain the population. It is further corroborated by ample eyewitness testimony.

The famine resulted from three policies of the Soviet government designed to seize the means of food production from the Ukrainian farmers and force them to submit fully to Soviet dictates. First, the liquidation of the “kulaks” in 1929-1930 removed the most productive and independent sector of rural Ukrainian society. Second, the collectivization of 1929-1932 dispossessed most of the remaining farmers and brought them directly under state control. Third, the heavy procurement quotas of 1930-1931, and the total requisition of 1932, deprived the farmers of food.

While millions of Ukrainians were dying of hunger, the Soviet government was exporting their grain and using the proceeds to industrialize the USSR. Having suppressed the Ukrainian farmers, the government proceeded to liquidate the independent intelligentsia and much of the Ukrainian Communist Party apparatus.

The purpose of this man-made famine was apparently twofold. First, the regime sought economic control of the Ukrainian farmers, who in general, favored individual enterprise and opposed collectivization. Second, it sought political domination over the Ukrainian people, who on the whole desired independence and resisted Russian rule. The famine achieved both.

**United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine**

In 1983, the Congress of the United States created and funded a special purpose commission to investigate the genocidal famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933. The Commission on the Ukraine Famine proper consisted of two U.S. Senators, four U.S. Representatives, three representatives of the Executive Branch, and six Public Members representing the Ukrainian-American community.

The Commission had a paid staff of four, directed by the late Dr. James E. Mace, a professional historian and specialist on the history of Soviet Ukraine. The primary function of the Commission was to gather records and conduct historical research concerning the Holodomor. Dr. Mace systematically reviewed U.S. Government archives from that period, while other staff members traveled throughout the United States and Canada interviewing survivors and witnesses of the Holodomor. The six Public Members assisted them by serving as local liaisons and coordinators where they resided. The Congressional Members opened doors as needed in Washington, and succeeded in obtaining a second round of funding for the Commission.

Approximately two hundred survivor accounts were recorded and transcribed in the original language, and many of them were translated into English as well. These accounts were compiled and published in a massive three volume report. A separate report presented a summary of the historical documents collected by Dr. Mace and his interpretations.

The data collected by the Commission staff and these reports constituted the most substantial compilation of evidence and facts concerning the Holodomor that existed when they were published on April 22, 1988. Dr. Mace made sure that the authorities and historians in Ukraine (still Soviet at that time) were aware of the Commission’s work. Just three weeks before the Commission’s reports were released, the first articles describing the Holodomor as historical fact were published in Ukraine. In this way, the Commission’s work effectively brought to light the history and tragedy of the Holodomor and induced the start of research about the Holodomor in Ukraine. [Written by Dr. Oleh Weres]
United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine

Findings

Based on testimony and staff research, the Commission on the Ukraine Famine makes the following findings:

1) There is no doubt that large numbers of inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR and the North Caucasus Territory starved to death in a man-made famine in 1932-1933, caused by the seizure of the 1932 crop by Soviet authorities.

2) The victims of the Ukrainian Famine numbered in the millions.

3) Official Soviet allegations of “kulak sabotage,” upon which all “difficulties” were blamed during the Famine, are false.

4) The Famine was not, as is often alleged, related to drought.

5) In 1931-1932, the official Soviet response to a drought-induced grain shortage outside Ukraine was to send aid to the areas affected and to make a series of concessions to the peasantry.

6) In mid-1932, following complaints by officials in the Ukrainian SSR that excessive grain procurements had led to localized outbreaks of famine, Moscow reversed course and took an increasingly hard line toward the peasantry.

7) The inability of Soviet authorities in Ukraine to meet the grain procurements quota forced them to introduce increasingly severe measures to extract the maximum quantity of grain from the peasants.

8) In the Fall of 1932 Stalin used the resulting “procurement crisis” in Ukraine as an excuse to tighten his control in Ukraine and to intensify grain seizures further.

9) The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 was caused by the maximum extraction of agricultural produce from the rural population.

10) Officials in charge of grain seizures also lived in fear of punishment.

11) Stalin knew that people were starving to death in Ukraine by late 1932.

12) In January 1933, Stalin used the “laxity” of the Ukrainian authorities in seizing grain to strengthen further his control over the Communist Party of Ukraine and mandated actions which worsened the situation and maximized the loss of life.

13) Postyshev had a dual mandate from Moscow: To intensify the grain seizures (and therefore the Famine) in Ukraine and eliminate such modest national self-assertion as Ukrainians had hitherto been allowed by the USSR.

14) While famine also took place during the 1932-1933 agricultural year in the Volga Basin and the North Caucasus Territory as a whole, the invasiveness of Stalin’s interventions of both the Fall of 1932 and January 1933 in Ukraine are paralleled only in the ethnically Ukrainian Kuban region of the North Caucasus.

15) Attempts were made to prevent the starving from travelling to areas where food was more available.

16) Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933.

17) The American government had ample and timely information about the Famine but failed to take any steps which might have ameliorated the situation. Instead, the Administration extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government in November 1933, immediately after the Famine.

18) During the Famine certain members of the American press corps cooperated with the Soviet government to deny the existence of the Ukrainian Famine.

19) Recently, scholarship in both the West and, to a lesser extent, the Soviet Union has made substantial progress in dealing with the Famine. Although official Soviet historians and spokesmen have never given a fully accurate or adequate account, significant progress has been made in recent months.

How Many Millions Perished in the Holodomor of 1932-1933?

“15 million (based on estimates by Soviet public health officials, the highest figure reported in any of the literature)


“5 million according to the French *Courrier socialiste*, 6 million according to the estimate given American Jewish socialist Harry Lang by a high Soviet functionary, 8 million in Ukraine alone according to what Adam Tawdul had been told by Mykola Skrypnyk and Vsevolod Balitsky


“in the 1933 famine about 9 million lives were lost (on the basis of census data)


“8 million

--Fedir Pigido (under pseudonym Pravoberezhnyi), *8,000,000: 1933-i rik na Ukraini* (8,000,000: The Year 1933 in Ukraine) (Winnipeg: Kultura i osvita, 1951).

“between 1927 and 1939 censuses, 4 million people perished, not counting at least 6 to 7 million of the natural increase in population over more than a decade, which would be a total of 10 million


“8 million population deficit


“4.8 million persons perished in the famine in Ukraine

--Dmytro Solovey, “Holod u systemi kolonial’noho panuvannia TsK KPSS v Ukraini (Do 40-illoho iuvileiu KP(b)U i 25-oi richnytsi holodu 1932-1933 rr. v Ukraini) (Famine in the System of the CPSU Central Committee’s Colonial Rule in Ukraine: On the Fortyith Anniversary of the CP(b)U and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine),” *Ukrajins’kyi zbirnyk*, Book 15, 1958, pp. 3-61. The *Ukrainian Review* was published by the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich.

“5.5 million average gleaned from various press accounts and Western scholarly literature


“7 million, including 5 million in Ukraine, 1 million in the North Caucasus, and another 1 million elsewhere

4.5 million demographic loss between 1926 and 1939 censuses, an exceedingly conservative estimate


estimates for 1933 alone range from 4.5 to 5 million deaths, and as many as ten million deaths during the rest of the decade


3.3 million in Soviet Ukraine in 1932-1933 and about the same number of Ukrainians (by nationality) who died in the Soviet Union as a whole, based on reported findings of Ukrainian scholars


4.5 million, with 3.9 million excess deaths and 0.6 million lost births in rural and urban areas of Ukraine (based on the population censuses of 1926, 1937, and 1939)


at least 7 million perished, based on newly unearthed archival evidence

The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, ratified by both the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, affirms that genocide, whether committed in war-time or peace-time, is a crime under international law. Article II defines genocide as any of several acts “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.” Among these acts is “deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.” The acts of the Government of the USSR in 1932-1933 with regard to the Ukrainian people fit squarely within this definition.

Dr. Rafael Lemkin (1900 - 1959), a lawyer of Polish Jewish background, coined the term “genocide” in 1943 and then used it in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published the following year. He studied linguistics and later law at Lviv University (then part of Poland, now western Ukraine). From 1929 to 1934, he worked as a prosecutor for the district court in Warsaw. After the double invasion of Poland by German and Soviet troops in September 1939, he became a refugee. With the help of his pre-war associate McDermott, Lemkin received permission to enter the United States in 1941. It was due to his perseverance in lobbying the delegates to the United Nations that the General Assembly passed the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on December 9, 1948.

In 1953, Lemkin was invited to speak at the commemoration of the Great Famine, held at New York’s Manhattan Center. Professor Lemkin expanded his discourse beyond the peasants and the famine and spoke of the genocide as a four-pronged destruction of the Ukrainian nation. Highlighting similarities between Hitler’s attack on the Jews and Stalin’s steps in the systematic destruction of the Ukrainian nation, Lemkin called it “the classic example of Soviet genocide”:

Notably, there have been no attempts at complete annihilation, such as was the method of the German attack on the Jews. And yet, if the Soviet program succeeds completely, if the intelligentsia, the priests and the peasants can be eliminated, Ukraine will be as dead as if every Ukrainian were killed, for it will have lost that part of it which has kept and developed its culture, its beliefs, its common ideas, which have guided it and given it a soul, which, in short, made it a nation rather than a mass of people. The mass, indiscriminate murders have not, however, been lacking – they have simply not been integral parts of the plan, but only chance variations. Thousands have been executed, untold thousands have disappeared into the certain death of Siberian labor camps. [. . .]

[. . .] This is not simply a case of mass murder. It is a case of genocide, of destruction, not of individuals only, but of a culture and a nation.

In the speech excerpted above, Lemkin estimated that between 1932 and 1933, 5 million Ukrainians starved to death, “an inhumanity which the 73rd Congress decried on May 28, 1934.”
I remain convinced that for Stalin to have complete centralized power in his hands, he found it necessary to physically
destroy the second-largest Soviet republic, meaning the annihilation of the Ukrainian peasantry, Ukrainian intelligentsia,
Ukrainian language, and history as understood by the people; to do away with Ukraine and things Ukrainian as such. The
calculation was very simple, very primitive: no people, therefore, no separate country, and thus no problem. Such a policy is
genocide in the classical sense of the word. -- Dr. James E. Mace

Dr. James Edward Mace (1952 - 2004) was of Cherokee origin, born in Muskogee,
Oklahoma in 1952. He received his doctorate in history from the University of Michigan in
1981. His doctoral dissertation was published as a book, *Communism and the Dilemmas of
National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933*. He spent his post-
doctoral years at the Harvard Ukrainian Institute. From 1985 to 1988, he served as staff
director of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine.

In 1993, Jim Mace moved to Ukraine and became a professor of political science at the
National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He died in Kyiv in 2004 at the age of 52. Seven
thousand people attended his funeral, and a massive monument was later constructed over his
grave as befitting a national hero.

Dr. Mace was the first historian to directly state “The Holodomor was an act of genocide.”
When people in Ukrainian asked him how it was that he made studying the Holodomor his life’s
work, he would reply, “Hey, I’m an Indian; I know about genocide.” [Written by Dr. Oleh Weres]

Dr. Robert Conquest (1917 - 2015) was British-American historian, poet, and Holodomor
scholar. He was senior research fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution. He authored many
historical and literary works, including *The Great Terror: Stalin’s Purges of the Thirties* (1968), *Present
Danger: Towards a Foreign Policy* (1979), *We and They: Civic and Despotic Cultures* (1980), and *The
Man-made Famine in Ukraine* (with James Mace, Michael Novak and Dana Dalrymple (1984).

Dr. Conquest was educated at Winchester College, the University of Grenoble, and Magdalen College,
Oxford. After service in World War II, he joined the British Diplomatic Service. He was First Secretary
in the United Kingdom delegation to the United Nations and was awarded the Order of the British
Empire. He held fellowships at a variety of American institutions, including the Woodrow Wilson
International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. He was also a
fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. An accomplished poet and critic, Dr. Conquest published two
novels, nine volumes of poetry and a collection of literary criticism.

Dr. Conquest was a recipient of U.S. Presidential Medal of Freedom, and Ukraine’s Medal of Honor in recognition of his path-breaking book,

The assault by famine on the Ukrainian peasant population was accompanied by a wide-ranging destruction of Ukrainian
cultural and religious life and slaughter of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Stalin [...] saw the peasantry as the bulwark of
nationalism; and common sense requires us to see this double blow at Ukrainian nationhood as no coincidence.
The Ukrainian National Women’s League of America (UNWLA) was one of the most active organizations in the Ukrainian-American community that tried to raise awareness about the genocidal famine. At their national congress, held in Chicago on November 12, 1933, the League unanimously adopted a “Memorandum of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America, to the American Red Cross, concerning the Famine of the Ukrainians in Soviet Russia.” The document has been preserved in Archives of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America, Inc. in New York. The organization's president, Iwanna Rozankowsky, provided this document to the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine. The UNWLA appointed emergency relief committee. Nellie Pelekhovich of New York chaired the committee. She wrote to the President, his wife, Cordell Hull, Bishop Manning of New York, and a host of newspapers. She prevailed upon the Ukrainian sculptor Alexander Archipenko to donate a bronze statue to serve as first prize in a raffle organized to raise funds to purchase food through torgsin.

Torgsin was a web of special state-run stores, established in 1932, to extort gold and valuables from the population in exchange for food and foreign-made products. The term is an abbreviation from “torgovlia s inostrantsami” (translated as “trade with foreigners”). An estimated 33 tons of gold and 1,420 tons of silver were extorted from Ukrainian villagers to pay for imported American and European goods and industrial equipment.

In November 1933, leaders of the UNWLA approached Eleanor Roosevelt with a request to exert some influence to pressure the Soviet government to allow duty-free admission of relief packages through torgsin. Mrs. Roosevelt replied that although she realized “that the need was very great, she deeply regretted” that she could do nothing to help. This summary of Mrs. Roosevelt’s response comes from a letter preserved in archives of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America in New York. The organization’s president, Iwanna Rozankowsky, provided this document to Dr. James E. Mace, Staff Director of the United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine.

The UNWLA also published a pamphlet and sent it for comment to the Soviet Embassy on January 3, 1934. A month later it received a reply from Boris Skvirsky, Embassy Counselor, who replied that the idea that the Soviet Government was “deliberately killing off the population of Ukraine” was “wholly grotesque.” Claiming that the Ukrainian population increased at an annual rate of two percent during the past five years, Skvirsky dismissed UNWLA evidence as spurious. The death rate in Ukraine “was the lowest of that of any of the constituent Republics composing the Soviet Union,” he concluded “and was about 35 percent lower than the pre-war death rate of Tsarist days.”

An armed komsomol (Young Communist League) member guards a barn with seed grain and reserve grain fund of the collective farm named after H. Petrovsky, village Vilshany, Derhachivsky district, Kharkiv region, 1933. Archive of Photo Documents, Holodomor Victims Memorial. http://memorialholodomor.org.ua/holodomor/archive/foto-arkhiv/

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3 UNWLA Archive; quoted in Ibid.
4 Alexander Archipenko to Mrs. Helen Lototsky, President of UNWLA, December 6, 1932; Nellie Pelekhovich to Alexander Archipenko, February 21, 1934; UNWLA Archive; quoted in Ibid.
6 Dr. Lubow Margolena Hansen to Dr. Nellie Pelekhovich, January 30, 1934, pp. 2-3; Archives of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America, New York, New York; quoted in Ibid., p. 167.
7 Famine in Ukraine (New York: United Ukrainian Organizations, 1934), pp. 6-7; quoted in Ibid.
The Resolution of the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America on the Holodomor

Remembing that the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the national parliaments of a number of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe participating States have recognized the Holodomor as the national tragedy of the Ukrainian people,

Recalling that the United States House of Representatives (HRES 1314 EH) on September 23, 2008 openly stated that in 1932 and 1933, an estimated seven to 10 million Ukrainian people perished at the will of the totalitarian Stalinist government of the former Soviet Union, which perpetrated a famine-genocide in Ukraine in an effort to break the nation’s resistance to collectivization and communist occupation,

Reminding the world that for over half a century the genocidal famine was hardly spoken or written about inside and outside Ukraine, due to an academic skepticism and silence enforced by political correctness,

Recognizing that the great majority of the Ukrainian people, under the Soviets, lived in a country where the instigators of the famine and their political descendants were their leaders, to whom the Ukrainians were obligated to profess solidarity, thus suffering from collective psychological trauma,

Acknowledging that the perpetrators—not just in the eyes of their victims, but for the world at large—were never formally and symbolically judged and punished,

Noting that denial of the Ukrainian famine-genocide is a defining stage of the process and may take innocent and not-so-innocent forms,

Emphasizing that raising public awareness of humanitarian tragedy, such as the Holodomor, is an important way for ensuring that mass killing of the kind, when food was used as a weapon, never happen again,

On the eve of the 85th anniversary of the Ukrainian famine-genocide of 1932-1933, the Ukrainian National Women’s League of America, in a general meeting resolved to:

- promote awareness of the Holodomor among the general public and academic community by incorporating this knowledge into educational and research programs;
- enlighten the general public about the recognition of the Holodomor as genocide by organizing commemorations and inviting members of the Ukrainian American and local communities to take part in commemorative events;
- teach forthcoming generations lessons about this tragic page in history of the genocidal twentieth century;
- encourage families of survivors to contribute their stories to a digital archive as witness accounts of genocidal crimes on the part of the Holodomor perpetrators for the International Criminal Court;
- demand justice and rectification of innocent and not-so-innocent denial of the Ukrainian genocidal famine (specifically, request universities that teach the Holodomor and other genocides to update their resources to include the term “Ukrainian famine-genocide” in their materials and curricula and revise information they present for public use (such as brochures, maps on websites or monuments, etc.) to reflect accurate and up-to-date information about Ukrainian history).

May 23, 2017
Recognition of the Holodomor


- The United States House of Representatives resolution of October 21, 2003 incorporated the findings of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine which concluded that “Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932-1933.”

- Resolution passed by the Senate of Australia on October 31, 2003 recognizing the famine in Ukraine as the most horrible genocide in world history.

- Resolution by the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic of November 26, 2003 on the 70th anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine “. . . commemorating a terrible tragedy of the humankind and remembering the victims of the genocide in Ukraine.”

- The United States Senate passed the resolution on April 18, 2004 recognizing that the man-made Ukraine famine of 1932-1933 was an act of genocide as defined by the U.N. Genocide Convention.

- Declaration by the Seim of the Lithuanian Republic “On Commemorating the victims of political repressions and Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933” of November 24, 2005 recognized that the Stalin’s Communist regime had been involved in a deliberate and well-planned genocide against the Ukrainian people.

- Document by the Parliament of Georgia of December 20, 2005 “On Commemorating the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine who died as the result of political repressions and famine” stated that the totalitarian Bolshevik regime in the period of 1932-1933 was involved in an intentional genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

- The crimes of the Communist regime in the USSR were denounced in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution No. 1481 of January 26, 2006. The Resolution defines starvation as one of the major crimes of the Communist regimes that caused deaths of millions of innocent persons.

- The Senate of the Republic of Poland in a Resolution of March 14, 2006 stressed its solidarity with Ukraine regarding the need to recognize the Holodomor as an act of genocide. The Seim of the Republic of Poland in a Resolution of December 6, 2006 placed the responsibility for exterminating millions of Ukrainians in 1932-1933 on the totalitarian Soviet regime.

- On November 28, 2006, Ukraine’s parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, passed the law recognizing the 1932-1933 Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people.

- Resolution of the Parliament of the Republic of Peru of June 21, 2007 expressed solidarity with the Ukrainian people on the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor and recognized it as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people.

- Document by the Parliament of the Kingdom of Spain of June 25, 2007 recognized the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people under the totalitarian regime.

- Declaration of the Senate of the National Congress of Paraguay of October 25, 2007 condemned the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people.
Resolution of the National Congress of Ecuador of October 30, 2007 expressed solidarity with the Ukrainian people on the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor and recognized the tragedy as an act of genocide.

The Parliament of the Czech Republic on November 30, 2007 expressed deep sympathy to relatives of millions of people who became victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933, which was specially planned by the Stalin regime.

Resolution of the House of Representatives of Colombia of December 10, 2007 condemned genocide in Ukraine in 1932-1933, which caused 7 million victims among children, women, men, and elderly people.

Declaration of the Parliament of the Slovak Republic on December 12, 2007 recognized the Holodomor in Ukraine as an act of annihilation of the mankind by the Stalin totalitarian regime.

The House of Senators of the National Congress of the Republic of Argentina passed a resolution on December 27, 2007 to commemorate millions of men, women and children who lost their lives as a result of deliberate deprivation of food during the great famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933.

The House of Deputies of the National Congress of Mexico in a Resolution of February 19, 2008 expressed solidarity with the people of Ukraine in commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor and classified this tragic event as an act of genocide.

Declaration by the Seim (Parliament) of the Latvian Republic “On the repression of the Ukrainian people in 1932-1933 in the USSR” of March 13, 2008 recognized the Holodomor as an act of deliberate genocide against the Ukrainian people.

The House of Commons of Canada on May 29, 2008 passed Bill C – 459 An Act to establish a Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day and to recognize the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an act of genocide

The State of Washington on May 22, 2017 adopted Senate Resolution 8663 to recognize the Holodomor as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

The State of Oregon on June 20, 2017 recognized the man-made Ukrainian famine-genocide of 1932-1933 and designated Saturday, November 25, 2017 as Holodomor Remembrance Day.

Remembrance Day

A tryzna is a Ukrainian meal commemorating the dead. It originated in pagan times, when it was held to honor heroes and was accompanied by funeral games. The tryzna properly begins with kolivo, a dish of wheat or rice with honey and raisins decorated with fruit candies. A major occasion for a tryzna is the Saturday before St. Demetrius’ Day in early November. Known as Grandsires’ Saturday, it is the day of autumn commemoration of the dead. As a meal at which the living dine with the spirits of the dead, the tryzna symbolizes the people’s concept of the unity of the world of the living and the world of the departed. Thus, on the fourth Saturday in November every family lights a candle in memory of the victims of the Holodomor.
“Дума про 33 рік” (A ballad about the year 1933)
Lyrics and music by H. Kytasty
Translated from Ukrainian by Yuriy Oliynyk
Performed by Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk, Merited Artist of Ukraine

Десь далеко на північні дикім
Від дальнего ходу Уральських гір
Там стоять безчисленні концтабори,
Обвішнені дротом колючим потрійним.

Указ стовідсоткової колективізації
Був кинутий катом на Вкраїну з Кремля,
Щоб приборкати волю і загнати людність її
В ярмо колгоспів, забравши поля... 

Була весна проклятого року.
Року чорного 1933.

Український збіднений народе,
Україно, мати січова!
Де ж твої знамена і клейноди?
Де ж твоя державна голова?

Вже давно не чути серед степу
клекотання орлів,
Пісні про Хмельницького й Мазепу
не співають кобзарі... 

Тільки чути гупання кайданів
в Соловках, в Сибіру і на Колимі... 
Там козацький народ гине у
московському ярмі.

Де поділась усмішка весела, і
купальські вогнища дівчат?
Де поділись українські села, і
садки вишневі коло хат?
Про пало все... у голодному пожарі.
Матері своїх діток ховають.
Боже рідний! Люди на базарі
Але ми ще встанемо, як хмара,
Ми ще ударимо як гром!
碘 коли за все приходить кара,
То ж яка кара прийде ім?

Somewhere in the wild and far away north
Beyond the Ural Mountains
There are countless concentration camps,
Surrounded with triple barbed wire.

The decree on one hundred percent collectivization
Was imposed on Ukraine by the Kremlin's henchman
In order to force the freedom loving people
On the collective farms, after taking away their land...

It was the spring of the cursed year.
The Black Year of 1933.

Impoverished Ukrainian people,
Ukraine, the Mother of Sich!
Where are your banners and national insignia?
Where is your head of state?

For a long time no one hears in the steppe
clucking of the eagles,
The minstrels no longer sing songs about
Ukraine's hetmans Khmelnitsky and Mazepa...

One can only hear the clanging of the chains
in Solovki, in Siberia and on Kolyma ... 
There, the Cossacks are dying under the
Moscow's yoke.

Where have all the happy smiles gone, and
girls jumping over bonfires on the magic Kupala night?
Where have all the Ukrainian villages gone, and
cherry gardens around the huts?

Everything is gone... in a famine-like fire.
Mothers are burying their children.
Dear God! People on the market
Are selling human flesh to other people.

All is gone!
Only the drunken Muscovites are partying!
The Ukrainians are dying in Ukraine,
beyond the Baikal and on Kolyma.

But we will arise,
We'll strike like a lightning!
And when the time of retribution comes,
What is the just punishment which they deserve?
“Ой, сум та сум по Україні” (Oh, sorrow all over Ukraine)

Folk lyrics, music by Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk
Translated from Ukrainian by Victoria A. Malko
Performed by Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk, Merited Artist of Ukraine

Ой, сум та сум по Україні
Там, де чорніють димарі,
Там люди з холоду вмирають,
А смерть панує по селі...

Хати біленькі не біліють,
Сади зелені не цвітуть,
Там люди сотнями вмирають,
А інші в муках смерті ждуть...

Ой, чути, чути зойки, крики:
Ой, тату, мамо, хліба дай!
Або візьми нас, рідний батьку,
Та ще й живими поховай!..

Батько ж, почувши дітей крики,
Закрив він очі, став тікати,
Покинув дітей смерті ждати,
А сам пішов волі шукать...

Закатувала Україну
Москва червоно - сталінська,
А по тій “волі і свободі”
Там чорний прапор повіва...

Oh, sorrow all over Ukraine,
Where the chimneys loom black,
There, people are dying of hunger,
And death is reigning in the village...

White cottages are no longer whitened
Green gardens are no longer in bloom,
There are hundreds of people dying,
And others in pangs are awaiting death...

Oh, one can hear cries and screams:
Oh, father, mother, give us bread!
Or take us, our dear father,
And bury us while we are still alive!..

The father, upon hearing his children screaming,
Closed his eyes, and started to run away,
Leaving his children behind to wait for death,
While he walked away to seek freedom...

Ukraine was murdered by
Red – Stalinist Moscow,
And over the land of “freedom and liberty”
There's a black flag flapping.

“Весна 33-го” (Spring of 1933)

Lyrics A. Volynska, music M. Volynsky
Translated from Ukrainian by Victoria A. Malko
Performed by Ivanna Taratula-Filipenko, mezzo-soprano

Поховальні дзвони не гули,
Не звучали жадібні молебні...
Безпорадні ангели на небі
Гірко заливалися слізами.

Люди на родючий чорнозем
Падали від холоду безсилі
Ангели у небі голосили,
Ангели від горя почорніли
Душі проводжаючи плачем.

Не було страшнішої весни:
Голоду смертельна косовиця
Україно! Згадуй і молися,
Голодом убитих - пом’яни ...
“Свіча, в пам’ять Голодомору 1932-33 рр.” (Candle, in memory of the Holodomor of 1932-1933)
Lyrics Bohdan Stel’makh, music Myroslav Skoryk
Translated from Ukrainian by Victoria A. Malko
Performed by Maria Tscherepenko, mezzo-soprano

На вікні свіча миготіла,
Кривді з-за плеча тріпотіла, -
До правди летіла -
Там, де рідний край, де Україну
Голоду нагай шмагав до згину -
Не день, не годину.
Вогніком свіча повівала,
Мати дитинна сповивала,
Пісні гомоніла
Про гірку біду, недолю голу,
Про чужу орду кривавочолу -
Бодай скам’яніла.

На вікні свіча догасала,
Мати дитинна колисала -
Не в колисці, ні,
Не в колисці, але у труні...
Мертві по ровах - їх мільйони,
По німіх церквах стогнуть дзвони...
Хто ж то Україні, Боже, нині допоможе?..

На вікні свіча не задути,
Скарги і плачі досі чути -
Усе люди тямлять.
Досі жаль до сліз тих, що не впору
Їх потяв укіс Голодомору,
Тож, вічна їм пам’ять.
На вікні свіча миготіла...

“Панахида за померлими з голоду (1921-1922, 1932-1933, 1946-1947)”
Poem by Dmytro Pavlychko
Translated and read in Ukrainian and English by George Wyhinny

1
Відкрийтеся, небеса!
З’йдіть на землю
Всі українські села, присілки та хутори,
Повстаньте всі, кому сказали: вмри!
Засяйте над планетою, невинні душі!
З’йдіть на води й суші,
Збудуйте пам’яті невигасний собор!
Це двадцять другий рік.
Це тридцять другий рік.
Це тридцять третій рік.
Це сорок сьомий рік.
Голодомор. Голодомор. Голодомор.

1
Heavens, open!
Come down to Earth!
All Ukrainian villagers, and farmers,
All those who were told to die, rise up and revolt!
Innocent souls, shine over Earth!
Come down to the waters and to the lands,
Build the eternal cathedral of memory to remember!
This twenty-second year.
This thirty-second year.
This thirty-third year.
This forty-seventh year.
Famine. Famine. Famine.
Благословенний труд
Для щастя і добра –
Хліботворящий люд
На берегах Дніпра.
Це ми, о Господи,
Твої плугатарі,
Орали, сіяли,
Молились на зорі.
Немов своє дитя,
Ми пестили ріллю,
Кохали ми життя,
Вклонялись мозолю.
Вдихали чорнозем,
Вгорталися в лани,
Не знали, що помрем
З наказу Сатани.

Котилась Україною скривавлена зоря.
Як вовки, шугали селами сатрапи –
найманці червоного царя.
Свободу, правду, людяність вони загнали в гріб.
Були ми небезпечними, бо мали власний хліб.
Цвіли сади, мов савани, – на всю небесну твердь,
Ми знали, що приймаємо за Україну смерть.

Ідуть, їдуть людомори
При червоних прапорах,
Забирають із комори
Порох, зниділий на прах.
Вимітають пил зі скрині,
Зерен запашні сліди.
Залишають Україні
Хліб з кропиви й лободи.
Світ виносять із халупи,
Що віками там горів,
І складають поміж трупи
Недовмерліх матерів.
Їдуть, їдуть без осмути.
Борошно везуть вочу
І співають, щоб не чути
З ями стогону й плачу.

Не забудемо ніколи, не забудьте й ви,
Як ми тяжко помирали з веління Москви.
Як опухлі та болячі ми повзли в міста,
Як благали - ради Бога та ради Христа,
Як штиками завертали нас у буряни,
Як нас потайки ховали без мольби й труни,
Як з могили видихали ми життя своє
З непочутною клятьбою, що тирана вб’є.

The blessed work
For happiness and good –
The bread-growing people
Along the banks of the Dnieper.
Oh God, this is we,
Your ploughmen,
Who tilled and sowed,
And prayed from dawn.
As if caring for our own child,
We cherished our rich land,
We loved life,
And respected hard work.
We inhaled the rich black soil,
The steppes were in our blood,
We did not know that [the Red] Satan
Had already condemned us to death.

Ukraine woke up to a blood-stained dawn.
Like wolves, assassins, hired by the Red Soviet Tsar,
tore through villages.
Freedom, Truth, and Humanness were driven to the grave.
We were dangerous because we grew our own bread.
Cherry orchards bloomed, like cerement throughout the heavenly
firmament,
We knew we were accepting death for the sake of Ukraine.

The executioners march on and on
Carrying Red Soviet flags,
They clean out the pantry
Sweeping up every last grain from containers,
Even dust, every last trace is gone.
Grain is but a fragrant past.
Leaving Ukrainian farmers
Nothing but nettles and weeds.
They’re carrying the life from Ukrainian homes,
That for centuries has been coveted.
Tossing still living mothers,
Into stacks of piled corpses.
Villagers helplessly watch the grain and life being carried away,
Yet the Red Wolves march and march without remorse.
Singing so they could not hear
As we groaned and cried from the depths of unmarked graves.

We will never forget, and don’t you forget either,
The terrible deaths we suffered by order of Moscow.
How swollen from hunger and sickness we crawled into the cities,
How we begged for the mercy of God and the mercy of Christ,
How with bayonets they chased us into the weeds,
How they covertly buried people without prayer or coffin,
How from the depths of the grave we exhaled our last breaths,
Silently cursing the tyrant to death.
Мамо, мамо, я скоро помру,
Не рятуйте мене, не треба.
Не ріжте ні брата моє, ні сестру,
Бо не впустить вас Бога до неба.
А як серце моє навіки засне,
Не вбивайтеся з горя, нене.
Покладіть біля вишні в садочку мене
І лягайте самі коло мене.
Забриняти цвітом наші чола й уста,
І росою вмиватиме очі.

Тихо, як свіча,
Догорів народ,
Бо не мав меча
На чужих заброд.
Бо Господь йому
Скинув з неба плуг,
На ганьбу й страту
Дав покірний дух.
О, народе, встань,
Сам собі порадь,
Бо з чужих старань
Будеш помирать,
Буде знов душа
Йти на смертну крещ,
Доки з лемеша
Зброї не скуєш.
Оберни сто суш
В золоті хліба,
Вийми з наших душ
Страх і плач раба.
Господи, прийди
В нашу непроглядь,
Дзвони розбуди,
Що в землі лежать!

Боже великий, всевладний,
Яви нам свою могуць,
Дай розпізнати правду,
Праведників не забудь.
Дивляться в Твої очі
Мільйони скатованих душ.
Прогорни їх, посели на спочинок,
Та їхнього сну не наруши.
Заступи нас і нашу державу
Од кривавих і лютих негод.
Всі ми — сущі, усопші, прийдешні —
Твій пшеничний, безсмертний народ.

Mother, mother, I will soon die.
Don’t save me. There’s no need.
Don’t carve up my dead brother, nor sister to feed me,
Because God will not allow us into Heaven for such a deed.
But when my heart falls asleep forever,
Mommy, don’t smother yourself with grief.
Lay me down to rest in the orchard by the cherry tree,
And then lie down next to me.
A golden bee will buzz overhead,
And spring’s cherry tree blossoms
Will cover our foreheads and lips with falling petals,
And dew will cleanse our eyes.

Quietly, like a candle,
Our people burned to ash,
Because we did not have a sword
To protect against foreign intruders.
We have only known misery and disgrace,
Because Almighty God dropped
A plough from the sky,
And give us a trusting and obedient soul.
O, Nation, arise,
And help yourself,
Because relying on foreigners,
You will continue to perish.
Your soul will again take
The path of death,
Until you fashion a weapon
From the steel blade of your plough.
Change the barren land
Into Golden Bread,
Free our souls
From the tears and plight of slaves.
Almighty Father, come
In our doomed fate and
Wake the church bells
That are buried in the ground!

Almighty, Heavenly Father,
Show us your might,
Open our eyes, and allow us to see the truth.
Don’t forget the martyrs.
Millions of innocent, tortured souls peer into Your eyes
From the depths of the unmarked graves.
Hug them gently, so as not to wake them
From their eternal sleep. Allow them to rest.
Protect us and our country
From bloody, ill-fated evil.
All of us — the living, the dead, and the unborn —
Are your wheat-growing, immortal nation.
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