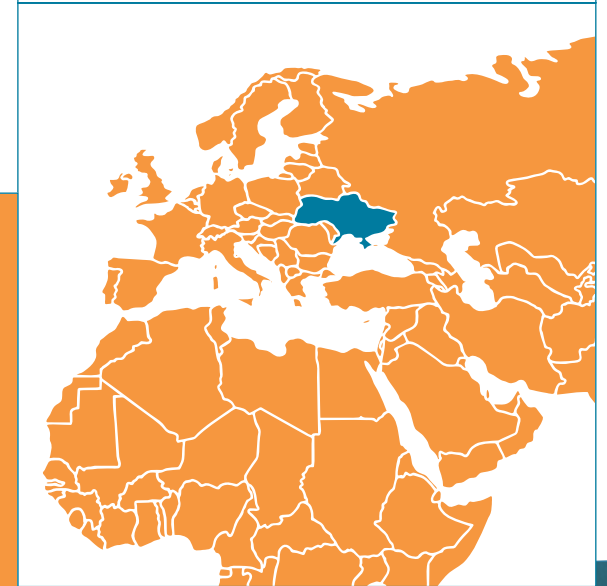
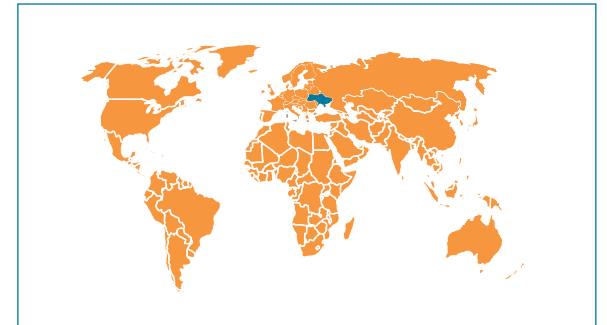
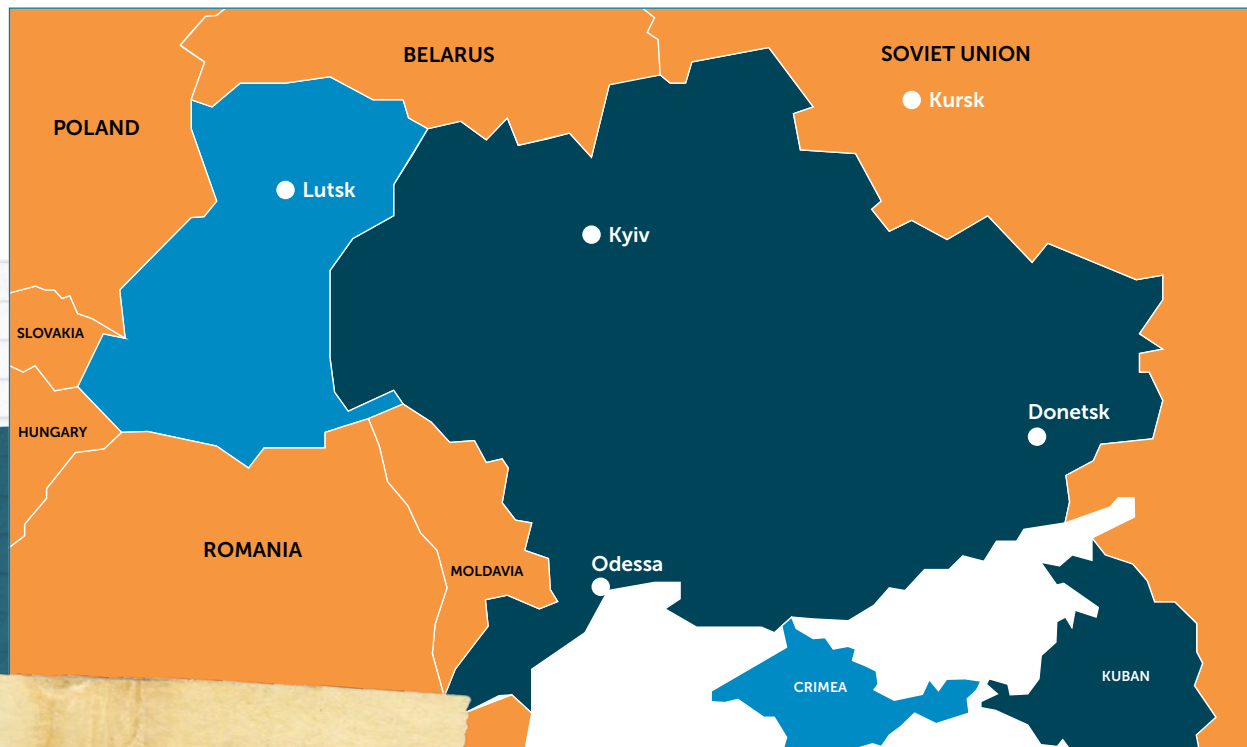




THE HOLODOMOR

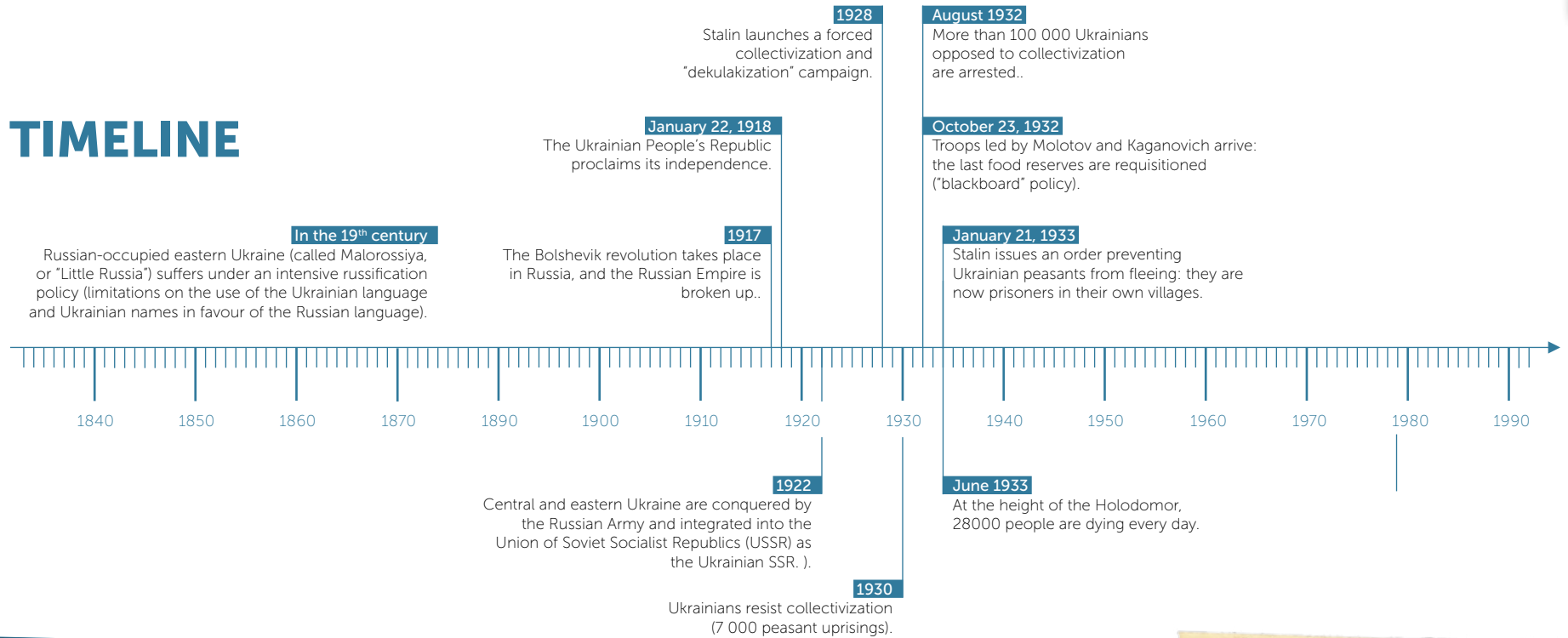
GENOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE IN 1930



-  Ukraine in 1930
-  Regions impacted by the Holodomor

TIMELINE



HIGHLIGHTS

What?

- // Stalin took power and began the forced collectivization of agriculture.
- // The Holodomor was the murder by famine of four to five million Ukrainians, including a very large number of children.

Where?

- // Central and eastern Ukraine
- // Neighbouring Ukrainian-speaking regions: from Kuban to Stavropol in the southeast, from the Don in the east along the Belarusian border in the north.

When?

- // From July 1932 to December 1933.

Who?

- // The perpetrators were the Soviet leaders, the Soviet Red Army under Stalin's orders, and their Ukrainian collaborators in the Communist Party and the administration.
- // The victims of the genocide were Ukrainians, mainly in rural areas.

EXCERPT FROM AN ACCOUNT

“The [food requisition] teams went from house to house. It was our turn. They came into the house and asked if we had any wheat. We cried, we begged. My father said that we had a bit of malt and a bit of wheat. They took everything. That was the start of the famine for our family. We went into the woods around our house looking for blackberries, but there were more people there than blackberries. We found almost nothing. Even the grass was gone. People were dying every day. We had a large family. My eldest sister went to Donbass. My mother left my youngest sister, Varia, in front of the orphanage in Isium. My other sister, Paraska, died at home. My brother Dmitro left and never came back. My mother and father died at home.”



Ukrainian peasant family in front of a typical house of the time
Credit: Bureau ARC Paris, LOC.

EKATERINA PAVLENKO, HOLODOMOR SURVIVOR BORN IN 1920
[translation]¹

ISSUE

In 1930, the Soviet authorities imposed forced **collectivizations**, stripping all property from peasants and inciting Ukrainian resistance movements in the countryside. The Soviet authorities justified the oppression of Ukrainians by claiming that they were reacting to the threat of an alliance between the peasant resistance and Ukrainian nationalists. Ukrainians would suffer an extensive famine engineered by the Soviets. The history of the persecutions in the **USSR** under **Stalin** is complex and varies depending on the region, the period and the groups involved.

Collectivization

Elimination of private agricultural property. In 1929, Stalin forced all peasants to participate in collective farming (kolkhoz).

Stalin

Joseph Stalin (born December 18, 1878, in Gori, Georgia, died March 5, 1953, in Moscow) led the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from the late 1920s until his death. He established a personal totalitarian dictatorship and a reign of terror that, according to historians, led to the death of at least 3 million and perhaps more than 20 million people.

USSR

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Federation of nations governed by communist Russia in existence from 1922 to 1991. Established after the 1917 Russian Revolution, the USSR was at first made up of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia, the Caucasus and Central Asia. During World War II, the USSR annexed the vast majority of Eastern Europe. Almost all of the entities that made up the Union became independent or autonomous States when the USSR fell in 1991.



Ukrainian peasants at work prior to the Russian Revolution in 1917

Credit: Wikimedia Commons



This being said, the mortality rate and the number of arrests, convictions and deportations were far higher in Ukraine than anywhere else in the USSR. The only regions whose numbers even approached those in Ukraine were Kuban and North Caucasus, which was populated mostly by Ukrainians. This concentration of victims in a specific national group reinforces the thesis that this was a genocide. Ukrainians called the genocide the **Holodomor**.

Were these planned famines the tragic consequences of forced collectivization and repression of the peasant resistance, as claimed by the **Soviet** authorities, or the result of a deliberate effort to destroy the Ukrainian identity?

Holodomor

The term "Holodomor" comes from the words "golod," meaning hunger, and the verb "moryty," to deprive, to let die.

Soviet

The adjective describes something belonging or relating to the USSR and, more specifically, to its political, economic and social system of replacing private property with collective property.

Ukrainians in Podolia (eastern Galicia) in western Ukraine during the Polish domination of the region at the beginning of the 20th century

Credit: NAC

“The insufficient preparation in the countryside for the current sowing shows that the famine has not yielded results and does not seem to have made the majority of kolkhoz [Ukrainian] members take the good route of honest work” [translation].²

The letter sent by Ukrainian Communist Party leader Stanislas Kosior to Stalin, on March 15, 1933, confirms that the Holodomor was premeditated and used to break the Ukrainian resistance to forced collectivization.

“But it is also beyond doubt that, after all, the peasant question is the basis, the quintessence, of the national question. That explains the fact that the peasantry constitutes the main army of the national movement, that there is no powerful national movement without the peasant army, nor can there be.”

Excerpt from a speech given by Stalin (Stalin 1937, 189) in which he asserts that the national question and the peasant question are linked. We can conclude that the crimes committed in Ukraine were carried out because of the victims' nationality and not only because of their social class.³



HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Relations between Russia and Ukraine go back to the establishment of the two countries. At the end of the 10th century, Viking populations from the north, known as Varangians, sailed down the Dneiper River and founded the powerful kingdom of Rus', with its capital at Kyiv. When Prince Vladimir died, the kingdom was divided between his sons and lost much of its power. In 1240 it was attacked by the Mongols. While the eastern part of the kingdom, which would later become Moscovia, and then Russia, remained under Mongol domination for several centuries, the western part remained independent until the 14th century, when it came under the rule of a succession of foreign powers: the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, followed by Austria, Russia and Germany.⁴



Ukrainian peasant weaving, prior to the Russian Revolution in 1917

Credit: Wikimedia Commons

In the 19th century, Russia absorbed Poland and eastern Ukraine. Austria retained part of western Ukraine. Russia launched an assimilation policy that limited the use of the Ukrainian language in favour of Russian. Then, it prohibited the use of Ukrainian for Christian names and in religious sermons, after which Ukraine disappeared, becoming Malorossiya, or “Little Russia.”⁵ At the turn of the 20th century, Russian policies became less restrictive, and Ukrainian culture resurfaced. As a result of the **Russian Revolution**, Ukraine proclaimed its independence in November 1917. In 1918, the part of Ukraine still under Austrian jurisdiction declared its independence, and the two territories joined to form the Ukrainian People’s Republic. However, the Republic was soon integrated into the USSR and, in 1922, became the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. **Lenin’s** policy of “rootedness” allowed the teaching of Ukrainian in elementary schools and the establishment of Ukrainian educational and cultural institutions. Ukrainian nationalist sentiment resurfaced, which displeased Stalin when he came to power.⁶ Stalin ruled the USSR in an authoritarian manner with centralizing aims. His reign was characterized by the cult of the leader, terror and denunciation. The ideology of the time, justifying the murder of any opponents, was called Stalinism.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution took place between February and October 1917 and led to the overthrow of the Czar (Russian emperor) and the seizure of power by the Communists. After a violent civil war, it led to the constitution of the USSR, made up mainly of the territories of the former Czar’s empire.

Lenin

Lenin (born in Simbirsk, April 10, 1870, died in Gorki, Russia, January 21, 1924) was a revolutionary and Communist politician who led Russia from 1917 to 1924. Lenin’s seizure of power gave birth to the first Communist regime in history, around which the USSR was built.



Ukrainian peasants prior to the Russian Revolution in 1917

Credit: Малороссийские типы 084, Wikimedia Commons



STAGES OF THE GENOCIDE

TO CLASSIFY

“The kulaks are the most brutal, callous and savage exploiters, who in the history of other countries have time and again restored the power of the landowners, tsars, priests and capitalists. The kulaks are more numerous than the landowners and capitalists. Nevertheless, they are a minority.”

Excerpt from a speech by Lenin in 1918⁷

“[We must] lay the foundation for the liquidation of the monarchist and white cells on our territory by all revolutionary means” and “[we must] reserve special repressive measures for kulaks and speculators.” »

Excerpt from a speech by Stalin in 1927 [translation]⁸

Photograph used for Soviet propaganda, 1926. It illustrates the categories of peasants in the USSR: from top to bottom, poor peasants (bednyaks) living in a small thatched cottage, mid-income peasants (serednyaks) living in a larger thatched cottage with a mule and cart, and rich peasants (kulaks) living in a stone house with a more sophisticated cart and a team of horses.

Credit: Wikimedia Commons

In the late 1920s, Stalin gradually fashioned himself as the USSR's strong man. One by one, he eliminated his opponents in his rise to authoritarian power. He enforced the collectivization of farming in the countryside and the spread of **kolkhozes**. This agricultural policy was a disaster: poorly paid, the peasants neglected the collective farms, productivity plummeted, and all of Russia experienced food shortages. Stalin saw this as a symptom of the peasant landowners' refusal to adhere to the Soviet regime. His reaction was one of unprecedented violence, and laid the foundation for the differentiation between good Soviets and so-called "backward" peasants. He compared the lifestyle of peasants in the USSR to the situation in Russia before the Revolution. He called peasant landowners "**kulaks**," and made them one of the three major categories of enemies of the Revolution, along with members of religious orders and capitalists. Stalin's regime created a veritable myth surrounding the kulaks: a class that starved the population, sabotaged the Soviet Revolution and hoarded agricultural reserves. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union divided farmers into three categories: poor peasants (26%), mid-income peasants (71%) and kulaks, wealthy landowners (3%).⁹ In reality, the lists were drawn up based on the peasants' adherence to the Soviet regime.

Kolkhoz

Agricultural cooperative in which the land, buildings, equipment and some cattle were shared. Kolkhozes appeared after the Russian Revolution in 1917, and, at first, peasants could decide whether or not they wanted to join. Under Stalin, starting in 1929, participation in kolkhozes became mandatory.

Kulak

In the Soviet classification system, a well-to-do peasant landowner. In reality, the word was used to refer to anyone who resisted collectivization in 1929. In 1930, Stalin decided to "liquidate" the kulaks. Between 1930 and 1932, more than 2 million of them were deported or sent to forced labour camps (gulags).



1924 propaganda poster calling on villagers to throw alcohol traffickers, former guards of the Russian Empire, thieves and kulaks out of the village council. It encouraged them to replace them with Communists, poor and mid-income peasants, agronomists and a teacher who would provide a good education and appropriate lessons.

Credit: РОССИЙСКАЯ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ БИБЛИОТЕКА

TO DEHUMANIZE

“These blood drinkers got rich from the misery of the people during the war; they have raked in thousands and hundreds of thousands of rubles by pushing up the price of grain and other products. These spiders have grown fat at the expense of the peasants ruined by the war, at the expense of the starving workers. . . . The class-conscious worker’s programme is the closest alliance and complete unity with the poor peasants; concessions to and agreement with the [mid-income] peasants; ruthless suppression of the kulaks, those bloodsuckers, vampires, plunderers of the people and profiteers, who batten on famine. That is the policy of the working class.”

Excerpt from a speech by Lenin in 1918¹⁰



Propaganda poster showing a Soviet peasant (in red, symbol of Communism) preventing enemies of the Revolution (the pope and the kulak with pointed teeth and long hair) from reaching the organized and mechanized kolkhoz (row of tractors)

Credit: Nikolay Ivanovich Mikhailov, Wikimedia Commons

In the early 1930s, the terms “class hatred,” “enemies of the Revolution” and “remnants of **feudalism**” were used by people at every level of the USSR’s Communist parties.¹¹ However, this dehumanization had been around since the beginning of the Soviet area, when followers of **Communism** fought a bloody civil war against the “White Russians,” supporters of the Czar (Russian emperor). Rural areas were seen as the source of most of the counter-revolutionary troops. Lenin spoke of “hungry, fat, beastly kulaks,” “spiders,” “bloodsuckers who batten on famine,” “vampires.” He called for the murder of what he referred to as the monsters, animals and profiteers who were starving the Russian people.¹² As with all genocides, this comparison of the enemy to animals worked its way into the perpetrators’ minds and made it easier for them to accept the murders. Propaganda posters helped spread the idea.

Feudalism

The economic, political and social regime in Europe in the Middle Ages.

Communism

Based on the ideas of philosopher Karl Marx, this leftist ideology opposed capitalism and advocated for the distribution of wealth among those who create it. This ideology was at the root of the Russian Revolution in 1917, as well as of political parties in a number of countries in the 20th century.



1928 Soviet propaganda poster: “Against the kulak and the speculator.” A kolkhoz peasant and a Soviet worker crush kulaks with deformed, monstrous faces.

Credit: Nikolay Nikolaevich Pomansky, Picryl

TO POLARIZE

“[We must ensure the] liquidation of kulaks as a class.”

Statement by Stalin *[translation]*¹³

“Those who grovel before the mid-income peasants”

Stalin's description of the more moderate Communists who opposed the violence perpetrated against the peasants *[translation]*¹⁴

“[We must] first strike the kulaks of questionable nationalities in the border regions [including Ukrainians].”

Statement by Stalin proving that the nationality of the victims was a criterion for elimination *[translation]*¹⁵

Between 1924 and 1928, Stalin gradually monopolized political power. The number of opponents sent to trial, sentenced to death and deported to camps increased rapidly between 1928 and 1931. In the early 1930s, Soviet agricultural policies failed miserably, and harvests were far smaller than had been projected. Stalin, convinced that the failure was due to sabotage, launched a vast forced collectivization campaign, accompanied by what was referred to as the dekulakization of the USSR countryside.



“Dekulakization” in the USSR between 1929 and 1934. Here we see an organized protest against the kulaks. The panels and banners read: “We will liquidate the kulaks as a class” and “All to the struggle against those who destroy agriculture.”

Credit: Wikimedia Commons

The kulaks (the term now referred to any peasant opposed to Soviet policies) were hit hard. In 1929, the regime imposed a tax of up to 30% on goods sold in shops, prohibited private trade, banned peasants from receiving ration books, and took 11 million tonnes of wheat by force. In 1930, kulaks were divided into three categories based on the level of danger they presented: known opponents to the regime, wealthy landowners, and families who refused to join the kolkhozes. Penalties went from displacement of populations to border regions to death sentences, and included deportation to the gulags (forced labour camps) in Siberia or the Central Asian steppes. This campaign “purged” the less radical “elements” from the Communist parties throughout the USSR. Thus, those who opposed the violence perpetrated on peasants were either murdered or deported.

By the end of the 1930s, Stalin had “purged” the Communist parties, rid the Russian rural areas of their elites by displacing almost 2 million peasants, collectivized 60% of all farms and crushed a large part of the resistance. However, the resistance in Ukraine was especially strong, and the regime lost control of some of the border regions to ardent nationalists. According to some historians, the struggle against the peasants could be referred to as a war against the Ukrainians.¹⁶



1919 Soviet propaganda poster against “enemies” of the Revolution. The Czar, carrier of death (gallows), is drawn by his accomplices: the capitalist, the pope and the kulak.

Credit: Viktor Nikolaevich Deni, Wikimedia Commons

TO ORGANIZE

“I lead a special commission charged with breaking the resistance of the kulaks and others who sabotage the State collection campaign.”

Excerpt from the diary of Kaganovich, leader of the Soviet troops in Ukraine starting in October 1932 [translation]¹⁷

“Top secret. Kosior orders . . . that you immediately mobilize all existing means of transportation, as well as working animals, trucks and tractors, within the next 24 hours. Order is given to find the number of horses necessary to transport the seeds. Any delay in the export of these seeds shall be considered sabotage of the collections.”

Kosior, a Soviet leader who answered directly to Stalin, ordered the reinforcement of the collection plans in Ukraine on December 29, 1932 [translation].¹⁸

Stalin began organizing his troops in the early 1920s. In 1923, he reorganized the political police by founding the **OGPU**, led by his staunchest supporters.¹⁹ In 1926, “terrorism against the State” was added to the Criminal Code, and the first gulags (forced labour camps) were established in Siberia.²⁰ Troops, including Communist Party units, members of the Communist youth movement and the OGPU, which had been mobilized for the dekulakization in the 1920s, remained in the Ukrainian countryside.²¹ These troops monitored and suppressed thousands of Ukrainian peasant uprisings.

OGPU

Russian initialism for the “joint state political directorate,” a political police force established by Stalin to replace the Cheka in 1922.



Seizure of vegetables from peasants in Novo-Krasne, a village north of Odessa, Ukraine, 1932

Credit: Wikimedia Commons

In early July 1932, Ukrainian Communist delegates rejected Moscow's "unrealistic" plan, which required the collection of 32% of all harvests. Communist leaders Molotov and Kaganovich arrived in Ukraine to "reason with their Ukrainian comrades," who finally capitulated. In August 1932, the Ukrainian Communist Party, kolkhoz leaders and Ukraine's

intellectual elite were "purged of all nationalist elements": almost 100 000 "elements" who rejected Stalin's plan were arrested.²² However, this was futile: Stalin's plan was impossible to implement. The OGPU condemned the "kulak sabotage" and peasants' resistance to the collections. On October 22, 1932, Stalin sent in more troops, led by Molotov and Kaganovich.²³



Soviet soldier guarding a seed warehouse in Vilshany, Ukraine, 1934

Credit: Wikimedia Commons

TO PERSECUTE AND TO MURDER

“At the kolkhoz, they never gave us anything and they will never give us anything, because the kolkhoz doesn’t have anything. Our only hope is the cow, but we expect they will come and take it away any day now, because they have been ordered to find grain and they will search all the houses, and since we don’t have anything, they will take the cow. If you could see what was happening here: the people are eating rotting horse meat, and that is the best there is, and it’s hard to get; people stand in line near the horse pit and fight for it, the strongest go home with a piece. Otherwise people eat dogs, but there are no more dogs so they have started trapping rats and eating them. That’s the truth. People are half-crazed and are forced to work. If they don’t work, they are run out of the kolkhoz, put in prison, and everything they have is confiscated. And what happens to them in prison? They are shot or left to starve to death.”

Letter to V.I. Riaboukha, a Stavropol recruit, from his parents, 1932 [translation]²⁴

“Life is horrible. Everyone is starving to death. The prisons are full. Tears flow in rivers. We work day and night in the Komsomol brigade and we keep finding pits with two or three hidden quintals [of grain]. It’s shocking. We used to pity the people, but since we saw what they were doing, we don’t pity them any more. . . . There are no more seeds at the kolkhoz, there will be nothing to plant, and there will be a lot more people brought before the tribunal.”

Letter sent to I.F. Faniuk, a Stavropol recruit [translation]²⁵

“Since the beginning of the campaign, 2379 farmers have been convicted for shortfalls in deliveries. Between November 1 and December 5, 1243 people were convicted of stealing bread (62 were shot). These sanctions were applied to 475 poor farmers, 481 mid-income farmers, 82 higher mid-income farmers and 204 kulaks. There have been convictions of the Communists in charge and various leaders for hiding bread, wasting and stealing bread, accounting errors, failure to deliver milled wheat, etc. Eight kolkhoz leaders have been shot, 30 sentenced to 5 to 10 years, 29 to 5 years, 78 to 3 years, 55 to forced labour, total: 200. . . . In all, 1062 convictions, including 59 people shot.”

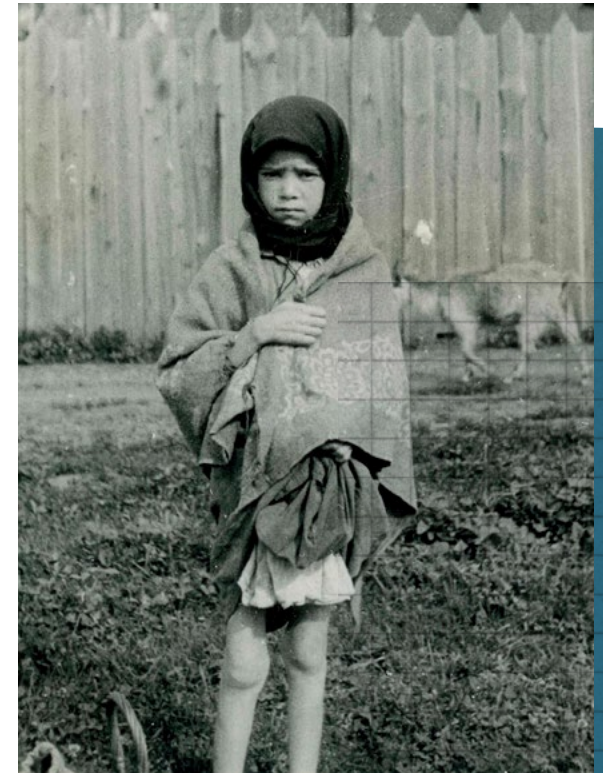
Report of December 6, 1932. Convictions of Ukrainian peasants in the Dnipropetrovsk region [translation]²⁶

“I saw the ravages of the famine of 1932-33 in the Ukraine: hordes of families in rags begging at the railway stations, the women lifting up to the compartment window their starving brats which—with drumstick limbs, big cadaverous heads, puffed bellies—looked like embryos out of alcohol bottles.”

Account by British author and journalist Arthur Koestler, during his visit to Ukraine²⁷

According to recent studies, between 1932 and 1933, 3.9 million people died of starvation in Ukraine. In June 1933, at the height of the Holodomor, 28,000 people were dying every day. Those who died as a result of disease spreading through the weakened population and famines in the Ukrainian-populated regions bordering Ukraine are not included. At the time, Raphael Lemkin suggested that there had been million deaths.²⁸

In October and November 1932, hundreds of villages that failed to meet the collection targets were put on the “blackboard” [blacklist]: businesses were closed, loans were called in, and the quotas for the collection of meat and potatoes were multiplied 15-fold.²⁹ On November 18, the kolkhozes were forced to “repay advances in kind.” On December 14, Stalin gave the order to halt the “Ukrainization” policy implemented by Lenin, and to limit the use of the Ukrainian language. On December 29, Molotov and Kaganovich signed a treaty requiring the collection of “seed stores” kept for the following year and prohibiting assistance to the peasants. On January 1, 1933, Stalin ordered all those hiding any food at all to be charged with “theft of social property.” Offenders could be sentenced to 10 years in an internment camp or death.³⁰ On January 21, the leader of Ukraine’s OGPU informed Stalin that a large number of Ukrainian peasants were attempting to flee the country by train.³¹ In the following days, Stalin ordered that roadblocks be set up and that selling train tickets to peasants be prohibited. Peasants were confined to their villages to die.³² There was obviously a political attempt to use hunger as a weapon of mass destruction in Ukraine. However, historians are divided between those who say that these mass murders constituted genocide, since they targeted ethnic Ukrainians, and those who believe that they were political in nature, targeting opponents to the Soviet collectivization policy.



Young girl showing signs of serious undernourishment in the streets of Kharkov, Ukraine, 1933

Credit: Alexander Wienerberger, Wikimedia Commons

TO DENY

“Well, there is no famine. . . . You must take a longer view. The present hunger is temporary. In writing books you must have a longer view. It would be difficult to describe it as hunger.”

Statement by Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov in a March 1933 interview with Gareth Jones, the Welsh journalist who published the first account of the Holodomor in the West³³

“[It is] sabotage of Ukrainian agriculture by the kulak elements and counter-revolutionaries who are trying to exploit the temporary food troubles for their own counter-revolutionary purposes, spread rumours about a supposed famine, [and] make it a point not to bury the dead.”

Excerpt from a police report denying the involvement of Soviet leadership in the Holodomor [*translation*]³⁴



American Communist militants attacking a protest by Ukrainian immigrants condemning the Holodomor, Chicago, December 1933

Credit: Wikimedia Commons



During the genocide, the written orders given by Stalin himself or by the leaders of the various levels of the Soviet regime were “secret” or “confidential.” The head of the Ukrainian OGPU even gave detailed instructions on how orders were to be treated confidentially. When the Soviet authorities saw that food was becoming scarcer and scarcer and that the peasants were trying to flee, they systematically attributed these facts to “sabotage” by “counter-revolutionary” elements. Police reports denied the reasons given for the deaths, but never provided an alternate explanation.³⁵ In 1933, as the first Europeans began witnessing the deaths by starvation in Ukraine, the Soviet authorities continued to deny that there was a famine. Even in the West, journalist Walter Duranty, a supporter of the Soviet regime, wrote in the *New York Times*: “These conditions are bad, but there is no famine.” This remained the party line throughout the Soviet period. In 1991, the Soviet authorities published a work titled *Fraud, Famine and Fascism: The Ukrainian Genocide Myth From Hitler to Harvard*.³⁶ Still today, recognition of the genocide is an issue that divides Ukraine and neighbouring Russia. Ukrainians called the genocide the Holodomor to affirm its existence in their own language. In 2006, the Ukrainian government, no longer under Russian control, officially recognized the genocide, which the Russian government still refuses to acknowledge.³⁷



Ukrainian peasants attempting to flee by train in 1933.
Stalin gave the order to stop all departures
Credit: Wikimedia Commons

JUSTICE

Today, in North America, many States and bodies recognize the Holodomor as a genocide, including Canada and Quebec's National Assembly.

In 2007, in anticipation of the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor, a large-scale campaign titled *Ukraine Remembers, the World Recognizes*, aimed to encourage world recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide. The European Parliament resolution of October 23, 2008, on the commemoration of the Holodomor did not expressly recognize it as a genocide, although it emphasized that it was cynically and cruelly planned by Stalin's regime and that it was an appalling crime against the Ukrainian people and against humanity. In this resolution, the States that emerged following the breakup of the Soviet Union were called to open up their archives on the Holodomor.

While Ukrainian representatives at the United Nations have called on the General Assembly several times to adopt a resolution designating the Holodomor a genocide, the Russian Federation has always managed to strike the subject from the agenda. Russia holds that the famine in Ukraine, as in many other regions of the USSR, was caused by Stalin's forced collectivization.

Successive waves of immigration between 1891 and 1946 created a large Ukrainian minority in Western Canada.³⁸ Today, the community is 1.3 million strong.³⁹ In 2008, in response to their demands, the Canadian government adopted the *Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act*, which recognizes the Holodomor of 1932-1933 as a genocide and designates the fourth Saturday in November as Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day. In 2010, Quebec also adopted an act recognizing the genocide.

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- ³⁸ Swyrypa, Frances A., "Ukrainian Canadians," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, April 4, 2012, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ukrainian-canadians>.
- ³⁹ Ukrainian Canadian Congress, "Ukrainian Canadian Congress Briefing Note to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development: Situation in Eastern Europe and Central Asia 25 Years After the End of the Cold War," *The Situation in Ukraine and Canada's Response*, April 2017, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/FAAE/Brief/BR8902518/br-external/UkrainianCanadianCongress-e.pdf>.