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(the Holodomor)**

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**Ukrainian Sentiments and Canadian Sustenance:
In Remembrance of the 1932-1933 Great Famine (the Holodomor)**

Halyna Mokrushyna

Thesis
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Abstract

The thesis studies the recent efforts of the Ukrainian community in Canada to raise awareness of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-33. The theoretical framework is built on Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory (1995), the concept of human rights and social justice elaborated by John Finnis (1980) and John Rawls (1999), the post-modern interpretation of Diaspora by Stuart Hall (1990) and James Clifford (1994), and the positive reading of nationalism by Anthony Smith (1995) and Benedict Anderson (1991). The thesis investigates how the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada raises awareness of the Holodomor and explores the motivations behind these efforts. This explanatory case study utilizes two qualitative data collection methods: a content analysis of the Canadian legislation and school curricula on the Holodomor as well as in-depth interviews with Ukrainian Canadian professionals involved in the Holodomor awareness campaign. Findings reveal that Ukrainian Canadians concentrate their efforts on political recognition of the Holodomor, on the introduction of it as a compulsory subject in school curricula and on the recording of eye witnesses of the Holodomor. Ukrainian Canadians are driven by the sense of being part of the Ukrainian nation, the need to tell the historical truth and the belief in Canada's commitment to respect and protect human rights. By preserving and sharing the memory of the Holodomor with Canadian society, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora re-actualizes its distinctive collective identity, contributes to the reconstruction of the Ukrainian historical memory, supports Ukraine on its way to democracy, consolidates democratic values of Canadian society and contributes to Canada's role as defender of human rights.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Preface

For the Ukrainians, the famine must be understood as the most terrible part of a consistent policy carried out against them.

(James Mace, 1986a: 12)

“Bread is the head of everything”, states a Ukrainian proverb. From the first steps in their lives Ukrainian children are taught not to waste even the smallest crumb of bread. The honoring of bread is transmitted from generation to generation and comes from centuries-old Ukrainian traditions of living on and with the earth: tilling the soil, sowing the grain, growing the wheat. Ukrainian soil is one of the most fertile soils in the world, “chornozem”, the black earth; Ukrainian culture is a culture of “khiborobs”, bread makers (Voropaï, 1958). This lifestyle has shaped Ukrainian history, Ukrainian character, and Ukrainian soul. You cannot let the bread get stale, as you cannot let your soul harden. In the Ukrainian language one verb “zacherstvity” combines both of these meanings.

And yet the souls of several generations of Ukrainians were hardened for decades because the bread was taken away from their parents and grandparents. They were dying by thousands every day, on the most fertile soil in Europe, while special units of urban cadres and of the secret police were searching every corner of their homes trying to find the tiniest bit of food or grain. Those strong toil-hardened hands that used to sow, to cultivate, and to harvest the golden wheat were stretched as dead branches, begging for bread on railway stations in the dark spring of 1933. Swollen stomachs of little children,

people dying on the streets and along the roads, corpses rotting in abandoned houses because there was nobody left alive to bury them – this was a grim picture of the Ukrainian village caught in the deadly grasp of the Famine.

Cattle and horses dead; fields neglected; meager harvest despite moderately good climatic conditions; all the grain that was produced taken by the Government; now no bread at all; no bread anywhere; nothing much else either; despair and bewilderment.

(Muggeridge, cited in Carynnyk, 1986: 72)

The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33

This eye witness report of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, or Holodomor¹, comes from Malcolm Muggeridge who was the reporter for the Manchester Guardian in Moscow in the 1930s (Carynnyk, 1986: 67). The Government that took the grain from Ukrainian peasants and starved them to death was Stalin's communist regime. After having taken the leadership of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1924, Stalin decided to consolidate his power and control over the party and to transform the former agricultural backward Russian empire into a modern industrialized society with a modern military power (Serbyn, 2008: 62). This decision spelled the end of the liberal politics of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks introduced by Lenin. These liberal politics included the New Economic Policy (NEP), proclaimed in 1921, and the policy of *korenizatsiya* (meaning indigenization, or literally, enrooting or taking root in Russian).

The NEP ended the forced requisitions of agricultural produce by state and replaced it by a fixed foodstuffs tax. Instead of repossessing all goods produced, the

¹ *Holodomor* is the Ukrainian word meaning "death by starvation". It is often used in parallel with the term *Great Famine* in Western academic literature and social and political essays to underline the artificial nature of the famine and its national specificity. For Ukrainians in the Diaspora it means a unique historical event, national tragedy of the Ukrainian people, as the word Holocaust is for Jewish people.

Soviet government took only a fixed quota of them. Thus the peasants, after having provided the required quota to the State, could sell the remaining grain on the market (Fitzpatrick, 1984: 95).

Korenizatsiya meant actively recruiting representatives of the titular nations of Soviet republics, and national minorities, into the Soviet regime and officially sponsoring the development of their cultures. This policy was introduced by Moscow as an attempt to provide a national legitimacy to the Soviet regime that was imposed on the former colonies of the Russian empire (Mace, 1986a: 2). Korenizatsiya led to the revival of the Ukrainian culture and the raise of national consciousness among Ukrainians, including the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine itself (Ibid).

Stalin's first five-year plan (1928-1932) put an end to these concessions by the Soviet regime. The rapid industrialization of the economy required new equipment and skilled manpower that could be bought or hired from abroad. The Soviet government needed money, and the simplest, the quickest and the most available source of capital at their disposition were natural resources, including grain. Collectivization, which, along with the industrialization, was one of the pillars of the five-year plan, would give the Soviet authorities direct access to the harvested grain. It consisted in creating collective farms (kolhospy in Ukrainian) based on common ownership of resources and on pooling of labor and income. In practice it meant the confiscation of land, livestock and agricultural machinery from relatively affluent peasants, so-called kulaks², and the

² Soviet officials did not provide strict criteria to define who can be considered "kulak". The term was often used arbitrarily to label anyone who had more property than was considered "normal" according to subjective criteria. For instance, the average value of goods confiscated from kulaks during the dekulakization at the beginning of the 1930s was only \$90–\$210 (170-400 rubles) per household (Conquest, 1986).

redistribution of confiscated property in newly created kolhospy. The so-called “counter-revolutionary kulak activists” who actively resisted the collectivization were executed or sent to prison camps and their families were deported. The “wealthiest” kulaks were arrested and deported to Russia’s northlands or resettled in remote regions of Ukraine, and the rest were ordered to leave their districts (Serbyn, 2008: 63; Krawchenko, 1986: 17). The dekulakization, or the removal of rich peasants, was carried in 1929-29. By the March 1930 almost two-thirds of peasant households and 70% of arable land in Ukraine were collectivized.

Ukrainians put up a fierce resistance. They organized open rebellions against Soviet authorities, driving them out of villages and taking back what was confiscated from them. Confronted with the widespread resistance, Stalin staged a retreat. He criticized the administrative cadres for premeditated mistakes in carrying out collectivization and stated that peasants could freely leave the kolhospy, which they did on a massive scale³. But in the fall of 1931 collectivization resumed. The will of peasants to resist was crushed under heavy taxes and repeated requisitions of foodstuffs. Unattainable quotas of grain were imposed on both the collective farms and the remaining individual farmers. This resulted in the first wave of widespread starvation, from the end of 1931 into the summer of 1932.

The leaders of the Ukrainian Communist Party and government warned Stalin about the inevitable famine if the quotas of grain deliveries for the upcoming harvest were not reduced. Stalin toughened the measures even more by issuing a decree that farmers baptized “five ears of corn” law. This decree stated that the theft of kolhosp

³ By October 1930 only a quarter of the peasant households in Ukraine and a third of the arable land remained in kolhospy (Serbyn, 2008: 64).

property was a crime and whoever was caught stealing even several ears of wheat would be punished by death or five to ten years of incarceration. The Ukrainian cadres continued to oppose and sabotage the high grain delivery quotas. In the fall of 1932 Stalin sent special commissions to force the Ukrainian Soviet authorities to accept the quotas and to supervise the requisition of grain in Ukraine.

Villages that were not able to fulfill the quotas were blacklisted and prohibited from receiving manufactured goods from the outside or sending farmers out of the village. Stalin's secret directive, issued in January 1933, forbade peasants from Ukraine to travel to those neighboring regions of Belarus and Russia that were untouched by the famine. People trying to leave their villages without permission from the authorities were arrested by the GPU⁴ and sent back to villages to starve or were punished in other ways. In December of 1932 farmers were ordered to surrender all grain reserved for next year's sowing. Party activists searched every house and seized everything they found. The Ukrainian farmers were left to starve.

It is hard to establish how many Ukrainians perished in the Holodomor, since the Holodomor is only one form of execution used by Stalin and his henchmen in his drive to destroy the Ukrainian nation (Serbyn, 2008: 67). The number of the victims of the Famine fluctuates according to different researchers. Robert Conquest (1986), the author of the first serious research on the Holodomor written and published in the West, estimated the human losses caused by the Ukrainian Famine to be 5 million. The latest studies on the subject talk about 4.6 million losses (Vallin, Meslé, Adamets & Pyrozhkov, 2008). One of the dispatches from the British Embassy in Moscow relates the

⁴ The GPU (*Gosudarstvennoye Politicheskoye Upravlenie* in Russian or State Political Directorate) was the secret police of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union from 1922 until 1934.

unauthorized estimate of “the fantastic figure 10 million” (cited in Carynnyk, 1986: 117). Because of these discrepancies in numbers, many researchers of the Holodomor prefer talking about millions of victims, without specific statistics. After all, numbers are not essential since the massive scale of the tragedy of the Holodomor is recognized by all the researchers, irrespective of their views on the causes of this tragedy (Kuromyia, 2008).

Narratives of the Holodomor

What is essential for the history and the future of the Ukrainian nation is the historical truth about and the memory of the Holodomor, with which they are unavoidably intertwined. They are essential because the past shapes the future. By knowing why, how and when this tragedy happened the Ukrainian nation can better understand its present, its challenges and problems and can learn how to prevent such tragedies from happening again. The truth is an elusive ideal; different historians have different perspectives and different interpretations of historical events (Mace, 1986b: 61). But what matters most for the Ukrainian nation is not so much the establishment of a full picture of the Holodomor⁵ as is the narrative explaining it, the narrative that makes sense of the past and helps to understand the development of Ukrainians as a nation.

Two narratives of the Holodomor are present in the academic research and in the political discourse. The main point of discord in these narratives is the intentionality, or genocidal nature, of the Ukrainian Famine. The non-genocidal perspective is based on the

⁵ Some researchers believe that there is enough research done on the Holodomor and that it should be left as it is since it may be best not to embark on the full story (Duncan, 2008: 232); or, if such a research continues, it should be done from a different paradigm, not a single intentionalist-conspiracy paradigm, as it was the case till now (Dietsch, 2008: 187).

position that the Famine was an unplanned result of Stalin's inhumane anti-peasant policy of collectivization which ruined agriculture: the famine hit many areas, not only Ukraine (e.g., Northern Volga and Kuban) and therefore the famine, although man-made, was not directed at Ukrainians as an ethnic group; the famine hit hardest Ukraine because it had the most numerous and dense population of farmers that were resisting the collectivization and not because they were Ukrainians; the famine and the resistance to collectivization in Ukraine did give the Stalinist regime a pretext to deal also with Ukrainian national problem, but the intention to destroy Ukrainian nationalist aspirations was not there at the beginning of collectivization (Graziosi, 2008: 140-141; Rayfield, 2008: 92).

These arguments are used in the scholarly literature to deny the intentional character of the Holodomor⁶ and are often voiced by Russian historians⁷ and politicians, the most argumentative genocide-deniers (Rayfield, 2008). Post-soviet Russia, as the successor of the Soviet Union, refuses to take the responsibility for the crime of the Holodomor committed by the Stalinist regime because it would weaken Russians' belief in the uniqueness and greatness of Russia. These beliefs are at the centre of many Russians' way of thinking and of their impulse to power and empire. Ukraine's international campaign for the recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people is another step in the affirmation of Ukraine's national identity, separate and independent from Russia, which can not be accepted by many Russians who still see Ukraine as part of Russian empire and retain patronizing attitudes towards Ukrainians (Marson, 2008; Motyl, 2008).

⁶ From the recent publications, see, for instance, Davis and Wheatcroft (2004) or Martin (2003).

⁷ See, for instance, Kondrashin and D'Ann Penner (2002).

The genocidal, or ethnic, narrative of the Holodomor, embraced by official Ukraine⁸ and the Ukrainian Diaspora, sees the Holodomor as an intentional, artificial famine directed specifically at Ukrainian peasants, not because they were peasants, but because they were Ukrainians. According to this narrative, the Holodomor was one of the ways or stages of Stalin's destruction of the Ukrainian nation. The Holodomor, orchestrated by Stalin's regime, was aimed at the Ukrainian peasantry as the pillar of the Ukrainian nation and the guardian of Ukrainian culture⁹. The dekulakization deprived the Ukrainian village of its natural leaders, the most industrious farmers¹⁰. Farmers' will to resist collectivization was crushed, furthermore, by excessive grain quotas and subsequent requisitions of grain and any foodstuffs at all. The resulting famine took millions of human lives, killing physically and destroying morally any opposition by the Ukrainian farmers.

At the same time Stalin proceeded to the annihilation of the Ukrainian national elite, the intelligentsia. 700 Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in the fall of 1929 on the accusation of connections with the invented "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine". 45 of its fictitious members were put on trial by the Soviet authorities for conspiracy against the

⁸ As the thesis was being written, new President Viktor Yanukovich came to power in Ukraine after the presidential election in January 2010. He pursues a pro-Russian policy and his attitude towards Holodomor clearly follows the Russian narrative of the tragedy: in April 2010 in the speech before the Council of Europe Yanukovich declared that it is "unjust" to call the Stalin-era famine that killed millions across the Soviet Union a genocide of the Ukrainian people and called the famine a "common tragedy" of all people of the Soviet Union, then led by Joseph Stalin ("Yanukovich reverses", 2010). It is also worth noting that on the next day after Viktor Yanukovich's inauguration the section on Holodomor was removed from the official web-site of the President of Ukraine ("Yanukovich's first act", 2010).

⁹ At the end of 1920 over 80% of Ukrainians were engaged in farming (Serbyn, 2008: 61).

¹⁰ Because of the more liberal economical policies of Soviet authorities under Lenin that encouraged the small private property and allowed the farmers to sell the surplus of grain on the market, prosperity of a peasant was based more on his own merit and competence than upon inherited social position (Mace, 1986a: 4).

Soviet state (Serbyn, 2008: 62). Academic institutions, literary journals, publishing houses, and theatres that sustained the cultural and public life were engulfed in waves of purges.

Ultimately even the Ukrainian Communist Party, that had opposed the impossibly high grain quotas and encouraged the development of Ukrainian national culture and education, fell victim to Stalin's terror against the Ukrainian nation (Yushchenko, 2008: 193; Serbyn, 2008). The following concluding paragraph from James Mace's article "The man-made famine of 1933" sums up and describes the best the Ukrainian narrative of the Holodomor:

For the Ukrainians, the famine must be understood as the most terrible part of a consistent policy carried out against them...Against them the famine seems to have been designed as part of a campaign to destroy them as a political factor and as a social organism. By suppressing Ukrainian national expression and clearing the way for the revival of Stalin's new Russian empire, the famine was crucial in the development of the USSR. We live with its legacy to this day.

(Mace, 1986a: 12)

North American Ukrainian Diaspora Tells the Story of the Holodomor

Not only Ukrainians in Ukraine live with its legacy. The Ukrainian Diaspora, and especially the Diaspora in North America, took on the task of spreading information about the Great Ukrainian Famine as Stalin's attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation. Ukrainian Canadians were among the first to start telling the world about the Holodomor, by publishing accounts of peasants dying from starvation in Ukrainian villages in the aftermath of Stalin's ruthless dekulakization and collectivization of Ukrainian farmers. These accounts were published in many Ukrainian Canadian newspapers of that time – *Canadian Farmer*, *New Pathway*, *Ukrainian Voice* and others (Marunchak, 1985: 36).

But Western governments and the public showed relatively little interest in these reports, while an active Communist lobby within the Ukrainian Diaspora itself denied the Famine. The Holodomor was also lost in the general tragic context of the World War II. In the after-war years hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees came to North America, joining the established Ukrainian communities in Canada and in the US. Among these refugees were thousands of survivors of the Famine. This infusion, and the dying out of the socialist and communist groups, moved Diaspora politics to the right. The active part of the Ukrainian North American Diaspora held strong nationalist convictions. They fought for an independent Ukraine against Soviets and Nazis. After having found asylum in Canada and the US, they did not give up fighting for their dream. One of the ways to do it was to expose crimes of the Stalinist regime. But they did not succeed in gaining the ear of the government and public at large exactly because of their nationalism, which was seen by North Americans as rightist and extremist.¹¹ Moreover, the collaboration of some Ukrainians with Nazis and pogroms in Ukraine during World War II further undermined Americans' and Canadians' trust towards the active political leadership of the Ukrainian Diaspora and their criticism of the Soviet Union and the unmasking of crimes committed by Stalin and his regime.

But by the 1970s, Ukrainian communities in Canada and the States established a wide network of community institutions and founded academic projects and centres of Ukrainian studies¹². Ukrainians also successfully integrated into the social and political

¹¹ Nationalism was generally discredited in the after-war Western countries by the atrocities committed by fascist and Nazi regimes that had espoused the extreme nationalism (Sysyn, 1999).

¹² Two leading Ukrainian studies institutions were established in this period: Ukrainian history chair (1968) and Research Institute (1972) at Harvard University were created through

structures of the US and Canada. Thus, the institutional base for raising the issue of the Holodomor was in place by the 1980s. Ukrainians in Canada and the US intensified their efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor in the wake of the 50-th anniversary of the Holodomor and in the face of the persistent denial of it by Soviet authorities. Four projects initiated and sponsored by the North American Ukrainian Diaspora finally brought the Famine to the public's attention: a) production of the film *Harvest of Despair* (1984); b) the organization of scholarly conferences and publications, above all, Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow* (1986); c) the establishment of a US Congressional Commission on the Ukrainian Famine (1985); and d) the convening of an international commission of inquiry into the Famine (1988) (Sysyn, 1999).

When Ukraine gained independence in 1991, it seemed that the Diaspora could now take the Holodomor off its public agenda, since the examination and the research on the Ukrainian Famine had finally centred in Ukraine (Sysyn, 1999). But, in the early years of independence, Ukrainian officials paid little attention to this dramatic event in the history of their nation (Woronowycz, 2003). The active lobbying of nationalist-minded politicians, along with the support from the North American Diaspora, led to the adoption of the first important official document on the Holodomor in Ukraine. In 1998, the President of Ukraine issued a Presidential decree establishing the fourth Saturday in November as a National Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Holodomor and of political repression. The presidential decree required that local governments erect

donations by the Ukrainian community, and, later, the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta (1976) was opened through lobbying efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

monuments to the victims and hold special commemorative events and informational gatherings.¹³

In 2006 Ukraine's Parliament passed the law recognizing the Ukrainian Famine as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people. This law was introduced by President Yushchenko, who made the international recognition of the Holodomor one of the main items on his political agenda. The Holodomor was also one of the objectives of his official visit to Canada in May 2008. The Ukrainian community in Canada took this opportunity to accelerate the passage of the bill recognizing the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. The Canadian government unanimously passed the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act on May 29, 2008, doing both readings of the bill in one day.

Research Purpose

Attending the solemn ceremony on the Parliament Hill on the occasion of the passage of the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame in Ottawa¹⁴, the researcher had her

¹³ This decree was the reaction of the Ukrainian state to the executive proclamation of U.S. President Bill Clinton on the 65th anniversary of the Great Famine, which responded to the calls by the Ukrainian American community and joined them in the commemorative ceremony at St-Patrick's Cathedral in New-York city. Following this proclamation, the Association of Famine Researchers, headed by a well known dissident, lawyer and deputy of Verkhovna Rada Levko Lukianenko, turned to Ukraine's government and requested a similar decree from Ukraine's state leader, President Kuchma who responded by issuing the above-mentioned decree. "This was the first real attempt by the government to honor the victims of the famine", said later Levko Lukianenko in an interview by The Ukrainian Weekly. He acknowledged the very important role of the Diaspora in spreading the awareness of the Holodomor by stating that the only real successes that the Association of Famine Researchers achieved in Ukraine came as a result of cooperation with the Ukrainian Diaspora with the luck of support of the Ukrainian government up to 1998 (Woronowycz, 2003).

first serious reflection on this terrible tragedy of her own people. Growing in the Soviet Ukraine of the 1970s and 1980s, most of us who went to school and university did not know about the Great Famine of 1932-33, concealed under the thick silence of the Soviet regime. Even in the early 1990s, when the socialist system crashed and the seal of silence on free speech was broken, the researcher's generation still did not hear much about the immense trauma that affected so deeply and tragically the Ukrainian people's life and destiny. There were publications in the democratic nationalist-oriented press and in the academic literature, but the Great Famine of 1932-33 had not entered the public sphere. Ukrainians were too busy struggling to survive in the unpredictable economic chaos of "wild capitalism" that spread on the ruins of the old Soviet regime. Even now, after twenty years of independence and burgeoning democracy, the Holodomor still lingers at the margin of public interests and debates in Ukraine, but not so in the organized Ukrainian community in Canada.

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), an organization that represents Ukrainian Canadians before the people and Government of Canada and addresses the needs of the Ukrainian community in Canada, put the Holodomor on its agenda of important issues. It coordinates and supports the activities aimed at raising awareness of the Holodomor in Canada. The ceremony of the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame in Ottawa was one of them. Standing there, at the steps of the Parliament Hill, together with other Ukrainian Canadians, many of whom were born and grew up in Canada, the researcher reflected on the reasons that brought all these people to this

¹⁴ This relay was launched by Ukraine's Foreign Ministry and the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine on the initiative of the International Coordinating Committee of Ukrainian World Congress as part of the commemoration of the 75 anniversary of the Holodomor.

ceremony. Why do they care about a tragic event that happened more than seven decades ago, in a country that it is not theirs? The Holodomor did not touch them, or their families, personally. Why do they care? Why did they take on the difficult mission of telling the story of the genocide against the Ukrainian people and went on with it, facing distrust and denial, being called Nazis and rightist émigrés? After all, they were, and are, living in a democratic and free society that protects their civic rights. They do not have to worry how to make both ends meet at the end of the month, there is food on their table and their kids go to schools and universities. Why would these Ukrainian Canadians, living in today's Canada, care about the Holodomor that happened in Ukraine in 1932-1933?

This bond that unites people of the same nation across time and space is important. In the globalized world of today, more and more people leave their countries of origin, seeking better economic and professional opportunities for themselves and their children or fleeing political uncertainty and turmoil in their homeland. Settling in a new country, most often a developed country of the Western world, they form new ethnic communities or join Diaspora groupings that had been established in the host country by previous waves of immigration. What happens to the ethnic identity of these new diasporits in the process of their integration into the host society? Is it completely dissolved in the process of the formation of their new identity, based on the characteristics of host country's dominant nationality, or is it retained in some form? How do the diasporits of the second and third generation negotiate this dichotomy in their ethnic identity, inherited from their parents and grand-parents?

This is important, because more and more developed countries are dealing with the problem of incorporation of ethnic minorities into their society. What are the common

values that can facilitate a constructive dialogue between the government and these minorities, allowing for the development and maintenance of a civic society that respects the rights of all its members?

The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora's campaign to raise awareness of the Holodomor is important from the Canadian perspective. It can demonstrate how the Canadian government conducts the dialogue with ethnic communities within Canada. It can also show how a given ethnic community maintains its distinct ethnic identity, while contributing to the development and the well-being of the multicultural Canadian society.

Ukrainian Canadians' efforts to remember and share the story of the Holodomor are important from the Ukrainian perspective as well. Democracy in Ukraine is still at its initial stage and is fragile. Ukrainian society and its political elite are still struggling with a Soviet past that pushes them back into the sphere of Russian control. They still can not definitively embrace democratic freedoms that would open the door to the European Union for them. Knowing that the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada and the people and Government of Canada care about them, care about Ukraine's freedom and democracy and understanding why they care, can strengthen Ukrainians' determination in choosing the way towards a free and democratic society and can help them build it.

Finally, it is important for the researcher herself to understand why Ukrainian Canadians are raising awareness of the Holodomor, why they are keeping the memory of it alive, why it is important for them that Canada knows about this tragedy of the Ukrainian people. As a Ukrainian, born and raised in Ukraine, she was unaware of, and did not care about, this tragic page in the history of Ukrainian nation. Neither did the generations of Ukrainians who were born and grew up in Soviet Ukraine. Only after

having immigrated to Canada, and having joined the Ukrainian community in Canada, did she realize the importance and the centrality of the Holodomor in the history and formation of the Ukrainian nation. It was surprising to see the contrast between the ways in which this tragic event was dealt with in Ukraine itself and in the Ukrainian Diaspora. It is important for the researcher to understand this, because it is part of her Ukrainian Canadian identity, of the collective identity of the community she now belongs too – the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora.

The intuitive assessment of the reasons that motivate Ukrainian Canadians in their civic activism in raising awareness of the Holodomor is based on personal meetings and discussions that the researcher had with some of the members of the Ukrainian community, as well as on the study of the efforts of the Armenian Diaspora in the United States to spread awareness of the Armenian genocide (Chorbajian & Shirinian, 1999; Gregg, 2002) and the campaign of the Jewish Diaspora, mainly in the United States, to make Holocaust memory a part of common knowledge (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993; Levy & Sznajder, 2002; Postone & Santner, 2003).¹⁵ It is important to confirm these reasons through empirical study because they can elucidate and confirm the mechanisms of recreating and rethinking a collective ethnic identity in the postmodern reality, penetrated by individualism and the decline of national ideals. Such empirical research comes at a very appropriate time, given that the campaign led by Ukrainian Canadians to raise the awareness of the Holodomor is still an on-going project, one in which people of different

¹⁵ The parallelism between the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada and the Armenian and Jewish Diaspora in the United States is important not only because of the similarity of the terrible crimes committed against their respective nations, but also because the successful efforts of Jewish and Armenian communities in North-America inspired Ukrainian Canadians in their activities to spread the awareness and to obtain the recognition of The Holodomor as genocide against Ukrainian people (Satzewich, 2002; Sysyn, 1999).

professions and convictions are involved. Therefore, studying this campaign now can provide a relatively full description of the events and yield a valuable insight into the minds and feelings of those who participate in it.

To the researcher's knowledge, research on the contemporary efforts of Ukrainian Canadians to spread awareness of Holodomor has not been done, as yet, as an independent project. Frank Sysyn provides an excellent analysis of the role of the Ukrainian North-American Diaspora in research and public discussion of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-3 (1999). He describes how the Ukrainian communities in Canada and the United States have promoted the awareness of the Holodomor from 1930 to 1991 and how their efforts were influenced by the political and social context in North America throughout this period. There is also a short historical overview of different activities organized by the Ukrainian community, and the description of political and social means by which Ukrainians in North America raised awareness of the Holodomor, in the general study of the Ukrainian Diaspora by Victor Satzewich (2002). He sees the Diaspora's commemoration of the Holodomor as a way of solidifying ethnic solidarity and bridging political and ideological divisions within the Ukrainian Diaspora itself, on one hand, and as a way of maintaining the symbolic link with millions Ukrainians in Ukraine and across the world (Satzewich, 2002: 189), on the other hand. Empirical research on the contemporary efforts of Ukrainian Canadians to raise awareness of the Holodomor can confirm and complement the inventory of the different political and social means that an ethnic group uses to communicate its vital concerns to the government and the wider society, as well as to explain why this concern is vital and why it is important to communicate it.

Studying why a person or a group undertakes a certain action necessarily involves analyzing this action. In order to understand why Ukrainian Canadians are raising the awareness of the Holodomor one must examine how they are doing it. That is why two main research questions guide the thesis: a) what are the ways by which the Ukrainian community in Canada spreads the knowledge about the Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33? ; b) what motivates them in this campaign. Three main objectives help to elucidate the answers to the research questions:

1) inventory and explain the means and ways by which an ethnic minority constructs its identity in the pluralistic democratic society;

2) better understand the dynamics of interaction between historically defined and specific “ethnic” values of ethnic community and the universalistic human values of the civic society;

3) see how an ethnic community or Diaspora relates itself to the real or imagined country of origin and the country that hosts this community.

The overview of the research that sought to answer these questions in form of the MA thesis is presented below.

Thesis Overview

In the *Literature Review* chapter central concepts underlying the Holodomor awareness campaign by Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora are outlined and analyzed: human rights and social justice, cultural memory, diaspora, nation and nationalism. The modern interpretation of human rights is described through a brief history and analysis of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights. Major theoretical foundations of the modern concept of human rights are traced from the theory of natural rights as developed by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke and the theory of social contract articulated and elaborated by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The theory of social justice, which derives from and takes to a higher degree the theory of social contract, is explained, drawing on John Rawls' works. Finally, the concept of absolute human rights, as understood by John Finnis, is outlined. The theme of cultural memory is explained using the theoretical tenets of Nietzsche's will's memory and Maurice Halbwachs' social memory. The concept of cultural memory is defined drawing on Jan Assmann's understanding of collective memory. The concept of Diaspora is described, starting from its original meaning of groups of the same ethnicity who for different reasons left their homeland and settled across different nation – states, and going to the post-modern reading of the term Diaspora by Stuart Hall and James Clifford who underline the open, always in progress, construction of identity of present-day diasporits. The theme of positive meaning of nationalism is an elaboration on Benedict Anderson's broad definition of nation as imagined political communities and Anthony Smith's legitimization of nation by the political necessity of nationalism and by the social functionality of the national identity it creates. After a general discussion of all these themes, the problematic of the research is defined as the efforts deployed by Ukrainian Canadians to raise awareness of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 and the motivation behind these efforts: the sense of belonging to the same nation, the faith in Canadian ideals of human rights and social justice, the principle of universal humanity and the need to maintain the cultural memory as the foundation of ethnic identity.

In *Research Design and Methodology* chapter the qualitative explanatory case study design is explained and justified as the best approach to conduct the research. The chronological frame of the research is established as the 2003-2009 period. The data analyzed in the research come from two sources: archival records and in-depth interviews. Archival records include: official documents of Canada's federal and provincial governments, the curriculum documents of provincial ministries of education, articles and press-releases of Ukrainian Canadian organizations and web-sites dedicated to the history and commemoration of the Holodomor. Academic literature on the Holodomor is used to provide the historical background. Open, in-depth interviews with people involved in the Holodomor-awareness efforts were designed and conducted with the purpose of establishing reasons for these efforts. To identify interviewees, the purposeful sampling, was applied and seven people were identified as a result. After ethical clearance from the University of Ottawa was obtained, the interviews were conducted, recorded and transcribed. Content analysis, as the main method of processing and analyzing data, is justified for both the transcripts of in-depth interviews and the texts of federal and provincial documents related to the Holodomor.

The analysis itself is conducted in the Chapter *Analysis and Findings*. Since the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise awareness of the Holodomor are focused in three main areas, the chapter is structured accordingly to these areas. It starts with the political sphere: namely, the resolution of the Canadian Senate on the Holodomor and the Holodomor Memorial Act adopted by the Federal Government of Canada and the provincial governments of Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec. The preparatory work leading to the adoption of these documents is explained.

Content analysis of the text of these documents, as well as transcripts of parliamentary debates on the Holodomor bills, is done. Then the educational efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor are described: the process of introducing the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide into provincial school curricula is explained and the framing of the Holodomor in those curricula is examined. The third main area in which the Ukrainian Canadian community concentrates its Holodomor awareness efforts is recording the testimonies of Holodomor survivors. A brief historical overview of this process is provided, with a more detailed description of current projects. Then the content analysis of in-depth interviews with people involved in raising the awareness of the Holodomor is conducted in order to reveal the reasons behind these efforts. The findings of this analysis are compared to the results obtained through the content analysis of the political documents and synthesized.

In the *Conclusions* chapter the main results of the research are presented. It is stated that three main axes define the concerted efforts of the Ukrainian Diaspora in raising the awareness of the Holodomor at this stage: political sphere, educational system and recording witness accounts of those who survived the Holodomor. Ukrainian Canadians are driven by the sense of being part of the Ukrainian nation, or Ukrainianness, the need to tell the historical truth, and the belief in Canada's commitment to respect and protect human rights and the sense of being Canadian, or Canadianness.

Several important conclusions summarizing the research are then presented. It is stated that the Holodomor awareness campaign demonstrates the vitality of national feeling among the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora and its role as guardian of national memory. By telling the story of the Holodomor Ukrainian Canadians are re-actualizing their distinctive Ukrainian identity within the Canadian society. They are also helping

Ukraine in the reconstruction of historical memory and are providing support to the international campaign of the Ukrainian government to get the world community's recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. Through efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are contributing to the consolidation of Canadian society and its democratic values and are increasing Canada's international role as defender of human rights.

Finally, the limitations of the research are explained and directions for future research stemming from the MA thesis are outlined. The most promising project is the comparative analysis of the Ukrainian Diaspora's efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor and the Jewish Diaspora's campaign to get the recognition of the Holocaust. By discovering the general and specific ways of communication between a Diaspora and the mainstream society, such research would elucidate how an ethnic group shapes and preserves its distinct collective identity in the post-modern, denationalized world by defending issues important for their ethnicity or nation, and, on the other hand, how in the process this ethnic group influences and changes the society to which it communicates these issues.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Epistemology

Conducting research on how and why a non-dominant ethnic group raises an issue of universally human importance in the country in which this group lives and functions means identifying and understanding the ways in which this group and the host society interact: in other words, how they conduct the dialogue between them. As in any dialogue, one needs to know the personalities/identities of the parties involved in the process of communication. Therefore, before moving into studying the Holodomor awareness campaign led by Ukrainian Canadians, the identity of this ethnic group has to be conceptualized and the basic values and principles of Canadian society need to be described, as these values and principles define and shape the character of this society as a coherent whole.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is the primary reference in which Canadian society states its fundamental values and establishes political and legal activities that are based on, and conducted according to, these values. For that reason the researcher uses the Charter as the most reliable and recognized source in describing Canada as free and democratic society, based on the respect and protection of such fundamental human rights as right for life, right for food, and right for liberty.

These fundamental human rights were first legally and officially recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of United Nations in 1948. The Declaration reflects the influence of the natural rights theory

(Shestack, 1998: 215), based on the idea of natural rights that individuals have just by virtue of their status as human beings. These rights are not contingent upon the laws, customs, or beliefs of a particular society or polity. Therefore they are universal. Thomas Hobbes was the first philosopher who made natural rights the basis of his moral and political philosophy. Hobbes argued that it is human nature to love one's self best and seek one's own good. Because it is in the nature of human beings, it becomes a right to do so. To deny this right is to deny that we have a right to be human, since we *are* human beings by our nature, hence our rights are natural. Hobbes interpreted these rights not in the conventional sense of imposing obligations on others, but as a "liberty." Therefore, we as humans have no obligations by birth or nature, but only unlimited rights or freedoms, including the freedom to harm those who threaten our own interests and life. This leads to a situation known as "war of all against all", an unlimited chaos in which human beings kill, steal and enslave others in order to stay alive. To avoid this chaos and to live peacefully, we jointly agree to give up most of our natural rights and subject ourselves to civil law, or to political authority, that will govern the society and assure peace and order and protection of our rights (Hobbes, 2007). This is one of the earliest formulations of the social contract theory.

This theory is also developed in the works of an English philosopher of the Enlightenment period John Locke. He believed that in the hypothetical state of nature each individual is perfectly equal with every other, and all have the absolute liberty to act as they will, without interference from any other. But with the introduction of private property through laboring land, which leads to the emergence of the monetary system, an agreement among distinct individuals on the artificial value of money becomes necessary.

This need for agreement, in turn, gives rise to a social order based on the voluntarily consent of all individuals to surrender the right to enforce the natural law in defense of property interests to the community at large. Thus a government is created and all individuals who voluntarily choose to live within a society under this government implicitly or tacitly enter into the agreement to submit themselves and their property to its governance. In other words, they sign a social contract with this government (Locke, 2005).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1987) bases the social contract on popular sovereignty, which is indivisible and inalienable. This popular sovereignty arises when ordinary citizens give up their natural independence, expressed in political liberty, and create a “general will” in order to decide what is good for society as a whole, and the individual (including the administrative head of state, who could be a monarch) must bow to it, or be forced to bow to it.

The same voluntary collective agreement of citizens is necessary in order to achieve social justice that guarantees the respect and protection of human rights in any society (Shestack, 1998: 218). This concept was developed by John Rawls, who built, and took to a higher degree, the theory of social contract developed by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Social justice, as understood by John Rawls, is one of the concepts on which the present research is built, because the desire to restore historical justice for victims of the Holodomor and the belief in the social justice of Canadian society and Canada’s allegiance to the protection of human rights are at the heart of Ukrainian Diaspora’s efforts to raise awareness of the Great Ukrainian Famine of

1932-33. The concept of social justice is explained and elaborated later in the text, in the *Theories* section.

At the foundation of the Holodomor awareness efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community lies the memory of the Holodomor, part of the collective memory of Ukrainian Canadians. Through and by this memory they preserve their historical self-consciousness and their distinctive collective identity. Memory assures the continuity of existence of an individual, or of an entire group of individuals, and is an essential condition for their survival as a discrete and coherent entity.

Friedrich Nietzsche first drew attention to the bonding memory that constructs communities and mediates and maintains them (Assmann, 2006: 87-88). He discerned a natural memory that works hand in hand with forgetting and an artificial memory, the *will's memory* that prevents from forgetting in cases where a promise has to be made, a promise as an obligation that leads to future actions. The sense of the *will's memory* is "...an active desire to keep on desiring what has been, on some occasion, desired". This, says Nietzsche, "...is the long history of the origins of responsibility..." (1994: 39). In other words, the will's memory, which an individual creates artificially by selecting what he wants to remember, serves as the foundation of the moral reliability of this individual. He chooses not to forget because of the promise that he made to the other, thus the function of the moral memory of the individual is to tie him to the community. For this reason this memory is "connective" rather than collective (Assmann, 2006: 88).

The notion of collective, or social, memory was developed independently by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and art historian Aby Warburg as a response to the attempt to conceive collective memory in biological terms, as an inheritable or "racial

memory”. Both of them shifted collective knowledge from a biological framework into a cultural one (Assmann, 2001: 125).

Aby Warburg used, but never developed systematically, the notion of social memory. His work focused on the transmission of primitive and ancient motifs to later societies, especially their influence and meaning in Renaissance Florence. He believed that the key to deciphering art and culture lay in tracing the collective memory of primitive, primeval beliefs and responses that continued to shape our world through shared symbols (Confino, 1997: 1390). This collective or cultural memory is inscribed in “writing” in the broadest sense: signs, symbols, images, texts and rituals. Aby Warburg was more interested in these objectified cultural forms than in their psychological content (Assmann, 2006: 95).

In contrast, Maurice Halbwachs, who coined the term “collective memory”, studies it through the framework of psychology, stating that the power and persistence of memories is sustained not by tradition, but comes from feeling, from the individual’s need to belong to a group (Halbwachs, 1941). Halbwachs argues that, through everyday communication with others, each individual composes a memory of his own, an individual memory. These others are groups who conceive their unity and peculiarity through the common range of their past – families, neighborhood and professional groups, political parties, associations, etc., up to and including nations. Without membership and communication within a group, the individual is unable to organize his inner life and to shape his internal images as memories. The individual memories, which are socially mediated and related to a group, merge to form a collective memory which is shared, passed on, and also constructed by, the group or modern society.

For Halbwachs, a group builds its identity by reconstructing its past with its function for a given present. The past is remembered only in as far as is needed. The past is needed because it maintains and proves the togetherness of the group, just as the memory of the individual convinces him of his membership in the group. The bonds that tie the individual to different social formations and hold these formations together are feelings, love; that is why the collective memory has an affective nature (Assmann, 2006: 94).

The same affective or sentimental power has the sense of solidarity, fraternity with the others, of “a deep, horizontal comradeship” that serves as the most powerful and defining element of the community of nation (Anderson, 1991). This bond of fraternity has such an immense sentimental power over people that some of them are ready to die for their nation, and did so in the last two centuries. According to Anderson, we are naturally tied to a “nation-ness” as something that we can not choose, as we can not choose skin-color, gender, parentage and birth-era. Precisely because such ties are not chosen, they are free from concern for personal interest. “For most ordinary people of whatever class the whole point of the nation is that it is interestless” (Anderson, 1991: 144), and just for that reason, people are willing to sacrifice a lot, even their lives, for it.

The concept of nation rose to existence at a stage of human history when Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of divinely-ordained, hierarchical monarchies. The coming print-capitalism that brought urbanization and industrialization, greatly accelerating the rhythm of life, ruptured once and for all the ancient perception of temporality in which the origins of the world and of men were

essentially identical, and cosmology and history were indistinguishable¹⁶. The “transcontinental solidarities” of universal religions, such as Christendom and the Islamic Ummah, were broken down by the plurality of living religions. Men found themselves defenseless against the “everyday fatalities of existence”, and only the rising concept of nation as a permanent and stable fraternity across time and space could provide redemption from these fatalities (Anderson, 1991).

The sense of belonging to the Ukrainian nation provides the foundation for a distinctive collective identity for Ukrainian Canadians that distinguishes them from other Canadians. Ukrainian nationalism inspires the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora’s efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor: they feel love and compassion for the Ukrainians in Ukraine who fell victims of a great injustice; they need to remember the terrible death of their brothers and sisters and to honour their memory; they want the world to acknowledge the suffering of Ukrainians in the Holodomor and to recognize it for what it was – a planned and conscious attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation. That is why the concept of nation and the sense of belonging to that nation, nationalism, is essential in studying any community that identifies itself through, and is formed on, ethnic or national unity.

This unity can be real or imagined. Real because people belonging to the community share the same geographical and political space, as in a modern state; imagined because the members of the community are scattered all over the world, but the memory of their historical homeland and common culture provides a powerful bond that holds this community together. This bond not only ties together different communities of

¹⁶ See the section on collective memory about Terdiman’s rupture of the continuous past and the necessity to understand and relate it through history.

the same ethnicity or nationality, it also ties them to the country of their origin, their historical homeland, and defines them as Diaspora.

There are three essential elements that characterize an ethnic community as a Diaspora: 1) self-awareness of belonging to an ethnic or national social formation, distinct from the nation-state of which a given ethnic group is part; 2) the link with a homeland, or country of the origin¹⁷; 3) after dispersal from the homeland, there must be a minimum of two destinations as a necessary precondition for the formation of links between the various populations in Diaspora (Butler, 2001). In other words, the definition of “Diaspora” refers to the connection between groups of the same ethnicity who for different reasons left their homeland and settled across different nation – states. These groups share an original but, maybe remote, homeland. They construct a new identity blending the culture of their ancestors with the culture of their new country.

Cohen (1997) points out that the term “Diaspora” was originally related to processes of migration and colonization. In the 1970s, it referred more narrowly to population categories that have experienced forceful or violent expulsion processes, the classical and most used example of such a population being Jews or, occasionally, Palestinians and Armenians (Cohen, 1997) and Greeks (Butler, 2001). This type of Diaspora was identified with the sense of powerlessness, longing, exile and displacement, particularly strongly associated with the Jewish Diaspora (Butler, 2001). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, scholars in the area of Black studies began to use increasingly the term African Diaspora or the Black Atlantic. By the 1990s, any group that had a history of

¹⁷ This homeland is metaphoric rather than territorial: the group need not be identified with a nation state but must constitute itself as a population category, usually a nation or ethnic group (Cohen, 1997).

migration and community formation was termed a Diaspora (Safran, 1991; Akenson, 1995).

Floya Anthias explains this wide popularity of the Diaspora concept partially by the perceived failures of the ethnicity and race paradigms and partially by the influence of the postmodern versions of the Diaspora, found in the influential writing of diasporic Black writers like Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy (Anthias, 1998: 558). Paul Gilroy considers Diaspora a valuable idea because it is “an alternative to the metaphysics of ‘race’, nation and bonded culture coded into the body” (Gilroy, 1997: 328). In his book *The Black Atlantic* (1993) Paul Gilroy explores the Black cultures of America, Britain, and the Caribbean, using the intermediate concept of transnational Diaspora that “...break the dogmatic focus on discrete national dynamics which characterized modern Euro-American cultural thought and reinstate the role of ‘intercultural positionality’...” (Gilroy 1993: 6). Gilroy rejects the notion of an essential Black subject and the unifying dynamics of Black culture. Instead, he relies on the concept of Diaspora, as a heuristic device, to focus on differences and sameness of the connective culture across different national Black groups in the Atlantic basin (Anthias, 1998). He shows that this culture, resulting from transnational migrations and settlement, is not specifically African, American, Caribbean, or British, but all of these at once, a Black Atlantic culture whose themes and techniques transcend ethnicity and nationality.

This transnational character of Diaspora is very relevant in describing the Ukrainian community in Canada. Ukrainian Canadians identify themselves both with the Ukrainian and with the Canadian nation. Through the Holodomor awareness efforts they keep alive the memory of the Holodomor that re-actualizes the Ukrainian part of their

identity, and at the same time they confirm their belief in the democratic values of the Canadian society that re-affirms their feeling of being Canadians. Their identity is open to both worlds: Ukrainian and Canadian. By telling the story of a remote historical event in present day society, Ukrainian Canadians root their identity in the past of the Ukrainian nation and strengthen the democratic present and future of Canadian society.

This openness and hybridity of Diaspora finds its articulate expression in the works of Stuart Hall and James Clifford. Their modern reading of Diaspora is presented in the *Theories* section, which also includes theories pertinent to the research on the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora's campaign to get recognition of the Holodomor: John Rawls' theory of social justice and John Finnis' interpretation of human rights, Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory and the positive reading of nationalism by Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson.

Theoretical Foundation

Human Rights and Social Justice

As mentioned earlier, The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is used in the research as the main document describing the democratic values and freedoms of Canadian society. The Charter forms the first part of the Constitution Act, which was adopted by the Parliament of Canada in 1982. Before the Constitution was adopted, the rights of Canadians were stated in the Canadian Bill of Rights. The Bill was an ordinary Act of Parliament which could be amended by a simple majority of Parliament, and it was applicable only to the federal government; that is why the further protection of human rights was needed. Moreover, the Bill of Rights did not contain all of the rights

that are now included in the Charter (e.g., the right to vote and freedom of movement within Canada were not found in the Bill). Pierre Trudeau played a decisive role in the initiation and the carrying out of efforts leading to the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In the capacity of Attorney General of Canada he appointed law professor Barry Strayer to research and prepare a draft of bill of human rights. Later, as Liberal leader and prime-minister of Canada, he advocated strongly for a constitutional bill of rights, and finally succeeded with the passage of Canada Act 1982. Pierre Trudeau saw the Charter as a document representing Canada's national values and national unity, a "...society where all people are equal and where they share some fundamental values based upon freedom" (Trudeau, 1993: 322-323).

The Charter states and describes fundamental freedoms: democratic guarantees, freedom of movement, legal rights, equality and language rights. The fundamental freedoms include freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of thought, freedom of belief, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and of other media of communication, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association. The mobility rights refer to the right to enter and leave Canada, and to move to and take up residence in any province, or to reside outside Canada. Equality rights are linked to the equal treatment of a person before and under the law, and equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination. Language rights deal generally with the right of Canadians to use English or French in their communication with the federal government. The last block of rights, the minority language education rights, describes rights for members of French or English-speaking minority communities to be educated in their own language (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms).

The fundamental freedom of expression and the legal right to life, liberty and security of person are a very important part of the theoretical framework of the thesis, because the belief in, and support of, the sacredness of human life was and is one of the powerful engines that drive the civic activism of Ukrainian Canadians in raising awareness of the Holodomor. As articulated in the Canadian Charter: “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice”. Lives of millions of Ukrainians were taken in the Famine orchestrated by Stalin’s regime, with the deliberate intent to crush the resistance of Ukrainian peasants. Deprived of the possibility to rescue their brothers and sisters, Ukrainian Canadians have tried to save at least the memory of those lost lives by telling Canadians the story of the Holodomor. Living in a free and democratic country that values and guarantees the freedom of expression for its citizens, Ukrainian Canadians can present their perspective on the Holodomor without fearing the persecution by state institutions, as was not the case in the Soviet Union.

They thus exercise their right to communicate, the right that was not explicitly stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, but was conceptualized in the Article 19 under the term “Right to Information” (Winder and Wedermeyer, 2009: 45). The focus was on acknowledging the basic human right to the freedom of opinion and expression and to the access to information. Jean D’Arcy, French public servant and diplomat, shifted the right to information to the right to communicate, providing a new way of protecting human rights in the context of fast-developing information and communication technologies (Winder & Wedermeyer, 2009: 46). He believed that human beings have a specific, a biological, need to communicate and if a society would be cut

off from that communication it would mean the annihilation of that society (Dakroury, 2008: 28). In the Great Famine of 1932-33 Ukrainians in Ukraine were deprived of this right, silenced to death by the totalitarian Soviet regime¹⁸. Seventy years later Ukrainians in Canada are using this right to tell the story of the Holodomor. The right to communicate is described in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms under the fundamental freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication (Canadian Charter).

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was inspired to a great extent by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Hogg, 2003: 689) that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The atrocities of the Nazi regime during World War II made the international community realize the necessity to secure respect for, and provide the legal protection of, human rights. Upon the creation of United Nations in 1945, the official UN Commission on Human Rights was established in June 1946. The principal task of the Commission was to define which rights should be enumerated and to decide the format of the document that would state and explain these rights. It was an unprecedented case in the history – never before had the world community tried to identify and describe rights and freedoms that would be recognized in all countries and in all times. After three years of intensive study, heated debate and innumerable negotiations with public and private human rights organizations, the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was presented before the full General Assembly and was adopted without dissent on December 10, 1948.

¹⁸ It was forbidden to even mention the word “famine” in the Soviet press of that period (Mace, 1986b: 49).

The importance of this document is hard to overestimate, for it became a powerful, internationally recognized, point of reference for the promotion and protection of human rights and freedoms. Over the years it evolved from an articulation of shared values, which UN Member States had a moral obligation to protect, to a building block of customary international law that all the states have to respect (Frank and Eleonor Roosevelt Institute, 1998). The human rights treaties were drafted according to the Declaration, and numerous countries included the list of rights in national constitutions and bills of rights (Morsink, 1999).

The philosophical foundation of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights lies in the works of European philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment, such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Their theories of natural rights and social contract were used by John Rawls to develop the notion of social justice (1999).

According to John Rawls, to create a society based on social justice, free and rational persons, concerned to further their own interests, should define and accept, in an initial position of equality, the principles that determine the fundamental terms of their association. These principles are to regulate all further agreements; they specify the kinds of social cooperation that can be entered into and the forms of government that can be established. An initial position of equality means that all persons have to be equal: no one knows his place in society, his social status, his intelligence, his wealth and so on. The principles of justice are chosen behind a “veil of ignorance” that makes invisible the advantages and disadvantages of natural chance or social circumstances. Therefore they ensure the fairness of the initial situation in which individuals as moral persons, that is as rational beings with their own ends and capable of a sense of justice, agree upon

principles of justice. This explains the propriety of the name “justice as fairness”: the principles of justice are agreed to in an initial situation that is fair (Rawls, 1999: 17).

Principles of social justice provide a way of assigning rights and duties in the basic institutions of society and they define the appropriate distribution of the benefits and burdens of social cooperation in a well-ordered society. This society advances the good of its members and is effectively regulated by a public conception of justice which makes the secure association of people with different self-interests possible. “Among individuals with disparate aims and purposes a shared conception of justice establishes the bonds of civic friendship; the general desire for justice limits the pursuit of other ends” (Rawls, 1999: 5). Thus, a public conception of justice constitutes the fundamental character of a well-ordered society in which everyone accepts and knows that the others accept the same principles of justice, and the basic social institutions generally satisfy, and are generally known to satisfy, those principles.

John Rawls’s concept of public or social justice is based on two principles: that of equal basic liberties and that of difference. The principle of equal basic liberties protects the classical liberal freedoms of conscience, association, expression, and the like. These liberties can not be accessible to all of the members of a society equally, since access to them is conditioned by our position on the social ladder. However, we should ensure at least the “fair worth” of our liberties: anyone who lives in society should have a life worth living, with enough effective freedom to pursue personal goals. Through this fair equality of opportunity John Rawls moves to the difference principle. This principle holds that social and economic inequalities, for instance, the inequalities of wealth and authority, are just only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, and in

particular for the least advantaged members of society. The intuitive idea is that, since everyone's well-being depends upon a scheme of cooperation, without which no one could have a satisfactory life, the division of advantages should be such as to draw forth the willing cooperation of everyone taking part in it, including those less well situated. The cooperation of all the members of the society is a necessary condition of the welfare of all. The two principles mentioned provide a fair basis for this cooperation.

But the welfare of all, or of the society as a whole, does not override the inviolability of each person particularly. The loss of freedom for some can not be justified by a greater good shared by others. In a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled. The rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests (Rawls, 1999: 3).

One might say that these rights are therefore absolute, as John Finnis calls them (Finnis, 1980: 225). These absolute or natural rights include the right to life, the right to the truth (or the right not to be positively lied to) in any situation, the related right not to be condemned on knowingly false charges, the right not to be deprived of one's procreative capacity and the right to be taken into respectful consideration while assessing what the common good requires (Finnis, *ibid*). All these rights derive from one of the requirements of practical reasonableness elaborated by Finnis. This requirement states that it is always unreasonable to choose directly against any basic value, be it in oneself or in any other human being (Finnis, 1980: 118).

Basic values, as universal and self-evident forms of good, include life, knowledge and truth, practical reasonableness itself, play, aesthetic experience and religion. Practical reasonableness shapes one's participation in the other basic goods, guides one's

commitments, one's selection of projects and one's actions aimed at carrying these projects out (Finnis, 1980: 100). The good of practical reasonableness means being able "to bring one's own intelligence to bear effectively on the problems of choosing one's actions and lifestyle and shaping one's own character". (Finnis, 1980: 88). Negatively, this means that one has a measure of effective freedom. In other words, one knows what the limits of one's freedom are. Positively, it involves one trying to act intelligently and reasonably and develop intelligent and reasonable habits and attitudes.

Absolute human rights that derive from, and are defined by, the principle of practical reasonableness are not infinite. They are limited by each other, and by other aspects of the common good, which can be indicated by expressions such as "public morality", "public health", "public order" (Finnis, 1980: 218). These absolute human claim-rights formulated by Finnis resonate with John Rawls' affirmation that the rights secured by justice are settled and do not depend on political bargaining or the interplay of social interests.

But this is exactly what happened in the Holodomor: the inalienable rights to life and dignity of Ukrainian peasants were sacrificed for the political interests of Stalin's regime. That is why Ukrainian Canadians who, along with other Canadians, value and share the principles of a free, just and democratic society, are telling the story of the Holodomor, the great injustice done to their brothers and sisters in Ukraine.

Cultural Memory

The tragedy of the Holodomor serves as a bond which ties Ukrainians across continents, reminding Ukrainians living outside Ukraine about their heritage and their historical

identity. Some of them take that heritage on and consciously make it part of their lives and their identity, some incorporate it only occasionally and some leave it behind completely. For those who make a conscious effort to preserve their national legacy, the events that shaped the historical path and the identity of people in the county of their ancestors serves as a canvas into which the collective memory of ethnic groups and nations is woven.

The notion of collective memory was developed by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1941). He saw it as a sum of individual memories that an individual builds through communication with other members of the group to which that individual belongs. Membership and communication within a group serve as the medium and the instrument by which an individual organizes his inner life and shape his internal images as memories. Through these memories he connects with the group, because individual memories merge to form a collective memory which is shared, passed on, and also constructed, by the group or modern society.

Speaking about collective memory, Halbwachs makes a distinction between social memory and historical memory. Social memory is the memory of things that were experienced by the individual and the group to which this individual belongs. Historical memory is not immediate; it has been recreated through films, books, schools and national holidays (Halbwachs, 1980).

Drawing on works by Halbwachs, Jan Assmann develops the concepts of communicative memory and cultural memory. Communicative memory is similar to Halbwachs' social memory. This is a collective, everyday memory that we constitute in informal communication with others. It has a limited temporal horizon and extends no

more than eighty to one hundred years in the past. That is as far as it can be transmitted from one generation to another without losing its sense and content (Assmann, 1995: 127). The temporal horizon of communicative memory shifts along the passage of time and is not fixed in any point that could serve as a landmark in the ever expanding past. Such fixity can only be achieved through a conscious cultural effort which creates an “objectivized culture” – texts, images, rites, buildings, monuments, cities and so on.

For Halbwachs, these forms of “objectivized” culture spell the end to the collective memory, because the group relationship and the contemporary reference are lost in this form of knowledge. Jan Assmann, on the contrary, affirms that a close connection to groups and their identity still exists in objectivized culture and in organized or ceremonial communication. He calls this knowledge the “concretion of identity” meaning that “...a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allow the group to reproduce its identity” (Assmann, 1995: 128) and to create what Assmann calls a *cultural memory*¹⁹.

In contrast to the communicative memory, the cultural memory is distant from everyday life, it is transcendent. Its horizon does not change with the passing of time because it has its fixed points- fateful events of the past, “figures of memory” that are preserved and remembered in “objectivized” culture (texts, rites, monument) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance) (Assmann, 1995: 129). In sum, Jan Assmann understands cultural memory as the knowledge preserved in the

¹⁹ This term was first introduced by Jan Assmann together with Aleida Assmann in their studies of rituals, myths, texts and remembering in ancient Egypt (Assmann, 2006: 3).

collective memory of a group or a society and the process by which this group or a society constructs its identity on this knowledge.

Cultural or representational memory emerges when memories of the events that actually happened, non-representational memories, cease to exist. Pierre Nora was the first to indicate this distinction between memory as natural remembering and communicating of real events, or as communicative memory, and history, a subjective representation of what historians or governments believe is crucial to remember (Nora, 1989). When memory can no longer provide social cohesion, history takes over this role. Pierre Nora believes this happened in the 19th century with the formation of European nation states, which in their ascendancy relied on national historical narratives to provide continuity through identity (Nora, 1989).

For Richard Terdiman, the French Revolution marks the moment when the continuous past was broken. The radical change of a political system, as well as industrialization and urbanization, made life more complex and people's understanding of the new society increasingly difficult. They could not relate anymore to what happened before the Revolution, the implicit meaning of the past was lost, and in order to make sense of the past it had to be represented through history (Terdiman, 1993). That is how memory has become a matter of explicit signs, not of implicit meanings (Olick, 2003: 3). The Ukrainian Canadian community installed these signs in their own collective memory, as well in the memory of Canadian society. The Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act adopted by the federal government, and acts recognizing the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people that were passed by the provincial legislatures of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec

constitute such signs and attest to the successful efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise awareness of the Holodomor, although the road leading to this success was long and tortuous.

Diaspora

The organized Ukrainian community in North America widely uses the term “Diaspora” to identify itself as a distinct group within the mainstream society (Satzewich, 2002: 13), and to underline its actively maintained links with Ukraine and Ukrainian culture. These links form the distinctive Ukrainian specificity of the Ukrainian Canadian community that is also deeply rooted in the Canadian culture and Canadian society. The dichotomy of two essential elements of the Ukrainian Canadian collective identity – Ukrainianness and Canadianness – means that they do not belong to one culture and to one country. They blend the traditions and culture of their ancestral homeland with the culture and tradition of the country in which they live; their identity is a hybrid identity that incorporates both cultures, both traditions – Ukrainian and Canadian.

This “intercultural positionality”, or *hybridity*, is an essential characteristic of the interpretation of the Diaspora by Stuart Hall as he tries to reconstruct an approach to cultural identity and “race” which avoids the pitfalls of essentialism and reductionism:

The Diaspora experience as I intend it here, is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference: by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference.

(Hall, 1990: 235).

In this constantly configuring process the diasporic culture emerges related to, yet distinct from, both the original home and host cultures. These hybrid Diasporas and their cultures retain strong links to, and identifications with, the homeland. But they do not cherish the illusion of any actual “return” to the past, because even, and if, they return to the place of their origin, it will have been changed by the “remorseless processes of modern transformation”. These new Diasporas do identify themselves with the cultures of their origin, but they have to understand and to incorporate, to “process”, the cultures they inhabit, without simply assimilating to them. They will never be bearers of the unified national culture in the old sense because they are the places in which several cultures and histories interlock, because they belong at the same time to several “homes” – and thus to no one particular home. “They are the product of a diasporic consciousness. They have come to terms with the fact that in the modern world ...identity is always an open, complex, unfinished game – always under construction” (Hall, 1993: 362).

Homi Bhabha’s “transnational cosmopolitanism” (1996: 204) rests on the same image of hybridity that symbolizes the cultural adaptiveness and innovation of new diasporits. Negotiating cultural differences in the “cultural translation” between home and host, between dominant and marginal discourse, these diasporits or hybrid subjects, open up a “third space” in which they can deploy cultural strategies to actively resist domination and marginalization (Bhabha, 1994)²⁰. In this “third space of Enunciation” the notion of an inter-national culture is opened, the culture “not based on exoticism or multi-culturalism of the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s hybridity.” By exploring this “Third Space” we may elude the politics of

²⁰ An image of such diasporic individual in Bhabha is of the cosmopolitan rootless but routed intellectual (1990).

polarity or binary opposition between colonizer and colonized, civilized and savage, centre and margin, First and Third World (Bhabha, 1994).

The metaphor of hybridity, of cultural translation, or moving, between dominant and marginal culture is present in James Clifford's motif of travel as a basis of the new concept of culture of people who change countries and continents. In order to study this culture, Clifford proposes "to focus on hybrid, cosmopolitan experiences as much as on rooted, native ones" and to "rethink culture and its science, anthropology, in terms of travel" (Clifford, 1992: 101). Clifford shifts the concept of culture away from the *roots* and toward *routes* instead (Sinclair, 2000: 18). Culture as travel, as maintenance and negotiation between home and host, margin and center, is the core element of his notion of "discrepant cosmopolitanisms" as a historical, comparative, and class- and gender-sensitive formulation of the concept of Diaspora: "What is at stake is a comparative cultural studies approach to specific histories, tactics, everyday practices of dwelling *and* traveling: traveling-in-dwelling, dwelling-in-traveling" (Clifford, 1992: 108). This emphasis on the specific histories of particular Diasporas, this "historicizing" of the concept of Diaspora can prevent the danger that it will become a master trope for poststructuralist discourse or figure for modern, complex, or positional identities (Clifford, 1997: 266). The unifying theme of these historicized, or different, types of Diasporas across time and space is the concept of Diaspora as "a practice of dwelling (differently), as an ambivalent refusal or indefinite deferral of return, and as a positive transnationalism" (Ibid: 269).

These postmodern versions of Diaspora (Hall 1990, Gilroy 1993, Clifford 1994, Brah 1996) refer to a *condition*, rather than description, of a group (Anthias, 1998). It is

shaped through the trajectory of movement, dwelling and traveling across nations made possible by postmodernity and globalization. “This condition is put into play through the experience of being *from* one place and *of* another” (Anthias, 1998: 565), in which the particular sentiments towards the homeland remain, but they are formed by the sense of belonging to the host country. The interplay of these two sentiments necessary leads to the construction of identity in and through difference, producing differential forms of cultural accommodation or syncretism. In the increasing globalization that accelerates and enlarges the trans-national and trans-ethnic mixing, a diasporic space is created that transgresses the boundaries of ethnicity and nationalism (Brah, 1996).

The Diaspora process by its very nature transgresses the boundaries of nationalism and the borders of nations-states, but does not suppress them: in both the classical meaning of the term Diaspora as the movement, migration, or scattering of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland (Merriam-Webster online) and the post-modern reading of it as a *social condition*, the essential dichotomy of the homeland and the host country is preserved. Both the notion of *homeland* and the notion of the *host country* or *host society* express the idea of belonging and self-identification with a community that shares a common culture. The particular form of this community varies according to the historical circumstances in which the Diaspora process occurs, the most developed and the most recent form being a *nation*.

Nation and Nationalism

Anderson defines a nation as an *imagined political community* (1991: 6). It is imagined because every member of this community bears in his/her mind an image of his/her

communion with other members, being physically incapable of meeting or knowing them personally. This community is imagined as limited because even the largest of nations has boundaries that distinguish it from other nations. It is imagined as *sovereign* because the sovereign state is the only way for a nation, and for people who belong to that nation, to be free.

As Anthony Smith puts it, “the modern nation has become what ethno-religious communities where in the past: communities of history and destiny that confer on mortals a sense of immortality through the judgment of posterity, rather than through divine judgment in the afterlife” (1995: 158-9). Being a modern heir and transformation of the much older and commoner *ethnie*²¹, nation gathers to itself all the symbols and myths of pre-modern ethnicity, drawing from there its historical embeddedness.

When the powers of monarchies had been eroded and transferred to the people, the unavoidable question arose “who are these people”, and nationalists provided a general answer in the shape of a historic community of public culture, a nation. They stated that this community should possess a distinctive political personality, a state, in which people belonging to the community could realize their sovereignty and their collective will and through which they could collectively identify themselves. That is why, as long as the modern world order is based on a balance of competing states, “the principle of nationality provides the only widely acceptable legitimation and focus of popular mobilization” (Smith, 1995: 147).

²¹ An *ethnie*, in Anthony Smith’s definition, is a looser cultural unit than nation. It shares common ancestry, myths and historical memories, has elements of shared culture, and some link with the historic territory and some measure of solidarity, at least among its elites (Smith, 1995: 57).

The strength of nationalism lies not only in its political necessity, but also in the social functionality of the national identity it creates. The national identity concentrates the energies of socially and ethnically heterogeneous individuals and groups within a clearly demarcated “homeland” in which all citizens are deemed to be brothers and sisters, creating thus a public culture that encompasses the heterogeneity of population. The myths, memories, symbols and ceremonies of nationalism are the sole basis for the social cohesion and political action of modern societies.

Finally, the last important reason for the popularity and the vitality of nationalism is the historical embeddedness of the nation, discussed above. It is not the historicity itself of the nation that it is important, but its linking with national destiny. By interpreting the ethnic past, nations shape their future, and this “...works most powerfully to uphold and preserve a world of nations” (Smith, 1995: 159).

Synthesis

The capacity to interpret the past is naturally and necessarily based on memory. The fundamental connection between memory and the nation was recognized and developed by scholars and politicians since at least the 19th century. National historical narratives as a linear descent became the source of legitimating traditions of emerging nation - states and the bedrock of national identity. The notion of collective memory was born precisely from the nexus between memory and nation, in the crucible of a statist agenda (Olick, 2003: 5). The dramatic social changes of the 20th century led to the discrediting and criticism of nationalism as an intellectually incoherent, socially extremist and politically destabilizing and divisive ideology, and to the demise of the memory-nation-state. Recent

theories of nationalism, by historicizing the nation as an identitarian as well as political form, make it existentially and socially necessary. And even if in postmodernity other identities compete or supplant the national identity, “they draw on – and are increasingly nostalgic for – the uniquely powerful forms of memory generated in the crucible of the nation state” (Olick, 2003: 2).

Thus, memory remains one of the building blocks of identity, whether national or otherwise, and the relation between memory and identity has been in the center of a variety of intellectual agendas in the past twenty years (Olick & Robbins, 1998). This scholarly interest has largely followed the political developments related to the decline of the nation-state paradigm and the rise of pluralistic and inclusive civic society: increase of redress claims and willingness of governments to acknowledge the injustices, ethnical minority politics, politics of victimization and regret, as well as the fall of totalitarian regimes (Olick, 2003: 4).

All these political developments testify also to another fundamental element of individual and collective identity - sense of justice, discussed earlier. Calling on the Canadian government to recognize the Famine-Terror of 1932-33 in Ukraine as a genocide committed against their brothers and sisters of the Ukrainian nation, Ukrainians in Canada are seeking the restoration of historical truth and justice, actualizing, through their remembering, the sense of their origin and belonging to the Ukrainian nation as well as asserting their identity as a distinct ethnic community in mainstream Canadian society.

The Ukrainian Canadian community was and is united in the Holodomor awareness efforts by a shared belief in the sacredness of human life and human rights and in the fairness and justice of the Canadian society. Ukrainian Canadians were and are

driven by compassion and a sense of common ancestry, culture and historical memories. By raising awareness of the genocide, committed by Stalin's regime, Ukrainian Canadians pay homage to their fallen brothers and sisters, keeping alive the cultural memory of Ukrainians across countries and generations and strengthening their distinct ethnic identity within Canadian society. By successfully gaining Canadian support in recognizing the Holodomor as genocide, Ukrainian Canadians reaffirm their belonging to, and belief in, Canadian society and the high principles of social justice and respect of human rights on which this society is built.

Telling the story of the Holodomor is one of the central themes that define the civic activism of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. This activism includes efforts on behalf of organizations representing the Ukrainian community in Canada, as well as individual initiatives of Ukrainian Canadians. It consists of all kinds of actions: commemorative ceremonies, political lobbying, sponsoring and conducting academic research on the Holodomor, initiating educational projects, writing books and producing films dedicated to the Holodomor. Most of the people involved in these actions do not have any personal relation to the Great Famine tragedy: only a few of them are direct descendants of the victims or survivors of the Holodomor. The profound sense of solidarity with their Ukrainian brothers and sisters across time and space, as well as the respect for human life and dignity and the belief in the democratic values of Canadian society, drive their efforts to tell Canadians the truth about a genocide committed against the Ukrainian people.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

Concepts

Given all of these considerations, the problematic of the proposed research can be defined as the efforts deployed by Ukrainian Canadians to raise awareness of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 and the motivation behind these efforts. The conceptual framework, through which the problematic is studied, is built, first of all, on the notion of *cultural memory* as defined by Jan Assmann: collective memory that is shared, passed on and constructed by the individuals and institutions that belong to a group, whether this group is an ethnic minority or the modern society as a whole (Assmann, 2006). On this collective memory a group constructs its identity. As most of the Ukrainian Canadians who took on the mission to bring the Holodomor to wide attention have not experienced this great tragedy personally, this knowledge was mediated first through the eyewitnesses of Ukrainians who survived the Great Famine and escaped to the West, and later was institutionalized by numerous Ukrainian Canadian organizations involved in the civic action of raising awareness of the Holodomor within Canada and internationally.

The theory of *social justice*, as developed by John Rawls, is another building block of the theoretical framework of the research. As mentioned earlier, the researcher believes that one of the powerful motives for civic action by Ukrainian Canadians aimed at the spreading the information and maintaining the remembrance of the Holodomor is their faith in the justness and democratic ideals of Canadian society and the sacredness of

human life. John Rawls' theory of justice as fairness is based on the principle of equal basic liberties, such as freedoms of conscience, association, expression, and the difference principle that ensures that inequality in society works to the benefit of the least advantaged²². It places the inviolability of each person above the greater good shared by others. Therefore the society, in which all members, regardless of background, have basic human rights²³ and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society, is built on the principles of *social justice*. Canada is such a society. Ukrainian Canadians, as part of this society, share and support the democratic ideals of justice and freedom. This is one of the motives behind Ukrainian Canadians' efforts to tell the story of the Holodomor.

The concept of *Diaspora* is also used to frame theoretically the proposed research. There are three main reasons for choosing the term *Diaspora* instead of *ethnic group* or *ethnic community* as a heuristic device to study the Ukrainian community. The first reason is that the organized part of the Ukrainian community in Canada largely uses the term *Diaspora* to identify itself as a distinct group within the Canadian society (Satsevich, 2002). Secondly, the post-modern interpretation of *Diaspora* as an open, complex, and unfinished process of constructing a hybrid identity, elaborated in the works of Stuart Hall and James Clifford, reflects the on-going process of creating the cultural memory and collective identity of Ukrainian Canadian community. Raising awareness of the Holodomor within the community itself, and in Canadian society at large, is one of the central themes of this "concretion of identity", to use Assmann's expression (Assmann,

²² See the detailed explanation in the Literature review.

²³ These rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom of expression, and equality before the law, as well as social, cultural and economic rights, including the right to participate in culture, the right to food, the right to work, and the right to education, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1995). Thirdly, the post-modernist reading of the term Diaspora avoids the essentialist and reductionist term of race and ethnicity (Anthias, 1998).

However, in spite of the emphasis on the dynamic nature and hybridity of Diaspora identity and culture in the post-modern concept of Diaspora, this term can not avoid the essential dichotomy of the homeland and the host country. Any ethnic community which constitutes a Diaspora constructs its culture and identity through the self-identification with the nation from which this community originates. That is why the Benedict Anderson's concept of nations as "imagined political communities" is used in the proposed research to underline the conscious process by which an ethnic community "imagines" or creates its identity and culture. Another definition of nation, proposed by Anthony Smith²⁴, is built, among other commonalities, on shared myths and memories and designated homeland. These two elements are part of the collective identity of an ethnic community. That is why the term *nationalism*, derived from the term *nation* as understood by Anderson and Smith, is the fourth building block of the theoretical framework for this research on the Holodomor-awareness civic campaign led by Ukrainian Canadians.

Thus, four concepts are used to frame the research of the Holodomor awareness efforts by Ukrainian Canadian community. They are operationalized as follows:

Cultural memory as a collective memory that is shared, passed on and constructed by the individuals and institutions that belong to a group that clearly identifies itself, and is identified by others, as a unity based on common ethnic roots and distinct culture.

²⁴ A nation is "a named human population which shares myths and memories, a mass public culture, a designated homeland, economic unity and equal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1995: 56-57).

Diaspora as a minority group whose members maintain a distinct culture and collective identity that is built on a continuous interplay between the memory of, and symbolical identification with, the ancestral homeland and the reality of the embeddedness in the culture and the society of the country in which they live now.

Social justice as a principle of the organization of society in which all members of a society, regardless of background, have basic human rights²⁵ and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society.

Nationalism as a sense of belonging to a nation and the manifestation of this sense in the constructive acts of caring for people of this nation.

Research Questions

Based on the introductory reading of the academic literature on the subject, some preliminary research and researcher's knowledge of the Ukrainian Canadian community, two main research questions were formulated:

1. How has the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada raised awareness of the Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 within Canadian society?
2. What are the motivating forces behind this civic action?

The following sub-questions will help to elucidate and elaborate the main questions:

²⁵ These rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom of expression, and equality before the law, as well as social, cultural and economic rights, including the right to participate in culture, the right to food, the right to work, and the right to education, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- a) What political and social means have Ukrainian Canadians used to communicate the Holodomor tragedy to Canadian society at large and to the Canadian government in particular?
- b) What is the main message of the Holodomor awareness efforts deployed by the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora?
- c) What are the reasons for the involvement of Ukrainian Canadian organizations and individuals in this civic action?

Research Design

Since the present thesis seeks to describe in detail the Holodomor awareness efforts and to gain an in-depth knowledge of the motivation of Ukrainian Canadian community in this campaign, a qualitative explanatory case study research design is best suited for this research. The problematic of the proposed study covers the process of creating a social identity and understanding the meaning of a traumatic historical event within a specific social context by a specific group of people and describes the causes underlying this process. This prospective is proper to qualitative research, in which the researchers “...use a language of cases and contexts,..., examine social processes and cases in their social context, and look at interpretations or the creation of meaning in specific settings” (Neuman, 2007(a): 183). They rely on interpretive, or critical, social science striving to understand and explain social life through the analysis of collected empirical data and the careful examination of the patterns in these data (Ibid, p. 177). The theory explaining a specific process or case of social life emerges during the data collection process and is grounded in data. Such research often implies using inductive reasoning that consists in

proceeding inferentially from particulars to more general statements (McLeod and Tichenor, 2007: 10).

The goal of the present research is to describe Holodomor awareness efforts by the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora and explain the reasons of this civic activism, based on empirical evidence. It is an interpretive study in which concepts, theoretical assumptions and explanations are grounded in collected data and the researcher is part of the community being studied. That is why the positivist, or quantitative, approach in which the researcher should not interfere with the phenomena being studied, observations and results should be repeatable and precisely measured, and variables and testing hypothesis should be linked to general causal explanations (Garratt and Li, 2005:198-200, Neuman, 2007(a): 177), is not well suited for the proposed research.

Studying how and why Ukrainian Canadians raise the awareness of the Holodomor means describing the ways through which they convey the message of the Holodomor and explaining the motives driving them in these efforts. That is why the present research is characterized as explanatory. The first step in such a research typically consists in providing basic information describing the topic and respondents involved, which constitutes the descriptive research (Nardi, 2007: 29). In other words, the explanatory research encompasses the descriptive research. It would not be possible to understand and explain the reasons behind the Holodomor awareness campaign without describing and analyzing the main manifestations of these reasons in the campaign itself and the agent leading this campaign – Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. Thus, the undertaken study clearly inscribes in the framework of explanatory research.

The main goal of the proposed study is to understand the process of formation of the distinct ethnic identity of the Ukrainian Canadian community that reveals itself in one of the key issues of this community (the Holodomor) and in the communication of this issue to the mainstream society. These are two essential components of case study, which is the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (Creswell, 2007: 72). An issue in the undertaken study is the campaign to raise awareness of the traumatic past experience and the case through which it is studied is the Ukrainian Canadian community. The researcher is interested in describing or reporting the ways in which the Ukrainian Canadians tell the story of the Holodomor and identify the motives behind these actions, or, in other words, to explain why these actions are meaningful for Ukrainian Canadians. The case study approach is the most effective in this regard, because it:

seeks to engage with and report the complexity of social activity in order to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to those settings and manufacture them... Case study assumes that 'social reality' is created through social interaction, albeit situated in particular contexts and histories, and seeks to identify and describe before trying to analyze and theorize.

(Stark & Torrance, 2005: 33)²⁶

Moreover, according to Yin (2009: 18), a case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real life context, which corresponds closely to the experience to be analyzed in the proposed research: contemporary efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise awareness of the Holodomor. In a case study, the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not easily distinguishable, there

²⁶ Other qualitative approaches to inquiry are not suited for the present research, because it does not seek to narrate an individual's life story, as in narrative research, or to describe the essence of a phenomenon, which is the main goal of phenomenology. Neither is the researcher interested in providing a holistic view of how a culture-sharing group works, as in ethnographic research (Creswell, 2007: 77).

are more variables than data points, and the inquiry has to rely on multiple sources of evidence and build on the prior theoretical propositions while collecting and analyzing data (Yin, *ibid*). The proposed research is based on several factual sources and draws on the concepts elaborated and articulated in the academic literature. Given all of the above, a qualitative explanatory case study design was chosen and applied in order to research how and why the Ukrainian Canadian community raises awareness of the Holodomor in Canada.

The trustworthiness of the research was assessed using the conceptual framework elaborated by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This framework includes credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability. Credibility refers to the accuracy of the description of the phenomenon under study (Jackson et al., 2007: 457). In this research two different data sources are used to complement the faithful and plausible portrayal of the ways and reasons in and for which the Ukrainian Canadian community raises the awareness of the Holodomor: official governmental documents and in-depth interviews with different persons.

The dependability of the research means that findings are consistent and could be repeated, in other words, that another investigator with similar methodological training and knowledge of the field could reach the same conclusions, applying the same methodology, interviewing the same participants and using the same written data. In the present research all the raw data are well documented, the process of coding is described in the thesis and saved in analytical memos, and the major findings emerge in the process of describing and analyzing the data in the thesis. The research trail is explicit. By following it, another researcher should arrive at comparable conclusions.

This should also insure the confirmability, or the neutrality of the findings. Although a member of the Ukrainian Canadian community, the researcher has not been actively involved in the Holodomor awareness activities of the community, and, therefore, was able to observe and analyze objectively the data, but it was hard to avoid a certain emotional involvement, as the Holodomor is one of the greatest tragedies of a nation of which the researcher is part.

The criterion of transferability, or the fittingness of study findings to other settings, populations, and contexts ((Jackson et al., 2007: 458), is not applicable to this research. The present thesis is a case study, aimed at describing and explaining the actions and motivations of one specific community, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora, with regard to one specific issue – the Holodomor.

Data Collection

At the initial stage of research planning the intent was to delimit the chronological framework of the research by the period that would begin in 1980-s and would stretch up to present. This choice was dictated by the fact that the most intensive phase of the increasing awareness of the Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 comes in the 1980s. By this time the Ukrainian Diaspora, evolved into an established community, had created the institutional base for raising the issue of the Holodomor. The approach of the 50th anniversary of the Famine in 1983, the persistent denial of the Famine by Soviet authorities, and the disclosure of Western archives containing the correspondence of Western diplomats informing the governments of their countries about the Famine

mobilizes the Ukrainian Diaspora into a massive campaign to research, document and disseminate information about the Great Famine ((Sysyn, 1999).

The preliminary research revealed the abundance and richness of data found in this period. In order to reduce these data to a manageable size, the researcher had two options: to focus on one of the means through which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora raises the awareness of the Holodomor, for instance, to track the process of political lobbying over last thirty years, or to significantly reduce the period under study and concentrate on the most current efforts. Since one of the main goals of the MA thesis was to describe the most important ways by which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora disseminates information and raises awareness of the Holodomor in order to see what levers of influence an established cultural minority uses in its dialogue with the mainstream society, it was decided to reduce the chronological framework of the research and to delimit it by 2003-2009 period, that is the latest actions of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The year 2003 was chosen as a starting point because in that year the Canadian Senate passed the resolution recognizing the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as a genocide against the Ukrainian people.

The range of ways by which the Ukrainian Canadian community raises awareness of the Holodomor is very large: spear-heading and supporting the research and organizing public lectures and academic conferences, erecting monuments to the victims of the Holodomor; writing fiction books and making documentaries, holding commemorative religious services, teaching children about the Holodomor in Ukrainian Saturday schools, designating the fourth Saturday of November as a day of commemoration of the Holodomor, etc. But the most successful in recent years were efforts in three areas,

according to the UCC: documenting testimonies of Holodomor survivors, working with provincial ministries of education and local school boards to ensure that students in Canada learn about the Holodomor and on the political level working with Canadian provinces that have yet to recognize the Holodomor (Ukrainian Canadian Congress [UCC], 2009, October 23). For these reasons the researcher decided to focus on these three directions.

It would be worthwhile to do a study covering all the areas and ways of commemorating and raising the awareness of the Holodomor by the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora, because it would help to understand and measure the depth of the importance of this tragic event in the history and the formation of the distinct identity of the Ukrainian Diaspora. Moreover, if such a study would expand to the 1980s, it would show how the Holodomor awareness campaign developed, gaining in strength and scope to become one of the key factors defining the dialogue of the Ukrainian Diaspora with the Canadian government and the people of Canada, on one hand, and with people and the government of Ukraine, on the other hand. But given the constraints of time, resources, and most importantly, the format of MA thesis, the researcher had to limit the study by above explained framework.

The data for the research were selected according to two main research questions: how, and why, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora raises the awareness of the Holodomor. The primary sources included published in print and on-line documents and interviews with people involved in raising the awareness of the Holodomor.

Published Documents

This group of data is comprised of several components:

1. Official documents of the Canadian government and provincial governments of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario: the resolution of the Canadian Senate on the Holodomor and the speech of Senator Raynell Andreychuk who introduced the motion to adopt such a resolution; the federal Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day Act and debates of the bill introducing the Act in the federal government; the Holodomor memorial acts passed by the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario, and debates around this act in respective provincial legislatures²⁷. All these documents were retrieved from the Hansard data base containing the transcripts of proceedings and debates of the federal and provincial legislatures.
2. Curriculum guides and outlines of the courses that include a section on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide. These documents were retrieved from the website of the ministries of education of Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan.
3. Press-releases and articles of Ukrainian Canadian organizations posted on their respective websites: Ukrainian Canadian Congress (www.ucc.ca) and its provincial branches, League of Ukrainian Canadians (www.lucorg.com) and the Canadian Friends of Ukraine (<http://www.canadianfriendsofukraine.com/>).
4. Web-sites on the Holodomor created on the initiative of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress: <http://www.faminegenocide.com> containing documents on the history

²⁷ The Holodomor bill has not been debated yet in the legislatures of Quebec and British Columbia, where it was introduced in November 2009.

and the official recognition of the Holodomor, articles and bibliography, as well as memoirs and testimonies of those who suffered through the Great Ukrainian Famine; “Share the story” web-site (www.holodomorsurvivors.ca) where the witnesses of the Holodomor survivors are collected²⁸.

5. Holodomor related articles from “Ukrainian Weekly”, an English-language weekly newspaper, based in Parsippany, New York. This newspaper has an international circulation and is popular with Ukrainians in North America. It publishes articles on the political, social and cultural events in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian Diaspora throughout the world, but especially the United States and Canada.
6. Secondary sources, such as monographs and articles by researchers of the Holodomor were used throughout the research to provide the historical background and general context of the Holodomor, namely the following publications: *Harvest of Despair* by Robert Conquest, *Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933* (1986), edited by Roman Serbyn and Bohdan Krawchenko; *Holodomor: Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine* (2008) edited by Lubomyr Luciuk.

In-depth Interviews

In order to understand and identify the reasons for which Ukrainian Canadians educate the Canadian government and Canadians on the issue of the Holodomor, in-depth

²⁸ This web-site is based on the interviews with the survivors of the Holodomor that the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre has been recording since 1980s. It was created as a result of the Holodomor Survivor Documentation Project carried out by the Centre.

interviews were designed with people involved in the Holodomor awareness activities. The in-depth interviews are “extended, open-ended inquiries into the experiences (circumstances, viewpoints, dilemmas, activities, adjustments) of others” (Prus & Grills, 2003: 25) and solicit people’s explanation and description of these experiences. In such a way a first-hand knowledge and information of people’s feelings and reasoning can be obtained, assuring the authenticity and the validity of the research.

In order to conduct the interviews, the questionnaire was designed to obtain information that would help to elucidate two main research problems: how and why the Ukrainian community in Canada raises the awareness of the Holodomor. To identify interviewees, the purposeful sampling, based on two criteria, was applied: these people should consciously embrace and actively practice their Ukrainian identity and heritage and be involved in one way or another in the Holodomor-awareness efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Based on readings related to the Holodomor, and consultation with active members of the Ukrainian community, the tentative list of seven people was made. The researcher contacted these people and six of them agreed to participate in the research. But later it turned out impossible to interview one of these persons due to this person’s extremely busy agenda, and the researcher found another interviewee. Also, as the research was progressing, it became clear that a politician, involved in the process of getting the Holodomor recognized by the Canadian government, should be added to the list. Thus, the following informant interviewees were invited and participated in the research:

1. Roman Serbyn, historian who wrote and edited books and articles dedicated to the Holodomor and greatly contributed to the recognition of the Holodomor as a

- genocide against the Ukrainian people (Serbyn 2005, 2007, Serbyn & Krawchenko 1986);
2. Marsha Skrypuch, Canadian writer who wrote a folk tale picture book for children “Enough is enough” in which she tells the story of a little girl who saved her village from hunger (Skrypuch, 2000);
 3. Lubomyr Luciuk, editor of the most recent collection of articles on the Holodomor (Luciuk, 2008) and the chairman and director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA)²⁹;
 4. Raynell Andreychuk, Canadian Senator, lawyer, and former judge and diplomat, who was one of the leaders of political efforts by the Ukrainian Canadian community to get the official recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people;
 5. Valentyna Kuryliw, education consultant and author of a teacher’s guide about the Famine and a member of the Famine Genocide Commemorative Committee of the UCC (Kuryliw, 2008).
 6. James Bezan, conservative MP for Selkirk-Interlake, who tabled the federal bill to recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people.
 7. Iroida Wynnytskyj, archivist of the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre, who has been recording testimonies of the Holodomor survivors and compiling archives related to the Holodomor since the early 1980s.

²⁹ UCCLA is a non-partisan, voluntary and non-profit research and educational organization committed to the “articulation and promotion of the Ukrainian Canadian community’s interests and to the defence of the civil liberties and human rights of Ukrainians in Canada and elsewhere”.

Ethical approval has been obtained from the University of Ottawa's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board, as in-depth interviews require the use of human subjects. Given that the subjects of this thesis are public figures, in order to ensure their anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher has guaranteed in the letter of consent that the specific answers provided to the researcher will not be directly attributed to the interviewees and has done so in the analysis of the interviews. In addition to that, in view of the potentially emotional reaction of the participants who take the Great Ukrainian Famine close to their heart, they were given the opportunity to withdraw from the interview at any time or to refuse to answer any questions. If they would have chosen to do so, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal would have been properly discarded. None of them withdrew or refused to answer any questions, and semi-structured interviews were conducted successfully in November-December 2009. An average duration of interview was one hour, with the shortest one having lasted for 40 minutes and the longest one for two hours. The total of seven interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Data Analysis

The data analysis is inseparable from the data collection in qualitative research in the sense that it is not singled out as a next step after the gathering of data, but often occurs simultaneously with it (Jackson, Gillis, and Verberg, 2007: 452). It helps the researcher to adjust the data collection strategies and to modify the focus of the research according to new insights into the object of studies. This, in turn, leads to the accumulation of new data confirming or refuting themes and concepts that emerge during the previous data

analysis. In other words, “qualitative data analysis is a *cyclical process* of questioning and verifying the findings” (Jackson et al., 2007: 430).

The same constant moving between the data and the findings forms the basis of qualitative content analysis, which is the main method used in analyzing the data in this research. Qualitative content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify themes, biases, and meanings (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Neuendorf, 2002). It is principally a coding operation and data interpreting process and consists of a standard set of procedures that has been used by many experts in a wide variety of disciplines (Berg, 2007: 248). These procedures are described below.

After data are collected and made into text, the researcher locates themes and assigns initial codes. The themes come from the initial research question, theoretical framework of the research, concepts in the literature and terms used by interviewers. In other words, the themes or codes are analytically developed or inductively identified in the data and they can be changed, or new ones can be added, in subsequent analysis.

After condensing the data into preliminary analytic categories or codes a researcher moves to the transformation of codes into analytic categories. He or she does not focus on the actual data, but reviews and examines the initial coded themes, asking about causes and consequences, conditions and interactions, strategies and processes and looking for categories or concepts that cluster together. The linkage, or the axis, between initial themes that were identified in the initial coding leads to the formulation of key analytic categories

Materials are sorted according to these categories, and a researcher undertakes the last pass through data in order to find cases that illustrate these concepts or major themes and to isolate meaningful patterns and processes. This examination involves scanning all the data and previous codes. It is conducted after most or all data collection is complete, a researcher has well-developed concepts and has started to organize the overall analysis around several core ideas. Following the analysis of the identified patterns, a small set of generalizations is established (Berg, 2007: 250, Neuman, 2007b: 595-600).

The qualitative content analysis is used in the thesis to analyze both the transcripts of in-depth interviews and the texts of federal and provincial documents related to the Holodomor. The analysis of written documents is done first, followed by the content analysis of interviews. At the last stage of the research the comparative thematic method is applied in the synthesis of the results of these two groups of evidence in order to determine the core theoretical concepts common to all the data.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Findings

The Holodomor Awareness Campaign

Political Level.

Federal Government's Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act

As it was already mentioned in the introduction, in 2008 the Canadian government unanimously passed Bill C 459 (doing two readings in one day), 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 bill received royal assent on the 13 of June 2008, making Canada one of the few countries in the Western World that officially support Ukraine's effort to gain international recognition of the Great Famine of 1932-33 as a genocide against the Ukrainian people³⁰.

This Act is a testimony to the successful, tenacious awareness campaign that the Ukrainian Canadian community has been leading for decades within Canada and internationally. The text of the Act translates the main message of this campaign: the Holodomor was deliberately planned and executed by the Soviet regime, under Joseph Stalin, in order to crush the Ukrainian people's aspirations for a free and independent Ukraine and caused the death of millions of Ukrainians in 1932 and 1933. It also testifies

³⁰ According to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 14 countries have recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide (Australia, Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Vatican) and five countries have recognized the Holodomor as a criminal act of the Stalinist regime (Argentina, Chile, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Spain) (Holodomor. Genocide by Famine, 2009).

to the recognition of another fact that the Ukrainian Canadian community has been proving in their campaign: that the information about the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 was suppressed, distorted or destroyed by Soviet authorities and it is only now that truthful and accurate information is emerging from the former Soviet Union, confirming the points raised by the Ukrainian Diaspora. The main reasons that motivated the parliamentarians to unanimously support the Act are explicitly stated in the text: a) Canadians' allegiance to the democracy and respect of human rights, valuing of the diversity and the multicultural nature of the Canadian society; b) the official condemnation of all genocides to which Canada adhered by signing the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on December 9, 1948; c) the recognition of the positive contribution to the Canadian society, made by many Holodomor survivors who immigrated to Canada (Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act, 2008).

The analysis of the debates on Bill C459 reveals other reasons for which Members of the Canadian Parliament voted for the Act recognizing the Great Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. These reasons include: a) the need to remember the victims of the Holodomor and to acknowledge their pain and suffering, saving thus their dignity and memory and confirming Canada's dedication to freedom and human rights; b) the need to correct the history, to know the truth about what happened, to know about brutal and repressive dictatorship of Stalinist regime, to understand the significance of what happened in 1932-33; c) the need to learn lessons and to remember so that the history does not repeats itself, so that we can prevent other genocides and a better future can be built. Canada's allegiance to basic democratic

values, mentioned in the text of Bill C459 is cited in the debates as well, along with Canada's longstanding history of condemning war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocides. By officially recognizing the Holodomor, Canada once again proves its capacity to be a shield for the defenceless and the innocent (Wrzesnewskyj, 2008: 1745) and confirms its international role as advocate for human rights and freedoms.

Related to the international role of Canada is another reason why the Canadian government recognizes the Holodomor: to support Ukraine on its way to becoming a true democracy with a free and democratic Ukrainian nation. Canada supports Ukraine because of the strong human ties between the people of Ukraine and the people of Canada that formed during more than a century old history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and cemented by more than one million Ukrainian Canadians, who even in the fourth generation still "feel for the old country" (Bezan 2008: 1800). By recognizing the Holodomor as a crime intending to destroy the Ukrainian nation, Canadians pay tribute not only to Holodomor survivors, but to Ukrainian Canadians as a whole, who helped to build the Canadian nation, have made, and continue to make, "an incredible difference economically, socially, culturally and spiritually" (Wasylicia-Leis, 2008: 1830). The Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act is also a recognition of the campaign, the diligence and the commitment of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise awareness of the Holodomor, as mentioned in the debates of Bill C 459 in Canadian Parliament.

James Bezan, Conservative MP from Selkirk-Interlake, who introduced C459 as a private member's bill, acknowledged the support of the Ukrainian Canadian organized community in drafting the text and educating his colleagues about the Holodomor. The

approval of all the parties was needed to ensure that the bill is passed; therefore it took a lot of consultations with members of Parliament to explain what this bill was about. Documents on the Holodomor prepared by different Ukrainian organizations, and delivered to every office on the Parliament Hill, helped a lot in this educational campaign, since Members of Parliament had all the material first hand and could judge by themselves the truthfulness and validity of arguments presented in the bill. It was a concerted effort without which Bill C 459 would not have passed in such a short time³¹.

During the debates all the members of Parliament recognized the criminal nature of the Famine as a tool to crush the resistance of Ukrainian farmers to collectivization, but doubts were expressed by the Bloc Québécois as to the genocidal nature of the Famine. They presented two arguments in support of their doubts. The first one was that Canada had not recognized yet the term genocide when it comes to what happened in Ukraine³². According to the definition of genocide, given in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, there has to be a clear intent to destroy a national, ethnical, racial or religious group. In the case of the Ukrainian Famine it came around because Stalin's regime imposed impossibly high quotas of grain on Ukrainian farmers in order to maximize the grain procurement. This grain was then sold on international markets by Soviet government and money obtained from it was used to buy industrial equipment and hire Western specialists to industrialize the Soviet Union as quick as possible. From this prospective the famine is seen only as a by-product of

³¹ Just over 12 months elapsed between the tabling of the bill in June 2007 and its official proclamation in June 2008.

³² This argument is also at the core of present day international academic research and political debates.

collectivization and industrialization, but not as a planned destruction of Ukrainian farmers.

The second argument of the Bloc Québécois in the debates surrounding Bill C459 is also related to the intentional nature of genocide. To acknowledge genocide, there must be an explicit intent to eliminate a specific group for the mere fact that it exists. Since the famine struck other territories of the USSR - Northern Caucasus, Kuban, Volga region - and affected all ethnic groups, including Russians living in Ukraine, it can not be considered as a genocide directed against specifically Ukrainian nation.

These arguments were presented on April 29, 2008 by Meili Faille, MP of Bloc Québécois (2008: 1815). After consultations with Montreal Chapter of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Bloc Québécois accepted the interpretation of the Great Famine of 1932-33 as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. In his speech on 27th of May, 2008, during the second and the third reading of Bill C459 Bernard Bigras, MP from the Bloc Québécois, described the Famine as one of the stages of Russia's colonial policy towards Ukraine and a way to destroy the resistance and crush the Ukrainian people's aspirations to an independent state (Bigras, 2008). Such a perspective on the Famine follows evidently from the nationalist narrative of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. The Montreal Chapter of Ukrainian Canadian Congress played an important role in informing the Bloc Québécois about the genocidal nature of the Famine and providing necessary evidence in support of this position.

Except these "semantic" reasons, for which the Bloc Québécois had some reservations about using the term "genocide", the introduction of Bill C459 did meet some political resistance on the highest level. Doubts were voiced by the Prime-

Minister's office if it was worth putting in question the good relations that Canada has been building with Russia. Russian officials were putting pressure on the Canadian government trying to block the passage of the Holodomor bill. Since the beginning of public debates over the famine of 1932-33 in the Soviet Union, and the international campaign led by the Ukrainian government to recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian nation, Moscow took a clear and determined position of firmly denying the Ukrainian perspective on the Holodomor. They state that Stalin did not target specific nations, that the Famine was a tragedy of all the nations of the former Soviet Union. According to Russians, the Famine is a direct consequence of Stalin's agrarian policy of forced collectivization of individual farmers, followed by aggressive procurement of provisions, collectivization being an essential part of the yet bigger endeavor – the modernization of the USSR on an industrial basis, which was implemented without outside assistance or investment, and relied only on the internal resources of the country, i.e., the agrarian sector of the economy. To academically support this position, the Federal Archival Agency of the Russian Federation published a collection of newly declassified documents discovered during preparatory work for a documentary compilation regarding the 1929—1934 famine in the Soviet Union. Through this extensive historical research the Russian scientific community seeks "...to get closer to establishing the truth about the Famine as a response to the massive anti-Russian propaganda campaign by the current leaders of Ukraine that had been unleashed both on Ukrainian soil and abroad" (Kondrashin, 2009: 10).

On the international political level, Russia has been conducting a counter-campaign using arguments presented above. In 2008, when Ukraine has made several

attempts to put on the agenda of the General Assembly of UN an item on the commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, Russia had opposed these efforts by deploying “an aggressive and extensive counteraction” and by “exercising direct pressure” on the states – members of the UN (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 2008b). At the press-conference on current issues of the 63rd General Assembly Session the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation criticized the repeated attempts of the Ukrainian Government as “an acute confrontation” and “political offensive” aimed at igniting animosity between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and to detract attention from the country’s current political and economic crisis. (United Nations, 2008, October 28)³³. In spite of Russian opposition the UN declaration “On the 75 anniversary of the Holodomor of 1932-33 in Ukraine” was distributed as a document at the UN 63rd session and was signed by 33 states. It is still open for other states that are willing to put their signature under it, and the Ukrainian government continues the informational and educational campaign in order to increase the number of signatories.

As for Bill C 459 “Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day”, it was passed so quickly, and with the unanimous support of all the parties partly because of the already existing knowledge about the issue among many parliamentarians and senators. In 2003 the Senate of Canada unanimously passed the resolution

³³ It is worth noting one of the questions posed at the press-conference, namely whether the disagreement on the issue of the Ukrainian Famine between Russia and the United States was a “new low” in United States-Russian relations, with the Congress and the Senate of the United States officially recognizing the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. The Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation did not view this disagreement as a “new low”. But this questions echoes the doubts raised by the Canadian Prime-Minister’s Office whether recognizing the Holodomor as genocide is worth putting at risk Canada’s good relations with Russia.

concerning the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932/33, based on the motion of the Honourable Senator Raynell Andreychuk. This resolution called upon the Government of Canada to recognize the Ukrainian Famine as genocide and to condemn any attempt to deny or destroy the historical truth that the Holodomor is anything less than genocide and to designate the fourth Saturday in November of every year throughout Canada as a day of remembrance of the more than seven million Ukrainians, victims of the Holodomor. The resolution also called on all Canadians, particularly historians, educators and parliamentarians, to include the true facts of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-33 in the records of Canada and in future educational material (UCC, 2003, June 19).

By analyzing the text of the Bill C459 and the Senate resolution on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide, one can see very clearly that the Bill draws upon the ideas expressed in the resolution, where it states that the Canadian government recognizes the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an act of genocide and proclaims that throughout Canada, in each and every year, the fourth Saturday in November shall be known as “Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day”. The resolution also contains the same reasons, mentioned in the text of the Bill, for which the Canadian Senate and government should recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people: need to acknowledge the positive contribution of the Holodomor survivors to the Canadian society; Canada’s condemnation of all war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocides; Canada’s defense of human rights and valuing of the diversity and the multicultural nature of Canadian society.

It is not surprising to find so many common themes in both documents. First of all, they were drafted in close collaboration and numerous consultations with various

organizations and individuals from the Ukrainian Canadian community. Second, Senator Raynell Andreychuk, who proposed the motion on the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide in the Senate, supported, Member of Parliament James Bezan, who introduced the Bill C459 as a private member's bill to the House of Commons, by sharing her expertise and providing assistance with the wording and communications strategy for the bill (Bezan, 2007).

The 2003 Senate Resolution on the Ukrainian Famine

As an international activist in human rights issues and a politician, Senator Andreychuk was aware of the powerful role that the Senate of Canada can play in raising awareness and recognizing an issue of public interest. She decided to choose a motion calling upon the Government of Canada to recognize the Ukrainian Famine of 1932/33 as genocide. It was a new topic for Canadian Senators, and it required some educational work.

Moreover, the position of the organized Ukrainian community on the issue had to be clarified as well. That's why after putting in the notice of motion on the recognition of Ukrainian Famine of 1932/33 as genocide in December 2002, Senator Anreychuk did not pursue it vigorously right from the start. She took time to let her colleagues get acquainted with the issue and to speak to them about the Ukrainian Famine herself.

Their reaction to it was shock. They couldn't believe that a famine of such proportions took place between the two wars and they did not know about it, they were not aware of this part of history. At that time Canadian human rights activists were involved with the Rwanda genocide, there was a lot of information about the Holocaust, Canadians knew about Armenian-Turkish genocide, the Sierra-Leona massacre, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. But they did not know about the Ukrainian Famine. That is why

they were listening to it as new information, reacting sometimes very emotionally and crying while hearing the facts about millions of people being deprived of food and the possibility to escape.

Senator Andreychuk was also working closely with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, League of Ukrainian Canadians and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association to find out their position on the Ukrainian Famine. She was invited by these organizations to talk about her work on the motion. In the late 1990s and early 2000s she also started to work with members of Parliament, looking for somebody who could pick up the issue of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide on their side and immediately sponsor the motion in the House of Commons. No one seemed to be interested enough to get seriously involved. When the motion of Senator Andreychuk calling upon the government of Canada to recognize the 1932-33 Ukrainian Famine-Genocide was unanimously voted for in June 2003 by the Senate of Canada, it took five years before the Government of Canada passed the Bill C459.

In her Holodomor-related educational campaign among Canadian politicians Senator Andreychuk used her many years experience of working on international human rights to correctly frame the issue of the Holodomor in order to bring her campaign to a positive conclusion. She didn't press the government immediately to recognize the genocide. First she pressed the government to understand the Holodomor and the Famine, the historical circumstances in which it happened, the nature of the communist system and of Stalinist totalitarianism. Only after that she made a case for genocide, by giving examples of well-known genocides and by putting the Ukrainian Famine in the larger context of the violation of human rights and crimes against humanity. In this way she

gave her colleagues the opportunity to reflect on it, to understand it and to see why Canada should recognize the Ukrainian Famine as genocide.

This framing and arguments used in the educational and informational campaign that preceded the introduction of the motion to recognize the 1932-33 Ukrainian Famine-Genocide are explicitly stated in the text of the motion. It says that the Holodomor was engineered and executed by Stalin's Soviet regime to destroy all opposition to its imperialist policies; it caused the deaths of over seven million Ukrainians in 1932 and 1933. The Soviet regime suppressed, distorted or wiped out any information about the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33. Only now some proper and accurate information is emerging from the former Soviet Union. People in Ukraine, and Ukrainian communities throughout the world, recognize the fourth Saturday of November as a National Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine. Many survivors of the Ukrainian Famine/ Genocide of 1932-33 have immigrated to Canada and contributed to its positive development. Canada condemns all war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocides; Canadians cherish and defend human rights, and value the diversity and multicultural nature of Canadian society (UCC, 2003, June 19).

The Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act is built upon the same arguments, of which the first one is elaborated to include the statement that the Ukrainian Famine was deliberately planned and executed to systematically destroy the *Ukrainian* people's aspirations for a free and independent *Ukraine*³⁴ and that forced collectivization by the Stalin's regime caused the death of millions of other ethnic minorities within the former Soviet Union. Thus, the narrative of the Holodomor acquires

³⁴ Italics by the author.

a new, explicit, nationalist dimension, while at the same time recognizing that other ethnicities suffered under Stalin's regime as well.

New arguments contained in the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act include the following facts: Ukraine's Parliament recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people, parliaments of many countries did it as well and Canada, as a party to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of December 9, 1948, condemns all genocides. The Act also mentions the 75th anniversary of the Holodomor³⁵ and the resolution of the Canadian Senate calling on the Government of Canada to recognize the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an act of genocide. Thus, one can see that the next step in the Holodomor awareness campaign led by Ukrainian Canadians is built on the achievements of the previous endeavors: the Senate resolution passed in 2003 and the educational and informational work that it involved facilitated significantly the preparation and passing of the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act in the Canadian Parliament.

In both cases the Holodomor was presented and framed in the broader issue of human rights and the Soviet regime's crimes against humanity to make it "sellable". In both cases people who introduced these documents worked in close collaboration with the organized Ukrainian Canadian community in order to get support for the Holodomor educational work. The same pattern can be seen on the provincial level.

³⁵ Anniversaries play an important role in boosting the Holodomor awareness campaign. For instance, four provincial bills recognizing the Holodomor were introduced on a day closely preceding the fourth Saturday of November, designated as a Day of Remembrance of the victims of the Holodomor: November 22, 2007 in Manitoba, October 30, 2008 in Alberta, November 25, 2009 in Quebec and British Columbia. The notice of motion to recognize the 1932-33 Ukrainian Famine as genocide was introduced by Senator Andreychuk on December 12, 2002.

Recognition of the Holodomor by Canadian Provinces

Saskatchewan was the first province to recognize the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as a genocide against the Ukrainian people and to establish the fourth Saturday of November as a Memorial Day for the victims of the Holodomor. The bill was voted unanimously by all parties on May 7, 2008. It passed all three readings in two days – it was introduced by MPP Ken Krawetz, Minister of Education (Saskatchewan Party) on May 6, 2008.

Then Manitoba followed passing the bill on May 27, 2008. As in Saskatchewan, the bill obtained all-party support, but it took the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba six months to pass the bill – it was introduced by MPP Leonard Derkach (Progressive Conservative) on November 22, 2007. Alberta introduced, debated and passed the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day Act in one day, October 30, 2008³⁶. The bill was introduced by Conservative and Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gene Zwozdesky.

In Ontario the bill was introduced on April 17 2008 by Liberal Member of Provincial Parliament Dave Levac. It was stalled in Committee and was re-introduced as Holodomor Private Member’s Bill 147 on February 19, 2009, this time as a tri-sponsored Private Member’s Bill with Cheri Di Novo, MPP from the New Democratic Party and Frank Klees, MPP from the Progressive Conservatives, joining Dave Levac. On April 9, 2009, Bill 147, known as the Holodomor Memorial Day Act, passed third reading: for the

³⁶ There were only three precedents of this type in the history of Legislative Assembly of Alberta before the Holodomor bill was passed (Zwozdesky, 2008: 1681).

first time in the history of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario MPP-s from all parties unanimously supported the first tri-sponsored Private Member's Bill.

In Quebec the bill to recognize the Holodomor was introduced on November 25, 2009 by Louise Beaudouin from the Parti Québécois. It passed second reading and was adopted unanimously by all the parties of the National Assembly on June 2, 2010.

In British Columbia the bill to recognize the Holodomor as an act of genocide, and to designate the fourth Saturday in November as Holodomor Memorial Day in the province, was introduced on the same day as in Quebec, on November 25, 2009, on the initiative of New Democrat MLA Bruce Ralston. There has been no further development of the bill so far.

There are several common features that emerge while analyzing the legislative process of introducing the Holodomor bill in all these provinces. In four provinces (Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario) the members of provincial legislatures who sponsored the bill are of Ukrainian descent, as in the case of MP James Bezan, who introduced the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Act Day in the Canadian Parliament, and Senator Raynell Andreychuk, the author of the Senate resolution to recognize the Ukrainian Famine as an act of genocide. In Quebec, Louise Beaudouin, member of the Parti Québécois, who introduced the bill in the National Assembly of Quebec, does not have any Ukrainian roots, but she represents Montreal's Rosemont constituency, where a large number of Ukrainians reside and who have been lobbying for a long time for the recognition of the Holodomor in Quebec.

In all the provinces the members of provincial legislatures who introduced the Holodomor bill acknowledged the support and active involvement of the Ukrainian

organized community in bringing the issue to their attention, in consulting and educating them on the Holodomor and thanked them for raising the awareness of the Ukrainian Famine in Canada and internationally. In Ontario the League of Ukrainian Canadians and the League of Ukrainian Canadian Women initiated the process of the Holodomor recognition and invested much time and effort in coordinating the day-to-day consultations and negotiations with politicians. Members of the Ukrainian Canadian community signed more than 8,100 hard-copy petitions and almost 4,600 on-line petitions expressing their support in moving the process of Holodomor recognition forward. Copies of these petitions were sent to the office of Dave Levac, Liberal MPP who introduced the bill recognizing the Holodomor as a genocide in Ontario's legislature (Steciw, 2009). In Alberta, the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (Holodomor) Memorial Day Act was the result of almost ten years work by Ukrainian Canadian community, spear-headed by the provincial branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC, 2008, October 30). The Regina branch of the UCC also led the efforts to pass the Holodomor bill in Saskatchewan (UCC, 2008, May 7). In Quebec, the president of the UCC Quebec Provincial Council and other members of Montreal's Ukrainian community have made MLA Louise Beaudoin aware of the importance of recognition of the Holodomor by the Quebec government (Beaudoin, June 2, 2010).

As a token of appreciation, representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian community – activists and Holodomor survivors – were invited to attend the sessions of the provincial parliament in which the Holodomor bill was introduced and debated. This happened in all six provinces.

What is common for all five provinces which passed the Holodomor bill is that the bill received the unanimous support of all the parties, as it did in the Federal Parliament. The following phrase by Ontario MPP Khalil Ramal translates well the sense of cooperation that penetrates the debates on Holodomor in legislative assemblies of Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan: "...We're standing up together - Liberal, Conservative and NDP - to say no to all the dictatorships, to say no to all the killers on the whole globe, not in order to bring back the history, but to protect our present and also to make sure we have a bright future, a safe future for all of us" (Ramal, 2009: 5307).

In speeches of many members of provincial legislatures, as well as of the Canadian Parliament, testimonies of living Holodomor survivors are used as a proof of the historical truth about the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide, while the rhetorical figure of survivors themselves represents the repository of the living physical memory of the Holodomor and the contemporaneity and directness of the great tragedy: people who suffered in the Famine, are still among us, we need to acknowledge their suffering and to render homage to their courage and their endurance. In some cases, members of provincial parliaments are acquainted with Holodomor survivors; in other cases they are quoting testimonies taken from various archival sources; there are also some members of parliament for whom the Holodomor is part of family history. In all cases the Holodomor is still very present and very real, not a distant page in the historical memory, but a vivid and painful episode of the living collective memory.

The content analysis of speeches given by various members of provincial legislatures in debates surrounding Holodomor bills reveals the same themes found in the text of the federal Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act

and debates surrounding it. The first theme deals with Holodomor victims and survivors. By passing the bill, Canadians honour the memory of victims of the Holodomor, give validity to their suffering, show the respect to and comfort the survivors of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, who were finally able to tell their story and have it heard. Through this bill Canada says to the Ukrainian community that finally “We believe you, we believe this happened, and we are going to stand with you to make a difference” (Cansfield, 2009: 5308).

The second theme that runs through all the debates is the theme of Canada as a free and democratic country valuing human rights, freedom and the rule of law. By recognizing the Holodomor, Canadians say no to all crimes against humanity, to any attempts by totalitarian regimes to deprive human beings of their fundamental rights: right to food, right to life, to human dignity and to freedom. The Holodomor serves as a reminder of the necessity of working for a better world determined by human rights and the dignity of all persons, one in which genocide becomes unthinkable. By passing the bill recognizing the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people, Canadians are saying that they will no longer accept such a tragedy occurring again anywhere in the world. The awareness of this great historical injustice will help in building in Canada a tolerant society, respectful of different cultures and valuing human rights.

A new complimentary idea to this cluster of sub-themes around the theme of Canadian democracy is expressed in one of the speeches: by recognizing the Holodomor, Canada takes a big step forward in dealing with a lingering attitude treating certain groups of people as a secondary class (Struthers, 2007: 423). This is exactly what

happened in 1932-33 in Ukraine, when Soviet officials showed disdain and an inhuman attitude towards Ukrainian farmers by taking away everything they had.

The third theme in the debates around the Holodomor bill is the historical truth and lessons that have to be learned from it. By recognizing the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, Canadians are shining a light on a longstanding wrongdoing that was committed. They acknowledge the importance of uncovering and defying those who deny and conceal the truth. They acknowledge the crime against humanity committed by Soviet totalitarian regime. They pass knowledge of this tragedy to the next generations, who need to know what happened, and why it happened, so that they can prevent such tragedies in the future.

Another large theme that can be found in all the speeches is that of the Ukrainian Canadian community and its contribution to Canadian society. First of all, the Holodomor is important for Canada, because it is important for the Ukrainian community, and Ukrainian community is part of Canada. By acknowledging the genocide committed against the Ukrainian nation, with which Ukrainian Canadian community shares the faith, traditions and heritage, Canadians are celebrating “the many exciting cultural and historical gifts” (Jablonski, 2008: 1679) that Ukrainians bring to Canada, their numerous contributions to Canadian communities, provinces, country as a whole.

Intertwined with this theme of Ukrainians’ important contribution to Canadian society is the idea of Ukrainian national feeling in speeches of members of provincial legislatures who have Ukrainian roots. They want Canada to recognize the pain and misery that Ukrainians endured during the Holodomor, because they are part of the same nation. Some of Ukrainian Canadians are still linked to that nation through real blood ties

with families living in Ukraine, some relate to the old country in the symbolical way, but all of them are proud of their Ukrainian heritage and compassionate about the suffering of their brothers and sisters in Ukraine. As Member of Alberta Legislative Assembly Mrs. Sarich said during the second reading of the Holodomor bill, “For me, being a fourth-generation Ukrainian and valuing my heritage and culture to no end, I feel connected to this tragedy” (2008: 1680).

The symbol, the way to recognize the Holodomor for what it was – a genocide against the Ukrainian people- and to remember its victims is a Memorial Day that all of the provinces and the federal government designated for the fourth Saturday in November³⁷. This theme is common to all the Holodomor bills. The Holodomor Memorial Day is important, because it serves as a time of reflection and mourning, but more importantly, it keeps the collective memory of the event alive. People can learn first hand about the Holodomor from the survivors who are still with us. The Memorial Day is in itself an educational tool: news stories and word of mouth surrounding it will serve to raise awareness of the Holodomor.

These are the main themes of debates over Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day in provincial legislatures of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec. In all of these provinces, except Quebec, the introduction and the readings of the Act were prompted by the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame, a relay that was launched by Ukraine’s Foreign Ministry and the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine on the initiative of the International Coordinating Committee of Ukrainian World Congress as part of the commemoration of the 75

³⁷ People in Ukraine and Ukrainian communities around the world have been commemorating the victims of the Holodomor on the fourth Saturday in November for many years.

anniversary of the Holodomor. The Flame, escorted by Ukraine's ambassadors and consular representatives, traveled through 33 countries. Ukrainian communities abroad, which hosted the flame, organized religious services, exhibitions, conferences and commemorative meetings (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 2008a).

Canada was the second country that hosted the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame. The Flame arrived in Toronto on April 18, 2008 and was received by Ukraine's ambassador in Canada and the president of the UCC. Jason Kenney, Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity, attended the ceremony as well. A day earlier, on April 17, Member of Provincial Parliament for Brant, Dave Levac, introduced a Private Members' Bill in the Ontario legislature calling for the establishment of Holodomor Memorial Day in the province, honoring the victims of the Famine-Genocide in Ukraine. In Saskatchewan, the Holodomor Flame arrived on April 29 in Regina. On this occasion, a special ceremony was held on the steps of the Saskatchewan legislature, in which took part Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall and Deputy Premier and Education Minister Ken Krawetz (Government of Saskatchewan, 2008, May 6). A week later, on May 6 2008, the latter introduced the Holodomor bill in the Saskatchewan Legislature. In Manitoba, there was not such a direct and short link between the two events, but the International Holodomor Flame initiative certainly accelerated the passage of the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide Memorial Day Act on May 27, 2008³⁸. Finally, on the federal level the International Holodomor Remembrance Flame arrived in Ottawa on May 26, 2008 (Mokrushyna, 2008). The bill to recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people and to establish the Holodomor Memorial Day was passed

³⁸ The Holodomor Remembrance Flame arrived in Winnipeg on April 19, and a special ceremony was held at the City Hall on this occasion (Skerritt, 2008).

through all the stages in the House of Commons within one day and was adopted on May 27, 2008.

Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which organized the Holodomor Remembrance Flame relay in Canada and events around it under the title “Keep the Flame alive”, used this opportunity to launch a national campaign urging the Canadian government to recognize the Holodomor as an act of genocide. As discussed before, this campaign was successful: Canada became one of few Western countries to officially recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people.

All these Ukrainian Famine and Genocide Memorial Day Acts that the federal government and provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec adopted are very important because they put on the official record that Canada heard the message of the Ukrainian Canadian community and embraces its view of the Ukrainian Famine as a genocide committed by the Soviet regime against Ukrainians in the attempt to crush their aspirations to freedom and independence. This official recognition “...is part of our history books”, as one of the interviewees said, and it makes it much easier to move to the next step – introduction of the Holodomor to high school curriculum as another way to entrench the awareness of the genocide against the Ukrainian people in Canadian public awareness.

Holodomor in School Curricula

Strategically it should be easier to lobby for the inclusion of the Holodomor in school curricula in provinces where the Ukrainian presence has been demographically and historically strong and where the Ukrainian Canadian organized community successfully

pressed the provincial governments to recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. Indeed, Alberta Ministry of Education has made the Holodomor a compulsory element in the new Social Studies curriculum starting from 2009. It is included in the study program of both Social “20-1 Perspectives on Nationalism” and “20-2 Understandings of Nationalism” courses. According to Alberta Education, this new Grade 11 program “explores the complexities of nationalism in Canadian and international contexts and includes study of the origins of nationalism and the influence of nationalism on regional, international and global relations.” The Holodomor is covered in section 2.9 for both courses, which plans to “examine ultranationalism as a cause of genocide (the Holocaust, the 1932–1933 Famine in Ukraine, contemporary examples)” (Alberta Education, 2007). Alberta Department of Education has been continuously consulting the Ukrainian Canadian Congress – Alberta Provincial Council (UCC-APC) in order to provide accurate and authentic learning resources. The Department asked UCC APC to review the textbook in preparation for the course.

The introduction of the Holodomor in the Alberta high school curriculum is the result of the initiative of the Ukrainian Canadian community that originated around the turn of the Millennium. The consultation process lasted over several years. The process of getting the internment and the Holodomor as part of the Social Studies curriculum was first initiated by Mark Hlady, MP for Calgary Mountain View from 1993 to 2004. Dr. Harry Hohol, who served as a Director of UCC – APC between 2002 and 2006 did most of the consultation work with Alberta Education on developing the new curriculum (UCC, 2008, February 11). The Ukrainian Canadian Congress considers the decision of the Alberta Department of Education to include the Holodomor in the high school

curriculum as one of the successes in its campaign to raise the awareness of the Holodomor ("National Holodomor", 2008).

In Saskatchewan, the Holodomor is included in history courses recommended for grades 7-12 and is part of the unit on Stalin's totalitarian regime and the creation of a police state (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994).). In the introduction to the topic the Holodomor is framed as a terror unleashed by Stalin against Ukrainian peasants with the aim of destroying the Ukrainian nation and its people as a political and social force (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2007a). There is no mentioning of the word *genocide* – the document was written in 2007, when the Government of Canada has not officially recognized the Holodomor. But in the PowerPoint presentation, prepared by the Ministry of Education of Saskatchewan, the term *Holodomor* is used interchangeably with the phrase *Ukrainian Famine-Genocide* (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 2007b).

In Manitoba, the Ministry of Education has created a separate section on Holodomor education and awareness under the general rubric of *Diversity and Equity in Education* (Manitoba Education). The name of the section is marked with a note "new". In the introduction to the section, the Holodomor is framed within the context of intercultural understanding, human rights and responsibilities, and democracy in multi-ethnic societies. As in the case of Saskatchewan and Alberta, it is presented as a case of genocide. The subject of the Holodomor is included in several courses that pertain to the larger topics of the history of Ukraine and the history of Ukrainian Canadians within the

Social Studies curriculum, according to the web-site³⁹. However, upon checking the current curriculum overviews, it turned out that only the optional course *World Issues* for grade 12 contains an optional special topic on the 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine (Manitoba Education, 1990).

In Ontario the Holodomor is included as a supplementary teaching unit in grade 11- 12 course on Canadian and World Studies, within the section Citizenship and Heritage (The Rights of Individuals and Groups) (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005b: 177) and in the same course on Canadian and World Studies for grade 9 and 10, under the section on Change and Continuity (with the relation to Canada's responses to some of the major human tragedies that have occurred since World War I (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005a: 58).

The lesson plan and background information for this teaching unit were prepared by the chair of the National Holodomor Education Committee of the UCC, Valentyna Kuryliw, retired Department Head of History and Social Studies with the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) and a history teacher of 35 years. She presented her teaching unit at the Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers' Association conference in November 2008. Besides lesson plans, this unit provides the historical background of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, facts about the Famine itself; documents referred to the international recognition of the Holodomor and the cover-up of the Holodomor by Western media. All the material and the framework of the Ukrainian Famine follow the

³⁹ The compulsory courses are: Grade 6 – Canada: A Country of Change; LE 1.5 Immigration; Grade 11 History of Canada (New Curriculum): LE 3.2. Immigration; LE 4.1 Economic Security and Social Justice. There is one optional course in grade 12: World Issues: Unit 3 Topic 2: Quality of Life in the USSR; Unit 4 Topic 2 – The famine in the Ukraine 1932 – 1933 (Manitoba Education).

main narrative of the Ukrainian Canadian community regarding the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian community in Toronto had been lobbying the TDSB to include the Holodomor in the school curriculum for many years before it had been finally accepted in 2008. These attempts go as back as early as the 1980's, but they were unsuccessful, partly due to the strong political protests of the Soviet embassy after the release of the documentary "Harvest of Despair" in 1984. The Soviet Embassy claimed that there was no Holodomor, that Ukrainian Canadians are supporters of Nazis, and the Holodomor is the creation of refugees. The TDSB decided that the topic is too controversial and can not be taught in school, especially given the fact that the government of the country in which the Famine took place denies it. Thus, the project to introduce the Holodomor in public school curriculum was killed completely, and Ukrainian Canadian community had to wait till now for the ability to introduce it again into the school system.

In 2007 the Toronto District School Board decided to introduce a new course called "Genocide. Historical and contemporary implications" in which three cases of genocide were to be included: the Holocaust, Rwanda and the Armenian genocide. The board asked for the feedback from teachers, and when one of them brought to the attention of the Board that the Holodomor should be included in the course as well, the answer was "no" and the Holodomor wasn't even going to be considered. The UCC was notified of these plans and a strong letter-writing campaign was launched protesting against this decision. As a result the TDSB said that the decision can be appealed and that the Review Board will consider the appeal. So a group of Ukrainian Canadians filed the appeal, but after the review process the status quo remained. Letters continued even more

intensely, Ukrainian Canadians wrote about it in the press, and some trustees of the TDSB became extremely disturbed by the fact that the Ukrainian community was not letting it go and this was a very hot issue for them. They started researching and discussing the Holodomor. One of the trustees of Ukrainian descent brought in a resolution with two points: to have the fourth Friday in November declared the Holodomor Memorial Day in the TDSB. This was approved unanimously in September 2008. And the second motion was to prepare a teaching unit on the Holodomor for courses within the TDSB where it would apply. And that was also passed unanimously. This teaching unit, as mentioned before, is a supplementary unit, and it is left to the discretion of every teacher whether to include in the course content or no. For this reason the Ukrainian community continues to lobby the TDSB to include the Holodomor in the compulsory courses.

As for the elementary schools, the Holodomor is also present in the curriculum, but in the larger context of Stalin's repressive national policies. For instance, in Ontario the historical figure of Stalin is used as an example of an ultimate bully in the anti-bullying curriculum, and children learn about the Holodomor as an historical event and example of terrible consequences of a government's persecution of national and ethnic groups within a country. The children's illustrated book *Enough* by Marsha Skrypuch, Ukrainian Canadian writer, is largely used in this regard. The book tells the story of a young girl who saves her starving village in Ukraine from hunger by flying on the wings of a crane to Canada and bringing the wheat from Canada to Ukraine

Again, Ukrainian ancestry plays a crucial role in the introduction of this book into the school curriculum. For instance, in Ontario the Catholic school boards bought copies

of *Enough* to use in all of their elementary schools, and this movement was spear-headed by a Ukrainian principal. In Alberta, the Ukrainian Orthodox Women's League donated a copy of this book to all elementary schools in the province.

Another example that demonstrates the important role the Ukrainian Canadian educators play in raising awareness of the Holodomor among Canadian teachers is the participation of one of the interviewees in seminars and workshops on genocides organized by the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights Education. In July 2007 the Centre organized four seminars, of which one was on the Holodomor. Forty teachers across Canada participated in this seminar, and no one had ever heard about the Holodomor before. Among the participants was Barbara Coloroso, an internationally recognized speaker and author in the areas of parenting, teaching, school discipline, non-violent conflict resolution and reconciliatory justice. She is well known for her best-selling books that explore why children bully. In her latest book, *Extraordinary Evil: a Brief History of Genocide*, Barbara Coloroso links the psychology of the bully to the motivation that leads a community to genocide, and considers the genocidal campaign as an extreme expression of bullying. She builds her study on four cases of genocide: Armenian, Rwandan, Jewish and Roma (Gypsy). The Holodomor is not mentioned at all, because she did not know about it when she was writing the book. She learned about it at the seminar on the Holodomor organized by the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights Education. Two Ukrainian Canadian interviewees that participated in that seminar took time to explain to Barbara Coloroso what the Holodomor was and forwarded her various related material so that she includes the examples from the Holodomor when she does an update on her book in the next publication.

Another way to promote knowledge about the Holodomor among Canadian high school students is the Holodomor: Famine Genocide writing competition, a program, first introduced in 2003 by the Toronto branch of the UCC and the Famine-Genocide Commemorative Committee. Students between the ages of 14 and 19 are invited to write about the Holodomor in English or Ukrainian in various formats: historical short fiction, historical research essay, newspaper article or editorial, poetry, and interview or a biography of a Holodomor survivor. The first, second and third places are awarded with monetary prizes; there are also ten honorable mentions. Two writing competitions have been organized so far: the first one in 2003 and the second one in 2008, on the 70th and 75th anniversary of the Holodomor respectively. Provincial branches of Ukrainian Canadian Congress approached school boards in their provinces so that Holodomor writing competition could be held among all students, not only among Ukrainian Canadians. For instance, the Regina UCC branch was approved by the two school boards to run the competition in their high schools in 2008 (UCC. Saskatchewan Provincial Council, 2008).

Two separate writing competitions in the recognition of the 75th anniversary of Ukraine's Great Famine were launched by Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association in 2008. In the first competition the High School Civil Liberties Award is given to a high school student who submits a winning research essay based on a Holodomor theme. The second competition invites high school or post-secondary student to write Holodomor-based opinion-editorials. A student, whose editorial appears in a major Canadian newspaper prior to a certain established date, receives The Civil Liberties Opinion-Editorial Award (UCC. Saskatchewan Provincial Council, May 1,

2008). Two competitions have been held so far – in 2008 and 2009 (UCCLAnews Journal, 2010, January 17).

The Ukrainian Canadian community is involved in educational projects raising awareness of Holodomor not only in Canada, but in Ukraine itself. The non-governmental organization Canadian Friends of Ukraine, which played a key role in the drafting of the bill C-459 (Canadian Friends of Ukraine, 2007, June 14), initiated in recent years two Holodomor awareness projects in Ukraine. In the first one, entitled Student Interviews with Holodomor Survivors, secondary school students and university students interviewed family members who witnessed the Great Famine of 1932-33. Participants were required to submit their written interviews in digital format along with photographs and biographical information on the Holodomor survivor they interviewed. In 2007 over four hundred secondary school and university students from seven provinces in Ukraine participated in this project. The official announcement and award presentation took place in Kyiv in August 2008. The organization plans to compile and publish excerpts from the eye-witness testimonies collected in the Student Interview with Holodomor Survivors project so that this valuable historical content becomes available to educators and researchers (Shymko, 2008).

In their second initiative, entitled the Genocide Curriculum Development project, the Canadian Friends of Ukraine organized a series of professional development seminars for Ukrainian educators, providing them with lesson plans and material related to the teaching of the Holodomor. Teachers who attended these seminars came from eight eastern and northern provinces of Ukraine and from the Crimea region, where the truth about anti-Ukrainian genocidal policies of the former Soviet regime has been denied for

decades. The Canadian Friends of Ukraine was the first non-governmental organization to launch these kinds of seminars (Shymko, 2008, September 15).

On the national scale, in 2003 the Ukrainian Canadian Congress contacted the Ministers of Education of each Canadian province and territory, requesting that the Curriculum Development Committee of each Department of Education prepare appropriate educational material about the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-33, following the resolution of the Senate of Canada, described earlier in the chapter (UCC, 2003, December 8).

But it is not enough, especially in the provinces that have accepted motions or legislation that recognize the Holodomor as genocide and designate the national Memorial Day for the Holodomor. The next challenge is school boards, because school boards determine what it is taught in their areas, so the Ukrainian Canadian community has to reach out to those school boards as well, and the example of Toronto District School Board illustrates well that this is not a simple endeavor.

As in the case with the Senate resolution and Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day, the campaign to have the Holodomor included in the official school curriculum is similar to ascending a stairwell where every successful step leads to a new one and the new achievement is built on the previous one. The Ukrainian Canadian community was ready to prove their case about the necessity to include the Holodomor in the public school curriculum, first of all because they already obtained the official recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide on behalf of the Senate of Canada, and which is more important, they had a lot of information and documents to be able to consult the educators and to create teaching units on the Holodomor.

Survivor Witnesses

The essential element of all this corpus of evidence and the starting point of the long road of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora towards the recognition of the Holodomor are testimonies of the survivors. Although Ukrainians in North America were aware of the starvation and terror unleashed by Stalin's regime against Ukrainians in the Soviet Union since the moment these events began⁴⁰, people who suffered through the Great Ukrainian Famine arrived in Canada mainly after the World War II with the displaced persons immigration. Therefore the first eye-witness testimonies of the Holodomor began to appear only in the early 1950-s. A second volume of *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book* is dedicated solely to the Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 and contains many eyewitness accounts of the Holodomor. This book was published in 1953-55 by the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, composed in great part of people from Eastern Ukraine, then under Soviet rule, and by the Democratic Organization of Ukrainians Formerly Persecuted by the Soviet Regime. The book received little attention and was dismissed by academic and political circles as anti-Soviet propaganda.

The knowledge about the Famine was always present in the Ukrainian Canadian community itself – survivors were the living witnesses of that tragic event. But they were afraid to talk about their experience publicly: they feared for their relatives in Ukraine

⁴⁰ For instance, the English newspaper *The Ukrainian Weekly*, that was founded in 1933 to serve the Ukrainian American community and to function as a vehicle of communication of the concerns of that community to Americans, published a report about the mass protests of Ukrainians in Canada and the United States against "the barbaric attempts of the Bolshevik regime to deliberately starve out and depopulate the Ukrainian people in Ukraine" ("Ukrainians Protest", 1933).

that would endure political repercussions for their revelations and they feared for themselves, because they could be accused of deliberately deceiving the Canadian immigration agents during the selection process in the after-war years. People from Eastern Ukraine who found themselves in the displaced persons camps were trained by their compatriots from Western Ukraine to pretend that they also were from Western Ukraine. They told them the smallest details about life in that part of Ukraine, including the name of the priest, who was a public figure and a person of reference in the community, so that Eastern Ukrainians could convince the immigration agents that they lived in Western Ukraine⁴¹ before the war and therefore should not be sent back to the Soviet Union⁴².

Moreover, in the general context of the Cold War, the Ukrainian Canadians who tried to bring the Holodomor to public attention were treated as Nazis and anti-Soviets. Thus, the survivors of the Great Ukrainian Famine did not come out to give their testimonies publicly in the 1960-s and 1970-s. At the beginning of 1980's the Western archives related to the pre-war period were open, containing dispatches that were sent in the 1930-s from the various consulates and embassies of Western countries to their headquarters⁴³. These dispatches contained eye-witness accounts of the starving villages in Ukraine by Western diplomats who were allowed to travel to areas devastated by the Famine. The Ukrainian Diaspora in North America had finally received tangible,

⁴¹ Before the World War II different parts of Western Ukraine were divided between several countries: Halychyna belonged to Poland, Bukovyna was under Romanian rule and Zakarpattia was part of Czechoslovakia.

⁴² According to Yalta agreement between the Soviet Union and Western Allies, displaced persons whose home towns and cities were part of the Soviet territory, had to be repatriated to the Soviet Union. Those who often refused to do so were shipped back by force.

⁴³ The Soviet Union requested the maximum possible archival closure for these documents – fifty years.

irrefutable proof in the form of archival documents, and they intensified their efforts to bring the Holodomor to public awareness.

In December of 1985 the US commission on the Ukraine Famine was set up, “to conduct a study of the 1932-1933 Ukrainian Famine in order to expand the world’s knowledge of the Famine and provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role” (Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine, 1988: V). As part of preparation for the hearings of this commission, the recording of interviews with Holodomor survivors in Canada was carried out in 1981-82. All the interviews were published in Volume 3 “Investigation of Ukrainian Famine, 1932-33” of the Commission.

In terms of purely Canadian initiative, two projects spurred the collection of Famine witness testimonies: the Harvest of Despair project and the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre (UCRDC). In 1981 the Ukrainian community in Canada formed the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, the precursory organization to the present UCRDC, with the aim to gather all the information about the Holodomor and to publish a book. When members of the Committee started researching and talking to people, they realized that it would be better to put out a movie. This is how the idea of making a documentary film on the Ukrainian Famine came about and in 1982 the *Harvest of Despair* project was initiated by the Committee with the purpose of collecting oral history material for the production of the film. Twenty-five interviews were recorded for the documentary on 16 mm color film (Wynnyckyj, 2003: 67).

This project became part of the larger UCRDC project on collecting oral histories of Famine survivors and witnesses in North America that became one of the main

research activities of the Centre from the very beginning of its existence in 1981. It was not easy to find survivors and other witnesses to testify at that time. Survivors were refusing to participate in the interview for the fear of Soviet oppression against their relatives living in the Soviet Union. Many agreed only if the anonymity would be guaranteed (Wynnyckyj, 2003: 69). Since 1990, when the Soviet government officially recognized that the Ukrainian Famine did take place, witnesses felt free to talk about their family experiences.

The UCRDC has been working continuously on collecting testimonies of the Famine survivors and other witnesses. It currently holds about 164 oral history accounts in its *Ukrainian Famine 1932-33* archival depository and the recording of interviews goes on. Over the years the number of survivors has greatly decreased and those who are now willing to testify were children at the time of the Famine. UCRDC is now collecting memories of these children's experiences. The project, entitled 'Share the story' became a basis for the website www.holodomorsurvivors.ca, put up by UCRDC in 2009. This website contains interviews with people who experienced and survived the Holodomor at a very young age. All of these people live in Canada. They share their stories on the pages of the web-site with the hope "of bringing us closer to understanding this often forgotten atrocity" and that "they are contributing to a better world" ("Sharing the story", 2008).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, telling the stories of the Holodomor survivors is one of the main reasons the Ukrainian Canadian community raises awareness of the Holodomor. This reason was also one of the prominent themes in the interviews conducted with Ukrainian Canadian professionals who have contributed each in their

own way to the dissemination of truth about the Great Ukrainian Famine. These interviews are analyzed in the following section.

Motivations of the Holodomor-Awareness Efforts

The semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were conducted in November-December 2009. The questionnaire contained ten questions and was designed to solicit information that would help to elucidate two main research problems: how and why the Ukrainian community in Canada raises awareness of the Holodomor (see the Questionnaire in Annex). An average duration of interview was one hour, with the shortest one having lasted for 40 minutes and the longest one for two hours. A total of seven interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The content analysis of the transcripts was based on coding techniques. First all the transcripts were studied and examined separately in order to discern main themes in each interview. After that a list containing the themes from all the transcripts was compiled. The subsequent analysis and comparison of these themes has permitted establishing several overarching codes or categories related to two interconnected questions from the Questionnaire, namely the reasons for which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora pushes for the recognition of the Holodomor and the reasons of interviewees' personal involvement in this campaign. These categories, or themes, are presented and discussed below in the framework of these two questions. The individuals' reasons are analyzed first, followed by the motivation of the organized Ukrainian community. The commonalities and differences in these two groups of reasons are established and discussed in the last section.

Personal Reasons

The theme of *Ukrainianness*, or belonging to the Ukrainian nation and culture, is the most prominent one in the answers to the question “Why did you get involved in the Holodomor-awareness efforts”. Six of seven interviewees cited their Ukrainian heritage as the main reason for their Holodomor awareness efforts. First of all, being part of the Ukrainian community and growing in that community brought them the knowledge of this tragic event. It was spoken about at home, in church, in school, the Holodomor was common knowledge in the community, so, as one of the interviewees said, “We grew up with it”. And Canada needed to know their story, the story of great injustice done to their people, and to recognize the Holodomor for what it was – genocide against the Ukrainian nation⁴⁴.

Interviewees wanted Canada to know the historical *truth* about what happened in Ukraine 75 years ago, because this truth is part of the history of the 20th century, and knowing and understanding the Holodomor can help to understand the history of the whole century and to see the continuation of genocidal policies of certain countries even today. For instance, famine as a tool of repression, of denial of human rights is still used today in Ethiopia and Zimbabwe, and learning from lessons of history, such as the Holodomor, Canadians and the rest of the world can prevent these tragedies from

⁴⁴ In contrast to political sphere, where the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 in itself is considered to be a genocide against Ukrainian people, in academic circles it is viewed by some people as one of the elements of Stalin’s ruthless attempt to destroy Ukrainian nation along with the execution of Ukrainian intelligentsia and the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox church. This conceptualization of the Holodomor was first framed by Raphael Lemkin, the father of the UN Convention on genocide (Lemkin, 2008, Serbyn, 2009). The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora raised the issue of the Holodomor exclusively because the number of victims was far more impressive and it was easier to “market” it in the political sphere (interview).

repeating in the future. Telling the truth about the Holodomor has also helped to shatter the pro-Soviet sentiments and illusions held by Western intellectuals, and Canadian among them, that the Soviet Union was building a fair and just society where everyone was contributing to the society according to his/her ability and receiving from the society according to his/her need. By knowing and telling the truth about the Holodomor, the Ukrainian Canadians are doing justice to its victims in the sense that the cause of their starvation is properly presented: they died, not because of a natural disaster, but because of the planned, man-made famine that was part of the genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

The obligation to remember, honor and commemorate the victims is another prominent theme that runs through the answers to the question of personal motivation of raising the awareness of the Holodomor. By commemorating the victims of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are recognizing their suffering, are giving meaning to the awful and meaningless death of millions of Ukrainians. By raising awareness of the Holodomor, the Ukrainian community in Canada provides the survivors with the opportunity to tell their stories and to pass them to succeeding generations. By recording and relating these stories to other Canadians, the Ukrainian Canadians are bearing witness to the truthfulness of these stories and are alerting their fellow Canadians to the danger that such atrocities as the Holodomor could happen again.

Knowing how and why the Holodomor happened, Canadians will be able to build the safeguards, rules, accountability systems, within Canada and internationally, so that this genocidal crime is not repeated. That is why, by telling the story of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are contributing to the better *future* of Canada.

Canada needs to know the story of Ukrainian Canadians, because they are part of the fabric of this country, and the history of their ancestral nation is part of the history of Canada. This “Canadianness” complementing the “Ukrainianness” of the Ukrainian Canadian identity is another theme in reasons for the personal efforts to raise the awareness of the Holodomor.

Another theme is present only in one interview, and that is the theme of Ukrainian Canadians repaying the debt to Canada for giving a chance to them or their parents to have a decent life for themselves and for their children. A one of the interviewees said, “part of that paying back is telling the truth about other parts of the world and what happened there”.

Diaspora’s Collective Causes

The analysis of the interviewees’ answers to this question reveals a set of several themes similar to the ones found in the reasons for the personal involvement in the Holodomor-awareness efforts. They will be presented in the same order as in the previous sub-chapter.

The theme of *Ukrainianness* emerges very strongly in the reasons for which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora raises awareness of the Holodomor. The Great Ukrainian Famine is part of their heritage, their culture, their experience, and they need to commemorate it, because it is a way to preserve their distinct Ukrainian identity. Not all Ukrainian Canadians are involved in raising the awareness of the Holodomor. Some people preserve Ukrainian culture – dance, music, traditional crafts, some care for the Ukrainian language. Only a small portion takes on political issues, like the Holodomor,

because this small portion believes that this is their moral duty. By telling Canada the story of the Holodomor, they illuminate the Ukrainian experience and help to break the fallacious stereotype of Ukrainians as Nazi collaborators and anti-Semites, especially post-World War II immigrants in Canada from Ukraine. Most of those Ukrainian immigrants fled the terror of the Soviet regime. They lived through Stalin's terror and Nazi and Soviet occupation atrocities. They had their land and their rights taken away. After immigration to Canada, they found themselves deprived of the possibility to go back to their homeland: their heritage was taken away from them too. By raising publicly the issue of the Holodomor and commemorating its victims, Ukrainian Canadians were, and are, claiming their Ukrainian heritage back. As Ukrainians they feel they have a duty and a role to play in recalling what happened to their nation in the homeland, in the competition for Ukrainian historical memory. This sub-theme was not present in the reasons for the individual efforts to spread information on the Holodomor.

Another prominent theme that emerges in the answers to the question why Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada raises the issue of the Holodomor is the theme of historical *truth*. As one of the interviewees said, Canadians have no idea of the truth of the many millions who were enslaved or tortured or murdered by the Soviet regime. The Ukrainian Diaspora has taken upon itself, as a moral duty, to recall the Holodomor and tell the world the truth about the Soviet Union "...so that future generations if they are confronted with a regime that makes a kind of promises that Soviets did understand what the cost of those promises may be" (interview). Again, knowing the truth about the Great Ukrainian Famine is important from the academic point of view, because it is impossible to understand the history of 20th century Europe without the Holodomor.

By telling the truth about the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are *hallowing the memory of its victims*. They have the duty to honor and commemorate those who died from starvation in 1932-33 in Ukraine, because forgetting their death is to kill them again, only this time it would be not their body, but their memory that would be obliterated. Millions of Ukrainians who died from man-made Famine in 1932-33 have to be mourned. The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora has been commemorating them, even in those times when Soviet authorities were denying the Holodomor on the international arena and erased any mention of it in history books, so that new generations of Ukrainians were growing without any knowledge of this horrible crime against their nation.

The Holodomor was, and remains, an open wound of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Telling the story of the Holodomor and commemorating its victims is part of the healing process of that wound. This theme was not present in personal reasons for interviewees' involvement in telling the story of the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, probably because most of them were not touched by this tragedy personally – they did not suffer through the Holodomor and neither did their parents⁴⁵. It stresses the collective identity of the Ukrainian community in Canada, since the community as a whole feels the pain of the immense trauma of the Holodomor and presents a coherent and united interpretation of this terrible event through its organizations and individuals to Canadian government and Canadians at large.

The last theme that appears, in the answers related to the reasons for which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora raises the awareness of the Holodomor, is the theme of

⁴⁵ Only one of the interviewees is a child of survivors of the Holodomor, and for this person the Holodomor was part of life, like bread and butter.

better future. Ukrainian Canadians are reminding themselves and the rest of Canada that is important to learn the lessons of past crimes against humanity, because this is the only way to prevent their repetition in the future. The survivors of the Holodomor are sharing their stories, and Ukrainian Canadians are drawing attention to these stories, with the hope that it will help to build a better world where human life will be sacred and no one will be targeted and persecuted for being who they are.

Individual and Collective Reasons of the Holodomor Awareness Efforts

Comparison of the combined themes in the reasons for which individuals and the organized Ukrainian community in Canada raises the awareness of the Holodomor shows that four reasons are common for individuals and for the community at large: the Ukrainianness, or the sense of belonging to the Ukrainian nation, the need to commemorate the victims, the need to know the historical truth, and contribution to a better future.

Two themes are present only in the individual reasons for raising the awareness of the Holodomor. The first is that, by telling the story of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are paying back their debt to Canada for having given them a chance to better life. The second theme is related to the Canadianness of Ukrainian Canadian identity: Ukrainian Canadians are part of the fabric of Canada, and their history is part of the history of Canada.

There are also two themes that are found only in the reasons for which the organized Ukrainian community in Canada raises the awareness of the Holodomor. The first is the theme of historical memory: by narrating and remembering the Holodomor as

a genocide against the Ukrainian nation, Ukrainian Canadians are playing an important role in preserving the national perspective on the Great Ukrainian Famine as an attempt to destroy the Ukrainian nation, in opposition to framing the Holodomor as an unplanned by-product of Stalin's collectivization campaign. The second theme, that of the common wound, stresses the unity of the Ukrainian Canadian community for which the Holodomor is an open wound that needs to be healed. Telling Canadians the story of the Holodomor and commemorating the victims of this tragedy is the healing process for the Ukrainian Canadian community.

All these themes can be grouped in three larger categories: Ukrainianness of the Ukrainian Canadian community, truth and better future, Canadianness of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The category of Ukrainianness includes the feeling of belonging to the Ukrainian nation, the need to commemorate and honor the victims of the Holodomor, the need to preserve the historical memory of the Ukrainian nation, and the healing process. The category of Canadianness comprises the feeling of being part of the fabric of Canada and paying back Canada for giving a better life. The universal category of truth and the subordinated theme of a better future (because only by knowing the truth can the humanity build a better future) serve as a bridge between these two poles of the Ukrainian Canadian identity. On the one hand, by telling the truth about the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are commemorating their Ukrainian brothers and sisters, victims of the Holodomor; they are acknowledging their stories and rendering justice to the victims by stating the true causes of their deaths. On the other hand, by educating the Canadian government and Canadians at large about the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are consolidating Canada's commitment to the protection of human rights and the prevention

of crimes against humanity and of genocides. They help Canadians to better understand and acquire more extensive knowledge of world history and world politics by getting rid of old illusions about the fairness of the Soviet system. By telling the truth about the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are hoping to create a better future for Canada and the international community at large, because knowing how authorities target and destroy an entire nation or ethnic group, governments of the future can prevent, or at least try to prevent crimes, against humanities and genocides.

Ukrainian Sentiments and Canadian Sustenance

At the beginning of the present chapter, the content analysis of the Canadian Senate resolution on the Ukrainian Famine/Genocide and of the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day Act revealed four main reasons for which the Canadian government recognized the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people: need to acknowledge the positive contribution of the Holodomor survivors to the Canadian society, Canada’s condemnation of all war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocides, Canada’s defense of human rights and Canada’s valuing of the diversity and multicultural nature of Canadian society.

These reasons are also mentioned in the debates surrounding Bill C459 that became, upon passage, the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day Act. The additional reasons stated by Members of Parliament are: the need to remember the victims of the Holodomor, the need to correct the history, to know the truth about what happened, the need to learn lessons and to remember so that the history does not repeats itself and a better future can be built. The recognition of the Ukrainian

community's contribution to the Canadian nation, culture and economy is mentioned as well. These arguments echo the main themes in the reasons for which the Ukrainian Canadian community raises awareness of the Holodomor.

The new theme that appears in the debates is Canada's support of Ukraine on its way to becoming a true democracy, with a free and democratic Ukrainian state. The basis of this support are strong human ties between the people of Ukraine and the people of Canada, formed during more than a century old history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and cemented by more than one million Ukrainian Canadians that live now in Canada.

The content analysis of provincial debates surrounding the introduction of the Holodomor bill in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec led to the identification of similar themes. The first theme is the need to commemorate the victims and survivors. By passing the bill, Canadians honour the memory of victims of the Holodomor and honour the survivors. The second theme that runs through all the debates is the theme of Canada as a free and democratic country valuing human rights, freedom and the rule of law. The third theme in the debates around the Holodomor bill is the historical truth and lessons that have to be learned from it. The fourth theme is the recognition of Ukrainian community's contribution to Canada. The last, fifth theme reflects two fundamental elements of the Ukrainian Canadian identity: their Ukrainian roots or heritage and their belonging to Canadian nation. Governments of Canadian provinces have to recognize the Holodomor because this tragedy affected the Ukrainian people, of which Ukrainian Canadians are descendants, and because Ukrainian Canadians are part of the fabric of Canada, they belong to Canadian nation. This theme is strongly

expressed in the speeches of members of provincial legislatures who are of Ukrainian descent⁴⁶.

When bringing all themes of the debates in the federal and provincial legislatures together, it becomes apparent that they are closely echoing each other. Through the Ukrainian Famine/Genocide Memorial Acts Canada sustains the Holodomor-awareness efforts deployed by Ukrainian Canadians and acknowledges the main message of these efforts because it condemns war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocides, because Canada is committed to protect human rights and to stand up when these rights are violated, because Canadians value diversity and multicultural nature of Canadian society and Ukrainian Canadians are an integral part of this multicultural diversity. Ukrainian Canadians in general, and Holodomor survivors among them, have contributed greatly to the economy, culture and society of Canada, and Canada acknowledges this contribution by commemorating the victims of the Holodomor and by officially recognizing the historical truth about this attempt to destroy Ukrainian nation, the truth that the Ukrainian community in Canada has been defending from political defamations and denial for several decades.

Ukrainian Canadians are motivated in their efforts by the need to commemorate the victims and honor the survivors of the Holodomor because they belong to the same imagined community of the Ukrainian nation. By remembering the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians preserve the historical memory of this nation, the memory that was taken from Ukrainians in Ukraine by the Soviet regime. Through remembering the genocide against the Ukrainian nation, and commemorating the needless death of its

⁴⁶ They stated it explicitly in their speeches in the Holodomor bill debates.

victims, the Ukrainian Canadian community heals the open wound of the Holodomor. Ukrainian Canadians are communicating the historical truth about this event to the Canadian government and Canadians at large because they are Canadians, they belong to the Canadian nation, they are part of the fabric of Canada, and their history is Canada's history. Knowing the truth about the genocide committed against the Ukrainian nation in 1932-33, Canada will reinforce its allegiance to the protection of human rights and will be armed with better understanding and more complete picture of the mechanisms of genocidal crimes in order to prevent these crimes and violation of human rights in Canada and internationally.

Wrapping up

The analysis of the civic activism of Ukrainian Canadian community aimed at raising the awareness of the Holodomor and of the motivations that drive this activism demonstrates the pertinence and the actuality of the concepts on which the research is built, namely, the concepts of Diaspora, nationalism, social justice and cultural memory.

Diaspora was operationalized as a minority group whose members maintain a distinct culture and collective identity that is built on a continuous interplay between the memory and symbolic identification with the ancestral homeland and the reality of the embeddedness in the culture and the society of the country in which they live now. In other words, the diasporic identity is an open construct that is constantly negotiated and transformed by the members of Diaspora as they enact in their everyday life the sense of “being *from* one place and *of* another” (Anthias, 1998: 565). Ukrainian Canadians keep on telling the story of the great injustice that was done to the people of their nation in the

historical homeland because their ancestors came *from* that land, but they tell this story in the land, in the country to which they belong, to Canada, because this country is their home, they are *of* this place. They are Canadians, but at the same time they also feel Ukrainians, and this feeling makes them different from other Canadians. They are different because they live in two cultures and they know two histories. The identity of Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora “lives with and through, not despite, difference” (Hall, 1990: 235). By bringing the experience of a great historical injustice done to the Ukrainian people 70 years ago to the attention of modern day Canadian society, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora is reactualizing its distinctive Ukrainian traits, while at the same time confirming its belonging to Canada. This dichotomy of Ukrainian Canadian identity echoes Stuart Hall’s and James Clifford’s reading of Diaspora as an open, hybrid identity that is constantly producing and reproducing itself through difference and transformation.

The example of the Holodomor awareness campaign by the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora shows how central the *cultural memory* is for an ethnic group in preserving and affirming their distinct collective identity. Ukrainian Canadian individuals and institutions shared, passed on and constructed the memory of the Holodomor in spite of denial, distrust and defamation by Sovietophiles, and this fight for the recognition of the Holodomor strengthened the memory of the Holodomor itself and the Ukrainian distinctiveness of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora’s identity. The memory of the Holodomor became one of the building blocks of this identity, and the celebration of this memory became one of the ways of realizing or manifesting the Ukrainian Canadian identity.

The need to keep the memory of the Holodomor alive comes from the sense of caring for the people of Ukraine who had suffered a genocide. Those millions of innocent men and women, who died from starvation in Ukraine in 1932-33, belong to the Ukrainian nation with which Ukrainian Canadians identify themselves. Ukrainian Canadians feel the moral duty to remember the victims of the Holodomor, as one remembers a brother or a sister who had passed away many years ago. By telling the story of the Holodomor to Canadians, Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora makes them aware of the necessity to learn the lessons of the genocide and above all of the necessity to prevent such tragedies in the future. Ukrainian Canadians are warning Canada about the inhumane nature of totalitarian regimes and the danger of remaining indifferent to the victims of these regimes and ignoring the historical truth. They are telling the story of the Holodomor because they care for Canada, they care for the Canadian people, and at the same time they care for the Ukrainians who died in the Holodomor and for Ukrainians who are struggling know on a difficult path towards democracy. This sense of caring is a sense of nationalism, the sense of belonging to a nation, and the Holodomor awareness campaign is the manifestation of this sense in the constructive act of caring for people of this nation, be it the Ukrainian nation from which the ancestors of Ukrainian Canadians came or the Canadian nation to which Ukrainian Canadians belong.

The research on the Holodomor awareness efforts demonstrates also the validity and actuality of the concept of social justice as a principle of the organization of society in which all members of a society, regardless of background, have basic human rights and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society. By holding commemorative ceremonies, informing Canadian politicians and teachers, organizing academic

conferences and lectures on the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are using their basic human right to communicate, to tell Canada the story of the suffering of the Ukrainian people. They are doing so because they want Canadians to know that seventy years ago millions of people were denied an essential human right to food, they were denied an essential human right to life. Ukrainian Canadians are telling the story of the Holodomor because they believe in Canada, in its free and democratic society and Canada's allegiance to the protection of human rights. They are telling this story because they believe that human life is sacred and should not be sacrificed for the sake of someone's political ambitions.

Conclusion

Significant Findings

The analysis of the most recent efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora to raise awareness of the Holodomor aimed to answer two main research questions: how Ukrainian Canadians are disseminating information about the Holodomor and why it is important for them that Canadians and the Canadian government know about this tragedy.

Three main axes define the concerted efforts of the Ukrainian Diaspora in raising the awareness of the Holodomor at this stage: the political sphere, the educational system and recording witness accounts of those who survived the Holodomor. These efforts are coordinated by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, a national body that represents the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and Government of Canada. Different Ukrainian Canadian organizations and individuals are involved in these efforts.

In the political sphere, politicians of Ukrainian descent played a key role in persuading the Canadian government, and governments of several Canadian provinces, to recognize the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. First of all, they introduced the Holodomor bill in provincial and federal legislatures, and then acted as liaison and channel of communication in the dialogue between the Ukrainian community and Canadian politicians in the process of educating Canadian politicians about the nature of the Holodomor, debating the bill and assuring the political support necessary to pass the bill. The Ukrainian Canadian community assisted provincial and federal MPs of

Ukrainian descent, in every step, by providing consultations and documents to support the genocide prospective on the Holodomor. The close cooperation of politicians of Ukrainian background and Ukrainian Canadian community made possible the passage of Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day in the federal parliament and in the provincial legislatures of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec. Obviously, it would have been harder, and it would have taken more time, to pass the message of the Holodomor on the political level if Ukrainian Canadian community did not have among its members politicians of the highest level. On the other hand, parliamentarians at the provincial and federal levels who introduced the Holodomor bill might not have been able to persuade their colleagues to embrace the Ukrainian Canadian narrative of the Holodomor, had it not been for extensive and rich evidence accumulated by the Ukrainian organized community in their efforts to raise awareness of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide.

Success in the political sphere has enabled the Ukrainian Canadian community to advance their efforts to introduce the Holodomor in school curricula. Future generations need to be educated about atrocities of the past in order to prevent these atrocities from happening in the future and to be aware of the criminal nature of totalitarian regimes ready to sacrifice millions of human lives in the pursuit of political goals.

The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora had started working on the introduction of the Holodomor in school curricula in 1980, but their efforts met resistance from the Soviet Union and the apprehension of Canadian officials who did not want to embitter the relations with the Soviets. The Ukrainian Canadian community had to wait twenty years for the opportunity to renew its attempts to make the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide part of

the subjects taught in Canadian schools. As the example of Toronto District School Board shows, the introduction of Holodomor in the school curriculum requires educating teachers and school boards first. Canadian educators of Ukrainian descent play a key role in this process. The support of the Ukrainian community at large and of Ukrainian Canadian organizations is crucial in this case, as it was crucial in the campaign for the political recognition of the Holodomor.

The introduction of the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide in school curricula has only started. It was designated a compulsory subject only in one province – Alberta. It is included as an optional topic in high school social studies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The Holodomor is presented within the context of nationalism and ultra-nationalism⁴⁷, human rights and responsibilities, and from the perspective of Canada's multi-ethnic democracy.

Ukrainian Canadian organizations and educators continue working with provincial ministries of education and school boards in order to make the Holodomor a compulsory part of school curriculum in all the provinces of Canada. It will be a long and laborious process because of the inertia of ministerial bureaucracy and the relative lack of knowledge about the Holodomor among Canadians. But the official recognition of the Holodomor by Canadian governments facilitates significantly the work of the Ukrainian Diaspora in the educational field, providing a point of reference in their negotiations with Canadian educators.

The third axis of the Ukrainian Diaspora's efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor is recording the testimonies of Holodomor survivors. It started by the early

⁴⁷ In the sense that the Holodomor was a planned starvation of millions of Ukrainian farmers by Stalin's regime in its attempt to create the Soviet nation.

1980s, with taping and videotaping witnesses who were adults and young adults in 1932-33 in Ukraine. The recording went on for the next 20 years, and now the work is near completion, since the first hand accounts of those who survived the Holodomor as children are being recorded. Interviews with Holodomor survivors played an important role in the Holodomor awareness efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora because they served as material evidence of the authenticity of the historical event of the Holodomor and its criminal nature. Ukrainian Canadian politicians cited the testimonies of Holodomor survivors in their speeches during the debates of the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide Memorial Day Act. Eye-witness accounts of the Holodomor are used in school courses and in web-sites dedicated to the history of the Ukrainian Famine. Recorded interviews with Holodomor survivors are very important for another reason as well: by preserving the living memory of Ukrainians who experienced first hand this tragic event in Ukraine and later immigrated to Canada, they inscribe the Holodomor in the historical memory of the nationally conscious Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora who embraced these immigrants and for whom the Holodomor is a historical event, remote in space and time.

The second research question of the thesis was about the motivation behind Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora's efforts to raise the awareness of the Holodomor, in other words, why it is important for them that Canadian government and Canadians at large know about Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1931-32. Qualitative content analysis of federal and provincial Holodomor Memorial Acts and of debates surrounding this Act, as well as the content analysis of interviews with Ukrainian Canadian professionals, revealed three prominent themes in the motivation of Ukrainian Diaspora, which are presented and discussed below.

The theme of *Ukrainianness*, or belonging to Ukrainian nation is very strong. It can also be called the theme of nationalism in the sense of “to be proud of who you are and to be concerned about your people”, as defined by one of the interviewees. In all the speeches of provincial and federal MPs of Ukrainian descent the link with Ukraine was stressed, be it through symbolical ancestral ties across generations or real family ties with relatives living in Ukraine. All the interviewees have also stated that they got involved in the Holodomor awareness efforts because they are part of the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian Canadians commemorate the victims of the Holodomor because they share the same historical roots, the same origin – they are Ukrainians, and those who are alive have the duty to remember the tragic and meaningless death of those who died from the man-made Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33. By commemorating victims of the Holodomor, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora has preserved the historical memory of the Ukrainian nation, suppressed by decades of Soviet rule. By obtaining Canada’s official recognition of the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are helping Ukrainians living in Ukraine to build a free democratic society. In this way the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora maintains its Ukrainianness and remains an active player in the nation-building of the Ukrainian people.

In their Holodomor-awareness efforts Ukrainian Canadians were and are telling the historical truth about the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33, deliberately orchestrated by Stalin’s regime to crush the resistance of Ukrainian farmers to collectivization and to break the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to have their own, independent state. The *historical truth* is another theme that transpires strongly in the text of Holodomor bills and in the answers of the interviewees. It is important that Canadians know what really

happened in Ukraine during the Famine of 1932-33 for several reasons: the historical truth unmask the inhuman nature of Stalin's totalitarian regime and dissipates the enchantment with the Soviet myth that still persists among intellectuals and politicians; it renders justice to the victims of the Holodomor, because it is known that they did not just die of a natural disaster, but were starved to death because of their opposition to the totalitarian regime. Finally, by telling the historical truth about the Holodomor, Ukrainian Canadians are educating people about the genocidal nature of dictatorships and totalitarianism, so that the lessons of the past are learned and the crimes against humanity and genocides can be prevented in future.

The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora wants Canada to know the story of the Holodomor because Ukrainians are part of the fabric of Canada, and their history is part of the history of Canada. This reason marks the presence of the third theme in the motivation of Ukrainian Canadians: their *Canadianness*. By acknowledging the story of the Holodomor, the Canadian government and Canadians at large are acknowledging the great contribution that Ukrainians have made to Canada's economy, culture and society. Ukrainian Canadians share with other Canadians the belief in, and support of, the democratic values of human rights, freedom and equality. By sharing the story of genocide committed against their brothers and sisters in Ukraine, Ukrainian Canadians are seeking the acknowledgement of this tragedy by their Canadian fellow citizens and the Canadian government, because Canada, and Ukrainian community as its integral part, condemns violation of human rights and crimes against humanity. By knowing the truth and the nature of past genocides Canada will be better prepared to recognize and to fight any attempt to destroy an ethnic, religious or national group in the future.

Diaspora in the Post-Modern Globalized Reality

The analysis of the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise the awareness of the Holodomor within Canada and internationally led to several important conclusions regarding the place of Diaspora in today's globalized world and the dynamics of the evolution of its collective identity. These conclusions are presented below.

It is believed by some that in new post-modern, post-industrialized society, with its massive migration and resettlement of people, nationalism is some kind of an anachronism, if not a reactionary hold-back on the road to progress. Armed to the teeth Taliban terrorists, ethnic cleansings in Yugoslavia, genocide in Rwanda – this is the ugly image of nationalism or ethnic nationalism of modernity: nationalism based on hatred, violence, destruction. There is also another kind of nationalism, the one that is built on love and care for people who share with you the same roots, history and memory, but not necessarily the same country. That very nationalism drives the efforts of the Ukrainian Diaspora to recognize the Holodomor.

Ukrainian Canadians are proud of their Ukrainian ancestry, they have strong symbolical or real ties with Ukraine and Ukrainian nation, and they want the world to recognize the historical injustice done to Ukrainians several decades ago. This Ukrainianness is strong even in the third generation of Ukrainian Canadians who might not speak Ukrainian language, but strongly identify themselves with the Ukrainian culture. And they take upon themselves the task to tell the truth about the Holodomor, because it is part of the history of Ukraine, and therefore it is part of their history as well. The starvation to death of millions of Ukrainians by Stalin's regime in 1930s has shaped

the history and identity of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. Their efforts to tell the truth about the Holodomor in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were met with distrust and skepticism and brought them the reputation of right wing retrogrades, slanderers and groundlessly accusing the progressive Soviet government. But they persevered. They kept commemorating the victims of the Holodomor, they kept talking publicly about the artificial nature of the Great Ukrainian Famine, orchestrated by Stalin's regime, while in Ukraine not a word was allowed about that tragedy and the memory of it was fading away under the constant censure and control of Soviet authorities. The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora has kept remembering the Holodomor, acting thus as a guardian of Ukrainian national memory. Now Ukrainian Canadians are helping Ukrainians to recover this memory by initiating Holodomor educational projects in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada continues to play an active role in the building of the Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian state, not only by preserving and bringing back the national memory, but also by supporting Ukraine in the international arena. The successful campaign by the Ukrainian Canadian community to get Canada's official recognition of the Holodomor provided the president and the government of Ukraine with a much-needed support of a Western developed country in Ukraine's political efforts to obtain the international identification of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian nation.

The feeling of nationalism, of belonging to the Ukrainian nation, supports the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora to raise awareness of the Holodomor, and in the process it gets reinforced, fed by these efforts. The Ukrainianness of the Ukrainian Canadian diasporic identity is re-actualized and strengthened in the process of telling the

story of the Holodomor to Canadians and getting recognition of the Holodomor by the Canadian government.

At the same time, Ukrainian Canadians are contributing to the consolidation of Canadian society and its democratic values. Working on, debating and voting the Holodomor bill has brought together all the parties at federal and provincial levels. MPs of diverse political orientations have put their differences aside to unanimously condemn the Ukrainian Famine, artificially created by Stalin's regime, as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. Knowing how disastrous the consequences can be when a government targets an ethnic or national group just for being who they are makes Canadians aware of the importance of maintaining intercultural understanding and respect in multi-ethnic societies, such as Canada, and reminds them of the necessity to preserve Canadian multiculturalism. The Holodomor as part of the school curriculum teaches young Canadians the same lesson.

Ukrainian Canadians' political efforts to get the Holodomor recognized as a genocide increase Canada's international role as defender of human rights. Canada is one of few Western countries who have officially called the Great Ukrainian Famine a genocide, while such leading countries as United States, France, United Kingdom have not. When Senator Andreychuk moved the motion to recognize the Holodomor, and this motion was passed by the Senate, she was contacted later by the press and parliaments of Australia, France, Great Britain, who had similar resolutions in process.

Analysis of the recent efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora to raise awareness of the Holodomor within Canada and internationally shows how central is the unity of ethnic community while communicating an issue of importance to government

and public at large. Ukrainian Canadians who have a strong ethnic identity and hold professional positions, allowing them to contribute meaningfully to the dialogue between their community and government and people of Canada, lead the collective efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. But they need the support of their community, which in case of the Holodomor campaign meant several decades of commemorating and researching and gathering evidence about the Great Ukrainian Famine and its victims. In turn, the Ukrainian community incorporates achievements of its activists to expand and progress the Holodomor awareness campaign, as it was in the case of the Canadian Senate's resolution proposed by Senator Andreychuk and the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day Act, initiated by MP James Bezan.

The Holodomor awareness efforts constitute, and at the same time sustain, the collective memory of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora. This memory is both historical and living. Historical, because for most people involved in the efforts, the Great Ukrainian Famine is a distant event from another time and another space, living because there were, and there are still, in the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora those who suffered in the Holodomor, and they or their children have clear and vivid recollections of this tragedy.

Remembering and commemorating the Holodomor, its survivors and its victims, Ukrainian Canadians reinforce their distinctive Ukrainian ethnic identity. On the other hand, by sharing the story of the genocide against the Ukrainian nation (with which they are tied through symbolical or real family ties) with Canadians, they contribute to the intercultural understanding and democratic values of Canadian society and confirm their belonging to the Canadian nation. Thus, the two poles, two defining elements of their

Ukrainian Canadian identity manifest themselves in and spur the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community to raise the awareness of the Holodomor.

Thesis Summary

In today's globalized reality, characterized by the great mobility of work force, open markets and the hybridization of cultures, more and more people develop complex identities that embrace more than one culture and more than one ethnicity. In the example of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada the thesis demonstrates how, by raising the awareness of the Holodomor, a tragic event which played, and still plays, a crucial role in the history and the development of the Ukrainian nation and at the same time contains an important lesson for the whole international community, Ukrainian Canadians maintain and re-actualize their distinctive Ukrainian identity within Canadian society, on one hand, and contribute to and reinforce Canada's democratic values and Canada's role as a defender of human rights.

The thesis begins with a concise historical outline of the Holodomor - Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33. The two narratives of the event debated in both public sphere and academia are then presented: national, or genocidal, narrative according to which the Famine was a deliberate attempt to destroy Ukrainians' aspirations to independence and the non-genocidal narrative in which the Holodomor is an unplanned result of Stalin's policy of collectivization. A short history of the Ukrainian Diaspora's efforts to tell the story and the national narrative of the Holodomor is then provided, starting from the 1930-s to present day. This historical information was necessary in understanding and conducting the analysis of the recent campaign of the Ukrainian

community in Canada to raise the awareness of the Holodomor. Two research questions were formulated: how Ukrainian Canadians conduct this campaign and why.

The theoretical framework for the study that sought to answer these questions is built on four concepts:

- a) *cultural memory* as a collective memory that is shared, passed on and constructed by the individuals and institutions that belong to a group that clearly identify itself and is identified by others as a unity based on common ethnic roots and distinct culture,
- b) *Diaspora* as a minority group whose members maintain a distinct culture and collective identity that is built on a continuous interplay between the memory and symbolical identification with the ancestral homeland and the reality of the embeddedness in the culture and the society of the country in which they live now,
- c) *social justice* as a principle of the organization of society in which all members of a society, regardless of background, have basic human rights and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society,
- d) *nationalism* as a sense of belonging to a nation and the manifestation of this sense in the constructive acts of caring for people of this nation.

These definitions were developed using Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory (1995), the concept of human rights and social justice elaborated by John Finnis (1980) and John Rawls (1999), the post-modern interpretation of Diaspora by Stuart Hall (1990)

and James Clifford (1994) and the positive reading of nationalism by Anthony Smith (1995) and Benedict Anderson (1991).

In order to investigate how the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada raises awareness of the Holodomor and explore the motivations behind these efforts, an explanatory case study was designed as the best research approach. Two qualitative data collection methods were used: a content analysis of the Canadian legislation and school curricula on the Holodomor as well as in-depth interviews with Ukrainian Canadian professionals involved in the Holodomor awareness campaign. The Canadian legislation includes the Federal Government's Ukrainian Famine and Genocide ("Holodomor") Memorial Day, Canadian Senate Resolution on the Holodomor, the provincial acts recognizing the Holodomor as a genocide and debates that preceded the passing of these bills. The school curricula documents are mainly outlines of courses in Social studies for high school students.

Findings reveal that Ukrainian Canadians concentrate their efforts on the political recognition of the Holodomor, on the introduction of it as a compulsory subject in school curricula and on the recording of the eye witnesses of the Holodomor survivors. In the political sphere, Ukrainian Canadians have reached the most significant results having obtained Canadian government's recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people. Provincial governments of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have also done so. The successful efforts on the political level support the campaign to make the Holodomor part of the compulsory courses in schools. The introduction of Ukrainian Famine-Genocide in school curricula has only started. It was designated a compulsory subject only in one province – Alberta. It is included as an

optional topic in high school social studies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The third axis of the Ukrainian Diaspora's efforts to raise the awareness of the Holodomor is recording the testimonies of Holodomor survivors. This task is almost completed: now those who were children during the Holodomor have been interviewed.

The reasons for which Ukrainian Canadians spread knowledge of the Holodomor are grouped in three large categories: Ukrainianness of the Ukrainian Canadian community, truth and better future and Canadianness of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The category of Ukrainianness includes the feeling of belonging to the Ukrainian nation, the need to commemorate and honor the victims of the Holodomor, the need to preserve the historical memory of the Ukrainian nation and the healing process. The category of Canadianness comprises the feeling of being part of the fabric of Canada and paying back Canada for giving a better life. The universal category of truth and subordinated theme of better future (because only by knowing the truth can the humanity build a better future) serve as a bridge between these two poles of Ukrainian Canadian identity.

The thesis concludes that the Holodomor awareness campaign demonstrates the vitality of national feeling of the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora and its role as guardian of national memory. By preserving and sharing the memory of the Holodomor with Canadian society, the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora re-actualizes its distinctive collective identity, contributes to the reconstruction of Ukrainian historical memory, supports Ukraine in its way to democracy, consolidates democratic values of Canadian society and contributes to Canada's role as defender of human rights.

Limitations and Implications

At the initial stage of the research it was planned to analyze and describe Ukrainian Canadians' efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor since the years in which this tragedy was unfolding, that is in 1932-33. But the preliminary research and readings showed that it would be impossible to cover such a long period of time and such an abundance of material in the format of MA thesis. Therefore the researcher decided to focus instead on the current stage of the efforts, delineating the chronological framework by the adoption of the Canadian Senate resolution on the Ukrainian Famine in 2003 and the most recent activities in 2009.

The Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora uses different means and promotes in different ways the awareness of the Holodomor. Upon reading the press-releases of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, an organization that represents the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and the government of Canada, and consulting people involved in the Holodomor awareness efforts, the analysis was narrowed down to three main axes which UCC defines as most successful and at the same time the most pressing: the political sphere, field of education and documentation of survivors' testimonies (UCC, 2009, October 23). Therefore all the other areas are excluded from the analysis, such as academic publications and conferences, commemoration ceremonies and services, works of art and literature, films, monuments etc.

Finally, the thesis examines only the Ukrainian community in Canada, not the North-American Ukrainian Diaspora as a whole. Although Ukrainians in Canada and in the United States often coordinated their actions and supported each other in their efforts to raise the awareness of the Holodomor, the researcher chose to study the Ukrainian

Canadian Diaspora for reasons of practicality and because of first-hand knowledge of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

It would be worthwhile to retrace the history of raising the awareness of the Holodomor at least since 1980s, the period in which the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora has been involved very actively due to the declassifying of Western archives containing the correspondence of Western diplomats, who were reporting to their head quarters about starvation of Ukrainian farmers. Such a study would allow following the progress of Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora in communicating the story of the Holodomor to the government and people of Canada from initiating academic research on the Holodomor to official recognition by the Canadian government. It would also provide an outline of the development of Ukrainian Canadian narrative on the Great Ukrainian Famine.

Another valuable direction in which the research of the Holodomor awareness campaign could continue would be to complement the present study with analysis of other ways in which Ukrainian Canadians tell the story of the Holodomor, namely fiction and movies. It would be very interesting to determine the framing of the event in these works and to know the history of the creation of these works, the history that bears witness to the difficulties and denial that the authors faced in the creative process. The researcher has in her possession material of this kind, but due to the format of the thesis it could not be included in the study.

Finally, the most interesting and promising research would be the comparative analysis of Ukrainian Diaspora efforts to raise awareness of the Holodomor and the Jewish Diaspora's campaign to get the recognition of the Holocaust. In their drive to get international recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide against the Ukrainian people,

Ukrainians in Canada were inspired in part by the successful efforts of the Jewish Diaspora in North America to raise the awareness of the Holocaust worldwide⁴⁸. Such a comparative study would bring to light the similarities and differences in ways in which a given Diaspora communicates its concerns and important issues to the society and the government of the country that hosts this Diaspora. The comparison between Jewish and Ukrainian Diasporas would reveal common motivations based on belief in human universal values, and at the same time it would disclose the distinctive characteristics of Ukrainian and Jewish Diasporas. It would also disclose different ways and different reasons for which people of Diasporas relate to their historical homelands. By discovering the general and specific ways of communication between a Diaspora and the mainstream society, such research would elucidate how an ethnic group shapes and preserves its distinct collective identity in the post-modern denationalized world by defending issues important for their ethnicity or nation, and, on the other hand, how in the process this ethnic group influences and changes the society to which it communicates these issues.

⁴⁸ References to Holocaust and to the general knowledge about it spread by the Jewish community were often made in the interviews with Ukrainian Canadian professionals recorded during the research.

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